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Songs in the Canadian Women's Movements: Messages Among Three Strands

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ABSTRACT

This paper compares the use of songs in collective identity processes in three strands of the Canadian women's movement: the Mainstream Women's Movement, and two newer strands, the Lesbian Women's Movement and Movement for Christian Feminism. Each strand developed similar core messages expressed in songs but also messages addressing specific group identity issues. We employ three concepts to gauge the importance of songs on the women's movement: collective identity, alternative framing, and efficacy. We content analyze archival data via 56 songs associated with three protest marches (one for each strand between 1979 and 1981), meeting minutes, and directions about how to sing and march. Newer strands were more likely than the original to use songs to form and maintain collective identity. Alternative framing was nearly constant across the groups. Efficacy was least important for the International Women's Day March. The Lesbian Pride March and March for Christian Feminism songs focused more on efficacy. Our historical-comparative analysis suggests newer strands of movements might need to spend more time developing and maintaining collective identity and posing solutions to problems faced by their strand of the movement.

KEYWORDS

Songs; Social Movements; Culture; Feminist Movements; Content Analysis

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INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates the role of songs in establishing collective identity in three strands of the second wave era of the Canadian women's movement. We argue that different movement strands use different songs to achieve their particular goals. In addressing the three strands' usage of songs, we aver that songs allow social movement actors to deliver messages via "collective action frames" (Snow and Benford, 1988, p.136) and establish collective identity, offering alternative frames - frames that are in opposition to dominant ideologies - to their audiences (Epstein, 1990; J. Gamson, 1995; W. Gamson, 1992a; Melucci, 1985), and proposing solutions to the problems of women as a whole and to the particular problems faced by each strand (Roy, 2010; Morris, 1992; Patillo-McCoy, 1998; Denisoff, 1983).

The use of songs as a gauge for collective identity development is a long-standing practice of researchers in the sociology of social movements. Some researchers investigated the role of folk songs in labor movements (Freeman, 1975; Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012; Greenway, 1953), while others analyzed the US civil rights movement (Roy, 2010; Morris, 1992; Patillo-McCoy, 1998). Those who study the women's movement have also been interested in the importance of song, but studies remain sparse (see Reger, 2007; Staggenborg and Lang, 2007; Ross, 2013). This paper fills this gap and adds to the literature on social movements by investigating how songs were used in three strands during the second wave of the women's movement in Canada: the Mainstream Women's Movement, the Lesbian Women's Movement, and the Movement for Christian Feminism.

The second wave of the Canadian women's movement coincided with the second wave of the U.S. women's movement and is recognized by most scholars as beginning with the formation of the National Organization of Women (NOW) in the 1960s (Backhouse, 1992). Evans (1992) argues that in both countries the first wave was concerned with achieving social equality, while the second embraced broader issues such as identity politics. As these changes took place, the women's movement developed strands that strived to make positive changes for women as a whole, while addressing emerging identities (Ferree and Hess, 1994; Reed, 2005). In what follows, we address two research questions: 1) Did songs employed in marches attempt to develop a sense of collective identity, provide alternative frames, and promote efficacy for members of the Canadian women's movement? 2) How were the three social movement strands similar and yet unique in their use of songs to attain particular movement goals? We answer these questions by analyzing songs performed in the Canadian women's movement protest events during the late 1970s and early 1980s. In our conclusion, we discuss how our results inform collective identity processes in social movements and social movement theory more generally.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Developing collective identity is important for the success of social movements. We employ Taylor and Whittier's (1992) definition of collective identity as "the shared definition of a group that derives from members' common interests, experiences, and solidarity" (p. 170). Scholars found that social movement organizations form a collective identity by sharing common ideological, normative, and cultural goals (Bernstein, 2005; Kominski and Taylor, 2008; Polletta and Jasper, 200; Polletta, 1997). Groups employ ritual to identify and separate in-groups from out-groups thereby reinforcing group solidarity (Reger, Meyers, and

Einwohner, 2008; Rupp and Taylor, 1999, 2003; Taylor and Whittier, 1992). Gamson (1991) argued that movement identity is fashioned from preexisting movements, while Ferree and Hess (1994) found social movements develop across time as the context changes or as the main goal of the movement changes. Applying these ideas to the women's movement, Reger (2008) found that millennial students saw themselves in opposition to their mothers' second wave feminism, which they perceived as too conservative because it ignored transgender issues and intersectionality. Thus, how collective identity is created and maintained varies by environment and group (Reger, 1991). We argue the Canadian women's movement developed varied processes of collective identity formation and maintenance across time as newer strands developed. We assess this through a content analysis of songs.

As social movements go through the formation process, groups may develop within the movement. Taylor and Whittier (1992) noted that intragroup boundaries may be formed and maintained via a particular collective identity that is unique from the main movement. Ferree and Hess (1994) and Reed (2005) used the term 'strands' to refer to disparate yet similar women's groups and we follow suit, as the term connotes both similarities and differences among women's groups. For instance, a lesbian strand of the women's movement based on identity politics formed as the larger women's movement was splintering (Bernstein, 1997; Feigenbaum, 2010). These schisms could, but might not always, create factionalism within a movement (Roth, 2008). For instance, Betty Friedan called lesbians in the second wave of the women's movement the "lavender menace" (Shukla, 2008, p. 111). Yet, this obvious instance of factionalism was not necessarily the norm. Gamson (1991) sees boundary layers among groups (organizational, movement, solidarity) overlapping and shifting across time and place. In sum, while some research focused on the negative nature of strands, social movement strands enable members of each strand to create and maintain a particular collective identity, while each strand's larger status as women make them a part of a broader social movement.

Songs are important in creating and maintaining collective identity in social movements and in the strands that form within them. Eyerman (2002) saw songs as bringing people together to create and share common culture, while Gamson (1992) saw songs both aiding in the formation of social movements and their continuation. In this process, social movements express and address grievances and can develop an oppositional consciousness (Morris, 1992; Gamson, 1995; Mansbridge, 2001; Schwalbe and Mason-Shrock, 1996). An oppositional consciousness plays an important symbolic role in social movements (Melucci, 1985). A monolithic oppositional consciousness developed by a larger social movement may have less appeal to strands within a social movement because their particular goals might seem more important. Snow and Benford (1988) argued that groups need an alternative frame to help form an oppositional consciousness, and other researchers support this claim (Gamson, 1995; Mansbridge, 2001; Schwalbe and Mason-Shrock, 1996). Snow, Rochford and Benford (1986) saw alternative frames as bringing a "systematic alteration" or "radical reconstitution" to how social movement adherents see their place in society. Thus, we define alternative frames as frames which give social movement adherents a new view of their place in society. Eyerman (2002), however, argued that some alternative frames may be too broad to attract adherents. For instance, research found depression-era southern US textile strikers rejected songs of outside union organizers in favor of songs crafted by co-workers because the workers felt the songs better addressed their problems and grievances (Roscigno and Danaher, 2004; Salmond, 1995).

An alternative frame may introduce solutions to problems. This efficacy can guide the actions of a social movement, leading to action, from simple to radical. The strands of the women's movement demonstrate how these differences in efficacy and alternative framing played out, as social movement adherents and activists turned to songs to express themselves. Klatch (2001) and Polletta (1998) found the women's movement enabled women to turn oppositional consciousness into feminist consciousness via narratives in song. Yet, particular strands of the women's movement adopted songs unique to their specific issues as well as songs speaking to the issues of the larger social movement (Love, 2002).

The role of songs is clear. Songs help develop collective identity, present alternative frames, and offer solutions to social problems. Songs act as cultural resources within social movements (Williams 1995). In our analysis below, we assess how songs addressed these issues in the Canadian Mainstream Women's Movement and its two strands, the Lesbian Women's Movement and the Movement for Christian Feminism.

BACKGROUND

The Canadian women's movement emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries as a mix of suffrage, prohibition, unionism, and charity organizations. As in other Western industrialized countries, namely the United States, Prentice *et al*. (1988) found the first wave of feminism largely abated when most Canadian women gained federal suffrage in 1918, although racial and ethnic exclusions still restricted some women from voting. Activists moved on to other issues but maintained their ties to each other forged in the suffrage battles of the early 20th century. Feminism resurfaced nationally in the 1960s in its second wave with women joining the movement from many segments of society with different ideas for what the movement could achieve. For example, thousands of newly college-educated women joined the movement to demand better employment opportunities. These institutionally-oriented feminists directed their activism to the federal level, lobbying for policy changes from the Canadian government to guarantee equal political and employment status. Other women became involved in feminist activism after being mobilized in the anti-war, New Left, Québec independence, and socialist movements, among others. The women's liberation wing, populated by these radical and socialist activists, brought new issues and strategies to the fore. As the movement expanded, the number of feminist identities grew, including rural women, women of color, immigrants, religious women, and lesbians.

Bernstein (2005) and Love (2002) found that by the later 1970s, the U.S. women's movement began to splinter into groups focusing on particular identities. Mainstream institutional feminists consolidated their presence in the National Action Committee (NAC) on the Status of Women (2012). The NAC, which emerged in 1971, was borne of feminist frustration with the government's slow implementation of the recommendations from the Royal Commission on Status of Women. The NAC was seen as the official representative of Canadian women's interests, representing more than 400 organizations by the end of the 1980s. This followed a similar pattern to the U.S. women's movement, where the National Organization for Women (NOW) was formed in 1966 to remedy what many in the women's movement saw as a lack of government enforcement of the Civil Rights Act when it came to giving women equal rights. However, some women felt NOW was too conservative and lacked sufficient focus on battling oppression through

women's liberation, resulting in the formation of different strands of the women's movement.

MacPherson (1994) argued that the Canadian women's movement was left wing, enabled by organizations such as the Congress of Canadian Women. In spite of these left-leaning propensities, Vickers (1992) found that even though movement strands shared characteristics with the main movement, specific goals tied to collective identity formation and maintenance differed by strand. For instance, Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail (1988) found lesbian feminists were prominent in the socialist and radical grassroots branch of the movement and developed distinct identities based on criticism of economic and political structures. The Movement for Christian Feminism brought the recommendations from the Royal Commission into religious institutions. Their agenda included "challenging the concept of God as Father, the male dominance of the roles of priest and minister, and the introduction of more gender inclusive language in worship" (Wyatt, 2011, p. 129). Their dual identity as Christian outsiders and women's movement insiders shaped their feminism in fundamental ways. Following this literature, we argue each strand shared ideas with the mainstream Canadian women's movement but developed unique strategies of their own. The two strands we investigate in this paper used alternative framing to identify problems and find solutions specific to their strand around identity politics (Bernstein, 1997; Klatch, 2001). In fact, Bernstein (1997), highlighting theoretical work of Doug McAdam (McAdam, 1982; Friedman and McAdam, 1992; McAdam, 1994), argued that the U.S. women's movement turned towards fulfilling instrumental goals via a political process. This cultural turn was seen as more applicable to understanding new social movements than political opportunity theories that focused on goal-oriented strategies (see McCarthy, McAdam, and Zald, 1996). Just as in the women's movement in the U.S., the Canadian women's movement went through a process of change whereby identity expression became more important (Backhouse, 1992). Strands within the movement reflected differing expression of identity, yet, all strands came together in the late 1970s and early 1980s when social movement participants realized that women were being excluded from the Canadian Charter of Rights (CCRF, 1982). Women took to the streets to air their grievances and called for inclusion for all women. These protests events were important avenues to express particular grievances and push for official government recognition for various strands of the movement.

Protestors expressed their grievances through song. Betty Friedan (1976) recognized the power of music to bring women together and how it could be used to push for equality and foster solidarity. Research backed Friedan's position on music and its effects on women protestors and audiences. Canadian women participating in protest events used songs as integral elements of their public persona. Kendon (1990) and McNeil (1995) found participation in singing is central to cognitive, emotional, and physiological prerequisites needed to construct and maintain collective identity, form alternative frames, and propose solutions. Sociological research has also supported these contentions. For instance, Jasper (1998) discussed the importance of emotions in tying groups together during the act of singing (see also Jasper, 1997). Songs often provide a solution to life's problems. Taylor and Whittier (1992) saw women presenting solutions to real-life problems as giving them a sense of accomplishment. In the case of the Canadian women's movement, we suspect each group defined real change and recognition of their unique concerns, in addition to those of the broader women's movement. In sum, we expect different instrumental goals for the three strands of the Canadian

women's movement and different ways of expressing identity in the songs they sang. We expect the mainstream strand to espouse more traditional messages because they are interested in gaining equality for women rather than radically changing society. We expect the Christian strand to employ Christianity's messages of faith, love, and hope, and the lesbian strand to focus more on identity politics through expressions of their differences.

DATA AND METHODS

Data come from the University of Ottawa (2021) Morisset Library Archives and Special Collections. This is the most complete collection of songs for the Canadian women's movement for this period of which we are aware. We analyzed 56 songs retrieved from the archives of three Canadian social movement organizations associated with three protest events between 1979 and 1981. The International Women's Day March occurred in Vancouver on March 8, 1979, and used thirteen songs (IWD, 1979). The Lesbian Pride March was staged in Toronto on October 9, 1981, and used eighteen songs (LPM, 1981). The March for Christian Feminism took place from April 28 to May 4, 1979, in Bolton (50 kilometers north of Toronto) and used twenty-five songs (MCF, 1979). The validity of these songs is strengthened through the fact that they were actually used in marches. The songs were chosen because they were used in protests recognizing that women were being excluded from the Canadian Charter of Rights (CCRF, 1982). In addition to the songs, The International Women's Day March files contained fliers advertising the march and expressed marchers' concerns. The Lesbian Pride March files contained meeting minutes and directions about how to sing and march (LPM, 1981). The meeting minutes had discussion of plans for the marches and how songs would be used. Directions enabled us to determine that the songs were actually used for the purposes of forming and maintaining collective identity, presenting alternative frames, and for efficacy (posing solutions to problems) in front of large crowds by large numbers of marchers. These data helped us understand how songs were important for protest events and construction and enactment of rituals.

Our data are employed to measure the concepts presented above (collective identity, alternative framing, and efficacy) and their importance in the Canadian women's movement. Because the data comes from three separate marches, each representing a different strand of the women's movement, we could compare the importance of each concept for each movement and the relative importance across movements. Our analysis is important because we compare within and across marches to gauge what types of messages the strand focuses on, something rarely done, making the analysis unique and important for the analysis of the Canadian women's movement, the women's movement as a whole, and social movements more generally. Begin (1992) argued that the songs from the Canadian women's movement were important in the passage of the 1982 Canadian Charter of Rights, which gave greater freedom to women. Therefore, we argue that the impact of these songs, which were performed shortly before the passage of the charter, had a special importance in leading to rights for women in Canada.

Our analysis aimed at discovering 1) how the women's movement used songs, 2) the focus of these songs, and 3) how each strand employed songs. We began with an analysis of songs from each march. We then examined how the songs reflected our central concepts by performing a content analysis of all 56 songs. To analyze the data, we coded each song along three central concepts: collective identity,

alternative framing, and efficacy. Consistent with Hodson (1992), we identified whether a song was representative of a category based on its overarching message. Two authors coded the data, (reaching inter-rater reliability of 77 percent), discussed divergent coding, and came to an agreement on fit. Songs were coded as representing collective identity if they focused on bringing protestors together, forming solidarity, and mentioning the group with such terms as "we," "us," and "women." This fits Taylor and Whittier's (1992) definition of collective identity. We coded songs as stressing alternative framing if they suggested another way of looking at the world (Snow and Benford, 1988). Songs whose main thrust was espousing solutions to problems, sometimes through thought or action, we coded as efficacy (Klatch, 2001; Polletta, 1998). After this, we compared the use of songs among the three strands using a quantitative analysis method to discover which of the concepts was most important relative to the others across the three groups. Below, we present songs by movement to determine how each framed its concerns, employing lyrics to demonstrate the influence of the songs. Then, we compare song themes across frames to determine the relative importance of frames by movement.

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY MARCH

The Mainstream Women's Movement sponsored the International Women's Day March in Vancouver, Canada in 1979 and used thirteen songs. 69 percent of songs at this event concerned collective identity (see Table 1). Greenway (1953) found that other social movements established collective identity in the 20th century U.S. by employing some of these songs. The song "Bread and Roses" provides an example. Schneir (1994) noted that the song was originally inspired by the slogan of women workers during the 1912 Lawrence, Massachusetts woolen mill employees strike with lyrics penned by James Oppenheim.

> As we come marching, marching in the beauty of the day
> A million darkened kitchens, a thousand mill lofts gray
> Are touched with all the radiance that a sudden sun discloses
> For the people hear us singing "Bread and Roses! Bread and Roses!"

"Bread and Roses" tells the plight of the oppressed women and the song is well known, giving it broad appeal and applicability. Women workers who used it in the labor movement shared many of the grievances with the women in the women's movement. This speaks to the ability of social movements to change society, regardless of the group in question.

Other traditional songs important in collective identity maintenance and formation were also used in the International Women's Day March. "Union Maid" and "Circle Be Unbroken" are traditional songs, easily recognized and sung. The chorus of "Union Maid" provides an example:

> You can't scare me, I'm sticking to the union (repeated 3 times)
> I'm sticking to the union 'til the day I die

"Union Maid" is a song of solidarity. On a flyer prepared for the International Women's Day March, there is one word that appears much larger than the rest: "Solidarity." Organizers handed out flyers to marchers at the rally so they could know what to do and when to do it. Flyers also carried messages crafted to bolster

solidarity. The theme of solidarity is juxtaposed with the word "Isolation" on the flyer. The larger message was that isolation could lead to feelings of powerlessness, while solidarity with other women could lead to feeling in control. The flyer goes on to enumerate the ways in which women are isolated from each other, both how and where: "At Home, On the Job, In the Streets, and Locked Away" (in Prisons and Mental Hospitals). The act of protesting, with its marching and singing, allowed women to escape their isolation and form and maintain identities as women, making connections at the march that could last across time.

However, formation and maintenance of collective identity was just one intent of the songs - another was alternative framing. Table 1 shows that nearly 31 percent of songs at the International Women's Day March offered alternative frames. By framing their problems in a different light, women identified conditions that may have seemed normal but were in reality oppressive. In "Custom Made Woman Blues," the singer tells how she tried to conform to the traditional expectations, "…made to please, not to tease." However, when her man says he is tired of her, she realizes "…the lessons I learned so young were all lies." The song enables women at the march to share a reframed common reality with their fellow marchers and observers.

The final theme found in the songs concerned efficacy – posing solutions to problems articulated in other songs. Nearly 31 percent of the songs addressed solutions. The song "Fight Back" provides a solution to problems women faced. Women are encouraged to fight with words and actions. The song "Beware Take Care" offers a less physical solution but gives guidance when it says:

> We know young men are bold and free
> Beware, O take care
> They'll tell you they're friends
> But they're liars you see
> Beware, O take care

Songs from International Women's Day March by concern (n=13)

Song	*Collective Identity*	*Alternative Framing*	*Efficacy*
Custom Made Woman Blues		X	
Fight Back	X	X	X
Union Maid	X		
Sister-Woman-Sister	X		
It Could Have Been Me	X		X
Bread and Roses	X		
Circle Be Unbroken			
Still Ain't Satisfied		X	
We are the River	X		
Beware, O Take Care		X	X
Farther Along	X		
Testimony	X		X
Long Time Friends	X		

Table 1: Songs from the International Women's Day March

Just as in "Custom Made Women's Blues," "Beware Take Care" warns women to look for dishonesty and extols that just because something has always been a certain way doesn't mean it has to remain that way. In contrast to "Custom Made Women's Blues," "Beware Take Care" calls for change, recognizing a new perspective is warranted and possible. It shows women that they have a problem in common and that they can do something to change it.

THE MARCH FOR CHRISTIAN FEMINISM

The Movement for Christian Feminism was also finding a voice at this time. In late April and early May, 1979, the group held a rally in Bolton, Ontario, not far from Toronto, the scene of the International Women's Day March. In contrast to this latter march, the March for Christian Feminism featured nearly twice the number of songs at 25 (see Table 2). 19 of these songs, or 76 percent, encouraged collective identity. One finds many traditional songs in the set list, such as, "For the Beauty of the Earth" and "We are Gathered." These songs are well known in the Protestant Christian repertoire and are easy to follow. Thus, they are important in forming and maintaining a Christian identity and bolstering solidarity. However, there are other songs that are particular to this group of Christian women that transcend the

traditional messages of peace and love and add to them lyrics espousing democratic principles, such as the song "Equality, Freedom, and Peace." This song includes two important ideas from the larger women's movement: equality and justice. In the lyrics below, the word "peace" evokes the "turn the other cheek" message of Christianity:

> Women now are working
> To build a better world
> Where the dove of peace can rest on every shore
> Where men lay down their weapons
> And learn to love and share
> Where people work to bring an end to war

The messages of peace and love are paramount here. However, the song goes on to call for something greater - equality and justice - when it says:

> We'll speak out now for justice and development
> And hold the rights of all the people high

Here, Christian identity is combined with democratic principles. These identities are compatible because ridding society of inequality through justice is a basic principle of Christianity. This puts the group squarely in the mainstream and, one would think, with dominant ideologies. But the mere fact that the songs point out that democratic principles and Christianity were not at odds was, in itself, an indictment of the social system where women were denied equal rights with men.

30 percent of the songs from the March for Christian Feminism present alternative frames. Songs ask women to see a new way of looking, feeling, and acting. "Move, Sisters, Move" turns feeling into action, while "We Might Come in A-Fightin'" takes action a step further as it says there will no longer be "feminine bargaining." "Banks of Fire" evokes the Phoenix rising from the ashes when it tells women to "rise together." One of its verses articulates an alternative frame through a call to action:

> Victims of an age-old system
> Dying slowly in submission
> Ain't our natural condition
> Sisters rise together

The alternative frame in "Banks of Fire" commands that women rise together to defeat the old, unnatural system, reflecting the Christian belief that Jesus Christ rose from the grave to defeat a system of violent domination.

48 percent of songs of the March for Christian Feminism present solutions for efficacy. "Equality, Development, and Peace," a song by Carole A. Etzler, is represented twice, the second with altered lyrics. "We Might Just Come A-Fightin'" has six verses, while "Now is the Time" has only two. However, both songs employ the word "fight" or "fighting", in contrast to the message of peace found in "Equality, Development, and Peace." While the admonition to "turn the other cheek" is presented, so is the older message of an "eye for an eye."

Songs from the March for Christian Feminism by concern (n=25)

Song	*Collective Identity*	*Alternative Framing*	*Efficacy*
Banks of Fire	X	X	
Equality Development and Peace	X	X	X
Sister Come Live at the Edge of the World	X		
Move, Sisters, Move	X		X
Sister is Crying	X		X
Out of the Garden			X
Singing Praises			X
Sometimes I Wish			X
Vision	X	X	
We Are Dancing Sarah's Circle	X		
We Might Come in A-Fighting	X	X	X
For the Beauty of the Earth	X		
Lady of Birth	X		
Faith of the Ages	X	X	
Lead On, O Cloud of Yahweh	X		X
We Are Gathered	X		X
One Woman's Hand	X	X	
Some Day All Women Will Sing	X		
Now is the Time	X	X	X
Womanriver Flowing On			
Do You Know the Way to Freedom	X		X
Spirit of God	X		
Morning Has Broken			
Equality Development and Peace*	X		X
There Was a Young Woman		X	

*Contains an alternate verse to the first version, changing the overall tone of the song.

Table 2: Songs from the March for Christian Feminism

THE LESBIAN PRIDE MARCH

The songs of the Lesbian Women's Movement were featured in the Lesbian Pride March – both traditional songs and songs that addressed specific issues of the strand. Before analyzing the songs, it seems important to discuss the use of the term "pride" in the title of the march and how it tied into lesbian identity. By using

"pride," participants in the Lesbian Pride March announced to all that they were not ashamed of their status. The overt message was that members of subordinate groups should be proud – not ashamed – of their identities. In meeting minutes, organizers discussed whether feminists and Marxists were the same and whether feminists were Bourgeoise. So, as organizers were crafting lesbian identity, they were aware they had something in common with other groups, Marxists and feminists, and these connections were sometimes reflected in their musical choices.

The Lesbian Pride March used eighteen songs, and 83 percent are concerned with developing and maintaining identity. Some songs are traditional, such as "Bread and Roses" and "Union Maid," although most of these songs have at least one modified verse that addressed topics specific to lesbian women. There are also original songs addressing contentious issues between women and men. Seven songs criticize men. For instance, the original version of "Bread and Roses" has a verse espousing solidarity among men and women but in the song sheets from the march that verse is crossed out. Instead, lyric notes have been added that say, "We do like, like a dyke." Four songs contained references to Marxist ideas and used terms "capital" or "capitalism." Indeed, materials on the Lesbian Pride March were filed in the same bin in the library archive as Marxist materials. Six songs displayed frustration and anger, using terms such as "fight" or "fighting," "rage," or "mean." It is important to note, however, that in instructions about how to act at the march, there was a note saying, "We are gentle loving people." Lesbian Pride March songs contain lyrics that bolster group pride as well as identifying frustrations with the status quo. Marchers were also instructed on where (special points) to sing certain songs. For instance, marchers were instructed to sing "Leaping Lesbians" when walking into City Hall.

Looking at the songs as a whole, just over 83 percent concerned identity formation or maintenance (see Table 3). The song, "Round One," calls for all women to "organize" and declares "We're here." "We Shall Not Be Moved" is a traditional Black spiritual that was used in the Civil Rights Movement to bolster solidarity and identity. Just as African Americans spoke out for their freedoms to assemble and protest in public, so did members of the Lesbian Pride March.

Songs from the Lesbian Pride March by concern (n=18)

Song	*Collective Identity*	*Alternative Framing*	*Efficacy*
The Internationale	X	X	
Leaping	X		
Round Won	X	X	X
Bye Boys	X	X	
I'm Tired of Fuckers			
Fucking Over Me		X	X
Battle Song of Women (Solidarity Forever*)	X		X
Strong and Loving Women	X		X
Union Maid	X		X
Bread and Roses	X		
March On	X		
We Shall Not Be Moved	X		
Cut Off His Membership			X
Song of the Soul	X		
Beware, O Take Care	X		
Working Class Woman		X	
Estevan (Kevin Barry*)	X		X
Boss Man	X		
I Love Struggle (Teenager in Love*)	X	X	X

*Sung to the tune of these songs.

Table 3: Songs from the Lesbian Pride March

Just over 33 percent of songs presented alternative frames. "Round One" calls for equal pay and better working conditions. "Working Class Women" envisions a world where women have more control over their life. In "Working Class Women," the singer says:

> I wanted a partner, to be his friend not just his wife
> I'll work hard for my children but they're my love not my life
> And I know it takes struggle and I know it takes time
> I'm a working class women, and the future is mine (repeat)

The lyrics in the song do not deny love of children but do provide an alternative to the traditional role of "wife." The song lays out a future where women will have a say in how they live their lives.

Alternative framing is apparent when song lyrics are changed to reframe the importance of being a lesbian and recognizing lesbian status. This reframing takes a comic guise in "Leaping Lesbians" ("they are everywhere," says the song). But

reframing takes a more serious note when "Bye Boys" proposes that women leave relationships with men behind:

> I'm through with romance, I'm through with jerks
> I'm through the tryin' to make love work
> And here's the reason that I'm so free
> 'Cause loving women feels fine to me

"Bye Boys" shows the frustration that women have felt dealing with relationships with men. The reality that women have had to "make love work" and put up with "jerks" speaks volumes to members of the marchers for lesbian rights. "Loving women" becomes an alternative to the status quo, benefiting women but not men.

Songs espousing a solution to lesbians' place in society would seem appropriate and, in fact, efficacy is often present in the songs of the Lesbian Pride March with over 55 percent of songs addressing solutions to problems. Solutions range from taking control and "striking a tune" in "Round One" to taking revenge over rape in the song "Cut Off His Membership." "The Battle Song for Women" (sung to the tune of "Solidarity Forever") tells men:

> Move on over, or we'll move you over (repeated three times)
> The women's time has come

The lyrical example above demonstrates that lesbians are tired of men standing in their way and describes how they will move them out of the way, if necessary, by taking direct, physical action.

COMPARING SONG MESSAGES BY STRAND

This section compares messages of songs across the three strands of the Canadian women's movement. As in the sections above, collective identity was the dominant theme in the majority of songs while alternative framing was identified in a third of all songs (see Table 4). Efficacy themes were evident in a slight majority of Lesbian Pride March and March for Christian Feminism songs but in less than a third of International Women's Day March songs. We explore potential differences in the themes across the movements and use statistical guidelines appropriate for exploratory analyses.

About 69 percent of International Women's Day March songs were coded as addressing collective identity, compared to about 83 percent of Lesbian Pride March songs and 76 percent of March for Christian Feminism songs. There is a 14.2 percentage point difference between the presence of identity themes between the International Women's Day March and the Lesbian Pride March, a 6.8 percentage point difference between the International Women's Day March and the March for Christian Feminism, and, finally, a 7.3 percentage point difference between the Lesbian Pride March and the March for Christian Feminism (Cramer's V = .12). There is no difference in the presence of alternative framing by rally. There is just over a 20 percentage point difference between the presence of efficacy themes in the International Women's Day March songs (just over thirty percent) versus the Lesbian Pride March and the March for Christian Feminism, where over 50 percent of songs found efficacy present (Cramer's V = .19).

Presence of Themes by Rally*

	International Women's Day March	*Lesbian Pride March*	*March for Christian Feminism*
Collective Identity			
Yes	69.2 (7)	83.3 (15)	76.0 (19)
No	30.8 (4)	16.7 (3)	24.0 (6)
Alternative Framing			
Yes	30.8 (4)	33.3 (6)	32.0 (8)
No	69.2 (9)	66.7 (12)	68.0 (17)
Efficacy (solutions)			
Yes	30.8 (4)	55.6 (10)	52.0 (13)
No	69.2 (9)	44.4 (8)	48.0 (12)
Total songs	13	18	25

*Three separate contingency tables presented. Percentages are presented with frequency counts in parentheses.

Table 4: Presence of Themes by Rally

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis of the Canadian women's movement of the 1970s covered three groups: the Mainstream Women's Movement, the Movement for Christian Feminism, and the Lesbian Women's Movement. Each strand of the women's movement relied on songs to tie together marchers by using traditional songs and themes. Yet, each had its particular focus as evidenced in our analysis of songs used at marches that were important in establishing and maintaining boundaries and particular identities. Songs for all strands addressed collective identity, alternative framing, and efficacy. In this study, we posed two questions: 1) Did songs attempt to develop a sense of collective identity, provide alternative frames, and encourage efficacy for members of the Canadian women's movement? and 2) How did the three social movement strands differ in their use of songs to attain their particular movement goals?

In answer to the first question, we found songs of the Canadian women's movement did use songs that were designed to bring movement members together, outline problems, and pose solutions. Most of the songs in our analysis across all strands focused on collective identity. We can see this in the use of such classic protest

songs as “Bread and Roses” and “Union Maid”, which appeared in the song list used for the International Women’s Day March and the Lesbian Pride March. These songs were used in the labor movement as well but have another meaning for the women’s movement, since they can be reinterpreted as songs about women’s equality rather than worker equality. While these particular songs have a broad appeal, at least in the US and Canada, many songs of the women’s movement addressed concerns specific to women, such as sexism and voting rights. We found that the songs did so in an instrumental manner, often expressing emotional themes and calling for action. The Mainstream Women’s Movement addressed collective identity by urging women to remember longtime friends, be like sisters, and give testimony. The Movement for Christian Feminism focused on identity around Christian values of peace and love. In the March for Christian Feminism songs, messages centering on collective identity were important but posing solutions was also important. The Christian strand particularly employed traditional songs with themes from the Christian canon, like “We are Gathered” and “Spirit of God”, to foster collective identity. The message in these songs was both Christian and feminist, both earthly and spiritual. Thus, Christian women were looking to their Christian culture and identity to foster solidarity. The Lesbian Women’s Movement addressed problems of discrimination both due to their being women and embracing an alternative gender identity, putting them in line with other new social movements (see Laraña, Johnston, and Gusfield, 1994). The lesbian strand also had a strong investment in coming up with solutions and changing outsiders’ perceptions. The Lesbian Women’s March songs sometimes expressed anger but more often called for togetherness and sisterhood. Alternative framing was present for all groups but was minor when compared to songs of collective identity. Efficacy was more present in the two smaller strands, Christian and lesbian. Given that the women’s movement was changing to address issues of identity, it is not surprising that these newer strands would express solutions to their particular problems through messages that were not at the forefront of the Mainstream Women’s Movement. In other words, our analysis indicates that the Mainstream Women’s Movement was interested in gathering adherents, rather than changing the way non-movement members viewed them or posing solutions to problems.

This brings us to our second question: How did the three social movement strands differ in their use of songs to attain their particular movement goals? To better understand how the strands established and maintained messages through songs, we compared across strands and found that they varied in the importance of song themes they used at rallies. At the International Women’s Day March, songs focusing only on identity were the most important and this was also the case for the Lesbian Pride March. The March for Christian Feminism songs focused the least on identity across the three strands. Songs focusing only on alternative framing were three times as likely at International Women’s Day March when compared with the Lesbian Pride March. Interestingly, no songs in the March for Christian Feminism focused solely on alternative framing. Songs focusing solely on efficacy were most important in the March for Christian Feminism, around half as important for the Lesbian Pride March, and played no role in International Women’s Day March. The two break-off strands were more invested in coming up with solutions, especially in reference to identity issues that were of particular concern to Christian and lesbian women.

This paper contributes to collective identity theory by pointing out how identity processes change within a social movement as new groups with specific problems find their voice and express their particular concerns and solutions. Women’s

expressions of collective identity reflected how social movements look to other movements for their playbook on how to develop a collective identity; in this case, the labor movement was their main source. Each strand built on traditional songs but changed lyrics in songs to address their specific foci, and wrote new songs that demonstrated how their interests both converged and diverged from the larger movement. While this paper demonstrates how identity processes played out and how new frames can be used to express emerging concerns, there were some areas the paper does not address. One drawback is that it does not investigate the role of historical context. The Canadian women's movement of the time was played out in favorable opportunity structures, given the passage of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women Report in the late 1960s, leading those involved in the movement to conclude that the government could be counted on to support changing opportunities for women, according to Begin (1992), Hicks (1992), and McCammon, Campbell, Granberg and Mowery (2001). Future research would benefit from an analysis of the dynamics among social movements within their political contexts. Another limitation is that the data are not necessarily representative of all songs of the Canadian women's movement but only the three marches that were analyzed. Greater availability of digital archival data might remedy this issue in the future (see Withers, 2014).

The songs from the three strands of the Canadian women's movement demonstrate how activists attempted to change some long-held beliefs and values of society in their expression of alternative framing and efficacy, while embracing others through collective identity processes. In this way, song choices demonstrate how movements can challenge preconceptions about groups and attempt to change how members of society think about them. Collective identity markers associated also differ by strand leading to contrasting messages in songs. Songs can frame messages particular to a strand, carving out a unique identity. Research on how groups carve out particular identities as new ones arise in society is of great importance in sociology, since the study of social change is one of the key underlying societal processes.

Second-wave Women's Movement organizers were steeped in the music of the folk revival of the 1960s and 1970s, so they used traditional songs (Rosenthal and Flacks, 2012). The contemporary Women's Movement employs traditional and current songs in their protest repertoire. For instance, Sara Lee Guthrie, Woody Guthrie's daughter, sang "This Land is Your Land" at the 2017 Women's March on Washington (YouTube, 2021a) and sings "Which Side Are You On?" at concerts (YouTube 2021b). While these songs are not in our data, the second-wave Women's Movement used old labor songs in our study, for instance, "Bread and Roses". The continued performance of traditional songs signals their relevance today, but popular music seemed more important for the 2017 Women's March on Washington. For instance, the song "Quiet" became "...an emotional rallying cry for self-empowerment and unity. The group of women [who performed the song] rehearsed together via Skype and rendezvoused in D.C., where they performed a cappella versions of "Quiet" several times during the march (Hilton 2017)." This speaks to the continued use of songs to empower women but also to social movement members choosing songs that resonate with them the most. When Maher (2018) suggested a list of empowering songs for listening while participating in the Women's March on Washington, all were contemporary. And yet, "We Shall Overcome" (the classic Civil Rights song) was sung at the Women's March on Washington (Powell 2017), demonstrating how some songs have universal appeal that bridges movements across time and space.

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