

Fall 2009

Rage From Within the Machine: Protest Music, Social Justice, and Educational Reform, a Collective Case Study

John A. Giancola Jr.

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RAGE FROM WITHIN THE MACHINE:
PROTEST MUSIC, SOCIAL JUSTICE, AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM,
A COLLECTIVE CASE STUDY

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Education

Duquesne University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Education

By

John A. Giancola, Jr.

December 2009

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John A. Giancola, Jr.

2009

DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
INTERDISCIPLINARY DOCTORAL PROGRAM FOR EDUCATIONAL
LEADERS

Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
 For the Degree of Doctor of Education (Ed.D.)

Presented by:

John A. Giancola, Jr.
 B.S., Education, Slippery Rock University, 1991
 M.Ed., Educational Administration, Westminster College, 1999

July 31, 2009

RAGE FROM WITHIN THE MACHINE: PROTEST MUSIC, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND
 EDUCATIONAL REFORM: A COLLECTIVE CASE STUDY

_____, Chair
 Peter Miller, Ph.D.
 Assistant Professor in the Department of Foundations and Leadership
 Duquesne University

_____, Member
 James E. Henderson, Ed.D.
 Professor of Educational Leadership and
 Director, Interdisciplinary Doctoral Program for Educational Leaders
 Duquesne University School of Education

_____, Member
 Michael Bjalobok, Ed.D.
 Superintendent, South Side Area School District

Program Director
 James E. Henderson, Ed.D.
 Professor of Educational Leadership and
 Director, Interdisciplinary Doctoral Program for Educational Leaders
 Duquesne University School of Education

ABSTRACT

RAGE FROM WITHIN THE MACHINE:
PROTEST MUSIC, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM:
A COLLECTIVE CASE STUDY

By

John A. Giancola, Jr.

December 2009

Dissertation supervised by Dr. Peter M. Miller

School reform initiatives in the United States have been occurring since the launching of Sputnik by the U.S.S.R. in 1957. These efforts have largely been internal, within school reforms, with little consideration given to external variables such as poverty that affect student achievement. Given the pervasive link between poverty and student achievement, the author argues for an expanded leadership lens which includes social justice. In an effort to learn more about social justice, three socially conscious activist musicians/groups were studied in a qualitative collective case study. The formative influences of the artists were analyzed. The activist activity of the bands was also examined.

Six emergent themes were identified from the study of the musicians, and each theme had educational implications. Lastly, suggestions for further research were listed.

DEDICATION

To my wife and daughters:

Denise, Maria, and Olivia Giancola

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my wife Denise for always supporting me, especially with this very time consuming endeavor! You have worked exceptionally hard to keep our home functioning during my long periods of study, and I will always be grateful. You are my biggest supporter and my best friend. Thanks for believing in me!

Maria and Olivia, you have been a constant source of inspiration to me since your births. Since I became a father, I have become a much better man. You are the inspiration for all that I do!!! I promise that I will make up for all of the time that I missed with you while I was working on my doctorate.

I would like to thank my mom and dad, Veda and John Giancola. Mom, you taught me the importance of learning and education. I feel so much appreciation for all that you did for me, and I wish that you were here to celebrate this achievement. Dad, you also encouraged my love of learning; and you refused to accept mediocrity from me in academics, music, or anything else that I pursued.

The members of my committee have been a great source of support. To my chair, Dr. Peter Miller, thanks for encouraging and supporting my seemingly obtuse dissertation idea. Without you, I would not have been able to finish this project! Dr. James Henderson, thanks for supporting me when I was ready to quit the program. Also, thanks for your very insightful comments on writing style. Dr. Michael Bjalobok, thanks for your continued and constant support in my development as an educator.

I thank my brother and sister, Drew Giancola and Joni Pelland for the assistance that you have provided throughout my life.

I would like to thank the staff at Rowan Elementary School, the greatest school on the planet. I am truly blessed to work with such a phenomenal, caring, and child centered staff.

Dr. Jeffrey Fuller, you have been a great colleague, mentor and friend. You convinced me to pursue this dream and I thank you. I would also like to thank Dr. Donald Tylinski for his support of my doctoral work.

My two assistant principals during my Duquesne studies were Nannette Farmer and DeeAnn Graham. Thanks to both of you for running things so efficiently while I was on campus at Duquesne.

Thanks to the members of my band, Shawn, Ray, Steve, Ken and Chris, and all of our fans, for supporting me at our shows. By hanging out with you on Saturday nights, I was able get away from academics and scream my head off for a bit, which was much needed!

Lastly, I would like to thank the members of the IDPEL Cohort of 2009. You are an exceptional group of individuals, and I will fondly remember the experiences that we had together.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“For the introduction of a new kind of music must be shunned as imperiling the whole state; since styles of music are never disturbed without affecting the most important political institutions.” Plato

The link between poverty and student achievement is very strong (Anyon, 2005, Berliner, 2007). Internal school reform efforts can only go so far without accounting for factors which are outside of the schoolhouse. The amelioration of poverty through social activism may be a way in which educational reform can take place. Social activism has been espoused by musical artists with great effect (Phull, 2008). This dissertation will look at musicians who have been engaged in issues of social justice. The selected artists have been involved through their socially conscious music, through their activism, and sometimes through their call for revolution. Lessons learned from these artists will be applied to school leadership, in an attempt to learn from these non-traditional leaders.

The idea for this study began in 1962, which was the year of my birth. It was a simpler time, before the advent of current day technological marvels such as home computers, the internet, music file sharing, MP3 players, and DVR's. The main devices used for listening to music were transistor and car radios. AM stations blasted hits by the diverse artists of the day.

Unlike the homogenized, overproduced music of today, songs from the sixties were raw, unpolished, and guttural. If musicians made mistakes while recording, they were left in if the song still sounded great. A good example is the missed bass entrance at the beginning of “School’s Out” by Alice Cooper (Alice Cooper, 1972, track 1). Songs often slowed down and sped up like a runaway train, in contrast to the “perfect” tempos of today, recorded with click

tracks to keep the musicians playing at precisely the same metronomic beat. Many songs by The Doors sped up and slowed down for effect. Carl Palmer, a famous musician from that period and the drummer for Emerson, Lake and Palmer and Asia, once said that the bass should play right on the beat, the drums should be a little ahead of the beat, and the lead instruments should weave in and out of the beat. His drumming in “The Heat of the Moment” by Asia is a great example (Downes, G. & Wetton, J., 1982, track 1). “Goin to a Go-Go” by Smokey Robinson and the Miracles is another (Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, 1965).

Creativity was also encouraged during the sixties and early seventies. Many bands were inventive, creating new sounds and in the process, changing music. Jimi Hendrix experimented with feedback. He played a guitar strung for right handed players. Instead of restringing it as left handed players typically do, he simply flipped it over, creating a whole new way of playing the instrument. The Beatles revolutionized music not once, but twice. They led the “British Invasion” of the early 1960’s, and they also ushered in the “psychedelic” era of music with the release of the “*Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band*” (The Beatles, 1967) and “*Magical Mystery Tour*” (The Beatles, 1967) albums.

The sixties and seventies were a dramatic time of social upheaval. The Civil Rights Movement was in full swing, with African-Americans demanding equal rights. Women were working for their economic and political rights, working for the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

There was turmoil on the political front. The entry of the United States into the Vietnam Conflict was sold to the American people based on very questionable circumstances after the Gulf of Tonkin incident. The Watergate Scandal had President Nixon audio-taping conversations

of the opposing political party. This led to much distrust in politics and politicians among United States (U.S.) citizens. Nixon resigned in disgrace, the first U.S. President ever to have done so.

As a child growing up in the tumultuous sixties and seventies, the events of the era had a profound affect on my development and also on my world view. I remember seeing the televised images of African Americans getting sprayed with high pressure fire hoses by the police during civil rights protests. As an eight year old, I remember members of Congress trying to end the war in Vietnam by saying that they didn't want any more of our sons to come home in boxes. I remember watching our hasty, embarrassing exit from the rooftops of South Vietnam. As an eleven year old, I watched the resignation of President Nixon and the embarrassment he brought to America. At sixteen, I saw the televised assassination of an American journalist in Nicaragua, who was murdered execution style while laying face down on a dirt road.

Entering adulthood, I remember events such as the botched rescue attempt by the U.S military to rescue American hostages in Iran. Central America was embroiled in many civil wars, and the United States always came rushing to the side that was not Communist, with little regard for the human rights records of the right wing regimes that they were supporting. The litmus test for U.S. aid was determined by your "rightness" on the political spectrum. Our country supported the right wing government supported by the wealthy thirteen families of El Salvador, and aided the Contras in Nicaragua as they attempted to overthrow the communist Sandinista regime. The Iran Contra Affair brought further disgrace to the U.S., as Oliver North, with the permission of President Reagan, sold arms to Iran to get money to support rightist military forces in Nicaragua.

The controversy raged over the complicity of foreign powers in the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, yet the U.S. overthrew leaders from foreign countries at will, namely

Manuel Noriega of Panama and Saddam Hussein of Iraq. The two Gulf Wars also made me question our foreign policy once again, as we imposed our will on the rest of the world as the “exemplars of democracy.”

As a background to these political and social events, music was always an important part of my life, blasting my trusty transistor radio to the diverse pop blends of the day. As a teenager, I became a musician myself, playing professionally by the age of 14. I loved listening to music and playing music. Music was my companion during both joyful and unhappy times in my life. The music of The Who, Led Zeppelin, and Aerosmith helped me deal with an awkward adolescence, while “We are the Champions” by Queen was blasted via eight track tape in the weight room in high school (Queen, 1977, track 2). The evocative yet hopeful lyrics of Soul Asylum and Gin Blossoms enabled me to cope with difficult break ups.

Currently, I am a principal at a suburban school district in Pennsylvania. Music is still important to me. I still perform regularly, and I am an avid music listener. I believe that there are lessons that can be learned from activist musicians. With this study, I seek to blend my two passions into a doctoral dissertation. What can music teach us about leadership? There are many leaders in the musical community. What can we learn about school leadership from musical leaders? How are socially conscious artists relevant to educators?

Context

Educators have often looked at traditional environments to study leaders and leadership. These traditional contexts include schools themselves. Sergiovanni (1992) wrote about leadership from the educational perspective, as a former elementary teacher and college professor. Miller, Brown and Hopson (2009) describe several educational leadership frameworks. Transformational leadership seeks second order social change, in which change is

effected by multiple staff members. These involved members participate directly in school reform movements. Participative and collaborative leadership is a similar framework. The leader involves many staff members, but the focus is more on organizational effectiveness, rather than organizational change. In servant leadership, the leader puts the interests of others over him/her, and works to support all staff members.

Some newer educational frameworks in which social justice is foundational to the theory include critical leadership and Freirean leadership. Critical leadership centers the issues of power, privilege, and equity and is more socially active. The motivations behind people who practice this form of leadership are social change, equity and justice. Freirean leadership is similar, except it has the espoused goal of radical social change with equity, justice and fuller humanization (Miller, Brown & Hopson, 2009).

Businesses and business leaders have also been studied. Max De Pree (2004) has written extensively from his view as the CEO of Herman Miller Furniture. Jim Collins (2001) analyzed companies that went from “good to great” in an effort to gain leadership insights from successful businesses. Historical figures such as political and military leaders have been examined extensively. Roberts (1987) gleaned leadership secrets from Atilla the Hun, while Phillips (1992) studied Abraham Lincoln in an effort to learn from this legendary leader. Many books on leadership have been penned by successful coaches of sports teams. Pitino (1997) and Jackson (1995), two highly successful professional basketball coaches, have written books on leadership from the sporting realm.

Despite this diversity of leadership literature, most of the current conversation on educational leadership is an insular discussion that is contained within schools and other established environments. Given the problems of education, most notably the achievement gap

and an underserved population of students that is bound by a cycle of poverty, leadership might benefit from a different lens. This study proposes to examine leadership from another perspective, from that of leaders in non-traditional environments.

Music has long been a catalyst for social justice. Songwriters have effectively worked to bring about social change. Social movements such as the Civil Rights Movement, the efforts to end the Vietnam Conflict, and labor union organization have been propelled by social activist singers such as Bob Dylan, Bruce Springsteen and James Brown.

Many musicians, such as Bono from U2 and Adam Yauch from the Beastie Boys, have been social activists both on and off the stage. Bono has worked to help alleviate the extreme poverty of the people of Africa, while Yauch has been involved with the Free Tibet movement, an organization which was created to put pressure on the People's Republic of China to respect human rights in Tibet. Artists such as these have practiced social activism more directly, which has often led to social change.

Collectively, the music community has been involved with several efforts to raise both funds and consciousness. Live Aid raised over 67 million dollars to provide famine relief to Africa (Garofalo, 1992). Artists United Against Apartheid was organized in the 1980's with the goal of ending Apartheid in South Africa. Farm Aid was organized to provide relief to farmers in the U.S. Rock Against Racism was started in order to combat racism worldwide. The Lilith Fair raised awareness on the issues of women, and proved to record companies that a tour featuring women could be financially profitable.

Purpose of the Study

The rationale for this study is to obtain insights on leadership and social justice from outside of education. Artists who have worked on social justice issues through their music,

political activity, and support of activist causes will be studied in an effort to gain insights on leadership through these non-traditional sources. Musicians are free from organizational restraints in their environments. As educational leaders, what can we learn from them? How can educators walk the line between the organizational structure imposed upon us, and the non-structured environments that musical artists inhabit? How can we practice social activism in order to make schools more just institutions?

Study Overview

In an effort to gain a perspective on non-traditional leadership, three artists who have been involved with social justice issues will be studied by means of a collective case study. These artists are Bob Marley, Bono of the band U2, and Rage Against the Machine. These artists were selected because of their call for social justice in much of their music, as well as their direct involvement in social activism.

Research Questions

The study proposes several research questions. What were the artist's formative influences in becoming social justice leaders? What types of methods do they employ to achieve social justice? What leadership insights can be gleaned from these artists, and how can they be applied in the practice of educational leadership?

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION

In this literature review, I will look at six major areas: 1) educational reform efforts during the last 50 years, 2) poverty at the societal level, 3) the impact of poverty on schools and achievement, 4) the need for an expanded leadership lens, 5) the historical influences of music in societal issues, 6) theoretical lens.

Educational Reform Efforts

School reform has been a consistent issue in education in the U.S. since the 1950's. Our schools seemed to be functioning efficiently before that time. With the launching of Sputnik in 1957 by the Russians, security issues were raised. Tensions were high, and Cold War paranoia was in full force. Efforts were made to increase science requirements in the U.S. in an effort to develop more scientists, which would lead to more advances in both offensive and defensive military apparatus.

The next major school reform hysteria began with the 1983 publication of *A Nation at Risk*. This documented the poor performance of U.S. students in relation to students in other industrialized nations. This led people to be fearful for our security, and wonder how our students were going to compete in a global economy.

In the 1990's, the standards based movement developed. Standards for what students should know and be able to do were enunciated. This line of thinking was an attempt to make sure that students were competent in the delineated academic content.

The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) became law in 2002, and it relies heavily on the standards movement for use as its guide. Schools need to show adequate yearly progress, and this progress is gauged by student performance on standardized tests. These assessments are based on the standards adopted by each state.

The aforementioned efforts all looked at reforming education from within schools. Researchers have also argued that reform needs to be focused at the societal level. Anyon (2005) writes that reforming education only from within schools is like cleaning the air on one side of a screen door. In order to improve academic achievement, we need to look at societal conditions that contribute to poor academic performance. I now turn to studies investigating the increase in numbers of people living in poverty, and the link between poverty and achievement.

Poverty at the Societal Level

Poverty has been a persistent problem in the United States. Anyon (2005) used Census data to determine that in 2003, 35.8 million Americans were living below the poverty level. Brooks-Dunn, Duncan, Klebanov and Sealand (1993) noted that between 1970 and 1980, the number of poor urban blacks living in high poverty neighborhoods (with poverty rates of at least 40 percent) jumped by one third to 36 percent. In other research, Berliner (2006) determined that in 2002, 40 percent of those classified as poor are living at half the poverty rate. This is up 30 percent from 1975. He also noted that 23.5 percent of U.S. citizens were poor once in the last three years, and 14.5 percent are permanently poor. These rates are higher than all other wealthy nations. By the accounts of these authors, the number of people in poverty is growing, and the number of people living in extreme poverty is also increasing.

Many U.S. children are also living in poverty. Census data from 2002 have been analyzed by many authors to determine how many children are in poverty. Milne and Plouride (2006) looked at the data to reveal that the poverty rates of children are higher than they ever have been. Almost 12 million children lived below the poverty line in 2001. 44 percent of those children lived in extreme poverty, which is less than half the poverty line, and is about \$7400 for a family of three (Anyon, 2005). It appears that poverty in children is also disproportionate racially.

Census data of 2002 interpreted by Malecki and Demaray (2006) led them to conclude that 29 percent of racial minority children under age 18 live in conditions considered to be below the poverty level compared to 9.5 percent of non-Hispanic white children.

Children are especially susceptible to the impact of poverty. Lustig and Strauser (2007) noted that poor children experience greater levels of violence and divorce, and that being poor also affects access to health care. Ainsworth (2002) asserted that neighborhoods in which most adults have steady jobs help to encourage behaviors that are conducive to success at school and work.

The Impact of Poverty on Academic Achievement

Poverty and its adverse affect on student achievement have been documented by many researchers. In the 1990's empirical studies focused on why and how poverty affects cognitive development and school achievement, and researchers documented the specific effects of poverty environments on the development of children (Anyon, 2005). In analyzing this research, Anyon determined that family income consistently predicts children's academic and cognitive performance even when other family characteristics are taken into account. Lastly, she noted that inequalities in the cognitive ability of low socio-economic status (SES) children are high even before children enter Kindergarten.

Berliner (2006) discussed the issues of poverty and achievement. On the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS, 2003) grade four and grade eight math and science scores were correlated perfectly with the percent of poor students. He added that there are thousands of studies which show the correlations between educational poverty and academic achievement. He noted the dismal graduation rates of urban high schools such as one in Oakland, California, where the graduation rate is 48 percent. Ainsworth (2002) cited that

dropout rates in severely distressed neighborhoods are more than three times as high as those in non-poverty schools.

Milne and Plouride (2006) also noted some grim statistics regarding poverty and achievement. Children in families with incomes less than one half of the poverty line were found to score between 6 and 13 points lower on standardized tests. Additionally, students from low SES backgrounds are more at risk for not graduating from high school. Lastly, the authors noted that although SES affects all children in their academic achievement and cognitive abilities, it seems to be more detrimental in the earliest years of development.

In a study conducted by Brooks-Dunn, Duncan, Klebanov and Sealand (1993) the researchers found that the amount of family level economic resources are a much stronger predictor of IQ than affluent neighbors, maternal schooling, and having affluent neighbors. Malecki and Demaray (2006) also noted that poverty status is a strong predictor of lower academic performance among children and adolescents.

Poverty and Achievement

Several authors suggest that since poverty and achievement are correlated so strongly, we should work to eradicate poverty. This, in turn, would lead to greater student achievement. School reforms have largely been a failure because we have not addressed issues of the children in poverty when implementing reform. Schools are only one part of the equation, especially considering the fact that the average student spends 1,000 hours per year in school, as compared to 5,000 hours in their neighborhood or with family (Berliner, 2006).

Anyon (1995) noted that unless we work to change the social situation of poverty, increased student achievement is unlikely. She also argued for a broad redistribution of social and economic resources. Anyon (2005) cited two studies in which Americans living in poverty

were given monetary payments in order to alleviate extreme poverty. In these cases, student achievement increased.

Berliner (2006) offered that reform efforts are constrained by factors which are outside of the school, and that raising the achievement of lower class children requires the amelioration of the social and economic conditions of their lives. Educational reforms have not taken into account social and economic reforms. If incomes of poor students go up, so might achievement. He cited a study where poor families went from poor to a lot less poor, and that their children's performance began to be similar to that of the student who was not poor to whom they were matched. Brooks-Dunn, Duncan, Klebanov and Sealand (1993) conducted a study in which they found that the most potent family level variable was raising the incomes of families for young children.

The Need for an Expanded Leadership Lens

If achievement and poverty are so inextricably linked, it would make sense if we worked as a society to alleviate poverty, especially the extreme poverty that grips many inner city families. As shown in the previous section, the economic "haves" do much better academically than the "have nots." We can no longer believe the Horatio Alger myth that anyone can climb out of poverty unassisted. As Barack Obama said during his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention on September 7, 2008, "It's hard to pull yourself up by your own bootstraps if you ain't got no boots." Society needs to aid citizens in their efforts to get out of poverty, which will likely improve student achievement. The power of the Anyon (2005) and Berliner (2006) works seems to be partially tied to the poverty numbers. Perhaps more importantly for this study, this description of education as being essentially tied to "external" social issues

beckons us to examine alternative models and strategies of “educative action,” including “outside of the box” leadership.

Social justice is a term that encompasses a diverse set of meanings. Social justice means the rejection of discrimination based race and ethnicity, class, gender, or culture. For the purposes of this study, I will concentrate on social justice issues focusing primarily on poverty. Next, I look at musicians who have written about socially conscious topics.

Music’s Historical Influences

“Music can change the world because it can change people.” Bono

Music has long been associated with protest movements in the U.S. It has been a crystallizing force in leading social change. Protest music was written by artists “in response to specific historical events or circumstances and generally written for or about the common man,” (Rohan, 2008.) “The most remarkable thing about protest music is that it helps people realize they are not alone in feeling a spirit of dissent against certain injustices” (Ruehl, 2002). The labor movement of the early part of the twentieth century relied on artists such as Woody Guthrie to propel the movement to organize laborers. During the movement for civil rights, songs such as “We Shall Overcome” were sung during protests and sit-ins to strengthen the spirits of activists and provide fortitude (Phull, 2008). Artists of the 1960’s became disenchanted during the Vietnam era, and wrote music to reflect their view on the senselessness of war. The abuse of power by police has also been a topic of protest music, with songs by artists ranging from Buffalo Springfield to Public Enemy.

Rosenthal (2001) studied four potential functions of music as a part of social movements, specifically how music serves the needs of movements they serve. These are identified as serving the already committed, educating the uneducated, recruitment, and mobilization. Berger (2000)

developed a more connected definition of these functions. Protest songs are used as tools to educate the listener. This education is used to promote a certain ideology, encourage activism, and promote cohesiveness in the movement or organization.

Music of protest has also crossed many musical genres. Folk artists like Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan have written songs of protest. Heavy metal artists such as Black Sabbath and Rage Against the Machine and pop artists such as Bruce Springsteen and James Brown have written songs of rage at the established social order. Reggae artists, such as Inner Circle and Burning Spear, have also penned songs about social issues. Rap and hip hop music also became politicized, with artists such as NWA and Public Enemy.

This review will highlight many of the important movements and artists from the period from 1900 to the current time. The review is not intended to be exhaustive, but it will show a pattern of how music has been associated with movements involving social issues. The review will focus on four major protest movements: Labor organization and the working class, anti-war protest, the Civil Rights Movement, and police abuse. Ultimately, if music can inform change in these areas, why can't it do so in schools?

The Organized Labor Movement and the Working Class

The labor movement grew in the early part of the twentieth century. The ideas of Karl Marx began to gain momentum in many parts of the world, including the U.S. The Industrial Workers of the World (known as the Wobblies and the IWW) was formed in 1905 in an effort to organize workers worldwide. The demands for fair wages and improved working conditions, which were the goals during the early stages of the labor movement turned into a more militant cry, that of overthrowing capitalism and seizing the means of production. The Little Red Songbook was first published in 1909. The book was passed out with every union card. The

cover read, “To Fan the Flames of Discontent,” (Helfert, 2009). Richard Brazier, who served on the committee which published the first songbook, recalled that they wanted songs of “anger and protest, that would call the oppressors to judgment” (Rodnitzky, 1969, p. 37). The songs in the book were used as a means of expressing grievances, and boosting morale during difficult times (Phull, 2008). They were sung by the Wobblies at meetings, on picket lines, and in jails.

One of the most prolific contributors to the Little Red Songbook was Joe Hill. Born Joel Hagglund in Sweden in 1876, Hill immigrated to the United States after the death of his parents. Upon arrival, Hill traveled across the country, finding jobs and working to organize workers through his songs. One of his most well known songs was “The Preacher and the Slave,” which spoke of the use of religion as means of keeping workers placated in this life in anticipation of the after life in heaven, or the Marxist concept of religion as the opiate of the people. In the song, Hill implored: “workingmen of all countries unite, side by side for freedom we will fight, when the world and its wealth we have gained, to the grafters we will sing this refrain” (Hill, 1990).

Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, and Tom Morello have cited Hill as an ideological and musical inspiration, and the song was subsequently recorded by other artists, including Seeger.

The IWW was opposed to World War I and the union was discredited. Militant unionism hibernated during the prosperous 1920’s (Rodnitzky, 1969). When the Depression engulfed America, the tradition of protest music was renewed.

Woody Guthrie carried the banner of the working class and the organized labor movement with song. Guthrie was born in Oklahoma in 1912. Guthrie traveled through America in the 1930’s, “to connect his own pain and suffering with the downtrodden of the depression, and to encourage them in his pursuit of social justice,” (Garman, 1996, p. 75). Guthrie moved to California, and saw the hundreds of thousands of farmers who were lured from the Midwest by

the promise of well paying jobs, only to find few jobs for the hundreds of thousands of migrant workers who came to California. He landed a radio show in Los Angeles, connecting with the transplanted people from Oklahoma who identified with him. During his time in Los Angeles, Guthrie performed at many left wing rallies and union benefits, playing a guitar that had the words “This Machine Kills Fascists” written on the body.

He made his New York City debut in 1940, in a migrant worker benefit concert dubbed, “A Grapes of Wrath Evening,” (Dunlap, 2006). Guthrie caught the attention of Alan Lomax and Moses Asch, two folk music producers, who worked to document minority voices through folk music (Dunlap, 2006).

Woody Guthrie sang in a band of left oriented singers known as the Almanac Singers in the 1940’s (Seymour, 2008). The Almanacs had a revolving membership. Pete Seeger and Lee Hays, who later went on to form The Weavers, were two of the musicians in the band. The band toured the country in support of Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) organizing drives (Rosenthal, 2001.) The band wrote and recorded the song “Talkin’ Union Blues” which they created as an organizing song for the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) (Taskin, 1992).

Guthrie heard the song, “God Bless America” which was performed by Kate Smith and written by Irving Berlin (Berlin, 1939). He wrote his own song, which was originally called “God Blessed America.” He performed the song often and recorded it in 1951, when it became called, “This Land is Your Land.” (Guthrie, 2006, track 1). The song detailed the physical beauty of the America, but it also talked about the suffering of people that Guthrie had seen in his travels, and of the government’s lack of effort in helping them. Although the recorded version left out some of the most scathing lines, the original song was performed live by many artists

who kept the original anger and intent alive. Guthrie continued playing until Huntington's Disease rendered him unable to play the guitar. He died at the age of 55 in 1967.

Pete Seeger, a bandmate of Guthrie's in the Almanacs, was a prolific protest songwriter and singer. He sang about progressive ideas including the labor movement, civil rights, peace, and water pollution. Seeger was born in 1919. His father was a music professor and musicologist. Seeger learned to play several stringed instruments, including the banjo, ukulele, and guitar. His guitar was emblazoned with the slogan "This machine surrounds hate and forces it to surrender."

Seeger studied journalism at Harvard, but dropped out after two years. In 1938, he worked with folk music historian Alan Lomax at the Archive of American Song at the Library of Congress. They traveled, recording the music of various folk artists, in an effort to select the best representations of traditional folk artists for the library collection. Seeger was a member of the American Communist Party from 1942 to 1950. Seeger's singing career included stints as a solo performer, and also as a member of groups such as the Almanacs.

The Weavers were formed in 1950, named after the title of an 1892 play about a workers' strike. The band included several members of the Almanacs, and they enjoyed considerable commercial success. They were not as overtly political as their former band, but they couched their political message in indirect language. The band recorded the song "If I had a Hammer" in 1949. After a string of hits from 1950 to 1953, the band was blacklisted in 1953, which resulted in their being dropped from radio play lists and cancellations of performances. In 1955, Seeger was subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee. He refused to testify claiming that to discuss his political views and association would violate his First Amendment

rights. Seeger was able to play concerts at college campuses, and he enjoyed performing for “the one sector.... which refused to knuckle under to the witch hunters,” (Rodnitzky, 1969, pg. 43).

As folksingers were called to testify to the Un-American Activities Committee in the 1950's, unions began to disassociate from the left leaning singers. Unions were also becoming more accepted by the mainstream. Songs lamenting the powerlessness of the working class continued during the rock music era from 1960 to the present.

Creedence Clearwater Revival recorded the song, “Fortunate Son,” in 1969. John Fogerty wrote the song, and it epitomized the rage of working class youth, who were conscripted to fight in the Vietnam War (Phull, 2009). Unlike the sons of rich politicians, the less fortunate sons of the working class fought the war (Szatmary, 1991). “It ain’t me, it ain’t me, I ain’t no fortunate son, It ain’t me, it ain’t me I ain’t no fortunate one” (Fogerty, 1969).

In England, bands wrote music about the rigid class system of British society. John Lennon was a prolific songwriter, writing many songs with Paul McCartney as members of The Beatles, and later as a solo artist. Throughout his career, Lennon wrote about love, peace, and working class issues. In 1970, he recorded “Working Class Hero,” which depicts the story of someone growing up in the working class, and the immobility of people in Great Britain’s rigid social structure: “as soon as you’re born, they make you feel small, till the pain is so big you feel nothing at all” (Lennon, 1970, track 1).

In the song “Clampdown,” another English band, The Clash, wrote about the drudgery of factory life: “no man born with a living soul, can be working for the clampdown” (The Clash, 1979, track 9).

After the protagonist has been in the shop for several years, he becomes a boss, and uses his power over the workers: “you start wearin’ blue and brown, you’re working for the clampdown, so you got someone to boss around, it makes you feel big now.”

Along with the working class protest songs written by English bands, there was also a similar stir in the U.S. during the same era. Bruce Springsteen was an American troubadour who was inspired by the tradition of folk music protest that was fostered by Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger. He was born in Freehold, New Jersey in 1949 into a working class family. His early songs such as “Jungleland” (Springsteen, 1975, track 8), “Born to Run” (Springsteen, 1975, track 5), and “Rosalita (Come Out Tonight)” (Springsteen, 1973, track 6) were filled with imagery of cars, girls, and escape from the drudgery of working class life (Lyons & Lewis, 1983). His songs especially resonated with the youth of Middle America.

In 1979, Springsteen turned 30, and his music changed with his evolving world view (Szatmary, 1991). While touring that year, he read Commager and Nevins’ *A Pocket History of the United States of America*. The book enabled Springsteen to “understand the concept of class not as a product of individual success or failure, but as an historical and social formation,” (Garman, 1996, pp. 71 and 72). At concerts, Bruce spoke of the entrenched social immobility of his family, with his father working in a factory, and his father’s father working in a factory, and so on.

As another sign of Springsteen’s social activism, he began performing at benefit concerts. He did a benefit for the group Musicians for Safe Energy in 1979, and in 1981 he did a concert which benefited the Vietnam Veterans of America. He was later involved with the Sun City project, which was a group of musicians who worked to end the oppressive practice of apartheid

in South Africa. The first target of the group was to keep musicians from playing concerts at South Africa's Sun City Resort.

In 1982, Springsteen made the album "Nebraska," which was a stark protest recording featuring only his voice, acoustic guitar and harmonica, telling the story of the forgotten people who were unemployed and left out of the American dream by the trickle down economic theories utilized by President Ronald Reagan known as "Reaganomics" (Phull, 2008). One of the more powerful songs on Nebraska was "The Ghost of Tom Joad" (Springsteen, 1982, track 12), which talked of the wasted lives laying in the wake of capitalism. He recorded the song "Born in the USA" during those minimalist sessions. He later released an album of the same name in 1984, which featured his full band playing the song. The song spoke of the postwar struggles of veterans who served in the Vietnam War, and the apathy that faced them upon their return (Springsteen, 1984, track 1).

Billy Joel was a singer/songwriter from Long Island, New York. A classically trained pianist, he was an energetic pop-rock performer. He wrote many top 40 songs, including the protest song, "Allentown." which was recorded in 1984. The song laments the rise and fall of the once mighty Pennsylvania industrial town. The song speaks of the prosperous Post World War II Era, and the economic downturn which closed the factories down in the early 1980's. The song also speaks of the empty promises of the American Dream: "for the promises our teachers gave, if we worked hard, if we behaved, so the graduations hang on the wall but they never really helped us at all" (Joel, W. 1985).

In the preceding section, I looked at the history of protest music in the organized labor movement. Next, I will turn to the lyrics set forth against abuses by law enforcement.

Police Abuse

Many bands have written songs about abuses by the police. Buffalo Springfield recorded the song “For What it’s Worth” in 1967. Written by Stephen Stills, the song speaks about the oppression by the police directed toward innocent protesters on Sunset Boulevard in Los Angeles: “there’s a man with a gun over there, tellin me, I got to beware....what a field day for the heat” (Stills, 1966). The band featured Stephen Stills and Neil Young, who later went on to form Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young (C, S, N & Y.)

In 1970, Neil Young wrote “Ohio” for C, S, N & Y (Young, 1970). The song was written about the four unarmed Kent State students who were killed by National Guardsman during campus protests against the Vietnam War (Phull, 2008): “gotta get down to it, soldiers are cutting us down, should have been done long ago, what if you knew her and, found her dead on the ground, how can you run when you know.”

In 1976, Lee “Scratch” Perry, famed Jamaican producer, wrote a song called “Police and Thieves.” The song became a reggae hit in Jamaica, and was later covered by The Clash on their debut album. The song talked about the indiscriminate use of weapons by the police: “Scaring the nation with their guns and ammunition” (Murvin & Perry, 1976).

In 1988, the group NWA released the album *Straight Outta Compton*. The song featured the song “Fuck tha Police” (NWA, 1988), which is a protest song directed at police brutality and racial profiling. The song describes a court scene, in which the members of NWA are trying the police in a court of law: “fuck the police coming straight from the underground, young nigga got it bad cuz I’m brown, and not the other color so police think, they have the authority to kill a minority.”

In 1991, a black motorist named Rodney King was beaten for over a minute and a half by members of the Los Angeles Police Department, all of whom were white. The police officers

involved were acquitted of using excessive force in their criminal trial in 1992, which set off riots in Los Angeles. Two of the four officers who were involved were later convicted in civil trials, and received sentences of 30 months in jail. In 1992, the group Body Count, led by rapper Ice-T, recorded the song “Cop Killer,” (Body Count, 1992) in which the singer fantasized about getting revenge against corrupt, abusive police officers. Controversy ensued, with many groups and individuals speaking out against the song, including the Fraternal Order of Police, President George H. W. Bush, actor and National Rifle Association president Charlton Heston, and Vice-President Dan Quayle (Phull, 2008). Ice-T removed the track from the album, and the bands’ release was negotiated from the Time-Warner label as a result of the controversy.

In 1991, Rage Against the Machine was formed in Los Angeles. The group performed in the then emerging rap-metal style of music. In 1992, they recorded, “Killing in the Name” (Rage Against the Machine, 1992, track 2) in which the lyrics implied that some police officers were former members of the Ku Klux Klan and racist: “some of those that were forces, are the same that burned crosses.”

The song also features a classic rebellious chant by the singer, Zach De La Rocha. Near the end of the song, he whispers: “Fuck you I won’t do what cha tell me” (Rage Against the Machine, 1992, track 2). The whisper gets louder and louder, turning into a scream that is repeated over and over again, bringing the song to a stirring conclusion of non-conformist sentiment (Phull, 2008).

On February 4, 1999, a Guinean immigrant named Amadou Diallo was standing near his apartment building in New York City. Four plain clothes police officers followed him, because he matched a description of a serial rapist. Diallo ran up his apartment steps, and reached into his pocket. Thinking he was reaching for a gun, the officers opened fire, shooting 41 shots. Diallo

was not the rapist, he was unarmed, and he was actually reaching for his wallet. The amount of shots fired at an unarmed person of color led to protests locally and nationally.

Bruce Springsteen wrote a song about the incident and about tensions between the police and minorities called “American Skin/41 shots” (Springsteen, 2001, track 14). In one verse of the song, a mother of color teaches her son: “promise me if an officer stops you you’ll always be polite, never ever run away and promise you’ll always, keep your hands in sight.” In the song, Springsteen sings the phrase “41 shots” 41 times.

Anti-War Protest Music

Peace and anti-war movements have had a long history. In this section, I will look at the role of music in the peace movements of the 1960’s.

In 1961, a nineteen year old folksinger named Robert Zimmerman traveled to New York. He had the express interest of meeting his hero, Woody Guthrie (Dunlap, 2006.) He performed under the stage name Bob Dylan. Guthrie became his mentor, and he carried on the tradition of folk singing that Guthrie had sung many years before.

In 1963, Bob Dylan recorded the song “Masters of War” (Dylan, 1967, track 3). The song criticized the nuclear and traditional military buildup in the world that began in the 1950’s, and it called out the politicians who were involved in the military buildup (Phull, 2008): “come all you masters of war, you that build all the guns, you that build all the death planes, you that build all the bombs, you that hide behind walls, you that hide behind desks”

At the end of the song, Dylan hopes for revenge on the masters of war: “and I hope that you die, and your death’ll come soon, I will follow your casket in the pale afternoon, and I’ll watch while you’re lowered down to your deathbed and I’ll stand over your grave, till I’m sure that you’re dead.”

Dylan wrote several more protest songs throughout his career, and he participated in many famous benefit concerts and collaborations. He sang at Live Aid in 1985, which was organized to provide African famine relief (Garofalo, 1992). His offhanded onstage comment about giving a few million dollars of the proceeds to American farmers gave rise to the Farm Aid benefit concerts. Dylan also participated in the Sun City anti-apartheid recording, with his famous nasal tenor cutting through the hip-hop dance mix.

During the 1960's, the U.S. became involved in a conflict in Southeast Asia. The country now known as Vietnam had long been a colony of France from the late 1800's to 1954. Under French rule, it was known as French Indochina. When they managed to get independence from France in 1954 with aid from communist China, United States politicians became increasingly concerned about the area, and the spread of Communism. Containment was the policy in which the United States became determined to deter countries from falling to communism during the period from the 1950's to the 1980's. Military conflicts supported by the US to support anti-communist forces during this era included Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, and El Salvador.

U. S. involvement in Southeast Asia began when President Eisenhower and President Kennedy sent advisors to Vietnam. Troops were eventually sent, which led to actual conflict between the Northern Vietnamese Vietcong, and the Southern Vietnamese troops, who were aided by U.S. troops. Americans supported the conflict initially, but support waned as people saw the images of the realities of war every night on their televisions. This was the first televised war, and images of coffins containing deceased soldiers, napalm bombs, and war atrocities flooded the airwaves.

Many artists began to write songs about Vietnam specifically, and about the senselessness of war in general. Barry McGuire recorded the song, "Eve of Destruction" in 1965

(McGuire, 1965). The song was a general indictment against war (Phull, 2008), especially war in the age of the atomic bomb: “the eastern world, it is exploding, violence flarin’, bullets loadin’, you’re old enough to kill, but not for votin’, if the button is pushed, there’s no runnin’ away, there’ll be no one to save, with the world in a grave.”

In 1968, The Doors recorded “The Unknown Soldier” (The Doors, 1968, track 6). Jim Morrison, lead singer and lyricist for the group, was raised in a military family. His father was an officer in the United States Navy. He wrote the song critiquing the media’s relentless coverage of the conflict in Vietnam: “breakfast where the news is read, television children fed.” The soldier is killed right as the war is over, depicting the senselessness of war. The song also uses eerie military imagery to describe the marching at the soldiers’ funeral (Szatmary, 1991).

In 1970, Edwin Starr recorded the song, “War” (Starr, (1971). He talked about the futility of war, specifically the Vietnam War (Phull, 2008): “War! It ain’t nothing but a heartbreaker, friend only to the undertaker, war is an enemy to all mankind, the thought of war blows my mind, war has caused unrest within the younger generation, induction then destruction... who wants to die?” The inspired, angry delivery by Starr adds to the power of the songs. The song was covered by Bruce Springsteen in the early 1990’s to protest the first Gulf War.

In 1970, the heavy metal band Black Sabbath recorded the song “War Pigs.” The song condemns war, and the politicians that start wars: “generals gathered in their masses just like witches at black masses, evil minds that plot destruction, sorcerers of death’s construction” (Black Sabbath, 1971, track 1).

The song was similar to Dylan’s “Masters of War” in that revenge is predicted for the war mongers. Instead of merely being put to death, the offenders go to hell for their war crimes:

“no more war pigs have the power, hand of God has struck the hour, day of judgment, God is calling, on their knees the war pigs crawling, begging mercy for their sins, Satan laughing spreads his wings.”

Marvin Gaye was an artist who was signed to Tamla records, which was owned by Motown impresario Berry Gordy. Gaye recorded the song “What’s Goin’ On” (Gaye, 1970) as a critique of American involvement in Vietnam (Phull, 2008). In the song, Gaye explains the values of his generation, who came of age in the sixties to his parent’s generation:

Mother, mother, there’s too many of you crying, brother, brother, brother, there’s far too many of you dying, you know we’ve got to find a way, to bring some lovin’ here today, father, father, we don’t need to escalate, you see, war is not the answer, for only love can conquer hate

The lyrics of the anti-war movement have been examined in the preceding section. Next, we turn to music of the civil rights movement.

Civil Rights

Slavery was practiced in the United States from 1619 to 1865. Blacks from Africa were brought to America to work in the agricultural South, working primarily in the cotton and tobacco fields. Racism served as a tool to justify the practice of slavery. After slavery was abolished after the Civil War, blacks were used as sharecroppers, with the landowners reaping the vast majority of the profits from the crop yields. This was not much better than slavery, and the perpetual oppression that was heaped upon blacks continued. Segregation was practiced in the South to keep blacks separate from whites in public places.

Reed (2005) wrote that the Civil Rights Movement began in 1619, with the first slaves who were brought to the United States. Blacks protested from their arrival in various ways, but

these protests came to a head in the 1950's and 1960's. There were many staged protests in the South demanding equal rights and an end to the practice of segregation.

In Montgomery, Alabama in 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat at the front of the "colored" section of the bus to a white passenger. She was arrested, and the Montgomery black community launched a bus boycott. The boycott, which lasted more than a year, resulted in the desegregation of the busses. On February 1, 1960, four black college students in North Carolina began a sit-in at a segregated Woolworth's lunch counter. They were denied service, but they were allowed to stay at the counter. The event started many similar non violent student protests throughout the South and helped to integrate parks, swimming pools, theaters, libraries, and other public facilities. In the 1960's, several students who became known as "freedom riders" rode busses across state lines to test new laws that prohibited segregation in interstate travel facilities. On August 28, 1963, the March on Washington was held, and 200,000 people hear Martin Luther King deliver his famous "I have a dream" speech.

These efforts culminated in the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed racial discrimination in schools, public places, and employment. Music had a major role in the civil rights movement, as it brought the horrors of racism, discrimination and segregation to the concert halls and radios of America. Additionally, as Smethurst (2006) writes, before Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in Major League Baseball in 1947, many big bandleader such as Benny Goodman and Artie Shaw had black musicians in their bands. Musicians such as Billie Holliday, Charlie Christian, Roy Eldridge and Lionel Hampton were integrated into these bands, white and black musicians playing together on stage. During the fight for civil rights many songs were written to protest the unequal treatment of blacks. In 1939, the famous blues singer Billie

Holiday recorded the song “Strange Fruit” as a commentary on the lynching of blacks in the South, in which she compared the lynched black bodies hanging from trees to fruit (Phull, 2008):

Southern trees bear strange fruit, blood on the leaves and blood at the root,
black bodies swinging in the southern breeze, strange fruit hanging from the poplar trees,
pastoral scene of the gallant south, the bulging eyes and the twisted mouth
scent of magnolias, sweet and fresh, then the sudden smell of burning flesh,
here is fruit for the crows to pluck

In 1964, Nina Simone recorded the song “Mississippi Goddam,” (Simone, 1994, track 14) which lamented the horrific crimes against blacks in various states in the South in the early 1960’s, and the efforts to keep segregation in place (Phull, 2008). In 1963, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) field secretary Medgar Evers was murdered outside of his home in Mississippi. The killer was tried twice in 1964, and was not convicted of the crime until 1994. Also in 1963, four black girls in Alabama were killed when a bomb went off in the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church as the girls attended Sunday school. The church was a popular location for civil rights meetings. Some of the lyrics to “Mississippi Goddam” include: “Alabama’s gotten me so upset, Tennessee made me lose my rest, and everybody knows about Mississippi Goddam, can’t you see it, can’t you feel it, it’s all in the air, I can’t stand it much longer, somebody say a prayer.”

In 1964, Sam Cooke recorded the song “A Change is Gonna Come” (Cooke, 1964). As he toured in the late 1950’s and early 1960’s, Cooke became aware of segregation: “I go to the movie and I go downtown, somebody tellin’ me don’t hang around, it’s been a long, a long time coming, but I know a change gonna come, oh yes it will.”

In the soulful, poppy Cooke, the Civil Rights Movement had a non-militant, non-threatening singer to deliver the message of equality to the masses.

James Brown recorded “Say it Loud-I’m Black and Proud” in 1968 (Brown, 1968). The song was an expression of racial pride for blacks (Szatmary, 1991):

some people say we’ve got a lot of malice, some say it’s a lot of nerve,
 but I say we won’t quit moving until we get what we deserve,
 we have been bucked and we have been scorned, we have been treated bad,
 talked about as just bones, but just as it takes two eyes to make a pair,
 brother we can’t quit until we get our share, we’re people, we’re just like the birds and
 the bees, we’d rather die on our feet, than be livin’ on our knees

The Jamaican band The Wailers, fronted by Bob Marley, recorded the song “Get Up, Stand Up” in 1973. The lyrics talk about the Christian belief in the afterlife in heaven, and the concern for blacks to get their rights now while they are on Earth: “most people think great God will come from the skies, take away everything, and make everybody feel high, but if you know what life is worth, you will look for yours on earth, and now you see the light, you stand up for your rights, get up, stand up, stand up for your rights, get up stand up, don’t give up the fight” (Marley & Tosh, 1973).

Theoretical Lens

I have given several examples of how music has led to justice in four areas: 1) unionization, 2) police abuse, 3) peace movements, and 4) civil rights. If music can lead to change in these areas, why not education?

The way I will examine this is through Rosenthal’s framework (2001), who studied four potential functions of music as a part of social movements, specifically how music serves the

needs of movements they serve. These are identified as 1) serving the already committed, 2) educating the uneducated, 3) recruitment, and 4) mobilization.

In an effort to look at these variables, he sent an author's query to journals and politically oriented newsgroups on the internet. He asked respondents how music played a role in their political experiences and development. He asked them to send memories, anecdotes, and thoughts on what, if any, music had contributed to their idea of politics and what they did or have done. The sample was 40 respondents, of which 32 were used, as the other eight were irrelevant, incoherent, or unusable for the purpose.

Music serves committed members of a movement in two ways. Music serves as a way to garner resources for the movement. Live Aid, Farm Aid, and Artists United Against Apartheid are examples of fundraising efforts. Second, music allows participants to express by singing, thus reinforcing group agreements. By participating in group singing and creating protest songs, the culture of the group is reestablished (Berger, 2000). Respondents to Rosenthal's survey spoke of the power of music for spirit maintenance, remembering how hearing music, watching concert performances, or making music with others "elevated their spirits, reinforced the boundaries of who was on their side and who not, ... and provided an intense feeling of linkage to comrades" (Rosenthal, 2001, p. 16).

Another function of movement music is to educate the uneducated. Songs can do this by presenting facts about issues, such as the "We Are the World" song and the Live Aid concert which taught listeners about the famine in Ethiopia. Garofalo (1992) writes about the mega concert events of the 1980's, and how they raised awareness in ways that other mediums could not. John McEnroe refused to play tennis in South Africa because of apartheid, but when musicians sang about it, it became more real to the masses. One Rosenthal respondent noted that

from attending Pete Seeger concerts, he was taught “political lessons through songs from the past and around the world: Jose Marti, Joe Hill, and Woody Guthrie” (Rosenthal, 2000, p. 17).

Other respondents spoke of education more broadly, that music taught them to imagine all possibilities and come to an awareness that it was good to look at other, alternative ways of exploring the world. Education can mean looking at established facts in a different manner, in an attempt to teach in a different way.

Recruitment is another function of protest music. It must encourage people to move beyond awareness and empathy to actually identifying with and supporting the movement. Music may encourage recruitment by enabling people to express certain ideas out loud that they are afraid to voice. Rosenthal (2001) gives two examples of this. In the South during the Civil Rights Movement, people who were tentative about speaking out sang protest songs such as “We Shall Overcome” and “Isn’t Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around” loudly, disavowing their fear of the authorities. The Almanac Singers’ tour to support CIO organizing drives gave workers the chance to say (and sing) out loud, “You don’t scare me, I’m stickin’ to the Union.” One of Rosenthal’s respondents reported that “music made politics seem exciting” and another that “music touched me more deeply because songs made politics seem “realer.” Other respondents noted that music laid the foundation for their entrance into organized political groups.

Once education and recruitment are complete, music plays a role in mobilization. Once the member joins, does he/she take a role in recruiting and educating others, instead of simply identifying with the movement? One must engage in “concrete movement activity,” (Rosenthal, 2001). Some of the respondents mentioned that music turned intellectual sympathies into concrete action, or in generating greater activity than they would otherwise have taken part in.

One respondent wrote about the emotional energizing force of music, “Music had a profound impact on me just as I was reading anarchist and socialist theory and history. Between those forces and experiences, I ended up dedicating myself to some rather extreme political goals,” (Rosenthal, 2001, p. 20). Another wrote that he listened to Propagandhi’s “I’d Rather be Flag Burning” before demonstrations because “it helped me plug into all the outrage and anger at the establishment I felt I was up against and made me feel like I was not alone. It made me feel more empowered and gave me a presence at demonstrations.” Music can also serve to reinforce the values of the organization, and create group solidarity within the movement, which allows the movement to continue (Berger, 2000).

Rosenthal’s frame will be useful in this study to examine the three artists in this study, and to answer research question number two: what types of methods do they employ to achieve social justice? Next, I turn to the methodology that will be utilized to conduct this study.

CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION

The research methods employed for this study will be delineated in this chapter. The chosen methodology will be outlined, as well as the rationale. Next, the research design will be described, case selection will be reviewed, and the methods used for data collection and analysis will be discussed. Lastly, limitations will be offered.

Research Paradigm

Qualitative research differs from quantitative research in several ways. Qualitative researchers collect data primarily in the form of words, rather than numbers (MacMillan & Schumacher, 2001). Denizen and Lincoln (1998) offer the five ways in which qualitative research differs from quantitative: 1) quantitative research features a post positivistic perspective. Post-positivism relies on the notion that reality can never be fully apprehended or quantified. Given this view, qualitative researchers attempt to use multiple ways of capturing as much of reality as possible. 2) acceptance of postmodern sensibilities. Quantitative, positivist methods and assumptions are viewed by the qualitative researcher as one way of telling a story, but not the only way. 3) capturing the individual's point of view. Both methods get to the view of the individual, but qualitative researchers feel that they can get to the subject's perspective better, as they have the ability to rely on many different inferential sources of data as opposed to using only quantitative data. 4) examining the constraints of everyday life. Qualitative researchers view the constraints of the social world, and realize that individual's actions in this social world need to be imbedded in the research. 5) securing rich descriptions. Rich description of the individual of the social world is valuable to the emic qualitative researcher, while it is less important to the etic, quantitative researcher.

The purpose of this study is to get perspectives on social justice from musical artists who are outside the field of education. The selected artists have written prolifically on social issues, and the social environments in which they operate are important to this research. Given this, the qualitative research paradigm is used.

Research Design

Case study is a method of research in which the researcher is interested in the insights that can be learned from studying a single case. The goal is to optimize understanding of that particular case, rather than generalization beyond the case (Stake, 1994). The case is unique, and it has a special interest to the researcher.

Yin (1993, p. 3) writes that the case study is the “method of choice when the phenomenon under study is not distinguishable from its context.” The boundaries of the case are fixed, but the context is important to the case. The case is, “specific, a complex functioning thing,” (Stake, 1995, p. 2).

Stake (1995) distinguishes among the types of case study research; intrinsic, instrumental, and collective. In intrinsic case studies, the researcher is interested in a particular case not out of the quest for generalizability, but because the case is intrinsically interesting. Instrumental cases are those in which understanding the case is instrumental in understanding something else. The study is performed in order to get insight into the question by studying the case. Lastly, collective case studies are studies in which several cases are studied, instead of merely one. Collective case studies may be intrinsic or instrumental, depending on how and why the cases were selected.

The research design for this study will be an intrinsic collective case study. The artists were selected due to the nature of their own unique qualities. Stake (1995) writes that cases

should be selected based on the opportunity to learn. Each case is different, and has its own social context in which it developed. Multiple cases are used to examine patterns across the artists, which will allow insight into their social activism. These cases will provide data on the research questions posed by the author.

Data Collection

Data for this collective case study will focus primarily on archival documents. Archival materials are a good source for data collection when access is limited (Hodder, 1994). Some of the artists under consideration are not accessible, since they are deceased; e.g. Bob Marley. Additionally, it would be difficult to procure interviews with the other members of The Wailers, as it would to interview Bono and Rage Against the Machine.

Many biographies have been written on the artists, and biographical DVD's have been released. Also, autobiographical pieces have been put out by one of the artists (Bono). Additionally, all of the groups have extensive catalogues of songs, and the many of the lyrics in these primary sources speak to issues of social justice. Lastly, the artists have delivered speeches at concerts, protests, and at awards events. All of these data sources will be used for this study.

Data Tables

The next section of this work will describe the sources of data used in this study. A data table will be utilized for each artist, and a narrative section will describe the data collection.

Rage Against the Machine

Table 3.1: Rage Against the Machine Data

Books

1. Rage Against the Machine (C. Devenish)
2. Rage Against the Machine: Stage Fighters (P. Stenning)
3. Maximum Rage – The Unauthorized Biography of Rage Against the Machine (H. Drysdale-Wood)

Articles

1. Issues to the Street: Rage Against the Machine isn't Afraid to Speak Out (C. Brown)
2. The Lyrics of Rage Against the Machine: A Study in Radical Criminology? (L. Finley)
3. Left-Wing Radical, Anti-Authoritarian Troublemaker, Free Speech Guerilla Rock Star Tom Morello is a Real Chip off the Old Block (G. Kot)
4. Zack de la Rocha Talks to Ann Powers (A. Powers)

DVD

1. Rage Against the Machine: Revolution USA? (Documentary- Creative Media Films)
2. Rage Against the Machine. Concert footage and music videos (Epic Music Video)
3. Rage Against the Machine: Live at the Grand Olympic Auditorium. Final concert performance (Epic Music Video)

Albums

1. Rage Against the Machine
2. Evil Empire
3. Battle for Los Angeles

Rage Against the Machine is a band that was formed in Los Angeles, California in 1991. There are four members in the group. Zach De La Rocha and Tom Morello are the most politically active members. De la Rocha is the singer/rapper. He is a Chicano singer, and he is the son of Beto de la Rocha, a muralist who painted political works of art which depicted Chicano history; his mother holds a Ph.D. in anthropology. Tom Morello is a Harvard graduate, and is the biracial son of an Italian American mother and Kenyan father. Morello's father was a member of the Mau Mau uprising guerilla army that freed Kenya from British rule, and later was a Kenyan delegate to the United Nations; and his mother is a founding member of Parents for Rock and Rap, an anti-censorship group (Finley, 2002). Tim Commerford is the bassist, while Brad Wilk is the drummer. The band broke up in 2000, and the instrumentalists formed a band with singer Chris Cornell from Soundgarden and called the band Audioslave. Rage Against the Machine reunited in 2007.

The band performs angry rap/metal tirades which rail at injustice on many fronts. De La Rocha talks of fighting against the "machine," which he describes as "any political system or action that is geared toward oppression of any kind," (Drysdale-Wood, 1999). The "machine"

could be something as broad as a totalitarian regime, or as narrow as racial harassment by the police. The band has also been involved in many specific social justice causes. They spoke out to get a new trial for American Indian Movement (AIM) member Leonard Peltier, and they wrote the song “Freedom” in honor of him. The video for the song “Freedom” mentions many of the issues that surround the case and circumstantial evidence that was used to convict Peltier. The band members have also been highly involved in the case of Mumia Abu Jamal, who is an African-American radio journalist and professed radical who was convicted of killing a police officer in Philadelphia in 1976. Many have spoken out on this issue, as many believe that Abu Jamal did not get a fair trial. Rage has played benefit concerts to raise money for the legal defense funds for both Peltier and Abu Jamal (Devenish, 2001).

De La Rocha has also been involved with the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (FZLN). This is an armed revolutionary group based in Chiapas, Mexico. The FZLN is attempting to gain independence from the Mexican government. Morello has protested about the poor working conditions of workers at Guess apparel factories in Los Angeles, the Bay Area, New York and India.

Rage Against the Machine has been a successful band both commercially and critically. Their self titled first album went triple platinum in the U.S., and peaked at number 45 on the Billboard charts. Their second release, “*Evil Empire*,” debuted at number one on the Billboard charts, and also went triple platinum (Brown, 1999). The Battle of Los Angeles, released in 1999, also debuted at number one, selling over 400,000 copies in the first week of release. (Stenning, 2008).

Bono

Table 3.2: Bono Data

Books

1. Bono in Conversation with Michka Assayas (M. Assayas)
2. On the Move (Bono)
3. U2: At the End of the World (B. Flanagan)
4. Into the Heart: The Stories Behind Every Song (N. Stokes)

Articles

1. Persons of the Year: The Constant Charmer (J. Tyrangiel)
2. Bono's Calling: The Irish rocker has a mission: to fight poverty, and enlist the powerful in the battle. (S. Pappu)

Speeches

1. Remarks by Bono on Receiving the Chairman's Award at the 38th NAACP Image Awards (Bono)

Albums – (U2)

1. Boy
2. War
3. The Unforgettable Fire
4. The Joshua Tree
6. Achtung Baby
7. Zooropa
8. Pop
9. All That You Can't Leave Behind
10. How to Dismantle and Atomic Bomb

Bono

Bono and his band U2 have been a force in popular music for over 25 years. The band members are all from Dublin, Ireland. The band consists of Larry Mullen Jr. on drums, The Edge on guitar, Adam Clayton on bass, and Paul Hewson, known as Bono, on lead vocals. The band has written several songs that address societal issues. U2 has been involved with many charitable and social causes over the last 25 years. On July 13, 1985, U2 played at the Live Aid concert, which raised money for famine relief in Africa (Garofalo, 1992). The band has also been involved with social advocacy with such projects as Artists United Against Apartheid, Artists Against Aids Worldwide. Additionally, they were also the headlining band on the Conspiracy of Hope Tour in support of Amnesty International. The band has been highly successful commercially and critically, selling over 100 million albums. They were inducted into the Rock

and Roll Hall of Fame in 2005. Fellow singer/activist Bruce Springsteen delivered the induction speech.

As an individual activist, Bono has supported many causes over the past several years; including debt forgiveness for Africa, free trade with African countries, and health related advocacy for Africa, especially HIV/AIDS. He has been involved in these causes by being associated with groups such as Jubilee 2000, Drop the Debt, Debt Aids Trade Africa (DATA), and more recently, the ONE Campaign.

Bono has received several distinguished honors. In 2005 Bono was named by Time magazine as a Person of the Year along with Bill and Melinda Gates. He was formally granted knighthood on March 29, 2007. Bono received the Liberty Medal on September 27, 2007 for his work to end world poverty and hunger. In 2007, he was awarded the NAACP Chairman's Award. Lastly, Bono was a nominee for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2003, 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008. These are a few of the most notable honors that Bono has received as a result of his work in the area of social justice. As Bono is the lyricist of the band, and since he is the most active U2 member on social justice issues, he was chosen as the focus of the study.

Bob Marley

Table 3.3: Bob Marley Data

Books

1. Catch a Fire: The Life of Bob Marley (T. White)
2. No Woman No Cry: My Life with Bob Marley (R. Marley)
3. Bob Marley: His Musical Legacy (J. Collingwood)
4. Bob Marley: Herald to a Post-Colonial World (J. Toynbee)
5. The Stories Behind Every Bob Marley Song 1962-1982: Soul Rebel (M. Sheridan)

Articles

1. Songs of Freedom: The Music of Bob Marley as Transformative Education (W. A. Smith)
2. Rastaman Vibration: The Rhetoric of Bob Marley (S. Worth)
3. Bob Marley's "Redemption Song": The Rhetoric of Reggae and Rastafari (King S. and Jenson, R.J.)

Video

1. Bob Marley: Soul Rebel (J. Marre)

Albums

1. Catch a Fire
2. Burnin
3. Natty Dread
4. Rastaman Vibration
5. Exodus
6. Kaya
7. Survival
8. Uprising
9. Confrontation

Robert Nesta Marley was born in 1945 in Jamaica, the son of a black mother and a white father. His father Norvel supported the family financially, but he only saw Bob once and was absent from his life (White, 2000). Born and raised in a rural area, Bob's mother moved him to the Kingston ghetto of Trench Town after Bob's father passed away and his financial support ended. Marley sang with The Wailers, who later became known as Bob Marley and The Wailers. Several members were a part of both groups, but the most notable were Marley's childhood friend Bunny Wailer (born Neville O'Reilly Livingston), and Peter McIntosh, who later became known as Peter Tosh. Marley made music from 1962 until his death in 1981 at the age of 36.

Marley used his music to help promote freedom, peace and reconciliation and equal rights for all in his setting in post-colonial, newly independent Jamaica (Smith, 2009). Marley was asked to perform at the Smile Jamaica concert in 1976, in an effort to end the violence between warring factions of the two political parties in Jamaica. He also performed at the 1978 One Love Peace Concert, in which Marley brought the two leaders of Jamaica's political parties, Edward Seaga and Michael Manley, on stage to shake hands in front of 30,000 attendees (White, 2000).

Marley has sold several million albums, and he is widely recognized as being the first international superstar emanating from the third world. Time magazine called Marley's album "*Exodus*" the album of the century. His posthumous collection album "*Legend*" has sold over 14 million copies. Marley was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1994, with the induction speech delivered by Bono.

Data Analysis

Data analysis will be achieved in two ways. For research question one, I will be using inductive analysis, looking for emerging themes to make sense of the data regarding the formative influences of the artists. The data will be coded to these themes as they emerge. Huberman and Miles (1998, p. 185) recommend inductively oriented designs when the "terrain is excessively complex, and when the intent of the study is exploratory or descriptive."

For research question two, I will analyze the data deductively by using the framework generated by Rosenthal (2001) who listed the four functions of protest music as: 1) serving the already committed, 2) educating the uneducated, 3) recruitment, and 4) mobilization. Huberman and Miles (1998, p. 185) recommend deductive designs when the researcher has "acquaintance with the setting, has a bank of applicable, well-delineated concepts, and takes a more explanatory and/or confirmatory stance involving multiple cases." Data in the form of biographical and autobiographical written materials, speeches by the artists, and song lyrics will be applied to the Rosenthal framework.

Data will be examined by using within case analysis, looking at each artist individually. Next, the data will be scrutinized by using between case analyses.

When written materials are used as data, care must be exercised. Hodder, in Gall and Gall (2003) suggests five criteria for confirming interpretations based on data obtained from

documents and records: 1) internal coherence, meaning that the different parts of the theoretical argument do not contradict one another and that the conclusions follow all of the premises, 2) external coherence meaning the interpretation fits theories accepted in and outside the discipline, 3) correspondence between theory and data, 4) the fruitfulness of the theoretical suppositions, how many new directions and lines of inquiry are opened up, 5) the trustworthiness, credentials and status of the author and supporters of an interpretation.

Limitations

As a musician who performs in night clubs, I see many people who work all week in low paying jobs. These people exist in anticipation of Saturday night, and the fun that they will have at the club. In my job as an elementary principal, I also see the effects of America's rigid social stratification first hand. Many low SES families are justifiably consumed with eking out an existence, and they often have little left for helping with the education of their children. In both of my occupations, I see the effects of those who are stuck in the lower classes of society. I enter this study with this lens of acknowledged subjectivity.

Glesne (2006) discusses subjectivity and the role it plays in qualitative research. A researcher should be aware of their subjectivity, and use it to form perspectives and insights, which shape more questions. Subjectivity should be monitored throughout the process, to be aware of how it can distort, but also of the ways it can increase your awareness of its capacity.

Trustworthiness

Glesne (2006) suggests several verifying procedures to ensure trustworthiness of findings. She mentions multiple sources as a way to achieve trustworthiness. This study will utilize multiple sources of data including songs, books, documents, newspapers, concert

performances, video documentaries, and speeches. These sources provide a comprehensive and authentic picture of who each person is and how they are going about their social justice work.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

Earlier in this paper, I reviewed the link between poverty and student achievement. Additionally, I wrote about the positive effect that music has contributed to important social justice movements. I hope to learn from the selected activist musicians, by looking at the way in which the artists have affected social change. These insights will be applied to the practice of educational leadership.

Data Collection And Analysis

Data has been collected through numerous sources. Books and other printed biographical information have been utilized, as well as DVD's. Concert footage has been examined, and I have listened to the catalogues of songs by the three artists.

The data will be presented as follows. There will be a data analysis section for each one of the selected artists. The first segment for each artist will give pertinent background information, looking for emergent themes to answer my first research question: What were the artists' formative influences in becoming social justice leaders? The second segment will look at each of the four potential functions of protest music for each artist, as posited by Rosenthal (2001): serving the already committed, educating the uneducated, recruitment, and mobilization. The reader should note that much of the music of the selected bands, and the actions that they pursue off the stage, simultaneously fit into all of the four areas at once. The data that is organized into this framework will be used to answer research question number two: What types of methods do they employ to achieve social justice? After the individual sections have been completed for each artist, emergent themes will be compared in a between case analysis.

Rage Against the Machine – Formative Influences

As noted in Chapter III, Tom Morello and Zack De La Rocha are the more politically motivated members of Rage Against the Machine (RATM). De La Rocha is the singer and lyricist, while Morello plays the lead guitar. Their formative influences will be examined.

Tom Morello – Born a Freedom Fighter

Thomas Baptist Morello was born in Harlem on May 30, 1964. His father was Stephen Ngethe Njoroge, who was a Kenyan guerilla involved in the Mau Mau uprising which worked to free Kenya from the colonial rule of Great Britain. Njoroge was the first ambassador from Kenya to the United Nations, and Morello's uncle was the first elected President of Kenya (Stenning, 2008). Tom's mother, Mary Morello, was a Caucasian Italian-American school teacher, who met Njoroge while she was a teacher in Kenya. Tom's parents were married, but they divorced when Tom was an infant. Mary moved with Tom to the town of Libertyville in her native state of Illinois. In the middle class white suburban America of the 1960's, she had a difficult time finding a teaching job where she could live with her African American son and also teach (Kot, 2000). Along with being a teacher, Mary also found time for activism, working with the NAACP and the Urban League in the 1960's and 1970's, and she was a part of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960's (Stenning, 2008). In the 1980's, she formed Parents for Rock and Rap to promote First Amendment rights for rap artists who were facing censorship (Devenish, 2001).

Racism

Tom faced racism as an early age as the only black resident of Libertyville. As a six year old in day care, he was repeatedly called "nigger" by the daughter of the owner of the center. Tom told his mother about the incidents. Mary taught him about the messages of Malcolm X and other black leaders who encouraged firm and also militant resistance when necessary (Devenish,

2001). The next day, the girl called Tom names again, and he said, “shut up whitey” and punched her. There were other signs of racism in Tom’s life. On one occasion, a noose was found in the family garage. These experiences led Morello to state that, “When you are black in America, you are political, like it or not,” (Stenning, p. 32, 2008). The band talks about the racism of the upper classes in “Down Rodeo,” referring to the high end shopping area of Rodeo Drive in Beverly Hills: “rollin down Rodeo with a shotgun, these people ain’t seen a brown skin man since their grandparents bought one” (Rage Against the Machine, 1996, track 7).

Influence of the Black Panthers

As Tom aged, he became interested in the writings of the militant Black Panthers, and the founders of the organization, Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton. Their origins were based in self-defense for blacks and preservation. The Panthers also wanted to end the oppression of blacks, using violence if necessary. Morello speaks of this influence by saying, “It (The Black Panthers) was about the underlying problems of economic injustice and the “divide and rule” kind of thing. If you keep poor blacks, whites, Chicanos, Koreans at one another’s throats, they’re not going to realize whose boot is on the collective neck,” (Stenning, p. 35, 2008). Several Black Panther works are listed on the reading list which is included on the liner notes of Rage’s “*Evil Empire*” album (Rage Against the Machine, 1996).

Musical Influences

Tom wanted to learn how to play the guitar as a youngster and he took lessons, but he grew impatient when the teacher wanted to teach him about tuning and chords instead of going directly into learning songs. He liked the heavy metal bands of the era, such as Kiss. Morello was also inspired by the punk band The Sex Pistols when they released “*Never Mind the Bullocks...Here’s The Sex Pistols.*” He also became a fan of another political punk band, The

Clash. With these hard rock and punk influences in place, he discovered rap music when he was 19. The group Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five were one of the first rap bands. Tom heard their song “Revival” while he was in a record store and he immediately bought it. Morello says, “that literally changed my life, and broke me out of the mold of white suburban rock” (Stenning, p. 44, 2008). With these influences of metal, punk, and rap, Morello would later combine the three for a unique and powerful blend.

After high school, Tom went on to Harvard University to study political science. In between his studies, he managed to practice for several hours a day. He wanted to learn from the masters of the day such as Eddie Van Halen, but he was also interested in making unusual sounds on his guitar. He graduated with honors, and moved to Los Angeles to try to make a living playing music. As many musicians do when they are trying to make it in the music industry, Morello took a day job, working as the scheduling secretary for U. S. Senator Alan Cranston.

Dissatisfaction with the Machine

Morello became disillusioned with what he saw while he worked on the Cranston staff. Cranston was a progressive, liberal politician, but Morello got a view of the workings of the American political machine and the limits of American Democracy under the two party system. Americans have a choice who they vote for, but the choice is limited to two representatives of the privileged classes. Morello also saw that the senator spent the majority of his time calling rich people in order to get campaign funds for reelection, exchanging favors for campaign money. “I realized that once he was elected, who would he owe? Would he owe single mothers, the homeless, and the guy working at Kentucky Fried Chicken, or would he owe ITT, GE, and other savings and loans tycoons?” (Devenish, p.23, 2001).

Another issue occurred while Morello worked for Cranston. Morello received a call from an irate constituent, complaining that there were too many Mexicans moving into her neighborhood. Morello confronted her on her racist attitudes, and was later reprimanded (Drysdale-Wood, 1999).

At the same time, Tom's musical career was taking off. He joined a band called Lock Up, who proceeded to get signed to a major label. The band was one album into a three album deal, then they got cut. Morello was about to meet Rage front man and lyricist, Zack De La Rocha.

Zack De La Rocha

Zacarias (Zack) Manuel De La Rocha was born in Long Beach, California in 1970. His mother was working on a Ph.D. in anthropology, while his father was an artist.

Zack's father, Beto De La Rocha, was a member of the Chicano group of artists known as Los Four (Drysdale-Wood, 1999). Los Four worked to document Mexican history through paintings and murals, painting works for groups such as the United Farm Workers. Zack said that Beto realized that art was very political by nature (Stenning, p. 36, 2008).

Divorce

De La Rocha's parents divorced when Zack was a year old. His time was divided between his mother in Irvine, Orange County and his father in the Lincoln Heights area of Los Angeles. Zack's father declined mentally, and he locked the boy in a room for days with the curtains drawn. He also made him fast often times from Friday night to Monday night (Drysdale-Wood, 1999). Beto suffered a breakdown when Zack was eleven. He destroyed many pieces of his artwork and he made Zack help burn some of the pieces. Zack's mother soon ended Zack's visits with Beto. The song "Born of a Broken Man" is rumored to be about Zack's relationship with his father.

Racism

Zack often felt like an outsider in the overwhelmingly Caucasian setting of Irvine, California. “The rule for Chicanos was you were there because you had a mop or a broom in your hand or a hammer, or filled baskets of strawberries,” (Stenning, p. 37, 2008).

De La Rocha also experienced racism more directly. During a lecture on the geography of California’s coast, a teacher described an area between San Diego and Oceanside. The teacher said “you know the wetback (racist term for Mexicans) station” and the class burst out in laughter. Zack was ready to explode, but he remained silent, afraid to say anything. “I told myself that I would never allow myself to not respond to that type of situation, in any form, anywhere,” (Devenish, p. 5, 2001). The Rage song “Know Your Enemy” lambasts the American educational system, with the lack of appreciation that is given to diversity, and the marginalization that is given to people of color: “the present curriculum, I put my fist in ‘em, Eurocentric every last one of ‘em..... Yes I know my enemies, they’re the teachers who taught me to fight me” (Rage Against the Machine, 1992, track 6).

Musical Influences

Musically, Zack liked to listen to hip-hop, which alienated several of his white friends. Early bands of the genre were very political. “To many whites it was just noise. To me, it was people reclaiming their dignity,” (Devenish, p. 7, 2001). Zack started playing guitar when he was eight, and he played mostly punk at first. He became exposed to jazz in high school, which opened him up to the possibility of improvisations and hybrid forms of music. Later, Zack became interested in hardcore music, a heavy rap metal blend, an aggressive music which stresses positive views of changing your life, and “strength, defiance, perseverance, and persistence” (Stenning, p. 55, 2008).

De La Rocha joined the hardcore band Inside Out in 1990. Inside Out toured with a well known hardcore band, Shelter, in that same year. Zack let his anger out in the band, but he admits that he was not the activist that he is now. The band broke up in 1991.

Band Formation

Tom Morello first heard Zack De La Rocha at a nightclub in 1991. Zack was rapping with some friends at the club, and Morello noticed that Zack had a similar view on politics and social justice (Drysdale-Wood, 1999). The two formed a band in 1991 with drummer Brad Wilk, who Tom had known, and bassist Tim Commerford, who had been friends with De La Rocha since high school.

Formative Influences - Summary

De La Rocha and Morello shared many of the same formative influences as they grew into very opinionated artists with the desire to spread the concepts of social justice through music. Both men had parents who were divorced. Both were biracial, in a period when Americans were not as accepting of mixed race children. Their worldview, as noted, was shaped by racist attitudes that occurred in both of their lives. Also, their parents were creative, intelligent people who fought for human rights and an end to oppression. These formative influences shaped De La Rocha and Morello.

Rosenthal Framework

The music and work of Rage will now be evaluated in relation to the framework put forth by Rosenthal.

Rage Against the Machine - Serving the Committed

As noted earlier, music serves the already committed by gathering resources for the movement, as well as reinforcing the values of the organization and supporting group values (Rosenthal, 2001). Each of these will be discussed in greater detail.

Many bands play the occasional benefit concert, but Rage speaks of social justice in broader and more comprehensive terms. Morello stated that “there are a lot of bands who support some very noble causes, like abortion rights, environmental issues But we are talking about a bigger overhauling of society,” (Devenish, p. 85).

Rage has performed many concerts that have garnered resources for their social justice efforts. In 1993, Rage headlined an Anti-Nazi League benefit held at the Brixton Academy in London, England. The band was inspired to perform the benefit for several reasons: to protest the actions of the National Front, an extreme right wing group in England, and also to publicize an upcoming Anti-Nazi parade that was being held. Additionally, the event raised money for activities of the League (Easter, 1999).

On April 4, 1994, the band organized and headlined a concert called “For the Freedom of Leonard Peltier.” The event raised \$75, 235.91 and the proceeds were presented to the Leonard Peltier Defense Fund (www.ratm.com, retrieved June 18, 2009). Peltier is a Native American who was convicted of killing two FBI agents. The show was performed to assist with paying for Peltier’s legal bills, and also to bring attention to the cause.

The band played a show called “Latinpalooza,” on October 22, 1994 with the joint beneficiaries being the Leonard Peltier Defense Fund, the United Farm Workers, and Para Los Niño’s (www.ratm.com, retrieved June 18, 2009). The United Farm Workers are a union which was formed by Cesar Chavez, and works to improve working conditions for farm workers, many of whom are Mexican or Chicano. De La Rocha’s father had painted murals for the United Farm

Workers, and De La Rocha's grandfather was an agricultural laborer working 16 hours a day while still living in poverty in Silicon Valley, California (Devenish, 2001). Para Los Niño's, which means "for the children," is a nonprofit organization that provides child care, schooling and other services to at-risk children and their families. The event featured Rage as the headliner, and a slate of other bands with Chicano members.

In August of 1995, the band organized and headlined a concert in Washington, D.C. The show raised more than \$8,000 for the International Concerned Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Abu-Jamal, a Black Panther and radio commentator who criticized and reported cases of abuse by the police, was convicted of killing a police officer. Rage and many others felt that the trial was not conducted fairly, that evidence was suppressed, and that Abu-Jamal was unfairly convicted.

In 1996, the band played the Tibetan Freedom Concert in Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. The two day event had over 100,000 attendees. Along with raising funds, benefit concerts solidified the Free Tibet movement. The shows certainly draw people who are already committed to the movement. On June 13, 1999, the band played another Tibetan Freedom Concert in Wisconsin. Morello spoke of the Tibetan shows (Stenning, p. 121, 2008) "What I think everyone here at the concert wants in self-determination, justice, and equality for all of the people in Tibet."

In 1997, the band began a series of stadium concerts with U2. Rage's net earnings from these shows were donated to several activist organizations: Friends & Family of Mumia Abu Jamal, FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting), The National Commission for Democracy in Mexico, FZLN (Zapatista Front for National Liberation), and Women Alive, which supports women living with HIV and A.I.D.S. In 1999, the band headlined a benefit concert in New

Jersey, and the proceeds of \$80,000 were donated to the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu Jamal.

Also in 1999, the band played a show in Mexico City. The proceeds from the show were to go to the communities of the Zapatista fighters, but at the urging of their leader Subcommandante Marcos, the money went to victims of a recent flood in the area (Devenish, 2001).

The Mexico City concert in 1999 was a politically charged event. The show was Rage's first in Mexico. Since the band writes about the plight of Mexicans in the Chiapas region, and with De La Rocha's association with the FZLN, the show took on special significance. The band released the song "Zapata's Blood" about the FZLN movement, which was performed at the concert: "Zapata's blood, wasn't spilt in vein, so now the most poor, the most poor, the most poor, will wage war, wage war, wage war, to reclaim their name, some guys got blurred, so now the most poor, the most poor the most poor, will wage war, wage war, wage war, to reclaim our terrain" (Rage Against the Machine, 1996, track 2).

A riot broke out before the show, when many people were unable to get tickets (Devenish, 2001). The concert began with a videotaped speech by Subcomandante Marcos, unofficial leader and spokesman for the FZLN, who spoke about the plight of the people in the Chiapas region in Mexico. The band launched into their set. The concert DVD that was released in 2001 was appropriately entitled "*The Battle of Mexico City.*"

In 2000, the Democratic National Convention was held at the Staples Center in Los Angeles. Rage wanted to play a show outside of the Convention, and they had to get permission to play near the Staples Center. They were initially told they would have to play several blocks away, but a U.S. District Court Judge ruled that keeping Rage away from the Convention would

be overly restrictive (Stenning, 2008). The band played a free show before an estimated 50,000 people. At the beginning of the show, De La Rocha gave an impassioned speech: “Apparently there’s another show goin’ on over there (DNC) but it’s all sold out. Brothers and Sisters, our democracy has been high jacked. Brothers and sisters, our electoral freedoms in this country are over, as long as it’s controlled by corporations. Brothers and sisters, we are not going to allow the streets to be taken over by the Democrats or the Republicans” (Epic Music Video, 2001).

After the concert, a melee ensued during a peaceful protest by demonstrators. Jennifer Bleyer, a reporter from the Independent Media Center, reported that police officers shot high pressure water and pepper spray pellets. Later, the police chased the fans down on horses, while beating them with batons (Stenning, 2008.) De La Rocha was outraged by the actions of the police, and defended the concertgoers who were there. “Those motherfuckers unloaded on this crowd...none of us had rubber bullets, none of us had M16’s, none of us had billy clubs, none of us had face shields.” (Stenning, p. 152, 2008).

These actions all served the already committed. Next, I will look at the efforts of the band in educating the uneducated.

Rage Against the Machine – Educating the Uneducated

De La Rocha and Morello acknowledges the skill of the right at disseminating propaganda. The propaganda from the “machine” pumps out information that is distorted in the eyes of Rage. The information is televised 24 hours a day with conservative networks such as Fox and commentators such as Rush Limbach and Bill O’Reilly.

In several Rage songs, the band talks about the televised propaganda from the right. From the “Bombtrack” lyrics (Rage Against the Machine 1992, track 1): “see through the news and views that twist reality,” on “Take the Power Back:” “one-sided stories for years and years and

years” (Rage Against the Machine, 1992, track 3). In “Bulls on Parade the band says:” “what we don’t know keeps the contracts alive and movin’, they don’t burn books they just remove ‘em (Rage Against the Machine, 1996, track 2). Lastly, on “Testify” De La Rocha sings, “mister anchor assure me that Baghdad is burning, your voice is so soothing, that cunning mantra of killing” (Rage Against the Machine, 1999, track 1).

To counteract the information from the right, the group works on several fronts to provide information to educate the uneducated. On January 21, 1997, the group produced a radio show called Radio Free L.A. on the day of the second inauguration of Bill Clinton as President. The group gathered several artists together in an L.A. studio. They also had on-air interviews with Chuck D. from Public Enemy, Zapatista Subcommandante Marcos, Mumia Abu Jamal, and Leonard Peltier (Devenish, 2001). The show was on satellite and internet radio. This concept was later continued with the Axis of Justice.

Tom Morello, along with Serj Tarkanian, formed a non-profit organization called the Axis of Justice (AOJ). The group was designed to bring together musicians, fans of music, and grassroots political organizations to fight for social justice. Within that purpose, the organization wants to expose their audience to rebel music of different genres and to “let people know there’s a tether between Bob Dylan, and Rage and Pete Seeger and System of a Down and Public Enemy.” (Morello, in Stenning, p. 183, 2008). The group has a radio show that plays protest music and brings on speakers who talk about social justice issues. The show is on Sirius radio and archives from the show are available for download at the AOJ website. The site also has many other features and articles which highlight social justice issues.

Rage has also developed reading lists for people who wish to learn more about their political philosophy, as well as those who want to learn more about the case of Abu Jamal. The

band highlighted several of those on the liner sleeve of the “*Evil Empire*” album. This list included works by Karl Marx, Noam Chomsky, and Che Guevara. It also included books about Gramsci, Bob Marley, Malcolm X and the Black Panthers. The online bookseller Amazon has a webpage with ordering information for books listed on the liner notes of “*Evil Empire*” which attests to the demand Rage has created with their reading list. There is also a reading list at the end of the DVD, “*Rage Against the Machine.*”

Several of the band’s videos provide information about causes the band supports. The video for the song, “Freedom,” features information on the case of Peltier. The “People of the Sun” video features a barrage of information about the situation in Chiapas. These informational pieces were used to educate viewers about these issues. Next, we will look at recruitment.

Rage Against the Machine - Recruitment

Rage works to recruit new members to their social justice causes. Groups have mentioned that their membership has increased, and that people become more aware of issues when Rage has become involved.

Allison Reynolds, director of Free Tibet, acknowledged the work of Rage Against the Machine as very vocal supporters of the movement. She noted that youth look at Rage as an “alternative voice to government,” and that it helps to make youth more politically active (Easter, 1999). Information on Free Tibet is on the “*Rage Against the Machine*” DVD.

Claire Dissington, of the Anti-Nazi League, talked about the beginnings of her organization and the work of Rage Against the Machine. The group was formed to counteract the work of far right British political organizations such as the British National Party and the National Front. These groups are much like the Nazi Party of Germany, hating Blacks, Asians, gays, and any other non-white group. She expressed that the band has been extremely supportive

of the Anti-Nazi League, not only through benefit concerts, but also through the recruitment of new members. She notes the mail she gets from places all over the world from people who have been the targets of racism, who say that they learned of the group through Rage's support of the movement. She also talked about the diversity of the band, and that it is a concrete example of people of different races working together effectively (Easter, 1999). The band publishes the League's address on their CDs and DVDs.

The Mumia Abu Jamal case is a prime example of Rage's influence of recruitment. Although the unfairness of his trial is a cause for many celebrities, the work of Rage has been instrumental in getting exposure to the case among the youth of America. Leonard Weinglass, Abu Jamal's attorney, has noted the effect that Rage has had on recruiting people to support Mumia in the legal efforts to get a new trial. Weinglass stated, "There's no other spokespeople for Mumia reaching people in the tens of thousands except for Rage" (Devenish, p. 93). In support of this, Weinglass also mentioned that when he does college speaking tours, many students tell him that the first time that they heard of Mumia was through Rage.

Rage Against the Machine - Mobilization

The music and actions of Rage have spurred people to be mobilized at different levels. Whether it's buying t-shirts, starting websites or fanzines, boycotts, letter writing to actually protesting at rallies, Rage supports all who wish to mobilize. The official band website includes a section called "Freedom Fighter of the Month" which highlights the efforts of individuals or groups involved in mobilized social justice efforts. The goal is to motivate people into activism. The Axis of Justice site also has a section on how to get involved in activism.

In 1993, the band was on the bill for the traveling Lollapalooza tour, which featured many alternative bands, and was started by Perry Farrell of the band Jane's Addiction. The band

was selling their t-shirts for \$10, the proceeds from which went to support Rage's social causes (Drysedale-Wood, 1999). The Lollapalooza promoters, with corporate greed as their motive, were charging \$23 for their shirts. The promoters were worried that this would decrease their t-shirt sales. Rage stopped selling their t-shirts, and protested onstage to all fans to boycott the official tour shirts. De La Rocha told the audiences that they should not buy the shirts, because all of the profits were going to the "landowners" of the venue, exploiting the fans buying overpriced shirts (Dysdale-Wood, 1999). The term "landowner" is from the writings of Karl Marx, which stresses that those in charge of the land and resources exploit the working classes (Finley, 2002). In the song "Bombtrack," the band talks about this: "landlords and power whores on my people they took turns" (Rage Against the Machine, 1992, track 1). The boycott was successful, and sales dropped dramatically on the tour (Stenning, 2008).

In December, 1997, Morello and the band led efforts to protest the unfair labor practices of Guess, a clothing manufacturer. Workers in Calcutta, Los Angeles, New York City, and the Bay Area were forced to work in appalling conditions. During the busy Christmas shopping season, the band worked with the garment workers union, called UNITE, to protest these sweatshop working conditions and to lead a boycott of Guess products. The band ran magazine advertisements and arranged for billboards that read, "Rage Against Sweatshops: We Don't Wear Guess – A Message from Rage Against the Machine and UNITE" (Devenish, 2001). Morello also was involved in a protest of Guess, in which he and several others blocked a Macy's store to protest against Guess. Morello and 33 others were arrested in the protest.

As mentioned, the band has been very active in supporting the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, his efforts to get a new trial and to be released from Death Row. On April 12, 1999, De La Rocha spoke before a full session of the International Commission of Human Rights of the

United Nations on the case of Abu Jamal. Abu Jamal's sentence was recently changed from death to life imprisonment. This attests to the success of the protests and to the power of social justice movements involving Rage. The song "Voice of the Voiceless" (Rage Against the Machine, 1999, track 1) is written about Abu Jamal. He was known as the voice of the voiceless for speaking out about racial injustices, especially those committed by the police department.

Through steel walls your voice blastin' on true rebel my brother Mumia
 I reflect upon, you be tha spark that set the prairie fires on
 make the masses a mastodon path, to trample the fascists on
 at fifteen exposed Philly's finest killing machine, boots and mad guns
 they pacify ya young cause and effect smell tha smoke and tha breeze
 my Panther, my brother we are at war until you're free
 You'll never silence the voice of the voiceless yet tha powerful got nervous
 cause he refused to be their servant he spit truth
 that burned like black churches prose and verses a million poor in hearses
 watch the decision of Dred Scott s it reverses long as the rope
 Is tied around Mumia's neck let there be no rich white life
 we bound to respect cause and effect cant ya smell tha smoke in tha breeze
 my panther, my brother we are at war until you're free
 you'll never silence the voice of the voiceless and Orwell's hell a terror era coming
 through but this little brothers watching you too, watching you too

Rage Against the Machine - Conclusion

The band Rage Against the Machine has worked to end injustice and oppression on many fronts in an effort to dismantle what they call “the Machine.” There is much data to support the claim that they have utilized the framework as established by Rosenthal.

Rage serves the already committed by performing many benefit shows. They have played concerts to support the legal defense funds of people such as Mumia Abu Jamal and Leonard Peltier, whom many believe did not get fair trials. They have also played two “Free Tibet” concerts to raise funds and serve those committed to the cause. Also, they played shows to benefit the FZLN in their efforts to gain independence from Mexico. Lastly, they have done shows to benefit people in poverty, and they have donated revenue from band merchandise to various social and political causes.

The band also works to serve the committed by doing shows such as the concert in Mexico City and playing across from the Democratic National Convention in 2000, by playing for large audiences who are committed to the movement.

To educate the uneducated, Rage acknowledges the propaganda devices of the “machine,” and works on many fronts to distribute information to support their view of social justice, and the philosophical underpinnings on which it rests. Reading lists are available on CD liner notes and band videos. Information on social justice causes are in the videos for the songs of the band. Also, the Radio Free LA show and the AOJ radio network were used to disseminate information.

The efforts to educate the uneducated have been successful, as demonstrated by the band’s recruitment record. The organizers of Free Tibet and the Anti-Nazi League have noticed increases in their membership since Rage got involved with the organizations. The groups also received letters and e-mails from supporters all over the world, who say that they got involved

because they learned about the groups from Rage. The band has also been instrumental in recruiting people to work in the efforts to get Mumia Abu Jamal another trial, as noted by Abu Jamal's attorney, Leonard Weinglass.

Rage has fostered mobilization by promoting small actions of protest such as buying activist t-shirts to the encouragement of more militant activism, with Morello walking hand in hand with supporters to protest the Guess company.

The best example of the effects of mobilization rests with the case of Mumia Abu Jamal. Although he has not received a new trial, Abu Jamal's sentence was changed from death to life imprisonment.

Next, I turn to Bono of U2 for analysis of his social justice efforts.

Bono

"This is not a burden. This is an adventure. Don't let anyone tell you it cannot be done. We can be the generation that ends extreme poverty" (Bono, 2007).

Bono delivered these words as part of an acceptance speech when he was awarded the NAACP Chairman Award in March of 2007. He refers to the extreme poverty that plagues the continent of Africa, as he does in many of his speeches.

The singer known as "Bono" works to alleviate the suffering of those in extreme poverty in Africa. Bono works to get the West to cancel Africa's insurmountable debt. Once they don't have this burden, they will be able to have money to build more hospitals and schools and improve the health of the people. They will also be able to build infrastructure to develop industry. He uses a variety of means to work toward this goal through his music and social activism, and those means will be analyzed in this section.

Bono - Formative Influences

Religion

Paul Hewson was born on May 10, 1960 in a working class section of Dublin, Ireland. He later received the nickname “Bono Vox,” later shortened to Bono, which means golden voice. His father Bob was a postal worker who was Catholic, while his mother Iris was Protestant (Assayas, 2006). Ireland is made up primarily of Catholics, but there are also many Protestants, primarily in the northern counties in the section known as Ulster. Bono learned about religion and God from both parents. Bono went to church with his Protestant mother. Bono frequently quotes scripture from the Bible, which is inherently a more Protestant trait. His father, also spiritual, taught him that “religion often gets in the way of God” (Assayas, 2006, p. 37). Bono notes the influence of religion at the NAACP speech (2007) by saying, “It was the poetry and the righteous anger of the black church that was such an inspiration to me growing up.”

Death of Bono’s Mother

Bono’s mother died when he was 14 years old. She collapsed at the funeral of her own father, never to regain consciousness (Assayas, 2006). His father refused to speak of his mother, so Bono has no recollection of her. The experience of the loss of his mother had a severe effect on him. Dabbling in music, his first songs were about death, instead of girls or cars as budding young songwriters usually choose.

Brother

After his mother passed, the remaining Hewsons consisted of his father and his older brother. Bono remembers getting into bloody fistfights with his brother, and he remembers seeing the blood years later still on the kitchen wall. He once threw a knife at his brother which stuck to the wall. Youthful fights notwithstanding, he describes his brother as a “great man” (Assayas, 2006, p. 18).

Father

Bono describes his father as “kind of jaded...nonplussed” (Assayas, 2006, p. 11). He describes him as a person who would always pour salt and vinegar into the wound. Bono mentions the time that he introduced the beautiful actress and star of the movie “*Pretty Woman*” Julia Roberts to his father, who said “pretty woman, my arse!” (Assayas, 2006, p. 12). As his father was on his death bed with Bono by his side, Bob uttered “fuck off” to Bono and the attending nurse as his last words (Assayas, 2006, pg. 11). Bono channeled the example of his father into being the opposite of that, a person with a belief in the world and the people who inhabit it.

The Formation of U2

Bono attended the Mount Temple Comprehensive School in Dublin. He met Alison Stewart there, who would later become his wife. Several of the future members of the band U2 also attended the school. In 1977, Larry Mullen, Jr. posted an ad at the school message board looking for people to join a pop group he was forming (Chatterton, 2004). Among those who answered the advertisement were Paul Hewson and Adam Clayton. The band would first practice in drummer Mullen’s kitchen. Bono, although not the greatest singer at the time, was very confident and charismatic, and he became a leader in the group. The band members were influenced by punk bands such as The Clash, and played in a very minimalist fashion due to the moderate level of technical proficiency in their musicianship.

The group was signed to a record contract while still teenagers. The band kept an egalitarian stance regarding songwriting royalties. While guitarist the Edge writes most of the music and Bono writes the lyrics, the band credits all members in the songwriting.

Violence in Ireland

Ireland has had much internal conflict, with armed struggle between the government and the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA). The IRA had been leading a campaign which denounced the government, and worked to end British rule in Ireland. They worked for revolution by engaging in any means necessary, including terrorism. The band did not support the IRA, and they decried the violence that they perpetuated. The violence on both sides had been harsh, and many innocent people have been killed. Growing up in Ireland during the 1970's when the IRA violence was at its peak surely affected Bono. He wrote the song "Sunday Bloody Sunday" (U2, 1983, track 1) about the violence and the killing of innocent citizens in Ireland at the hands of the IRA and the British Army (Stokes, 2005).

Referring to the endless violence: "I can't believe the news today, I can't close my eyes and make it go away, how long, how long must we sing this song?" Later in the song: "broken bottles under children's feet, bodies strewn across a dead end street." The song also provides hope for the future with the lyrics "tonight, we can be as one, tonight." In the video for the song, which was shot live at the Red Rocks Theater in Colorado, Bono marches out with a white flag signifying surrender, peace, and an end to the violence. He leads the crowd in a call to yell repeatedly, "no more."

The Teachings of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Growing up amidst the violence in Ireland, Bono and the other members were influenced by the teachings of Martin Luther King, Jr. and nonviolence. The band wrote songs about Dr. King, including the song "Pride (In the Name of Love)" (U2, 1984, Track A2). The song refers to the day King was assassinated: "early morning, April 4, a shot rings out, in the Memphis sky, free at last, they took your life, they could not, take your pride."

Bono was also influenced by King in another manner, which would serve him well later in his activist career. He had a conversation with Harry Belafonte, a calypso singer who worked on the Civil Rights Movement with Martin Luther King, Jr. Bobby Kennedy had become the Attorney General of the United States, and many in the Civil Rights camp did not see him as an ally. King growing irritated by the bashing and convinced that the movement for civil rights had to go through Kennedy, called the group out to see if anyone could mention one good thing about Bobby Kennedy. When nobody spoke, King dismissed the meeting. He said that they would resume when someone could say something good about Kennedy. When they got back together, the group realized the strong religious faith of Kennedy, and how close he was to his Catholic bishop. The civil rights leaders went through the bishop to get Kennedy to work with them, resulting in success for the movement. Belafonte also acknowledged the huge role that Bobby Kennedy had in advancing the movement.

From this experience, Bono's interpretation of King's message was to not respond to the caricatures of left, right, progressive, or reactionary. "Find the light in them, because that will further your cause" (Assayas, 2006, p. 97). Bono has successfully worked with politicians on both sides of the political spectrum. Republican Tom Daschle, former Senate majority leader, reflected while speaking of the American political landscape "this is a very divisive environment these days. The only person who has brought us together is Bono" (Pappu, 2007, p. C1).

Seeing Things Firsthand

The band U2 has been involved with many charitable causes, such as Greenpeace, Amnesty International, Artists United Against Apartheid, and the Live Aid benefit shows. After the 1985 Live Aid Concert which benefited famine relief for Ethiopia, Bono said to his wife, "I can't get these people I'm seeing on television out of my head. We have to try and do

something” (Assayas, 2007, p. 248). Bono and his wife Ali visited to see the conditions of the people firsthand (Assayas, 2007). The couple worked for six weeks giving out essential food supplies. A man approached Bono, asking that he take the baby to Ireland. Bono did not, and many feel that Bono never really got over that (Pappu, 2007, p. C1). Upon his return from Ethiopia, Bono talked about the strong spirit of the people he had met. “...even in poverty, they had something that we didn’t have....I realized the extent to which people in the West were like spoiled children” (Stokes, 2005, p. 64).

By visiting Africa, Bono realized the scope of the problem, and the horrific conditions the famine had caused for the African people. He also came to the awareness that he really wanted to help them.

Interested in the civil wars in El Salvador and Nicaragua in the 1980’s, Bono decided to visit those countries as well. Bono learned about the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua from the band The Clash, but he also began reading about it and what he terms their liberation theology (Assayas, 2007, p. 196). While he was in Nicaragua, he was surprised to see how much religion had played a role in the revolt. He witnessed the use of stories from the Bible to teach revolution. He also saw the poverty and starvation caused by the U.S. embargo that was designed to get the Communist Sandinista government out of power. As in Africa, Bono was able to see things first hand, which enhanced his view of the situation.

Bono Formative Influences – Summary

By examining the formative influences of Bono, several themes emerge. Many factors contributed to Bono and his desire to do social justice work to alleviate extreme poverty in Africa. Growing up in Ireland, with the violence and death occurring as a result of terrorist and counter terrorist strikes, senseless death was unconscionable. Bono decries violence and the

death and destruction that accompany it. The nonviolent teachings of Martin Luther King, Jr. were also important Bono, and got him to despise violence. Additionally, Bono often talks about the senseless deaths that happen in Africa due to preventable diseases that could be cured relatively cheaply.

The loss of Bono's mother also affected him, and this contributed to his socially activist songs. He wrote about deep topics at an early age, and U2's early albums were filled with songs containing socially conscious messages. The cynicism of his father inspired Bono to go the opposite direction, with a boundless faith in the goodness of all people. Along with this faith, Bono used the message of Belafonte to look to all to help in his cause, and that all people were good and could be reached.

Getting a first hand view of the suffering has helped Bono. Seeing African people three in a bed dying from AIDS had an effect on him, and made him want to help. From being a witness, he can also talk of it more effectively.

The importance of religion, specifically Christianity, was also an important influence for Bono. Bono knows that his cause is just in the eyes of God. He often quotes scripture while delivering speeches, and does the same when talking individually with people he is trying to get to support aid to Africa. Next, we will look at the work of Bono through the lens of Rosenthal.

Rosenthal Lens

Serving the Committed

U2 has played many benefit concerts to support social justice causes. U2 played at the famous Live Aid concert in 1985 which supported famine relief in Ethiopia. The concert was held simultaneously at two different sites, Wembley Stadium in London and Veteran's Stadium in Philadelphia. The event raised 67 million dollars for famine relief (Garofalo, 1992). Bono

became involved in the project through his friend, Boomtown Rats singer Bob Geldof. Geldof had just organized the song and video “Do They Know It’s Christmas” in 1984, and he organized Live Aid to bring even more relief to the victims of famine.

Bono did not become involved with Africa again until 1997, when he was asked by lobbyist Jamie Drummond to join the Jubilee 2000 campaign (Assayas, 2006). The campaign was formed to use the occasion of the millennium to cancel the chronic debt burdens of the poorest countries. Bono was a perfect choice to help in this cause by serving the committed.

Bono is a fiery, inspirational orator. In many of his speeches, he seeks to credit those already in support of the movement. When he was awarded the NAACP Chairman’s Award (2007.) Bono used his acceptance speech to bolster the mostly African American followers in attendance by using phrases such as “we need the organization (NAACP) that taught the world about civil rights to teach the world about human rights.” Also, he uses humor, saying, “I stand before you as this white, almost pink Irishman.” At the end of the speech, he states that “this is an adventure. We can be the generation that ends extreme poverty” inspiring the already committed to further action.

Bono also gives credit to all who help with supporting Africa. One example of this occurred in 2005, shortly before the G8 summit in Gleneagles, Scotland. Bono met with Randall Tobias, head of the Bush administration’s AIDS program. The administration had announced that the program was providing antiretroviral drugs to 155, 000 Africans with AIDS. A more earnest activist may have seen this as a small amount of aid given the magnitude of the problem, but not Bono. Bono told Tobias, “You should know what an incredible difference your work is going to make in their lives” (Traub, 2005, p. 3).

Bono also uses Christian principles to show that the movement to help Africa is just and scripturally based. He explains that the movement is not about charity, but about justice (Assayas, 2006). In the NAACP speech, he admonishes the followers that “One thing that we can all agree, is that god has a special place for the poor” (Bono, 2007). He says that “the Bible says that we are all equal” (Assayas, 2006, p. 90).

Educating the Uneducated

Due to his celebrity and rock star status, Bono is able to speak his message from a variety of mainstream media outlets. He has been on the Oprah Winfrey television show, and he has been interviewed by CNN’s Sanjay Gupta to name a few. He has been featured in Time magazine several times (Tyriangel, 2005). He mentions Africa from the stage during concerts. With all of these platforms, he is able to reach many people in his quest for ending extreme poverty.

Bono works to educate the uneducated by informing them of the historical roots of the problem. Bono offers an explanation for why Africa is “pre-Middle Age.” He explains that 200 years ago, there was little difference in the income levels of the Northern and Southern Hemispheres. As colonization began occurring, the colonizers took much of the natural resources such as gold, silver and oil, and then they took away the colonies right to rule themselves. This is coupled with all of the questionable loans that Western banks lent to African dictators after independence, many of whom kept the money. African countries now have to use an incredible amount of money to pay these debts, and they have nothing left for health and education. Lastly, the unfair trade agreements put African countries at a disadvantage (Assayas, 2006). He also uses facts to educate. “6,500 people dying every day of a preventable and treatable disease” (Assayas, 2006, p. 257). Also, he notes that “2.5 million people die in Africa every year,” and that “(the

AIDS pandemic) is the biggest pandemic in the history of civilization” (Assayas, p. 90). Along with citing the statistics, he noted that he is able to “Put flesh and blood into the statistics. I try and get those people to come alive and walk around the room for a little while – mothers, children, families, because once they’re real, they’re very hard to ignore” (Pappu, 2007, C1).

Bono has a simple vision, using the same phrases over and over again so as not to cloud the message. Many are rooted in scripture. “It’s not about charity; it’s about justice and equality” (Assayas, 2006, p. 137). “Love thy neighbor is not advice; it’s a command” (Assayas, 2006, p. 91). He also teaches the uneducated by having them believe that this can be done. He exhorted the NAACP crowd with, “Where you live should not determine whether you live or if you die” (Bono, 2007). He later tells the same audience, “We can be the generation that ends extreme poverty” (Bono, 2007).

Recruitment

After Bono was asked by Jamie Drummond to join the Jubilee 2000 campaign in 1997, he made phone calls to several friends in order to find out who the decision makers were, or at least to figure out who knew the decision makers. Bono called on Eunice Shriver, sister of former President John F. Kennedy (Pappu, 2007). Shriver told him to call her son Bobby Shriver. He followed that advice, and Shriver gave Bono his list of phone numbers of politicians. Shriver often called the politicians and set up appointments for Bono to meet with them, and he often went along too. He began to win over key politicians, including then President Bill Clinton and Clinton’s Treasury Secretary Larry Summers (Traub, 2005). By 1999, the Clinton administration agreed to cancel around two-thirds of the \$6 billion that the poorest African countries owed to the United States (Traub, 2005, p. 84). When Bono reached the President of the United States, he thought that the leader of the free world would be able to push his agenda. Then he realized that

the Congress, not the President, had most of the power in the United States. He had to win over key members of Congress.

Shriver also arranged for Bono to meet Harvard professor and economist Jeffrey Sachs, who was an expert on the economics of third world countries, and supporter of debt reduction and aid to help Africa develop. As Bono says, “(meeting Sachs) completely changed my life. He turned the math into music” (Assayas, p. 101). Bono met with Sachs several times, and he became very knowledgeable about the economic issues of Africa. He also met with conservative economists in order to learn their side of the argument, including Richard Barrow (Assayas, 2006). Many see Bono as an expert. Rick Santorum, former U.S. Republican Senator from Pennsylvania, said that, “The important thing to understand is, Bono knows more about his issues better than 99% of members of Congress” (Tyrangiel, 2005, p. 2).

To recruit help for the cause, Bono wants to enlist the help of everyone, including politicians, G-8 leaders, and soccer moms. As he says, it’s about, “getting radical student activists together with conservative church groups, rock stars, economists, Popes and politicians all singing off the same lyric sheet” (Assayas, 2006, p. 98).

He sees this as left and right working together. Remembering the lesson he learned from Harry Belafonte, he went to people on the left as might be expected, but he also went to the right. He chose not to respond to the rumor about people, but instead, he chose to find the light in them. Bono’s formula success is to use Christianity with people who are religious, and speaking about the topic on moral aspects of the situation in Africa to those who are not religious. He was able to enlist the support of powerful conservative Republicans such as former President George W. Bush, Senator Jesse Helms, and Ohio senator John Kasich.

Bono was able to get these conservatives to support the movement by reaching them as Christians. In 2000, Bono met Jesse Helms, the elderly senator, often times seen as the archfiend to liberalism. Bono reached him by talking about Scripture. He talked about married women and children dying of AIDS, and their governments could not help because of their heavy debt. Helms began to cry. He hugged Bono and offered to do anything he could to help (Traub, 2005). Helms later attended a U2 concert as Bono's guest.

He reached President Bush by reaching out to him with Bible readings. On the way to meet Bush, Bono was looking for a verse in the Bible about shepherds and the poor, and he couldn't find one, so he asked the driver to circle around the block until he found one from the Gospel of Matthew: "For I was hungered, ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me in." Bono also talks of the time when he escorted Bush to Africa. Bush met a nurse, whose child has died of AIDS because the mother could not afford the drugs needed to keep the child alive. A tearful Bush hugged the woman. Bono arranged for many people to meet Bush and tell their stories about how AIDS is decimating the Continent of Africa and Bono alluded to people coming out of the bushes at the Bushes. He also took Paul O'Neill, Secretary of the Treasury during the first years of the Bush Administration, to Africa.

Mobilization

Bono is able to mobilize people because of his effect on people, and the ability to reach into morals or spirituality of that person to get them involved. Actor George Clooney, who has been called by Bono in the fight for Africa, says about him, "Bono calls on everyone to be their best...if you fall short you feel embarrassed. That's a unique thing. And we all want to be that person" (Traub, 2005, p. 120).

Bono's strategy for mobilization was to get the U.S. to move with debt forgiveness and AIDS relief for Africa. Once one country moves, they move in mass (Assayas, 2006). To move people on both the political front and at the greater societal level, Bono formed two organizations. Debt, AIDS, Trade, Africa (DATA) is a lobbying agency designed to hold political leaders to their promises and to push them to go further. The other organization, ONE, is designed to get support from mainstream Americans. They are committed to the fight against extreme poverty and preventable illness. The group works to mobilize public opinion in support of tested and proven methods for tackling poverty (<http://www.one.org/us/about/>). The group has over 2.6 million members. Members receive the latest on Africa's development efforts. The group is an umbrella group of over 150 of America's non-profit, advocacy, and humanitarian organizations.

The mobilization of people in the struggle for Africa has been impressive. In 2005 at Gleneagles, Scotland, the leaders of the eight most powerful countries in the world, known as the G-8, approved an unprecedented \$50 billion aid package, with \$25 billion for Africa, pledging universal access to antiretroviral drugs for almost 10 million impoverished people with AIDS (Traub, 2005).

Other groups have been started under the auspices of ONE to aid African development. The Red campaign was designed to raise money for Africa. Product Red is a brand licensed to partner companies such as Gap, Converse, Starbucks, and Armani (Assayas, 2006). A percentage of the sales of Red products support the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. There is also a Red American Express Card, in which funds are contributed to the Global fund with each purchase.

Edun is a company founded in 2005 by Bono, his wife Ali Hewson, and designer Rogan Gregory. They are a socially conscious clothing company which assists to drive sustainable employment in developing countries (Assayas, 2006). Many products are made in countries such as Africa and Peru.

Bono - Conclusion

Bono has worked extensively in an effort to end the extreme poverty of people in Africa. As shown through the data, he was successful at achieving the four components of the Rosenthal framework. Bono was able to support the committed through his speeches and his songs. He also performed benefit concerts to raise money for the cause. Bono educated the uneducated by using his celebrity status to speak to as many audiences as possible. He explained the historical reasons of the problem of poverty in Africa and he offers a viable solution. He keeps his message simple, so that everyone in his diverse audience from politicians to soccer moms can understand. Bono also gives the uneducated the hope that the problem can be solved.

Bono worked to recruit by becoming an expert in the area of African development. Instead of working with the traditionally supportive left on this social issue, he was able to influence key people on the right. He stressed the biblical imperative to do something, and he gave people credit for helping when they helped even incrementally.

Lastly, Bono was able to mobilize by getting millions to sign up for the ONE Campaign to Make Poverty History. DATA works as the lobbying arm of ONE to influence politicians to mobilize. At the G-8 Conference at Gleneagles, Scotland, the leaders of the G-8 countries pledged much support for aid to Africa, as noted. The projects Red and Edun provide another opportunity for mobilization, as consumers benefit the cause by purchasing products. We will now turn to the social justice efforts of Bob Marley.

Bob Marley

“Until the philosophy which holds one race superior and another inferior is permanently discredited and abandoned, everywhere is war, we say war....That until the basic human rights are equally guaranteed to all, without regard to race, there is a war” (Marley, 1976, track 8).

Haile Selassie, Prime Minister of Ethiopia, delivered a famous speech in 1968 on the effects of racism to the United Nations. Bob Marley set the speech to music in the song “War” by adding the lyrics about war and setting it to a lilting reggae beat. Marley used the bouncy melodies of reggae and revolutionary lyrics as a call to combat the ideals of the Western world. Rastafarians (Rastas) such as Marley call these western views and thoughts “Babylon,” a world built on exploitation, slavery and oppression by the “downpressors.” Marley wrote songs about the “sufferahs,” the poor and hungry in Jamaica. In time, he found an international audience who could identify with this message of equality. Discussion on the significance of Marley must begin with a history of colonization and unrest in Jamaica, and an overview of the Rastafarian movement. Then I will discuss the formative influences and motivations behind Bob Marley’s call for social justice.

History of Jamaica – Colonialism and Slavery

Christopher Columbus landed on Jamaica in 1494, claiming the island as a Spanish colony. After a series of British raids and attacks over several decades, the British took over Jamaica and made it a colony within the British Empire in 1655. The British plantation owners ran the colony, supported by the British crown.

The original inhabitants were the tribes of the Arawak and Carib, and they were decimated by European diseases and the brutal working conditions that the Spaniards imposed upon them. In an effort to replenish the dwindling workforce, the first slaves were imported from

Africa to Jamaica in 1517. Approximately 5 million slaves were imported to Jamaica during the slave trade period, which ended in 1807, with the practice of slavery ending in 1838 (Collingwood, 2005).

The seeds of militant resistance under oppression, which eventually led to Jamaican independence in 1962, were sown by the slaves. They led several revolts over the years of Spanish and British rule. The Spanish released about 1500 of their slaves as the British forces of Oliver Cromwell invaded the island (White, 2000). These former slaves, called the maroons, from their position of the wilderness, led guerilla attacks on encroaching British troops in the late seventeenth century (Collingwood). They also took in runaway slaves, offering them sanctuary as a part of their community. More importantly, the presence of free Africans on the island provided incitement to escape (Toynbee, 2007). In 1739, their leader, Cudjoe, negotiated a treaty with the British. There were many revolts during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most notably was the slave revolt of 1832, in which 60,000 slaves rose up in the western part of the island (Toynbee, 2007).

In an attempt to defeat the slaveowners, many Jamaican slaves would align themselves with one of two sorcerers in order to cast spells on the oppressors. The first were the obeahmen, who used the spirits of the dead, or the duppies, in order to harm or help to influence people or events. The second were the myalmen, who had the ability to neutralize or defeat the influence of the duppies (White, 2000).

After slavery, other revolts occurred among the free workers. One was the Morant Bay rebellion of 1865, in which the free but poor plantation workers protested for land at affordable prices and a living wage. Another revolt occurred among the lower and middle classes beginning in 1938, as they began to demand a role in deciding the destiny of the island (White, 2000).

Widespread strikes occurred beginning in April, and by May, strikes had paralyzed Kingston and spread across the island (Toynbee, 2007). The strikers included workers on sugar plantations, banana groves, dock hands and the unemployed. They demanded better wages, better housing, and improved hiring practices (White, 2000). During this period, Jamaicans began to become more urban, moving from the country to cities such as Kingston.

The labor unrest led to the formation of Jamaican labor unions, and also led to the growth of two political parties who rivaled one another, the conservative Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) and the left leaning Democratic Socialist People's National Party (PNP) (Toynbee, 2007). Although the competing parties were at odds, their combined power struck a "death blow to the obstructionist policies of the crown-supported plantocracy" (White, 2000, p. 124). Jamaica was granted independence in 1962, as an independent nation within the British Commonwealth.

Although Jamaican independence was achieved, the new government was unable to change the situation of poverty for the black lower classes. The JLP and the PNP both claimed to be of the people, but the squalor and poverty of urban areas like Trench Town continued.

Rastafari

The evolving consciousness of blacks was furthered by the start of a new religion, which became known as Rastafari. This religion was a blend of different religious beliefs from Christian and African spiritualism as well as the beliefs that arose out of the oppression of blacks by whites (Worth, 1995). It began with a Jamaican descendent of the maroons named Marcus Garvey. As a young adult, he traveled to many different areas in Central and South America in the early 1900's, financing his journey by taking odd jobs. He was appalled by the working conditions for blacks everywhere in the "white dominated West" (White, 2000, p. 7), which

shaped his political consciousness. Garvey advocated a “back to Africa” movement for blacks to escape the oppression at the hands of whites.

In 1925, the “Black Man’s Bible,” which was compiled by Robert Athlyi Rogers of Anguilla from scripture, made it to Jamaica. The book became known as the Holy Piby (White, 2000). Black Jamaicans began to read the Holy Piby, and the religion began to grow. It gained a strong following among the lower classes in West Kingston in the 1930’s. This growth was propelled by the jailing of one of the first rasta preacher, Leonard Howell, and also by the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1935 (Toynbee, 2007).

Garvey also prophesized that a black king would be crowned in Africa, and that the king would help blacks all over the world (Worth, 1995). In 1936, it appeared that Garvey’s prediction came true, when Ras Tafari was named to the throne as king of Ethiopia. He took the name Haile Selassie. The followers of this new religion believed that Tafari was the black king of whom Garvey spoke. They also believed that Ras Tafari was the living God. The religion became known as Rastafari, and the followers were known as Rastas. Selassie made a state visit to Jamaica in 1966, and the Rastas filled the tarmac to see Jah.

Rasta doctrine is flexible, but there are several core beliefs within the religion. Rastas believe that Haile Selassie is God, or “Jah.” They believe that Jah resides in us, so they use the expression “I and I” to designate Jah being in them. Babylon is an important concept to most Rastas. It refers to the oppressive system of Western thought, in which blacks have been exploited in order to profit (Worth, 1995). As a result, they believe that repatriation to Africa is the only true salvation for black people (Fergusson, in Bordowitz, 2004).

Rastas read the Bible, many reading a chapter a day, as was Selassie’s practice. They also smoke “ganga” or marijuana, for religious purposes. They view it as “a gift from Jah to humans,

which helps the Rasta see truth and increase understanding of Jah” (Worth, 1995). Rastas wear their hair in dreadlocks, citing a holy directive from biblical scripture, Leviticus 21:5. They also believe in a strict diet, known as Ital, which promotes natural foods. It also encourages abstinence from alcohol, tobacco, and foods such as meat, shellfish, and salt (White, 2000). The Rastas in Jamaica and England faced persecution because their dreadlocked look and their alternative, non-materialist rebel stance against Babylon were viewed as a threat to mainstream society.

Rastafari was a religion of black consciousness, and it replaced armed physical struggle with a spiritual one. Rasta “opposes the political forces that impose poverty and brutality upon the people” (Marre, 2001).

Reggae music became the music of the Rasta, as many Rasta reggae artists wrote about the reggae themes of Jah, the destruction of Babylon, and its system of oppression. The music of reggae helped to spread the Rasta philosophy to a wider Jamaican audience and the world (King & Jensen, 1995).

With the historical review and the examination of Rastafari complete, we will now turn to the life of Bob Marley, beginning with his formative influences.

Bob Marley – Formative Influences

Bob Marley – Father’s Absence from His Life

Robert Nesta Marley was born on February 6, 1945 in the rural parish of St. Ann, Jamaica. His mother was local girl Cedella (Ciddy) Marley, and his father was Captain Norval Marley. Norval was a white Jamaican and the superintendent for the British owned lands in St. Ann (Marley, 2004). He was struck by the 16 year old Cedella. The romance resulted in pregnancy, then marriage. Norval purchased a small home for his new bride, and he provided financial support, but he was not a part of Bob’s life after the marriage.

Norval sent for Bob when the boy was six so that he could attend a boarding school in Kingston. After Bob left, Ciddy made several attempts to contact Norval to find out about Bob. After getting no response, she went to Kingston and found Bob playing in the streets. She took him back to St. Ann's. Ciddy and Bob moved to the Kingston ghetto known as Trench Town when he was 14 (Marley, 2004).

As a result of this abandonment by his father, Marley developed several father figure types of relationships with men, who provided guidance in life, Rastafari, and music.

Grandfather

Marley was heavily influenced by his maternal grandfather, Omeriah Malcolm. He productively cultivated a piece of farmland that he owned, and also ran a bakery, a grocery store, among other businesses (White, 2000). Financially, he was well off by rural standards and he was respected by the rest of the community.

Omeriah was also respected as the local myalman, with powers to deflect obeah and the evil duppies. Bob learned some of the myal practices from his grandfather, and he later wrote a song called "Duppy Conqueror" (Marley, 1973, track B3): "the bars could not hold me, force could not control me, now they try to keep me down, but Jah put I around, I'm the duppy conqueror, conqueror."

Joe Higgs

Another father figure was Joe Higgs who resided in Trench Town. Higgs was a successful singer, and worked with the local Trench Town boys who were interested in music (Sheridan, 1999). Higgs was a taskmaster, and worked with Marley and other boys on their vocal style. When Bunny Wailer quit the band in 1973, Higgs took his place.

Along with the vocal coaching, Higgs was important in providing guidance for the boys. He encouraged them not to follow the way of the “rude boys,” which was the nickname given to the street tough boys who hung around the cities of Jamaica. He was also committed to Rastafari, and he taught Bob about the religion. He also introduced him to another Rasta, Mortimo Planno, known as an authority on the religion, who greeted Selassie as he exited the plane during his visit to Jamaica.

Coxsone Dodd

After Marley’s band, The Wailers rehearsed enough with Joe Higgs, they caught the ear of Jamaican producer Coxsone Dodd, and began recording at his Studio One studio in 1963. The band released several love songs and dance singles in Jamaica under the Coxsone label. Dodd was a mentor to The Wailers and to Bob. He styled them in the fashion of the rhythm and blues (R & B) bands in the United States, fitting them in gold suits and paying them 3 pounds a week. (Sheridan, 1999). Rita Marley (2004) notes the positive influence that Dodd had on Bob when he was an aspiring musician.

Mortimo Planno

In 1968, Marley met Planno through Joe Higgs who took him to Rasta settlements in the interior of Jamaica (White, 2000). He also learned the Ital dietary laws. Planno told him about Selassie’s visit to Jamaica. Marley told Planno that he wanted to write songs that combined his own day-to-day thoughts with the folk wisdom that he had learned from his grandfather (White, 2000). After the Planno meetings, Marley became a Rasta, and his songs began to reflect more militancy (Sheridan, 1999).

Danny Sims

In 1967, Danny Sims commissioned Marley to write songs for Johnny Nash. Nash had two U.S. hits with the Marley penned “Stir it Up” and “Guava Jelly” (Marley 1966). Sims also signed the three Wailers, (Marley, Bunny Wailer, and Peter Tosh) to a production and publishing deal, paying them \$100 a week. (Sheridan, 1999). The band recorded about 90 songs for Sims. Marley’s music began to move from love songs to message songs, as Bob became more interested in Rastafari.

Lee Perry

Lee Perry was the next producer that recorded The Wailers. He was very good at producing, and he always worked to get the most out of the musicians with whom he was working. He was very animated, dancing in the control room while the musicians played (Marre, 2001). Many of the studio musicians from the Perry sessions became The Wailer’s backing band (Marre, 2001). Although Marley and Perry had their differences, they always remained friends (Sheridan, 1999).

Chris Blackwell

Chris Blackwell was the owner of Island Records. Many years later, he would also sign the now legendary band U2. Although the company was based in England, Blackwell was born in Jamaica, and named the label after the Island. He had known of The Wailers, having heard many of the singles over the years. Blackwell was very impressed by the Perry recordings of the band. After Marley’s death, Marley called the Perry years the best music of Marley’s career, including the songs that Blackwell himself produced.

In 1972, Blackwell signed the band to Island Records, giving them an unheard of advance of 4,000 pounds. Blackwell had the idea of turning the band into more of a black rock group, like the arena rock bands of the 1970’s. The band became international sensations during the

Blackwell era, which ran from 1973 to 1980, with several posthumous albums after 1980.

Blackwell was a mentor and friend to Marley.

Haile Selassie

As Marley became a convert to Rastafari in the late 1960's, he held a special affinity for Selassie since the abandonment by his father (Marre, 2001). As mentioned, Selassie was known as "Jah" or God to Rastas, Marley included.

Racism

Racism was an important formative influence in the social justice work of Bob Marley. Racism continues in countries that had slaves, including Jamaica and the United States. Racism and the degradation of blacks as inferior to whites was contrived by whites to give them the authority in their eyes to enslave blacks, and served as their rationale for slavery. Today, the legacy and degradation that was started in the 1500's persists today.

Toynbee (2007, p. 45) noted that the relationship of Marley's mother and father shows the intersection between "racial, class and gendered power in Jamaica." She was a young black peasant girl, and he was the older white colonial lecher, using the colonizer's power to violate with impunity.

As the offspring of a white man and a black woman, Marley faced scorn from both blacks and whites. Bunny Wailer, one of Marley's best childhood friends and member of The Wailers, noted in Marre (2001) that "to have a white father and a black mother was a reproachful situation, from both sides." Rita Marley (2004) also notes the effects of racism on Bob. To keep from being bullied, he developed an immense physical strength and earned the nickname "Tough Gong." He later used that name to title his record company.

Rural Upbringing

Marley lived in the rural parish of St. Ann for the first 14 years of his life, working with his grandfather Omeriah planting and harvesting in the fields. Blackwell noted the effect of this in Marre (2001), “one thing that contributed to who he (Marley) was, he grew up in the country, he used to farm, had an innate intelligence you have to put in to take out.” Rita Marley (2004) noted the gentlemanly demeanor of Marley, which she attributes to his country boy upbringing. Esther Williams and Cindy Breakspeare, former girlfriends of Marley, also noted his country boy ways (Marre, 2001).

Poverty

Marley had a firsthand view of poverty from the time his mother moved him into the ghetto of Trench Town when he was 14 years old. Many rural Jamaicans came to the city to look for work and they settled in this area. There were a variety of housing arrangements. The Marleys lived in a government yard housing project, in a two storied concrete structure which housed 12 apartments. There were three of these shaped like a horseshoe, with a common yard in the middle. All around the government yard were squatters shacks made of oil, tin, and old lumber (White, 2000). Marley got to see the effects of poverty in Trench Town.

Rastafari

As mentioned, the religion of Rastafari became a driving force for the oppressed in Jamaica, and for Marley as his conversion became complete. His songs from 1968 moved from the topics of the urban Jamaican “rude boy” and love songs to the message anthems for which he is primarily known (Sheridan, 1999). Songs about Rastafarian beliefs such as Jah, Babylon, black repatriation to Africa, and the independence of Africa followed by unification of the continent became more prevalent.

Bob Marley Formative Influences Summary

Bob Marley was a country boy, born in rural St. Ann's parish of the relationship between a black girl and a much older white serviceman who was stationed in the area. When Marley's father abandoned the boy, he developed several relationships throughout his life with father figures who acted as mentors in Rastafari, music, and life. He was born into a Jamaican tradition of protest and revolt. His grandfather was a maroon, one of the free slaves who engaged in guerilla warfare with the British troops who patrolled the island.

When Marley moved to the urban area of Kingston known as Trench Town, he saw people living in poverty. He was poor himself, although many had it worse. His biracial lineage caused problems, as he was shunned by some blacks and whites. He became involved with music, and some of his musical friends taught him about the black consciousness religion Rastafari, which had developed in Jamaica. His Rasta influences became more and more apparent in his songs as he continued to write music. With the formative influences complete, we will now look at data through the Rosenthal lens.

Rosenthal Lens

Serving the Committed

Marley served the committed by playing several charity shows over the years to benefit the sufferahs. One of these was a concert in Kingston, Jamaica in 1975. The bill included The Wailers, Stevie Wonder, and the Jamaican band Third World. The night was billed as a Wailers-Wonder dream show (White, 2000). The proceeds went to the Salvation Army School for the Blind in Kingston. Along with raising money, the concert was also significant because when Wonder played his song "Boogie on Reggae Woman" (Wonder, 1974), he asked The Wailers to come out and jam with him. The Wailers returned by having Wonder play the keyboards for the

Marley penned “I Shot the Sheriff” (Marley, 1973, track A3). Along with raising funds, this showed how popular reggae was becoming (White, 2000).

In 1976, the two major political parties, the JLP and the PNP were warring with each other. The JLP had been in power since 1972, and they were led by Prime Minister Michael Manley. The PNP was the opposition, and they were led by Edward Seaga. Both parties had strongholds in the ghettos of Kingston, with each area marked as either a PNP or JLP area. Gunfights erupted often and there were many killings. An election was coming up on December 16, 1976 and the violence escalated. A state of emergency was declared on June 19, 1976, which put Jamaica under martial law. Both parties used reggae music to sell their platform because it was becoming the music which expressed the wishes and sentiments of the people (Marre, 2001). Both parties were interested in using Marley, but he wanted nothing to do with party politics (Marre, 2001).

Many believed that the PNP under Seaga created unrest with the help of the American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The JNP leaned toward socialism, and Prime Minister Manley had met with Cuba’s communist leader Fidel Castro. During the years of containment theory politics to stop the spread of communism, the JLP government that was friendly to a communist country was unacceptable. Dudley Thompson, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Jamaica from 1975 to 1977 believed that “the violence was not entirely local” (Marre, 2001). Former CIA agent Phillip Agee is in agreement, charging that the CIA provided weapons, money, and constant propaganda messages in order to defeat the Manley government.

In an effort to calm the warring parties, Edward Seaga asked Marley to perform a free outdoor concert called “Smile Jamaica” and Marley agreed. On the Friday before the concert, gunmen broke into Marley’s home and shot Marley, wife and back up singer Rita, friend Lewis

Griffith, and manager Don Taylor (Toynbee, 2007). No one was killed, but Rita was shot in the head, and a bullet grazed Marley's chest and lodged in his arm. Marley agreed to play the show, with him and Rita in bandages. At the end of the concert, Marley mocked the gunman who had shot him, by pantomiming the act of shooting two pistols, then throwing his head back in laughter (White, 2000). The shooting was politically motivated, and it caused Bob to leave Jamaica and go to London for several months.

In July of 1979, The Wailers played a concert called the "Amandla Festival". The concert was held in Boston at Harvard Stadium. The goals were to celebrate the liberation of Southern Africa, and to end racism in Boston. Marley gave a short speech in which included a phrase, "Zimbabwe must be free by 1983" (Toynbee 2007, p. 194).

The Wailers held a benefit concert on September 24, 1979 to benefit the Rasta children. Also in 1979, Marley released a single which he wrote called "Children Playing in the Streets." The song was performed by the "Melody Makers," which included five of Bob's children. The proceeds went to the United Nations Children's Fund (White, 2000).

Educating the Uneducated

Reggae music was used to educate the oppressed people of Jamaica about the oppressive system of Babylon, and later, people in countries throughout the third world. A large part of the appeal of reggae in general and of Bob Marley's music in particular came from its comprehension by those who were illiterate. King and Jensen (1995, p. 19) gave the reason for this, "music offers the poor to participate publicly in voicing opinions which would normally be censored by the government." Marley's songs were sung with simplicity and clarity, and the ideas were easily understood by even the most illiterate of the poor. Additionally, he spoke in Jamaica's dialect of English, the language of the common people in Jamaica.

Marley took a decidedly apolitical stance, which is surprising given the content of his lyrics. In an interview in Marre (2001) Marley states, “I’ll never be a politician nor even think political. Me just deal with life and nature, and that’s the greatest thing to me.” Fergusson quotes Marley in Bordowitz (2004, p. 151) “me no sing politics, me sing ‘bout freedom.” Similarly, Bradshaw quotes Marley (in Bordowitz, 2004, p. 109) “me don’t understand politics....What me say is what the Bible say.”

Al Anderson, Wailers guitar player, in Marre (2001) discusses that Marley taught people in Trench Town about politics. “I believe that politics wasn’t number one for him, but it was number one for him to make an exclamation for those who didn’t understand what was going on politically....(Marley) could explain what was going on politically, economically, socially better than any politician.”

Marley used his music to educate about the unfairness of poverty in the song “Them Belly Full:” “them belly full, but we hungry, a hungry mob is a angry mob” (Marley, 1974, track A3). After the poor are fed and their bellies are full, the song advocates that temporarily feeding the hungry is not enough, and that the bigger issue of poverty needs to be addressed: “A rain a-fall but the dirt it tough a pot a-cook, but d’ food no ‘nough.”

To educate the educated, Marley talks about many of the Rastafarian religion’s tenets in his songs. Marley talks about the goodness of Jah. King and Jensen (1995) noted that Jah is described in a very similar manner that Christians use to describe their God, which is a protecting force who protects his children. In the song “So Jah Seh,” Marley wrote about children, and that they would not starve because Jah is looking over us (Marley, 1974) “Not one of my seeds shall sit on the sidewalk and beg for your bread so Jah she” (Marley, 1974, B1).

The song, “Jah Live” (Marley, 1976) was written after Selassie’s death, and spoke of Jah’s immortality in the eyes of the Rasta (Smith, 2005): “Selassie lives! Jah Jah lives, children! Jah lives, Jah lives fools sayin’ in dere heart Rasta yar God is dead but I and I know ever more created shall be dreaded and dread.”

A target of Marley was the system called Babylon, or the Western world built on oppression. Marley, in line with his Rastafarian beliefs, blamed Babylon for the problems of the third world, which included hunger, illiteracy and inadequate housing (King and Jensen, 1995). Marley describes the exploitation and oppression in the song “Babylon System”: “Babylon System is the vampire sucking the children day by day Me say the Babylon system is the vampire sucking the blood of the sufferers” (Marley, 1979, track B4).

Another tenet of Rastafari is the return to Africa for all blacks, in an effort to unify and get away from the oppression of Babylon. Marley wrote several songs about returning to Africa, including “Africa Unite”: “Africa unite ‘Cause we’re moving out of Babylon and we’re going to our father’s land how good and pleasant it would be before God and man, yeah to see the unification of all Africans, yeah” (Marley, 1976, A2).

Marley educated the poor of the world by teaching them about Rastafari, the religion of the oppressed in Jamaica. He gave them an understanding of the reasons for oppression. With that education, recruitment occurred.

Recruitment

Reggae musicians, including Marley, believed that they could interpret, explain, and beat back the moral decay of the planet. Marley’s message urged the listeners to remain committed to the cause and he assured ultimate victory (King and Jensen, 1995).

Recruitment can be measured by the number of people exposed to the messages espoused through the music of Bob Marley. Throughout the 1970's, and after his death in 1981, his popularity rose. Marley's music reached millions of people, with the help of the international distribution of Island Records and the message of the music. In 1977, the album "*Exodus*" was released, and it received extensive play on black radio stations in the U.S. (White, 2000). It was heralded by Time magazine as the album of the century. By 1986, the ten Wailer's albums that the band recorded from 1972 to 1983 had sold more than 20 million copies, which is evidence of the growing recruitment (King and Jensen, 1995). Additionally, millions more were undoubtedly exposed to the message through home made tapes of those albums that were sold.

Mobilization

The mobilization of the fans of Bob Marley was most obvious in the Pan-African movement. People in Africa were inspired by his music. Many African countries became independent in the late 1970's and early 80's, including Zimbabwe and Angola. Marley supported the struggle of the freedom fighters in their quest for self-determination, because he believed "Jah would one day return that (Africa) – the true Promised Land – to its exalted place in His Kingdom" (White, 2000, p. 332).

In the wars for independence, Marley songs like "War" provided encouragement to the revolutionaries (Fergusson, in Bordowitz, 2004). In Rhodesia, the Swapo and Zanu fighters listened to "Zimbabwe" as they fought for independence: "every man gotta right to decide his own destiny...natty dread it ina Zimbabwe, set up ina Zimbabwe, mash it up ina Zimbabwe Africans a liberate Zimbabwe" (Marley, 1979, track A2).

When Rhodesia won their battle for independence in 1980 and became Zimbabwe, Marley flew The Wailers at his own expense to the capital to perform two concerts as part of the

independence celebrations (Toynbee, 2004). The concerts were a celebration of self-determination, and of the sufferers freedom from the oppression of Babylon.

The Marley efforts aimed at peace and love were also important. In the song “One Love” the message is one of hope, and begs for unity and peace among all people: “One love, one heart, let’s get together and feel all right, I’m pleading to mankind (One love) oh, Lord (one heart)” (Marley, 1977, track B5).

In 1978, Marley was asked to play a concert by members of both the PNP and JLP. The concert was to provide funds for sanitary facilities in West Kingston, and to promote peace in Jamaica. After the election in 1976, the country had still been divided politically, and violence continued. The concert was to be called the “One Love Peace” concert (White, 2000). Marley agreed, and during an extended piece at the end of the song “Jammin’” Marley, in song, asked the two leaders of the PNP and JLP, Edward Seaga and Michael Manley to come on stage. The rivals locked hands together with Marley’s at his request.

In 1978, Marley was awarded the Peace Medal of the Third World, which is given by the United Nations to people who help to fight for peace and justice in third world countries. The award was offered by the Senegalese delegation, in tribute to his influence as a revolutionary artist (Fergusson, in Bordowitz, 2004). In 1981, he was awarded Jamaica’s third highest honor, the Jamaican Order of Merit (Toynbee, 2004).

Marley died of cancer in 1981, but the work that he started is continuing many years after his death. The Bob Marley Foundation was formed by Rita Marley, and their goal is “assisting in the empowerment of the oppressed” <http://www.bobmarleyfoundation.org>. The group provides assistance to various projects worldwide, and has a yearly conference called “Africa Unite” to make the goal of unifying Africa a reality.

Bob Marley - Summary

Bob Marley worked to achieve social justice through his music. He wrote songs about his religious beliefs, African unity, and freedom for all of the oppressed people in the world. He was the first international superstar from a third world country. 28 years after his death, his estate still makes millions of dollars per year, as people are still interested in his works.

Marley served the committed by playing several benefit concerts for several different causes. Some of these included The Wailers/Wonder show, the “Amandla Festival” for African unity, and a concert to benefit Rasta children. He also wrote a song that provided money for UNICEF.

The “Smile Jamaica” concert was an attempt to stop the violence that was occurring between the two major political parties in Jamaica. Bob agreed to play the show, and it was an indicator of the importance of reggae in the politics of Jamaica, as politicians wanted the support of reggae musicians such as Bob.

Marley educated the uneducated by singing messages that were easily understood by his fellow Jamaicans, many of whom were illiterate. Although he stated that he was not political, he was able to explain the political, economic, and social system to his listeners. His songs talked about his faith, Rastafari, which reinforces black consciousness and its basic tenets.

Recruitment may be measured by the increasing number of people who listened to Marley’s music. His popularity surged from 1975 on, and millions of millions of people heard his message.

Mobilization occurred in many ways. The Pan-African movement grew, with former colonies gaining their independence. Freedom fighters in Rhodesia listened to the music of Bob Marley, achieving independence. The Wailers played at the independence celebration.

Marley won several awards for his revolutionary music, including the United Nation's Peace Medal of the Third World. He was also awarded the Jamaican Order of Merit. These awards attested to his strength as a mobilizer.

Lastly, many years after his death, the Bob Marley Foundation exists to help the oppressed worldwide, carrying on his tradition of protest, and preparing the people who will mobilize in the future.

Between Case Analysis - Research Question Number One

Research question one concerned the artists' formative influences in becoming social justice leaders. Inductive analysis was used to see patterns of influences among the artists. As shown, these musical leaders had many influences which affected them and led them toward activist activity.

Divorce

Zack De La Rocha from Rage acknowledges the effects that divorce had in his life. When Zack's dad was having mental problems and Zack was not allowed to visit, he felt that he didn't get to learn about his Chicano culture, living in the very white suburb of Irvine, California (Devenish, 2001).

Bob Marley was also affected by divorce, as his father abandoned the family shortly after marrying his mother. He looked to father figure individuals throughout his life, many of whom provided guidance to him in music and Rastafari (White, 2000).

Tom Morello's parents were also divorced when he was very young, but he dismisses any effect, crediting his mother with providing much support to him (Stenning, 2008).

Racism

Racism affected several of the artists, and it led them to social activism. Zack De La Rocha noted the impact of a geography teacher making a comment in class about “wetbacks.” After the incident, Zack vowed to never remain silent when injustice occurred. (Devenish, 2001).

Morello talks of his mother finding a noose in the garage, and of his being called the “n” word when he was in day care as a boy (Stenning, 2008). His mother taught him about black social justice thinkers like Malcolm X and writings from members of the Black Panthers. He learned that if you are black in America, you are political.

Marley was biracial, causing scorn from blacks and whites. Bunny Wailer called this a “reproachful” situation in Jamaica at the time (Marre, 2001). His blackness led him to Rasta, which led him to write songs about oppression.

Family Death

Bono’s mother died suddenly when he was 14, which had a deep effect on him (Assayas, 2006). He began to write songs that were pretty deep for a boy of that age.

Activist Lineage

Many of the artists had a lineage of activism in their families. Morello had several influences. His father was a member of the Mau Mau guerilla force that fought to gain Kenya independence. His mother was also involved in many activist groups, including the Urban League. She created the anti-censorship group, Parents for Rock and Rap, to oppose the censorship activities of the Parents Music Resource Council (PMRC) (Kot, 2000).

De La Rocha’s father was an artist who painted murals depicting Chicano history, showing Zack that the arts could be political (Easter, 1999).

Bob Marley was a descendent of the maroons, which was a group of slaves freed by Spaniards in Jamaica. They took in runaway slaves and engaged in guerilla attacks against the British colonists.

Religion

Religion was important to the activist activities of both Bono and Bob Marley. Bono is a religious man, and he believes that in the biblical righteousness of his cause. To get aid for Africa and to end extreme poverty, Bono uses scripture to inspire all people to help with the crises, stressing it as a biblical imperative (Traub, 2005). He also uses religion to reach politicians on the far right of the political spectrum, by quoting scripture and appealing to them as religious believers.

Bob Marley practiced the religion of Rastafari, and its tenets were the source and the ideas behind many of his activist songs. The Pan-African unity message is from Rastafari, as is the message of the oppressed being victims of the merciless practices of the Western system known as Babylon (Smith, 2005).

Between Case Analysis - Research Question Number Two

The second research question was: what types of methods do they (the three artists) employ to achieve social justice? To answer that question, deductive reasoning was used, looking at each artist's efforts when applied to the lens developed by Rosenthal (2001). Rosenthal described the four functions of protest music are serving the committed, educating the uneducated, recruitment, and mobilization. Themes emerged from this analysis, which will now be described.

Playing Field is not Level

All of the artists believe that the system creates an unequal economic playing field. People cannot climb out of poverty unassisted. Bob Marley talks about this in many of his songs, with reference to the destruction system of Babylon as the only answer to relieving the oppression of the Western economic system. (King, 1995).

Bono talks at great length about the problems in Africa, and the reasons why the Africans cannot stop the pandemic by themselves. The African countries are saddled with debt that Western countries lent to them in the 1970's and 80's. The money that was lent was oftentimes taken by dictators, and it did not go to the people in the countries. Most of the money in the country goes to pay off the loans, instead of providing health services. This unequal playing field causes the death and destruction in Africa.

Rage speaks of the problems inherent in a country that is governed by a capitalistic, two party political system (Finley, (2002). In our representative democracy, we have two choices for President, which is essentially two choices from the moneyed classes. The elite will do everything to stay in power, and will work to oppress everyone else to keep their elite status and privilege. From working with Senator Alan Cranston, Tom Morello saw this in action, as Cranston spent most of his time raising campaign funds, most likely indebting him to corporate interests instead of poor individuals (Devenish, 2001).

Seeing Things First Hand

All of the groups understand their issues because they see things first hand. This understanding makes you more empathic as a witness. Bono went to Central America in the 1980's when there was a lot of civil strife and revolution to get a look at it first hand. He has also been to Africa several times, meeting people and seeing those that are living in poverty. This is

one of the reasons, along with having great mentors, why he is so knowledgeable about the issues, as former Senator Rick Santorum has said (Tyrangiel, 2005).

Bob Marley spent many of his formative years in the Trench Town section of Kingston, Jamaica. He saw the poverty of the black, oppressed people first hand, lending an incredible authenticity to his music.

Rage has also been in the trenches getting firsthand information. Zack has made several trips to Chiapas, Mexico to see the plight of the people there and to support their revolution. Band members are involved in protests at Democratic National Conventions in 2000 and 2008, at rallies for migrant farmers, and at Guess protests. Morello got arrested at a mall protest, with the Guess Company as the target (Stenning, 2008).

Powerful, Impassioned Oratory

All of the group members use powerful oratory to get their message across. This is often delivered very similarly across audiences, in simple language that everyone can easily understand. Bono gives fiery speeches about Africa, with the same messages: 1) the moral imperative for us to do something 2) that we can be successful (Bono, 2008).

Rage uses inflammatory, often profane language in order to get their point across about the wrongs of capitalism and oppression. Additionally, nearly every Rage song contains one of these themes. After the events of 9-11, Clear Channel Communications, which owns thousands of radio stations across the country, developed a list of subversive songs. Rage had the distinction of having every one of their songs banned, as a testament to the far reaching effect of their message (Stenning, 2008).

Marley's delivery is slow, quiet, and deliberate offstage, but his message is powerful. His message is delivered in simple language, and it is set to music, and many illiterate people in third

world countries can understand it. He talks about the same things: 1) freedom from oppression, 2) African unity, and 3) the destruction of Babylon.

Defeating Propaganda/Misinformation

When movements are created, non believers are often inundated with misinformation by groups attempting to preserve the status quo. Bono works to defeat information in his work to help Africa. Many are led to believe that the problems in Africa are solely due to government corruption and their inability to govern. Bono argues while corruption has been a problem, the real problem is that the countries are trapped in poverty, with most of their money going to pay old debts. He also refutes the misinformation that retroviral drugs for AIDS sufferers cannot be delivered to remote rural African villages. In his journeys in Africa, he noticed that there is Coca Cola in every village. If capitalism can make Coke available, why can't we deliver retroviral drugs?

Rage offers that the right has much media under its control, and that from their view; misinformation is coming at people from the right constantly (Devenish, 2001). Rage has several avenues to educate their fans and anyone who will listen. They have a recommended reading list for followers of the movement. Their videos are often times informational, with messages about the causes they espouse embedded in the videos. Morello also formed the Axis of Justice Radio network to get his information across.

Marley's message often referred to misinformation about people living poverty, and the efforts of politicians to help them. He often referred to their disinformation as "politricks" instead of politics: politicians tricking people for their own gains.

Using All in the Struggle

The bands all believe that in their mass movements, it will take everyone to be successful. Bono helped to set up an organization to enlist the support of average citizens, called ONE. He also goes to politicians on the right for support, instead of going exclusively to the more liberal politicians who tend to support social causes more.

Rage works to get everyone in the struggle by wording it as an us against them struggle, with the small amount of people controlling everything, leaving little for the rest. Every living person is important in general, so they are obviously important in the struggle.

Marley worked to get everyone involved in the destruction of Babylon, and its oppressive ways.

Conflict Needs to be Embraced, Not Discouraged

All of the selected artists embrace conflict. This was taken to the extreme in each instance. Bono went to politicians on the right to ask for help for dying AIDS patients in Africa. One of these was Senator Jesse Helms. Helms had previously made derogatory, gay bashing comments about homosexuals with AIDS. Bono had the courage to embrace conflict, and he got a pledge of support from Helms. As a result of his interactions with Bono, Helms later publicly apologized for his comments concerning AIDS patients (Tyrangiel, 2005).

The members of Rage have had several experiences where they dove straight into conflict. Morello got arrested for his protests over Guess, and De La Rocha has had several close calls during his visits to Chiapas, Mexico in support of the FZLN freedom fighters there. On their national television debut on Saturday Night Live (SNL) in 1996, the band hung upside down American flags on their amplifiers. This was to symbolize the inverted nature of our democracy, and the lack of choices in the two party system. They did this despite

admonishments from the SNL staffers during rehearsals. As a result, Rage got thrown out of the studio, only playing one song instead of the planned two (Drysdale-Wood, 1999).

Bob Marley did not shy away from conflict either. He had several run-ins with producers who were cheating him and his fellow musicians (White, 2000). He also got shot while preparing for the “Smile Jamaica” concert in 1976, and still went on to play the show.

Summary

In this chapter, we have discussed answered research questions one and two. The formative influences of the bands and the effect of those influences has been analyzed. The social justice actions by each band have been discussed. In the final chapter of this work, we will answer research question three, which are the educational implications of the findings.

CHAPTER V

INTRODUCTION

To conclude this work, Chapter V will be organized as follows: 1) a review of the purpose of the study in order to re-situate the reader, 2) a review of the methodology used to answer research questions one and two, 3) findings for research question three, and 4) implications for further research.

Purpose of the Study

As demonstrated earlier in the review of literature, there is a positive relationship between poverty and student achievement (Malecki and Demaray, 2006; Milne and Plouride, 2006). Internal school reform can only go so far without addressing societal issues that are debilitating to student achievement that occur outside of the school such as poverty. In order to improve the achievement of low SES students, externally oriented poverty support measures have proven successful at increasing student achievement (Anyon, 2005; Berliner, 2006). As shown in the review of literature, music has been an important catalyst for change within social justice campaigns, such as the organized labor movement, the Civil Rights Movement, and the anti-war movement (Rodnitzky, 1969, Phull, 2008, Rosenthal, 2001, and Berger, 2000). If music has proven to be effective at affecting change in other arenas, why could it not do so in education? In this study, I chose to look at the social justice work of three musical artists: Rage Against the Machine, Bono, and Bob Marley.

Research Questions One and Two

In the preceding chapter, I inductively looked at the formative influences that led the three artists under study into social justice to answer research question one. I also looked at the social justice efforts of all of the groups. These actions were analyzed deductively through the

lens of the functions of protest music as proffered by Rosenthal to answer research question two. As a result of these analyses, emergent themes were identified. The last step of this work will be to use information derived from the study thus far to answer research question number three: What leadership insights can be gleaned from these artists, and how can they be applied in the practice of educational leadership? What do these insights look like in the educational setting?

Findings - Research Question Number Three

The deductive analysis completed to answer research question two resulted in the following emergent themes:

1. The economic “playing field” is not level. The problem is systemic. People cannot pull themselves out of poverty unassisted.
2. Seeing things firsthand allows you a better view.
3. Using powerful, impassioned oratory allows people to see your views.
4. Defeating propaganda/misinformation is important.
5. It is vital to use all in the struggle.
6. Conflict should be embraced, not discouraged

What do these emergent themes look like in the practice of educational leadership? How can we use these themes to lead in a socially just manner, helping students to achieve to their fullest potential?

Educational Implications of Emergent Themes

Educational implications for the emergent leadership themes were developed by the researcher. A discussion group was convened to talk about the themes and to discuss the implications of the themes in the educational setting. The group was not convened for validity, as that is more of a term used for quantitative research (Glesne, 2006). The group discussion was

held to look at the themes, to provide examples of the work of the principal in regards to the implications, and to buttress the arguments.

Participants were: Denise, a Caucasian principal at a relatively affluent suburban school of approximately 800 students in grades K-4; Matt, is retired African American principal who has worked at four school districts during his 35 year career as a teacher and administrator, one of which was in the urban school district that he attended as a youth; and Maria: a principal for four years of an urban district with approximately 400 students in grades 9-12. She has worked at several other schools during her career and is also a Caucasian.

Playing Field is not Level

Educational Implication - Schools may need to be full service organizations, providing in home support to help students in poverty. If that is not possible, schools should provide extra help to students in the form of mentoring, after school help, etc.

The three discussants all agreed with the emergent theme and the implications. Maria mentioned that she lives in an affluent suburban district and the surprise that she felt when she came to her present place of employment at an urban school. She noticed that the students came from “challenging” backgrounds, and that many would probably not have made it through without extra help from the district staff. She credits her teachers with being “influential” in this regard. Each staff member, including the principal, has a mentoring group that they take under their wing and provide extra support. Maria uses the talents of the students to get them to stay involved in school in a productive way. Many are gifted academically or excel at sports, with collegiate scholarship opportunities waiting. She works with parents to make sure that the students with scholarship opportunities keep their grades up.

Maria also mentions that a friend is involved with the Peace Corps. That person noticed that several of the Peace Corps volunteers often had a special teacher from their past that they could name as a person who helped them to change their lives. These volunteers want to give back by helping others in the Peace Corps, donating a year or more of their lives in service to others.

Matt mentions his story growing up, and how his goal was to “hook up” with a certain girl, get her pregnant, and go on welfare. He discussed the presence of the street culture in his neighborhood, and how tough it was to break. An Italian-American English teacher got wind of his plan, and convinced him to stay in school and go to college. Matt went on to say that the teacher “looked beyond my color and saw within me.” In his practice as a principal, Matt mentions that he sees “kids, not color.”

Last year, I took a low SES second grader under my wing. The child had been bounced from school to school, and had behavior issues. The school staff worked to put in extra safeguards to help the student to get his work done, and to help him to make good choices behaviorally. The student showed marked difference in behavior and academics, but in March, his step mom announced that they were moving again. I arranged for the student stay at the school for the remainder of the year in order to continue with the pattern of success that he had started.

All principals provided good examples of how to scaffold extra support to students in poverty in order for them to be successful. These supports included mentoring, advocacy, and working with parents. Matt mentioned that one teacher who made a difference and saw something special in him. This bonding turned his life around, and now he has a doctoral degree.

Seeing Things First Hand

Educational Implication – If you see poverty first hand, through experience or observation, you may be more empathetic and understand issues of poverty better. Another implication would be that educational organizations need to actively recruit more people into leadership who have an experiential knowledge of poverty.

All agreed that seeing things helps, but it is not mandatory. Matt made the point that whatever their home situation, kids need to try to leave their hardships at home. Matt told kids that their problems were like a winter coat. You hang your coat in your locker when you walk in the door, and Matt advised others do that with your problems. Matt obviously hung his problems at the door when he was in school as a student.

Maria used another analogy that you can feed a man a fish, but instead of giving him a fish, you have to teach him to fish. Students who miss homework assignments have to stay after school that day. She also talked about her students being involved with fundraisers to help needy kids in poverty in other countries. Her students displayed empathy, since many of the students who raised the funds were in poverty themselves. Lastly, she talked about an ambassador program, in which a student exchange was held with a very affluent local high school. The suburban kids came to the urban school, and although they were surprised at the poor quality of the building compared to their school, they liked that every teacher knew every student.

Denise mentioned that many people are not born to be empathetic, and that it is not a function of experience. Students can be taught by empathetic adults. Students should be taught in “baby steps” so that they can feel success.

The principals seemed to discount the value of principals having of poverty and for them to see things first hand. It is indeed possible that since the principals work with disadvantaged children daily in the school setting, they are in fact in the trenches seeing things first hand. Just

because they are not in the homes, they do have knowledge of the problems and issues these students face, as shown by the discussion in the last section. When hiring principals for urban schools, superintendents may wish to consider people who have experiential knowledge working with students in poverty.

Powerful, Impassioned Oratory

Educational Implication – Oratory is important for educational leaders working toward social justice in schools. In order to walk the talk and talk the walk, which are important for educational leaders, you need to have a talk. Hopefully, the talk is consistent, and is modeled on helping students to become caring citizens of the school.

Denise mentioned speaking at ceremonies that celebrate the accomplishments of children. Music provides an aural component for messages to be stronger. Matt also honored students at ceremonies, in which he spoke about them favorably, gave students awards, and played songs about the kids being the best. Matt is also proud of an award that his urban students received, as they went from a violent to a non violent school in one year.

Maria delivers a speech when the students come to her building as they enter ninth grade. She tells them about the rules, and how they can be successful. She keeps words to a minimum to avoid sounding “preachy.” She noted that although words are important, actions make the difference in the end.

At my school, the PTA approached the principal with an idea called “Roosevelt School Gives Back.” The goal was for each grade to do something special for a group in the community. These groups ranged from disabled veterans, to children’s hospital, to dementia patients in a nursing home. I enthusiastically supported this program, to the chagrin of some members of the teaching staff. The message I imparted was that I thought that it was valuable to show students

the importance of empathy and giving. At the end of the year, a movie was viewed, which showed the students doing wonderful things for those less fortunate all year, to a packed house of teary eyed parents and teachers.

Powerful oratory is important to educators, just like it is to the artists that were studied. It needs to be backed up by action. The vision of the principal cannot be discounted. The principal needs to speak about empathy and caring, as precursors to creating a more socially just school, and therefore, world.

Defeating Propaganda/Misinformation

Educational Implication – Schools are often the targets of rumors, gossip, and misinformation as people in the community talk about the school. Schools need a system to combat and counteract rumors.

The principals all agreed that stopping misinformation was important. All use many methods to supply accurate information, such as newsletters, websites, teacher web pages, teacher communication, and other methods of communication.

Principals need to supply a constant supply of credible information to their community. This is taking the offensive toward the defeat of misinformation. Also, similar rumors crop up yearly, so it would be advantageous for principals to be ready to dispel those types of rumors. They cannot be insular, with no communication to the public. Additionally, many people have misconceptions about the nature of poverty, and the work ethic of people who are in poverty, and it is important that principals treat all parents equally. One of my early mentors, who was my supervising principal early in my teaching career, noted that one of my strengths was my ability to talk to everyone from engineers to moms on public assistance, without being condescending. He also said that it was obvious that I valued all people and that I didn't talk down to anyone.

Using All in the Struggle

Educational Implication – it is important to use everyone to create better, more socially just schools. Parents, staff, community, students are all important in the struggle. That may mean looking to sources that we typically would not go to, such as parochial schools.

All of the principals mentioned that they would like to get better at engaging community, and with getting community and business support. The researcher talked about the high level of parent involvement at his school, and that the volunteers are the biggest advocates of the school in the community, as they each tell several people how much they like the school.

My school is working on the implementation of a bullying prevention program. I picked the faculty members who were most enthusiastic about the program to be members of the school's core team. Instead of dragging people in who would rather not participate, I selected those who were committed, as this program is contingent upon caring. These people will work at getting everyone involved, including the community.

Matt mentioned the effects of the events of 9-11 on the psyche of people in the U.S. and how it made people realize that “if we can die together, we should be able to live together.” We should actively seek to find ways to live together. Lastly, we need the best out of everybody in today's world.

The support of the community, students, staff, and surrounding businesses is essential if a school is to be successful, especially when working for social justice. With the problems of today, everyone needs to be in positions to help.

Constructive Conflict should be Embraced, not Discouraged

Educational Implication – School administrators like to try to avoid conflict, sometimes making decisions based on what will ruffle the fewest feathers, instead of what is best for

students. Schools should work to create forums for parents to give input and constructive criticism on the school in an effort to make the school better.

When Matt was a principal, he actively sought the feedback of parents. He would call one or two parents every day, and engage the parents in a casual conversation on how the school year was going for their child and for them. He would give the feedback to the teacher of the students, and he would keep a copy for himself.

Denise mentioned the chain of command, and stressed the importance of the best person making contact with a parent. If an incident occurs with a student, the person who witnessed it should call the parent, not always the principal, who is getting the information second hand. She also encourages parents to follow the chain of command in order to get their concerns addressed more expeditiously. If they have an issue with a teacher, they should call the teacher, not the principal, following the chain.

Along with parental feedback and conflict, there is also conflict that arises between principals and upper administrators. The administration needs to be a team, and the person on the ground level on any decision needs to provide much key input. Often, principals are worried about the next promotion, making decisions on what will make the boss happy, instead of making decisions based on what is best for kids. The principal and the superintendent may differ on assorted items, but the principal needs to state his/her case on issues, instead of merely being a yes man to avoid conflict. Constructive conflict is vital.

Summary

Like the bands that were analyzed in this study, principals should work to use the themes uncovered in this research to work toward social justice for the students in their schools. The six themes that emerged translate into implications for education. The one of most concern in the

social justice arena is the concept of our society, which operates on an uneven playing field. Students from challenging backgrounds need extra support in order for them to be successful.

Implications for Future Research

In light of the findings of this study, implications for future research are indicated. Further investigation into social justice as a means to closing of the achievement between black and white students would be beneficial.

Researchers could study non traditional leadership from the study of other bands that work toward social justice by using the Rosenthal framework. Bands could be studied by using other social justice frameworks, such as one developed by Berger (2000). It may be beneficial to look at socially conscious urban rap bands such as NWA and Public Enemy. It may also be enlightening to research an activist artist who is female, such as Joni Mitchell or Joan Baez.

It could be productive to look at other types of artists who are not in the musical realm, such as activist painters, or sculptors could be studied, in an effort to gain leadership information from their work.

Given the six themes that were identified in this study, it may be beneficial to conduct a study on one or more of the six emergent themes. Researchers could look at how these themes are manifest in the school setting. Lastly, full service schools, in which school staff members work in conjunction with the community to minimize the delimiting factors of low SES students by providing services to homes could be studied.

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