'NEVER FALL INTO SILENCE'

Rock Artists' Politically Persuasive Messages

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Tiivistelmä

Tutkielmassa selvitettiin, millaisia ovat rock-artistien yhteiskunnallisen vaikuttamisen viestit. Tarkastelun keskiössä olivat artistien verbaaliset viestit, ja aihetta lähestyttiin peilaamalla vaikuttamisen teoreettista tietoa rockmusiikin kontekstiin. Tutkielman viestinnällinen lähtökohta avaa uusia näkökulmia tarkastella rockin poliittisuutta, jota on usein lähestytty sosiologisemmista lähtökohdista.

Tarkoituksena oli selvittää, miten vaikuttamisen teoreettinen tieto voisi auttaa ymmärtämään rock-artistien yhteiskunnallista vaikuttamista, sekä toisaalta myös, millaisia uusia näkökulmia rockmusiikin konteksti voisi tuoda vaikuttamisen tarkasteluun. Teoreettisen tiedon rinnalle annettiin esimerkkejä rockmusiikista löytyvistä artistien yhteiskunnallisen vaikuttamisen viesteistä. Tutkielmassa nostettiin myös esiin kontekstin erityispiirteet yhteiskunnallisen vaikuttamisen moninaisena mahdollistajana.

Vaikuttamisen tutkimuksessa on usein eroteltu interaktiivinen ja ei-interaktiivinen vaikuttaminen sekä joukkoviestinnällinen ja interpersonaalinen vaikuttaminen toisistaan. Tutkielma osoittaa kuitenkin, että artistien yhteiskunnallinen vaikuttaminen on sekä ei-interaktiivista joukkoviestintää että interaktiivista interpersonaalista viestintää. Artistien vaikuttaminen tapahtuu usein esimerkiksi sanoituksissa, levyjen kansitaiteessa tai oheistuotteissa jopa miljoonille vastaanottajille kerrallaan. Yksittäiset kuulijat saattavat kuitenkin kokea artistin puhuttelevan miljoonienkin vastaanottajien keskuudessa heitä henkilökohtaisesti. Vaikka artistien vaikuttamisen voi nähdä klassisen retoriikan, yhdeltä monelle tapahtuvan vaikuttamisen kaltaisena, ovat esimerkiksi nykyteknologiat luoneet monia keinoja interaktiivisempaan suhteeseen artistien ja vaikutettavien välillä.

Vaikuttamisen tutkimuksessa on myös nostettu esiin tieto vaikutettavista onnistuneen vaikuttamisen osatekijänä. Artistien vaikutettavat voivat kuulua eri sisä- tai ulkoryhmiin artistista pitämisen näkökulmasta tai/sekä vaikuttamisen sisällön näkökulmasta. Tämäkin luo rockmusiikin kontekstissa omat erityispiirteensä aiheen tarkastelulle. Lisäksi populaarikulttuurisen olomuotonsa kautta rockmusiikki antaa artisteille useita kanavia vaikuttamiseen. Nämä kanavat voidaan valjastaa kampanjatyyppisen viestinnän käyttöön. Kampanjoiden tavoitteena on pysyvämpi vaikuttaminen ja sitä kautta tehdä vaikutettavista myös itse vaikuttajia. Esimerkiksi käyttämällä artistin oheistuotteita, joissa on vaikuttamiseen pyrkiviä viestejä, vaikutettavasta tulee vaikuttaja.

Asiasanat Poliittinen viestintä, populaarikulttuuri, puheviestintä, rockmusiikki, vaikuttaminen, yhteiskunnallinen vaikuttaminen.
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Abstract

   This thesis looked at rock artists' politically persuasive messages focusing on artists' verbal messages. In the study the theoretical understanding of persuasion was applied to the context of rock music. Taking persuasion as the starting point offers new perspectives to studying the politics of popular culture and rock music next to the more prevalent sociological approaches.
   The goal of this thesis was to show how the theoretical knowledge of persuasion could help in understanding rock artists' political persuasion, but also to show how the context of rock music could offer new perspectives to studying persuasion. Real-life examples of political persuasion in rock music were provided next to the theoretical discussion. The thesis also outlined how rock music functions as an apt context for persuasion.
   Interactive and noninteractive persuasion, as well as interpersonal and mass media persuasion, have often been set apart in persuasion research. The present study shows, however, that rock artists' political persuasion is both noninteractive mass-mediated persuasion and interactive interpersonal persuasion. Artists can persuade, for instance, through messages in lyrics, in album art works, or in various promotional material reaching millions of persuadees simultaneously. Individual listeners of artists can feel, nonetheless, that artists are communicating personally with them even among the millions of listeners. Although artists' persuasion can be paralleled with the classic rhetorical view of one-to-many persuasion, contemporary technologies have provided many ways for more interactive relationship between artists and their persuadees.
   Knowledge of one's persuadees as a means to successful persuasion has also been taken up in persuasion research. Artists' persuadees can belong to an in-group or an out-group as fans and listeners, or to an in-group or an out-group of the cause of persuasion. This is yet another factor effecting persuasion in the context of rock music. Furthermore, as part of popular culture, rock music provides the artists with channels galore for persuasion. These channels can be used for campaign-like persuasion. Persuasive campaigns aim for a more lasting state of being persuaded where the persuadees also become persuaders. For instance, using artists' merchandise with persuasive messages, the persuadees become persuaders themselves.

Keywords
Persuasion, political communication, political persuasion, popular culture, rock music, speech communication.

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INTRO

Music can be informative, educative, influential and persuasive. We can learn from music and it can give us new insights into understanding this world we live in. Popular culture has become a huge part of our lives and it cannot be seen merely in terms of light-hearted entertainment anymore. Rock music is a form of popular culture and a medium for artists to express themselves, not only musically but on a more political level also. Political and social commentary, songs of redemption, songs of war, and songs that can pack the dance floor are not mutually exclusive, as are not cool-looking T-shirts and political slogans. Through their own medium, artists can communicate alternative interpretations of issues we learn through education or culture, or of issues presented in the media thus circumnavigating the cultural or political hegemons. To engage in this kind of communication, artists are taking part in the political processes ongoing in their society and in the world; and to do this, they need to be persuasive.

When artists engage in persuasive political communication, it means that they *want* to have an influence on their audience about political issues. Music as such can be influential and affective in many ways, for instance, in arousing and articulating emotions. And if we consider playing rock music in a society in which it has been deemed unacceptable, the mere musical aspects become political also (see e.g. Street 1997, 27–29, 32–33). But it is not just the music than can be affective or political; artists can also express politically persuasive messages in many ways and forms through their work. Political communication, and persuasion within that paradigm, includes a variety of types of messages from a variety of actors (see e.g. Nimmo & Swanson 1990). In this way, artists engaged in political persuasion become political actors.

The relationship between politics and popular culture is an intertwined one. Politics, policies, and institutions shape the way popular culture can function, for instance through laws, funding, or censorship. However, popular culture can also shape the way we perceive politics and institutions, what we think of political issues and the politicians. (Street 1997, 3–22.) As popular culture has become an integral part of the modern society, one could say that we live our lives through and with popular culture. Thus, popular culture should be understood as *part* of our politics [original emphasis]. (Street 1997, 4.) However, it is not just that politics are mixing with popular culture,

popular culture is being mixed in with politics. Today politicians are using the means of popular culture more and more to communicate to and with the citizens, and to gain support (Street 1997 14–17; see also Lilleker 2006 for further discussion on the various mergers of popular culture and politics).

The form of persuasion in the context of rock music is interesting as music and the artists' work provide the artists with a mass medium of their own. The persuadees of artists are basically unknown and it can be difficult to address the persuasive messages effectively to a specific audience group. But just as among politicians' persuadees, there are those among artists' persuadees who are more informed and already persuaded about certain topics as well as there are those who need yet to be persuaded. There are also those who might not belong to an artist's audience but are persuaded by the artist's messages. In other words, the persuadees can belong to an in-group of fans and listeners, and to an in-group of the cause of persuasion. They can, just as well, belong to an in-group of fans but to an out-group when it comes to the cause of persuasion and vice versa.

Yet, persuasion in the context of rock music is also somewhat different than in other mass communication contexts. For instance, the relationship between an artist and a listener can be a para-social one where the listener feels that the artist is communicating directly with her/him (Horton & Wohl 1986, 186; Lull 1992, 22). So, do the individual listeners and interpreters of artists' messages make persuasion then more interpersonal? In interpersonal persuasion situations interactiveness is, however, an integral part of persuasion whereas persuasion in the context of rock music is often noninteractive. Then again, the para-sociability makes communication at least seem as if it was interactive, while technology-mediated communication channels have provided artists and their audience new ways of interacting. Furthermore, to make up for what is lost with not having direct contact with one's audience at all stages of persuasion, the form of popular culture provides the artists with channels galore for their persuasion. For instance lyrics, album art works, the abundance of promotional material, websites, blogs, photographs, interviews, and music videos are all available for artists' persuasion.

From the point of view of communication this all, then, becomes very interesting. Besides the more sociological point of view on rock music and politics, the point of view of political communication and especially political persuasion can offer us interesting insights into how music can be political. To study the ways in which artists engage in persuasive political communication, is taking persuasion to an uncharted territory. It is interesting to see how our knowledge of persuasion, as studied in the field of (speech) communication, could equip artists with better speech communication skills to be more effective in their persuasion. It is equally interesting to see how the context of rock music could offer us new insights into understanding persuasion and its communicational tradition of rhetoric, which can be seen to have inaugurated speech communication as an academic tradition in the first place.

I will approach the research topic by applying the theoretical knowledge of persuasion to the context of rock music, but will limit my study of persuasion to *artists' verbal messages*. This kind of view on persuasion with the focus on the persuader and the persuasive messages shares the aspects of the classic rhetorical view on persuasion. When we study persuasion, we can hope to learn how we as humans produce, shape, receive, interpret and respond to messages (Seiter & Gass 2003, 6). We can hope to learn about the social and cultural forces that give rise to influence attempts in all human contexts, instead of relying on "common sense" knowledge of how our communication works (ibid). To take a message-centered view on persuasion is by no means a comprehensive one (see e.g. Reardon 1981, 91–92), but when looking at messages, we are at the core of the communicative act of persuading. As persuasion and the ability to influence others is a basic part of our communication competence (Seiter & Gass 2003, 5), the message-centered view then looks at the products of our communication competence.

However, focusing on artists' persuasive messages does not mean that we could ignore the persuadees, the situational factors, nor the context of persuasion, as we shall see on various occasions in this study. The "traditional" focus on public or one-to-many persuasion in research is still evident although research in the field has undergone a transformation towards a more varied view on persuasion (Gass & Seiter 2003a, 13–16). Even so, we can keep our focus on the artists' messages if we keep in mind that messages do act in isolation. Hence, I shall discuss, analyze, and form an understanding

of the intrinsic features that rock music as a form of popular culture and as a communication context brings to persuasion situations where artists construct their persuasive messages.

As regards defining rock music, I shall use a loose genre approach. I define rock music here stylistically as, but not limited to, *guitar-driven music including various subgenres such as punk, metal, hardcore, pop etc*. I do not want to define the musical styles too strictly since the idea of this study is to get an overall understanding of political persuasion in the context rock music in general and *not*, for instance, an understanding of political persuasion in the contemporary Finnish punk scene. Some styles might get more discussion and certain artist might be represented more than others. One could visualize this as a group of spotlights that shed light on the research topic in general but place, nonetheless, certain exemplifying artists and subgenres in the limelight. In addition to the stylistic definition, rock music is understood as a context of persuasion in this study and not merely as *music* as in the sounds one listens to. The contextual understanding of rock music allows us to look at persuasion also in the various forms of promotional material and other instances connected to artists, but which are not music per se.

As this thesis is not an empirical but a theoretical study of persuasion, artists become a pool of examples not a pool of data. In other words, I am not studying artists but persuasion; artists are not the core of my analysis, persuasion is. However, instances of actual persuasion in the context of rock music are provided as they are used to exemplify the theoretical knowledge. Many of these real-life examples come from the Anglo-American culture as it has been the vanguard for rock music through ages, and as it has sometimes simply offered the best examples. There are, however, few examples from elsewhere also. The real-life examples are given throughout the text as we go along.

I am aware that in a way, the very essence of art is to be interpretable by the audience. Even in normal persuasion situations the intent to persuade is not always clear nor are the persuaders themselves fully aware of everything they are doing when conveying a message (Simons, Morreale & Gronbeck 2001, 9). In choosing my real-life examples, I will pick examples that are clearly intended to be persuasive and use artists that have,

for instance, in interviews said that they want to be politically persuasive (which is one way to be politically persuasive already as such). When the focus is on the intentional communication to influence others, the focus is on the "ideal types" or the paradigm cases of persuasion (O'Keefe 1990, 15–16; Simons et al. 2001, 6–7). This notion serves also our chosen focus on artists' persuasive messages. Limiting the focus on messages designed to persuade, we limit our focus to the paradigm cases of persuasion.

As a rock aficionado, using rock music as the context in which to study persuasion, this thesis becomes also a demonstration of skills. I shall use the knowledge and understanding of rock culture I have gained through years of companionship with rock and roll to help me in my analysis of persuasion in that context. All real-life examples in this study, unless otherwise noted, are my own and most of the albums mentioned and discussed, as entities or through individual songs, reside also on my record shelves. Thus, all analyses of the examples, unless otherwise mentioned, are mine as well; they are me looking at persuasion on the micro level of the context.

This thesis reads much like an essay and includes five chapters, each taking somewhat different view on persuasion in the context of rock music. The first chapter focuses on defining persuasion, political communication, and taking a view on the role artists play in the equation of political persuasion. The second chapter focuses on how the context of rock music affects the relationship between persuaders and persuadees which, in turn, affects the way one can persuade, and also the way how persuadees interpret messages. Chapter three takes a more detailed look into how persuasive messages can be constructed in the context of rock music, while chapter four focuses on the question of whether persuasion in the context of rock music is interpersonal or mass media persuasion, and what difference does that make. The final chapter, chapter five, looks at persuasive campaigns and how the context of rock music though the form of popular culture is an apt context for persuasive campaigns. While each chapter has its own point of view, the aspects discussed will continue to influence the way persuasion is looked at in the following chapters as each chapter provides us with a theme that runs through the whole research topic.

CHAPTER 1:
DEFINING PERSUASION, POLITICAL COMMUNICATION, AND POLITICAL PERSUASION

What is persuasion?

In this first section of chapter one we shall look at what persuasion is and what it is not, and also why we become persuaders. The second section then looks at the goals of persuasion as they help us in understanding the various forms of persuasive messages. In the third section we shall take a closer look into rhetoric, the communicational tradition of persuasion, and into how research has looked at persuasion at various occasions. In the final section we shall define political communication and how politically persuasive artists become political actors.

Persuasion is a broad concept that encompasses many aspects of influence on other people. It is generally agreed that persuasion *attempts* to change another person in some way [my emphasis] (Larson 2007, 13). Persuasion utilizes messages that tell individuals to adopt new beliefs, attitudes or engage in a new action or behavior for their own benefit. When one persuades, one sends messages designed to exert influence on individuals. (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland 2004, 3–6.) The words that stand out from the above sentences are 'attempts' and 'is designed to', the uses of which tell us that persuasion is an intentional activity. Miller and Burgoon noted already in 1973 that while one can unconsciously influence, one cannot persuade without a conscious intent (cited in Reardon 1991, 3; see also Larson 2007, 14; Gass & Seiter 2003a, 20 for more discussion). Likewise, the ways in which music is influential are abundant but they are not, however, of interest in this study. Recently the University of Pittsburgh's School of Medicine released a study according to which one third of the most popular songs have references to drugs, alcohol, tobacco, and other substances (see e.g. New York Times 2008; Reuters UK 2008; YLE News 2008). While the research did not include a study of the effects of being exposed to this kind of influence, we can use it as a good example of unintentional influence. The mere mention of whatever, be it drugs or political issues for that matter, does not count for persuasion. The listeners can adopt new beliefs or engage in new action after being influenced by references to drugs and

alcohol in a song, but for the message to be persuasive, it needs to suggest a certain action intentionally.

As persuasion attempts to influence individuals intentionally, the common misconception is to assign negative connotations to the word, often linking it to manipulation. What separates persuasion from the more coercive forms of communication, is however that persuasion leaves the persuadees the option to asses the persuasive messages. Persuasion is communication aimed at attempting to influence what people think or feel, or how they act but it is *not* forcing or coercing people to change their ways [original emphasis] (Simons et al. 2001, 7). Hence, persuasion does not deprive the persuadees of the choice to decide themselves whether or not to accept the proposed message (Reardon 1991, 2). Persuasion is dressing our intentions in an acceptable fashion (Reardon 1991, 5); it is bridging differences and reducing psychological distance between the persuader and the persuadee to secure preferred outcome (Simons et al. 2001, 73).

On the other hand, Stiff and Mongeau (2003, 10) claim that coercion is not all too inseparable from persuasion. They give an example of a parent threatening to cut off a child's allowance if the child does not improve her/his grades. This kind of activity, they maintain, is persuasive and at the same time indirectly coercive. (ibid.) I would argue that the parent's behavior in the above example is, however, directly and blatantly coercive. Persuasion employs various means, discussed to a greater length in chapter 3, but manipulation and threatening are not among these means as they do not leave people with the ability to asses and choose whether or not to accept the proposed claims. Yet, as Stiff and Mongeau (2003, 4) note, there is no one definition of persuasion (see also Gass & Seiter 2003a, 13–17 for a list of the ways persuasion has been defined in the variety of studies). The different nuances used in describing persuasion are only matters of judgment.

However, although we could claim on a theoretical level, as done above, that persuasion is not manipulation as it leaves the persuadees the ability to decide whether to accept the proposed claims, in reality persuasion can be used, and it is used, for manipulation as well. Probably one of the first to voice such concerns was the Greek philosopher Plato, who did not treat speech skills and rhetoric highly in his book Gorgias (see Scudder

2007, 58–59; Simons et al. 2001, 3–4). Plato (455b–466a) regarded rhetoric as a skill that was used to make people believe the speaker merely by the merits of the speech. A skillful speaker could convince people to believe her/him even if the substance of the speaker's message would not be credible (ibid; see also Seiter & Gass 2003, 2 for criticism of persuasion). The above concern is a valid concern that must be considered when studying persuasion, but it does not make persuasion and manipulation synonyms. A more constructive way to view persuasion than to argue over whether it is a manipulative skill or not, would be to view persuasion as an amoral tool of communication, a tool which is neither good nor bad as such (Seiter & Gass 2003, 4). Hence, the question becomes an ethical one as it depends on the user, the persuader, how she/he uses the tool to influence others.

One can, as criticized by Plato, use persuasion and speech skills *unethically* to manipulate others into accepting one's claims even if the claims would not be valid. But using persuasion skills *ethically* to communicate more effectively why one's claims are valid and worth accepting, is not manipulating the persuadees. This is to say that competent communicators use persuasion in *appropriate* ways to achieve their goals [original emphasis] (Seiter & Gass 2003, 5). In light of this, it also becomes essentially important for the persuadees to recognize persuasion, to asses the persuasive claims, and to decide for themselves whether to accept the claims or not. When we learn about persuasion, we also learn to recognize when it is used ethically and when not (Seiter & Gass 2003, 4).

Why then would rock artists want to be persuasive? Persuasion requires a felt threat on behalf of the persuader, a threat coming from other people: if the source and the degree of the threat are felt sufficiently important, it triggers the incentive to persuade (Reardon 1981, 24–25). In the case of political persuasion, the opposing points of view pose a threat to the persuader. It is intimidating that people will not listen to one's points of view but will adopt those of one's opponents. The opposing points of view can also be seen as a threat to, not only oneself but, the whole world as one is convinced that one's own points of view are better in terms of the common future. For instance, building new nuclear power plants is not only a threat to the people opposing nuclear energy. One might be worried of the costs of the new plants, their reliability, and the question of what to do with the nuclear waste.

The word threat might strike as an odd or even too powerful word to describe the incentive to persuade. We do not often think about feeling threatened when we are engaging in persuasion. Advertising is, for instance, persuasion in a very clear form, but where is the threat when one only tries to boost one's sales? The threat is that without advertising no one would buy the products. When the threat is real, we go for persuasion. Sometimes we are even morally obliged to persuade: how else would we be able to speak out against racism, for instance, or try to speak for ending wars and signing peace treaties (Seiter & Gass 2003, 3–4)? Furthermore, the biggest threat to an open society is not having disputing opinions but the lack of public discussion and neglect of the public forum (Denton Jr. & Woodward 1990, 340). Thus, in order to have an open and a fair society we need open discussion. And if we are to change the things we perceive wrong in the world, we need persuasion to change people's attitudes and/or behavior and artists can do their part in this task just as anyone else.

One more crucial point to raise at this stage is that an effective persuader is communicating *with* the audience, rather than *at* them [original emphases] (Simons et al. 2001, 80). Reardon (1991, 3) goes even so far as to say that persuasion is something one *has* to do with the other person, that one cannot simply do it to another [my emphasis]. She sees persuasion essentially as a reciprocal situation, where the degree of reciprocity depends on the context of interaction and how much potential it allows for feedback (Reardon 1981, 17). This has not been the case in persuasion research throughout its history. In 1977 Miller, Boster, Roloff and Seibold were concerned with the field's concentration on the source and suggested that the future research on persuasion must expand from the predominantly source-oriented and message-centered conceptualizations to perspectives which take into account the source traits, message choices, situational effects and their interactions (cited in Reardon 1981, 92). This is what has happened in persuasion research (see e.g. Gass & Seiter 2003a, 13–16). Persuasion research deals with message choices and situational effects by taking into account the persuadees, their traits, and the contexts in which the persuadees are receiving the messages. In general, source-oriented persuasion is seen as less effective than receiver-oriented persuasion (Simons et al. 2001, 74–77).

Even if in this study we are focusing on rock artists' persuasive messages, it does not mean that artists should forget those they are trying to persuade and merely concentrate

on their own performance. In this study the aim is not to take the persuader, the persuadee, or the context apart, but on the level of analysis focus on the persuaders' messages in a situation where both sides still make a difference. In rock music this brings along interesting contextual factors which we shall discuss more closely especially in chapter 2.

Goals of persuasion

One of the most important figures in persuasion research, the Greek philosopher Aristotle (1.3.1358b), divided the goals of persuasion into suggesting and warning, accusing and defending, and praising and blaming in his book Rhetoric, the seminal book in speech skills written already more than 2000 years ago. In contemporary persuasion research the goals of persuasion are divided into messages designed to shape, change, or reinforce the responses of the persuadees (Simons et al. 2001, 30; Miller 1987, 451), or actuate the uninvolved or unmotivated persuadees (McKerrow, Gronbeck, Ehninger & Monroe 2000, 339). The goals Aristotle outlined are in fact included in the more general goals of shaping, changing, reinforcing, and actuating: warning, defending, and praising all work as means to reinforce existing responses; accusing and blaming work as means to change existing responses; and suggesting works as means to reinforce and change existing responses as well as to shape new responses. Actuating can be part of any of the goals Aristotle outlined. We shall now look at the contemporary ways of seeing the goals of persuasion and then in the next section take a closer look into Aristotle's rhetoric.

Shaping means that persuadees acquire new beliefs or values, or learn new attitudes. Changing means converting people from existing stand-points to other, even contrary stand-points, and reinforcing responses means strengthening existing convictions so that people would not want a change. (Simons et al. 2001, 30.) Messages of actuation can be directed towards those who know about a certain situation but are not actively doing anything to help the cause, or to those who are uninformed and uninvolved (McKerrow et al. 2000, 343). One needs different goals for persuasion because persuadees need different kinds of messages, depending on their convictions, for persuasion to take place. Some persuadees have existing convictions that need reinforcement while others

have no convictions and need shaping. Those who have opposing convictions compared to that of the persuader need changing and converting. When messages of actuation are aimed at people who are aware but who are not doing anything, they can be viewed as similar to messages of reinforcement.

Stewart, Smith and Denton, Jr. (2001, 221) have studied persuasion in social movements and noted that messages in music can be used effectively to reinforce existing responses; the messages are often directed towards the in-group rather than towards an opposition. In the context of movements, messages in music are focused on the cause advocated by the movement and hence discuss the issues important to the movement and to the people participating in it. The difference between persuasion in the context of movements' music and rock music is that in the context of rock music the listeners can belong to an in-group of fans of an artist but still be uninformed and uninvolved when it comes to the cause of persuasion. Hence, the rock audience is probably more varied than the audience in the context of movements' music.

In music in the context of movements reinforcement also takes place when the messages maintain commitment to a cause by polarizing the 'we' and the institutions working against 'our' cause, or by polarizing those working for the cause and those who are not actively engaged in doing their part (Stewart et al. 2001, 216). The polarizing messages can be seen as messages of actuation on top of being reinforcing. In rock music, an example of a reinforcing message would be the chorus in the song 'The 11th Hour' by a Californian punk rock band Rancid. The persuasive message is crystallized in the song's chorus as it reinforces the listener to believe that we are in control of ourselves by ourselves with a chanting *we can do it* -type of message. The message is also actuating everyone that we should take control of our lives instead of being subjects to our society or our culture.

> Do you know where the power lies?
> And who pulls the strings?
> Do you know where the power lies?
> It starts and ends with you
>
> (Lyrics written by *Tim Armstrong, Matt Freeman,
> Lars Frederiksen, Eric Dinn*)

An example of changing existing responses would be the message in the song 'Franco Un-American' by another Californian punk rock band NOFX. The persuasive message in the lyrics deals with the problem that many people do not care about what is happening in the world around them, or to the world itself, and that this kind of activity is making the world a worse place. In the beginning of the message the listener finds lines which already implicitly and ironically deal with the reasons for the needed change.

> Why think of all the bad things when life is so good?
> Why help with an 'am' when there's always a 'could'?
> Let the whales worry about the poisons in the sea
> Outside of California, it's foreign policy
>
> I don't want changes, I have no reactions
> Your dilemmas are my distractions
>
> (Lyrics written by *Fat Mike*)

Towards the end of the message change is then called for more overtly as the narrator is changing his own behavior as well. Furthermore, the message is also giving the listener ways in which one can begin to learn more about what really goes on in the world. In this way one could see what is wrong with one's passive attitude towards thinking that nothing is wrong.

> I never looked around, never second-guessed
> Then I read some Howard Zinn now I'm always depressed
> And now I can't sleep from years of apathy
> All because I read a little Noam Chomsky
>
> I'm eating vegetation cause of Fast Food Nation
> I'm wearing a couple of shoes cause of globalization
> I'm watching Michael Moore expose The Awful Truth
> I'm listening to Public Enemy and Reagan Youth
>
> (Lyrics written by *Fat Mike*)

In the end of Franco Un-American the narrator is claiming a new changed position for himself by stating "I don't want to be another I-don't-care-ican" with further underlining the reason for change not just for himself but for others as well.

Messages of actuation are especially common in rock music. Artists can call for action or for help, they can actuate people whom they have informed already in other ways, or they can actuate people who are aware of various issues via, for instance, TV or the

Internet. Artists can also actuate, reinforce, shape, and change at the same time. Rotten Sound, a Finnish grindcore band, has released an MCD with accompanying T-shirts and badges, entitled 'Consume To Contaminate'. With the MCD title and the slogan on the promotional material used as a persuasive message, the band is actuating people to consume less, or in fact they are deactuating people. The more we consume, the more we contaminate the planet. The message is reinforcing to those who already are committed to the cause and a shaper or a changer to those actuated to consume less.

Another way to conceptualize the goals of persuasion in the context of music is to consider the self-image of persuaders. Stewart et al. (2001, 204–207) note that messages in songs used in social movements can try to boost self-identity, tell of personal conversion experience, arouse feelings of guilt in the listener, portray the awful state of the oppressed, or simply pose rhetorical questions about issues dealt with in the song. Furthermore, for every innocent victim there is a victimizer (ibid). If we combine the aspects self-identity to persuasion goals, we can see that messages aimed at shaping and changing can be tales of personal conversion experiences or tales that arouse feelings of guilt in the listener. Messages aimed at reinforcing can be achieved through boosting self-identity, but also by telling of the awful state of the oppressed. Furthermore, all these various ways can be combined with messages of actuation. The above example of the persuasive message in Franco Un-American is, in the light of this, quite an all-encompassing example of this discussion.

The goals of persuasion can also be seen in terms of substantive goals and relational goals. Substantive goals are actions on behalf of a cause or just a better understanding of the cause, thus convincing the persuadees that the proposed actions is at least worth considering further (Simons et al 2001, 184). Relational goals refer to the impression the persuader wants to leave with the persuadees of who the persuader is as a person and how she/he feels about the persuadees (ibid). If a persuader wants the persuadees to take up an action, a belief, or an attitude her/his goals are substantive, but relational goals can serve as aids in getting the persuadee to accept the proposed claims. Leaving a good impression of the persuader with the persuadees can help the persuader in future persuasion instances. We shall discuss the source characteristics, the effects of source credibility, and the relational communication between persuaders and persuadees in the context of rock music more detailed in chapter 2.

The goals aspect is what separates merely informative messages from persuasive messages. Informative messages only aim at informing (McKerrow et al. 2000, 329). While a question that is worth asking is whether or not there can be messages that are merely informative, we can leave informative messages out of our discussion of persuasion if their goal has not been to persuade. For instance, an informative message could be a message announcing that a meeting of the culture committee of a student union takes place at five o'clock Tuesday and that free coffee and sandwiches are served in the meeting. While some people might be persuaded to show up merely because of free coffee and sandwiches, the message would not count for persuasion without the intent to use the free service as a persuasive incentive. Of course, context factors can turn an informative message into a persuasive one as can the relationship between the communicators. It can thus be hard to know when a message is merely an informative one and when it becomes a persuasive one. In general, for a message to be persuasive, the message source needs to have the intent to use the message as persuasion. However, other participants in the persuasion situation can still view an informative message with no intent to be persuasive on behalf of the message source, as a persuasive message.

Lastly, the goals of persuasion can be looked at from the point of view of the demands of persuasion. Stewart et al. (2001, 212) note that messages in music in the context of movements often demand for general concepts such as freedom, liberty, justice, fair share, equality, civil rights, and dignity rather than specific demands. In addition to not having specific demands, the messages are not presenting specific solutions either (ibid). Messages in music in the context of movements rarely present specific devils – mainly because movements are concerned with larger problems than specific persons or institutions (Stewart et al. 2001, 209–210). The demands are in my opinion linked to the goals of persuasion in the sense that the goals define the demands. If the goal of persuasion was to raise general consciousness among people, then the demands would be more general also. If the goal of persuasion was more specific, so would be the demands.

> A current issue in the United States is the upcoming presidential election in November 2008. Various artists are now demanding people to register as voters and to use their right to vote on Election Day. At least two campaigns related to rock music are running online, Rock The Vote and PunkVoter.com. The goal of persuasion in these two campaigns is to get young people to vote in the U.S.

presidential elections which as such is a specific goal. Hence, the demands to register as a voter and then actually voting are also specific. For instance, Against Me!, a rock band from Florida is demanding people to register as a voter through Rock The Vote's website. One of the most prominent rock bands today, Foo Fighters, is demanding people to register as voters through PunkVoter.com.[1]

Roots, persuasive, roots

Persuasion has its roots just as rock music has its roots, and the roots are always present in what people do. For instance, the name of this chapter is a reference to the album and same-titled song 'Sabbath Bloody Sabbath' by metal music's forefathers Black Sabbath, and to the song 'Roots Blood Roots' by the Brazilian metallers Sepultura. The name of Sepultura's song, written more than twenty years after Sabbath Bloody Sabbath, is of course an obvious homage to Black Sabbath. The roots of persuasion lie, however, in ancient Greece.

When one studies persuasion, one cannot do it without considering Aristotle's Rhetoric. Aristotle's premises become interesting in a study such as this where the focus is on the messages, but also in general, many of the premises still relevant in persuasion research share the basic ideas presented in the Rhetoric. Aristotle (1.2.1356a) divides persuasion into aspects of speaker's skills and aspects outside of the speaker's skills. What Aristotle means with aspects outside of speaker's skills, are forms of proof such as statistical evidence or testimonials of others. In other words, they are tools we can use but are not part of our skills repertoire. What, on the other hand, are part of our skills repertoire in persuasion, are according to Aristotle (1.2.1356a) the uses of the speaker's nature (ethos), the knowledge of and appealing to the listener's state of mind (pathos), and the aspects of the message itself (logos). Furthermore, the speaker must control proofs, probabilities, and sings or cues in order to be able to form her/his arguments (Aristotle 1.3.1359a).

Ethos considers the aspect that one part of being persuasive is accomplished through the persuader's character. In contemporary persuasion research ethos is often viewed in

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[1] Against Me! – http://www.againstme.net; Foo Fighters – http://www.foofighters.com; Rock The Vote – http://www.rockthevote.com; PunkVoter – http://www.punkvoter.com. All web addresses visited August 25th 2008.

terms of source credibility and source characteristics, which we shall turn to in chapter 2. Aristotle (1.2.1356a) also claims that source credibility must come through the persuasion itself, not through the persuadees' preconceptions of the persuader. The speech makes the speaker credible and the persuadees are persuaded because of the speakers nature and credibility thereof (ibid). Focusing solely on the message and its merits, is what Miller et al. (1977, cited in Reardon 1981, 92) have criticized persuasion research for: when the focus is too much on the source and message qualities, the persuadees are not taken into account sufficiently nor are the context and the situational factors. However, Aristotle notes that he considers ethos as part of the speaker's skills repertoire, the persuadees' conceptions and preconceptions cannot be part of persuader skills, only the affecting of them.

Aristotle takes the persuadees into account also with his second aspect of the speaker skills, pathos. When we appeal to the listener's emotions and states of mind, we are using pathos (Aristotle 1.2.1356a). In order for us to use pathos successfully in persuasion, we must know what different emotional states there are and how they come to be (ibid) because things appear differently to people depending on their state of mind (Aristotle 2.1–2.17). Although Aristotle talks about states of mind and specific moods, such as being friendly, angry, or feeling guilt, we can draw a connection from people's states of mind to taking the persuadees into account on a more general level. If one knows that one's persuadees are, for instance, frustrated, one could use messages of actuation to show people that things which are causing the frustration will not change by themselves. Instead, people could direct their frustration to active participation in changing things. The third aspect of speaker skills in persuasion that Aristotle mentions is logos. Logos concerns the actual message and the proof of what is real or appears to be real in a given situation; to use logos, we are persuading through the message contents (Aristotle 1.2.1356a).

We can see that Aristotle takes a comprehensive view on persuasion and on the effective use of rhetoric although his focus was on the speaker, the orator. Aristotle's work has served as the basis for contemporary persuasion research as his premises as such are not out-dated but rather supplemented and taken to the next level, as we shall see at the end of this section.

Furthermore, Aristotle (1.3.1358b) states that there are three forms of rhetoric: political – used for suggesting and warning; forensic – used for accusing and defending; and epideictic or ceremonial – used for praising and blaming. The contexts Aristotle placed the forms of rhetoric in were very concentrated in his time. Political speeches in the polis of Athens were reserved for uses in the ruling body of citizens (see Aristotle 1.3– 1.4). Forensic speeches were used in court cases and epideictic speeches were used in public occasions or in formal occasions (see Aristotle 1.9–1.10). Nowadays persuasive messages can be studied in many forms, and the contexts of uses have spread out from what Aristotle saw the forms of rhetoric being used in. However, even if the contexts are varied today, the uses are still the same.

> In rock music an example of warning in persuasion would be the message in the song (and aptly summarized by the title) 'If You Tolerate This Your Children Will Be Next' by the Welsh rock band Manic Street Preachers. The message is warning about a bleaker future if people go on about their lives as they do today without minding the wrongs in the world. An example of suggestion in persuasion would be the self-explanatory message the Swedish rock band The (International) Noise Conspiracy has in their song 'Let's Make History'. An example of defending in persuasion would be the legendary punk rockers from Northern Ireland, Stiff Little Fingers, and the message in their song 'Wasted Life'. The message is defending conscientious objection by noting that "Killing isn't my idea of fun" (lyrics written by Jake Burns, Ali McMordie, Henry Cluney, Brian Faloon).

Another important character in the formation of rhetoric and persuasion research would be the Roman statesman and philosopher Cicero. Cicero (1, 17), like Aristotle, also included the three aspects of ethos, pathos and logos in his rhetoric: he mentioned that a speaker must have a large understanding and knowledge of things, the speaker must know the different characteristics and emotional states of various audiences and speaker her/himself must be skilled in speaking. In practice one must prove that one's claims are true, persuade the listeners to accept one's claims, and arouse the emotional state needed each time (Cicero 2, 115). He, however, paralleled rhetoric with eloquence, the aesthetics of speech, and even criticized Greek philosophers for leaving eloquence outside their discussion of the most important parts of rhetoric (Cicero 1, 5–23).

Cicero (3, 19; 55), emphasized that one cannot separate eloquence from rhetoric: he sees the form and the content of the speech as inseparable since eloquence itself includes knowledge and the ability to create various states of mind in the listener. This aspect of eloquence is why Cicero is important in discussing persuasion in the context

of rock music. Cicero (1, 70) mentions furthermore that poetry comes close to rhetoric as they both share the desire for aesthetic expression. As music is art, it also has a desire for aesthetic or artistic expression and the verbal messages within that artistic context can have the same desire for eloquence. Artists, in a way, have in their use a tool which is already innately close to rhetoric. For Cicero rhetoric and eloquence were, furthermore, skills that one could learn, not abilities one had to posses innately (Cicero 1, 5) and the knowledge of these skills would, in fact, benefit even the naturally talented speakers (Cicero 1, 145).

This closer look into Aristotle and Cicero can be justified by the focus on the artists' persuasive messages in this study. This kind of point of view is essentially a classic rhetorical view on persuasion. However as we have seen, neither Aristotle nor this present study limits the persuadees and the context outside the discussion.

If we take quick leap from ancient Greece to the time of the Second World War in the United States, we can see how the more contemporary research on persuasion and influence on individuals started to take shape through social scientific methods. Next to the rhetorical origins, the new social scientific approaches opened more doors to studying persuasion (O'Keefe 2003, 31). Reardon (1981, 63–90) gives an account on how early theories on attitude and belief change through the concept of consistency laid the basis for persuasion research. *Learning theories* focus on how through incentives we learn to adjust our behavior, attitudes, or beliefs. Hovland et al. studied how attitude change depends on "rehearsing" mental and verbal responses during the World War II, and Fishbein, and Fishbein and Ajzen focused on the relationship of belief and attitude in the 1960s and 1970s. (Reardon 1981, 63–66; see also Gass & Seiter 2003b, 46–50, 53–54 for a similar review.) *Functional paradigm* proposes that people hold certain attitudes because they bring along favorable or valued consequences; a well-known functional theory was developed by Katz in the 1960s (Reardon 1981, 66–68). *Cognitive consistency* refers to cognitive organization of an individual and to the process of new disrupting information emerging: ways to assimilate or accommodate the new information must be found in order for the cognitive consistency to endure. Such aspects have been studied for instance by Heider in the 1940s. (Reardon 1891, 68–71.) Osgood and Tannenbaum's *congruity principle* from 1955 and Rokeach and Rothman's *belief congruence theory* from 1965 are also ways of looking at consistency

as they focus on the positive and negative attitudes towards elements and to what happens when attitudes towards associated elements are incongruent (Reardon 1981, 71–73). (See also Gass & Seiter 2003b, 50–53 for a similar review.)

In general, early research on persuasion was typically concerned with public or one-to-many communication instances aimed at belief, attitude, or behavior change (Gass & Seiter 2003a, 13). The more recent research on persuasion is, then, more concerned with interpersonal and face-to-face influence and persuasion (Gass & Seiter 2003a, 16). For instance, Rosenthal (1972), Simons (1976) and Miller et al. (1977) evoked interest in interpersonal persuasion which would also take into account the situational and contextual factors (Reardon 1981, 91–92). Typically persuasion research has been aimed at finding new theories and concepts which would be useful across a variety of settings (O'Keefe 2003, 34). The motives for persuasion research have been, however, historically bound, as Seiter & Gass (2003, 2–3) show: during the World War II a large amount of persuasion research focused on mass persuasion and propaganda, while during the Cold War many researchers focused on social protests and resistance to persuasion.

Of the more recent theories of persuasion, when the focus of research shifted away from the one-to-many persuasion, Gass & Seiter (2003b, 56–59) give an account on *expectancy violation theories* and *dual-process theories* of persuasion. A number of theories have focused on what happens when persuasion violates expectancies of the persuadees. They suggest that if violation occurs, the receiver shifts attention from the message to the source. The consequent success of persuasion then depends on how the persuadee views the persuader who has violated the expectations. (Gass & Seiter 2003b, 56.) The dual-process theories of persuasion, such as Petty and Cacioppo's *Elaboration Likelihood Model* and Chaiken and Eagly's *Heuristic-Systematic Model*, suggest that persuasion travels via two different routes: one more cognitive and the other more automatic (Gass & Seiter 2003b, 57–59). We shall take a closer look into the Elaboration Likelihood Model in chapter 2.

During the last 50 years, research on persuasion has been conducted on various different fields (e.g. communication, psychology, business, sociology) and on various different settings (e.g. campaigning on behalf of a variety of issues, advertising, marketing)

(O'Keefe 2003, 31). Although not mentioned specifically by O'Keefe, research on political communication has also often been research on persuasion (see e.g. Kaid 2004). Focusing on a modern context of rock music but looking at an ancient form of communication, political persuasion, this present study is a continuation of the age-old academic tradition of persuasion research.

Manufacturing dissent

Political communication can be understood as any discussion about societal matters and about who has control over societal issues (Denton, Jr. & Woodward 1990, 14; McNair 2003, 3). What makes language and thus communication political, is its content and purpose (Denton, Jr. & Woodward 1990, 28; McNair 2003, 4). A political issue is, in the broadest sense, any issue that creates conflicts between people affiliated with each other in some way (Reardon 1991, 204). Thus political issues can be anything from public transportation to wars, from abortion to employment issues, and from environmental issues to social security, to name but a few. Political communication is, then, communication about and of these issues.

A more traditional way to see political communication has been that political communication incorporates the communication of politicians and other political actors, and the communication addressed *to* these actors or *about* them and their activities [original emphases] (McNair 2003, 4). However, Nimmo and Swanson (1990) have maintained earlier on that political communication should not be understood as something limited to party politics or voter persuasion anymore, but what is defined as political communication can be regarded as a wide range of types of messages. Political actors have been seen as those individuals who want to influence the decision-making process through organizational and institutional means (McNair 2003, 5). With political actors the definition need not be so narrow either. Similarly with pressure groups such as Greenpeace whose actions are designed to make people think, and whom McNair would count as political actors, many public figures can do just the same (Lilleker 2006, 13–14).

Trying to define political communication too precisely might in fact be somewhat useless. Of course McNair (2003, 3) also notes that there is no all-encompassing definition of political communication because both terms are already such broad concepts. Hence, in the broadest sense I would be inclined to see political communication as any public discussion over any political and societal issue, or over any issue that can become political or societal. The communication does not have to be about politicians or their actions, nor does the communication have to be directed to politicians and political actors. An artist engaged in political communication might not want to influence the decision-making process per se, but instead the general public who then, in turn, decides who are taking part in the decision-making process.

In rock music there are, nonetheless, issues which are more common topics of political communication than others, even if we would not define political communication on issue basis. And not all issues that could be seen as political get represented. Wars, societal issues, environmental issues, freedoms of individuals, groups and peoples, and equality are for instance common causes for political persuasion in rock music. Having said that, there are, however, bands such as Metsäliitto Mäntän Konttori (freely translated from Finnish as Forest Union Mänttä's Office) who are being persuasive only about things happening in and concerning their hometown of Mänttä, a small industrial town in Central Finland. The issues dealt with in their persuasion are concentrated and not necessarily in accordance with the more general themes of persuasion in rock music. However, similar small towns with similar problems are abundant in Finland and in the world in general.

The intent to use political communication to influence individuals to change somehow makes that type of communication persuasive, an activity for which political persuasion is used as a term in this study. Lilleker (2006, 14) notes further that when people receive political messages they can select what to believe and accept, and what to disbelieve, reject and ignore. This way of seeing political communication messages contains the same notion of non-coercive and non-manipulative messages as does the definition for persuasive messages in general.

Political communication can be mediated through various channels and popular culture is a medium as the next medium. Popular culture has the power to shape people's

political views just as well as other media (Lilleker 2006, 9), and rock artists function through the form of popular culture. Lull (1992, 5) argues that popular music, perhaps more than any other form of culture, is capable of providing a widespread, unified, and strong voice of protest. Stewart et al. (2001, 199–201) give a good account on how music has been perceived as dangerous weapon of persuasion and how it has been used in fighting for great societal causes. As early on as in the fourth century B.C.E., Plato warned in his book The Republic about the danger music proposed to the state (ibid). Things have not changed much since the days of Plato if we consider how, according to Shuker (1994, 251), more or less all forms of popular music and rock music have been disapproved of by the cultural hegemons on various occasions in history (see also Street 1986, 13–28 for censorship of rock and pop music). From the popularization of rock music through punk and metal to this day, rock has been controversial. Already the somewhat fearful response that rock music has met, in a way, proves that rock possess a potential ground for political persuasion.

A good example of the fearful response to rock music would be how in the United States in the 1980s television evangelists, the televangelists, equated rock with pornography and the PMRC (Parent's Music Resource Center) attacked rock by terming it "secondary child abuse" (Shuker 1994, 263–264). The PMRC started a campaign to impose a rating system on records that would be similar to the system used in the cinema industry. Their measures were aimed mostly at the music industry and proved to be successful as the Record Industry Association of America voluntarily introduced a label "Parents Advisory – Explicit Lyrics" to be printed on album covers if the lyrics were thought to be somewhat rude or otherwise unsuitable. The high point of the PMRC's campaign was a U.S. Senate Commerce Committee hearing on pornography in rock music. The PMRC used as examples songs by hardcore band Dead Kennedys, by rock/jazz/experimental musician Frank Zappa, and by folk singer John Denver. Eventually no legislation came out of the hearing. (Shuker 1994, 264–265; see also Street 1997, 177 for more about the PMRC.)

It is interesting how the Christian televangelists and the PMRC acting as the cultural hegemons were able to persuade the recording industry so effectively that even today one finds 'Parental Advisory' labels on album covers. An interesting aspect about the Senate hearing is, furthermore, that the lyrics by Dead Kennedys used as an example in

the hearing were from a song 'Moral Majority' written in response to the televangelist Jerry Falwell's attack on rock music (Shuker 1994, 265). Hence, it was deemed acceptable for Jerry Falwell and other cultural hegemons to speak against rock music and thus influence the popular opinion but it was not deemed acceptable for rock artists to speak against the cultural hegemons. A way to explain this attitude towards rock music is to view it through Gramsci's (1971) *crisis of hegemony* (cited in Shuker 1994, 273; see also Strinati 1995, 165–176 for a discussion on Gramsci's concept of hegemony). The conservative powers, acting as the cultural hegemony, were afraid of losing their position of authority over to the new cultural group of youths. As Shuker (1994, 273) also concludes: this demonstrates rock music's cultural power in asserting and supporting political views and causes.

Artists' power to engage in political persuasion and, hence, in political communication can be derived from Lull's (1992) division of ways in which people participate in music. Among the many ways for participation are physical (e.g. singing along, dancing…), emotional (e.g. feeling the music, reminiscing…), and/or cognitive (e.g. processing information, learning, stimulating thought…) (Lull 1992, 19). The notion of cognitive participation is effectively the one why artists can be politically persuasive, and it is that same notion which is meaningful for this study. I would add to Lull's notion of cognitive participation that in the wider contextual understanding of music, participation is not limited to participating in music per se, but includes participating in everything the artists do.

Goldfarb (2005, 160–161) talks about the *politics of small things* as self-organized communities of people who create independent spaces and alternative social institutions for themselves to counter political and cultural hegemons. The politics of small things, as Goldfarb (2005) talks about it, originated in Eastern Europe during The Cold War as resistance to the communist regimes but has also its modern forms of creating independent communities with the help of the Internet, for instance. The politics of small things is an interesting notion that could be applied to music as well. Artists can create various independent communities of their fans or communicate of such communities to their fans. I would argue that through cognitive participation in music, people can become invested in self-organized and alternative political spaces just as

people become invested, for instance, in anti-war campaigns through Internet-mediated channels (see Goldfarb 2005, 162–164).

In addition to the ability for artists to use their work for cognitive participation, they can also engage in political persuasion because in an era when it is argued that few pursue political information, the blending of politics and popular culture becomes an important source of political knowledge (Street 2001, cited in Lilleker 2006, 9). Pasek, Kenski, Romer and Jamieson (2006, 124–126, 130) have also found that using the media, *including* entertainment media, plays a part in increasing political awareness and personal involvement in societal issues among the youth [my emphasis]. Lilleker (2006, 16) continues that often the power of artists to influence public opinion and to counter the government is a significant one because when politicians are mistrusted the power of celebrity is increased. So it is not only that people do not pursue political information actively, people do not trust the politicians in addition. Often also the communication from the elected is designed to retain support among the electorate, not to actually communicate about what is being done. This kind of communication is called 'manufacturing consent', originally coined by Walter Lippman in 1922, and developed further by Herman and Chomsky in 1988 (Lilleker 2006, 2, 106–110).

The role that artists thus play in the equation could be called 'manufacturing dissent'. If political communication on behalf of the politicians is not directed towards politically important issues, or if the politicians are not telling the electorate what they are in fact doing, the electorate has a reason for being disappointed with the elected. The common phrase that 'politicians are only advocating their own causes' makes people passive in their dissent. Artists can however shape and change people's perceptions of important political issues, and they can actuate people to find out about the important issues themselves. In this way, artists are manufacturing dissent, as they are giving the electorate ways to see more thoroughly and also more critically what is wrong in their elected politicians, for instance. But also on a more general level, artists can give people ways to see more thoroughly and clearly what is wrong with the world. (See also Street 1986, 81–83 for how dissent has been communicated in the context or rock music.)

CHAPTER 2:
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERSUADERS AND PERSUADEES IN THE
CONTEXT OF ROCK MUSIC

The rock audience as persuadees

In this chapter we shall focus on the relationship between persuaders and persuadees in the context of rock music. The first section deals with the audience on a more general level whereas the second section looks at the various in-groups and out-groups people in an artist's audience can belong to. In the third section we shall look at whether persuasion in the context of rock music is interactive or noninteractive, and how that affects persuasion and the relationship between persuaders and persuadees. The fourth section deals with the Elaboration Likelihood Model and the two routes it proposes for persuasion. The routes along with the fifth section of persuader's characteristics help us in seeing how persuaders, persuadees, the messages, and the context of persuasion are all connected.

In persuasion research, the focus has shifted from the one-to-many persuasion to more interpersonal persuasion (see e.g. Gass & Seiter 2003a, 13–16) and many persuasion textbooks today emphasize the knowledge of one's persuadees in becoming a good and successful persuader. The basic information of audience backgrounds such as, for instance, the audience age group, gender, religious and/or political orientation, and occupation, is called audience demographics (Larson 2007, 268–269). Along with audience demographics, other pieces of information about one's audience that are also useful are its needs and shared memories (Larson 2007, 270). While taking the persuadees into account can be seen to be important in succeeding to persuade your listeners, the context of this study indicates a somewhat different approach. The persuadees of artists are, basically unknown and consisting of relatively different types of people with different convictions. A shared liking of an artist, for instance, brings together a special kind of audience (McQuail 1994, 290). These types of arbitrary groups of people can be called fan groups or taste cultures, and their existence is based solely on the content offered (ibid). Thus homogenous audiences are merely the imagination of the message senders (Lilleker 2006, 36–37).

Lewis (1992, 141) has, furthermore, stated that because music is charged with subjective meanings, it cuts through standard indicators of social class, age, and education in creating audiences with shared musical tastes. In other words, audiences of artists cannot be described through standard demographic notions: several studies have shown that media content itself can be sufficient in providing the basis for identification (McQuail 1994, 308). In music business, however, taste cultures based on identification and even demographic notions do exist and the music industry depends on the knowledge of differentiated market in order to sell their products (Lewis 1992, 143; see also Street 1997, 63–65; Continuum 2003, 158–164 for more discussion on popular culture audiences). I would argue that the music industry is in fact responsible for forming taste cultures. Music companies can make it look like one would need to like certain kind of music in order to belong to a specific demographic group of people. The media is often setting stylistic markers for establishing group boundaries (McQuail 1994, 308) and as popular music is a medium, the music industry has a potential medium in their hands through which to set the stylistic markers.

While the music industry does set stylistic markers and while it does create characteriseable audiences, I would argue that persuasion in the context of music is in accordance with the traditional way of seeing persuasion as persuader-centered one-to-many persuasion. However, the persuaders would nonetheless do well with the understanding of the persuadees' effect on persuasion. Thus in the context of rock music audience needs and shared memories or shared knowledge can be seen as more potential tools for addressing messages to an audience. Audience needs can be very general (Larson 2007, 270): Anti-war messages, for instance, reflect the needs of most likely everyone, since in general no one wants war. Anti-oppression messages would have the same effect since, in general, no one actively wants to oppress other people. Shared memories or knowledge are of things that "everyone" has done or been through (ibid). They are generalizations of what people usually go through in their lives. For instance, most people are aware that there have been two World Wars and that after the second one there was the Cold War, as well as most people are aware that the WWII ended when the United States dropped two atomic bombs in Japan. Most people would also be aware of the global warming and of the climate change in the contemporary world. Using, for instance, these kinds of shared memories as points of reference or in

support of the arguments, artists could appeal to the shared memories and knowledge of the audience.

> An example of the use of audience needs or shared memories and knowledge in persuasion in the context rock music is, for instance, the message in the lyrics in a song entitled 'K.R.B.I.K.Y.' by a Finnish hardcore band Armageddon Clock. The message repeats over and over again only one line, the initials of which also constitute the name of the song: "Kill racism before it kills you" (lyrics written by Überskeletor Doomsday, XraulX, Propaganda Mike, Fat Jesus). The message is referring to shared memories and audience needs as probably everyone would agree that racism should be rooted out, that racism is not good. The listeners already posses the proof, and this message is merely calling out to that proof. Thus further argumentation is not needed.

The various in-groups and out-groups among an artist's persuadees

Related to the kinds of knowledge artists can have of their audience and their persuadees, are the various in-groups and out-groups to which the persuadees belong. A fan of an artist belongs to an in-group of fans, but when artists are persuading about a certain cause that same fan might, however, belong to an out-group of the cause at hand. People who already have convictions over a certain cause belong to an in-group of the cause, but might not be fans or listeners, thus belonging to an out-group in that sense. Among the persuadees can of course be those who belong to the in-groups in both senses, as well as those who belong to the out-groups in both senses.

Although it can be difficult for artists to know much about their audience, they can however know something about those persuadees who belong to the in-group of fans and listeners. If people listen to an artist's music, they are likely to share at least some world views with the artist because they have not rejected the artist and her/his messages and decided not to listen to the artist. They might share similar taste in style but at least they share a similar taste in music. It is important for the persuader to know about the persuadees' world views: how they construct their reality, what kind of schemata or mental patterns they use to guide their interpretations, what sorts of behavioral rules people have, and also what sort of illusion people might have of themselves as social beings (Reardon 1991, 13–26). Knowledge about one's persuadees can help one in message production but it can also help the persuader in succeeding in the persuasion if the persuadees feel similarity with the persuader in the way they

perceive the world. This knowing about one's persuadees is more or less the same notion as Aristotle's pathos.

In a way related to persuadees' world views is the concept of message discrepancy. Message discrepancy refers to the extent to which the position held by the persuader differs from that of the persuadee (Stiff & Mongeau 2003, 170). However, as noted, people among the group of persuadees have often varying viewpoints on the same issues. Even if people hold similar general views about issues in question, they differ in more precise statements. (Stiff & Mongeau 2003, 171.) Thus, persuaders should not assume that their audience's views are homogenous (ibid). Persuasive messages should be built somehow so as to meet the positions held by the varying members of the audience, otherwise the messages will most likely backfire with those people with whom the message discrepancy is too big. After a discussion on how message discrepancy should be taken into account, Stiff and Mongeau (2003, 181) confine themselves to saying that the most important things a persuader must take into account from the perspective of the message discrepancy are that a) the persuasive messages have to be realistic, and b) the persuaders should be careful if the message topic is linked with persuadees' values. Other than that, it can be hard to say whether it is better to construct messages that are very efficient with some people, or messages that attempt at being at least somewhat efficient with everyone.

Message discrepancy is paralleled with the various in-groups and out-groups persuadees belong to. It might be difficult to tell whether one should construct messages addressed towards the people in the in-group of fans, people in the in-group of a cause, or people in the out-group of a cause who might or might not be fans or listeners. Street (1986, 157–162) notes that rock songs that have a greater emotional impact but are lyrically sparse, or put another way, less explicit in their persuasive attempts, are more effective as rock songs. Street, however, seems to focus on the consequent success of the *songs* and perhaps not so much on actual persuasive *messages* in the songs. He contends that persuasive songs speak only to the already converted listener, whereas songs with more emotional impact and less explicit message actively involve the politically uninvolved audience (ibid). Street's notion does not, however, take into consideration the fact that persuasive messages can have multiple goals. Knowing that one has an in-group of fans

and listeners creates a sense of community or unity among the artist and the listeners which can serve as supporting weight to the artists' persuasive messages.

When the cause of persuasion is something artists have dealt with earlier, it is easier to persuade through messages of reinforcement or actuation. If the cause is a newer one, it might be better to persuade through messages of shaping or changing. Goldfarb (2005, 177) notes also that when one is speaking to the already persuaded, people can go further in their protests. It is thus good for the artists to have the various goals of persuasion present in their work. Those in the out-group of a cause of persuasion should at first be joined in with the in-group of the cause, and those already in the in-group need different kind of persuasion in order for the cause to make some sort of a change on a bigger societal scale.

> Good example of the way the various in-groups and out-groups can be involved can be found in the persuasive messages on The (International) Noise Conspiracy's album 'A New Morning, Changing Weather'. The rhetoric on many of the messages on the album's songs includes addressing the listener as the persuader's *sister*, or *brother*, or a *comrade*. The messages are aimed at those in the in-group of fans and listeners but also to those in the in-group of the causes of persuasion. These messages are of hope that people who recognize problems can make a difference. They are thus messages of actuation and reinforcement. The album also features messages that are aimed at those who are in the out-group of the causes of persuasion, be they in the in-group of fans and listeners or not. These messages concern, for instance, the problems of the capitalist consumer society, or the oppressiveness of cultural values, and are aimed at changing or shaping. Becoming persuaded by these messages people can also relate to the other messages on the album.

Because people belong to the different in-groups and out-groups they are likely to interpret artists' persuasive messages differently. People in the in-group of fans and listeners might interpret the persuasive messages in a different way than what was originally intended by an artist (Shuker 1994, 140); this becomes even more apparent if these people are in the out-group of the cause of persuasion. In a way this is natural, as human communication often has multiple motivations; it uses multiple channels and is rarely explicit (Simons et al. 2001, 48). The in-group of listeners might even adopt a message as their own and a song as their anthem, while the artist who wrote the message and the song would not represent merely that one group (for an example of The Who's 'My Generation' and its image as a "mod anthem" see Shuker 1994, 241). Frith (1988, cited in Shuker 1994, 143) even goes so far as to claim that the meaning of music can be deducted from the listeners' characteristics and that the study of meaning of the

artist's messages is thus somewhat in vain. In persuasion, often the persuader and the persuadee are cocreating the meaning of the message (Simons et al. 2001, 48), but in the case where the in-group interprets messages differently because they feel that artists are only communicating to them and representing only them, the situation is somewhat different. Thus, artists might do better by focusing on the persuasive cause than on the benefit they would gain by focusing on the in-group of fans and listeners.

Persuasive messages are, however, different from those that are not trying to be persuasive. For instance, My Generation probably does not have a persuasive message. The message in the song is not intended to persuade the listeners to identify with the mod culture, but it can of course be interpreted in that sense if people want to because there is no intent to persuade otherwise either. If one looks at the examples of the persuasive messages given in this study, they are of course open for interpretation, but with the usage of forms of proof they are also clearly persuasive messages to be interpreted according to the writer's intentions. Street (1986, 6) notes along the lines of Frith and Shuker that artists can only tell the listener what they intended to say but they cannot control how a message is heard or where it is heard. Street's point of view is, however, a more apt one as it includes the notion of being able to communicate the intention of artists to the listeners. With persuasion skills, communicating that intention becomes then clearer and persuaders can direct the listener's interpretation towards the intended one. The listener is, nonetheless, left with the ability to decide whether or not to accept that intended claim.

Shuker (1994, 163; 138–140) points out, further on, that in popular music it is often the chorus that defines how listeners interpret the messages in songs. This means that if the message in the chorus is somehow one-sided in its point of view, it will form the core for the listeners' interpretation, even though in the verses, for instance, the message would imply a different interpretation. Shuker (1994, 163) gives Bruce Springsteen's 'Born In The U.S.A.' as an example: the song has an anti-war message, and yet the song is often wrongly thought of carrying a message of being a proud American because of the chorus repeating the phrases "Born in the U.S.A. / I was born in the U.S.A." (lyrics written by Bruce Springsteen). That said, I would argue that it is not always a clear-cut case that a one-sided message in the chorus would indeed form the basis for the listeners' interpretation. For instance, the message in The Sex Pistols' 'God Save The

Queen' has never been misinterpreted as a message of being proud of the British cultural heritage and the Monarchy, even though the chorus in fact goes: "God save the queen / we mean it man / we love our queen / God saves" (lyrics written by Steve Jones, Glen Matlock, Paul Cook, Johnny Rotten).

In my opinion, additional features in defining the differing interpretations between Born In The U.S.A. and God Save The Queen are due to the image of Bruce Springsteen and The Sex Pistols as artists, and also to the visual images connected to the songs in the record covers. When we communicate we do not just communicate the substance of our message but also something about ourselves and the relationship to the audience (Simons et al. 2001, 49). The substance of the message is called the content level of communication and the relationship to the audience the relational level of communication (ibid). Bruce Springsteen was known as an artist singing about the all-American life in a small and poor town and the dreams of something better. That image is part of the relational level he communicated with his songs even if it was not part of his relational goals of persuasion. Furthermore, the cover for the single and the album Born In The U.S.A. features Springsteen standing in front of the flag of the United States. The Sex Pistols, however, were controversial and provocative punk rockers who did not romanticize the British way of life but rebelled against it. That image was part of their relational level of communication and also probably part of their relational goals of persuasion. Furthermore, the cover for the single God Save The Queen features a smutty picture of Queen Elizabeth II with The Sex Pistols' logo on top of her mouth and the name of the song covering her eyes.

I would argue that because of the image Bruce Springsteen had, the in-group of his fans and listeners might have overlooked the persuasive message in the song, the content level of his persuasion. Also those in the out-group of fans and listeners and in the out-group of the issue dealt with in the message (the anti-war message) took Born In The U.S.A. as a message of being a proud American. The relationship Bruce Springsteen had with the audience was not related to being politically outspoken but more related to being "a fellow American", so to say. Hence, for many the wrongly interpreted relational goal of persuasion might have formed the core for interpretation. With The Sex Pistols, however, regardless of whether people belonged to the various in-groups or out-groups, it was clear that the message in the song was not about being a proud

Briton. The Sex Pistols' relationship with the audience was controversial: those who supported The Sex Pistols or their message were co-rebels and those who opposed The Sex Pistols could not have interpreted their message as something they as an opposition would favor themselves.

If we compare this discussion to Aristotle's premises, we could argue that logos becomes central in trying to persuade people in the various in-groups and out-groups to which an artist's persuadees can belong to. The context of rock music, as we have seen, might make people misinterpret the persuader's ethos which is why focusing on the content of the message and the arguments could direct the persuadees towards the interpretation the persuader has intended.

On the aspects of interactiveness and noninteractiveness of persuasion

The form of the context of persuasion in rock music is an interesting one as it has aspects of noninteractive and interactive persuasion context. In an interactive context the persuader can offer rewards or the withholding of them for the persuadee, but in a noninteractive context the persuader can only help the persuadee to imagine a better future if the proposed action is taken or a bleaker future if the action is ignored (Simons et al. 2001, 38). In an interactive context the persuader can also shape the messages conveyed when the situation is still in action. In rock music persuasive messages are often produced and sent out in the form of lyrics, slogans, or essays. Hence, it offers a somewhat different starting point for persuasion. This noninteractiveness would then be another reason for looking at persuasion in rock music through persuasive messages in addition to the factors the varied and unknown audience brings along. We shall now look at some aspects of interaction and the lack thereof in persuasion and how that affects persuasion in the context of rock music.

One way to conceptualize the noninteractive persuasion is context predominance (Reardon 1981, 100–101). In mass media communication, which is often noninteractive, the persuadee's self-concept rules are subordinated by the demands of the context rules; persuasion is more focused on the effectiveness and appropriateness of people's behavior on a general level than on the individual persuadees (ibid). Context

predominance, as explained by Reardon, bears the same notion of Miller's (1986, 135) cultural and sociological information as persuasive claims. If we think of the persuasion artists are engaged in, their context predominance comes through subscribing to the norms of rock music and to the norms of popular culture. In a way, the appropriateness and effectiveness of their actions are seen within that context. If some people feel that rock music and politics do not go together, political persuasion in the context of rock music would be inappropriate for them. On the other hand, playing music and shows, doing interviews, and selling merchandise are part of culturally appropriate behavior in the context of rock music. Adding political message to that appropriate behavior does not change things in my opinion. Furthermore, rock music has always been controversial. From this point of view, expressing political dissent in persuasive messages in the context of rock music would be very much appropriate as well.

Newman and Perloff (2004, 27–28) state that in political marketing process, a context which is also largely noninteractive as in containing messages produced and then sent as advertisements or speeches, when the candidates are trying to win the public's favor, the concepts that have an effect are expertise and trustworthiness. Personality traits and nonverbal communication can also be used to serve as aids in persuading the audience to one's side (ibid). In other words, these are factors that politicians use when faced with the problem of noninteractive persuasion. I would argue that these factors are connected to the context. In politics people might want politicians that are trustworthy and who advocate people's interests, but in rock music the context might define some other factors that make persuasion effective even if it is noninteractive. In the context of rock music, focusing on the message might, for instance, be more effective than personality traits, as we saw in the previous example of The Sex Pistols and Bruce Springsteen. We shall look at the persuader's characteristics in the last section of this chapter in more detail.

However, persuasion need not be either interactive or noninteractive, but it can have aspects of both. One way to see this is to look at the relationship between an artist and a listener through the terms of para-social relationship. Already in 1956 Horton and Wohl (1986, 186) described the relationships between TV-talk show hosts and the audience as para-social, meaning that the performer is communicating to audience as if the communication was not mediated. This might lead to a bond over time through which

the viewer, a devotee, a fan, becomes to "know" the performer, and "understand" the performer's character and values (Horton & Wohl 1986, 187). Lull (1992, 22) notes that in music the para-social relationship between the artist and a fan is even stronger than the relationship with other media figures because music has an ability to stimulate such strong emotional feelings.

The para-sociability can make a member of an artist's audience feel as if the persuasion instances would be interactive and that the artist was communicating directly to that one member of the audience. Furthermore, the feeling of "knowing" the artist might lead the audience members to accept the artist's claims more easily. From this perspective, artists would not need to persuade through context predominant ways in order to be effective persuaders, as the audience members are expecting the artists to communicate directly to them individually. Street (1986, 186) maintains also that music produces cultures that people can identify with. When listeners feel that they belong to a community along with various artists, it can also strengthen the para-social bond, as people within one culture often perceive themselves similar to other members of the culture and the community.

However, another crucial factor for the bond to emerge between the performer and the audience member in televised settings, is the reliability that the performer will appear on screen at the same time and remain an unchanged part of television show (Horton & Wohl 1986, 187–188). This part obviously does not apply easily in the context of music, as artists release records randomly, and although they might tour a lot, artists often play one city once every two, three, or ten years. Furthermore, usually artists are covered in the media globally only when they have released a new record or locally when their tour hits a specific location. This notion has not been taken up in discussions of para-social relationships in music either. However, artists' websites are online constantly and audience members can pick artists' albums from their record shelves whenever they want. This makes artists on the other hand an unchanged part of the audience members' world. Horton and Wohl (1986, 188) note, nonetheless, that because the bond of intimacy between the performer and the audience is one-sided – that the context is in fact noninteractive – the bond can actually only be suggested; it is not real.

Contemporary technologies have also altered the notion of interaction. Artists can have more and more direct contact with their audience and persuadees through technology-mediated feedback channels. For instance, if an artist keeps a blog about political issues and her/his persuadees comment on the topics, the persuasion would be very interactive. The feedback channels could provide artists with a way of seeing how people have responded to their persuasive messages and, if needed, make possible modifications to the persuasion strategy. Then again, when an artist is persuading more through her/his art, for instance messages in T-shirts or lyrics, that persuasion would be more noninteractive. The possibility for feedback is still present, but in such cases the feedback comes only after the persuasion, or between separate persuasion instances, and not while being engaged in persuasion. In addition, artists have interaction with their audience not related to their persuasion instances, but interaction of a more general type (i.e. fan-artists-interaction or friend-friend-interaction). Hence, persuasion in rock music is both interactive and noninteractive and can be simply more of one than the other on different occasions.

Routes for persuasion

As we have seen, persuasion is a process that includes both, the persuaders and the persuadees regardless of whether persuasion is interactive or noninteractive. To remark the various things that affect the persuasion situation, Petty and Cacioppo developed the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) in 1981; they note that persuasion is not about a single variable having a simple effect, but that any given variable can have multiple effects depending on the thoughts of the persuadees (Petty, Rucker, Bizer & Cacioppo 2003, 66–67). The idea behind the ELM has an important aspect that persuaders should consider or acknowledge as it shows how the different positions held by the persuadees can affect the persuasion. (For a review of the ELM see also e.g. O'Keefe 1990, 95–116.)

The ELM posits that there are two routes for persuasion, central and peripheral. With central route the persuadees engage in active processing of the persuasive messages, their motivation and ability to scrutinize the message characteristics, message context, the source, and themselves are high. With peripheral route, however, the persuadees'

motivation towards and/or involvement in the issue are low – or their ability to process messages is hindered – and the persuadees thus engage in a more mindless processing of the persuasive messages. (Petty et al. 2003, 67.) However, the amount of mental processing, the amount elaboration that people use in assessing persuasive messages, varies along a continuum and is not thus a dichotomy of either maximum elaboration of central route or zero elaboration of peripheral route. Furthermore, the distinction between high and low elaboration should not be seen as a distinction between a good way to process persuasive messages and a bad way to do it. (Petty et al. 2003, 70–71.)

Petty, Haugtvedt and Smith (1995) note also that the central route will lead to a more lasting state of being persuaded because of the mindfulness of the persuasion procession (cited in Petty et al. 2003). Simons et al. (2001, 36) state that central route is the more likely way to influence people, even if the arguments in both ways were equally strong. Newman and Perloff (2004, 33), while discussing voter persuasion, note however that if a voter perceives a message to have low personal relevance, peripheral cues such as branded party labels, celebrity endorsements and associations, will be effective. This is because messages that travel the peripheral route work in different way than messages taking the central route. If a person does not care about the causes of persuasion and is not thus willing to engage in the more mindful message procession, the peripheral cues can still work their way through to persuade that person. In the context of music, messages in the promotional material can thus be seen to have the same effect on the part of the audience which might at first overlook other persuasive messages in lyrics for instance. This might be effective especially with those in the in-group of artists' fans and listeners.

> Seeing an artist wearing a T-shirt with the image of a broken rifle might at first be a shirt with a "cool" symbol, but one might later on find out that *the* broken rifle is the international symbol for war resisters. At that point one is already persuaded to think favorably of whatever the symbol represents. Another example could be a person in the in-group of an artist's fans who sees that artist associated with, for instance, some NGO (non-governmental organization) or some NPO (non-profit organization). For instance, on the website of the British industrial metallers Pitchshifter one finds Greenpeace's logo on the main page. Rise Against, a punk rock band from Chicago, has a space reserved for banners of various politically persuasive organizations on their website. They have had banners with logos and persuasive messages of, for instance, Human Rights Watch and Charitywater.org. [2] This might lead the fan to form a positive image

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[2] Pitchshifter – http://www.pitchshifter.com/v4/home.html; Rise Against – http://www.riseagainst.com/default.aspx. Web addresses visited August 25th 2008.

such organizations trying in different ways to make the world a better place. Thus the fan might become persuaded to favor the causes advocated by the these organizations through peripheral cues of association.

Related to the central and peripheral message routes is also the level of explicitness of persuasive messages. Simons et al. (2001, 200) note that it is not clear whether it is better to be implicit or explicit in persuasion. To be explicit works when people engage in mindful message procession and the messages travel the central route but it might not work when persuadees are uninterested. The more implicit persuasion might not, however, work with those in the out-groups of an artist's fans. If people do not like an artist or her/his music and if there is no explicit persuasive message to attract people, there is no reason for people to become acquainted with that artist or her/his political messages. However, if we consider the fact that artists appear on magazines, TV-shows, and on the radio, there is a change for the more implicit persuasive messages in artists' clothes or other artifacts to take the peripheral route to successful persuasion even with those who would at first be in the out-group of fans and listeners.

Sometimes communicators are implicit in their persuasion because if people know they are being exposed to persuasive messages they might start thinking of ways of psychological defense (Simons et al. 2001, 52). This is especially the case if the issues at hand are of special importance to people (ibid). Hiding one's intentions to be persuasive is, however, close to opting out the persuadees' ability to choose whether or not to accept the persuasive claims, and thus in fact unethical persuasion. Nonetheless, Street (1997, 36) mentions that to read popular culture as a straight forward text is the same as forgetting the variety of possible interpretations. Dressing one's persuasive messages in eloquent slogans or metaphors is part of the form through which popular culture messages are created. Subscribing to that form while still being persuasive, cannot be judged as unethical persuasion or hidden intentions to persuade. In fact, in countries with authoritarian regimes or cultures where rock is deemed unacceptable, the implicit persuasive messages become even an advantage (Street 2001, 247).

I am legend – The persuader's characteristics

While we might not be able to separate the persuasive message from the persuader or the act of persuasion from its context, there are some aspects of the persuader's characteristics we can consider that affect persuasion. For instance, we might not trust persuaders if we doubt their credibility (Larson 2007, 276) or if we doubt the source and the credibility of their ideas (McKerrow et al. 2000, 331). It helps the persuader if the audience knows that the persuader is trustworthy and has expertise on the topic in question (Benoit & Strathman 2003, 95; Simons et al. 2001, 81; Larson 2007, 276–277). Nonetheless, the characteristics that make the persuader appear more credible are depended on the context and the persuadees. For instance, Bad Religion, a punk rock band from Los Angeles, has been very influential through their politically and socially persuasive messages. Greg Graffin, the lead singer of Bad Religion, is a professor of life sciences in UCLA and has a Ph.D. in zoology. For some a professor, an elite person, as persuader in the context of rock music might be off-putting which would lead to negative outcomes of the persuasion. They might doubt the persuader's street credibility and authenticity as a punk rocker. For some, knowing that Graffin, who was a nerd at school but whose band has been one of the most important in the history of punk rock, and a very popular one, and who has still been able to pursue an academic career, can make his character more persuasive.

Persuaders can also signal certain distance or group similarity between them and their persuadees: distance makes the persuader appear more expert and group similarity more similar in interpersonal terms. Interpersonal similarity results in attraction towards the persuader but being an expert, however, results in credibility of the persuader. (Simons et al. 2001, 80.) Group similarity would thus seem to be effective when artists are persuading those in the in-group of fans and listeners but also when persuading those in the in-group of the persuasive cause. Being an expert might be more effective when persuading those in the out-group of the cause, were they in the in-group of fans and listeners or not. On the other hand, liking the persuader can lead to perceived trustworthiness (O'Keefe 1990, 139) but high credibility might still be more effective in persuasion than liking or group similarity (O'Keefe 1990, 145–149). Nonetheless, as it is difficult for the artists to know where their persuadees stand in the various in-groups

and out-groups, the effects of the persuader's characteristics are variable in terms of the context, the persuadees, and the message in question (see Reardon 1991, 81).

Benoit and Strathman (2003, 101) note further that according to studies, a credible source is more persuasive only when the topic is uninvolving for the persuadees. This is all also in accordance with the ELM: when the processing of a message is more mindless and the persuasion travels the peripheral route, a seemingly credible or a seemingly likable source is trusted more (O'Keefe 1990, 106–107). This is because the uninvolved persuadee does not scrutinize the message content, the persuasion context, oneself as a persuadee, or the persuader. This kind of uninvolved persuadee merely relies on the credible image of the persuader. Reardon (1991, 87) argues that if the persuader is a movie star [an example she uses], anything the star says may seem accurate to a young person admiring the star, because the youngster is so impressed with the star that there is no reason to question the merits of the star's arguments. I do agree that people in admired positions, such as movie stars and rock stars alike, might be persuasive merely by being who they are. Nonetheless, I would argue that people generally posses the ability to critically evaluate what stars are saying.

It can be difficult to realize our roles as different persuadees, we all might be more or less blind followers occasionally and critical listeners at other occasion. I would thus argue that it matters what the star is saying as to whether people become persuaded merely on the basis that the persuader is a star. Hence, this point of view would also imply that artists should view their persuadees as an active audience and focus on the substance of their message, instead of the possible effect of their character. This is also connected to the extremity of the claims. The more extreme one's claims are, the more credible the persuader must be (Simons et al. 2001, 202–203). If the persuader's credibility seems inadequate compared to the extremity of the claims, the persuader must be able to provide credible supporting testimonials (ibid).

As we can see, it can be impossible to separate the persuader from the message, the context, and the persuadees as each one often affects the other in one way or another. Depending on the relationship between the persuader and the persuadee, the different aspects of communication and persuasion situation can be enhanced, either alone or with other aspects, in making one's messages more persuasive.

CHAPTER 3:
THE MESSAGE LEVEL OF PERSUASION

Persuaders – Know your proofs!

In this chapter we shall take a more detailed look into the ways one can construct persuasive messages. In the first section we shall look at forms of proof and evidence and in the second section I shall give examples of forms of proof in the context of rock music. The third section looks at wording the messages, and the fourth different ways to organize the messages. In the last section we shall look at how one can make one's persuasive messages more effective and more convincing.

Whichever way one looks at persuasive messages, the core of the issue always revolves around the question of how persuasive messages are in fact being persuasive. To discuss the question, we need to consider the persuadees, the source, the context, and their relationship as we have done already, and we need to consider the forms of proof or evidence, as we shall do now. There are various different ways of becoming a persuader as people become persuaded in various ways: some people are persuaded when they think they have come up with, whatever it is you are saying, themselves; some people need social proof, they need to know that other people agree with the persuasive claims also (Larson 2007, 268).

In general, for persuasion to be effective the persuader must be able to give the persuadees good reason to believe the persuader (McKerrow et al. 2000, 331). The persuadees do not consider only rational information as "good reason" but their motives, needs, and psychological states also determine what good reason is (ibid). Good reason is provided by the use of forms of proof which can be narratives and anecdotes, testimonials of other persons, visual evidence, comparison and contrast, and statistical evidence (Larson 2007, 274–276). In persuasion, narratives and anecdotes are stories which include the reasons why one should become persuaded. Testimonials of others are one form of social proof, but the use of an "expert witness" would also be using a testimonial of others. Visual evidence can make the persuadees see themselves what the persuader is talking about; messages containing visual evidence often travel

the peripheral route. With comparison persuaders give the persuadees something to compare the persuasive claims with, as it can be difficult to see the claims in a bigger picture. (ibid.) (See also Simons et al. 2001, 167–169 for a discussion on narratives, statistics, and testimonials as evidence in persuasive messages).

Another way to see the forms of proof, is to consider cognitive shorthands. We use cognitive shorthands when receiving messages because it is impossible to actively process and think through every message (Cialdini 1993, 6; Simons et al. 2001, 136). Cialdini (1993) lists seven principles of cognitive shorthands we use when we cannot engage in a more mindful message processing: contrast, reciprocity, consistency, social proof, authority, liking, and scarcity (see also Simons et al. 2001, 136 for a discussion on cognitive shorthands in persuasion). Cognitive shorthands thus share some aspects with low elaboration message procession of the ELM.

Contrast means that if we are presented with two objects out of which the second one is fairly different from the first one, we tend to see it *more* different that it actually is [original emphasis] (Cialdini 1993, 12). Reciprocity obliges us to repay favors, gifts, invitations, and the like (Cialdini 1993, 20). Consistency means that once we make a choice or a commitment, we encounter personals and interpersonal pressure to behave consistently with that commitment (Cialdini 1993, 51; for a review of consistency theories see also Gass & Seiter 2003b, 50–51). Scarcity means that people are more attracted to opportunities when they seem to be less available (Cialdini 1993, 195), and social proof was defined in the beginning of this chapter. Relying on social proof seems especially dangerous if people stop thinking critically and base their motives on the similarity of reaction among a group of people. Hence, when relying on social proof, people should still asses the persuasive claims themselves and not base their actions solely on social proof (Cialdini 1993, 132–133). The need for social proof is, however, in a way natural since people do not act in isolation (Lilleker 2006, 14). Authority and liking are more or less self-explanatory as we tend to believe those we deem to have authority over a certain issue, and as we tend view arguments from those we like more favorably.

Cognitive shorthands work in a similar way as do forms of proof in persuasive messages, the distinction being, however, that forms of proof are more connected to

persuadees' needs in believing a message whereas cognitive shorthands are more connected to the persuadee's mindless processing of a message. Even if forms of proof are work when persuadees engage in mindful message procession and cognitive shorthands when message procession is more mindless, they often function through the same usages. Sometimes we become persuaded through cognitive shorthands while sometimes through the use the forms of proof and active message procession. While the two concepts can be separated theoretically, they are often intertwined and working together. This is also paralleled with the ELM in the sense that persuasive messages can travel both routes, depending on the persuadees and their activeness in the message procession.

However, cognitive shorthands, while necessary and working well for most of the time, can lead to negative outcomes on behalf of the persuadees exactly because of the mindless processing of them (Cialdini 1993, 7–8). Hence, Cialdini (1993) has labeled cognitive shorthands as weapons of influence. It is therefore worth considering whether or not an active use of cognitive shorthands on behalf of the persuader, is in fact ethical persuasion. Any of the cognitive shorthands can be employed for good or for bad, depending on the motives of the persuader (Cialdini 1993, 83). Nonetheless, this is in general the case with any means of persuasion: they are as good as the intentions behind their usage (see e.g. Seiter & Gass 2003, 4, and the whole chapter in general). As noted earlier already, we should not judge the means but concentrate on their usage when considering the ethicality of persuasive messages. Cognitive shorthands can be used for bad but if they are not used with the intention to manipulate the persuadees, their usage can be considered ethical.

Persuaders might also base their proofs on effectiveness as it refers to the extent to which the proposed idea leads to a desired outcome (Reardon 1991, 70–71). Thus, effectiveness is connected to the goals of persuasion. It can be used as a form of proof to show the persuadees that – whether their responses are being shaped, changed, reinforced, or whether the persuadees are being actuated – the desired outcome will be effective and the action worth taking.

Forms of proof in the context of rock music

Narratives and anecdotes as forms of proof can use for instance reciprocity, consistency, or scarcity as cognitive shorthands. An example of reciprocity and a narrative in the context of rock music could be the message in a song Anti-Flag, a punk rock band from Pittsburgh, did in collaboration with a German punk rock band from Ibbenbüren, The Donots. The song is called 'Protest Song'. In the message the artists are calling out to their fans.

> You've sung at our shows – cheered right over wrong
> Now it's time to hit the streets back up those words you've sung
> Because our voices alone this time will not get it done
> Because the people, united will get it done
>
> (Lyrics written by *Justin Sane*)

The fans and listeners have already gotten something from the artists (shows, music that they like, ideas) and now it is time give something back and unite against the powers that be. In the message in the song's verse, the artists are calling out to their fans that have been to their shows. However, one might argue that even those members of the artists' audience who have not been to their shows, but have sung along to their songs at home, for instance, would feel obliged to join the protest. The rule of reciprocity has an overpowering feeling (Cialdini 1993, 22–23). In the chorus of the song, the message deals with this aspect.

> Protest! Against! Injustice! State terror!
> On the streets of the world
> For the disempowered
>
> (Lyrics written by *Justin Sane*)

The rule of reciprocity is applied to all listeners in the message as the artists mention that people should unite for a greater cause, not only because people are obliged for a reciprocal action for the artists. In a way everybody who is not disempowered owes a helping hand to those who are. The message uses also effectiveness as a form of proof: if people united heed the call, they can make a difference.

An example of the use of anecdotes as forms of proof would be, for instance, the text on the back cover art of NOFX's EP, The Decline. The Decline is an 18-minute one-track EP discussing and commenting on the social inequalities in the United States. The EP's back cover art sums up the persuasive message in the lyrics by taking the U.S. pledge of allegiance and twisting it a bit:[3]

```
I PLEDGE A GREIVANCE TO THE FLA-
OF THE UNITED STATES OF A-
AND TO THE BLAH BLAH
BLAH BLAH BLAH B-
BLAH BLAH B-
BLAH BLA-

WITH LIBERTY FOR JUST US NOT ALL
```

Testimonials of other persons as forms of proof can lean on authority, social proof, and liking as cognitive shorthands. Testimonials of others can be used as supporting evidence in persuasive messages. In the context of rock music a particular way how artists use testimonials of others in their persuasion are quotes on record sleeves or in other art work. Quotes can be used in explaining the persuasive messages, adding up to them, or in summarizing them.

> The Weakerthans, a Canadian pop rock band, has an album entitled 'Reconstruction Site' which features six quotes mixed in with the lyrics for the songs. One quote however sums up the over-all persuasive message the album carries, a quote by The Booker Prize winning author John Berger: "For us to live and die properly, things have to named properly. Let us reclaim our words." The album features a mention of the French postmodernist philosopher Jacques Derrida in one of the songs, a song entitled 'A New Name For Everything', and of course the whole album is entitled Reconstruction Site. Berger's quote clarifies the persuasive message of deconstructing the meanings given to us through language (Derrida's idea), and then reconstructing more tenable meanings for words so that we would not let words uphold undesired and unacknowledged aspects of our cultures, behaviors, or attitudes.

> Another way to use testimonials of others is what Propagandhi, a Canadian punk rock/hardcore band has done with their DVD 'Live From Occupied Territory: An Official Bootleg'. In addition to the live concert, the DVD features two documentaries not connected to the band as such. In my opinion, this is a great way to distribute the documentaries to an audience that might not have access to them otherwise. It is also a great way for artists to engage in effective persuasive communication easily. If artists feel that a documentary is persuading on behalf of the same cause they are, it makes sense to link these testimonials of others to one's own work.

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[3] Some of the text in the back cover of the EP has been omitted by the way the lines are arranged. I have tried to illustrate this by cutting the words off with a hyphen. Also, the misspelling and the odd word order are duplicated here as they appear originally in the EP cover.

I shall not discuss *visual evidence* in more detail here, as it is nonverbal persuasion and thus not within the scope of this study. Nonverbal communication and its effects on persuasion instances have, nonetheless, been studied elsewhere (see e.g. Andersen 1999, 246–274; Burgoon, Buller & Woodall 1996, 393–428; Guerrero, DeVito & Hecht 1999, 314–376). As form of proof, visual evidence can however use any of the cognitive shorthands.

Comparison and contrast as forms of proof are more or less the same as the contrast aspect of cognitive shorthands. An example comparison and contrast embedded in narrative, is the message in a song called 'The Imperial Ambition' by the Baltimore-based grindcore band Misery Index. The beginning of the message takes the historical ambition of the British and their manifest destiny to conquer the "uncharted" territories, and compares that with what is happening in the world today.

> From unchallenged doctrines before, when 'manifest destinies' carved
> Nations from innocent blood (that soaks this wretched earth yet more)
> To the passing of history's dream from kingly to corporate elite
> In glory these conqueror's thrust their pious swords of empire
>
> Their colonies staining the map, their pawns imposing the class division
> Another imperial act, cloaked in the shroud of 'liberation'

(Lyrics written by *Jason Netherton*)

The message in the song's chorus then asks what, in fact, are the processes of so-called liberation and its modern equivalent democratization doing. The message in the chorus compares the reasons given by the powers that be to how they can be interpreted if one only looks a little closer.

> Is it freedom's mission, or the fascist vision?
> Is it Christ-compassion, or coerced conversion?
> Sanctified industry and savior modernity!
>
> Spreading over oceans, crusading on hypocrisy
> This modern greed-ambassador comes masked as democracy
> …Your God is chosen

(Lyrics written by *Jason Netherton*)

The first four lines of the message in the second verse of the song further contrast the reality of what is happening with what is officially being told about what is happening.

> Is oil the blood of their Christ – cold, dripping and black
> As each corpse pays to enhance, their burning lust for opulence?
> Holding the cross in their hand, the priests of capital feast
> And devour the fruit of their land, in consecrated warlust

(Lyrics written by *Jason Netherton*)

Statistical evidence as forms of proof can become authority as cognitive shorthand, or it can show scarcity and lean on that as cognitive shorthand. The use of statistical evidence might not strike as a common form of proof in persuasion in the context of rock music but it is not ruled out either. For instance, Bad Religion has used statistical evidence in their persuasion.

> Have you been to the desert?
> Have you walked with the dead?
> There's a hundred thousand children being killed for their bread
>
> And the figures don't lie they speak of human disease
> But we do what we want and we think what we please
>
> [- -]
>
> 10 million dollars on a losing campaign
> 20 million starving and writhing in pain
> Big strong people unwilling to give
> Small in vision and perspective
>
> One in five kids below the poverty line
> One population runnin' out of time

(Lyrics written by *Greg Graffin*)

The persuasive message in the song called 'Punk Rock Song' is based on statistical evidence to show how people ignore the needy, although one finds undisputable evidence that things are going wrong. While the message in the song deals with the statistics and discusses their meaning, the message in the song's chorus also ties the statistics to the listener.

> This is just a punk rock song
> Written for the people who can see something's wrong
> Like ants in a colony we do our share
> But there's so many other fuckin' insects out there
> And this is just a punk rock song

(Lyrics written by *Greg Graffin*)

The message is stating that the well-off are not alone on this planet and that they cannot ignore those who do not have things as good as they have. Statistical evidence and its objectivity are often trusted as forms of proof but claims of pure objectivity should be viewed with a caution because the appearance of objectivity is itself a powerful form of persuasion (Simons et al. 2001, 55). However, statistical evidence used as such might not lead to persuasive outcomes as statistics are often viewed boring by many people (Reardon 1991, 108). If statistics are reported along with a description or explained in terms of the audience experiences, statistical evidence tends to be more persuasive (Reardon 1991, 102). In the chorus of Punk Rock Song statistical evidence in the message is being tied to receiver experiences with the line "written for the people who can see something's wrong". Furthermore, the statistics used in the song are also described and explained in other words, for instance as is done in the line "big strong people unwilling to give, small in vision and perspective".

Wording the message

On top of forms of proof, the wording of the message is important as one can thus make the message much more vivid, interesting and compelling (Larson 2007, 277). Already Aristotle (3.2.–3.12.) dealt with the presentation of the message: he showed examples of how to illustrate one's language and use metaphors in order to make the persuasive message more compelling and effective. In the context of music, messages in lyrics obviously require good wording, but the messages in slogans on the promotional material are equally important in terms of wording. The messages on T-shirts or badges are often quite short, yet they need to be just as effective as the messages in lyrics for instance. One could perceive the promotional material as any commercial material trying to sell something. On the one hand, an artist's promotional material is selling the music but, on the other hand, it can also be used in selling the persuasive messages the artist wants to convey.

> Examples of effectively worded messages on T-shirts are, for instance Manic Street Preachers with a shirt saying in big capital letters "TOLERATE" and Biohazard, a hardcore band from Brooklyn New York, with a shirt saying "A virus of hate infects the ignorant mind". Both of these shirts share the same message, although the artists come from very different worlds. Manic Street Preachers are "art-rockers" and intellectuals whereas Biohazard boasts with street-wise image coming from the tough urban background. The message on Biohazard's shirt is

taken from their song 'Tales From The Hard Side'. It is a critical stance towards violence as such and also towards racism with the accompanying image on the shirt of a black and a white man making a blood brother pact. The message on Manic Street Preachers' shirt is on the other hand the one word all messages against violence and discrimination come down to: we must *tolerate* each other regardless of our differences. Interestingly, the band with more intellectual image has chosen a straight-forward message for their shirt and the band with a tougher image has chosen the more philosophical message for their shirt.

Wording the messages in promotional materials, on T-shirts or other artifacts, is important in the context of rock music as they can be used to persuade those who might at first (or completely) overlook the more thorough persuasive messages in lyrics or essays, for instance. As we saw with the discussion on the ELM, effectively worded simple slogans and other messages can be very good in persuading through the peripheral route. Photographs of artists can be found almost always on record sleeves, on the artists' websites, or on magazines and thus the persuadees are reached through the use of artifacts quite easily. If an artist wears clothes with persuasive messages on photographs that appear on magazines, the persuasive messages can even reach an audience that might not otherwise be reached by the artist's message. The artifacts need not be clothes only, as many rock artists can have persuasive messages on their instruments also.

Justin Sane, the lead singer and guitarist of Anti-Flag has a guitar with the slogan "What are we going to do about the U.S.A.?" on it. The same slogan was written also on the backdrop on the official Anti-Flag promotional photographs for their album 'For Blood And Empire'. Tom Morello, the guitar wizard from Rage Against The Machine and Audioslave, and the solo artist known as The Nightwatchman, has guitars with slogans such as "Arm the homeless" and "Knowledge is power" on them.

What makes the messages in artifacts especially effective, is that people are almost always able to buy the artists' merchandise, or get the artists' signature model instruments bearing the same messages as what the artists use themselves. Thus people can then, in turn, take the persuasive messages of artists forward.

If we compare wording in the context of rock music and wording in music in the context of movements, Stewart et al (2001, 210–211) note that the language used in messages in the context of movements' music is more often mild than attacking or ridiculing. What makes this notion more interesting is that messages in movements' music do appeal to the movement members but not so much to larger audiences,

whereas messages with more ridiculing approach, for instance, would appeal to a greater variety of audience (Stewart et al. 2001, 212). Rock music has never been "nice muzak" which would not bother anyone and the same goes for the intensity of the language in the messages. As discussed in chapter 1, in the 1980s in the United States the PMRC campaigned to get warning labels on rock albums if the lyrics or the contents of the album were thought to be somehow offensive. Labels such as 'Parental Advisory - Explicit Lyrics' can still be found on record covers, and while this goes to show that messages in rock music use strong language, the labels became also guarantee for the fans of authentic and uncompromised contents. In general, language in the messages in rock music does not have to be strong but it can be if artists want it to be. Strong language might be an advantage in persuasion when artists want to reach the widest possible audience for their message also if compared to what Stewart et al. noted.

> A good example of the use of ridiculing or strong language in persuasive messages in the context of rock music would be the message in an album entitled 'Fuck World Trade' by the New York ska-core/punk band The Leftöver Crack. The cover art for the album features one of the WTC twin towers burning and the other being hit by a plane while the then U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld is remote-controlling the plane, the U.S. president George W. Bush is pouring gasoline on the towers from a Halliburton gasoline pump, and the U.S. vice president Dick Cheney is lighting a match. The Halliburton gas pump features also the words "mission accomplished" written on it. As such the message in the album title is ridiculing and even insulting towards all those injured or killed in the 9/11 attacks. However, contained in the album cover is also the persuasive message against the set of values represented by the World Trade organization as well as towards the hypocrisy of the U.S. leaders with the 9/11 attacks and their connections to companies that have benefitted from the consequences of the attacks.

Organizing the message

On top of wording, one also needs to consider the way messages are constructed and organized. One can organize messages by topic, especially when one wants specific action and the topics are the reasons as to why people should act according to one's message. One can organize messages by drawing connections to the big picture, one can organize messages by chronology or by stock-issue. Stock-issue refers to the fact that there are certain universal (stock) issues that need to be dealt with when policy changes are considered. These are 1) the need for change, 2) a plan to solve the need, and 3) showing that the persuader's plan meets the needs. In other words, the persuader must

show the audience that they are suffering from, are longing for, or are in danger of losing something. The persuader thus creates fear, uncertainty or doubt and then shows how her/his plan is tied to solving the problem, and how, if acted upon, the plan makes a difference and helps the persuadees. (Larson 2007, 271–272.) Furthermore, persuaders must also be able to show that their solution is better than other possible solutions and thus worth acting upon. When one is persuading against the status quo, one has the burden of proof since it is easier for the people to think simply that things are just fine and that there is no need for any policy change whatsoever. (Simons et al. 2001, 162.)

An example of *organizing the persuasive message by topic* and also *by chronology* can be found on Dead Kennedys' album 'Bedtime For Democracy' released in 1986. The original vinyl release includes a broadsheet newspaper that comes along with the album. Included in the newspaper one finds a four-page article covering a censorship issue Dead Kennedys among other rock artists had been subject to in the United States in the 1980s. The article covers topic by topic how Dead Kennedys and rock music had become targeted by the Right, The PMRC, the televangelists, and others fronts, and how the climate of intolerance for free speech in the United States in the 1980s resembled the McCarthy Era of the 1950s. The topics are also organized chronologically and one is able to see how the targeting of rock music had advanced from disapproval to censorship and from court hearings to artists being sued over. The article also includes actual newspaper articles covering the issue and the court cases Dead Kennedys found themselves in; in addition the article features the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution.

One way to draw *connections to the big picture* that some artists do, is to include ways the audience can learn more about the various causes an artist is persuading for. This can be done by adding lists of, for instance, books, magazines, Internet addresses, or DVDs, to name but a few. With the lists the persuadees can take up on the persuasive messages by artists and see them in a bigger context, for instance in the media, in documentaries and so forth. This is a good way in cases when the messages in lyrics, for instance, have not addressed all the stock issues, but only the first one. The lists of further information can be used as addressing the remaining two stock issues. Such lists are found, for instance in the booklets for Rage Against The Machine's albums 'Evil Empire' and 'The Battle Of Los Angeles'. Another way to create the same effect is to write essays that deal with the same messages one's lyrics deal with. In this way one does not have to try to fit all information in the messages in lyrics, but one can draw connections from those messages to the big picture in a less eloquent form of the essays. This tactic is used by, for instance, Anti-Flag on their albums 'The Terror State' and 'For Blood And Empire'.

An example of organizing the persuasive message by stock issue can be found, for instance, in the message in Stiff Little Fingers' song 'Alternative Ulster' from their debut album released in 1979. Stiff Little Fingers come from Northern Ireland and Ulster is the name for the northern province of Ireland. In the late 1970s the situation in Northern Ireland was much worse than it is nowadays and the persuasive message in Alternative Ulster addresses the situation back then. The lines in the message which

form the second verse of the song, present the first stock issue of the persuasive message, the need for change.

> Take a look where you're livin'
> You got the Army on your street
> And the RUC dog of repression
> Is barking at your feet
> Is this the kind of place you wanna live?
> Is this where you wanna be?
> Is this the only life we're gonna have?
>
> (Lyrics written by *Jake Burns, Ali McMordie,*
> *Henry Cluney, Brian Faloon, Gordon Ogilvie*)

The second stock issue, the plan to solve the problem is dealt with in the message in the chorus of the song.

> What we need is
> An Alternative Ulster
> Grab it and change it it's yours
> Get an Alternative Ulster
> Ignore the bores and their laws
> Get an Alternative Ulster
> Be an anti-security force
> Alter your native Ulster
> Alter your native land
>
> (Lyrics written by *Jake Burns, Ali McMordie,*
> *Henry Cluney, Brian Faloon, Gordon Ogilvie*)

The third stock issue, to show that one's plan meets the needs, is dealt with in the message in the lines noting that if people subjugate themselves to police and army control, the situation will never change. The way to be free is to get an alternative Ulster. The third stock issue is also addressing the matter that – although the message only mentions the British police (the RUC, Royal Ulster Constabulary) and the British Army – perhaps the solution is not to think in terms of the Irish vs. the British, but to find an alternative way to be free in Ulster.

> They say they've got control of you
> But that's not true you know
> They say they're a part of you
> And that's a lie you know
> They say you will never be
> Free free free
> Get an Alternative Ulster
>
> (Lyrics written by *Jake Burns, Ali McMordie,*
> *Henry Cluney, Brian Faloon, Gordon Ogilvie*)

Persuaders can begin to construct their message also by building on acceptable premises, where "[a] premise is a hook on which to hang an argument". If a persuader can get the persuadee to agree on some common ground appeals, the persuader thus wins the trust of the persuadee. Once the persuadee accepts a premise, the persuader is halfway to getting her/him to accept the conclusion. Building on acceptable premises also makes the persuader appear more attractive. (Simons et al. 2001, 82–83.) One way to build acceptable premises is to reason from the perspective of the other, to adapt one's arguments so that they start from the persuadee's point of view (Simons et al. 2001, 84). Reasoning from the perspective of the other might be a good way to approach the persuasion especially when the intended message is in one way or another controversial. Controversial issues can be hard to swallow and if the persuader can show from the persuadee's perspective that the proposed claims are in fact worth adhering to, the persuadees are more likely to accept the claims. Building on acceptable premises in music might, however, be difficult in instances when persuasion is more noninteractive: one can begin with a common ground appeal but cannot be sure whether the persuadees have accepted the premise.

Another angle on building on acceptable premises is how Miller (1986, 135) suggests that in mass communication the predictions about communicative outcomes rely on cultural or sociological information whereas in interpersonal communication the predictions rely on the psychological information that one interprets in the interpersonal situation. With the predictions Miller (1986, 133) refers to the assumptions people make about the possible outcomes of a communication event which then, in turn, shape the messages they convey as communication is a purposeful and not a haphazard activity. We shall discuss the issue of whether persuasion in music is mass communication or interpersonal in chapter 4, but relying on cultural and sociological information might serve as a good way of seeing the acceptable premises, especially when persuasion is more noninteractive. Miller (1986, 138) adds that his position includes all possible media messages and artists have their work as their own medium.

An example of building on acceptable premises or sociological proof can be found in the message in Bad Religion's song 'Kyoto Now!' The persuasive message in the song is a simple and an overt one: the Kyoto Protocol should be ratified by every nation. The message in the song is also dealing with the issues why some nations have not ratified

the protocol. Instead of merely addressing the issue of the why the protocol has not been ratified, the message is built on acceptable premises of environmental protection.

> You know if one goes down, we all go down as well
> The balance is precarious as anyone can tell
>
> [- -]
>
> We can't do nothing and think someone else will make it right
>
> [- -]
>
> The arid torpor of inaction will be our demise
>
> (Lyrics written by *Greg Graffin*)

When people accept the fact that we all need to try and actively do our part in stopping the climate change, they might be more receptive towards those claims that are made against the nations who have not ratified the protocol. This issue is also dealt with in the message.

> It's all about ignorance, and greed, and miracles for the blind
> The media parading, disjointed politics
> Founded on petrochemical plunder and we're its hostages
>
> (Lyrics written by *Greg Graffin*)

With message organization we also need to consider the points of view and persuasive claims that are contrary to the persuasive claims we are making. This aspect of message construction and design is whether one's arguments should be one-sided or both-sided; whether to deal with only one's own arguments or also with the countering arguments (Simons et al. 201–202). Dealing with the counterarguments but then showing that they are worse solutions than one's own is called refutational both-sided way to approach a persuasive message. Constructing messages and arguments which take into consideration one's own arguments as well as the counterarguments but then refutes the countering ones, works generally best because the persuader can thus enhance her/his credibility. However, such messages can also backfire if the persuader's refutations are weak. (ibid; O'Keefe 1990, 161–162.) Already Aristotle (2.18.1391b) and Cicero (2, 307) noted that it is a necessity for the speaker to refute the counterarguments. (For a review and support see also Stiff & Mongeau 2003, 139–143.) The refutational both-sided approach seems to be the better way to construct one's messages and it can be

used in strengthening all the different goals of persuasion: actuating, shaping, changing, and reinforcing.

> Refutational both-sided persuasion is something artists could do in persuasive messages especially in blogs, columns, interviews, or in other instances where they have less constraints to deal with the counterarguments and the refuting of them. Persuasive messages in slogans or lyrics can of course address the counterarguments as well, but for a more thorough discussion on why one's own arguments are better than those of the opponents, the less constraint there is, the better it is. Henry Rollins, the indie rock legend, has been especially active in persuasion for a variety of causes in his career. Rollins has fronted the seminal hardcore band Black Flag, his own influential solo band Rollins Band, given spoken word performances, written books, acted in motion pictures, and hosted his own TV talk show. Especially with his spoken word performances and his talk show, Rollins has been able to deal with many issues of social injustice or cultural injustice convincingly and persuasively. By having more time and space to deal with the counterarguments using the refutational both-sided persuasion, I would argue that he has been able to deal with the issues more thoroughly than he would have been able to, for instance, in the messages in his lyrics.

The (re)construction site of messages

Related to the both-sided messages in persuasion we can also consider how language is often used to play up the positives and play down the negatives (Simons et al. 2001, 96). Rank (1976) listed three components for intensifying a message – repetition, association, and composition – and three for downplaying – omission, diversion, and confusion (cited in Simons et al. 2001, 96–100). Intensification means that one intensifies the good points in one's own message and the negative points in an opposing point of view. Downplaying, then, means that one downplays the negative points in one's own message and good points in opposing messages. (ibid.) Rank's components of intensifying and downplaying have also their visual and audiovisual counterparts (Simons et al. 2001, 109). The intensifying tactics are suitable for persuasion in the context of rock music as artists can combine the verbal message level with the visual and audiovisual levels. The visual level of promotional photographs, T-shirts, or record sleeves with photographs can be used to support the verbal persuasive messages. Music videos are probably the best platforms for persuasion in this sense, as they combine the verbal message level, the visual level as well as the audiovisual level.

The music video has been described as a promotional tool encouraging record sales (Shuker 1994, 168). Music videos are a logical continuum for televised music programs

that started in the 1950s when the television broadcasting industry seized the commercial opportunities of the emerging youth culture markets which were intertwined with popular music (Shuker 1994, 171–172). (For a more thorough look into music videos, which of course have been studied from various points of view, see e.g. Shuker 1994, 166–197; Walker & Bender 1994; Schwichtenberg 1992, 116–133; and especially Frith, Goodwin & Grossberg 1993.)

However, music videos should not be seen merely as sales tricks because they can be used for effective persuasion as well. The music video is a great way in reaching wide and new audiences, and while for the music industry the videos might be merely about promoting the albums, they can be used in explaining the messages in the songs by the artists (Frith 2001, 44). Frith's notion means that the commercial interest of the record companies and the persuasive interests of the artists are not mutually exclusive goals. The music video can serve both purposes simultaneously. The popularity of television has not declined since its invention, in fact the effect must be the opposite. The Internet is providing us with sites like YouTube where one can find more or less all the music videos in the world. Hence, the ability for artists to get their persuasive messages across to a wider audience than just the record-buying one, is a significant one with the music video. On the other hand, the possibility to reach a wide audience becomes the motivation for the music industry to invest in the videos as well.

> When Metallica shot their first music video for their 1988 hit single 'One', it contained excerpts from the movie 'Johnny Got His Gun' by Dalton Trumbo underlining the songs persuasive message about the horrors of war. It was thus by no means a commercial advertising trick but a way to further influence the interpretation of the listener/viewer to the direction Metallica wanted to. Another kind of an example could be the message in the video for the song 'Refuse/Resist' by Sepultura. Even though there would be people who would never buy an album by Sepultura they might catch the video on MTV or come across it on YouTube, for instance. The video includes legendary news footage of Chinese students demonstrating in Tiananmen Square Beijing, footage of one of the students standing in front a tank not wanting to let the military troops to get into Tiananmen Square, and footage of the military violently ending the students' peaceful protest. Seeing the video might then lead the viewer to check out the persuasive message in the song's lyrics and further on to learn more about what is, for instance, the state of civil rights in China.

Repetition as Rank's intensifying tactic seems especially fit in the context of rock music. Music is a forceful tool of persuasion because it is designed for repetition (Stewart 1991, cited in Stewart et al. 2001, 200–201). Lull (1992, 4) also maintains that

as music, unlike other media forms, gets repeated over and over again on the radio stations, it further transmits the fundamental information contained in the songs. With "fundamental information in a song" Lull focuses on the "structures" of the songs, the things that comprise popular music, but the repetitive factor is also an important issue to consider when one thinks about persuasive aspects in the context of rock music in general. While Lull only mentions the radio, songs get repeated in concerts, in clubs played by DJs, on TV, or in the listeners' stereos and iPods, for instance. The messages in slogans in promotional materials get repeated as people use artists' merchandise. Hence, many aspects of popular culture are apt for repetitive persuasion. To increase the persuasiveness of repetition, Stewart et al. (2001, 216) note that for instance singing along acts as a unifying an empowering experience; it is on the one hand self-persuasive and on the other it functions as social proof. In addition to singing along, wearing artists' T-shirts and seeing others wear the same shirts acts in the same manner as social proof. Wearing the shirts is also self-persuasive, as the persuadee wearing a shirt reminds oneself everyday when wearing the shirt of the persuasive message printed on the shirt.

Association is a potent tool to be used in persuasion in the context of rock music especially when one combines the message level and the visual level. Images and symbols are linked to messages in T-shirts, such as in the case of the Biohazard T-shirt mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, and, as seen above, in music videos. Association would be also what was discussed in terms of testimonials of others. With composition one can control how one's own arguments are placed in more noticeable place than the countering arguments. In messages in songs one could, for instance, place one's strongest arguments in the chorus and the countering, to-be-refuted arguments, in the second or the third verse. Knowing about the ways to intensify the value of one's own arguments is thus a powerful tool for effective persuaders. Intensifying tactics combined with the refutational both-sided argumentation equip the persuaders to construct persuasive messages that are thought-through and provide the persuadees with the "good reason" needed to accept the persuasive claims in the messages.

The downplaying tactics are also used in persuasion, especially omission as in fact all communication involves some omission (Simons et al. 2001, 99–100). Sometimes omission is used more purposefully to hide or conceal parts of the story (ibid). The

notion of omission seems to be somewhat unethical, but if we consider the example of Bad Religion's Punk Rock Song given earlier, we can find some justifiable grounds for omission. The statistics used in the message do not cover the entire issue of poverty and inequality in the world. Furthermore, the message does not state where the statistics are from, whether they are global or only concerning the United States, although the message does hint to certain interpretations. Here we can see that information has been omitted, but it has been done to emphasize the effect the statistics have in the message. It is not say that the statistics would be wrong, even if some other statistics of the same issues were left out. Omission can be powerful especially in the sense that one only takes into account the strongest arguments on behalf of one's persuasive claim and omits some countering arguments that one does not know how to refute.

The two other downplaying tactics, diversion and confusion, can also be used to derive the persuadee's attention away from the possible bad points of one's own message or the good points of the opposing messages, yet these tactics are especially connected to the unethical side of persuasion. Rank (1976) lists further on four types of doublespeak as means of confusion: euphemism, jargon, gobbledygook, and inflated language (Simons et al. 2001, 101–102). Euphemism means replacing a word or a term with something else which might be deemed as more acceptable, but can lead to such expressions as someone saying 'I was not completely open' instead of admitting having lied. Jargon is the terminology of a specific group or profession, and gobbledygook is language that looks and sounds like normal but is in fact saying little if nothing. Furthermore, jargon can of course be used as gobbledygook to confuse the listener. Inflated language can be described through an example of how in military jargon the death of civilians is called "collateral damage" thus hiding the fact that soldiers are killing innocent people behind the veil of only producing collateral, unfortunate, and unintended damage. (ibid.)

All of these doublespeak tactics are connected to the unethical side of persuasion that can hinder persuadees' ability to critically process a persuasive message and to consider the persuader's intentions. I would argue that while such tactics might also appear among the persuasion artists are engaged in, artists as manufacturers of dissent are more inclined to revealing politicians' doublespeak instead of using doublespeak or other forms of confusion themselves. An example of this kind of persuasion would be the

message in the song 'From Her Lips To The God's Ears (The Energizer)' by Against Me!:

> After all this death and destruction
> Do you really think your actions advocate freedom?
> The president's giving a speech in Georgetown to remember
> The voice of a slain civil rights leader
> Do you understand what the Martyr stood for?
> Oh, Condoleezza do you get the fucking joke?
>
> (Lyrics written by *Tom Gabel*)

The death and destruction in the message are referring to the United States' war in Iraq but also on a more general level to the war on terrorism and its consequences. The question the message raises is how killing and forcing war upon others can beget freedom and civil rights. It thus addresses the way the U.S. political leaders have constantly claimed to be in the interest of democracy, freedom, and civil rights, when in fact that kind of rhetoric is little more than doublespeak as Iraq is in a state of disorder and in the United States civil rights have been neglected.

CHAPTER 4:
PERSUASION IN THE CONTEXT OF ROCK MUSIC: INTERPERSONAL, MASS COMMUNICATION, OR A MIXTURE OF BOTH?

Interpersonal persuasion or mass media persuasion?

So far we have discussed what persuasion in the context of rock music is, what is the relationship between persuaders and persuadees in that context, and how one can persuade in that context. In this chapter we shall look at the form of persuasion and discuss whether it is interpersonal or mass-mediated. In the first section of this chapter we shall look at how interpersonal persuasion and mass media persuasion have been defined, and how the definitions suit the context of rock music. In the second section I shall try to form a view of how persuasion in the context of rock music is in fact both: interpersonal and mass communication.

Interpersonal persuasion would take place in a situation where "two or a few people interact in a way that involves verbal and nonverbal behaviors, personal feedback, coherence of behaviors (relevance or fit of remarks and actions), and the purpose (on the part of at least one interactant) of changing the attitudes and/or behaviors of the other(s)" (Reardon 1991, 112). Few problems arise from this definition when we consider persuasion in the context of music. First of all, "two or a few people" seems at first unsuitable as artists can have millions of listeners. Then again, interaction between "two or a few people" is included within the millions of listeners as artists are communicating with each and every one of their millions of listeners. Artists' persuasive messages are not addressed to the millions but to the individuals within the millions.

The notion of interaction is also somewhat problematic as we have noted. Even in the cases of para-social relationships when audience members feel there is an interactive relationship between them and the artist, that interaction is only suggested. The listeners have, nonetheless, multiple ways of giving the artists feedback, especially through technology-mediated channels. The same channels, as well as meeting the artists face-to-face in concerts for instance, also provide chances for interaction. However, the interaction between the artists and the audience might not be taking place when persuasion is taking place.

Could persuasion in the context of rock music then be described as mass media persuasion? In mass media messages interaction is not involved and personal feedback and coherence are not present, and there is no pressure on the persuadee to act interested when one is not, because no one's "face" is in jeopardy (Reardon 1991, 112). Interaction and personal feedback are things which are not always present in the context of rock music, but can sometimes be very strongly present. Coherence is yet another issue: there seems to be an ongoing discussion of whether musicians are perceived as credible sources when it comes to societal and political issues and whether politics and rock music go together at all. As I have tried to show in this study, music as a context has good grounds for political persuasion and it serves as a good forum for political and societal discussion. Furthermore, artists subscribing to the norms of popular culture while being politically persuasive are in fact behaving coherently with the norms and

the culture they are engaged in, as noted earlier already. Hence, the coherence of behavior is present with artists engaged in political persuasion.

Grossberg (1992, 153) claims that rock is perhaps the purest form of mass communication. Rock differs from other forms of mass communication because it is presented in various mediated forms (e.g. records, radio, television, the Internet…) and it is consumed in various contexts (home, parties, bars, clubs, stadiums…) (Grossberg 1992, 157). Lull (1992, 2) states however, that artists are loved because of their ability to "speak" to their audiences, and in fact, to speak "personally" with each listener even if the communication was mediated through the sale of millions of records. Lull's point of view further underlines the notion of "two or a few people" within the millions. And even after music largely transformed from private music-making to recorded music, there has never been that big of a gap between mass-mediated music and personal and direct audience enjoyment of musical performance (McQuail 1994, 19).

It would seem that artists have the ability to be interpersonally persuasive and communicate directly to each individual in their audience even if McQuail (1994, 37) states that while there are many different kinds of relationships between media senders and their audiences, most mass media messages are not sent or addressed to a particular receiver. This is in accordance with the notion of the para-social relationship between an artist and a listener; the messages an artist sends might not be addressed to a particular receiver but they can appear as ones to the audience members. Hence, the persuasion artists are engaged in seems to fit into both definitions of interpersonal and mass media persuasion. There are ways in which we can argue for and against both of the definitions, and that is what we shall now turn to for more detailed discussion.

Mass-mediated interpersonal persuasion

One commonly accepted notion of persuasion is that one can persuade through various channels, but in general persuasion is far more effective on the interpersonal level because the persuader has the possibility to adjust the message in response to the perceived needs and reactions of "the receiver" (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland 2004, 6). Chaffee (1986, 65), however, calls the above view conventional wisdom, an assumption

that has been, and still is, passed on as a policy generalization. In fact, people as persuadees use a variety of channels from interpersonal to mass communication to become convinced or to validate the persuasive message (Chaffee 1986, 65–71).

Reardon's (1991, 169) view on the mass media audience is that it is an uncritical audience and more vulnerable to persuasion than participants in an interpersonal persuasion situation as mass media audience is not required to respond in an overt way. When people are opposed to a certain perspective and realize that they might have to make some sort of statement in the situation, they create counterarguments (ibid). McQuail (1994, 315) shows that although there has been claims and counter-claims over the activity or passivity of mass media audience, the balance seems to lie with the active audience side of the argument. Hence, it would be somewhat naïve to think that people would not be making counterarguments to mass media messages even when they are not expected to respond overtly. Lilleker (2006, 36–37) states that if message senders are to view their audiences passive, they are wrong as the postmodern audiences are actively decoding messages they receive according to their individual identities. McQuail's and Lilleker's notion would also support Chaffee's view on how persuadees are seeking validation for persuasive messages through various channels. (See also Lenart 1994, 10–12 for discussion on how the perception of the mass media audience has changed in research.)

We can also think of the difference between interpersonal and mass-mediated persuasion if we consider how Miller (1987, 467–468) notes that persuaders in mass communication settings are more concerned about succeeding in their persuasion task and achieving their persuasive objectives, whereas persuaders in interpersonal setting are more concerned about credibility for its own sake. Persuaders are concerned about being perceived credible and they are concerned about how the relational implications of the message exchange are viewed (ibid). In music, as we have seen, artists are engaged in persuasion personally as the relationship between an artists and a listener can be a para-social one. While artists' persuasive goals would emphasize the substantial goals, as in mass media persuasion according to Miller one does, the relational goals are there as well.

A further comparison with political communication might be helpful here. In order to communicate the political message to the desired audience, the political actors must use the media (McNair 2003, 12). Kaid et al. (1991, cited in McNair 2003, 12–13) suggest that the "form of reality" or the "state of reality" in political communication can be viewed as 1) objective reality comprising of political events as they occur, 2) subjective reality comprising of interpretations of the political events made by citizens and political actors, and 3) constructed reality comprising of the media coverage of political events. Without going into the discussion of whether media coverage is always constructed and biased or whether it can reach some level of objectivity, we can use the above division to exemplify how artists act much like the media in their persuasion.

As the examples in this study have shown, artists' persuasion can be of all the three types listed above. Objective reality can be gained through such means as what, for instance, Sepultura used in the persuasive message in their music video for the song Refuse/Resist, as discussed earlier. They used footage of the demonstrations that took place in the Tiananmen Square Beijing in 1989, hence reminding the viewer of the actual events that occurred. Subjective reality is of course the artists' interpretations of whatever political or societal issues are in question at a given occasion. Constructed reality then becomes the message artists send to their audience. It is the message they have subjectively interpreted and then constructed into a mass media message of lyrics, album covers, or slogans on badges or T-shirts, for instance.

Furthermore, McNair (2003, 21–22) suggests five functions for the media in "ideal-type" democratic societies: 1) the media must inform the citizens of what is happening around them (the media has a 'monitoring' or a 'surveillance' function over a society), 2) the media must educate the citizens, 3) the media must provide a platform for public political discussion for *and* against any given political or societal issue, 4) the media must make governmental and institutional issues public, they must make the powers that be available for public scrutiny (the 'watchdog' role of journalism), and 5) the media serve as a channel for advocacy or persuasion of political viewpoints [my emphasis]. Agenda setting, deciding which pieces of news and stories get media coverage (see e.g. Lilleker 2006, 27–29), is something the media also does, and in a sense it can be seen as another function for the media. However, I would argue that it is not a function for the media in the "ideal-type" democratic societies that McNair talks about. We shall discuss

agenda setting more in chapter 5. Nonetheless, all of the functions McNair listed for the media can also be listed as the functions for political persuasion in the context of music, which adds to the parallelization of music and mass media communication. With these functions we can also see that the media thus become political actors which further emphasizes artists' role in political communication: artists have their own medium to be used in their persuasion and are thus rightful political actors.

As we have seen, persuasion in the context of rock music encompasses aspects from both, interpersonal and mass media persuasion. Same as with the level of interaction, persuasion can be either interpersonal or mass-mediated, it can be both, or sometimes more of one than the other. Gumpert and Cathcart (1986, 19) approach this dialectic question by stating that all human communication, from face-to-face to mass communication, is still basically interpersonal communication. They state that even the more complex communication situations such as group communication or mass communication are only variations of the basic communication process; the situations may have added rules, or a limited ability to get feedback, but the communication process is more or less the same (Gumpert & Cathcart 1986, 18). They propose a term *mediated interpersonal communication* to refer to any situation where a technological medium is brought into an interpersonal interaction (Cathcart & Gumpert 1986, 30). This view is in my opinion a very good one in defining the form of persuasion in the context of rock music. Artists engage in an interpersonal or para-social relationship with their audience in many instances but usually their persuasion is probably mediated to the masses through their work.

Music has the effectiveness of both aspects but it also has to face the difficulties arising from both aspects. It can be difficult to say whether artists should emphasize the interpersonal side of their persuasion or whether to opt for mass media persuasion. In my opinion, much depends on the topic of persuasion and, especially, on the goal of persuasion. However, rock music provides the artists certainly with a more varied persuasion context than a context which is would be closer to being merely either interpersonal or mass-mediated. Perhaps artists should view this is as a richness and harness their communication competence to benefit the situation the best they can.

CHAPTER 5:
PERSUASIVE CAMPAIGNS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF POPULAR
CULTURE AND ROCK MUSIC

Pop culture – One big campaign

In this final chapter we shall deal with the intrinsic aspects of popular culture and how they form a good basis for persuasive campaigns in the context of rock music. In the first section of the chapter I shall discuss how – in spite of being criticized of being merely a commodified culture – popular culture in fact provides artists with various channels for persuasion. In the second section I shall look at what persuasive campaigns in the context of rock music can be, and in the final section take a closer look on what kind of campaigning political persuasion in the context of rock music perhaps should be.

Many of the aspects discussed in this study have pointed out how the context of rock music works well for persuasion, but we have also seen that the context has its limitations as to how effective persuasion platform it can be. What, however, makes the context of rock music and popular culture in general apt for persuasion would be the notion of persuasive campaigns: Simple speeches or other one-shot communication acts are important in persuasion but they rarely achieve long-lasting significant impact on their own (Simons et al. 2001, 211). The long-lasting impact can be achieved through persuasive campaigns; through organized and sustained attempts at influencing groups or masses of people through a series of messages (ibid).

When we think of the various channels through which artists express their opinions and points of view, we might ease the task by thinking in terms of popular culture. Already the use of the term 'popular culture' includes the idea of the audience and thus the intertwined relationship between the artistic creation and the consumers (Shuker 1994, 5). A certain commercialism has always been part of popular culture and although high art has become more commercialized, the commercial side has not been part of the essence of 'high culture'. Although the distinction between 'high culture' and 'low culture' has become somewhat blurred, it helps us to see the underlying difference

between the two. (ibid.) That difference, then, results in the fact that artists making popular music and being part of the popular culture have a variety of channels though which they can try to get their message across. Lyrics, pictures, notes, essays, information on the record sleeves and booklets, album art works, T-shirts, hooded shirts and jackets with slogans and/or visual images, badges, hats, caps, posters, flags, coffee cups, websites, MySpace, interviews, and music videos are just few examples of the enormous amount of channels available. Especially young people use various different media forms to get political information (Pasek et al. 2006, 124–125, 130–132) and with the context of rock music, one has the various media forms in one baggage.

Although the commercialism has originally been (and in many cases still is today) considered as merely additional ways of making money out of a popular artist, it is essentially important that some people have raised the question of why should it be (see and cf. also Frith & Horne 1987, 1–25 about the mixture of artistic values and commercial popular culture). Why not take advantage of the vast amount of channels offered when one wants to persuade others? High culture does not have this, for the lack of a better word, "innate" variety of channels for persuasion. The market arrangement of popular culture can just as easily support the supply and consumption of additional promotional material as it can support the supply and consumption of high-quality cultural products (McQuail 1994, 106).

With the innate commercialism popular music can, on the one hand, be seen as ideal context for persuasive campaigns. On the other hand, popular music has been criticized for being merely a product for the capitalist consumers (Shuker 1994, 22–24). This has been the critique of the political economy approach. The music industry has been criticized for being controlled by few big record companies who construct markets and even audiences. Besides the political economy approach, the theorists of the Frankfurt School of social theory, especially Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and Herbert Marcuse, argued that under the capitalist system, culture has become just another industry lacking the ability for critical thinking and oppositional political possibilities. (ibid.) Popular music is, according to Adorno (1990, 301–309) standardized, pre-digested and pseudo-individual. The listener, i.e. the customer, is a product of the same mechanism which produces popular music (Adorno 1990, 310). Street (1997, 156) notes that the Frankfurt School theorists essentially claim that popular culture as a form of

commercialism, and thus capitalism, takes away the people's will to revolt. People are part of the capitalist consumer-society and consuming products of such society makes people part of the system, not individuals who would want to defy the system (ibid).[4]

It is true in many cases that the music industry creates markets and audiences for their new products through producing taste cultures. In the 21st century this has become even more apparent with TV shows such as Idols and the likes. Yet at the same time it is just as apparent that these products of the music industry are not the ones who would use their work as a medium for persuasion as they in fact are nothing more than disposable products of the music industry. Nonetheless, popular culture is not homogenous (Strinati 1995, 41). The critique on popular culture has tended to see popular culture as something unanimous, and if popular culture has aspects consumerism and aspects of producing commodities for the masses, that label has been stamped on all popular culture (ibid). In reality popular culture is extremely varied. Frith (2001, 26–28) emphasizes that while the music industry is essentially a part of the popular culture, it does not control it; popular music does not equate with being products of the popular music industry. Thus it becomes difficult to apply an all-encompassing critique on popular culture, popular music, and rock which has been the case with the Frankfurt School theorists. Street (2001, 247) notes also that perhaps because rock music has been connected to commercialism, it has in fact been more able to voice nonconformist political opinions: rock and pop music have not been subject to the same scrutiny applied to, for instance, subsidized art.

McQuail (1994, 105) notes that there has in fact been a real shift of social values, a re-evaluation of popular culture and a real cultural revolution within the mass media. This has lead towards a new aesthetic as popular music has shown enormous inventiveness and power to change (ibid). This power to change is manifested through the ability to take the form of popular culture, to work within that paradigm, and use it to create authentic art, which the Frankfurt School theorists criticized lacking from popular culture. Furthermore, rock has always been revolutionary, it has always included a sense of danger in one form or another. Regarding to what Street (1997, 156) noted about the

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[4] For a more thorough discussion and criticism of the Frankfurt School's critique on popular music see especially Strinati 1995, 51–85; and also e.g. Shuker 1994, 20–30; Street 1997, 155–159. For a discussion on critique on popular and mass culture in general see e.g. McQuail 1994, 97–99.

Frankfurt School's idea that popular culture takes away the will to revolt, one only needs to look a little closer to realize that revolt is all over popular culture. Moore (2004, 307–308) notes for instance, that especially punk music has responded to the commodified society by creating independent media and networks outside the prevalent culture industry. For instance, the independent record labels and magazines are seen as signs of revolt to create something authentic (ibid). (See also Moore 2007 for further discussion.) I would argue that the same *culture of authenticity*, as Moore (2004) calls it, has spread to more or less all areas of rock music, and is not merely the thing of punk rock anymore. Hence, while popular culture is commercial, and while the Frankfurt School's critique would be plausible on a (narrow) theoretical level, it does not meet reality and thus does not form a comprehensive theoretical understanding. (See also Street 1997, 12–14 for rock music's and popular culture's defiance.)

> A prime example, though they are in fact abundant, of the revolt in rock music is a Canadian record label G7 Welcoming Committee Records whose entire band roster is devoted to revolt, as is the label itself. (And no, they are not offering a warm welcome.) With bands like Propagandhi who entitled one of their albums 'Today's Empires, Tomorrow's Ashes' or the now defunct Canadian grindcore band Malefaction who have put out an album entitled 'Where There Is Power, There Is Always Resistance', one can see that this label is not producing mere commodities. Though the label has know decided to stop releasing albums, it had in its existence signed artists that were all, in one way or another, politically persuasive. In a way, the label was a fragment of the music industry producing only nonconformist products. Even before the label decided to quit, they shifted to releasing their albums only as digital online downloads, because making CDs, vinyls, or DVDs require oil.[5] As a record company and a collective of bands and artists, G7 Welcoming Committee is in essence also a good example of the self-organized alternative communities practicing the politics of small things to counter the political and, especially in this case, the cultural hegemons (see Goldfarb 2005).

Billy Bragg, the British political singer-songwriter, has dealt with the issue of mixing popular culture and politics adeptly in his song 'Waiting For The Great Leap Forwards'. He notes that pop and politics might be a difficult mix and that maybe music should be just music and the world should be made better otherwise. However, at the end of the day, the world is not going to become a better place without an effort, so why should artists not join the fight with all the forms of popular culture available to them.

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[5] G7 Welcoming Committee Records – http://www.g7welcomingcommittee.com. Web address visited August 25th 2008.

Mixing Pop and Politics he asks me what the use is
I offer him embarrassment and my usual excuses
While looking down the corridor out to where the van is waiting
I'm looking for the Great Leap Forwards

Jumble sales are organised and pamphlets have been posted
Even after closing time there's still parties to be hosted
You can be active with the activists or sleep in with the sleepers
While you're waiting for the Great Leap Forwards

[- -]

In a perfect world we'd all sing in tune
But this is reality so give me some room
Waiting for the Great Leap Forwards

So join the struggle while you may
The Revolution is just a T-shirt away
Waiting for the Great Leap Forwards

(Lyrics written by *Billy Bragg*)

Another angle on the topic of discussion is punk rock as a genre and a movement. It is an obvious but a good example of the authenticity and the new aesthetic as Moore (2004) and McQuail (1994, 104–105) respectively put it. It is also a good example of genuine political persuasion in the context of rock music which is why punk bands have served us good real-life examples to be used in this study.

Punk rock was not invented by the music industry but it immediately turned into a movement when it began in the late 1970s. Having gained notable following, the big record companies did sign many of the punk rock originators, however not restraining the possibilities of the bands to use their music as means of expressing political and social points of view and persuasive messages. It was, thus, clear from the beginning that exactly because popular music had become an industry, the record companies could not interfere with the message of their "products" if they wanted the money they would get from releasing their albums. The industry would, in other words, follow the audience's choice thus making the audience the creator of the markets. In fact, this could be another angle to assessing Shuker's (1994, 140–143) and Frith's (1988, cited in Shuker 1994, 143) point of view of the audience as creating the meaning in popular music.

Rocking to campaign, rocking to persuade

To succeed campaigns need to have specific goals (Simons et al. 2001, 212–214). In addition to specific goals, a campaign also needs a more detailed analysis of those goals, such as a) what the campaign would ideally like to achieve, b) what it expects to achieve, and c) what are the bare minimums that still make the campaign worthwhile (ibid). Successful or "effective" campaigns depend on the match between planned effects and those achieved (McQuail 1994, 348). We can of course question how thoroughly artists plan their persuasion and especially how detailed their analyses of the campaign goals are. Thus this might be where the connection between the means of popular culture as a campaign and persuasive campaigns per se fall short. However, otherwise popular music as a form fits well with that what has been written about persuasive campaigns.

To succeed campaigns need to tell the audience how to act upon the campaign's message (Simons et al. 2001, 221) which can be achieved through the use of messages of actuation. Campaigns can ask for a preliminary commitment before the final action is taken (ibid) which in rock music's context can be done by printing advertisements and posters, or releasing singles and T-shirts before an album, for instance, is released. Ideally those reached and persuaded by a campaign become persuaders themselves (Simons et al. 2001, 222). Members of an artist's audience can join the artist's campaign by wearing T-shirts or promoting the artist to friends, for instance. If people want to get involved more, they can join an artist's street team to promote the artist in a bigger scale where they live.[6]

Street (1986, 51) also sees popular music as a good medium for campaign purposes because of the way music can generate solidarity and unity. Artists can create unity among the in-group of fans and listeners as well as in the in-group of the cause of persuasion. Moreover, artists can create unity in the in-group including both fans and cause advocates. On a more general level, Lilleker (2006, 53) lists how persuasive

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[6] Street teams of artists are "advertisement teams" comprising of fans and listeners who get, for instance, free show accesses and artist merchandise in return for promoting the artist. The promotion can be done by placing stickers and posters in their communities, phoning local radio stations to request the artist's songs to be played, posting to online forums and bulletin boards, or maintaining fanzines or websites dedicated to the artist. (Wikipedia 2008.)

campaigns have many roles: to raise a salience of an issue, to raise recognition, and to act as a reminder. This kind of division of the roles of persuasive campaigns follows the way the goals of persuasion can be defined in general. However, even if artists can bridge the gaps between people and unite them for a shared cause, the consequence of such campaign will not be effective if the unification is only a stylistic one and not a political one (Street 1986, 77; see also Goldfarb 2005, 177 of how protests can go further when one is persuading the already converted). The point here is that unity because of music is not enough which is why unity must also be reached through the causes, and an understanding of persuasive campaign can help one in reaching the goals of persuasion.

Campaigns need the media to acknowledge their work. Agenda setting deals with the question of who has the power to shape the agendas on the media. Persuasion in the context of rock music fits well with the notion of agenda setting, a term formulated by Bernard Cohen on Walter Lippman's analysis. Governments, political parties, political actors, businesses, and the media itself all fight over who gets to set the agendas. (Lilleker 2006, 27–29; see also Lenart 1994, 14–15 for agenda setting's formation.) With their work artists can become actors fighting to set the agendas in the media. Artists, however, have also their work as their own medium and while they need the media in general, they can control their own medium without facing same kind of pressure they would if only functioning through the "general" media.

On the other hand, even if artists were in charge of setting the agendas on their own medium, the issue is not so simple as an artist's medium can become just another battle ground for agenda setting. The record companies can impose their opinions on artists on various issues, politicians and governments can try to affect the agendas through censorship and funding, for instance (see Street 1997, 3–22; 1986, 13–28). I would argue, nonetheless, that those artists authentically engaged in political persuasion, have a complete power to shape the agendas on their own medium. Even with the criticism popular culture has met, we can still argue for authenticity in rock music and thus sovereignty which stems from it, as we saw in the discussion in the beginning of this chapter and as we have seen with the real-life examples in this study.

Yet another aspect to this discussion is how the rise of post-material values means that the political agenda is being determined more and more by the consumers (Micheletti et al. 2003, cited in Lilleker 2006, 62). I would argue that artists indentify more with these post-materialist consumers than they identify with media representatives: they are members of a society, not representatives of a society, but they can nonetheless express their views to a larger amount of people because of their own mass medium. Seen from this point of view, artists would have the benefit of both, their own medium and the consumers' interest (for a discussion on the media and democracy see also Lilleker 2006, 110–121).

> As part of the rhetoric especially in the punk rock and hardcore scene, many artists take pride in being one with the fans and listeners. This rhetoric has its roots in the attitude of authenticity; punk rockers are not distant rock stars to rip fans off – one is just the same as anybody else, even if one did play in a band (see Moore 2004, 307). Hence, even if artists have their own medium, they often show how they are still "one of the kids". This is illustrated well with messages such as "The kids are sick and tired of the news today / sick and tired of all these lies / we want the truth" by Anti-Flag in their song 'No Paradise' (lyrics written by Justin Sane, Chris #2, Chris Head, Pat Thetic), or "Just take a look around you / What do you see / Kids with feelings like you and me / Understand him, he'll understand you / For you are him, and he is you" by the legendary British punk rockers Sham 69 in their song 'If The Kids are United' (lyrics written by Jimmy Pursey, Dave Parsons).

Campaigns work ultimately through the individuals who receive and respond to the messages (McQuail 1994, 347). Lenart (1994) maintains that while media effects in shaping people perceptions about political issues are important, so are interpersonal effects. Lenart is focused on interpersonal discussions people have about political issues and also on the discussion about the media presenting political issues. I would argue that artists can functions in both instances of creating people's perceptions. Artists can be partners in the interpersonal discussion as well as they can be the media of which interpersonal discussions are about. McQuail (1994, 347–348) lists furthermore four filter conditions related to campaigns which can facilitate or hinder the persuasion: 1) *attention* without which there can be no effect, 2) the messages are subject to interpretations which is why *perception* of the messages is important as the campaign to some extent depends on the right or desired interpretation of the messages, 3) the various *groups* an individual belongs to, and 4) *motivation* on behalf of the individual is needed [my emphases].

Gaining people's attention and having one's messages perceived right are part of being able to persuade effectively. Artists gain attention also through making music, as the in-group of fans and listeners will probably pay attention to what the artist is doing anyway. This is why artists need to pay attention to formation of the right perceptions of their messages. The groups an individual belongs to is related to social proof but also to message discrepancy, and also to how coherent an individual perceives an artist's persuasion. Thus the groups also influence how an individual perceives persuasive messages.

If people are to change their points of view, lifestyle, or political stance, they need to privately accept the value of the proposed change. Motivation to change is the first step in achieving private acceptance and from the persuader's point of view this involves shaping one's message according to what the persuadees need. (Reardon 1991, 10.) When people are motivated with a cause they can take part in acting for the cause (Reardon 1991, 11). Taking part in persuasive campaigns means that the persuadees have become persuaders themselves. Nonetheless, people who have been motivated to change and have participated in that change may still feel uncertain of their ability to sustain the change. This is why people need visible signs to uphold their motivation with the change they have accepted and participated in. (ibid.)

> In my opinion, rewards can simply be knowledge that one has made the right choice in accepting a persuasive campaign's claims. For instance, if one has adopted a new environmentally friendly way of life, it would be rewarding to learn that environmentally healthy way of life actually helps our planet. But rewards can also be actual things and in the context of rock music they could be, for instance, exclusive promotional material. Artists could give free T-shirts or other promotional material not available otherwise to people who have signed up for a campaign run by an artist or an organization and supported by the artist. To help sustain the change people have accepted when taking part in a campaign, the promotional material handed out by artists should have messages persuading on behalf of the cause in question. The persuadees are thus rewarded with gifts that further help them in self-persuasion and in persuading others by using the promotional material they have received.

Indoctrination campaigns

The campaigns aimed at promoting new ideologies, lifestyles, or doctrines are called indoctrination campaigns (Simons et al. 2001, 224). Campaigns against the traditional and accepted ways of living have a harder time getting their message through (Simons

et al. 2001, 225), as "[i]nstitutions do not change until people change" (Simons et al. 2001, 345–346). Hence when campaigns succeed in persuading the individuals, they have a chance of becoming indoctrination campaigns. The notion of indoctrination campaigns offers artists also a new angle on how they can view their persuasion. If one is persuading on behalf of dropping the Third World debt one might do better when persuading various individuals, voters, politicians, or businessmen instead of trying to get the debt cancelled per se. Succeeding in persuading individuals one has better chances in achieving the goal of the debt cancellation as the public opinion would then also be in favor of dropping the debt.

Another perspective to this is framing and reframing: people have certain mindsets and they think of certain things in certain ways and it is the job of persuaders to encourage their audience to think in new ways (Simons et al. 2001, 115–116). Indoctrination campaigns are aimed at doing this. Besides mindsets, frames can also be actual frames, for instance as photographs (Simons et al. 2001, 120). If one compares this to the intensifying and downplaying discussed earlier, the same aspects are applicable: one can intensify something in a photograph by using special composition in the photographs or one can crop the photographs so that something gets highlighted, or omitted for that matter.

On a larger scale, politically persuasive artists are reframing the way popular music and rock music are seen. Artists who do not treat music merely as a commodity, use their work as a new frame to reframe people's perceptions of political issues. This is also related to how politics and the traditional news media are criticized, and rightly so, for becoming more entertaining (see e.g. Lilleker 2006, 99–102, 117–121, 139–143). Especially through indoctrination campaigns popular culture as entertainment can show people that serious issues can be dealt with in entertainment too. In this way popular culture can challenge the role of politics and the traditional news media as the source for political information.

> Green Day, a Californian punk rock band and one of the biggest punk bands in the world, has teamed up with NRDC (The Natural Resources Defense Council) in the United States to make people change the way they see and treat the environment. The band together with NRDC have put up a website through which people can learn simple tricks to lead a more environmentally healthy way of life. Most of these simple measures are aimed against common habits and common ways of living people keep up without giving them a thought. The

campaign is acting as an indoctrination campaign as it is trying to make people give up their bad and unnecessary habits. The website offers information on how our common habits work against our environment and how easily we can live in a more environmentally healthy way. Furthermore, the website opens ways one can take action and tell the American leaders how to protect the environment. This website is not merely a site for Green Day's fans and listeners to surf for information on the band but a site to surf for serious environmental and political information.[7]

Furthermore, Simons et al. (2001, 218–219) claim that campaigns need to confer their legitimacy by others, which is why in-the-name-of-gods and in-the-name-of-the-founding-fathers-or-the-likes are often used in persuasive campaigns. However, if that was the case with persuasive campaigns against the traditional ways, the indoctrination campaigns could never succeed because the powers that be would never legitimize them.

I would argue that it is the persuasion itself and the arguments used in the persuasion that legitimize the campaigns. Campaigns get their legitimization from the persuaded people who become persuaders themselves. Ultimately campaigns depend heavily on the relationship between the sender and the receiver (McQuail 1994, 349). Attention should be paid to the attractiveness and credibility of the source and the moral or affective ties between the audience and the media (the sender) (ibid). In this sense rock music is a good context of persuasion as the relationship between an artists and the audience can be affective, attractive, and credible. The ties are also built through arguments, but arguments can also strengthen the ties artists have with their audience.

In-name-of-gods can also serve easily as moral or affective ties between the persuaders and the persuadees, but they in a way leave no room for the persuadees to decide for themselves whether to accept the persuasive claims or not. If God approves a campaign, for many people the cause must then be good. For instance, George W. Bush justified his campaigning for the War in Iraq with God's name. If one believed his claim, it made the campaigns against the war seem not legitimized. If one had paid any attention to the arguments and the substance of the persuasive messages, one would have legitimized the anti-war campaigns. It is one of the functions of political campaigns to legitimize that what they are campaigning for (Denton Jr. & Woodward 1990, 77).

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[7] Green Day + NRDC – http://www.greendaynrdc.com. Web address visited August 25th 2008.

Another dimension to this is the *locus of benefit*, a term coined by Rogers and Storey (1987, cited in McQuail 1994, 349), noting that some campaigns claim to be in the interest of the recipient (e.g. public information campaigns) while some are clearly in the interest of the sender (e.g. commercial advertisements). In addition to Rogers and Storey's definition, I would also add campaigns that are in the interest of the common good. They are not exactly the same as being in the interest of the recipient, although being in the interest of the common good entails the recipient too. It, however, also entails the world or the society as a broader concept than just the recipient and her/his fellows. Bush's campaign claimed to be in the interest of the recipient but was in fact in the interest of the sender. Political persuasion campaigns in the context of rock music can be in the interest of the recipient and the sender but are, I would argue, often also in the interest of the common good.

Being in the interest of the common good can be done in any persuasive messages. On a larger scale the various "rock aids" have been in the interest of the common good. They have tried to make people change their ways of living or thinking to benefit everyone. With the rock aids many artists have teamed up with other artists to create one big campaign. McQuail (1994, 346–347) maintains that campaigns have often been originated by collectives, such as political parties, organizations, or companies, but popular culture makes the situation somewhat different. The rock aids, for instance, might have been started by one artist alone, but to turn them into massive campaigns other artists have joined in. While none of the rock aids might have reached their ultimate goals, they have still made a difference. For instance, the British 'Rock Against Racism' did not stop racism but it was a factor in the decline of the votes for the extreme right wing and racist National Front party in the 1979 British general election (Shuker 1994, 275). Other rock aids have not abolished poverty or hunger, for instance, but they have been a factor in raising consciousness about the inequalities of the world.

Even if rock aids have not reached their ultimate goals, they have persuaded individuals to favor their causes. In my opinion that would have been a better goal for the rock aids in the first place. With a detailed analysis of what the rock aids actually want to achieve, what they expect to achieve, and what are the minimum achievements that still make them worthwhile, the future rock aids might be better off. We do not have to change the

world at once: when we can change the people, we can change the institutions. (For a discussion of various rock aids see e.g. Shuker 1994, 273–281; Street 1986, 67–81.)

Furthermore, even if campaigns were not started by collectives and even if campaigns in rock music would not reach the status of the rock aids, the certain "do it yourself" attitude rock music often has, works as a substitute for the lack of the bigger collective. Artists can, for instance start a campaign on their MySpace site on which they can have hundreds of thousands of friends all linked to the artist's site. Soon a campaign started by a single artist can have a bigger collective supporting the campaign and persuading on behalf of it. Some artists have the record company's support in their persuasion campaigns to help the artist use all the possible means of popular culture discussed earlier. And last, but not least, artists have their audience. To campaign for a certain cause might be started off by an artist alone but with the persuaded audience, the campaign turns into something more than just one artist persuading against injustices. And that is of course the whole point of political persuasion in general.

OUTRO

In this study I have discussed what persuasion and political communication are, and how the context of rock music can be used for political persuasion. We have seen how artist can have varying relationships between them and their persuadees depending on the various in-groups and out-groups the persuadees belong to, and how the partial noninteractiveness of the context adds its own special features to the persuasion. The context also makes artists' persuasion both interpersonal and mass communication. Artists can have the benefit of both forms of persuasion: they can reach the persuadees "personally" but their work also provides the artists with their own mass medium. Furthermore, to view persuasion in the context of rock music as a campaign due to the availability of the various channels popular culture offers, can help artists in achieving long-lasting persuasion.

The way I have treated persuasion in this study, the way it has been approached on a theoretical level, is by no means a comprehensive one. Instead, my goal was to take what has been written about persuasion into a context in which is has not been studied as such. In this way we can not only learn about persuasion and the communication skills needed to engage in effective persuasion in the context of rock music, but we can also learn more about persuasion as a phenomenon. (This kind of view has been encouraged by e.g. O'Keefe 2003, 34–36.)

The politics of popular music and rock music have been studied from the perspective of, for instance, sociology, culture studies, political economy, critical social theory and even musicology (see e.g. Frith & Goodwin 1990; Street 1986, 1997; Shuker 1994). In my opinion, and as I have showed in this study, communication has many things to offer for studying the politics of popular culture. Taking persuasion as the starting point gives one quite a different view on how rock as a representative of popular culture and politics can mix: it is not a view on how rock music as such has a sociological and political meaning, but a view on how artists can be political actors through their work. The sociological view on popular music and politics is fascinating but the communicational perspective, as it is more concerned with the political message, is in my opinion of no lesser interest.

My focus in this study has been on the verbal persuasion rock artists are engaged in. Due to the scope of the study, one has to limit one's analysis which is why nonverbal persuasion has not been part of the focus in this study. However, not looking at the nonverbal persuasive messages is the same as only looking at one side of a coin. In rock music, the album art works, or T-shirts often have verbal and nonverbal messages combined to serve the goals of persuasion. Also, the nonverbal communication of *artists* in concerts, on photographs, or in interviews, for instance, is a way that artists can facilitate their persuasion. It would be interesting to find out what kind of nonverbal behavior facilitates an artist's persuasion and how nonverbal messages can be harnessed to facilitate persuasion in rock music as effectively as possible. (For a review of the nonverbal resources see e.g. Simons et al. 2001, 104–108.)

Furthermore, to study the effects of verbal and nonverbal persuasion in the sense of which is more persuasive, or whether one should focus on both instead of one or the other, would be a study in its own right. Visual communication and visual aspects are often central to popular culture and one could argue that perhaps verbal messages should not even be separated from nonverbal messages if one wants to analyze messages in rock music. This distinction has been made here, as noted, because to include both in my analysis would have been outside of the scope of a single thesis. (More research on visual aspects of persuasion has been advocated also by e.g. O'Keefe 2003, 39–40.)

To be able to persuade requires persuasion skills and persuasion skills are essentially part of our communication competence (Seiter & Gass 2003, 5). One way to learn about human communication competence can thus be gained through studying persuasion. The aspect of skills and competence is a practical look into persuasion as it is focused on how one becomes a persuader and how one constructs persuasive messages, both verbal and nonverbal. In this study I have given more emphasis on the voice of the communicator, the artists, but taking the persuadees into account matters also in terms of the skills and competence aspect. People become persuaded in different ways, people perceive the persuaders in different ways, and people perceive the persuasion situations and the persuasion contexts in different ways. I have tired to discuss and analyze the many variants that affect persuasion in the context of rock music, but as far as persuadees go, my analysis is incomplete. As Cicero (1, 5; 145) said, persuasion skills are skills one can learn and skills that can benefit even a naturally talented speaker. One way to acquire better persuasion skills and better communication competence, is to learn about the persuadees and how they become persuaded. In the context of rock music it would be especially interesting to know more about how people in the various in-groups and out-groups become persuaded, and how artists are able to persuade as many in the various groups as possible.

Persuadees can also actively resist persuasion. In 1978 Burgoon, Cohen, Miller and Montgomery (cited in Reardon 1991, 101–102) suggested three factors that communicate of the ability to resist a persuasive message if the speaker behavior conflicts with the stereotypical expectations of the communication situation. These factors are 1) the amount of threat or motivation to counterargue the position proposed

in the persuasive message, 2) the degree to which the communication fulfills or violates the persuadees' expectations of appropriate communication or behavior, and 3) the context of the persuasion (ibid). This is related to many aspects dealt with in this study: do people take everything an artist says for granted, do they resist the persuasive messages if they feel that persuasion has violated their expectations? Or do people engage in mindful message processing and let arguments, evidence, and proofs decide whether or not to become persuaded? Resistance to persuasion is also connected to studying the persuadees, and would constitute an interesting study in the context of rock music as well. (See e.g. Pfau & Szabo 2003 for more about persuasion resistance and inoculation studies.)

Another practical view on persuasion and another point for further studies would be how technology is used in artists' political persuasion. I have touched on some ways that artists use technology in their persuasion as I have touched on how technology has altered the notion of interactiveness of the context. Technology-mediated communication is an ever more integral part of our daily lives and thus studying aspects of it is important for gaining up-to-date knowledge and understanding of communication in general (see e.g. Green 2002; Lievrouw & Livingstone 2002; Thurlow, Lengel & Tomic 2004; see also O'Keefe 2003, 39–40 for encouragement for research on technology-mediated persuasion). In rock music besides opening new ways for artists and listeners to interact, technology has also brought along more channels for artists to use in their persuasion. Studying technology-mediated persuasion becomes a natural path to take in future studies especially when one shifts the focus away from that of the message centered classic rhetorical view on persuasion used in this study.

Besides the practical view on persuasion, this thesis has raised some issues and questions in need of more theoretical understanding of persuasion. The context of rock music brings along interesting factors such as the relationship between the persuader and the persuadees. We have seen how artists' persuadees can belong to various in-groups and out-groups which can affect the way they receive persuasive messages. However, to what extent and in which cases the in-groups and out-groups matter is a case for further study. Also the way in which persuasion is interpersonal and mass-mediated is another interesting issue concerning the relationship between the persuader and the persuadees. Knowing more about how people engage in interpersonal

communication through mass-mediated messages would enhance our understanding of persuasion in rock music and in general also. The notion of "two or a few" within millions of listeners, as discussed in chapter 4, blurs the theoretical definitions and lines proposed between interpersonal and mass media persuasion. To study this further can provide us with better understanding of *mediated interpersonal persuasion* (see Cathcart & Gumpert 1986, 30).

Yet another point for further theoretical study of persuasion would be the relationship between the persuasive messages and a context which is essentially open for interpretation. A rhetorical analysis could dig more deeply into how messages of artistic and aesthetic quality are made into persuasive messages so that they do not become manipulative or indirectly coercive. This could also be studied from a comparative point of view by looking at persuasive messages in rock music and persuasive messages in other contexts and analyzing the possible differences in the messages and what is the effect of the context in causing those differences.

Lenart (1994) and Pasek et al. (2006) have studied how media usage affects interest in political issues and political activity. Media is seen as a crucial factor in raising political awareness and engagement, but neither of the studies has taken rock music or music in general into account to the degree it could be taken. Especially Pasek et al. focused on the various forms of media and their effects comparatively but as this present study has shown, music could be taken up as a medium and a source of political information similarly as television, radio, and newspapers, for instance, have been taken.

While we have seen that music is an apt context for political persuasion and that it can function as a medium in raising political awareness and engagement, the big question is of course *can music make a difference*? And while it can be argued that music cannot make a difference, persuasion can. To think of persuasion in the context of rock music as persuasive campaigns is what probably outlines this the best. Persuasive campaigns aim for a more lasting state of being persuaded and ideally those reached become persuaders themselves. Perhaps music does not have to make the difference when it is the persuasion of artists that can change people who can then, in turn, change others.

At the end of the day, we must, however, bear in mind that even with good speech communication and persuasion skills, the persuadees are left with the ability to choose whether or not to accept the persuasive claims. This is at least the case with ethical persuasion. Thus perhaps all that artists can do is to think in terms of the final words in Aristotle's Rhetoric – words which he uses as an example of final words in a speech: I have spoken, you have heard me, you know the facts, make your decision (Aristotle 3.19.1420b).

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