

BOB MARLEY AND "BLACK" CIVILISATION: THE QUESTION OF CRITERIA

Emaeyak Peter Sylvanus

Department of Music, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

Email: emaeyak.sylvanus@unn.edu.ng

Abstract

This article explores Bob Marley's music and (Black) civilisation, not necessarily to denounce it but, rather, reflect on what really its objectives were, its assumptions, history, and horizons of possibility. This approach, thus, begs the question of criteria. And so, we are concerned to know what Black civilisation was and, within the context of Bob Marley's music and persona, the perceived expectations of our own limits, horizons, and opportunities. In other words, the goal here is to interrogate our understanding of Black civilisation, as well as what that civilisation has made of Black people and their musical art. To do so, I will explore and synthesise the overriding constituted and perceived themes of Black consciousness in Bob Marley's music alongside a review of the extant literature on (Black) civilisation.

Keywords: Bob Marley, Black civilisation, music, the question of criteria

Author's Bio

Emaeyak P. Sylvanus is a senior lecturer and former Head of Music at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. He holds a PhD in Music from City, University of London, UK. His research interests straddle popular music, film music, and Ethnomusicology. As the pioneer scholar on Nollywood film music, Dr. Sylvanus has contributed several articles to high-impact journals in the arts, humanities and social sciences. His ongoing projects include film music archives and archiving practices in Nigeria, as well as an extensive study of the interplay of popular music and aspects of public culture in Nigeria. He is presently the Associate Editor of the *Journal of the Musical Arts in Africa*.

Introduction

The decision to re-engage and reframe the issue of civilisation within the context of Black music should generate some predictable responses, including umbrage and resistance. Does Black civilisation exist? If so, where does it reside? Is it in the music of Black people? Is it constituted or a mere perception? To be clear, the aim here is not to denounce Black civilisation but, rather, reflect on what really its objectives were, its assumptions, history, and horizons of possibility. This, in part, requires that we critically engage the question of criteria.

Theoretically, I am indebted to David Scott for his notion of the "problem space," which is brilliantly articulated in his book, *Conscripts of Modernity* (2004). Scott's is a major work of post-colonial/Caribbean thought that is surreptitiously classic of Black futurism or futurity in the sense that it is about how we understand the future following historical

events and texts, as well as how we evaluate them given their frontiers from "the tangible ruins of our present" (p. 29). The "problem space" is more or less about temporality and the subtle shifts therein. It is also about goals and expectations and the slow, arduous socio-political reality/transformation that the imagined revolutionary aspirations of many Black societies encourage. What then is the implication of this for our argument here?

To make Black civilisation a "problem space" therefore is to engage its historicity, which is often amorphous and, arguably, susceptible to re-signification - never being quite what it was supposed to be, and yet always potentially becoming. It is to accept Black civilisation as something very fluid: a constantly-shifting conjuncture of movements and affects, questions and answers, constructions and de-constructions, which are made possible through institutions, ideologies like cancel culture, icons such as Bob Marley, and all the interminable advances of modern time.

For many decades, the metastasising notion called Pan-Africanism has not yielded the goals, values and commitments that could produce a creed for the Black race. By contrast, this has sustained a strange counterpoint to the institutionalising of Black (African) ideas and criticism in academia and pop culture in general. If so, there is a need to engage the institutionalisation (alternatively, appropriation or co-optation) of ideas and criticism of society and its values, particularly within Black musical arts and pop culture. I personally wonder if Pan-Africanism and/or Black civilisation is due less to their current station or stature, but more to the anxieties of a Black intelligentsia that is uncertain of its relevance in the face of fragmenting social realities and disciplinary and socio-political concerns - all of which is steered by that omnipresent and powerful force of intellectualism.

Contextualising civilisation

Before launching into a discussion of Bob Marley and any nexus between him, his life and works and Pan-Africanism or Afrocentrism, it is necessary to establish some context for the term "civilisation" and its meaning. In many of his published works, Mohandas K. Gandhi frequently refers to the concept of "civilisation," which he categorises as both "modern" and "ancient". He identifies and links the former (to which we all belong) with the industrial and technological advancement of the Global North that had, in his view, reduced them to a state of "cultural anarchy." Gandhi's opinions on the subject of civilisation changed considerably over time. In 1906, after the Boer War and under the British administration of South Africa, he organised protests against the segregationist Black Act and the subsequent Asiatic Law Amendment Act on the basis of "the universal values of civilisation" (discussed in Du Toit 2005). The phrase "universal values of civilisation" is instructive for our own conversation here, in part, because it suggests that there is only one civilisation - the human civilisation. In other words, civilisation should not be categorised and indeed discussed within the pieties of racial distinctiveness. If this is accepted, then the polysemy "Black Civilisation" becomes philosophically problematic: What does it really mean and represent? How is such a civilisation authentically Black, and by what parameters? Who has or has not decided on it, and why?

Are the universal (and underpinning) values of civilisation, including the right to life, equity and justice, social order, freedom of expression, as well as the right to scientific exploration and artistic development, exclusively Black?

Perhaps, to drive home the point I should reference Edward Carpenter's (1921) text *Civilisation: Its Cause and Cure* wherein he elaborates on Max Nordau's analogy between civilisation and disease. Carpenter argues that civilisation would have the same destructive effect on people living closer to nature (i.e., the underdeveloped regions of the world) in much the same way as the sicknesses brought to them by the colonisers. For Carpenter, this condition is linked to the desire for nations of the Global North to realise a consciousness of "the self" - one which is backed by both the Delphic aphorism "Man, Know Thyself" and the advent of money in Graeco-Roman society (Carpenter 1921: 24-25). Enter Carpenter (1921:4-5):

The growth of wealth, it is shown, and with it the conception of private property, brought on very definite forms of social life; it destroyed the ancient system of society based on the gens, that is a society of equals founded upon blood-relationship, and introduced a society of classes founded upon differences of material possession; it destroyed the ancient system of mother-right and inheritance through the female line, and turned the woman into the property of the man.

Using Greece as an example, the Homeric age and the myth of the Golden Age gave way to an aristocratic or timocratical culture as evident in the conservative social thinking of Plato and this in turn degenerated into a disorderly world in which the mob ruled. Consequently, society descended into "caucuses and cackle, competition and universal greed, breaking out in cancerous tyrannies and plutocracies -a mere chaos and confusion of society" (pp. 32-33).

In Carpenter's analysis, the Homeric and Spartan Greeks occupied the position of "advanced barbarism" (p. 6), while the Matabele in Africa, for example, who were relatively unaffected by civilisation, were at the middle stage. Carpenter's essay then proceeds to document the extraordinary physical strength of these African people and their great social cohesion. He notes a "loss of unity" in societies that progress to a higher plane and traces the similarities between this process and scientific accounts of disease within living organisms and within the cosmos. If, by inference, this ancient African civilisation is what Black civilisation implies, then it is a regression. Conversely, a progression would focus on a discourse of African values and thoughts, industrial and technological explorations, as well as cultural expressions and their broad implications for our (post)modern society. It is within this "progression" that we can advance thoughts on Black civilisation in relation to Bob Marley. In what follows, I present an overview of the life and music of Bob Marley and, consequently, show how the man and his music/struggle might be linked to such aspects as social structure, social identity, and Afrocentrism.

Overview of the life, music, and times of Bob Marley

In a narrative of Jamaican trailblazer and reggae genre icon, Bob Marley, it is critical to note that his legacies portray a larger-than-life image – one that spans uncompromisingly anti-authoritarian revolt and liberation. Robert Nesta Marley was born at the Victoria Jubilee Hospital in Kingston, the capital of Jamaica on 10 February 1943, to Cynthia Llewellyn and Norval Sinclair Marley, and died on 11 May 1981 in Florida, USA. The circumstances that shaped his childhood and early development, including poverty and poor parenting, inadvertently worked to manifest his prodigy to the world. Bob Marley ended his formal education in 1959 after attending several schools. He invested his time playing football, hanging out with friends, and gradually demonstrating an interest in music. In 1960, Bob Marley began to develop his musical talent with his close friend Bunny. Bob and Bunny began studying the art of singing with the Jamaican recording artist Joe Higgs who offered them singing lessons, and would later add Peter Tosh (born MacIntosh) to the group. Their singing style was imitative of Fats Domino, Louis Jordan, and the harmonies of Curtis Mayfield's *Impressions* (1963).

At age sixteen, Bob Marley had his first musical breakthrough. He sang for producer Leslie Kong, who issued his first recordings, *Judge Not* (1962), *One Cup of Coffee* (1962), and *Terror* (1962), on the Beverley's imprint. Under the name *The Wailing Wailers*, the group (Bob, Peter, and Bunny) released the single *Simmer Down* (1964), which brought them considerable success in Jamaica in 1963. They also recorded for one of the three biggest producers of Jamaican popular music on the island, Clement Coxsone Dodd. The Wailing Wailers continued to have success with a series of solid-selling singles until the end of 1965 when it became evident that Bob was the natural front man for the group. This led to friction and broke up the original three-member group. Early in the year, Bob met Rita Anderson (Alpharita Constantia Anderson), whom he soon married and had three children, excluding many other children he had outside his relationship with Rita.

In terms of musical output, and considering his short earthly life, Marley arguably outworked, outdid, and out-famed his contemporaries. He is identified as the direct forerunner of the global hip hop revolution and the face of roots reggae music. Consequently, his rhythm section pioneered the standard roots reggae groove named "one drop" rhythm. To be clear, One Drop rhythm differs from the type found in, say, the American rock and roll music. So, whereas the first may be achieved when the drummer accents only the third beat of a four-beat measure, the second typically accents the first and third beats. With most of his songs in standard verse-and-chorus form, Marley's prolific and imaginative music and lyrics maintain incredible cohesion. Interestingly, Bob Marley was involved in all aspects of the creation of his music: from composing for all musical instruments and penning down the lyrics to editing and overdubbing processes that yielded the final product (see Farley 2006; Moskowitz 2007).

Commercially, Bob Marley influenced the marketing model of reggae through his first act of releasing a full-length LP. A change in the production, commodification and marketing

processes of reggae music soon followed between 1972 and 1973 with the release of *Catch a Fire*. In the succeeding years, the album became universally accepted as the first genuine reggae album in history. Beyond its commercial impact, Marley's music has a universal quality that transcends race, colour, economic class, and language. In analysing Marley's global appeal, Gilroy (2005) argues that "attention should be placed . . . upon the processes and mechanisms of identification. Do people connect themselves and their hopes with the mythic figure of Bob Marley as a man, as a Jamaican, a Caribbean, an African or pan-African artist? He was somehow all of the above and yet more" (p. 240). Within Marley's oeuvre, it is evident that he has established a canon that historians and social scientists can examine to find rich deposits of information. Small wonder Marley is heralded as the first international Third World superstar, and frankly the only such star of his calibre.

Over the years, Marley's impact and legacy have been signified by, amongst other means, the sheer quantity of records sold. Also, Marley was awarded the Jamaican Order of Merit and inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. He has a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame and has received the Grammy Lifetime Achievement Award. Irrespective of these and many other awards, it has been argued that time remains the true test of Marley's worth. Four decades after his death (1981-2021), Marley's influence remains astounding. He had such a great significance and influence that his attempted assassination in 1976 was arguably politically motivated. This possibly explains why he is globally likened to a prophet, peacemaker, mystic, and universal symbol of true love. Thus, as we evaluate Bob Marley's legacy, there is a need to consider the elaborate profile that he constructed through his music. One of the underpinnings of that profile is the narrative of exile from and return to Africa, which has since become a dominant theme in African-Jamaican reggae songs.

Like Bob Marley, nearly all reggae songwriters and artists rely on one of the key tenets of Rastafarianism, which is that Africans are Israelites. Ontologically, this ideology subsists in interpretations of the Bible (e.g., 1 Kings 10:13). In other words, Rastafarians (or Ras/Rastas) believe that Jah (the short for Jehovah or Yahweh) will protect his chosen people in their exile, grant them victory over their perceived enemies, as well as deliver them from white captivity or in contemporary times white supremacy (which, in the music, is metaphorically Babylon) and aiding their return to Africa. In essence, Africa is Zion, the place where Jah resides, and the promised land to which liberated Black people will return. Africa, therefore, is symbolic of paradise and of the ideals of liberation and freedom; it is the place of origin and place of return; a pre-colonial world as well as a better world to come; a faraway past and a yet an extended present. It is "homeland" not only in a physical sense, but also and more so in a psychological and deeply spiritual sense. If so, there is a need for some criteria for rationalising the link between Rastafarianism (the embodiment of whom was and still is Bob Marley) and postmodern civilisation.

The Question of criteria

Globally, the degree of reggae's popularity is significant, and Black Africans are arguably among the biggest consumers of reggae per capita, particularly of Bob Marley's music. This offers useful insight into notions of transculturalism, identity and representation in relation to reggae's adoption and localisation in other contexts. For this reason, I shall propose some parameters for nuancing these insights. Reggae genre, particularly roots reggae which Bob Marley promoted, owes its status as a "roots" music to African-Jamaicans (the descendants of African slaves transported to Jamaica as labourers on sugarcane plantations) who use this genre to articulate their African cultural roots. These roots are celebrated in band names (e.g., The Ethiopians and The Congos), in the lyrics of numerous reggae songs (e.g., *Marley's War* (1977), *Africa Unite*, and *Zimbabwe*), and on album covers (depicting, for example, the African continent, African fauna, its people and the flags of various African nations).

Many reggae musicians have utilised various symbolic markers of Africanity (i.e., practices and symbols for which Africanness has been attributed or recognised) in order to construct and express African identities. These African signifiers can be loosely categorised into four types: the musical, symbolic, cultural, and linguistic (each of which will be discussed). For brevity, the reading of these symbols is deliberately narrow, focusing only on their potential African meanings. The position adopted here is somewhat extreme, and does not account for the semiotic ambiguity of these signifiers. I should emphasise here too that these signifiers can have a variety of meanings and applications—many (even most) of which bear no African associations whatsoever and, hence, the need to approach them as "universal truths" that serve a civilisation that is non-racial and non-categorical. For a deeper understanding of these identity signifiers, I should address the philosophical notion of identity itself. The following are some of my thoughts on identity, which I have articulated elsewhere (e.g., Sylvanus 2019; 2020).

Identity has remained a fundamental subject matter in many disciplines. The earliest philosophers considered identity to be the First Law of Thought. Identity derives from the Latin *idem* meaning "the same." But "the same" is not necessarily the meaning of identity. It would appear that the meaning of identity as a core and integrated phenomenon subsists in the word's own etymology. Logically, identity presupposes itself. In other words, it makes sense to argue about the uniqueness of "self" with reference to "otherness." But the word uniqueness is indicative of difference. Therefore, things are self-identical because, to an appreciable extent, they differ from other equally self-identical entities. My understanding is that both sameness and difference are essential to the importance of identity. As such, sameness cannot be adequately discussed without reference to difference. Yet identity neither strictly means sameness nor difference. My position is that identity is sameness, difference, and everything in-between, which then supports its discussion from two fronts: identity-in-sameness and identity-in-difference. In this sense, identity becomes a matter of agency wherein difference is not the opposite of sameness but rather the absence of it. As an issue of agency, and according to Anthony Giddens, the study of identity has elicited paradigmatic shifts: first as "self-fashioning, agentive, internal project of the self;" then, as "the understandings of social and collective identity;" and lastly, the postmodern accounts

that treat identity as "fluid, fragmentary, contingent and, crucially, constituted in discourse" (Giddens 1990: 31).

So, the meaning of identity inheres in the three paradigm shifts. It is interesting that identity as a "project of the self" has endured centuries of human intellectualism. From a sociological perspective, and as a reflexive project between the self and others, Giddens argues that identity has to be routinely created and sustained, constantly having to be explored and constructed as part of the reflexive process of connecting personal and social change. This implies that human beings are actively involved in constructing and de-/reconstructing their identities as their social circumstances change. More so, this self-versus-other occupation reflects not only the bifurcation between individual and group (or collective) identities but also the degree of tension in identity formation. Such tensions make identity both pluralistic and fluid in nature.

Accordingly, we can speak of multiple individual and collective as well as relative and partial (African) identities. According to Edward Spicer, identity is a two-way adversarial process that often produces "persistent identity systems" (Spicer 1971: 797). Spicer uses the word "persistent," which is, in my opinion, particularly instructive because, unlike sameness, the realm of difference is broad, boundless, and somewhat unreliable. So, within the context of this lecture, a persistent (African) identity system can only materialise when properties of identity (including internal material harmony, intensity, diversity, and reliability) are more or less the same (or identical) over time.

In a discourse of this kind, culture cannot be overlooked. For many theorists of identity, the concept of culture in identity or identity in culture provides a link between individualism, a sense of sameness/difference, and collectivism. What then is cultural identity? Cultural identity has been examined in two ways: as shared culture, which provides us with a stable, unchanging, and continuous frame of reference and meaning, and secondly, according to Stuart Hall, as "what we really are," "what history has done [to us]," "what we have become," and "the way we position ourselves within the narratives of the past" (Hall 1990: 223). It is in this sense that we can consider an African (musical) identity that is based on a continent's shared history; but more important, how that itself has been positioned within the narratives of "African/Black music" as a response to what/who we really are and/or what we have become. To fully grasp this statement, we should have an idea of how these underpinning notions of identity have been theorised in music generally.

In *Musical Identities*, for instance, MacDonald et al., (2002) discuss the functions of music and the resulting identities from music and musical processes. Specifically, the authors' attempt to differentiate between "musical identities" and "identity in music" is clear. The former (from which the book takes its title) implies process: the means by which a musician constructs their identity. The latter (identity in music) suggests that culture is an important factor in defining (social) identity especially through categorisations of music. Both tiers and postulations promote a dichotomy of identity between the "individual" (of creative intentions and skill acquisition) and the "communal"

(of collective thoughts on musical form, as well as social values and norms). By that formulation, it can be argued that (African) identity in the reggae music context can either originate from the singular or the collective. And so, the construction of singular and collective identities is a form of understanding and critiquing “who we are”—something that happens when such identities require modification or are being modified. Below are some of the identity signifiers and practices that can be used in the construction and expression of black identities beyond the current context.

African Identity signifiers in Reggae

Music

Although reggae musicians across the world have localised the reggae genre in important ways, this article focuses solely on the African musical signifiers that are present in locally produced reggae, as it is these that have potentially enabled the practitioners to form transcultural and transnational links with Africans (and, by extension, with Black people in the diasporas). Reggae is often used as a generic term to describe Jamaican popular music produced since the 1960s, for example, one-drop, rocksteady, ska, rockers, lovers, dancehall and dub. To be more precise, reggae is the form of Jamaican music that was most popular from around 1969 to 1983, a period that has been subdivided into the early reggae period (1969-1974) and the roots reggae period (1975-1983).

I am primarily concerned with the roots reggae style, which was globally popularised by artists such as Bob Marley. This particular style of reggae synthesised elements derived from many different musical styles, including: American rock 'n' roll, funk, rhythm and blues, jazz, country and western, blues, soul, gospel and Latin American; Trinidadian Calypso; Jamaican African-influenced traditional and folk forms, such as revival, *kumina*, Rastafarian *nyabinghi* drumming, *etu*, *gombay*, *jonkunnu*, *pocomania*; as well as Jamaican popular music such as *mento*, *ska* and *rocksteady*. The musical origins of roots reggae, therefore, lie predominantly in African-American and African-Jamaican genres.

Roots reggae features several African musical signifiers, making it an ideal vehicle for the expression and construction of African cultural roots. Hand drumming is perhaps the key musical signifier of Africa and a crucial element of Rastafarian *nyabinghi* ceremonies where such *nyabinghi* drums as *funde*, *akete* and bass dominate reggae music and give it its characteristic rhythmic patterns. Other African musical retentions that can be found in reggae include the use of polyrhythms; call-and-response vocal interaction between the lead and backing vocalists; and the predominance of minor tonalities that are arguably derived from the pentatonic scales used in African traditional music.

Symbols

The visual symbolism that is associated with reggae depicts colours and characters derived from flags, which function as important markers of identity. For example, the tri-colour of the red, gold and green along with the Lion of Judah symbol that is derived from the Ethiopian national flag signify Rastafarians' Ethiopian identity. The colour black, derived from Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) flag has also become associated with both the Rastafarian movement and reggae. Scholars

such as Chevannes (1995) have argued that these colours offer meanings that strengthen the notion of "Africanness": black is said to "symbolise the African people, red their blood, green Africa's verdant vegetation and gold Africa's mineral wealth" (pp. 15-16). These colours are commonly seen on items of clothing such as T-shirts and tams (knitted hats), which many ardent reggae listeners, musicians and sponsors wear. These symbols help to articulate aspects of African nationalism, the efforts on and around decolonisation, freedom from neo-colonial oppression, as well as connect their struggle to that of Africans and black peoples worldwide. In this way, these symbols become important in constructing a transcultural link between people who share a love of reggae music and/or subscribe to the music's spiritual and socio-political messages.

The Hair

Another key signifier for our conversation is the hair. Scholars have purported various origins for the practice of wearing Dreadlocks (uncut and uncombed hair), including the idea that this hairstyle was adopted in the 1940s as the result of African-Jamaicans seeing photographs of Africans variously identified as Kenyan Mau Mau freedom fighters, Somalis, and Masais or Ethiopian monks (Chevannes 1995: 77). The perceived African origins of this practice enabled African-Jamaicans who adopted this practice to affirm and strengthen their ties to their African cultural roots. For some Rastafarians, the wearing of dreadlocks is not (only) a continuation of an African cultural tradition, but a practice redolent with African symbolic meaning: a visual representation of a lion's mane and/or the crown worn by Ethiopia's Haile Selassie at his coronation. Such African associations make the wearing of dreadlocks, among its many possible significations, a signifier of African identity. Moreover, this distinctive hairstyle contravenes Western European hair-grooming practices (that is to say, cutting, combing and washing with shampoo and conditioner). Thus, the wearing of dreadlocks continually plays a part in the social othering of Whites and the construction of Black identities.

Language and Texted Music

To nuance this signifier, we necessarily must implicate Dread Talk, Jamaican *patois* and accents. Many reggae artists have adopted elements from Dread Talk (also termed Rasta Talk, I-ance or I-yaric), which is the Rastafarian jargon disseminated by popular reggae artists such as Bob Marley (Chevannes 1995: 128). Dread Talk has three key characteristics, all of which can be found in most Nigerian/African reggae song lyrics: the use of Biblical proverbs and terminology; the modification of English words (e.g., using *downpressor* instead of *oppressor*, because 'op' sounds like up, thereby implying that oppression is positive); and the use of the first-person pronoun 'I' in place of all other pronouns. In addition to using Dread Talk, some Nigerian reggae musicians have adopted the Jamaican *patois* and even used Jamaican accents in their pronunciation of song lyrics.

The use of Dread Talk is prevalent in songs written and performed by Rastas. For many reggae bands, Dread Talk plays a vital role in the expression and construction of their Rastafarian identity. I should, however, note that non-Rastafarian reggae musicians also use certain words and phrases derived from this lexicon, which indicates that Dread Talk

is, to some extent, an intrinsic element of reggae. In addition to enabling such musicians to articulate their Rastafarian religious affiliation, these linguistic elements can foster other forms of belonging: a transcultural identification with African-Jamaicans, or, in a broader sense, belonging to the reggae fan community or to a group of like-minded people who share the ecological, Afrocentric, and/or socio-political views expressed in reggae songs. African/black transcultural identification is thus made possible, not only via the use of Dread Talk, but also and more so through the subject matter of several reggae songs.

Specifically, the lyrics of many of these songs (e.g., Ras Kimono's *Under Pressure*) discuss the political causes of Africans and indigenous peoples, and express a sense of solidarity. Poverty, as well as its cause and effects, is a key theme in many reggae songs. Some songs draw attention to the enormous disparity in the distribution of, say, Nigeria's national income between a wealthy minority and a poor majority, and speak of high unemployment, poor working conditions and low wages. While some song texts highlight the people's inability to afford food, shelter and education, others discuss crime, police brutality and civil unrest. With respect to Nigerian and indeed other African reggae listeners and performers for whom their socio-economic and physical locations are similar to those of African-Jamaicans in Kingston, this similarity promotes a transcultural affiliation of shared values and struggles.

Conclusion

This article set out to interrogate Black identity or civilisation in relation to music of Bob Marley. As Bob Marley sings in *Redemption Song* (1980), "[he] who feels it knows it Lord," some contemporary reggae musicians possess such feeling and knowing - one that corroborates Hooks' (1991) notion of the "authority of experience". The authority of experience clearly underpins their affinity with Jamaican roots reggae. And it is on the aforementioned criteria that we have discussed a notion of African identity through Bob Marley's works and its implications for civilisation in the postmodern era.

References

- Carpenter, E. (1921). *Civilisation: Its Cause and Cure, and Other Essays*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Chevannes, B. (1995). *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology*. Kingston: Syracuse University Press.
- Du Toit, A. (2005). Experiments with truth and justice in South Africa. *Journal of South African Studies*, 31(2), 419-48.
- Farley, C. J. (2006). *Before the Legend: The Rise of Bob Marley*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers
- Giddens, A. (1990). *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gilroy, P. (2005). 'Could You Be Loved?' Bob Marley, anti-politics and universal suffering. *Critical Quarterly*, 47(1-2): 226-245.
- Hall, S. (1990). "Cultural identity and diaspora." In J. Rutherford (ed.) *Identity, Community, Culture, and Difference*, 222-237. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

- Hooks, B. (1991). Essentialism and experience. *American Literary History*, 3(1): 172-183.
- MacDonald, A. R., D. J. Hargreaves, and D. Meill (Eds.) (2002). *Musical Identities*. New York: OUP.
- Moskowitz, D. (2007). *1969- The Words and Music of Bob Marley*. J. E. Perone (ed.). Connecticut: Praeger Publishers.
- Scott, D. (2004). *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Spicer, E. H. (1971). Persistent cultural systems: A comparative study of identity systems that can adapt to contrasting environments. *Science*, 174(4011): 797.
- Sylvanus, E. P. (2019). Nolly-Holly: Negotiating identity in film music. *Popular Communication*, 17(3): 185-201.
- Sylvanus, E. P. (2020). Locating Nollywood film music at the intersection of individualism and a commodified identity. *Black Camera* 11(2): 85-105.