

REBEL MUSIC FROM TRENCHTOWN TO OAKTOWN: THE LYRICS OF
BOB MARLEY AND TUPAC SHAKUR AS COUNTER-HEGEMONIC CULTURE

By

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To Bob and Pac. I hope I did justice to your work.

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Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
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How do popular music artists who emerge from economically and racially marginalized social contexts use their song lyrics to facilitate a consciousness of resistance among the members of their respective social groups? Taking a grounded theory approach, this research focus specifically on the work of two popular music icons whose work has been situated in the legacy of Black protest music: reggae legend Bob Marley and rap legend Tupac Shakur. The present study conducts a comparative analysis on the lyrics of each artist's major-label studio albums to explore the role of music in the construction of counter-hegemonic alternative culture in impoverished Black communities in post-colonial Kingston, Jamaica, and in the post-industrial urban United States. The analysis suggests that each artist's lyrical project of resistance incorporates a similar three-part method of social critique: (1) depictions of the suffering endured as a member of a marginalized social group, (2) critiques of and resistance against social structures that produce this suffering, and (3) calls for unity, particularly among the members of the respective marginalized group, for the sake of improving the conditions of social life. Despite the similar structure of Marley and Shakur's social critiques, differences in the tone and ambiance of the critiques were observed, particularly with respect to the spirituality and hope

revealed by the lyrics. I suggest these differences may be accounted for in part by differences between each artist's affiliation, or lack thereof, to a particular religious and cultural movement.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

There is a group on the Facebook social networking site called “Bob Marley v. Tupac Shakur” (Facebook, 2008). According to the group’s creator, the group exists for the purpose of being a tribute to Shakur and Marley, as well as “for spreading the reggae roots and true hiphop music, not the commercial bullsh*t which was the main reason ‘hiphop’ died” (Facebook, 2008). The group founder notes that both genres of music as created by these “legends” emerged “from the street” and created a culture. How and why did Marley and Shakur help to create street cultures, and what is the relationship between these cultures and the larger society?

The current research explores how musical artists born into a marginalized social group may use their music as a form of protest against their marginalized status via a comparative analysis of the musical reactions to the socio-historical realities of Bob Marley in post-colonial Kingston, Jamaica, and Tupac Shakur in the post-industrial urban United States. This work examines how each of these defining figures of defining genres of music of the African diaspora that emerged from racially and economically marginalized social contexts used his music as a vehicle of critique of the social structures responsible for his respective social group’s marginalization.

This paper identifies the bodies of work of Marley and Shakur as being created in the tradition of black protest music and analyzes the lyrics of their protest songs to extrapolate each artist’s critique of his respective social context. How did existing social conditions facilitate the emergence of their protest songs? How does each artist use his music, specifically his lyrics, to critique the social position of his group? What make the critiques relevant and meaningful? What do similarities in their critiques suggest about the role of music in the creation of a counter-

hegemonic cultural alternative? What do the differences between these two critiques suggest about the differences between the social climates in which the music emerges?

This paper analyzes the lyrics of Marley and Shakur's protest songs to address these questions and establish their methods of critique. In order to understand the objects of Marley and Shakur's critiques, the paper first provides a glimpse of the social realities in which the artists emerged to illuminate the structural conditions behind the critiques. Thus, a review of the literature on the social contexts of each artist and on his work follows. But first, let us explore the literature on protest music itself and its role in social change.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Music and Society

Music is fundamentally a social activity (Blaukopf, 1992). Adorno explains: “All music, even the stylistically most individualistic, takes on a collective content: every single sound speaks in the plural” (quoted in Blaukopf, 1992, p. 45). Sociologists of music since Durkheim have interpreted works of art as products of social activity that capture the relationship of social agents in such a way that principles of the social contexts can be extrapolated from its art (Blaukopf, 1992).

Accordingly, in his review of the sociology of music, Supicic notes that music is a socially conditioned form of individual expression. A particular musical artist creates his or her work from within a particular social context and thus the work is conditioned by the social context in which it is created (Supicic, 1987). However, musicians maintain a degree of agency; although one’s social realities influence, condition, and impose restrictions on the artistic activity of a musician, they do not determine this activity absolutely (Supicic, 1987). Rather, the social influences on a musician’s art allow for considerable room for creative freedom to react to current artistic, historical, and social realities (Supicic, 1987). Thus, for Supicic, one’s social context does “not make a puppet of the artist, condemning him to follow passively a predetermined historical evolution” (Supicic, 1987, p. 51).

Musical activity plays various roles in social life (Blaukopf, 1992). For some artists, the social historical realities of their time provide impetuses for the creation of their music. Supicic observes the existence of social motivations for music, in contrast to aesthetic motivations concerning merely the sounds of the creations. Such musical works “concern the needs and conceptions predominating in a given social framework, and its social psychology and collective

mentality” (Supicic, 1987, p. 117). This paper addresses these social motivations for music, particularly the motivations for black protest music.

Social stratification is a well-accepted social fact; all societies feature people who have more power, prestige, or property than others (DaSilva et al, 1984). Musical activity occurs within all of the different social classes, strata, layers, and groups including both dominant and marginalized groups (Supicic, 1987). Music acts in response to the particular dynamics of each context (Supicic, 1987) and can be understood as expressions of particular classes in particular historical settings (DaSilva et al, 1984). Because musical expression is located within the different strata of society, before addressing social motivations for music it is helpful to view the role of music in light of the concept of hegemony.

Hegemony

Gramsci (1971) observes that ruling groups ideologically dominate a society through cultural forms. In coining the term “hegemony” to describe this condition, Gramsci refers to the “spontaneous consent” the masses of a society give as they submit to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group. This consent is to be contrasted with the “direct domination” of a dominant group through force, domination which is sometimes employed by the state when such consent fails (Gramsci, 1971). Raymond Williams expands upon the concept of hegemony:

“It is a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole body of living: our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world. It is a lived system of meanings and values—constitutive and constituting—which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of absolute because experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society to move, in most areas of their lives. It is, that is to say, in the strongest sense a ‘culture,’ but a culture which has also to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes” (1977, p. 110).

Thus, according to this view, the institutionalized and accepted forms of culture in a particular social order can be viewed as the culture of a particular hegemony which serves to legitimize and promulgate the ideology reflecting the status quo and the interests of the ruling class. Thus, the musical ideas of a particular social context exist within the realm of domination that serves the interests of the dominant social group. A key reason that the expressions of an oppressed group are suppressed is that self-defined perspectives can foster resistance (Collins, 2000). However, despite this hegemonic cultural domination, scholars have noted the flourishing of protest music.

Music as a Counter-Hegemonic Alternative

A lived hegemony, according to Williams, is a process rather than a system or structure, and although the hegemony is dominant, it is not total or exclusive (1977). Accordingly, “no dominant culture ever exhausts all human practice, energy, and intention” (Lieberman, 1989, p. xix) and counter-hegemonic cultural alternatives can and do exist.

Supicic notes the ability of music to function as such an alternative as he observes that “music is regarded above all as a participant in social life, either by expressing it (that is, in perpetuating some of its aspects) *or by opposing it*” (Supicic, 1987, p. 60, emphasis added). Supicic observes “the transposition or transferal of problems that occupy or agitate society (at its various levels) into musical art, where those problems are [dealt] with in a specifically artistic manner. *This aspect is particularly accentuated in those forms and genres of music that are linked with the expression of words*” (emphasis added, Supicic, 1987, p. 60). Supicic suggests the potential for an artist to employ critical lyrics to protest the hegemonic structures of his or her respective social context and perhaps to inspire individuals to reflect on the dominant aspects of their society.

Most people define the meaning of a song according to its lyrics (Frith, 1996) yet the significance of lyrics is often unappreciated among those who study music. However, arguments about the social and political value of popular music are more likely to address the words of songs than their sounds. In the experience of music “words matter to people ... [and] are central to how pop songs are heard and evaluated” (Frith, 1996, p. 159). Music can be conceptualized as the vehicle that carries words, making them memorable through an appealing tune. Yet, too often scholars of aesthetics, sociology, and cultural studies “convincing themselves that, because there are clearly situations where the words don’t matter in the slightest—classically, ‘when you’re dancing this hard’—this is enough to avoid attending to the words altogether” (Griffiths, 2003). It is important to emphasize that there is no empirical evidence that song words determine or reflect listeners’ beliefs and values (Frith, 1996). Yet songs can act as an avenue of expression that connect with and articulate a listener’s own feelings (Frith, 1996).

Various scholars note the role that popular music may play as a counter-hegemonic alternative. Benjamin argues that “[f]reed from the mystification of high culture... mass culture could cultivate more critical individuals able to judge and analyze their culture, just as sports fans could dissect and evaluate athletic activities” (Benjamin, 1969, quoted in Durham and Kellner, 2006, p. 4). Thus, for Benjamin, popular music can stimulate reflection and a critical perspective on a hegemony. Furthermore, Benjamin asserts that progressive musical artists can use their work as a medium of political enlightenment and discussion and as even an instrument of progressive social change (1969).

Lawrence Goodwyn’s work on American Populism develops the theory of a “movement culture” offering people an alternative to the “received culture” (1978). A movement culture provides “a mode of conduct antithetical to the social, economic, and political values of the

received, hierarchical culture” (Goodwyn, 1978, p. 165). Cabral (1973) agrees that the basis of a liberation movement is found in opposition to the dominant culture. Rose elaborates on the power of musical expression: “Under social conditions in which sustained frontal attacks on powerful groups are strategically unwise or successfully contained, oppressed people use language, dance, and music to mock those in power, express rage, and produce fantasies of subversion... these dances, languages, and musics produce communal bases of knowledge about social conditions, communal interpretations of them, and quite often serve as the cultural glue that fosters communal resistance” (Rose, 1994, p. 99-100).

These forms of artistic resistance provide the opportunity for discourse about alternative political realities, as well as give emotive articulation to them, and the importance of such expression cannot be overstated (Fischlin, 2003). Lipsitz has observed the use of popular music to secure, shape, or stunt the power of the state among African nationalists, reformers, and revolutionaries, Australian indigenous and Native American activists, and Quebecois separatists (1994). Fischlin observes that the power of music to develop a counter-hegemonic culture “is to be feared by those who are threatened by it, and celebrated by those who use it to resist oppression and liberate expression” (2003, p. 30).

Berger observes the extensive use of music in organizing social movements throughout the history of the United States (2000). Several scholars explore the particular roles that music can play in social movements. DaSilva et al (1984) observe four: they note how protest music (1) “expresses underdog status, thereby serving to lead people to see themselves as underdogs—a necessary cognitive development which must precede movement consciousness” (p.101), (2) expresses values that are goals of a social movement, such as equality in highly stratified

societies (DaSilva et al, 1984), and (3) convey a particular partisan viewpoint of a social movement and (4) can express the solidarity of that movement.

Fischlin observes five ways in which protest music has impacted rights issues: through (1) expressing and creating solidarity among people affected by a particular issue, (2) disseminating relevant information to these people, (3) infusing the oft-missing emotion into rights campaigns, (4) raising money for rights causes, and (5) facilitating the development of the very kind of critical consciousness necessary for rights campaigns (Fischlin, 2003, p. 11).

Protest music is largely an in-group activity (King, 2006; Knupp, 1981; Bowers et. al., 1994; Eyerman and Jamison, 1995). Although some protest songs target potential sympathizers to their respective causes, such music is primarily aimed at unifying the collective consciousness of a movement. For example, in their comprehensive and systematic analysis of protest music, Stewart, Smith, and Denton found that only 3 per cent of 714 songs surveyed from the American Revolution to the 1980s demonstrated appeals to people outside of the particular protest movement (1989).

However, despite the vast theoretical support for the role of protest music in facilitating a counter-hegemonic cultural alternative, Pratt warns that the content of a song should never be assumed to be equivalent to its effects (1990) and just because a musician expresses an idea in a particular way for a particular purpose does not mean that his/her audience will understand it and interpret its meaning in this way. However, despite the subjective nature of the experience of a musical creation, Pratt still observes “emancipatory” uses of popular music which challenge dominant institutions. He observes that throughout history, “music has often been fundamental to such an emancipatory process, reinforcing exercise of such human abilities to subvert and transform existing systems” (Pratt, 1990, p. 14). He explores ways in which musicians have

used their work to “‘squeeze out’ free space in the existing class and power relations of society” to establish alternative subcultural communities (1990, p. 14).

African Relevance

Scholars suggest such protest music, music acting as a counter-hegemonic cultural alternative, may be particularly relevant with respect to music of the African diaspora. In the words of William McClendon, former director of black studies at Reed College:

Black music is a lasting symbol of sanity for black people... closely related to the spirit of resistance and struggle... It is one of the effective modes of communication for conveying the messages of black abhorrence and resistance to the repressive living arrangements created for black people. Black music is an amalgam of black life... an indigenous expression of collective black experience (quoted in Ellison, 1989, p. 146).

Ellison observes that the association between black music and social protest is a natural alliance (1989). She argues that one constant throughout the music handed down from Africa to black people in the Western hemisphere is a commitment to meaningful lyrics that reflect the response of individuals to their lives human response to life including daily experiences as well as more abstract social problems. She claims that since the first songs by black people were heard in Africa, black music has expressed resistance to oppression and has clearly and honestly explored the range of human choices available to black people. Ellison adds that “[b]lack music has been a collective cry of discontent for as long as there have been situations and conditions in need of change” (Ellison, 1989, p. 145). Though the music hints at these choices, the lyrics of songs explicitly convey them (Ellison, 1989). Ellison concludes that not politics but music has historically provided the real voice of black America (1989).

Yet, despite the abundance of theoretical support for music serving as a counter-hegemonic alternative, it is difficult to speak of the role of music in creating social change because music in and of itself does not determine social relations (Regev and Seroussi, 2004). Lieberman points out that the debate continues about the importance of music and the cultural

realm in the process of challenging hegemony and fostering social change (Lieberman, 1989). However, he does concede that “the fact remains that songs... may be more effective than speeches in reaching people, touching them emotionally as well as intellectually. Because music is more accessible than other art forms, song can be an especially effective weapon... when it reaches a broad audience, connects with other currents in society, and threatens the hegemonic process” (Lieberman, 1989, p. 164). He continues that if songs are connected to a broad political movement, they will have more meaning (1989). Dyson (2007) agrees that without a connection to a vital political movement, music can only go so far in transforming social and political arrangements; it can help transmit values but is not a substitute for actual politics.

Bono, the lead singer of the rock band U2, agrees with the power of music as he observes that “on one hand, all we’re doing is making pop music, but... I think musicians can do what the politicians can’t. Even if it’s just for an hour and a half, there’s a unity in the audience” (Hilburn, 1983, p. 20). Although music may not in and of itself create social change, it may inspire individuals and communities to create such change, particularly if it is linked to a particular unified movement.

The current research focuses the protest music of two particular musicians. History presents Robert Nesta (Bob) Marley and Tupac Amaru (2pac) Shakur as examples of musicians who each used a form of artistic expression, popular music, to voice protest and resistance from his particular social place in the African diaspora. Much has been written about both Marley and Shakur’s use of music as a tool of social critique. However, as Walser observes, “in order to understand why... sounds have been arranged in [a] particular way, we must understand the context within which their composition seemed meaningful and urgent” (2003, p. 31). Thus, a

review of relevant literature on the social contexts in which Marley and Shakur's music emerged, as well as on each artist follows.

Trenchtown

Marley was born in 1945 in rural Nine Miles, St. Ann, Jamaica, still a British colony as the son of a white English father and a black Jamaican mother, and grew up in the Trenchtown ghetto of Kingston, Jamaica. At first glance, mid-twentieth century Jamaica appears to be a prosperous place. The Jamaican economy boomed throughout the 1950's as the GNP increased by 10% every year until 1957, when it slowed to only 7% a year for the rest of the decade (Bradley, 2000). This boom was largely a result of "the long-haul holiday market opening up as a fashionable upper-bracket pursuit for both Europeans and Americans" (Bradley, 2000, p. 12). This market was facilitated by Jamaica satisfying travelers' demand for an exotic island destination. Luxury hotels were built in vast stretches along the island's North coast to accommodate these travelers. Accordingly, the construction, and tourism industries saw rapid growth and the creation of job opportunities.

Additionally, the mining industry prospered, as Jamaica's soil was abundant in bauxite, the chief mineral source of aluminum. Jamaica supplied large quantities of it to aluminum industries for use in planes to accommodate the booming commercial airline industry. Another factor contributing to the country's economic prosperity during this time period was emigration; over 250,000 people, about one tenth of Jamaica's population, emigrated during this time period, reducing the competition for Jamaican jobs (Bradley, 2000).

Thus, mid-twentieth century Jamaica was characterized by a "creeping national euphoria as the island prospered and all talk was of independence within the next few years" (Bradley, 2000, p. 47). However, "two nations within the one country" (p. 14) can be spoken of: prosperity depended in large part on one's socioeconomic status and "the downsides of all these

improvements were ominous" (Bradley, 2000, p. 14). While the Jamaican economy continued to expand and grow, certain people in West Kingston remained desperately poor (Bradley, 2000).

The divisions between these "two Jamaicas" were not based solely along economic lines, but also along racial ones established during the British colonial period (Thomas, 2005). As a British colony, Jamaica was stratified; predominantly British whites controlled the country's wealth and owned most of the land while blacks, both native Jamaicans and African slaves, provided the majority of the land's labor (Smith, 2005) and these slaves were the prime producers of food (Thomas, 2005). Jacobson observes that to Jamaicans "the entire slavery experience of their forebears was tantamount to a terrible nightmare from which they had awakened in 'a strange land' as tragically misplaced, debased squatters" (1995).

The British Jamaicans can be viewed through a hegemonic lens because their "imperialism was not only a system of economic exploitation and political domination but also one of cultural control [and] colonial subjects were socialized to accept the moral and cultural superiority of Englishness, and by default, whiteness" (Thomas, 2005, p. 30). Thus, every since its days as a British colony, native Jamaicans and the descendents of African slaves have lived in an inferior, marginalized social context compared to the British whites.

Marley began recording and releasing music around the time Jamaica gained its independence from British colonial rule. Marley created his music in Kingston, where poverty was "defined by geographical as much as social altitude" (Bradley, 2000, p. 14) as "the stately homes of the white colonizers sit on hills that overlook Trenchtown—one of the worst slums of the Western hemisphere" (Winders, 1983, p. 62). In fact, Trenchtown's name refers to the overcrowded downtown slums that "mushroomed" into a maze of squatter camps around the concrete ditches, gullies, and open sewers (Bradley, 2000, p. 14). Rural Jamaicans emigrated

into these slums of Kingston over the years “to escape an even more frightful rural poverty” (1983, p. 62). A “massive percentage” (Bradley, 2000, p. 14) of the around 300,000 rural Jamaicans displaced by the bauxite mines and consequently homeless and unemployed ended up in the slums of Kingston because the mines created only 10,000 new jobs.

Rastafari/Rastafarianism, a religious and cultural movement that Marley identified with, emerged in Jamaica during the mid-twentieth century as a reaction to social, economic, and political forces (Foehr, 2000). Rastafari has been characterized as a heterogeneous, decentralized movement since its inception, as it features multiple smaller groups and lacks a central leader or monolithic organization; however, the various groups find common ground and share a critical center (King, 2006). Chevannes defines Rastafari as “a system of beliefs and a state of consciousness... that advances a view of the economic survival and political organization and structure that challenges the dominant cultural political ideology” (1990).

Rastafari speaks to the history of imperialism in Jamaica and its malevolent effects on black Jamaicans (Foehr, 2000). Influenced by (and even viewing as a prophet) Jamaican Black Nationalist and the founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association Marcus Garvey (King, 2006), Rastafari combines elements of African culture with Caribbean realities and promotes a message of liberation, challenging an ideology of the inferiority of black people (Foehr, 2000). Wearing their hair in long dreadlocks and smoking ganja while citing biblical justification for both practices (White, 2006; Foehr, 2000), the Rastafarians stand as a unique twentieth century religious phenomenon in that their movement grew beyond mere cult status and affected the language, worldview, and whole cosmology of the people of Jamaica and the entire Caribbean (Foehr, 2000). Although the Rastafarian movement’s dream of its members’

return to Africa has yet to be realized, the movement's critique of Jamaica's ideology of racism provides the foundation for a fruitful African community in Jamaica (King, 2006).

Rastafari sought to redeem Black Jamaicans by "restoring the self-awareness and self-confidence that had been all but bred out through the destruction wrought by transportation, the brutalization of slavery and the subservience that was necessary to maintain the colonial system" (Bradley, 2000, p. 78). In a social context where docile, subservient behavior patterns were historically encouraged among black Jamaicans, "the Rastaman walked proud, would look anybody in the eye and was forever ready to assert his rights as a man" (Bradley, 2000, p. 78) and believed that all black people should act this way.

The Rastafarian movement emerged in the slums of West Kingston, Jamaica, in the 1930s in the dispossessed black class, "the most marginalized and despised sector of Jamaican society" (King, 2006, p. 109). Rastas were the poorest of the poor and "objects of considerable scorn among many segments of Jamaican society" (Winders, 1983, p. 62). Wary of the perceived threat of spreading dissent throughout the nation, Jamaican authorities took steps including harassment, arrest, imprisonment, and deportation to neutralize the Rastas and circumvent the goals of their movement (Foehr, 2000; King, 2006). Although today Jamaica tries to incorporate and institutionally accept Rastas into its national cultural identity for the sake of marketing and tourism, the police continue to harass Rastas because of their use of ganja, their "strange" appearance, and their "subversive" political and religious beliefs (White, 2006).

The genre of Marley's music, reggae, was "the music of Trenchtown" (Winders, 1983, p. 62). According to reggae pioneer Toots Hibbert, "Reggae means comin' from the people y' know? Like a everyday thing. Like from the ghetto... Reggae means regular people who are suffering and don't have what they want" (Ellison, 1989, p. 8). Reggae is a thoroughly Jamaican

art form (Winders, 1983) and a “true expression of Jamaican blackness” (Bradley, 2000, p. 47). Since its emergence in the mid-1970’s, reggae has become one of the most decidedly rebellious forms of music the world has known (Ellison, 1989) as Rastafarians used reggae music to disseminate their ideology. Reggae music tends to “offer many criticisms of Jamaican society from the point of view of the Rastafarian sub-culture” and spreads “awareness of the Rastas’ discontent and of the divisions within Jamaican society” (Winders, 1983, p. 69). In fact, the Rastafarian movement used reggae music as its chief medium of communication (King, 2006). Reggae music “rapidly became Jamaica’s main source of social and political commentary (Ellison, 1989, p. 8), became the soundtrack to what was occurring in 1970’s Jamaica (Foehr, 2000), and stands as the movement’s “sword carrier” (Foehr, 2000, p. 177). Many reggae songs act as alternative history texts documenting Jamaica’s legacy of slavery, a subject historically downplayed in the institutionalized educational system (King, 2006).

Accordingly, values and symbols of Rastafari have become so intertwined with reggae music that the two are widely regarded as indistinguishable. Accordingly, Rastafari symbols such as the color’s of the Ethiopian flag (red, gold, green), the lion, the drum, smoking marijuana, wearing dreadlocks and the distinctive language are symbols of resistance now identified with reggae (Foehr, 2000). Reggae songs affirm Rastafari values and goals while challenging the ideology of racism (King, 2006). It is not surprising then that mainstream Jamaican radio stations wanted nothing to do with these new records despite their popularity with listeners because as a mainstream social institution, radio airwaves were controlled by the white middle-class hegemony which aspired to “‘dignity’ and looked upon anything too wild - too black - as bordering on the savage ” (Bradley, 2000, p. 9-10).

Former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley acknowledged that lyrics of reggae songs contained journalistic commentary that the public sometimes heeded more closely than the Jamaican press (Winders, 1983). Following the end of British colonialism, it was said that “reggae music should provide a critical look, if not a revolutionary impetus for change” (Winders, 1983, p. 71). Indeed, Winders observed the potential for reggae music to become the “voice for previously voiceless people” (1983, p. 71). The Rastafarian movement and its reggae music affected the Jamaican collective consciousness to such an extent that “the mere mention of the island conjures up soundscapes of reggae music and dancehall, images of Rastas and resistance” (Thomas, 2005, p. 30).

“Rastaman Vibration:” The Music of Bob Marley

Bob Marley was a reggae musician. However, the effect of his two decades (1961-1981) of musical expression on people suggests he has left behind more substantial effects than merely aesthetically pleasing sounds for people to listen to. Accordingly, Marley has been called a prophet, a psalmist for the Rastafarian religion, an advocate for an African homeland for the descendants of slavery still struggling to develop a sense of identity both in and beyond Jamaica, a peacemaker, a troublemaker, a liberator, a musical genius, and the first Third World superstar (Smith, 2005). The United Nations awarded him the 1978 “Medal of Peace” and just before his death in 1981 at the young age of 37, Jamaica awarded him its highest honor, the Order of Distinction (Smith, 2005). Further evidence of his impact are the traditional welcome usually reserved for heads of state that he received when he traveled to New Zealand, as well as the state funeral in Jamaica he received after his death (*Caribbean Nights*, 2005). Judy Mowatt, one of his backing singers, observes that Marley had a “message that transcended to the four corners of the world” (*Caribbean Nights*, 2005).

Bob Marley and his band members were from the ghetto and “scuffled and suffered like dem artists must in de ghetto” (Jacobson, 1995). Accordingly, Marley’s music evokes the milieu of Trenchtown’s slums (Winders, 1983). Sheridan asserts that “Bob Marley may have physically left Trenchtown, but its mark on his psyche was indelible, and the rhythm of the streets of the community he grew up in would be in his blood forever” (1999, p. 124). Bob’s “mesmerizing and often incendiary songs were customarily steeped in images of Third World strife” (White, 2006, p. 21). Bob was “often irascible-with-white-folks” (Jacobson, 1995) as he wrote music that concerned itself with Jamaican social issues such as denouncing police harassment and declaring the power of disenfranchised ghetto population as a volatile and potent political force, and it served as a major sociopolitical influence (White, 2006). Marley and his band mates believed that their music could “explain and beat back the planet’s moral turpitude and racial oppression” (White, 2006, p. 239).

Marley’s work was heavily influenced by the Afrocentric ideology of Marcus Garvey and Rastafari (White, 2006). Accordingly, Marley championed causes of black people throughout the African diaspora who were marginalized by the white hegemonic legacy of colonialism. Although the biracial Marley was adept at treading the fine line between black and white while understanding issues from both sides, “the black side of his identity was by far the most developed” (Sheridan, 1999, p. 125). This is evidenced by his having been raised in a black community by a black woman (his white father was almost entirely absent), having married a black woman, and having championed black causes in his writings and interviews (White, 2006; Sheridan, 1999). While Marley was half white, he did not view himself in this way (Bradley, 2000). Rather, according to his onetime producer Danny Sims, “Bob Marley was a black man and wouldn’t have it any other way” (Bradley, 2000, p. 418).

Furthermore, Marley explained on numerous occasions that his message was for the entire world but his heart was in Africa (Sheridan, 1999). He even (fictitiously) insisted for years that he and his parents were born in Africa (White, 2006). In Africa, he was indeed beloved as an apostle of Pan-Africanism (White, 2006). Yet Marley moved progressively toward a universal vision of peace, love, and unity (Smith, 2005). “‘Unity is the world’s key to racial harmony,’ said Marley. ‘Until the white man stops calling himself white, and the black man stops calling himself black, we will not see it. All the people of the earth are just one family’” (Sheridan, 1999, p. 78).

Marley was a devout adherent to the Rastafarian religion, and he is said to have become the most prominent international spokesperson for the religion (Smith, 2005, p. 9). Accordingly, Marley viewed creating music as his pursuit of what he called “me Faddah’s business” (White 2000, p. 306). He believed that God was the source of his music, and that its purpose was to act as a vehicle delivering God’s messages: “It is not me say these things, it’s God... if God hadn’t given me a song to sing, I wouldn’t have a song to sing” (Sheridan 1999, p. 80). Neville Garrick, a friend of Marley who worked on his album covers, notes that Marley never struggled to write a song and observes, “Since reading the Psalms of King David in the Bible, I really haven’t come across anyone that really has that gift, that lyrical ability to deliver God’s message” (*Caribbean Nights*, 2005). He adds that Bob would say that “it was Jah [God] who wrote all those songs anyway” (*Caribbean Nights*, 2005).

The depth of Marley’s spiritual beliefs is revealed by his death. When told that his life could be saved by amputating his cancerous right big toe, he refused because “Rasta no abide amputation... I and I [me and my brethren don’t allow a man to be dismantled” (White, 2006, p. 3). Marley refused the amputation on the grounds that the procedure conflicted with his

Rastafari beliefs and asserted that God would either heal him or “tek me as a son into His Kingdom” (White, 2006, p. 4). Marley died a few years later in 1981.

In accordance with going about his “Faddah’s business,” Bob Marley’s spirituality manifested in messages in his music. Smith asserts that Marley believed his music to have been divinely channeled and that “through this gift he was placed on the earth to call his people to work toward justice and freedom” (2005, p. 1). Marley created and performed reggae music that “allows those who identify with the messages of the suffering and oppression to gain catharsis through dance. The listener is attracted to the pleasing, relaxing sounds of the music while simultaneously persuaded to the lyrical message” (2005, p. 32). Accordingly, Marley’s art “is *not* happy-go-lucky, pot-induced ‘safe’ music” (Smith, 2005, p.11, emphasis added). Smith adds that “when one pays attention to the lyrics of [Marley’s] bouncy, happy songs, one is struck by the militancy, the calls to action, and the consistent call for justice one finds in those same seemingly benign songs” (2005, p. 11). Accordingly, King and Jensen note that music can be a powerful and persuasive tool for musicians such as Marley to spread their message to the world (1995). Various scholars weigh in on the social motivations for Marley’s music.

Sheridan notes that “Marley’s unfinished mission was to change the mindset of the poor and downtrodden, and lead his people to a better place” (1999, p. 134). King and Jensen observe that in his music, Marley has “offered a picture of the past, has answered the question: ‘Why are we oppressed?’ and has offered strategies and a solution to end oppression in the world” and basically presents “a coherent story of the past, present, and future” (King and Jensen, 2005, p.29). Gilroy notes that Marley has a “precious quality (that) helps to transmit resources of hope into a different future” (2005, p. 228). He adds that Marley turned “the history and memory of racial slavery into interpretative devices that could be turned towards innumerable varieties of

injustice and unfreedom” (Gilroy, 2005, p. 239). Ellison asserts that Marley’s music provided a voice “to the views of people who had previously had no way of being heard” (Ellison, 1989, p. 9). She continues that for Marley, “music was a sword wielded in the cause of justice, and a weapon that was powerful enough to produce a real transformation in politics and patterns of living” (Ellison, 1989, p. 148).

Smith observes that “Marley saw injustice in contemporary events as well as in the historical event of slavery, and dedicated himself and his musical voice to helping persons stand up to injustice and resist it wherever it was met”. Furthermore, he claims that Marley’s music serves as “transformative pedagogy, intended to engage the people to take action against all forms of oppression and injustice” (2005, p. 11). Marley, Smith continues, “used his musical voice to bring about change in the contentious, poverty-stricken world of post-colonial, newly independent Jamaica” as he “demonstrated how one can combine religious faith with political activism and militancy to transform the situation of some of the most desperate people in the Western world” (2005, p. 2).

The literature suggests that the music of Bob Marley, a man whose lyrics “made... the music an anthem for freedom fighters and oppressed people” (Foher, 2000, p. 9) is an example of a rebel music. Songs were a more effective way for Marley to explore freedom for black people than giving speeches (Ellison, 1989).

Oaktown

Tupac Shakur was born in 1971 in Harlem, New York, to a social revolutionary Black Panther mother (Dyson, 2001). When he was fifteen, Shakur’s mom, using her homeless stipend, moved with her son to Baltimore’s tough ghetto. At seventeen, the family relocated to

Marin City, California. Though shaped by his experiences in New York and Baltimore, in songs such as “Nothin But Love” he identifies as being “straight outta Oakland, California.”

His experiences on the streets of Oakland exposed him to the consequences of changing economic structures since the late 1960’s and the more heavily punitive criminal justice policies since 1980. These two structural shifts combined to lead to extreme concentrated disadvantage in, and the isolation of, black inner-city communities (Kubrin, 2005). These communities, isolated from middle- and upper-middle-class blacks (Dyson, 2004), presented poor blacks with “previously unseen challenges in African American life” (Kitwana, 1994, p. 45). The young black members of these communities comprise the hip-hop generation, a unique post-civil rights urban youth culture in the United States comprised of people born between 1965 and 1984 who share common lived experiences (Kitwana, 2002), including the following characteristics:

[Living in] a place, the United States, at a time when the rate of infant mortality for African-American children is twice what it is for white children, and child poverty is three times as severe. Black youth unemployment quadrupled during the period between 1965 and 1990, while white youth unemployment was static. The level of violent crime is virtually identical for black and white populations, but three times as many black people are arrested for committing the same crimes. 13 per cent of US Americans are black, and 13 per cent of drug users are black, yet African Americans somehow earn 43 per cent of the drug felony convictions and serve 78 per cent of the prison time for such offences. (Walser, 2003, p. 31)

While cities such as Los Angeles have experienced unprecedented growth since the late 1960’s, the catalyzing structural changes had devastating consequences on black working class communities (Kelley, 1996). The shift from a manufacturing-oriented economy to a service-oriented economy in the decades since have created an increased demand for highly skilled workers and decreased the demand for low-skill ones (Kubrin, 2005; Kelley, 1996). This shift has resulted in factory closures, increased economic displacement, an unprecedented deepening of poverty, and family disruption that particularly affected young urban black males in a negative way (Kubrin, 2005; Kelley, 1996). By the 1980s, young blacks who lacked the education

required for the new high-tech jobs had few places to turn within the mainstream economy aside from minimum-wage jobs created by the service sector. However, even these “working poor” jobs lacked the wages and benefits of those of the earlier generation (Tonry 1995), and were often unable to provide enough income to fund decent housing or child care (Kitwana 2002; Tonry 1995). This social context was characterized by “indifference and unresponsiveness of local, state, and national policymakers toward young black people” (Sullivan, 1997).

Along with these economic changes were simultaneous changes in criminal justice policies, changes that called for longer and harsher sentences (Kubrin, 2005). Collectively, these various laws have had severe consequences:

(1) The United States has been engaged in an unprecedented imprisonment binge (between 1980 and 1998 the prison population increased from 329,821 to 1,302,019—a rise of 295 percent) and now incarcerates more of its citizens than any other country in the world (Austin and Irwin 2001:1). (2) Federal and state budgets have shifted public expenditures from other social services to crime control (Tonry 1995). (3) Racism and the systematic oppression of minority groups, especially young African American men, has been legitimized and institutionalized in the criminal justice system (Chambliss, 1995, p. 236, qtd. in Kubrin, 2005)

Statistics suggest that, although laws are theoretically applied equally to all, they are in fact applied in a discriminatory fashion against poor minorities (Chambliss, 1995; Tonry, 1995).

This is evidenced by growth of the percentage of blacks admitted to state and federal prisons from 39 to 53 percent between 1979 and 1990, and by the tripling of the number of black people in prison since 1980 (Tonry, 1995). Furthermore, incarceration rates for blacks in 1990 (1,860 per 100,000) were nearly seven times higher than those for whites (289 per 100,000) (Jankowski, 1992). Mauer and Huling (1995) report that almost one in three (32.2 percent) African American men in their twenties is either in prison, in jail, or on probation or parole on any given day.

These criminal justice statistics are accounted for in large part by drug arrests resulting from the War on Drugs and the newly instituted mandatory minimum sentences (Kubrin, 2005).

Accordingly, young black men have embraced certain elements of prison culture, such as sagging pants and loose-fitting shirts, as it increasingly seems natural for black men to go to jail (Dyson, 2007).

According to Kubrin (2005), inner-city African American communities are faced with concentrated disadvantage defined by the combined effects of poverty, unemployment, family disruption, and isolation from mainstream America. Instead of the roles and opportunities available to youths in other environments, impoverished youths are confronted with a limited opportunity structure (Boyd, 1997) and often find illegitimate opportunities such as selling drugs to be more readily available (Kubrin, 2005) and rare job opportunities in a social context devoid of meaningful employment (Kitwana 2002). Use of crack cocaine, which appeals to those with lowest socioeconomic status, soared in these communities and destroyed black families (Dyson, 2001). Neighborhood battles for control of drug markets introduced the elements of violence and increased gang warfare.

This situation extends beyond a mere lack of effort on the part of impoverished inner city residents. While “ghetto” communities are filled with potentially hard-working, upstanding citizens “the demand for economic and social success, coupled with limited avenues and numerous illegitimate avenues by which to attain it, creates a situation unparalleled in other communities” (Kubrin, 2005, p. 436).

Despite the fact that disadvantaged black communities are perhaps those most in need of police protection, residents in these communities tend to view the police with the most ambivalence (Kubrin, 2005). Observations of the routine practices of police departments and prosecutors including unwarranted police stops, verbal and physical abuse, and racial bias toward residents of disadvantaged communities suggest institutionalized racism and foster an attitude

that skin color is a cause for suspicion on the part of the police and consequently strain relations with them (Kubrin, 2005). Thus, residents tend to believe that street survival requires them to avoid the police and to assume dishonesty on the part of officers (Anderson, 1999). Furthermore, “police departments across the nation have policed the urban underclass ghetto with a vigilance that would create political revolution were the same tactics and policies implemented in middle-class communities” (Kubrin, 2005, p. 437).

“The increasing social isolation, economic hardship, political demoralization, and cultural exploitation endured by most ghetto poor communities in the past few decades” (Dyson, 2004, p. 404) have given rise to the genre of Shakur’s music, rap music, a form of musical expression that captures the terms of ghetto poor existence and features themes drawn from the conflicts and contradictions of black urban life. Rap music was born as “public spaces for black recreation were gutted by Reaganomics or violently transformed by lethal drug economies” and the “depletion of social services to reverse the material ruin of black life” (Dyson, 2004, p. 412). These changes must be understood to fully grasp rap’s evolution and the development of gangsta rap (Boyd, 1997; Kitwana, 2002).

Rap music, a central aspect of popular culture in the inner cities today (Kubrin, 2005), emerged from “the urban wasteland that was the South Bronx” (Henderson, 1996, p. 311) in which “gangs of New York youth were encased in what could only be described as a war zone” (Henderson, 1996, p. 311), “reflects the brutal circumstances that define the boundaries within which most ghetto poor black youth” live (Dyson, 2004, p. 406-7), and stands as a reaction to the violence, racism, and oppression in American culture (Dyson, 2004). Rap music emerged from the streets of inner-city neighborhoods “as a reaction of the hopes, concerns, and aspirations of urban black youth” (Kubrin, 2005), flourished, and currently is enjoying unprecedented success.

Although young black men rarely vote (less than 15% voted in the 2000 presidential election), they find alternative cultural spaces, such as rap music, to express their views (Dyson, 2001). At its best, such music can disseminate political consciousness, raise awareness, and challenge young people to fight for what they believe in (Dyson, 2007).

Shakur's music is consistent with Kelley's (1996) assertion of gangsta rap as "ghettocentric" particularly with respect to his controversial use of the word "nigga:"

The construction of the ghetto as a living nightmare and gangstas as products of that nightmare has given rise to what I call a new 'ghettocentric' identity in which the specific class, race, and gendered experiences in late-capitalist urban centers coalesce to create a new identity—nigga. 'Nigga' is not merely another word for black; it encompasses a specific class, spatial, and to a larger degree, gendered subject position.

Thus, a "real nigga" according to Kelley is from the ghetto, linking one's identity to the ghetto instead of merely to skin color, implicit acknowledgment by gangsta rappers of the limitations of racial politics including black middle-class reformism and Black Nationalism (Kubrin, 2005). Dyson acknowledges such a class divide between "ghettocentric black culture" and "bourgeois Negro expression" (2007, p. 7). Since its emergence rap music "has shifted largely from a generic concern for chronicling the "black" experience to one specifically about the black underclass in the ghetto (Smith 1997:346; quoted in Kubrin, 2005, p. 435).

Scholarly investigation of the cultural impact of rappers considers them to be black poets of the contemporary urban scene (Baker, 1993, p. xi) who use music as a vehicle for telling the history of African American culture (Potter, 1995, p. 116). Rappers create their music as an expressive artistic outlet for a marginalized urban social bloc (Smith, 1997, p. 345), a contemporary response to joblessness, poverty, and disempowerment (Smitherman, 1997, p.5), and as an art form that reflects the nuances, pathology, and most importantly, the resilience of America's black ghettos (Dawsey 1994). Rappers themselves consider their music to be a blend of entertainment and education for the masses as Chuck D. once called it the "CNN for black

America” (Chuck D), KRS-ONE refers to it as “edutainment”, and Queen Latifah calls it “a creative outlet which can become like a newspaper that people read with their ears” (Kubrin, p. 433).

Much has been written about the educational and socializing impacts of rap music. Rap has historically “provided a form of informal education for adolescents, one that extends far beyond the confines of the classroom and into the peer group” (Powell, 1991, p. 245). Rap artists have had a more extensive influence in the black community in terms of their ability to capture the listening ear of black youth than athletes, entertainers, politicians, teachers, and ministers (Kitwana, 1994). All the while, rap music “retains its close ties to the poorest and least represented members of the black community” (Rose, 1994, p. 183). In the words of Dyson (2004, p. 410):

Rap is a form of profound musical, cultural, and social creativity. It expresses the desire of young black people to reclaim their history, reactivate forms of black radicalism, and contest the powers of despair and economic depression that presently besiege the black community. Besides being the most powerful form of black musical expression today, rap projects a style of self into the world that generates forms of cultural resistance and transforms the ugly terrain of ghetto existence into a searing portrait of life as it must be lived by millions of voiceless people. For that reason alone, rap deserves attention and should be taken seriously; and for its productive and healthy moments, it should be promoted as a worthy form of artistic expression and cultural projection and an enabling source of black juvenile and communal solidarity.

However, rap music has not been sustained by the support of a broad political movement (Dyson, 2007). Rap is not identified with any particular political movement or rebellion akin to the social resistance and political engagement of the 1960s and early 1970s (Dyson, 2007).

“Young Black Male:” The Music of Tupac Shakur

Shakur was a child of Black Panthers and lived a post-revolutionary childhood (Dyson, 2001). He was born just a month after his mother, who made him read the New York Times as punishment (Dyson, 2007), left prison after being acquitted of several New York City bombings

along with other members of the New York 21 contingent of Black Panthers (Dyson, 2001). When he was just a few days old, Shakur was taken to a Louis Farrakhan speech (Dyson, 2001). Shakur's stepfather, other of his mother's lovers, and his godfather were all Black revolutionaries and/or Black Panthers (Dyson, 2001). Accordingly, he was raised around Black intellectuals and revolutionaries. According to Shakur, the reason why his mother moved from New York because she was unable to secure a job due to her political background (Dyson, 2001). He was raised in inner-city poverty due to his mother's disavowal of capitalism and the pursuit of material wealth (Dyson, 2001).

Tupac Shakur has been describes variously as “a ghetto Elvis (a poor boy who arrived at the moment when music was ripe to be smashed and rebuilt), a black Hemingway (a man who lived his art), even a latter-day Jesus of the LA ‘burbs” (Hari, 2002). “I put Tupac beyond Shakespeare,” says legendary rapper Nas (Dyson, 2006). Not only is Shakur widely regarded as the most influential rapper ever, but also as one of the most important figures in music history (Dyson, 2006). He has been characterized as an organic intellectual, urban hero, political organizer, and feminist; yet, he was “easily the most demonized black male of his generation” (Neal, 2003, p. 211). He has been called “archetypal troubled black young male,” (Dyson, 2001), and friend Jada Pinkett Smith calls him “the blueprint for the average African American male” (Dyson, 2001).

Shakur died at 25 years of age in 1996 after being shot and killed while leaving a boxing match in Las Vegas by a yet to be identified gunman (Dyson 2001). During a memorial service for Shakur, Pastor Reverend Willie Wilson stated that “hip-hop artists in many instances are the preachers of their generation... [Shakur] was their preacher, if you will, who brought a message that [young people] can identify with, related to what was real, that spoke to the reality of the

circumstances, situations [and] environments they have to deal with every day” (qtd. in Dyson, 2001, p. 202). Accordingly, after his death in 1996, *Newsweek* reported that hip-hop had lost "the most articulate voice of intelligent black male anger" (Samuels & Leland, 1996).

The value of academic examination of Shakur’s music is legitimized by a symposium held by the Institute for Afro-American Research at Harvard University in 2003 that explored and discussed his music’s cultural impact (Brown, 2005) as well as his legacy as a public intellectual. Accordingly, many scholars comment on the substantive content of Shakur’s music.

Smith observes that Shakur’s music “reveals the contradictions of contemporary society—a society of great wealth and great poverty, a society of the privileged and the underprivileged, and a society of the just and unjust” providing a “voice to those left out and left behind, those who are at the bottom of the socio-economic level” with a “complex and introspective message that captures some of the sentiments of today's disillusioned youth” (Smith, 2005). Dyson (2001, p. 265-266) elaborates:

Tupac identified with the legions of hurting, beleaguered black youth whose only option appeared to be to 'ride or die,' to blast or be blasted into oblivion. His identification may have been self-destructive, wrongheaded, and morbid—but it was thorough and heartfelt. As a result, millions of youth have identified with him, with his swaggering courage, with his sexy defiance and splenetic rebellion, with his pain and vulnerability, with his hunger for the end even as he clung, like they cling, fiercely to life.

Malcolm Hill, a sixteen-year-old explains, "Tupac said the things I thought and felt a lot of times. It's like sometimes I feel I am really bad and can't nobody do nothing to me. And then sometimes I think I am fucked" (Samuels and Leland, 1996, p. 73).

Brown argues that Shakur’s music employs African American cultural values representative of black protest music, constructs identity and provides a voice for the new black youth culture, and “extends the cultural values that underlie African American rhetoric to construct a message that is more complex, enlightened, and introspective than what usually

characterizes the public criticism of gangsta rap” (2005, p. 559). Brown continues that “as a social critic [Shakur] conveys through his music the despair, anger, and resentment that resonates with many African Americans” by focusing on struggle and fulfillment while maintaining an “ability to articulate these strong feelings and emotions in words” (Brown, 2005).

Shakur’s music has been noted for its “ability to articulate the experience of economic, social, and racial oppression experiences in the inner city Black community with passion using the rhetoric he inherited from his education as the son and step son of former Black Panther militants” (Edwards, 2002, p. 67). Thus, his music maintains a connection to the “‘golden era’ for Black protest music—the civil rights movement and the growth of Black Nationalism” which provides his music with “a legitimacy to ‘the struggle’ that few rappers can match” (Brown, 2005). For Tucker, Shakur serves as an African-American historian and his music should be located within a resistant space (2001).

This association with the Black Panthers taught Shakur how “racism, economic discrimination, and other forms of oppression contributed to the poverty and powerless[ness] of working class Blacks,” which he blamed on the “so-called white establishment, including the police” (Edwards, 2002, p. 61). Dyson (2001) argues that Shakur’s music extends Black Panther notions of self-defense and class rebellion. This ideology “contributes to a mythos that through his music, Shakur carries on a legacy (and militancy) of the Black Panthers” (Brown, 2005). Shakur would likely agree: “I’m not sayin’ I’m gonna rule the world, or I’m gonna change the world, but I guarantee that I will spark the brain that will change the world” (Ryan, p. 18).

Yet rap music such as Shakur’s is not solely a liberatory, enlightening form of expression. Other scholars observe the contradictory nature of rap music as it is simultaneously a consciousness-raising, politically progressive, liberatory popular culture form and also a

commodified, exploited, sexist, and materialist popular culture form (Martinez, 1997). Shakur's music is criticized on these grounds and at times contains violent and misogynistic imagery. Accordingly, for critics of so-called "gangsta rap," Tupac's music has "little redeeming cultural value" (Brown, 2005); they view gangsta rap as merely advocating lawlessness and nihilism (Kelley, 1996).

Yet, Walser notes that instead of judging and criticizing such music, we should focus our criticism on the social conditions that give rise to this type of musical response and make it a logical response (2003). Rapper Jay-Z observes:

Yes, our rhymes can contain violence and hatred. Yes, our songs can detail the drug business and our choruses can bounce with lustful intent. However, those things did not spring from inferior imagination or deficient morals; these things came from our lives. They came from America" (2007, p. x)

Furthermore, Dyson (2004) argues that despite its dark imagery, gangsta rap is characterized by social commentary that illuminates and creates dialogue about often-ignored social issues concerning often-ignored people.

Henderson observes the ethnocentrism involved when European Americans from outside the African-American community are morally critical of rap music and argues that "their hands are too bloody" to stand as the moral authority in the United States (1996, p. 309). Dyson adds that "it is difficult for a culture that is serious about the maintenance of social arrangements, economic conditions, and political choices that create and reproduce poverty, racism, sexism, classism, and violence to display a significant appreciation for musical expressions that contest the existence of such problems in black and Latino communities" (Dyson, 2004, p. 404).

Henderson observes that although rap music does not possess a "martyrs immunity against criticism," many members of the black community regurgitate white supremacist criticisms of

rap music and tend to wait for elements of their culture to be approved by whites before they themselves approve of it (1996, p. 309).

Perhaps critics are too quick to focus on the perceived negative elements of rap music; Tucker notes with regret that “the activist nature of a good deal of rap music is often overlooked, dismissed, or misrepresented” (Tucker, 2001, p. 58). Furthermore, Brown notes that “to simply dismiss gangsta rap or a gangsta rapper such as Tupac Shakur as a ‘thug’ whose music has contributed to the ‘moral decline’ of American culture would be too simplistic a statement to explain the messages contained in his music” and observes that “some scholarship has illustrated the multifaceted messages of the genre and Shakur's legacy as an intellectual, political figure, and an urban folk hero” (2005, p. 559).

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

This research conceptualizes the music of Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur as counter-hegemonic cultural alternatives and analyzes the lyrics of each artist's music as a critique of each artist's respective social order. This project takes a grounded theory approach and turns to the lyrics of the music to allow the artists' voices to speak for themselves as their songs are examined for critical messages of their social contexts during this time period in which their music emerged.

The music of Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur was selected as the focus of this study because of abounding similarities between the social contexts in which each artist's music emerged and each artist's canonization as a spokesperson for his social context. In order to draw a parallel between the work of the two, their contexts must be acceptably analogous. These two artists emerged two decades apart in different countries. Yet, the review of the literature concerning the output of the two artists suggests that each artist represents a genre of music of the African diaspora that emerged from racially and economically marginalized social contexts, and uses his music as a form of social critique. Each artist speaks of being poor and black in the context of a white hegemony. Furthermore, each artist responds to his context as not merely a popular figure, but rather a, if not *the*, legendary face of his genre.

Marley is the best-selling reggae artist of all time as more than 50 million copies of his albums have been sold, and an album containing his greatest hits, *Legend* (1984) is the best-selling reggae album of all time with more than 12 million copies sold (White, 2006). Shakur is the best-selling hip-hop artist of all time, selling over seventy-five million albums worldwide, including fifty million in the United States (Guinness, 2004). "The most famous of all the Rasta reggae stars is undoubtedly Bob Marley" (Ellison, 1989, p. 9) and Shakur is "the greatest icon in

hip-hop” (Dyson, 2004, p. 399). Shakur was ranked eighth and Marley twelfth in the current annual *Forbes* list of top-earning dead celebrities (Goldman and Ewalt, 2007). These two artists were not articulating their critiques from fringe or merely popular places of their eras and genres. They are the icons of reggae and gangsta rap.

Aside from their popularity, these two artists were selected as the focus of this study because the genres of music in which they created, reggae and hip-hop, emerged as forms of artistic expression from marginalized cultures of the African diaspora. Similarities abound in the situations of the two icons. They represent the ghettos of Kingston, Jamaica, in the 1970’s (Marley) and the urban United States (specifically New York City and Los Angeles) in the 1990’s (Shakur). Both of these social contexts were economically and racially stratified. By analyzing the lyrics of the most popular artists from marginalized social contexts, perhaps something can be learned by studying their reactions to these contexts.

Two issues with respect to the popularity of the artists emerge. The first is that the music of both Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur has expanded to and is enjoyed by audiences far beyond the ghettos of Kingston, Jamaica and Los Angeles, California. While an interesting phenomenon and certainly worthy of study, this does not seem to present an issue with respect to the legitimacy of the research at hand since both artists were during their careers and are posthumously held in great reverence first and foremost in the social contexts in which they emerged. Though it is beyond the scope of this project, it would be interesting to examine how members of social contexts radically different from those of poor urban African-Jamaicans and African-Americans respond to the messages of rebellion in the music and how they symbolically interpret the music.

The second issue is the “culture industry” view that all popular music is but a mere commodity, safe and fundamentally uncritical, due its distribution within a capitalist political economy. While sympathetic to the claims of this argument, this research is presuming, backed by the authority of scholars in agreement, that the music of both Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur can be classified as forces beyond this limited conception of the critical potential of music, and these artists’ works may be considered counter-hegemonic alternatives despite and perhaps because of its place in mass culture. In the words of a guitarist of a current political activist rock band Rage Against the Machine, Tom Morello:

When you live in a capitalistic society, the currency of the dissemination of information goes through capitalistic channels. Would Noam Chomsky object to his works being sold at Barnes & Noble? No, because that's where people buy their books. We're not interested in preaching to just the converted. It's great to play abandoned squats run by anarchists, but it's also great to be able to reach people with a revolutionary message, people from Granada Hills to Stuttgart.

The analysis was conducted by first reading all lyrics from all the officially released major-label studio albums of Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur, including posthumous albums and each artist’s “greatest hits” compilation. Unofficial releases, early recordings, other compilations, and bootlegs of the artists’ work were not included in the analysis since they were deemed unrepresentative and only marginally circulated.

Song lyrics were gathered from multiple sources that catered to the work of each respective artist to promote accuracy. While there were occasional discrepancies in terms of how utterances such as “yeah” “yo” and “ah” were transcribed, these discrepancies were deemed insignificant as no noteworthy, substantive differences in lyrics between sources were found. The lyrics of 88 unique songs from 10 albums attributed to “The Wailers” and “Bob Marley & The Wailers” (the two incarnations of Marley’s band) were taken from his official website, BobMarley.com and *Complete Lyrics of Bob Marley: Songs of Freedom*. The lyrics of 205

unique Tupac Shakur songs from 12 albums (including one released under the pseudonym “Makaveli” and one released featuring his group The Outlawz) were compiled from The Official Hip-Hop Lyrics Archive (http://www.ohhla.com/YFA_2pac.html), and TupacHQ (<http://www.tupachq.com/lyrics.cfm>).

All lyrics to all songs of both artists were read once. Songs that contained lyrics depicting any suggestion of resistance or protest indicative of counter-hegemonic rebellion or cultural alternatives were identified as protest songs and selected for inclusion in the study for further analysis. Selection was made as inclusively and liberally as possible. The point of this stage of the study was more about excluding songs which clearly lack themes of any sort of social protest (i.e., love songs, party songs) to allow the songs containing elements of protest to be further analyzed in depth.

Only lyrics sang/rapped/spoken by Marley or Shakur were included in the analysis. Marley’s songs often feature backup vocals and Shakur’s songs often feature guests rapping a verse. Such lyrics were excluded from the analysis as they were not considered fully representative of the artists’ voices.

The initial analysis yielded 66 such “protest” songs of Marley and 125 such songs of Shakur, which were included in the second stage of the study, and a grounded theory analysis was performed on each song. General lyrical themes that emerged from each artist’s protest songs were noted and categorized. The thematic lyrical categories were synthesized with related categories and were subcategorized under larger, primary categories. Three of such general thematic categories emerged: (1) Depictions of Marginalized Suffering, (2) Criticism of and Resistance against Hegemonic Structures, and (3) A Call for Unity. The ways in which the artists’ lyrics depicted these themes were analyzed and compared and contrasted to explore the

similarities and differences in the ways in which Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur reacted to their social contexts through protest music, as well as to perhaps illuminate a further general understanding of protest music.

The analysis includes the prevalence of each mode of critique in each artist's work by providing the percentage of songs that include each mode. Each artist's mode of critique is then qualitatively explored to uncover how each artist presents each mode. Two representative lyrical examples are then cited for each category and subcategory of critique to further understanding of the intricacies of each critique.

Differences with respect to spirituality and hope for change emerged from the analysis of the protest songs. The percentages of such songs that included elements of spirituality and a comment on the potential for change were noted and included. However, songs with these attributes represent a percentage of the artists' protest songs, not each artist's entire body of work, as songs that did not contain a dimension of social critique were not scanned for these elements. Thus, spirituality and change are not representative of each artist entire catalogue but rather just their protest songs.

One final issue to take into consideration is that Shakur recorded and released more songs than Marley, and his songs tend to each have more lyrics. Thus, in Shakur's lyrics there is a greater likelihood for an element of critique to be alluded to in any given song.

CHAPTER 4
ANALYSIS

Introduction

Analysis of the lyrics of the music of Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur reveals two bodies of work that may each be characterized in part as a critique of the social context from which the music emerges. As shown in Table 4-1, 75% of Marley's songs were identified as containing elements of social critique and included in the study, and 61% of Shakur's were.

Table 4-1 Protest songs relative to total songs for each artist

Artist	Protest Songs
Bob Marley	66/88 75%
Tupac Shakur	125/205 61%

Marley and Shakur implement similar methods in delivering their lyrical messages of social critique. The two artists' collections of protest songs can be characterized by a similar three-part structure: (1) depictions of the suffering endured as a member of a marginalized social group, (2) critiques of and resistance against social structures that produce this suffering, and (3) calls for unity for the sake of improving the conditions of social life, particularly among the members of the specific marginalized group. Of course, these three avenues of critique are not performed in a mutually exclusive way; some songs implement more than one element of critique.

An interesting, unanticipated facet that emerged from the analysis of the lyrics of Marley and Shakur's protest songs was a spiritual component to these lyrics. Both artists regularly reference God. Yet, an analysis of the two artists' lyrics reveals two different relationships with God. Based on the artists' vast popularity and legendary status in the social context from which

their music emerged, these different depictions of God suggest different spiritual beliefs not only in terms of the individual artists, but also in the collective consciousness of their social groups.

Another interesting facet that emerged from the lyrical analysis was that despite the similar approaches that the two artists take in offering their social critiques, there are differences in the tones of critiques with respect to the future and the project of resistance. Bob Marley's messages of social critique are almost without fail characterized by words of hope and optimism. A certain inevitability of the accomplishment of his goals and the success of the Rastafari movement is present. Yet, the role of hope in Shakur's lyrics is more complex and at times contradictory. Whereas some of his lyrics include optimistic messages of hope, more are characterized by hopelessness. Structural explanations for the differences in tone between the critiques of the two artists and the differences in their perceived inevitability of positive change are explored. It is theorized that these differences can be accounted for in part by differences suggested by the lyrics in religiosity between the two artists and differences in their affiliations with a concrete, defined movement.

Lyrics

The following discussion explores how Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur use their music as a form of social critique. The ways in which Marley and Shakur conduct their critiques is broken down, and representative lyrical examples are provided to illustrate each point. However, before discussing in depth how Marley and Shakur implement the different facets of protest in their respective lyrics, it is helpful to quantitatively examine the prevalence of each facet of protest in their work, for this examination illustrates how representative each facet is of the each artist's protest. As shown in Table 4-2, Marley's protest songs can be best categorized as explicit messages of resistance, whereas Shakur's songs primarily serve as expressions of suffering. Furthermore, Marley's music may be characterized by hope and spirituality, whereas Shakur's

music may be characterized by spirituality, though to a lesser extent and particularly, hopelessness.

Table 4-2 Prevalence of facets of protest

Artist	Suffering	Resistance	Unity	Spirituality	Hope	Hopelessness
Bob Marley	34/66 52%	44/66 67%	26/66 39%	46/66 70%	42/66 64%	2/66 3%
Tupac Shakur	106/125 85%	63/125 50%	17/125 14%	52/125 42%	27/125 22%	52/125 66%

First Element of Protest: Depictions of Ghetto Suffering

As part of the critiques of their social contexts, both Marley and Shakur provide vivid descriptions of the suffering that characterizes everyday ghetto life and the realities of living as an economically and racially marginalized social group of the African diaspora. To facilitate their projects of protesting and resisting their social conditions, they first describe these conditions. Such depictions of suffering are relevant to both artists, but whereas they are a key feature of Marley’s social critique (52% of protest songs) they are *the* defining feature of Shakur’s critique (85% of protest songs). Both artists describe their suffering in terms of the general experience of suffering and hardship, as well as specific manifestations of suffering including poverty, violence, racism, and imprisonment.

General Suffering

Both artists provide general assertions that suffering characterized the lived experience in their respective marginalized social contexts. A representative example of Marley’s depiction of this suffering can be observed in “So Much Trouble in the World:”

We the street people talkin' / Yeah, we the people strugglin' /... So much trouble in the world / So much trouble in the world / So much trouble in the world.

Here we see Marley speak of the “strugglin’” that characterizes the life of the “street people.” In what is a common theme throughout his lyrics, it is interesting to note that he uses a person plural to represent who is suffering. He identifies as a Rastafarian, a poor Black Jamaican

from the Trenchtown ghettos, and he suffers in the plural as a member of a community. In describing the suffering he experiences, he is not just speaking for himself but rather for his community. Contrast this lyric with an example of Shakur's depictions of general suffering as a part of ghetto life in "Trapped:"

*You know they got me trapped in this prison of seclusion / Happiness, living on
tha streets is a delusion*

Shakur speaks of the alienation and unhappiness that characterizes "living on tha streets." However, Shakur uses the first person singular pronoun "me" to characterize his experience of suffering. As implied by the titles "So Much Trouble in the World" and "Trapped" both artists speak to the reality of the suffering of their respective social contexts. Yet, whereas Marley experiences the hardships of ghetto life as a member of a community, Shakur experiences such hardships in a more individualist and alienated way. This is a key point that manifests throughout the lyrical analysis. Furthermore, both artists depict specific manifestations of ghetto suffering in their lyrics.

Poverty

Both Marley and Shakur assert that poverty defines life in their respective ghettos and use depictions of hunger as a specific form and visceral sign of this suffering and a primary consequence of their marginalization. Here is an illustrative example from Marley from "One Drop:"

*They made their world so hard / Every day we got to keep on fighting / They made
their world so hard / Every day the people are dying / From hunger and
starvation / Lamentation*

In a subject to be explored later in the analysis, Marley references those in power who created the structures of his social context he found himself in who "made their world so hard" for people like Marley. These people of the ghetto who Marley identifies with, once again using

“we,” were forced to fight for their very survival, as every day many of them died from hunger and starvation. Mere survival was a struggle. Shakur addresses hunger in “Strugglin’.”

And now we gotta eat, gotta make ends meet / Stabbin for a fee, it gets hard on the fuckin streets

Shakur connects poverty and hunger to crime in presenting crime as a partial explanation, if not a justification, for the crime that riddles poor urban contexts. In a social context in which the basic necessity of food was not accounted for, some people are reduced to committing acts of violence for money to procure food for survival. Here, in presenting crime as a response to poverty, Shakur uses the plural pronoun “we” to identify as a member of a suffering group.

Violence

Both artists address the violence that is a reality of everyday ghetto life and speak to the human cost of poverty. They portray violence in their communities as a consequence of the way society is structured and show how it affects the everyday human experience. Marley presents a depiction which acts as a case study of the ramifications of the violence that characterizes ghetto life in “Johnny Was:”

Woman hold her head and cry / 'Cause her son had been shot down in the street and died / From a stray bullet. / She cried: Ah-um, I - I know! / "Johnny was a good man," I - I know! (never did a thing wrong) / "Johnny was a good, good, good, good, good, good, good, good, good, good man", (Johnny was good man) she cried - she crie-ie-ie-ie-ie-ie-ied! / Wo-ooh! Woman hold her head and cry / As her son had been shot down in the street and died / Just because of the system. (system)

This song tells the story of an innocent bystander who winds up dead because of the Jamaican economic, political, and social structures leaving his mother to mourn the loss. Marley emphatically describes the mother’s intense emotional reaction and conveys that acts of violence do not just affect individual victims, but the victims’ loved ones as well. Such depictions of

violence are a defining feature of Shakur's lyrical depictions of the suffering that characterizes ghetto life. Note Shakur's similar presentation in "Mama's Just a Little Girl:"

*Now look here / I see her clutching her son / In her arms she hurt / Her heart
bleeding as she watched her seed die in the dirt / Fulfill prophecy / But who could
stop the grief?*

Shakur similarly presents a story of a mother who loses her son to the violence that cripples inner city life. He speaks of the hurt and grief that this causes the mother who outlived her son. Shakur asserts that stories like this one "fulfill prophecy" of ghetto life and individuals' lives are gloomily determined. Yet unlike the victim in Marley's song, Shakur's victim is not framed as a completely innocent bystander:

*Addicted to a life of crime at no time of the growing stage / He learned his values
on the streets at an early age*

The death of the victim in this song must be considered in light of his criminal lifestyle. His death was brought about in part by his own criminal actions. Yet by referring to this situation as a prophecy, Shakur suggests determinism not only in the death itself but in the criminal lifestyle that led to the death. Can such a lifestyle truly be considered a choice in a social context lacking alternative avenues for success? Shakur's songs regularly contain references to ghetto violence and its ramification on his life and his loved ones. A defining way in which Shakur presents violence can be observed in "Me Against the World:"

*More bodies being buried / I'm losin' my homies in a hurry / They're relocating to
tha cemetery / Got me worried / Stressin' / My visions blurred / Tha question is
will I live*

Violence is a defining reality in this social context. The toll this violence takes on him is illuminated here. Shakur's subjective experience and psychological well-being is negatively impacted by the threat of violence. Witnessing friends dying as a result of violence, he is "worried and "stressin'" that he will befall a similar fate. However he also depicts the

consequences of such violence on the black community as he references friends who have been victims of violence. Furthermore, the title “Me Against the World,” a phrase which repeats throughout the song, suggests Shakur’s alienation, individualistic perspective of the world, and the struggle that he conceptualized life to be.

Racism

Both Marley and Shakur link their suffering to their race. They reveal not just economic, but racial marginalization as well. Their lyrics speak of being a member of a racial minority in the context of a white dominated society. Marley depicts the metaphorical cards being stacked against the Rastas in “Ride Natty Ride:”

All and all you see a-gwan / Is to fight against Rastaman / So they build their world in great confusion / To force on us the devil's illusion

Marley characterizes Jamaican society as a “fight” against the Rastas and their perceived deviant way of life. He speaks to the hegemonic “devil’s illusion” that was forced upon the Rastas to discredit the legitimacy of their way of life, their struggle for Black liberation, and their critiques of the ideology of racism. Shakur speaks to the reality of racism in “White Man’s World:”

Know what it means to be black, whether a man or girl / We still strugglin, in this white man's world

Shakur connects “strugglin” to being Black. He notes that racial oppression transcends gender divisions. Furthermore, he refers to social reality as the “white man’s world” identifying the cultural hegemony and implying that reality is defined according to a white male standard. Shakur uses the plural pronoun “we” suggesting that he struggles as a member of a race. Both artists understand the reality and consequences of racism as part of a larger historical process, and they both conceptualize their racial oppression in relation to the suffering their ancestors

have experienced since the days of African slavery. Marley draws this parallel in “Slave Driver:”

*Every time I hear the crack of the whip / My blood runs cold / I remember on the
slave ship / How they brutalized our very souls / Today they say we are free /
Only to be chained in poverty / Good God, I think it's illiteracy / It's only
machine that make money*

Marley overtly locates Rastas within the history of African slavery and the African diaspora. Although those with African heritage are allegedly presently liberated from slavery, Marley observes that the ramifications of the historical legacy of slavery manifest in contemporary Jamaican society in the form of economic exploitation. Again, Marley uses the pronoun “we” to locate himself in this struggle. In “The Streetz R Deathrow” Shakur references slavery:

*Some call me crazy / But this is what you gave me / Amongst tha babies, who
raised up from tha slavery*

In this lyric, Shakur presents slavery as a historical fact which has lingering implications on the lives of future generations. He uses the second person pronoun “you” to direct this lyric at the structural limitations placed on him due to his race. In a similarly composed structural critique, Shakur conceptualizes slavery differently in “Po’ Nigga Blues:”

*Crazy / I gotta look at what you gave me / claimin I'm a criminal when you the
one that made me / They got me trapped in this slavery / Now I'm lost in this
holocaust headin' for my grave, G*

Here, Shakur conceptualizes slavery not as a historical fact with implications on present day African Americans but as a current social fact. He refers to the present day situation of (certain) African Americans as “slavery.” This term brings to mind a particular economic relationship between black and white Americans. Thus, not only does Shakur invoke slavery to present a historical explanation for present day suffering, but he invokes slavery to connect the

past to the present and question the reality of social equality. Furthermore, he refers to being headed for death in a “holocaust” framing the loss of life in inner cities as a genocide.

Prison

Marley depicts prison as a metaphor in songs such as “Trench Town:”

*I vision through the seas of oppression / Don't make my life a prison / ... / Say
Trench Town, we're the underprivileged people, / So Trench Town, they keep us in
chains*

Marley speaks of prison as the metaphoric epitome of the oppression that Rastas face. The Rastas are kept not in physical chains but rather mental chains via hegemonic ideology. This concept is illustrated in his famous lyric from “Redemption Song:”

Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery / None but ourselves can free our minds

Marley observes a shift from physical imprisonment imposed by other to self-imposed mental imprisonment. Although his people are free in the sense that Jamaican slavery has been abolished, they are still limited due to the internalization of a colonized and enslaved mentality of inferiority. Shakur also metaphorically references prison, such as in the aforementioned “they got me trapped in this prison of seclusion” line from “Trapped.” However, Shakur also references prison in very real, material terms in songs such as “Still Ballin’:”

*Now ever since a nigga was a seed / Only thing promised to me was the
penitentiary*

Born a black male in New York City, Shakur claims to have been born on a path to prison, as nearly one in three (32.2 percent) African American men in their twenties is either in prison, in jail, or on probation or parole on any given day, a number likely higher in the impoverished inner cities (Mauer and Huling, 1995). For Shakur, spending time in prison (which he himself did) is a very real facet of inner city life during this time with very real consequences. In “Keep

Ya Head Up” Shakur connects the crime leading to prison sentences for inner city black males to a lack of available legitimate opportunities for success for individuals in such a social context:

I'm tryin to make a dollar out of fifteen cents / It's hard to be legit and still pay the rent / And in the end it seems I'm headin for the penn

Here, Shakur suggests that a lack of perceived legitimate avenues for employment to satisfy basic needs such as mere housing lead individuals into pursuing alternative, criminal avenues for survival such as his oft-referenced drug dealing. Of course, potential consequences of illegal ventures such as selling drugs are prison sentences and the violence associated with black markets. Shakur often reiterates that much of inner city crime and deviance is the only option for some people to survive the circumstances they were born into. Shakur claims that he was compelled to sell drugs such as crack due to a lack of other options; he needed money for the necessities of life in a social context characterized by a lack of alternative, legal employment opportunities (Kubrin, 2005). Shakur depicts this situation in “Po’ Nigga Blues:”

Why'd you sling crack? / Cuz I had to / A nigga gotta pay the fuckin' rent / ... / I need loot, so I'm doin what I do / and don't say shit until you've walked in my shoes / There was no other destiny to choose

Summary

Both Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur’s lyrics are rife with references to the suffering that characterizes the life of a young Black urban male in ghettos of post-colonial Jamaica and post-industrial United States. Shakur presents depictions of suffering with greater frequency than Marley. Such depictions of suffering are one of many elements of Marley’s protest songs, but these depictions are the key component of Shakur’s protest, as it seems that the basis of his social critique is providing a window into his otherwise invisible world through his lyrical depictions of ghetto suffering. Accordingly, Shakur is specific and in depth in describing the everyday hardships and bleak realities he experiences as an inner city black male. However, Marley

shows a greater tendency than Shakur to experience this suffering as a member of a particular community and explore the source of this suffering rather than merely depict its consequences.

To depict suffering, both artists focus on poverty, and the resulting hunger as a manifestation of poverty. Furthermore, both artists assert in their lyrics that violence is a reality of ghetto life as they depict the consequences of this violence. Shakur justifies crime as a means for survival in a social context devoid of alternative; yet this crime often leads to death and prison. Voicing this paradox is a key aspect of Shakur's lyrics. They both connect the marginalized status of their social groups to race and speak of the consequences of being poor and black in a country where reality is defined as white.

Second Element of Protest: Criticism of and Resistance against Hegemony

The second element of social critique that emerged in an analysis of the lyrics of the protest music of Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur is the artists' criticism of and resistance against hegemonic social structures. Both artists move beyond mere descriptions of the misery that encompassed the everyday reality of ghetto life and take an active role in resisting the social structures that create these conditions. Their lyrics are critical of those in power in their respective societies and encourage resistance against the systems that marginalize the members of their social contexts. Resistance and rebellion are key features of Shakur's work as messages of resistance and rebellion are present in half of his protest songs, but these messages of resistance are an even more significant and defining feature of Marley's protest music as 67% of his songs contain lyrical messages of resistance.

Both artists identify as rebels and encourage protest against the society that marginalizes the members of their respective social context. Accordingly, they are critical of social structures, drawing special attention to the criminal justice system, and encourage resistance against these

structures. The musicians are activists who stress a need for change and note that it is necessary to take on an active role in fighting for desired changes.

Identification as Rebels

Marley and Shakur both describe themselves as rebels and frame their music in the tradition of protest music. In the chorus of “Rebel Music (3 O’clock Roadblock)” we see Marley’s characterization of his music as “rebel music:”

I rebel music / I rebel music

Also worth noting in Marley’s characterization of his work as rebel music is his reference to it as “I” rebel music in lieu of “me” or “my” rebel music, reflecting the tendency in Rastafarian vocabulary to replace “me” with “I” as a form of empowerment as this subtle phrasing emphasizes subjectivity over objectivity (Levine, 1980) and allows Marley to conceive of himself as an active subject rather than a passive object and thus capable of rebellion. Shakur similarly characterizes himself as a rebel in the tellingly titled “Rebel of the Underground:”

*So with a little bass and treble / Hey Mister! It's time for me to explain that I'm
the rebel / Cold as the devil / Straight from the underground, the rebel, a lower
level*

Shakur presents himself as a rebel and also acknowledges his marginalized status as he emerges “from the underground” and from a “lower” life. He implements “a little bass and treble” as a vehicle to present his protest. Interestingly, he describes himself as being “cold as the devil” in his rebellion, showing a lack of empathy for the oppressor and offering insight into the nihilistic identity he presents in his project of rebellion which will be delved into later.

Structural Critique

Marley and Shakur are critical of the social structures that marginalize the members of their respective social contexts. In songs such as “Babylon System” Marley refers to the current

imperial, ruling society which he hopes to overthrow to achieve a society characterized by freedom and justice:

Babylon system is the vampire, yeah! / Suckin' the children day by day, yeah! / Me say: de Babylon system is the vampire, falling empire / Suckin' the blood of the sufferers, yeah! / Building church and university, wo-o-oooh, yeah! / Deceiving the people continually, yeah! / Me say them graduatin' thieves and murderers / Look out now: they suckin' the blood of the sufferers / Yeah! / Tell the children the truth / Tell the children the truth / Tell the children the truth right now! / Come on and tell the children the truth

Marley does not address Jamaican society by name in critiquing oppressive social structures but rather implements a more universal, Rastafarian metaphor to do so. Marley refers to Jamaican social institutions as systems of “Babylon,” a Rastafarian term used to describe oppressive, imperial political and economic structures. Here, Marley compares these oppressive social structures to a vampire that is “suckin the blood of the sufferers.” Social institutions, such as churches and universities, promote the hegemonic ideals while “deceiving the people” as such institutions reinforce the colonized mentality of poor, Black Jamaicans through socialization. The successful products of this project of socialization are thieves and murderers malignantly affecting the lower class. Interestingly, Marley speaks of the consequences of oppressive social structures not in terms of their effects on him as an individual, but rather on “the sufferers” and “the people.” It is worth noting that Marley emphasizes the importance of truth and revealing the reality of this situation to the future generation. He promotes actively educating the next generation as a way to prevent hegemonic, oppressive ideologies from being passed on. Perhaps his music may play a role in this project. An example of Shakur’s structural critique may be found in “Words of Wisdom:”

This is defiantly ahhh words of wisdom / AMERIKA, AMERIKA, AMERIKKKA / I charge you with the crime of rape, murder, and assault / For suppressing and punishing my people / I charge you with robbery for robbing me of my history / I charge you with false imprisonment for keeping me trapped in the projects / And

*the jury finds you guilty on all accounts / And you are to serve the consequences
for your evil schemes / Prosecutor do you have any more evidence?*

Here, Shakur is similarly critical of social structures perceived as oppressing. He provocatively accuses the United States of historical crimes including rape, murder, assault, robbery, and false imprisonment. He implicitly points to the racism embedded in American society and portrays the United States as a white supremacist society by using the abbreviation of the Ku Klux Klan in “AMERIKKKA.” He uses the second person pronoun “you” to refer to this country, the country in which he lives, suggesting the alienation and disconnect he feels from it. Shakur is critical of how the United States has treated the plural “my people” but also speaks of how he as an individual was robbed of his history and how he as an individual is kept trapped in the inner city housing projects. He acknowledges that he is in the same situation as other poor black inner city residents; however his identification as a member of a unified group seems to be limited as he also speaks in terms of his individual oppression and its consequences on him as an individual.

Resistance

There are clear messages of resistance in the lyrics of both Marley and Shakur. An example of resistance as depicted by Marley can be observed in “Babylon System:”

*We refuse to be / What you wanted us to be / We are what we are / That's the way
it's going to be / You don't know! / You can't educate us / For no equal
opportunity / Talkin' 'bout my freedom / People freedom (freedom) and liberty! /
Yeah, we've been trodding on the winepress much too long / Rebel, rebel! / Yes,
we've been trodding on the winepress much too long / Rebel, rebel!*

Marley creates a clear duality between the oppressed “we” and the oppressor “you.” He speaks for his fellow Rastas of the ghetto as he demands freedom. His consciousness is fundamentally linked with his group’s in this message of rebellion. Marley promotes a refusal to participate in education that acts as a hegemonic project of socialization into notions of

inferiority. At the same time, this lyric has a critical, accusatory tone towards “you” the descendants of the colonizers. Simultaneously, Marley uses “trodding on the winepress” as a metaphor for the physical labor of Africans which literally built Jamaica to encourage resistance against current inequality. Furthermore, Marley explicitly encourages his people to “rebel, rebel!” Shakur channels similar resistance in “Violent:”

This time the truth's gettin told, heard enough lies / I told em fight back, attack on society / If this is violence, then violent's what I gotta be / If you investigate you'll find out where it's comin from / Look through our history, America's the violent one / Unlock my brain, break the chains of your misery / This time the payback for evil shit you did to me / They call me militant, racist cause I will resist / wanna censor somethin, motherfucker censor this! / words are weapons, and I'm steppin to the silent / Wakin up the masses, but you, claim that I'm violent

Like Marley, Shakur speaks to the role of education in marginalization. Also like, Marley, Shakur creates a duality; however in this lyric it is between “you” and “I” rather than a collective “we.” Rather than encouraging others to rebel and resist, he declares that he will resist. However, he does refer to “wakin up the masses” suggesting that the purpose for his words is to create rebellion in others, but the same identification that Marley had with these people is not presented in Shakur’s lyric. Again, while Shakur acknowledges a social in-group that he shares oppression with, he reacts to it at the individual level. Shakur notes that since his words which he perceives to be truth are counter-hegemonic, they will be rejected by mainstream society and framed as militant, racist, and violent. He juxtaposes such claims against the violence that African-Americans have endured throughout history.

Willingness to Fight

The lyrics of both Marley and Shakur at times can be characterized by a militant edge as both artists asserts that achieving their counter-hegemonic goals may require a degree of fighting. In “Zimbabwe” Marley’s lyrics capture this militant tone:

Brother, you're right, you're right / You're right, you're right, you're so right! / We gon' fight (we gon' fight), we'll have to fight (we gon' fight) / We gonna fight (we gon' fight), fight for our rights!

Marley asserts that rights and ends such as equality and freedom will not simply be given to Rastas, and in order to escape their oppression it will be necessary to fight for these ends. Marley's identification with these struggles is revealed in his use of the plural pronouns "we" and "our." Interestingly, he uses the word "brother" to presumably refer to a fellow Rasta, showing the strength of their bond, solidarity, and the familial characterization of the relationship. Shakur presents a similar tone of militancy in "They Don't Give a Fuck about Us:"

I'm watching my nation die genocide the cause / Expect a blood bath / The aftermath is y'all's / I told ya last album, we need help cause we dying / Give us a chance, help us advance cause we trying / Ignore my whole plea, watching us in disgust / And then they beg when my guns bust / They don't give a fuck about us

After likening the death he witnesses everyday in his inner city neighborhoods to a genocide, Shakur describes a retaliation that can be expected which he provocatively calls a "bloodbath." He depicts this retaliation as a last resort after pleas for assistance from the inner city fall on deaf ears. He presents a clear distinction here between inner city life and the mainstream American society that attempts to turn a blind eye to and ignore it. Shakur asserts that the people in the inner city need help, but "they don't give a fuck about us" and thus alternative means must be taken for inner city residents' survival. Here Shakur uses plural pronouns to identify with the struggle and suffering of these people and then takes matters into his own hands in an individual attempt to rectify perceived injustices. He promotes violence but also justification for such violence.

Changes

Both Marley and Shakur take an active approach in fighting the perceived systems of oppression. They both use their lyrics to encourage counter-hegemonic resistance and

social change. Marley encourages his fellow Rastas to “Get Up, Stand Up:”

*And now you see the light / You stand up for your rights / Jah! / Get up, stand up!
/ Stand up for your rights! / Get up, stand up! / Don't give up the fight!*

Marley not only encourages his people to become aware of the reality and causes of the oppression that characterizes their present situation, he encourages them to resist this oppression and improve their life collective situation. He encourages them to counter the ideology of oppression that his people have internalized since Africans were sold into slavery. Marley implores his people not to give up what he frames as a fight. Shakur similarly encourages such changes in the aptly titled “Changes:”

*We gotta make a change / It's time for us as a people to start makin' some
changes / Let's change the way we eat, let's change the way we live / and let's
change the way we treat each other / You see the old way wasn't working so it's
on us to do what we gotta do / to survive.*

Shakur identifies with struggling inner city blacks using plural pronouns throughout this lyric and encourages everyone, himself included to make lifestyle changes. Shakur encourages the agency of these people in spite of structural limitations as he focuses the responsibility on his people to do what they can to improve their lives. In this lyric, he seems to encourage them to conquer the ideologies of inferiority and victimization that they internalize and take action. Interestingly, while Marley’s lyrics encourage his people to recognize and obtain their rights and freedom, Shakur’s promote his people’s very survival.

Criminal Justice System

Both Marley and Shakur direct specific criticism and resistance toward their societies’ respective criminal justice system, an overt manifestation and enforcer of a society characterized by the unequal distribution of justice. The police are the symbolic target of their attacks, and both artists controversially reference shooting police officers in their lyrics and provide

explanations and justifications for doing so. Marley references shooting an officer in “I Shot the Sheriff:”

Sheriff John Brown always hated me / For what, I don't know / Every time I plant a seed / He said kill it before it grow / He said kill them before they grow / And so read it in the news: I shot the sheriff. Oh, Lord! / But I swear it was in self-defense. / ... / All of a sudden I saw sheriff John Brown / Aiming to shoot me down / So I shot - I shot - I shot him down and I say: / If I am guilty I will pay.

Marley says unequivocally “I shot the sheriff.” However, there is more to the story. As a Rastafarian, Marley explains one particular sheriff’s prejudicial hatred for him. He speaks of this sheriff killing his “seeds” effectively preventing the flourishing of the Rastafari people and culture. And finally, he asserts that this sheriff was first aiming to shoot him down. He frames this act of violence as a justified act of self-defense against a particular sheriff under specific circumstances. He asserts his innocence by claiming that he will pay if he is guilty. It is interesting to note that that in this lyric Marley uncharacteristically uses a first person pronoun to refer to himself, and that he does so in the context of shooting a sheriff, suggesting that this was his individual action and not representative of his people.

Having been a victim of police brutality and the racism embedded in the criminal justice system himself, much of Shakur’s social critique is directed at the justice system and the police, the enforcers of the system he finds oppressive. Criticisms of the criminal justice system and particularly the police manifest throughout his music in songs such as “Soldier Like Me:”

I'm poppin corrupt cops / Ya motherfuckaz catch a hot one / You wanted to start a problem, now you coward cops have got one / And there's no prison that can hold a Motherfuckin soulja / ready to roll and take control / So now I jack 'em while they sleepin / Role to the door, through a grenade in the precinct / Some people panic, brothers bugged out / I had to keep poppin, cuz wouldn't stop until they rugged out / And they vest don't protect from the head wounds / Reload ammunitions and them bitches will be dead soon / Smoke rising from the barrel of my shotty / I finally got revenge, now count the bodies / 20 cops, one for every year in jail / Tryin to keep a nigga down, but ya failed / Before I let ya take me, I told ya / Fuck being trapped, I'm a soulja

This intense depiction of shooting multiple police officers captures Shakur's rage and disdain for the enforcers of the criminal justice system. Shakur's act of violence towards police can also perhaps be characterized as an act of self-defense against corrupt police officers. He asserts that the officers try to subdue and oppress him. Yet unlike Marley's depiction, the police in these lyrics are numerous and anonymous. It is an abstract depiction lacking the specifics of Marley's rendering. It lacks the innocence that Marley claims but rather seems to embrace nihilistic retribution. Shakur describes it as an act of revenge. Shakur rebels against his marginalization, his victimization, and against "being trapped." Shakur's critique extends beyond merely the police to the legal system in "God Bless the Dead:"

See I'm old enough to know that ain't no justice / Fuck the police and all the courts, same way they fucked us / And why the hell am I locked in jail / They let them white boys free, we be shocked as hell

Here, Shakur is critical of the institutional racism that affects how laws are enforced, disproportionately imprisoning black males. Rather than claiming his innocence like Marley, Shakur criticizes a legal system he suggests is devoid of justice as if he perceives no alternative. In case his feelings for the legal system are unclear, he eliminates any such confusion in "Out on Bail:"

Fuck y'all / Fuck the judge / Fuck the motherfuckin' district attorney and the prosecutor (fuck you!) / And fuck you motherfuckers in the jury box (fuck you!) / Fuck all y'all

Summary

The lyrics of both Marley and Shakur cast the artists as rebels and frame their work as rebellious music. While criticisms of social structures responsible for marginalization and encouragement of resistance against these structures are an important feature of both artists' music, they are a defining feature of Marley's protest music and more represented in his work.

Marley moves from description to resistance more regularly than Shakur. Both artists are critical of oppressive social structures, rebel against these structures, and encourage resistance from the members of their respective communities. Shakur's rebellion at times seems alienated and disconnected from his fellow oppressed while Marley's is fully intertwined with the Rastafari movement. It can also be said that Shakur's resistant messages implement a certain hyperbole or extremeness lacking in Marley's.

Third Element of Protest: Call for Unity

As part of their lyrical messages encouraging resistance to oppressive social structures, both Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur note the necessary role that unity plays in the project of resisting these structures and improving their life situations. Both artists stress the particular importance of unity among the people of their marginalized social contexts, but also reference the importance of unity among all people to differing degrees.

Lyrics that encourage and stress the importance of unity emerge in 39% of Marley's protest songs. Only 14% of such Shakur songs emphasize unity. Both artists assert that to successfully resist oppressive social structures and improve their lived experiences, unification of their Black communities is crucial. They each encourage unity by referencing important Black historical figures of relevance and emphasizing the importance of cultivating black pride despite racial oppression. In addition to the particular emphasis of unity among the African diaspora in their lyrics, both Marley and Shakur acknowledge an inherent unity throughout all humankind. However, this idea of oneness is more substantially intertwined with Marley's concept of unity.

Black Unity

Marley overtly encourages members of the African diaspora to unite in the aptly titled "Africa Unite:"

How good and how pleasant it would be before God and man, yea-eah! / To see the unification of all Africans, yeah! / As it's been said a'ready, let it be done, yeah! / ... So-o, Africa unite: / 'Cause the children (Africa unite) wanna come home. / Africa unite / 'Cause we're moving right out of Babylon, yea, / And we're grooving to our Father's land, yea-ea.

Here, Marley ponders the desirable consequences of African unity. Furthermore, he takes this ideal conception of unity a step further by calling for action to create such unity; he encourages Africans to actively take part in a unification movement. Marley has observed how African unity has been talked about and encouraged by prior activists such as Marcus Garvey. Now, he asserts, it is time to “let it be done” because this unity fails to be realized in the Kingston ghettos, as well as other communities of the African diaspora. The descendents of slavery are, in fact, divided and oppressed. Marley identifies with this movement of African unity as reflected by his use of the plural pronoun “we.” Furthermore, he suggests a certain inevitability of this movement by suggesting its success is God’s desire and by using the present tense to describe the Rastas movement out of the metaphorical “Babylon” referring to Jamaica and other countries that were colonized and built by African slave labor. Similarly, Shakur encourages unity among African-Americans in “White Man’z World:”

Remember that, in this white man's world, they can't stop us / We've been here all this time they ain't took us out / They can never take us out / No matter what they say, about us bein extinct / about us being endangered species / we ain't never gon' leave this / We ain't never gon' walk off this planet, unless y'all choose to / Use your brain, use your brain / It ain't them that's killin us it's us that's killin us / It ain't them that's knockin us off, it's us that's knockin us off

Shakur alludes to the triumph of African-Americans over historical hardships and defiantly declares that “they can never take us out.” These lyrics demonstrate an “us vs. them” mentality. He emphatically uses the plural pronoun “we” to identify himself as a part of this struggle. Shakur acknowledges obstacles to African-American unity within the community, specifically the black-on-black violence that plagues inner cities. However, he declares that the power is in

their hands to change. Black people will only be beaten if they passively allow themselves to be. Shakur continues this idea and like Marley, he encourages action towards this ideology of unity in “Changes:”

I got love for my brother / but we can never go nowhere unless we share with each other / We gotta start makin' changes / learn to see me as a brother instead of 2 distant strangers

Here, Shakur stresses the necessity for individuals of his social context to act more communally and to perceive each other as brothers and sisters, rather than strangers. Such actions and ways of perception reduce the conflicts and divides that separate the African-American community. He encourages his community to recognize that they have shared interests and are engaged in the same struggle.

History

A specific way in which Marley and Shakur seek to create a sense of African unity and Black pride in their lyrics is by referencing Black historical figures relevant to their respective social contexts. Marley’s song “So Much Things to Say” contains such references:

But I'll never forget no way / they crucified Jesus Christ / I'll never forget no way / they stole Marcus Garvey for rights / I'll never forget no way / they turned their back on Paul Bogle / So don't you forget (no way) your youth / Who you are and where you stand in the struggle.

Marley references Christ, the incarnation of God, according to Rastafarian theology, who was crucified; Garvey, a Black Jamaican who promoted Pan-Africanism, and who is considered a prophet to Rastafarians for prophesizing the crowning of Haile Selassie I in Ethiopia; and Bogle, a Black Jamaican rebel executed by the colonizing United Kingdom. Marley references three historical individuals who worked to bring truth & liberation to Black Jamaicans. He encourages members of his community to recognize and appreciate the struggles of these men, to recognize their place in history as a part of a movement greater than themselves, and their

responsibility to carry on the struggle of their forefathers. Shakur presents similar references in “Ghetto Gospel:”

Everyone's ashamed to the youth cause the truth looks strange / And for me it's reversed, we left them a world that's cursed, and it hurts / cause any day they'll push the button / and y'all condemned like Malcolm X and Bobby Hunton, died for nothing

Shakur laments the present situation of inner city Blacks despite the past activism of figures such as Malcolm X and Black Panther Bobby Hunton. Yet, in doing so he brings the message of these African American revolutionaries to the current generation of people who continue to endure circumstances that these men sought to change.

Oneness

Along with encouraging unity within the African diaspora, both Marley and Shakur, despite the marginalized position in society of their social groups, recognize and promote a form of humanism that recognizes a common humanity with all people regardless of privileged or oppressed status. Marley’s lyrics in songs such as “One Love” suggest a oneness that all humanity shares:

One Love! / One Heart! / Let's get together and feel all right / I'm pleading to mankind / One Love

Although Marley’s lyrics present a particular emphasis on unity among members of the African diaspora, he acknowledges the inherent unity of all humankind. Everyone shares an inherent unity with all people and may potentially share the same love. He pleads with everybody, not merely his fellow Rastas, to recognize and respond to this unity. By recognizing the common bond that everyone shares with the rest of humanity regardless of social position, Marley suggests that people can transcend the divisions that plague societies. Shakur recognizes this unity in “Ghetto Gospel:”

It ain't about black or white, cuz we're human / I hope you see the light before it's ruined / My ghetto gospel

Shakur recognizes that despite our perceived racial differences and the very real consequences of these differences, we are all human. He encourages people to conceptualize the social world in this way and notes that there will be dire consequences for failing to recognize everyone's common humanity. This is his "gospel" or religious message. However, although Shakur's lyrics acknowledge a unity that transcends race and hopes that people will recognize this unity, Marley's lyrics more prominently and consistently recognize and promote such a unity, and his promotion of unity overtly extends to love. Songs such as "One Foundation" assert the depth of Marley's conceptualization of unity:

Got to come together / We are birds of a feather / We got to come together / 'Cause we are birds of a feather / Got to come together / 'Cause we are birds of a feather / Or there will never be no love at all / There will never be - yeah, yeah! - no love at all / We also got to realize we are one people, yeah! / Got to realize that we are one people, yeah! / We got to realize we are one people / Or there will never be no love at all / There will never, never, never be no love at all / Got to build our love on one foundation /

In this lyric, Marley acknowledges the common humanity that everyone shares, encourages people to recognize this and come together, and promotes not just unity but love. He encourages everyone regardless of race or social background to build this love on the one foundation that every person shares.

Summary

Both Marley and Shakur stress the importance of unity in their messages of resistance. This notion of unity is particularly relevant to the members of their particular social context but extends to all people. Although unity is not the most prevalent aspect of either artist's critique, it is perhaps crucial in creating the prerequisite for resistance of a collective consciousness.

Whereas Shakur tends to use singular pronouns such as "I" and "me," in songs of unity he speaks

in terms of plural pronouns such as “we” and “us” to emphasize a collective identity. Marley consistently uses such plural pronouns, not just in his messages of unity. Worth noting is that lyrics encouraging unity occur with greater frequency in Marley’s music, and his unity tends to be deeper and more transcendent than Shakur’s.

Spirituality

Although not necessary a message of protest per se, a spiritual dimension in both Marley and Shakur’s lyrics emerged in the analysis that can not be overlooked because of the ramifications of each artist’s spirituality on their messages and methods of protest. It is no surprise that a spiritual component to the music of these two black artists emerges. Spirituality has been considered to be a cultural value that is the product of black people in the West “Africanizing” Christianity when they (forcibly) adopted it as their religion (Brown, 2005). Accordingly, churches of the African diaspora are often participatory services in which people strive to experience God’s presence through song and dance (Brown, 2005). Spirituality can be further understood in black communities outside of a church setting through experiences of deep emotions, including situations in which “lyrics, songs, and singers create melodies that touch the souls of black audiences” (2005, p. 563).

The music of both Marley and Shakur can be characterized according to this tradition of spirituality. Accordingly, 70% of Marley’s songs identified as songs of protest contained spiritual references. Spirituality manifests in 42% of Shakur’s protest songs. Spirituality manifests in Marley and Shakur’s lyrics as they both acknowledge God and the role that God plays in their lives. Furthermore, they both ask God for assistance. Their lyrics capture the extent of each artist’s faith in God. Contrasting Marley’s thanking God with Shakur’s apologizing to God illustrates a compelling with respect to spirituality. Finally, both Marley and Shakur are critical of religious hypocrisy.

Relationship with God

Both Marley and Shakur acknowledge God and suggest that God plays a role in their lives. Yet, the artists' lyrics present relationships and connections with God to differing degrees. A representative example of Marley's conception of God and the role of God in his life is found in "Jammin':"

We're jammin' (jammin', jammin', jammin') / And we're jammin' in the name of the Lord / Yeh! / Holy Mount Zion / Holy Mount Zion / Jah sitteth in Mount Zion / And rules all creation.

While some might jam for fun or pleasure, for Marley, "we're jammin' in the name of the Lord." Once again, Marley speaks from the plural pronoun "we," suggesting that his identity is intertwined with his social group. Furthermore, Marley presents an aspect of his spiritual beliefs here. He asserts God's omnipresence in the world and that Jah "rules all creation." He implements the word "holy" which suggests the sacred nature of God. Clearly, God has a very crucial role in social life according to Marley. He sees the world as God's world. Shakur acknowledges God's role in his life in "Letter 2 My Unborn:"

I got shot five times but I'm still breathin / Livin proof there's a God if you need a reason

Here, Shakur acknowledges a relationship with God. Shakur seems to attribute surviving a shooting to God's will. Furthermore, he seems to offer this experience as proof for others of God's existence, proof that Shakur himself does not necessarily need. While this lyric suggests a belief in the existence of a God that intervenes in human affairs and a relationship with this God, this relationship does not dominate his worldview and music to the extent to which it does Marley, who is jammin' in the name of a Lord who rules all creation.

Invoking God's Assistance

The lyrics of both Marley and Shakur suggest a personal relationship with God as both artists reach out to God at times and ask for divine assistance in their lives. We see Marley call on God in "Positive Vibration:"

Jah love, Jah love, protect us / Jah love, Jah love, protect us / Jah love, Jah love, protect us

Marley calls on God for protection. Interestingly, Marley invokes "Jah love" to protect "us." He seeks God's protection in the name of love not just for himself, but for all the members of his community. On the contrary, Shakur asks God for assistance but with egocentric ends as in "Blasphemy:"

Promised if I have a seed, I'ma guide him right / Dear Lord don't let me die tonight

Shakur pleads with God to not let "me" die tonight. He shows respect for God in this lyric, using the adjective "dear" to characterize God. Yet unlike Marley, Shakur asks God to spare his life without speaking to the situations of anyone else in his community. However, in other songs such as "Black Cotton" we do see Shakur invoke God's assistance for the sake of others:

One homie, two homie, three homies, poof! / We used to have troops but now there's no more youth to shoot / God come save the misbegotten

Here, Shakur asks God to "save the misbegotten." In this lyric he does use "we" to identify with his fellow poor, black, inner city males and laments that their youth are alarmingly being killed. However, he does not identify as regularly with and invoke God's help for the sake of his social group to the degree that Marley does with his fellow Rastas.

Faith

While the lyrics of Marley and Shakur both acknowledge God's presence in their lives, they offer differing suggestions about each artist's faith in God. Marley's lyrics reflect deep,

strong religious faith. Marley just does not hope for God's assistance in his life, he believes he has it.

“One Drop:”

I know Jah's never let us down / Pull your rights from wrong / (I know Jah would never let us down) / Oh, no! Oh, no! Oh, no!

Marley believes in God to the extent that he characterizes his faith as knowledge. As a devout Rastafarian, Marley's faith in God is fundamentally intertwined with his life and his music. Interestingly, Marley uses a plural pronoun to describe who Jah would not let down, showing his identification with his fellow Rastas. Shakur's lyrics do not reflect religious faith to such a great extent. In fact, observing the suffering that characterizes the everyday lives of inner city black people in the postindustrial United States, Shakur expressed doubts of God's place in his life and questions God's existence in “Letter to the President:”

My history, full of casket and scars / My own black nation at war, whole family behind bars / And they wonder why we scarred, thirteen lookin hard / Sister had a baby as an adolescent, where was God?

Unlike the deep, unquestioning belief in God that characterizes Marley's lyrics, Shakur expresses doubt here. While Marley knows that “Jah would never let us down” Shakur wonders “where was God?” The suffering that Shakur observes in his community causes him to doubt God. “What kind of God would allow such pain?” he seems to suggest. Shakur's faith in God is not as consistent as Marley's.

Thanks versus Apology

A discussion of the spiritual component of Marley's lyrics would be incomplete without mentioning that many of Marley's lyrics read as overt religious psalms which give thanks and praises to Jah, such as the tellingly-titled “Give Thanks and Praises:”

Give thanks and praises to the Most-I (Jah!) / Give thanks and praises so high / He will not deceive us my brethren / He will only lead us again / ... / Give thanks

and praises, give thanks and praises / Give thanks and praises, give thanks and praises / Give thanks and praises, give thanks and praises.

Marley encourages people to thank and praise Jah in a lyric that would seamlessly fit a religious service. Here, he observes the role of God in the life of the Rastas. God is conceptualized as a leader who has presumably led them before and will “only lead us again.” This lyric serves as another example of Marley speaking as a member of his groups, using plural pronouns as he identifies with his “brethren.” Clearly God plays a significant role in everyday life for Marley and his brethren. The thanks and praise of God that characterizes Marley’s lyrics interestingly contrasts with Shakur’s lyrics such as “Hellrazor” in which he asks for forgiveness:

Dear Lord, I live the life of a thug, hope you understand / Forgive me for my mistakes, I gotta play my hand / And my hand's on a 16 shot / semi-automatic crooked cop killin' glock ...

Shakur acknowledges his mistakes, provides justification for them, and ultimately asks for forgiveness. He seems to be less sure of his standing with God than Marley. Also, Shakur uses singular pronouns in discussing his relationship with God revealing a lack of involvement with a religious community such as Marley’s Rastafari.

Criticism of Religious Hypocrisy

The rebellious aspect of the music of Shakur and Marley manifests in critiques of religious institutions. Spirituality and resistance to hegemony intersect in the lyrics of Marley and Shakur as both artists are critical of their society’s religious institutions which contribute to their oppression. Marley is critical of preachers who shift the focus of individuals away from the everyday, oppressive realities of their lives to the afterlife in “Get Up, Stand Up:”

Preacherman, don't tell me / Heaven is under the earth / I know you don't know / What life is really worth / ... / 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

Marley is critical of preachers who speak of forsaking improvement of their lives for the sake of achieving a place in heaven after they die. He understands the power that people have to change and how obedience for the sake of the afterlife may hamper this. Furthermore, Marley seems to resent the way in which this preacher tells him to worship God. He tells the preacher “I know you don’t know what life is really worth.” Marley seems to contrast his own experience of God with the preacher’s words, and consequently finds it difficult to take seriously what the preacher says. Shakur is similarly critical of a preacher in “Blasphemy:”

The preacher want me buried why? Cause I know he a liar / Have you ever seen a crackhead, that's eternal fire / Why you got these kids minds, thinkin that they evil / while the preacher bein richer you say honor God's people / Should we cry, when the Pope die, my request / We should cry if they cried when we buried Malcolm X / ... / Memories of a past time, givin up cash to the leaders / knowin damn well, it ain't gonna feed us

In this lyric, Shakur seems to be critical of a preacher using his influence to take economical advantage of people with little money to begin with. He observes people with scarcely enough money for food giving financial donations to religious leaders based on fear instilled in them by these leaders. He depicts such leaders as benefiting at the expense of people who are truly suffering. He frames himself as threat to the religious establishment because of these views to the extent that he claims they want him dead. He also seems to resent that figures of great significance in the African American community, such as Malcolm X, do not receive the same respect as religious figures, such as the Pope.

Summary

A notable distinction between the lyrics of Shakur and Marley emerges with respect to spirituality. While the lyrics of both artists’ protest songs have a spiritual dimension, Marley’s lyrics read as more encompassed by a deeper spirituality. In some instances, Marley’s lyrics read as religious psalms or prayers set to music. This is not surprising considering Marley was a

devout Rastafarian and saw himself as a medium for God's message. His lyrics praise Jah (God), thank Jah, find strength and perseverance despite hardships through Jah, and make it clear that the world is Jah's creation.

The spirituality revealed through Shakur's lyrics is complex, ambiguous, and contradictory. Shakur's lyrics, while often acknowledging a spiritual connection, lack the faith in God that so powerfully underscores Marley's work. Shakur's occasional doubts concerning God and his relationship with God sharply contrast with Marley's deep and unshakable faith. Shakur's lyrics acknowledge God's role in his life, whereas Marley's acknowledge living for God. Shakur's spiritual references are at times paradoxical and contradictory, sometimes within the same song (see "Nothing to Lose"). While Shakur at times thanks God and asks God for assistance, at other times he questions and even mocks God. Unlike Marley, Shakur never identifies with a particular religious tradition.

The spiritual disparity between the two artists may be accounted for by Marley's Rastafari affiliation and Shakur's lack of affiliation with a particular religion. Marley's lyrics, more so than Shakur's, are characterized by a unified set of values. It is no surprise that the values promoted by the Rastafari religion, such as love, unity, faith, and fighting oppression are also promoted by Marley's lyrics. Such a religious affiliation provides Marley with a lens through which to view the world, and he crafts his lyrics through this lens. Shakur's lyrics lack attachment to a particular religious affiliation and a corresponding unified set of values. Rather, Shakur's lyrics are inspired by a diverse collection of what he has learned from history and experiences on the streets.

Marley's protest is in accordance with Rastafari beliefs, and Shakur's comes from a more personal and perhaps alienated place. Of course, Shakur speaks for and identifies with people

who share his demographic characteristics: poor, young, Black, inner city males. Yet there is no single foundation for his worldview. To further understand the effect of Marley's religiosity and Shakur's lack thereof, it is interesting to consider spirituality as reflected in the lyrics of Marley and Shakur in light of differences that emerged with respect to the tones of their critiques and how hopeful each artist's lyrics are.

Hope / Hopelessness

While Marley and Shakur were in largely analogous social situations, their music responds to these situations with different prospects of hope for the success of their resistant projects and positive social change. Hope is expressed but in varying degrees in both artists' lyrics. Whereas Marley's lyrics are almost unfailingly hopeful and optimistic, such hope and optimism vacillates in Shakur's lyrics.

Hope characterizes 64% of Marley's protest songs but only 22% of Shakur's protest songs. The artists express hope through messages of encouragement to stay positive despite hardships and suffering. Yet differences can be observed between the two artists' social critiques with respect to optimism. On the flip side of hope are differences between Marley and Shakur's lyrics with respect to messages of hopelessness. Marley's songs are almost without fail devoid of hopelessness. Only 3% of the lyrics of his protest songs are characterized by a hopeless tone. On the contrary, 66% of Shakur's protest songs are characterized by hopelessness. Hopelessness comes in the form of overt expressions of pessimism and nihilistic embraces of the status quo.

Stay Positive

Despite the suffering and oppression that Rastas face in Trenchtown, Marley's lyrics contain reaffirmations that everything is going to be all right in songs such as "Three Little Birds:"

Singin': "Don't worry 'bout a thing / 'Cause every little thing gonna be all right."/
Singin': "Don't worry (don't worry) 'bout a thing / 'Cause every little thing gonna be all right!"

Here, the “pure and true” message from the birds is that the “sufferah’s” should not worry, a message that corresponds with the spirituality of his lyrics. Because of their connection with Jah, everything will work out for the best for the Rastas. Shakur has a similar message in “Keep Ya Head Up:”

We ain't meant to survive, cause it's a setup / And even though you're fed up /
Huh, ya got to keep your head up

Shakur acknowledges the structural limitations that Black inner-city residents with whom he identifies face as illustrated by his use of the plural pronoun “we.” Yet, despite the discrimination, oppression, and suffering that they face, Shakur encourages his listeners to “keep your head up” and not wallow in their suffering.

Optimism

Despite the hardships that Rastas have and continue to endure, Marley is unfailingly optimistic that they will persevere in “Ride Natty Ride:”

But-a we will survive in this world of competition / 'Cause no matter what they do
/ Natty keep on comin through

Again, Marley presents a we/they struggle between the Rastas and “the system.” Despite the structural project of oppression and marginalization of Rastas, Marley proclaims that the Rastas, with whom he here identifies as a member, will survive. Despite all of the hardships and suffering, the Rastas will be triumphant. Contrast Marley’s optimism in this song with Shakur’s “White Man’s World:”

Will we make it to better times / In this white man’s world?

Shakur dedicates much of his lyrical space to depicting the suffering of inner city Blacks. Then he asks if “we” will see positive, counter-hegemonic social change. Or is the white male

hegemonic reality too strong? An uncertainty towards the success of the project characterizes this lyric. This lack of certainty and inconsistent optimism defines the protest music of Tupac Shakur.

Pessimism

Shakur's protest songs may be largely characterized by pessimism and a lack of hope, but such lyrics are rare in Marley's work. We see a rare instance of lack of hope in Marley's lyrics in "Real Situation:"

*Check out the real situation: / Nation war against nation. / Where did it all begin?
/ When will it end? / Well, it seems like: total destruction the only solution, / And
there ain't no use: no one can stop them now. / Ain't no use: nobody can stop them
now.*

Here, Marley observes fighting between nations and laments that this conflict will inevitably lead to "total destruction." People are powerless to change the future and bring an end to warring nations. This lamentation is striking as it is unrepresentative of the tone of Marley's work as a whole. This lyric speaks to feelings of powerlessness and frustration, pessimism and quitting. Such traits are the antithesis of the majority of his messages. However, they are more common in Shakur's lyrics such as "R U Still Down?:"

*It seems I can't find my focus / and homey I ain't paranoid, I seen the future and
it's hopeless*

In this song, Shakur directly refers to the future as being "hopeless." Aside from characterizing the future as being hopeless, Shakur's songs such as the tellingly titled "Never B Peace" present a bleak, pessimistic view of the future.

*Now of course I want peace on the streets / But realistically painting perfect
pictures ain't never work / ... / So why you ask me if I want peace If you cant
grant it? / Niggas fighting across the whole planet / So we can never be peace*

Shakur claims that achieving peace on the streets is unrealistic. Though Shakur wants peace, observing the everyday reality of violence and its consequences both on his streets and

beyond, Shakur is pessimistic that the ideal of peace can be achieved. Such a lack of hope representative of much of Shakur's lyrics contrasts sharply with Marley's message that everything is going to be alright because we can actively create a society based on a peaceful foundation. Later in the song, Shakur expands on why peace is an unrealistic ideal:

Shit, fuck peace / On the strength till my niggas get a piece we cant have peace / How the fuck we gonna live happy if we ain't got none? / You motherfuckers is smiling, but I'm mean mugging / Why? Cause gotta be thugging / ... / We can't never have peace, till you motherfuckers clean up this mess you made / 'Till u fucking clean up the dirt u dropped / 'Till we get a piece / Fuck peace

Here, Shakur speaks to the marginalization of the members of his social context. Until social inequality is rectified, peace is impossible. He maintains that the criminality and violence that characterizes inner-cities is a consequence of poverty, of not having a claim to a "piece" of the metaphoric pie, and will be continue to be a social reality until the "mess" of oppression is cleaned up. However, he is pessimistic about these prospects as in the chorus of the song he maintains that "there can never be peace."

Nihilism

In many of Shakur's songs that are characterized by hopelessness and pessimism, his lyrics are often characterized by nihilism such as in "Life of an Outlaw:"

Never surrender / Death is for a son to stay free. I'm thugged out / Fuck the world cuz this is how they made me / Scarred but still breathin.

Scholars such as Dyson (2001) speak of a culture of death that surrounds certain pockets of hip hop and poor Black communities due to the violence and murder that youth are exposed to in these sectors of society. Shakur's lyrics reflect this influence. Shakur speaks of living the "life of an outlaw" and he refers to himself as a thug. Violent retaliation is an appropriate response to the world that scarred him. Hope for the future is abandoned. "Fuck the world" that made him this way. He adds in "Out on Bail:"

I got no love in my heart cause I'm heartless

This line epitomizes a defeatist attitude. The system that Shakur speaks of that is responsible for his poverty and marginalization has won. He has been fully socialized as a product of the ghetto. While very indicative of his life experiences and the society in which he lives, lines such as these are socially critical yet do not provide hope for better, alternative ways of living.

Summary

Both Shakur and Marley represent defining figures in a genre of music of the African diaspora. Both emerge from an economically and racially marginalized social context. Both use their lyrics as a form of social critique against the social structures responsible for the marginalization of their respective social group. Yet Marley's lyrics are strikingly optimistic while Shakur's are more characterized by nihilistic hopelessness. Shakur's protest songs do contain occasional messages of hope, but Marley's music is generally more consistently hopeful and optimistic. Marley does not merely encourage change or hope for change, Marley believes that positive change is inevitable. Shakur's music is scathing in its critiques of oppressive social structures, but does not provide as much hope for alternative living. What social factors may explain this distinction?

One social distinction between the lyrical protests of Marley and Shakur that may account for the different tones of the protests is the aforementioned fact that Marley created his music from within the Rastafari cultural and religious movement while Shakur lacked an affiliation to any specific, concrete movement. Accordingly, Shakur's music lacks both the social and spiritual support of Marley's. I propose that this distinction may account for the observed differences between their lyrical social critiques. Bob Marley's music was connected to the Rastafari movement. Tupac Shakur's music represents more alienated and isolated rebellion.

The lyrics of Marley and Shakur's protest songs reflect distinctions between the artists' spirituality. Marley has deep religious faith. Accordingly, he believed that his lyrical messages of Rastas fighting their oppression and liberating themselves were God's will. Perhaps Marley's hope is reinforced by his spirituality. When Marley's lyrics presents a plan for social change and the liberation of his people from the shackles of post-slavery oppression, he claims that it is God's will. Such a belief in having God's support buttresses his message with a certainty about its success. Accordingly, there is an inevitability to Marley's messages of hope. Marley conceptualizes a better future and deeply believes that its realization is not just possible but inevitable.

Marley's music and religious expression were synonymous. Much of Marley's lyrics read as religious psalms. He believed his words and music were channels for God's work to flow through. He had an unflinching faith that he was doing God's work and God would help to see that his goals would become accomplished. Conversely, Shakur wasn't so sure. His lyrics have a spiritual component to them, but often question God's presence in his life. Perhaps religious faith helps Marley to cope with struggles and to believe that a better future lies ahead.

Shakur's music has components of hope to it and some optimistic messages. He encourages inner city Blacks to remain positive in spite of their suffering and oppression; however, Shakur's messages of hope lack the inevitability and firm belief that characterize Marley's. At times, Shakur asserts that the future is hopeless.

Additionally, we must consider the cultural aspect of the Rastafari movement. Aside from the hope and inspiration that Marley may draw from his spiritual connection, perhaps the cultural aspect of his association with the Rastafari movement strengthens his resolve and faith in the success of his project of resistance. In the words of David Hinds, lead singer of reggae band

Steel Pulse: “The only thing we have in common as Rastafarians, is that we tend uplift our minds to a higher level of consciousness than where we started out individually to where we can work collectively...” (Foehr, 2000, p. 176). Marley’s affiliation with the Rastafari movement connects his identity and experience of the world with those of his fellow Rastas, and he lives as a member of a larger whole and as part of a cultural movement.

Lacking such a buttress of social support, Shakur’s words come across as being more disillusioned. He observes hypocrisy and oppression, and he is quick to describe it and articulate reasons behind it. Yet despite his pleas for unity and change, he provides no guarantee of the inevitability or success of these changes. On the contrary, he suggests at times that the status quo will continue or perhaps the crises he observes will plunge to further depths. This conclusion is supported by literature (Lieberman, 1989) that suggests that protest music is most effective when attached to a specific movement, an attachment that cannot be claimed by the work of the rapper with a song called “Me Against the World.”

This attachment to a cultural movement may also explain why Marley’s lyrics show a greater frequency of rebellion whereas Shakur’s show a greater frequency of description. Perhaps Marley was able to attach his critique to the vehicle of Rastafari, and Shakur, lacking the support of such an affiliation, is left to describe the realities he observes.

Of course, Shakur did not live as a hermit and lived in a social group as well. But he cannot claim affiliation with a unified group to the extent that Marley can. Unlike his mother, Shakur does not identify with a particular organization such as the Black Panthers. Accordingly, Shakur’s music is more of an isolated, alienated protest. This distinction between the two artists identities is epitomized by Marley’s tendency to use plural pronouns such as “we” and “us” compared to Shakur’s tendency to speak from singular pronouns such as “I” and “me” and only

occasionally speaking in a plural voice. The distinction in the artists' use of these pronouns suggests that Marley internalized religious love and the Rastafarian belief in his unity and connection to his fellow Rastas, whereas Shakur is more egocentric in his approach to social critique.

However, Shakur does implement the use of words such as nigga, thug, and G, which seem to speak to an identification with a particular racialized, classed, and gendered group. But if niggas, thugs, and G's are to be viewed as social group, it is a group that lacks the goals, objectives, and ideologies of the Rastafarians. These labels are more akin to Marley's use of the term "sufferah" and do not have the social movement consciousness as Rastafarians.

Ironically, while Marley's hope may be buttressed by his affiliation with a particular social movement, Shakur's hope may be diminished by his family's association with one. Although Shakur is not directly affiliated with a particular movement, the previous generation of his family includes active members of the Black Panthers. Perhaps, Shakur witnessed first-hand how the prior generation was unable to achieve its Black Nationalist goals. Perhaps he was jaded and disenchanted by such movements. In fact, his own pursuit of material success has been linked to the poverty he experienced as a child resulting from his mother's opposition to capitalism (Dyson, 2001). Perhaps the relative failures of Black nationalistic movements such as the Black Panthers prevented him from being as idealistic and hopeful about the future and truly believing that real change was not only possible but inevitable in the same way as Marley was.

Of course, one could attempt to explain the differences in hope between the two critiques by solely focusing on personality differences between the two artists. While personality differences may play a role in this distinction, one could consider structural factors that facilitate these personality differences and focus on the artists' subjective reactions to their social world as

facilitated by respective social institutions such as religion. Furthermore, potential personality differences between Marley and Shakur accounting for differences in their lyrical social critiques must be understood in the context of each artist's popularity and legendary status within his social context.

The fact that each artist is the top selling musician in his genre, along with his status in the community in which he emerged suggests that each artist represents the zeitgeist of his social context. If the differences between the two artist's hopefulness are based merely on personality differences between the artists, why are they so popular among members of their social groups? It seems that both artists are expressing not just their own hopes and struggles but are also articulating the hopes and struggles of their social groups. It remains interesting to note that the music of the icon of reggae is largely optimistic and positive and the music of the icon of rap is largely pessimistic and hopeless. Marley and Shakur's sales figures and legendary statuses within the respective social context from which they emerged suggest that they articulate a collective consciousness. On a broader level, reggae music has been defined by optimism and positive vibrations (Bradley, 2000), whereas gangsta rap music has been characterized by nihilism (Kubrin, 2005). There are countless examples of hopeful, "conscious" rap music released simultaneously to Shakur's. Yet this music did not achieve the same popularity as Shakur's.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

Although separated by dialects, musical genres, twenty-five years, and almost 3000 miles, many parallels can be drawn between the work of Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur. Each artist represents an African diaspora society and emerged in a racially and economically marginalized context. Through their lyrics, both Marley and Shakur not only describe but critique these social contexts. An analysis of the lyrics of the studio albums of Bob Marley and Tupac Shakur suggests that both artists' work may be characterized in part by social critique. An analysis of the lyrics of their protest songs reveals three elements of social critique that manifests in the work of both artists: 1) expressions of the suffering endured by the members of respective social contexts, 2) criticism of and encouragement of resistance against the social structures responsible for marginalization, and 3) calls for unity with a particular emphasis on unity among members of marginalized social group.

However, there are some relevant and interesting differences in their critiques. The analysis reveals that the bulk of Shakur's critique is focused on descriptive accounts of the ghetto suffering that he observes, whereas the emphasis of Marley's critique is on resistance against the structures that produce ghettos and consequent suffering. Although both artists speak of the necessity of unification, particularly among Black people, unity plays a more significant role in Marley's lyrics. Although spirituality is referenced in both artists' lyrics, Marley's lyrics reveals a deeper and more faithful spiritual connection. Marley's lyrics express a concrete and defined spirituality and suggest a deep religious faith, whereas Shakur's lyrics are more religiously ambiguous and demonstrate less faith. Furthermore, Marley engages in his social critique in an overwhelmingly optimistic and hopeful way, whereas Shakur's critique can be characterized by hope and optimism only at certain times but by hopelessness and pessimistic nihilism at most

others. On the other hand, Shakur's lyrics tend toward pessimism, hopelessness, and nihilism, despite occasional flashes of hope.

Due to the complexity of social life, it would be limiting to suggest that the difference between these two critiques could be accounted for by a single social factor. However, I offer Marley's affiliation with a particular religious and cultural movement, a movement he promotes in his lyrics, and Shakur's lack of such an affiliation as a partial explanation for the differences with respect to hope. Perhaps Marley's Rastafari religious beliefs grounded him and helped him to cope with the struggles of Trenchtown life, and his faith provided a source of hope and optimism. Additionally, perhaps Marley's optimism and hope was facilitated by the social support granted by Marley's affiliation with the Rastafari movement, whereas Shakur's protest, unaffiliated with a particular movement, is more isolated and alienated.

Another matter to consider is that Shakur may be considered a second generation revolutionary. As a child of Black Panthers and the Black Panther movement, Shakur saw failings of the protest movement of the previous generation. Perhaps the relative failure of this movement left him less than optimistic about the inevitability of the success of a social movement and social change. As a first generation revolutionary, perhaps Marley's view of the potential for successful social change was not jaded in the same way.

Despite the differences in tone between their social critiques, music can be conceptualized as the vehicle Marley and Shakur use to offer their critiques. Although a review of the literature suggests that protest music tends to be accessed by insiders rather than outsiders, and Marley and Shakur may be unlikely to effectively reach and sway outsiders with their messages, music affords Marley and Shakur the opportunity to speak to the members of their social contexts with

words of encouragement and resistance. Their music may play a role in the creation of a group consciousness necessary for a counter-hegemonic cultural movement.

Thus, despite the substantive differences between their critiques, the current research suggests that through their music, Marley and Shakur may function as examples of what Gramsci (1971) termed an organic intellectual. Some scholars have suggested that musicians may fill this role, and some have made this argument about Shakur (Neal, 2003). Marley and Shakur were individuals with critical social observations to share and musical talent. Perhaps a microphone was the most effective way for a reggae singer from the Trenchtown ghetto of Kingston, Jamaica, and a rapper from the streets of Oakland, California, to voice their social critiques to the largest possible audience. What better way is there for individuals with musical talent and a message to reach their audiences with their messages than through creating appealing music?

Of course, the results of this research only speak to the music of Marley and Shakur. The results do not speak for protest music in general or even Black protest music. However, perhaps the three facets of the model of social critique revealed by the lyrics of Marley and Shakur may be found in the lyrics of other artists. It would be interesting to look at other examples of Black protest music and even protest music of other cultural movements, such as anti-war protest music, for comparison. Perhaps description, resistance, and unity are key features of protest music.

A further question that would be interesting to explore is how effective the music of Marley and Shakur was in actually encouraging social critique and rebellion among the members of each artist's social context. What is the relationship between the music of Marley and Shakur and real, material social change? It would be interesting to explore how the members of Marley and Shakur's social contexts engage the music. Furthermore, the music of both artists spread beyond the social context in which it was created. It would be interesting to study outsiders'

relationships to the music, particularly the lyrics. It would also be interesting to investigate the related work of socially analogous colleagues of Marley and Shakur to investigate the extent to which personality and social characteristics of artists manifest in protest music.

APPENDIX A ALBUMS ANALYZED

Bob Marley Albums Analyzed

Catch a Fire (1973)
Burnin' (1973)
Natty Dread (1974)
Rastaman Vibration (1976)
Exodus (1977)
Kaya (1978)
Survival (1979)
Uprising (1980)
Confrontation (1983)
Legend (1984)

Tupac Shakur Albums Analyzed

2Pacalypse Now (1991)
Strictly 4 My N.I.G.G.A.Z. (1993)
Me Against the World (1995)
All Eyez on Me (1996)
The Don Killuminati: The 7 Day Theory (released under pseudonym, Makaveli) (1996)
R U Still Down? (Remember Me) (1997)
Greatest Hits (1998)
Still I Rise (1999)
Until the End of Time (2001)
Better Dayz (2002)
Loyal to the Game (2004)
Pac's Life (2006)

APPENDIX B
BOB MARLEY PROTEST SONGS SELECTED FOR ANALYSIS

400 Years	Ride Natty Ride
Africa Unite	Slave Driver
Ambush in the Night	Small Axe
Babylon System	So Jah Seh
Bad Card	So Much Things to Say
Blackman Redemption	So Much Trouble in the World
Buffalo Soldier	Stiff Necked Fools
Burnin and Lootin	Stop That Train
Chant Down Babylon	Survival
Coming in from the Cold	Talkin' Blues
Concrete Jungle	The Heathen
Could You Be Loved	Them Belly Full (But We Hungry)
Crazy Baldhead	Time Will Tell
Crisis	Top Rankin
Duppy Conqueror	Trench Town
Exodus	War
Forever Loving Jah	Wake Up and Live
Get Up, Stand Up	We and Dem
Give Thanks and Praises	Work
Guiltiness	Zimbabwe
Hallelujah Time	Zion Train
High Tide or Low Tide	
I Know	
I Shot the Sheriff	
Jamming	
Johnny Was	
Jump Nyabinghi	
Natty Dread	
Natural Mystic	
Night Shift	
No More Trouble	
No Woman No Cry	
One Drop	
One Foundation	
One Love	
Pass It On	
Positive Vibration	
Rastaman Chant	
Rastaman Live Up!	
Rat Race	
Real Situation	
Rebel Music (3 O'clock Roadblock)	
Redemption Song	
Revolution	

APPENDIX C
TUPAC SHAKUR PROTEST SONGS SELECTED FOR ANALYSIS

16 on Death Row	I'm Losin It
All Out	Intro/Bomb First (My Second Reply)
Ambitionz az a Ridah	It Ain't Easy
Ballad of a Dead Soldier	Keep Ya Head Up
Better Dayz	Krazy
Black Cotton	Last Words
Black Jesus	Late Night
Blasphemy	Let Them Thangs Go
Breathin	Letter 2 My Unborn
Brenda's Got a Baby	Letter to the President
Changed Man	Life Goes On
Changes	Life of an Outlaw
Crooked Ass Nigga	Lil' Homies
Crooked Nigga Too	Lord Knows
Dear Mama	Loyal to the Game
Death Around the Corner	M.O.B.
Definition of a Thug Nigga	Mama's Just a Little Girl
Don't Sleep	Me Against the World
Enemies with Me	Me and My Girlfriend
Everything They Owe	Military Minds
Fame	My Block
5 Deadly Venomz	My Closet Roaddogz
Fuck All Y'all	N.I.G.G.A. (Never ignorant about Getting Goals Accomplished)
Fuck Em All	Never B Peace
Fuck the World	Nothin but Love
Fuckin wit the Wrong Nigga	Nothing to Lose
Ghetto Gospel	Only Fear of Death
God Bless the Dead	Only God Can Judge Me
Guess Who's Back	Open Fire
Hail Mary	Out on Bail
Heartz of Men	Outlaw
Heaven Ain't Hard to Find	Pac's Life
Heavy in the Game	Part Time Mutha
Hellrazor	Picture Me Rollin'
Hennessey	Peep Game
Hold Ya Head	Po' Nigga Blues
Hold on Be Strong	Point The Finga
Holla if Ya Hear Me	R U Still Down?
How Do U Want It?	Ready 4 Whatever
I Don't Give a Fuck	Rebel of the Underground
I Wonder if Heaven got a Ghetto	Representin '93
If I Die 2Nite	Runnin on E
I'm Getting Money	

So Many Tears
Soldier Like Me
Something to Die For
Something Wicked
Soon as I Get Home
Souljah's Revenge
Soulja's Story
Still Ballin
Street Fame
The Streetz R Deathrow
Strictly 4 My N.I.G.G.A.Z.
Strugglin'
They Don't Give a Fuck about Us
This Ain't Livin
Thug 4 Life
Thug Style
Thugz Mansion
To Live and Die in L.A.
Tradin War Stories
Trapped
Troublesome '96
2 of Amerikaz Most Wanted?
U Don't Have to Worry
Until the End of Time
Untouchable
The Uppercut
Violent
Whatcha Gonna Do?
Whatz Next
When Thugz Cry
Where Do We Go from Here
White Man'z World
Who Do You Love?
Who Do You Believe In
World Wide Mob Figgaz
Words of Wisdom
Words 2 My First Born
Young Black Male
Young Nigga

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Steve is a student of life. He asks questions and searches for answers, yet is aware of his own ignorance and limited perspective. In his quest for wisdom and understanding he is careful to enjoy the experience. He rides his bike to school, strives to become more selfless, and enjoys fresh fruit and live music. To paraphrase Eddie Vedder, he thinks it makes a lot of sense to live in the present tense. It is his hope that in every experience and interaction he may leave the world a better place than that in which he found it.