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Cultural Protest Music from the Early Twentieth Century and Beyond

An Honors College Thesis

by

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CHAPTER 1: THE FACETS OF OPPRESSION AND MUSIC'S ROLE IN REVOLUTION

Humanity has never been alone. Even early humans lived and traveled in groups; they were required to, if they wanted to survive. The world posed a much greater danger to them than it does to their descendants - modern day humans. Cures for disease and injury were not so readily available; weapons had to be crafted and maintained to fight against predators; weather and environmental change was impossible to predict. In some cases, it might have been easier to detach from one's group and only look out for oneself. It would have spared the responsibility of being a part of a group and therefore extending one's concerns past their own survival.

Despite this idea, early humans not only succeeded in group living, but thrived enough to push the population of these tribes. Having a group community did carry benefits - some which grew more impactful as the size of the group expanded. Daniel Levitin details this in his text "The World in Six Songs." At the most basic level, having a larger community meant having more strength with which to defend against predators and invaders. Having a larger living group also ensured that more people could search for food; in the event that one of them was unsuccessful that day, that loss was felt less. When one person might have come across an abundance of food, it was able to be shared among the entire group. (Levitin, 49). Being able to support their basic needs as well as defending themselves cemented community-based society from that point forward. As genetic diversity grew alongside the population, the next generations were more resistant to hardships and disease, paving the way for further expansion. Soon, these numbers were moving past the hundreds and thousands, and sooner than one might first think. Populations of hundreds of thousands have been dated back by "at least 3,500 years." (Levitin, 50).

As these societies became more complex, their population in turn became more diverse. While the idea of community was still in place, there was room for smaller groups to form underneath that umbrella. These groups found similarities among themselves in their diversifying atmosphere; factors such as age, sex, race, occupation in society, and social status were and are solid foundations for social subgroups. The size of these groups varied, leaving some to be minorities and others to be majorities. This is not inherently negative. However, as each society developed its own set of dominant ideas, practices, and hierarchies, some of these minority groups found their voices were not appearing alongside the dominant groups - a social issue that extends to the present day. They feel “they lack the power or resources to break out on their own, but that the larger group is not serving their needs.” (Levitin, 61). Levitin theorizes that these social tensions may have been present even among early humans, writing that “[...] such a group may have been the elderly, who felt that the social alliances of the young were displacing their own; or a small group of individuals who did not like the current leader and felt mistreated by him.” (Levitin, 61). The subordination of these groups affects them physically, mentally, and emotionally.

The Meaning and Vehicles of Oppression

Before discussing how oppression impacts subordinate groups, it is necessary to distinguish what “oppression” truly means. In the collection of essays “Oppositional Consciousness: The Subjective Roots of Social Protest,” edited by Jane Mansbridge and Aldon Morris, Mansbridge defines it as “the unjust exercise of power by a dominant group over a subordinate group.” (Mansbridge, Morris, 2). The dominant group uses their power to create a system of inequalities between themselves and the group they are subordinating. Mansbridge

does point out that these systems can be conscious and intentional - here, she uses slavery as an example - but it does not necessarily have to be driven by individual intent. One instance Mansbridge draws on is cases of gender inequality. Many times, male perpetrators may not be aware they are acting in a discriminatory manner towards women. They could just be following the traditional and biased behavior of those that came before them; other times, they may just fail to take into account how their actions or decisions affect women by neglecting to expand their perspective to those who are not in their group. However, this does not make the oppression any less impactful to these groups. The process of “creating and reinforcing a pattern of domination and submission” is still in effect. (Mansbridge, Morris, 2). In this sense, oppression can only happen to subordinate groups - Mansbridge expands her definition of oppression with “[A] group is oppressed only if its position in a particular hierarchical system derives from unjust inequalities that result from the exercise of power (in the sense of threat of sanction or imposition or constraint).” (Mansbridge, Morris, 3).

Oppression - the act of one group having access to more power and using that power to fixate inequality - can manifest in a multitude of forms. Because of this, it can be difficult to clearly define it as an individual action or process. In E.J.R. David's *Internalized Oppression: the Psychology of Marginalized Groups*, oppression is split into two aspects: both a 'state' as well as a 'process.' Alongside psychologist Annie O. Derthick, they clarify that the state of oppression is “unequal group access to power and privilege,” while the process of oppression is “the ways in which the inequality between groups is maintained.” (David, Derthick, 3).

Oppressors force their own worldview and structures onto the oppressed in roughly two ways. The first is referred to as 'oppression by imposition.' Here, those in power impose negatives onto oppressed groups - labels, experiences, roles, unjust living conditions, and more. These negatives

detract from their quality of life in physical, mental, and emotional spheres. It can be seen in demeaning or overly arduous labor, humiliating career choices, negative stereotypes in media, and more. (David, Derthick, 3). Forcing these groups to live subserviently is recursively used as justification as to why it is 'right.' These unjust standards are used to punish those who attempt to reach above this oppression; for example, a large majority of career-focused women are bluntly told to "get back to the kitchen" - i.e., to not only conform to the oppressor's opinions on what they *should* be doing, but extending further to the implication that the oppressed should be focusing on serving. Just as being part of a minority group is not inherently negative, a woman choosing to 'stay at home' is not inherently negative. The oppression becomes clear when it is presented as her only option, with anything else being marked as off-limits and inappropriate.

The other side of oppression is labeled 'oppression by deprivation.' Instead of piling on the bad, this forcibly rescinds the good. Physical resources such as food, clothing, and shelter are disproportionately lower; by denying the resources needed to improve their quality of life, such as an adequate education or desired careers, these basic needs remain unfulfilled. Oppression by deprivation also extends to encompass mental and emotional resources. Oppressed groups are denied empathy, respect, social support, and dignity. Without these essential qualities, hatred and discrimination develops. (David, Derthick, 4). For instance, one might pass by a homeless man who is white and feel sympathetic - he must have just had a stroke of bad luck, such as losing his job due to company rollbacks. That same person might continue walking and later come across a homeless man who is Hispanic. Instead of offering sympathy, they leap to derision, using the man's race to supplement why he must be in his position. Instead of assuming his lack of shelter is a result of outside forces, there is nothing but negativity; he must be lazy, or a criminal, or worse. Unfortunately, this hypothetical situation is the reality for too many people. These biases,

even those on a subconscious level, are a result of oppression by imposition and oppression by deprivation working together - the former pushes forward negative ideas about how these groups should behave, and the latter takes away any positives that would allow them to reach beyond that.

Oppression can be found embedded in all levels of society. It appears on the institutional level - such as laws and policies that are seen as 'standard' but actually work to demean, humiliate, or otherwise persecute oppressed groups. For example, the federal minimum wage is not equal to a living wage for many across the country. The issue becomes even more dire when additional persecution comes into play. In the United States, businesses are legally allowed to pay their physically and/or mentally disabled employees well below minimum wage (in accordance with regulation 14c of the Fair Labor Standards Act). In the eyes of capitalism, because these potential employees have the capacity to produce less than an able-bodied person, their inherent value is diminished *past the minimum value already in place*. Of course, this relies on businesses hiring disabled people to begin with. According to the official U.S. Department of Labor website, as of August 2020, working-age disabled people only make up only 28% of the employment-population ratio, and have an unemployment rate that is almost double those without disabilities. (*Disability Employment Statistics*). David and Derthick use food stamp policies as another example, as they "require food stamp recipients to announce in front of other customers how they are paying" for the necessary groceries and foodstuffs. (David, Derthick, 4).

Alongside laws and policies, institutional oppression can be found in physical environments and normative conventions. Lack of wheelchair or other movement aid accessibility is one of the most prevalent issues physically disabled people face. Infant changing stations are mostly relegated to the women's restroom. On college campuses, many have

buildings named after successful cisgender, heterosexual white men. (David, Derthick, 4). All of these examples are working to convey that anyone outside of these groups does not belong.

Without a way to enter or maneuver around buildings, groups of disabled people are being told that the space was not created with them in mind and therefore they do not have a place there.

The lack of infant changing spaces in men's restrooms not only denies the existence of single fathers, but also subliminally conveys that childcare is not the responsibility of men. Even if a man and a woman were out with their child and needed to care for it, the option of the woman taking a break while the man changes the infant's diaper just is not possible. Anyone who is a BIPOC, non-heterosexual, and/or woman on these campuses are being told that the environment is not made to celebrate their successes, and that it is uncommon for them to even be enrolled there in the first place. Social conventions made with only dominant groups in mind are also inherently exclusionary. For example, the use of 'he' as a neutral pronoun casts aside not only women, but also those who use the pronouns 'they/them.' In fact, using the correct pronouns or names for transgender or gender nonconforming people is often cited as an institutional issue rather than one of oppression. Many educators deny trans or GNC students these rights on the basis that the official records held by the school list different information. This behavior extends past the educational sphere and into other areas, such as healthcare, the workplace, and beyond.

Oppression can also occur at the more minute level in the form of interpersonal oppression - oppression that occurs through actions between individual people. For example, many Black people - especially Black men or teens - are followed by employees while shopping, based on the negative stereotype that they are more likely to steal something or otherwise desecrate the store. Similarly, a white person draws their purse or belongings closer to them when they pass by. When they reach the register, the cashier makes sure to check that their \$20

bill is not counterfeit, despite not batting an eye when a white patron previously paid with a \$50 bill. These actions may not occur on the same day, or even at the same store, but they happen enough to oppress Black shoppers. Other groups experience this individual oppression as well; those who are poor or earn a lower income may be talked to as though they are of lesser intelligence; a queer person or couple could be hurled slurs by random people passing them by, or worse; women are incessantly cat-called; ableist language such as “r*tarded,” “psycho,” “crazy,” and “lame” saturate our everyday conversations.

Oppression’s Roots in Colonization

Psychoanalyst Frantz Fanon’s model of colonialism stands as the foundation of psychological analysis of oppression. Coined in 1965, it lays out the process of colonialism in four distinct ‘phases.’ The first phase is marked by a foreign group forcing themselves into a territory and exploiting the area’s natural resources - including its native population. It progresses to the second phase, where the foreign group (the colonizers) simultaneously integrates their own culture while deconstructing native culture only to reinterpret it through their own lens. This is justified by labeling the colonizer’s culture as inherently more civilized and intelligent. In contrast, native culture is deemed ‘savage’ or otherwise inferior. After this distinction is made clear, the third phase works to thoroughly integrate these ideals into society’s consciousness, making domination appear necessary. The fourth and final phase results in the establishment of a new society that is created to benefit the colonizer and uphold their ideologies while maintaining the subjugation of the colonized through establishments and legal policies, such as reservation camps, criminalization of their language and practices, and forcible conversion to the colonizer’s religion. (David, Derthick, 8).

As evidenced by Fanon's model, the process of colonization is insidiously intricate. Colonization does not occur by chance; a tremendous amount of effort and multiple purposeful choices must be made in order to produce an oppressive colonized society. Alongside Fanon, other postcolonial scholars have argued just how negatively impactful colonization is on native groups. As part of the process of colonization, oppressed groups take in the pervasive social ideas that demean their own culture. This internalized colonization leads the colonized to believe in the fabricated inferiority of their culture - and, by extent, themselves.

This process of internalization is far from uncommon. In fact, one of the major effects of oppression on subjugated groups is the experience of internalized oppression. Just as with internalized colonization, as oppression is forcibly upheld for multiple generations, individuals begin to internalize both institutional and individual oppression. In short - after being told over and over that they are lesser, the oppressed groups begin to believe it. This internalization is not a conscious choice. Rather, it often develops as an involuntary and unconscious response to prolonged oppression. Anti-racism author Suzanne Lipsky defines internalized oppression as "turning upon ourselves, upon our familiar, and upon our own people the distress patterns that result from the [...] oppression of the (dominant) society." (David, Derthick, 9). Treacherously enough, internalized oppression also helps to propel oppression in society. On a general scale, it supports the dominant groups by fostering self-hatred among both oppressed individuals and oppressed groups. Some may try to deny their authentic selves by conforming to what is seen as 'good' - for example, a non-heterosexual and/or transgender person may internalize homophobia and feel an overwhelming urge to "pass" as straight, cisgender individual. (David, Derthick 9). This internalized oppression has also been found to have a negative relationship with oppression itself - or, to clarify, "the more oppressed an individual is, the more denial the individual has

about his or her own reality as an oppressed person, effectively fragmenting the individual's experience of him- or herself and the world.” (David, Derthick, 9).

This internalized oppression affects oppressed groups (as a whole) on an intragroup level. By vilifying what these groups hold as their common culture, it leaves them unable to connect with each other, causing feelings of isolation within their own communities. It can also slow progress against a more diverse imagining of society; emerging leaders of oppressed groups are treated as an extension of their group and brought under intense scrutiny because of it. A lack of support and feelings of mistrust can come not only from the dominant group, but also from that individual's own group members who have internalized their own oppression. This splintering can also turn violent. Members of the oppressed group, internalizing the hatred of their own groups, may begin to discriminate against their other group members, sometimes by using excessive physical force or abuse. By placing the dominating group as the ‘model of acceptable humanity’ and every other group as inferior and dehumanized, members of oppressed groups are urged to aggressively reject their own identities in order to conform. (David, Derthick, 10). When other members of the group choose not to conform, or do so at an unacceptable degree, they can be made into targets. The oppressed group's anger towards the dominant group is often unjustly ignored, leaving them to redirect it towards those in their own group - the supposed model of inappropriate, uncivilized behavior.

The anger of oppressed groups can also be directed to other groups facing the same circumstances. This intergroup conflict can be seen happening between various groups; for example, BIPOC communities often hold strong homophobic stances. It can also be seen among different groups of the same identity level - Asian Americans can hold contempt for African Americans, and vice versa. Their actions are only further fueled by social oppression as it

demonizes these groups, consistently promoting negative stereotypes while taking away the valuable resources they need to succeed. Perhaps the most ‘insidious’ aspect of internalized oppression is the integration of negative stereotypes into their own culture and traditions - justifying that “it’s just the way we are” - so that “oppression becomes a cultural norm and transmitted across generations.” (David, Derthick, 10). In that way, the internalization can actually become a realization of these stereotypes - a self-fulfilled prophecy, which is then used for further justification of oppression.

Modern Frameworks for Understanding Internalized Oppression on the Personal Level

Despite being so prevalent of an issue for members of all oppressed groups, research into the subject of internalized oppression is both “understudied and underappreciated, and thus, largely unknown to the field of psychology.” (David, Derthick 13). David and Derthick speculate that one reason for this may be that internalized oppression is often framed using postcolonial theory - an area that most psychological professionals are less familiar with. In an attempt to make the topic more accessible, a more recent conceptualization (that is still consistent with the postcolonial theory framework) utilizes the principles of cognitive behavioral therapy. Cognitive behavioral therapy, or CBT, is a theory that is exceedingly popular among psychologists. CBT generally considers five aspects to any ‘phenomenon’; cognitions (thoughts); moods or emotions; behaviors; physiological reactions; and environment. CBT proposes that “individuals’ environmental contexts, such as how they were raised and what messages about the world, about themselves, and about others they constantly receive, can lead to the development of general patterns of thinking” - or ‘mental schemas.’ (David, Derthick, 14). In turn, these patterns of thinking strongly influence people’s thoughts as they navigate the world around them. If these

thought patterns have become distorted or inaccurate, it may lead to the person experiencing them to fall victim to maladaptive or otherwise harmful behaviors, moods, or coping behaviors. In comparison, if these patterns are based on accurate reality, it may contribute to healthy and fulfilling reactions.

In the context of oppressed groups, internalized oppression can therefore be viewed as a self-defeatist view of one's self and others that was created (and fueled) by consistent and pervasive social oppression. One of CBT's most 'basic tenants' proposes that the thoughts that occur with the most frequency and remain as the most accessible in our memories are the ones we usually believe. As previously expressed, oppressed groups have little escape from social oppression. Be it subtle or overt, oppression is sending messages of inferiority to these groups on a constant basis. These constant messages warp the victim's thought patterns into internalized oppression. Internalized oppression may even take on a life of its own, subsisting off of its own negative mindset so that the dominant group's oppression is no longer needed - the oppressed person is sending themselves messages of dehumanization and inferiority. In essence - "oppression has been internalized deeply enough by members of [these groups] for a distorted cognitive system to be developed and automatically operate." (David, Derthick, 15). Even simple reminders of a marginalized person's own culture or identity can be immediately reacted to with shame or disgust, despite any progress they have made overcoming their internalized oppression or the degree to which they experience it. David and Derthick use issues of gender inequality to illustrate this idea. As society tells women that 'men are stronger than women,' they internalize the idea that men are strong and women are weak. This becomes reflected onto themselves: "I am a woman, and that must mean that I am weak." In the context of CBT, this directly influences their emotions and actions. They might more readily allow men to be in positions of power and

leadership; they may use the fact that they are a woman as a reason to excuse their own emotions or believe that they are 'overreacting' to a situation; it may even hold them back from pursuing their own ambitions or desires. (David, Derthick, 17).

Another negative side effect of this warped internal structure is the development of mental health problems. According to David and Derthick, our understanding of our own selves is directly tied to how we perceive our personal aspects and characteristics. Each of these characteristics can be internally labeled as either 'good' or 'bad.' The overall judgement of these characteristics forms the basis of our self-esteem (how positively or negatively we view ourselves as a whole). A positive sense of self-esteem is seen as one of the most important milestones for mental health. However, the categorization of these characteristics as good or bad is influenced by both our own personal experiences and what we have been taught to believe. For example, if a disabled person has been through oppressive situations because of their disability, they may start to characterize that aspect of themselves as negative. If someone with darker skin has been taught through society that light skin is the standard for beauty, having dark skin becomes synonymous with being ugly. The aspects of a person that are oppressed - be it race, ability, sex, sexuality, etc. - is likely a large part of their identity and one that they cannot change. Framing such a large facet of who they are as irredeemably bad or negative puts a tremendous amount of mental and emotional stress on that person. This stress that comes can be directly linked to depression. Because the inferiority of their own groups is internalized so intensely, victims of internalized oppression very often experience trademark signs of depression such as feeling inferior or powerless, learned helplessness, and constant humiliation. When internalized oppression was at the center of therapy treatment, the levels of depression have

steadily decreased - another proven link between internalized oppression and poor mental health. (David, Derthick, 20).

There are a myriad of other mental health issues that can be traced back to internalized oppression - mainly because low self-esteem and depression often accompany other harmful behaviors or conditions. Oppressed individuals may develop these as a way of coping with internalized oppression, especially if mental health resources are unavailable or stigmatized. Some may not even recognize what they experience, given how little attention internalized oppression is given. Protective yet negative behaviors such as emotional avoidance, pessimism, and extended feelings of hopelessness may arise in oppressed individuals; each may “increase the likelihood for oppressed individuals to develop clinically diagnosable disorders or for them to engage in high-risk behaviors.” (David, Derthick, 20). Many find themselves isolated or feeling adrift. By having low levels of enculturation (the process of adapting to a certain culture - here, the dominant one) alongside a negative view of one’s own group, some marginalized people may start to avoid others or be avoided by them. It can even extend to key figures in that person’s life, such as family members. Stuck in isolation, the risk of turning to high-risk behaviors becomes all the more heightened. Many battle with alcohol, drugs, delinquency, unsafe sex practices, and more. This is yet another example of internalized oppression becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy - for example, many groups (such as the LGBTQ+ community and Native Americans) are stereotyped to engage in exceedingly high-risk alcoholism. (David, Derthick, 21). These stereotypes are firmly rooted in oppression from the dominant group. This oppression then puts a tremendous amount of strain on the group’s mental and emotional health, leading to higher rates of alcoholism as a way to cope - only to have the dominant group turn around and use this as justification as to why they are correct in their beliefs.

Oppositional Consciousness as a Response to Oppression

Challenging these structures of oppression is no easy task. Not only do they manifest in near-countless ways on both the structural and personal level, oppressive groups utilize their power to do all they can to ensure they remain in place. In addition, marginalized activists combating them carry the weight of the negative effects of their own oppression. Despite these many challenges, oppressed groups continue to fight against their unjust treatment through organized and unorganized resistance. In their text “Oppositional Consciousness: The Subjective Roots of Social Protest,” Mansbridge and Morris lay out a series of essays detailing the foundations of the protests held by specific marginalized groups, including disabled Americans, AIDS based activism, and the 1966 Chicago Freedom Movement. Mansbridge defines this ‘oppositional consciousness’ as “an empowering mental state that prepares members of an oppressed group to act to undermine, reform, or overthrow a system of human domination.” (Mansbridge, Morris, 4). They cite righteous anger as the main motivating factor behind the rise of oppositional consciousness, feelings spurred on by the unjust treatment of the oppressed on both a group and individual level. There are four minimum requirements encompassing oppositional consciousness: identifying with members of an oppressed group, identifying with injustices that have been acted onto that group, standing in opposition to the injustices, and experiencing a ‘shared interest’ on a group level in putting an end to the injustices. (Mansbridge, Morris, 5). At a more advanced level, oppositional consciousness also identifies a dominant group perpetrating the injustice while benefiting from its progression. These actions of the dominant group are seen as a system of oppression that serves to indulge in the interests of the dominant group at the expense of the oppressed group(s). As oppositional consciousness grows

even more developed, it can expand to include numerous other “ideas, beliefs, and feelings that provide coherence, explanation, and moral condemnation.” (Mansbridge, Morris, 5).

Mansbridge goes on to detail just how difficult it is to try and define this ‘consciousness.’ Just the term itself can be related to a variety of different ideas. For most, ‘consciousness’ implies “some special sensitivity to certain features of the outside world rather than others.” (Mansbridge, Morris, 5). Consciousness also has a transformative effect, harnessing ‘free-floating’ frustration and channeling it into a productive and righteous anger. It binds strangers together into a newly found family, turning despair into hope through facts and ideals. Mansbridge also specifies that, although consciousness is “by definition, internal to an individual’s mind,” oppositional consciousness is unable to be separated from the social world. (Mansbridge, Morris, 5). As mentioned above, society plays a major role in shaping how we define ourselves through our mental schemas and development of self-esteem. Society also informs which groups we belong to and prompts us to react when that group (or groups) come under siege. These reactions against injustice cannot always be accurately predicted; there is a wide expanse of factors that can influence them. The intersection of other facets of identity - sometimes opposing identities - have the potential to push us forward or hold us back. Factors such as health, shelter, financial status, career path, and more can affect the ways we respond to oppression.

Despite the challenges that come with defining and predicting the rise of oppositional consciousness, most scholars agree that it definitely plays an important role in social movements. Mansbridge impresses that oppositional consciousness is not a fixed point in space, but rather a ‘loose continuum’ that consistently appears in different forms. The oppositional consciousness that arises in oppressed groups is ‘deeply colored’ by that group's position within the social

system of oppression. (Mansbridge, Morris, 7). The oppressed group can draw onto different resources, such as ideational resources (pre-existing cultural ideas that can be built on), the emotional commitment of its members, and shared cultural resources. Mansbridge also points towards luck and pre-existing schemas (such as religious tradition) as potential factors in the evolution of oppositional consciousness. As oppressed groups “recognize, name, and challenge the structures of power” that work to oppress them both overtly and subtly, they often utilize one or more of these resources to succeed.

Mansbridge and Morris continue to roughly define different types of social movements to illustrate how oppositional consciousness can motivate them. They define the first one, liberation movements, as being based on historical structures of domination - such as the civil rights movement. Liberation movements have the potential to be extremely nuanced based on the level of segregation between the oppressed and dominant groups. When segregation is more minimal - they use the groups of men and women as an example - the oppressed groups “need to create autonomous spaces in order to craft an oppositional consciousness.” (Mansbridge, Morris, 8). This does not apply towards movements based on social issues. These “equality based special issue movements” (such as the pro-choice movement) work to bring attention to a social problem that disproportionately affects one group over others. (Mansbridge, Morris, 8). By examining these movements, we can see that some participants focus on the issue itself instead of the ‘full struggle to reform’ the larger system of domination. Other participants of the movement instead see the specific issue as a part of the larger system. Still others straddle the boundary between both these ideas. Finally, what Mansbridge and Morris refer to as ‘social responsibility movements’ address social issues that impact not a particular group, but all of humanity in general - such as the climate movement. Participants of these movements do not necessarily have

to belong to any group in particular, nor do they need a deeply personal connection to what they are fighting for. This can make it more difficult for them to fall back on the oppositional consciousness that has arisen in the past; instead, many need to work hard to create their own frameworks of protest from scratch.

No matter the movement utilizing it, oppositional consciousness works as an important variable that creates and is created by the dynamics of social protest and change.

Music as Another Universal Constant

Just as there has never been any kind of human existence without some form of social bonding, no culture has ever existed that did not have their own music. Anthropologists have even drawn on music to be one of the few ‘universal constants’ that all cultures have in common. Just as oppositional consciousness can be difficult to define, trying to draw a distinction between what is and is not ‘music’ is nearly impossible. Music stands as one of - if not the - most subjective aspects of human culture. It can be created with any and all arrangements of known instruments; with some kind of makeshift or invented instrument; with non-musical objects, both natural and manmade; and with the human voice or body. Music is also highly unusual in the scope of human society in that it carries its own legitimacy regardless of who or what is creating it. Just as a full-scale symphony in a performance hall creates music, so do a handful of young, inexperienced performers in their parent’s garage. The person singing loudly and off-key down in the subway is making music (as much as we may wish they were not). Even a child banging together pots and pans or running a branch across a fence on their walk home is, in their own way, making music. It may only appear to be music to a few select people - as evidenced by the common phrase of “do you really call that music?” swapped between generations - but the

existence of these skeptics does not detract from the inherent musicality of what they might perceive as ‘just noise.’

The Uses and Effects of Music

Throughout history, music has served a variety of functions. It accompanied a large part of everyday life for past societies. Music was used in religious worship or rituals, giving the gathered people a sense of coming together and heightening the experience. When working - be it hunting, homesteading, or more refined forms of labor as time progressed - music was used to draw the workers’ attention, keep them on track, and facilitated the smoothest work environment possible. Celebrations were marked with special songs or performances reserved for the occasion. Finally, music served as an important form of entertainment, being performed on its own as well as alongside other art forms. These roles for music continue to today. It is still a prominent aspect of religious congregations. It still coordinates work efforts, especially for those who have a more manual career. It has great importance in a variety of celebrations, from the ‘first dance’ at weddings to singing over a lit cake. Music as entertainment has grown into an expansive industry, utilizing technology to spread it past live performances. Through the radio, a musical playback device such as an iPod or MP3 player, cell phones, and the internet, music is being shared and listened to for casual consumption at an all-time high.

Music is also incapable of existing in a vacuum. Because those who create music are themselves members of some kind of society, and their music is born from an exceedingly personal perspective, music is therefore influenced by the society that is or was around it. By listening to and analyzing music of the past, we can find what may have been perceived as positive in that society - and what may have been perceived as negative. Listening to folk music can give as deep a look into the past as a written record - it can tell us what people feared,

enjoyed, and how much (or, in many cases, how little) we have changed since then. Detlef Siegfried details this further in his essay “Music and Protest in 1960s Europe,” part of the text “1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism, 1956-1977,” edited by Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth. To Siegfried, the ‘social relevance’ of music has less to do with the sound itself, but rather the “system of signs” that individually portray “specific characteristics of form and content that are loaded with assigned meanings.” (Siegfried, Klimke, Scharloth, 57). These meanings are interpreted by multiple levels of society - the fans and critics listening to the music, the media, the government, and more. It is within these meanings that we can glimpse into history, both distant and recent. Siegfried uses jazz from the 1950s as an example; it often centered around “idealistic connotations of democracy, civil society, and anti-racism,” movements and values held strongly by its fanbase. (Siegfried, Klimke, Scharloth, 57). There is also a possibility for different opinions to be held in the musical sphere at the same time. He continues with the detail that rock and roll music of the 1950s was mostly related to ideas about rebellion against those in power. This continued on into the next decade. Rock and roll music grew more political, as more and more bands stepped forward that “explicitly sought to change society”; with its aggressive and fast-paced nature, rock and roll music was the ideal vehicle for spreading this message. (Siegfried, Klimke, Scharloth, 57). Music is also used as a key tool for defining who we are. For many, it is used as a vehicle for expressing beliefs, feelings, and ideas. With every piece of music, the music-makers are saying something about themselves or the world around them. Sometimes it is as simple as a love song. Other times, music may serve to simplify a more complicated response to a specific moment in time. Just as the definitions for music are limitless, the messages and subjects music conveys have no boundaries other than the imagination of those creating the music. It also gives voices to groups of people. By a musician

projecting 'this is who I am,' they are opening the door for their listeners to potentially respond with 'that is who I am, too.' Hearing music already causes an emotional reaction - depending on the music, it may feel like you are being truly seen by someone who is, essentially, a stranger to you. No matter who they are, almost every person has a song, musician, or other piece of music they feel 'gets' them - understands them - on a deeper level. This leads to the formation of social bonds through music. David Levitin strongly refers to the power music holds in identifying and amplifying these social bonds. Social bonding and group formation occur in almost every genre of music, with a spectrum of focus. Patriotic music serves to bring together a country of people on a national scale, reminding them of their shared home and history. It can narrow to focus on specific regional lifestyles - with some music praising the relaxed, traditional lifestyle typical of southern areas, and other genres lauding the fast-paced and decadent urban environment. Some current music may speak to the plight of the present generation, while other music remembers how it used to be for older generations. Detlef Siegfried also refers to this powerful ability, going as far as to state that music's most important characteristic is not its verbal content or messages being transported, but rather its "sensitive and emotional quality" that drives this power to "connect and mobilize." (Siegfried, Klimke, Scharloth, 59).

Music as a Tool for Protest

While music can reflect social groups, it can also form its own or bolster pre-existing ones. For example, music in the heavy metal genre often speaks of their own audience as being outcasts and misfits - negative social identifiers - but that the audience has the music and each other to rely on. (Levitin, 62). He also mentions a point made by sociologist Tricia Rose regarding black women rap musicians; their work binds together other black women, giving "a voice to a segment of society that often correctly feels that their unique concerns are not being

addressed.” For young black women, these musicians become the mouthpiece for articulating their social concerns, struggles, joys, and fears that would otherwise be pushed to the side by mainstream society. (Levitin, 62). As the issues social groups face become louder and more pressing, it can find a new home in the music that represents these groups. This intersection of turbulent social issues and music is examined in the text “The Routledge History of Social Protest in Music,” edited by Jonathan Friedman. In his introduction, he states that “performance is clearly a potent medium for spreading and making accessible what otherwise might be problematic and unpopular.” (Friedman, xv). When these ‘otherwise problematic’ issues that challenge society’s rigid stance gain momentum through music, it brings these ideas to those who may not have a chance to experience it otherwise. A song from the aforementioned black women rappers may reach the ears of a young white teen, forcing them to bear witness to what they have to say and hear a perspective that may not be present around them. Some social issues can saturate the musical consciousness of the time to the point of becoming emblematic - for example, when prompted for a subject present in the music of the 1960s and 1970s, the first thing to come to mind is the antiwar movement. Musical protest against the AIDS epidemic of the 1990s served to bring the issue further into the public eye (while also fighting for the rights of those affected). (Friedman, xv). For many, music defines “the emotional character of protest movements while also lowering the entrance threshold for those youth who did not start out politically interested.” (Siegfried, Klimke, Scharloth, 65).

The ease with which music can carry protest lies, at least in part, with its accessibility. Music is unable to be locked behind a certain race, sex, level of class, or other more socially ‘preferred’ status. It is also not easily censored - when attempts are made to modify or erase its message, the musicians behind it are able to fall back on music’s intricacy to avoid authoritative

rule. In Routledge's chapter *What Every Revolutionary Should Know: A Musical Model of Global Protest*, author Ingrid Bianca Byerly holds music as the best tool for communication and negotiation, with "its potential for intricate complexity, and its ability to initiate, motivate, collaborate, communicate, instigate, nurture, dispute, repulse, and reconcile." (Byerly, Friedman, 231). She continues that music is 'malleable and transposable,' capable of transforming itself into an endless variety of forms, "from being militaristic and confrontational to progressive and inclusive, jarring and accusatory to serene and conciliatory, discordant and dissonant to melodious and harmonious." (Byerly, Friedman, 231). It can bring people together just as much as it can drive them apart by falling back on nostalgic, traditional instrumentation and structures, or else create something entirely unheard of and potentially unpleasing in its complete dissimilarity to established rules. Music can be ironic and witty, or else dry and cynical; it can hide behind poetic metaphors or lay everything bare. Most importantly, and especially as time goes on, music can reach an audience before being silenced, giving a voice to the voiceless by providing a chorus.

CHAPTER 2: SALVATION IN PROTEST SONG

PART I: ABORIGINAL AUSTRALIANS AND ANTI-COLONIAL MUSIC

The Origins and Prehistory of Aboriginal Australians

Both groups of indigenous Australian people - the Aboriginal Australians and Torres Strait Islanders - have rich, individual histories spanning much farther back into the annals of history than one might expect. It would be erroneous to group the two of them together, as, while they are both indigenous to the area, they are both ethnically and culturally very distinct from each other. For the purposes of this research, the focus will be on the Aboriginals - those who originated and live on the main continent of Australia. Historians generally hold that they initially arrived to the Australian continent from Asia and have been residing there for at least 50,000 years, with other estimates dating their immigration back as early as 65,000 to 80,000 years ago. This latter framework aligns with more contemporary approximations of early human migration out of Africa and into Southeast Asia. In both timelines, the initial migration of the Aboriginal people would have taken place when the sea levels were much lower than they are today, allowing them to traverse following naturally occurring land bridges. However, there was still extensive water surrounding Australia, with some stretches reaching a distance over 120 miles. Based on this fact, we can confirm that some form of seafaring must have been employed, making it the earliest confirmed usage of watercraft in human history.

The entire continent was inhabited by Aboriginal Australians by approximately 33,000 BCE. Evidence has been found from across their prehistoric timeline that shows the Aboriginals maintained detailed and complex societies from their inception, including cremation practices from greater than 40,000 years ago, followed by personal ornamentation and material decorations (such as shell beads) and the trading of items over long distances. Historians have

not yet been able to pinpoint whether there was a single wave of migration into Australia versus multiple, but many believe that “Aboriginal cultures have one of the longest deep-time chronologies of any group on Earth,” recognizing that Aboriginal Australians possess the longest continuing religion and art forms than any other group in history. (Berndt).

Aboriginal Australian Society; Interactions and Practices

By the year 1788 - the time at which European colonists overtook Australia - more than 200 Aboriginal Australian languages were spoken, with hundreds more dialects adding to their speech. These languages were connected to different large-reaching groups that were associated with a specific area of land - sometimes referred to as ‘tribes.’ Most Aboriginal people were able to communicate in multiple languages or dialects, using their own as a shared group identity. Bonds within the group were generally stronger than those outside of it; however, the groups were not political bodies. While group membership was important, the Aboriginal identity had a stronger foundation in more local associations. They did not hold a shared national identity, but rather saw society as a “community of common understandings and behaviors shared well beyond the confines of the local group.” (Berndt). As evidenced by the intermixture of language among tribes, the Aboriginal people emphasized a diffusion of culture, expanding their relationships with each other at a group level (such as through shared religious ceremonies and trade) as well as at an individual level (with marriage and other social bonding). Among these tribes were a variety of social categories that served multiple functions. In general, it gave Aboriginals a frame of reference for how they should be treated or addressed; it indicated divisions of who could marry one another; formed the base of organization for ritual practices; and more.

The largest social unit of the Aboriginals was the estate group; they collectively owned a designated area or stretch of land, or estate. It was often composed of people related patrilineally, but there were other cases that can lead to one being part of an estate, such as being born there. In this way, there is a certain degree of flexibility in membership to an estate. The land owned by an estate group was said to have been granted by the Dreaming and was therefore non-transferable. Most of the time, members of an estate were broken up into 'bands' both across the estate as well as (on occasion) beyond it. These bands were typically made up of two or more families but varied greatly among each other. When traveling, individual families typically camped apart from each other; together during travel, they were "highly mobile and able to respond quickly to altered ecological and social circumstances." (Berndt). Among bands and wider society were clans - groups of people that claimed a common ancestor, through either male or female lines.

The concept of kinship colored all levels of society for Aboriginal society, and understanding it is essential to accurately interpret the relationships the Aboriginal Australian people had among themselves. Kinship was a driving force in the flow of their social interactions with one another. At its core, kinship is a formulaic system that delineates relationships through "biological idioms" such as 'mother,' 'father,' 'brother,' 'sister,' and so on. (Berndt). The language for blood relatives that were not one's direct ancestor - for example, uncles and aunts - did not exist. Instead, uncles were also referred to as 'father' and aunts as 'mother.' This continued outwards past blood relatives. Kin titles were bestowed upon every person that was regularly interacted with; not only that, but the relationship and behaviors between any two people were expected to follow that particular relationship. If an older member of your community were placed above you as 'father' or 'mother,' it was expected that they would

receive the appropriate amount of deference and consideration. On the other hand, if there was a member of your community that you viewed as ‘daughter’ or ‘son,’ they in turn had to offer the same to you. In essence, just as with social categories, kinship provided a “ready-made guide to expected behavior” in interacting with each other. (Berndt). However, despite the familial terms, kinship did not indicate the emotional attachment between individual people; understandably, close relatives had stronger bonds with each other. As a rule, kinship was sometimes disregarded during heightened emotions, but never wholly or consistently flouted. To do so would threaten the social environment and draw some form of punishment. Kinship was also not practiced from birth; in general, children did not have to adhere to its guidelines and only start to do so around adolescence.

Transitioning from Infancy through Adulthood in Aboriginal Society

The Aboriginal people begin their lives already firmly rooted in religious belief. They hold that infants are not beings with new life, but rather that some reincarnated form of mythological, spiritual energy created by a preexisting Dreamtime force imbued the fetus with humanity. Aboriginal children were raised with a strong focus on their spiritual heritage, something that differed greatly between each pregnancy. While this spiritual relationship with the Dreamtime was of the highest importance, children also had strong bonds with their families and communities. The strongest bond in early childhood was between the child and their parents - especially their mothers - and gradually expanded to the community members around them, who also assisted in the child rearing process. Children were quickly able to build up their social knowledge by watching how others interacted. Elders would point out the correct kinship titles to them, placing a larger emphasis on the concept and associated behaviors as time went on. Young

children would also accompany their mothers and other women in the community in gathering food and hunting small animals such as lizards. This allowed them to become members of society while also becoming acclimated to their natural environment. In general, parents were very indulgent to their children, giving them a fairly laid-back childhood.

A girl's transition into adulthood and its responsibilities was very direct. They had enough knowledge and food gathering skills at a young age to move in with their husband or future husband's family - sometimes before puberty. From that point, they would work to become accustomed to their new community, adjusting to become a functioning adult. Boys also had a fairly carefree childhood, but their transition into adulthood was more involved than the comparatively understated transition for girls. It was marked by an initiation process that began his formal training for adulthood. The process could have been somewhat daunting; for the subject of initiation, his future was handed over to the elders in his community. The initiation happened for all male children (with next to no exception) when they reached their pre-teens. There was no set age for initiation; it traditionally took place when puberty began to affect their physical appearance, such as the onset of growth spurts or facial hair.

The initiation was meant to be a symbolic reenactment of dying and proceeding into a new life as an adult in the community. When the subject of the initiation left the camp, the women of the community would scream and weep, embodying "the voice of a mythic being who was said to swallow the novice and later vomit him forth into a new life." (Berndt). When the initiation process began, it was characterized by a series of rites that revolved around disciplined training and educational songs and rituals. Adulthood also brought forth a marked increase in personal responsibility, including the hunting of larger animals. Initiation was therefore an extremely helpful vehicle for conveying various and wide-reaching information from the older

generation to their successors. These new adults left their initiation with a foundation of knowledge that they could continue to develop as time went on. Initiation was also in place to prepare for another monumental aspect of male adult life - participation in religious proceedings. The subjects of initiation would take on sacred knowledge and begin the process of learning the elaborate rituals employed by the Aboriginal tribes to ensure prosperity. At the height of initiation, novices underwent physical rites that were supposed to hold great spiritual significance. For most of Australia, a largely important part of initiation was circumcision. Other physical rituals were utilized and held sacred importance; rites such as pulling teeth, piercing the nasal septum, hair removal, and bloodletting were practiced.

While this extent of ritual celebration of puberty was only practiced for girls in extremely rare cases, they did undergo some proceedings. There was a range of seclusion they could undertake from others and were made to avoid certain foods; once these were complete, they were generally decorated and purified.

Leadership and Work within Aboriginal Communities

The idea of tribal chiefs or other bodies of greater control did not exist among the Aboriginal Australians. Their societies were mostly egalitarian; in general, there were little social barriers in Australian society. Tribal elders (a male-only position) were often relied on for their knowledge, but the position was not necessarily given to them based on their status. Any male in the tribe had the potential to rise to the position of tribal elder. Age and sex mostly determined one's social status, with women and uninitiated youths excluded from only the very core of sacred rites and ritual activity. Women were still able to gain religious prestige alongside their male counterparts by learning of ritual performances as well as the directing or performance of

these rituals. However, there were still some hierarchical structures that subordinated women to men, mostly in religious affairs. Women never directed men in the sacred sphere. Rather, they exclusively took orders from them.

The driving force behind social code is what Aboriginals describe as simply 'the Law.' Anthropologist Ronald M. Berndt describes it as "the whole traditional complex of myth and ritual and, also, to the conventional obligations and prohibitions clustered around kin relationships." (Kolig, 6). The Law is ordained by the spiritual powers from the Dreamtime and includes practically all activities, both religious and secular. The Law can vary from group to group, but all hold it as a natural law. In his text "The Silent Revolution: the effects of Modernization on Australian Aboriginal Religion," Erich Kolig details his firsthand experience interacting with Aboriginal tribes in order to understand their way of life more completely. He says that the Law exists as "a thing of universal, supratemporal, and all-embracing consequence, no mere artifact of man or society." (Kolig, 7). It was seen as a highly embarrassing and shameful thing to fully disregard the Law and become Lawless; therefore, individuals would typically conform to the society's rules without much hesitation. Those who broke the Law to an unacceptable degree would be punished by secular penalties; there was no fear of any form of supernatural punishment, as the creative beings of the Dreamtime were believed to be too withdrawn to become involved directly. Although not formally written down, the Law was made known to all Aboriginals from an early age, and the community around them worked to enforce it. Any punishment against people who had broken the Law depended on the kinship between affected parties. Elder 'brothers' were often the ones to punish their younger siblings, but also took a defensive role should their protection be needed against an unjustified attack. There was no overarching judiciary group; when the Law was breached, punishment and reconciliation was

extremely localized. In general, informal meetings between a community's elders was enough to take care of most injustices. Infractions were occasionally settled by a ritualized meeting, or ordeal. Here, "the accused ran the gauntlet of his accusers, who threw spears at him; a wounded thigh was taken as proof of guilt." (Berndt).

Labor among the Aboriginals was primarily divided by sex: women and very young children collected vegetation and small animals, while men and boys hunted large game animals. However, there were times in which adults of one sex would be isolated from the other - such as men taking on a religious journey - and both men and women had a full range of survival skills needed to support themselves for an extended time period. Women provided the majority of the food consumed - 60% to 80%, depending on the region and season - and were also the primary caregivers for children. The responsibilities of men were more wide-reaching, with the majority of their actions cemented in the sacred sphere. The meat from their hunts was used to gain more spiritual knowledge, advancing their progression to that of a senior in their community. They were also the guardians of spiritual objects and sacred lore, as well as the major performers of most rituals. Due to their nomadic lifestyle, the Aboriginals had minimal material objects, instead preferring multipurpose tools. Women used digging sticks that could double as a weapon, and their large baskets could hold food, water, and even a child. Men's weapons were lightweight and transportable; spears, spear throwers, and boomerangs could easily be carried on their person for long distances. Other tools were fashioned out of grass, wood, stone, and bone as needed. Another aspect of their nomadic lifestyle was their intimate connection with the land around them. The Aboriginals had to be deeply ingrained in their landscape in order to survive; they had to have detailed knowledge of the flora and fauna, as well as how the seasons affected them. Other aspects of the world around them, such as water sources and weather patterns, meant

the difference between life and death. Being able to 'read the ground like a map' allowed for efficient travel and hunting. (Berndt). Their close ties with the land around them comes at least in part from their belief system; the land was seen with a significant religious importance, as it was gifted to them by ancestral spirits. The land was not seen as something they possessed, but rather a distinct piece of sacred history that they had a mutual relationship with.

Aboriginal Belief Systems and Dreamtime

The Dreaming, or Dreamtime, forms the majority of Aboriginal religious belief. Specifically, it is a period of time that began with the dawn of the world; it is assumed to have no end. At the start of the Dreaming, mythic beings of great power took on the form of humans and animals in order to form the natural world around them. They manipulated the landscape physically as well as created social order - the Law. Some of these beings even went on to create the first humans. By transforming, these ancestral beings became totems, using their new forms as symbols. Totemic belief is not uncommon among indigenous populations around the globe, but none elaborated it as much as the Aboriginal people. Totemism was at the center of their religious beliefs, giving them a foundation to build a wide reaching and highly detailed mythology. These symbols became the strongest connection they had to the spiritual realm and the creative beings that resided in it. Through totemism, the Aboriginal people are directly linked back to the creation of the universe - the Dreaming. It also gives them a powerful link to the life-sustaining power of the spiritual world. Totemism also gives each individual Aboriginal person their own unique and indestructible sense of identity through the idea of conception reincarnation, as previously mentioned. It runs under each person's sense of self like a water current, connecting them to others who may share similar experiences.

Aboriginals believe that the mythic beings that populated the start of the Dreamtime are eternal and therefore still present. They are often portrayed in mythology as changing their forms, sometimes even into inanimate objects such as an aspect of the landscape or a ritual object. Still, their power and importance do not diminish. The ongoing legacy of the Dreamtime beings meant that the way of life for Aboriginals was already firmly in place, and all they had to do was live according to its Law. By performing rituals and engaging in sacred matters, the Aboriginal people believed they were able to replenish the natural world around them for their own survival, a responsibility given to them by the Dreamtime beings. There was little radical change or progression away from the Law before the forced colonization of the Aboriginal people because it would have been perceived as a threat to their very existence. There was also little to question the existence of their spiritual world, as they believed it was manifested in the extensive environment around them. This should not indicate that the Aboriginals were a passive people; rather, “outside the ritual arena, and notwithstanding the superior rights of men over women and of older men over younger men, people valued their personal autonomy highly and were likely to react with anger and violence to any attempts by others to deny or diminish it.” (Berndt). That is also not to say that Aboriginal culture remained static; they were constantly adding onto their tradition and bringing it to life through complex art forms, such as storytelling, painting, and more. In fact, while some secular instances occurred, much of their physical art was driven by their spiritual beliefs. Even the process of making art was seen as an adequate ritual. A large part of Australian Aboriginals created tjurunga, wooden and stone pieces that were then decorated with carved patterns. The objects were then utilized in religious ceremonies. Other groups across the region created elaborate headdresses; others made maraiin objects, carved models of a variety of natural species. Wooden ceremonial poles could also be found,

used as grave posts in some instances and important sacred tools in others. Paintings on caves or rocks were also widespread and usually depicted ritual practices.

Aboriginal Musical Tools

The sacredness of Aboriginal Australian art forms extends to their music as well. Anthropologist David H. Turner recounts his experience living among and becoming a social member of the Groote Eylandt Aboriginal Australians in northern Australia, becoming close friends with a number of them while working to understand their way of life and motivations more completely behind it. In the third and final text of his studies, “Afterlife Before Genesis, an Introduction: Accessing the Eternal Through Australian Aboriginal Music,” he begins with the object that has become the most iconic symbol for Aboriginal music - the didgeridoo. Considering the expansive amount of time the Aboriginal Australians have spent on the continent, and the fact that the didgeridoo has been played beyond recorded time and is mentioned in stories of the Creation Period,” Turner states that it is most likely one of the earliest musical sounds made in human history. (Turner, 2).

For the most part, the didgeridoo is an important aspect of ritual ceremony across all Aboriginal tribes, with its players generally learning the instrument as a preteen and only ceasing to perform when their old age made them lose teeth. The didgeridoo was only played by males, because the Dreamtime being who played it - Nagberdangberda - was a man. Despite its importance to each tribe, there is a different name for the didgeridoo for as many Aboriginal languages persist. Turner suggests that the only reason Europeans refer to it as such is because early European explorers adopted it from some now-forgotten tribe, going forward to apply the name to all later appearances of the instrument; the Groote Eylandters use the name of *yiraga*

for it. It is in many ways a naturally occurring instrument, born from the landscape around them. The didgeridoo has its first step of creation carried out by termites, as they act to hollow out a tree. Aboriginals then go out searching for it before cutting the hollow log down; a variety of procedures typically follow, such as stripping away the excess branches and outer layer of bark, smoking the log, and finally painting it. Turner found that the community he was in would also use beeswax to form an aperture at the mouthpiece, allowing greater control over the shaping of the opening, but there were also different tribes that omitted this step. Players utilize a technique called ‘circular breathing’ in order to produce a low droning sound that was not restricted by the amount of air someone could store in their lungs at one time. In Western music, circular breathing is utilized by some musicians - especially jazz musicians - and it is generally done by pushing air through the mouth while also taking in a longer inhalation through the nose. Turner studied this technique, but ultimately found that the Aboriginals had their own method; they would “[snatch] a short breath just before running out of air as they pushed through on a note to sustain the drone.” (Turner, 13). Other effects were utilized, such as a high-pitched and overblown overtone or vocalizing into the instrument while playing. These noises sometimes occurred between segments of the drone, but it was also possible to produce them while the drone was still intoning.

The didgeridoo is charged with spiritual significance; it is traditionally only played during mortuary ceremonies, aiding in the transport of the deceased’s spirit across to the Dreamtime realm. In fact, this was often the only ritual context for music to be performed, both that produced by an instrument and that produced with the human voice. Music making held a high degree of sacredness - the Aboriginal people believed that their musical performance was not only occurring on this plane of reality, but also permeated into the spiritual world of the

Dreamtime beings simultaneously. Therefore, when relistening to the audio recordings he had taped of these ceremonies, Turner heard the didgeridoo player speak a series of certain words and assumed they were also of some kind of mystical incantation. He went on to ask the musician, one of his friends named Jabeni. What was the spiritual significance of ‘*degula degula?*’ Rather than holding a tremendous amount of hidden meaning, Jabeni explained that they were simply tonguing exercises: “*de* positions the tip of the tongue on the palate, *gu* the tip of the tongue on the back of the roof of the mouth, and *la* extends the tip of the tongue forward to the teeth.” (Turner 13). When Turner tried it himself, he was amazed to find that each different position altered the pitch of the drone slightly. They differed by about a semitone - a mid-pitch of E flat, flanked by a D and an E. Additionally, the tongue position of *la* better facilitated the pushing-out of air while the player inhales. As Turner further studied his records, he found that he could more easily distinguish these tonguing patterns and isolated approximately four of them: *degula degula*, *degul degul*, *degul degúla*, and *degul degula gúla* (with emphasis on the accented syllables). These patterns typically changed as the sung melody shifted topics from one Dreamtime being to another, but there was no direct correlation between any of them.

Returning to his recordings, Turner found that these three pitches present in the didgeridoo and the contour of the sung melody were of equal importance, but inverted. He writes that, “on the tape, the didgeridoo segment proceeded from the mid-pitch E flat on the *de* tonguing, descended toward a D on the *gu* tonguing, then rose toward an E on the *la* tonguing. [...] Songlines generally proceeded from a note midway between the high point and low point of its Melodic range, but then rose through a series of (usually microtonal) intervals to a high point and then descended through similar intervals to its low point.” (Turner, 24-25).

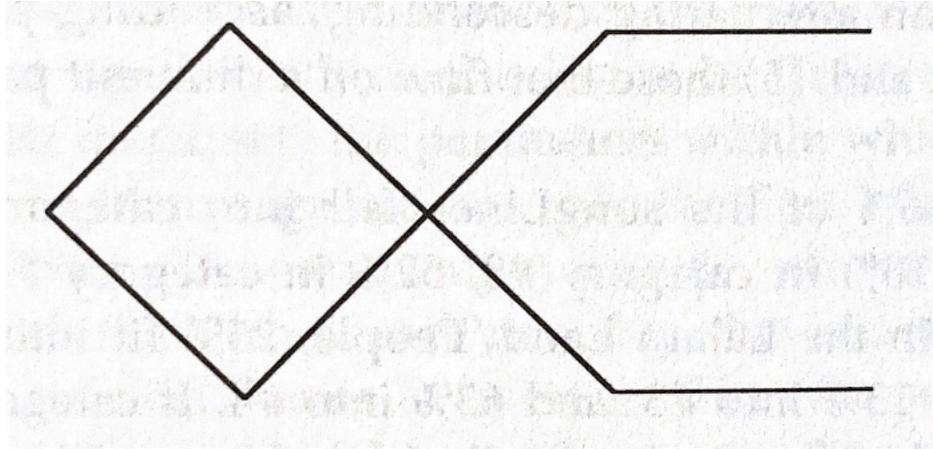


figure from *Afterlife Before Genesis*, Turner, 25.

Further investigation yielded a clearer relationship between the sung melody and the didgeridoo melody (what Turner refers to as didgeridooLine and songLine) - they had a fugal pattern. In general, fugue is characterized by the introduction of a statement - a 'principal phrase' - that is then responded to by an 'answer' in counterpoint. The subject then has the freedom to wander as the piece progresses. In Aboriginal music, the didgeridooLine serves as the principal phrase, while the responding answer is embodied in the songLine. The 'wandering' looks a bit different than it appears in Western music - in Aboriginal Australian music, "the subject wanders as a songLine in one stream and as a didgeridooLine in another as variations on the two themes that emerged after the initial variation [...] And the music as a whole wanders as a songLine in relation to a didgeridooLine." (Turner, 31).

With this more concrete interpretation in mind, Turner asked another of his Aboriginal companions why the didgeridoo was played. In his own experience both listening to and learning how to play the instrument, he found that it had an amazingly profound effect; it both calmed his spirit and 'lifted him from worry,' while also energizing his self with positive energy. Turner posited that this may be the reason it is played during mortuary ceremonies - in order to ease the mourners. However, this was not the answer he received; the Aboriginals played the didgeridoo

in order to emulate the Dreamtime period. Just as with all other areas of religious practices, this was steeped in tradition and emphasized the actions of the Dreamtime beings, making those same actions present in this realm of existence. While the sound of the didgeridoo may consequently relax those who are ill at ease, that was never its purpose.

Traditional Song Forms

Aboriginal music may share many of the same tools and forms, but still have a wide variety between different groups. Each typically sing about the Creation Beings connected to themselves and their land. Distinction beyond this level becomes difficult; according to Turner's inquiries, the lyrics of these songs - including the Dreamtime Creation Beings - have multiple, constantly changing meanings. The true nature of the music being performed is known only by the Songperson performing it. For example, "Yandarranga, Central Hill, is also Warnibarangba, the Rocks he leaves scattered around [...] These may be Him or His Sons." (Turner, 89). The Stingray Yimaduwaiya can be referred to as such, but can also be implied by invoking Liraba, the Tide. Other times, Liraba stands alone, not carrying the Stingray on its current. Still elsewhere, Liraba can be interchanged with Alumera - Silt - or Alumera can be its own identity. These complexities extend to the entirety of the Beings, leaving an extraordinarily vast pantheon for Songpersons to choose from. In addition to this, the connections between Dreamtime Creation Beings are not always evident. Plenty of interpretations drift towards poetic elaboration in lieu of direct comparisons. These connections have a great measure of importance; during the initiation process, they are a strong part of the religious education imparted to the novice. They are trained to pay close attention to the detail of each Song. According to Turner's Aboriginal companion Gula, the Songmen "try to 'catch each other out' (*ayerderra*) to see whether or not

they know what is being sung [...] they might ask another Songperson to take over one song, pretending it is another.” (Turner, 91). However, if one Songperson successfully bluffs another, they ‘keep it to themselves’ - humiliation is not one of their goals. Rather, the act of consistent ‘testing’ serves to “keep everyone on his or her toes and (keeps) pretentiousness to a minimum.” (Turner, 91).

The fugal nature of Aboriginal music stands as an important aspect. Nonetheless, there is another aspect: silence. Rather than a lack of sound, the Aboriginals frame it as a stretch of spiritual power of the Dreamtime period that connects one song to the next. This power grants the didgeridoo player and the Songperson the same power that allowed the previous generation to create music; they then “slice and twist” the compositions into their own, activating their performance and making it their own in order to guide the Spirit of the deceased across the paths laid by the Dreamtime Creation Beings. (Turner, 92). In this way, each Songperson embellishes the music handed down to him by adding short melodic contours - usually only a few notes - to differentiate it from both his other Songs and that of other Songpersons. However, this is not done for the Songperson himself. The difference is added to pass on to the next generation of Songpersons as their new ‘given’ music with which they will differentiate. This adds an ephemeral aspect to Aboriginal ritual song - as Turner states, “there really are no ‘Songs’ as such, but only temporary manifestations that are constantly dissolving into ‘nothing’ precisely at the moment they are being re-created.” (Turner, 106). For the Aboriginal people, this idea of difference is also a connective string between them, forming a core pillar of their way of life:

“My ‘difference’ is there for you and yours for me; humanForm expels ‘material’ content from one to the other to create part-of one-in-the-other relationship. Singing creates and reinforces relationship through the renunciation of difference between people in the same Land

in the same line of spiritual descent with the same father and mother, between people in the same Lands in different lines of spiritual descent, between people in different Lands and between people of different generations as the Song is passed on from one to the next.” (Turner, 118).

Australian Oppression at the Onset of British Colonization

When British colonizers - convicts, settlers, and officials among them - first arrived to Australia in 1788, their relationship with the Aboriginal people was recorded as “tentative but friendly.” (Berndt, Tonkinson). As colonizers began creating small, coastal settlements, the Aboriginal people did not see them as a threat - sometimes even aiding them when the newcomers struggled with the harsh environment. However, as the colonists began to expand, seeking to take over increasingly large swaths of land, tensions began mounting.

Estimates of the Aboriginal Australian population prior to British contact vary, with some around 300,000, others reaching 700,000, all the way up to the most recent suggestion of 1 or 1.5 million. By 1901, their number had dwindled to less than 100,000. (Jalata). Anthropologists pinpoint three major reasons for such a sharp decline. When the Europeans arrived at the Australian shore, they carried people and material objects. However, they unwittingly brought over another piece of deadly cargo - disease. Without immunity to the onslaught of foreign illnesses, the Aboriginal people fell victim to numerous epidemics, including that of smallpox, measles, pneumonia, influenza, and tuberculosis. The colonists also introduced venereal disease to their communities as a result of intense sexual abuse of Aboriginal women and girls. A report from one Governor Phillip stated that “smallpox had killed half of the Indigenous people in the Sydney region within fourteen months of the arrival of the First Fleet.” (Australians Together). Colonists denied the Aboriginals what basic medical knowledge they did hold.

While disease was the fastest-acting agent in the persecution of Aboriginals, other factors still greatly impacted their communities. British settlements continued to expand despite Aboriginal resistance; they referred to the land as 'terra nullius' - that the land belonged to no one, despite the presence of the Aboriginals for most of recorded history. Those who had initially breached the coast took in the scattered communities of indigenous people and assumed - incorrectly - that none would be able to survive the harsh mainland. In reality, a majority of Aboriginal Australian groups populated the bush. The colonizers discovered their errors and even learned of the specific territories and spiritual connection to the land. Still, their ruling remained - since the Aboriginals themselves did not view the land as something they owned but rather a being they lived in harmony with. The Europeans used the sacred practice of the Aboriginals as an excuse to begin an expedited takeover of Australia in the name of British imperial rule. (Jalata, Working with Australians). The colonizers quickly depleted the natural resources around them, all the while forcing the Aboriginal Australians off of their traditional hunting grounds. They did not have the same techniques that the Aboriginals had developed to maintain a steady balance in the environment around them. With more people competing for these resources as well, additional strain was put on the environment, pushing the Aboriginal communities to starvation levels.

Aboriginal Australians began to see their livelihood being destroyed and began fighting back, utilizing their superior knowledge of the terrain to pose a threat through guerilla warfare. The Aboriginals were estimated to have killed between 2,000 and 2,500 colonizers during these 'frontier conflicts.' However, they were overcome by the sheer force of European weaponry, unable to protect themselves against mass shootings. European colonizers terrorized the Aboriginals in other ways as well; aside from numerous recorded massacres, they would also

drive groups of Aboriginal Australians off of cliffs, causing them to plummet to their deaths. Women and girls were stolen only to be abused physically and sexually. Colonizers even poisoned flour with arsenic or strychnine before ‘gifting’ it to the hungry Australians. Other times, they directly poisoned their watering holes. The colonizers had a clear goal: to entirely exterminate any and all traces of Aboriginal people and culture. This period of extended violence upon the Aboriginal Australians extended through the 19th century, persisting in some areas into the 20th. Journalist Edward Wilson recorded as much during 1856, in the newspaper *Argus*:

"In less than twenty years we have nearly swept them off the face of the earth. We have shot them down like dogs. In the guise of friendship we have issued corrosive sublimate in their damper and consigned whole tribes to the agonies of an excruciating death. We have made them drunkards, and infected them with diseases which have rotted the bones of their adults, and made such few children as are born amongst them a sorrow and a torture from the very instant of their birth. We have made them outcasts on their own land, and are rapidly consigning them to entire annihilation."

Edward Wilson, *Argus*, 17th March 1856

(Australians Together)

The exact number of casualties faced by Aboriginal Australians during frontier conflicts is highly contested, but historical records such as these chronicle the brutality exerted by the British colonizers. They did not see these actions as unjust or immoral - they were so heavily steeped in racist ideals that, to them, the Aboriginal people were wild and savage, and the only good Aboriginal was a dead one. Because of this, mass violence was typically not punished but rather endorsed by authorities. (Australians Together). The lone exception lies with the gruesome Myall Creek Massacre. On June 10th, 1838, a gang of convicts restrained twenty-eight

Aboriginal Australians - mostly elderly, children, and women - and led them to an isolated location before attacking them with swords, beheading the children and cutting the adults into pieces. Two women were kept alive long enough to be raped before being killed as well. Their bodies were left in that spot until the convicts returned two days later, beheading the corpses that remained partially intact before burning them all.

Two cases followed, trying all eleven of the men involved. The first trial lasted for a mere twenty minutes before the judge announced that they were not guilty; however, the second trial found seven of the men culpable for the murder of an Aboriginal child. These seven would later go on to be hanged - and of every instance of mass violence against the Aboriginal Australians, this stands as the only time the aggressors were put on trial and found guilty. The sentence was met with an outcry in the white community; one juror was said to have admitted that “I knew well (the colonists) were guilty of the murder, but I for one would never see a white man suffer for shooting a black.” (Australians Together). Similar opinions were held by the vast majority of the colonists, and this event only served to push it further. The Aboriginal race was openly viewed as brutish, barbaric, and degenerate, often likened to monkeys or similar less intelligent animals. As Darwin’s theory of evolution was introduced to public consciousness, it was used as yet another tool for destruction. The Aboriginals were then framed as less genetically developed - further back on the evolutionary chain than the Europeans - and, following the new theory of survival of the fittest, would inevitably die out to extinction. This obviously erroneous conclusion paved the way for increased violence: if the Aboriginal Australians were less human than the Europeans, killing them was distinctly removed from killing a person. (Australians Together).

‘Protection’ Legislation

As this social oppression heightened, systematic oppression followed suit. Starting in the early twentieth century, new legislation was enacted under the guise of 'protecting' the greatly diminished Aboriginal population. The main title was the 1909 New South Wales Aborigines Protection Act, which would control Aboriginal lives for the next 60 years. It acted in conjunction with the Aborigines Protection Board, a committee of five men. While the legislation may have been put forth with good intentions, it served to strip the Aboriginal Australians of control over their own lives. They were forced to move onto just over one hundred newly established government reserves; while meant to be a haven from colonial violence, it ultimately made government surveillance and control effortless. The Board was able to restrict white colonists from entering the reserves, almost completely cutting them off from each other - and giving the colonists no reason to shift their opinions to a more positive light. Under the power of the Board, Aboriginals were moved between reserves and had limited resources enter their communities. Families were permanently broken up as amendments to the Act allowed children to be forcibly removed from their homes, leaving for 'training.' Girls were sent away to learn how to be domestic servants for colonist households, while boys were educated about farm work. However, they received very little to no practical education, trapping them in exploitative servitude. This system turned a blind eye towards the widespread physical and psychological abuse perpetrated by the white 'educators' onto the Aboriginal children. The children were also large targets of sexual abuse. It followed a sinister colonial idea: if the Europeans sexually assaulted the Aboriginal Australians intensely enough, the Aboriginal race would be bred out for good.

Assimilation and the Stolen Generation

By 1930, the government was increasingly focused on assimilating the Aboriginal Australians into colonial Australian society and dissolving the reserves - eliminating the 'issue' of Aboriginal Australians by erasing their native identities in the pursuit of a "single, uniform white Australian culture." (Australians Together). These assimilation policies stated that fully Aboriginal people "should be allowed to 'die out' through a process of natural elimination." (Australians Together). Meanwhile, the increasing number of 'half-castes' - a derogatory term for those with mixed white and Aboriginal parentage - would be fully integrated into white Australia. The process of assimilation was firmly rooted in the idea of Aboriginal inferiority when compared to white culture. In the view of white Australians (including the governing bodies), Aboriginals could attain a higher standard of living by discarding their language, art, culture, and overall way of life in favor of the white colonists' lifestyle. The first step of forcing them off of the government reservations and into disparate towns resulted in many Aboriginals serving the small ties they had made with the land they were given. Living on reserves also meant living under the oppressive gaze of the government, but moving into Australian towns and cities was no better. There, Aboriginals faced rampant racism and almost unanimously struggled to find careers to support themselves and their families because of it. Segregation was also a prominent feature. A wide reach of community services and programs were strictly unavailable to them, such as hospitals and public pools. (Australians Together). Aboriginal students were forced into separate schools, and unjust regulations were imposed on Aboriginal communities - such as curfews, bans on alcohol, lowered wages, and the denial of social security. This culminated not in assimilation, but Aboriginal families being pushed into the poorest fringes of Australian cities. These assimilation policies expected Aboriginal Australians to take on the

responsibility of changing to fit into the white society around them but failed to provide the resources or opportunities to achieve that goal.

One of the most impactful and insidious changes was the placement of all Aboriginal children under guardianship of the State. (Working with Australians). Seen as inherently more malleable than adults, children were prime targets of assimilation policies. Starting in 1910 and continuing until 1970, multiple generations of children were outright stolen from their families by sanctioned officials and police forces. The children were then transported to 'adoptive' white households or into government operated facilities. Once there, they were made to reject their own culture, being taught that it was shameful. Speaking in Aboriginal languages was prohibited, as was traditional dancing or otherwise culturally significant activity. Many had their names changed. While some households were somewhat safe environments, many others were not. These households as well as the state facilities were rife with neglect. Children were the victims of physical, psychological, and sexual abuse, incurring a tremendous amount of trauma that they would be forced to carry with them for the rest of their lives. They received low levels of education and were often punished harshly for failing to follow the rules established in what they viewed as a strange, dangerous, and extremely frightening environment. Many lacked proper clothes and food; their emotional needs were also neglected, as affection was minimal - if present at all. Further trauma was added as many were told that their biological families were dead, abusive, or had just abandoned them. Others were left no explanation at all for where their families were, if they even remembered a life before being displaced. (Australians Together).

Of course, the impact of being forced to grow up in these environments caused deep, lasting impacts on the Stolen Generation and the families they were separated from. Many of them turned to unhealthy coping mechanisms such as drugs or alcohol to ease their markedly

higher rates of PTSD, depression, and anxiety. Some misplaced children, grown into adults, sought out their biological families to no avail. Others found that their parents had been unable to overcome their grief, or else moved on by having more children and rejected them. The widespread loss of Aboriginal culture left many with acculturative stress and a low sense of ethnic identity, leaving them dejected and adrift, feeling as if they belong to neither white Australian society nor their own Aboriginal heritage. This intergenerational trauma was only heightened with the generation following the Stolen Generation. Without growing up in supportive environments, Stolen Generation adults often struggled with raising their own children, leading to another cycle of state care for their children - some even call this “a new stolen generation.” (Australians Together).

Although the government-sanctioned practice ended in 1970, it would be another 25 years until it was majorly addressed. The Australian Government officially started investigating the policies behind ‘forced child removal’ in 1995, coming to a head in 1997 with an official report titled “Bringing Them Home.” It officially estimated that between 1 in 10 and 1 in 3 children were forcibly displaced while the policy was active and that it was a “breach of fundamental human rights.” (Australians Together). By the time the report had been published, there had been a change in Prime Minister; because of this, a majority of the 54 recommended reparations were ignored, including federal financial compensation. Some monetary relief exists on a state level, but many have found that they do not fit into the narrow criteria for them; others hold that their hardship and trauma cannot be compensated with any amount. A national apology was made in 2008 by the Prime Minister Kevin Rudd. While the apology served to cast greater attention in the plight of the Stolen Generation, structural and social racism has not ebbed from

Australian society. Many face disadvantages in every social marker, such as health, employment, housing, and education.

The time period between the end of child removal policies and the National Apology has seen both progression and regression on Aboriginal rights. The push for Aboriginal rights in the eyes of the government built to a breaking point by the middle of the twentieth century. The Australia Social Services Act was amended in 1959 (more than a decade after its publication) to include Aboriginal Australians. For the first time, pensions and unemployment benefits could be extended to them. However, obstacles spurred by systematic oppression still stood in their way; most of the elderly that qualified for pensions did not have birth certificates - resulting in no way to prove their eligibility. Western education was widely inaccessible as many were only allowed to train for service positions, causing widespread illiteracy and obfuscating the process of claiming these benefits. Finally, those who were nomadic were not eligible for benefits - ignoring the relevance of nomads in Aboriginal culture. In 1967, they were granted the right of citizenship, including the right to vote and the inclusion in future census counts; just one year later, they were finally granted equal wages following a series of protests and walk-offs by Aboriginal workers. This was unfortunately not the end of financial injustice against Aboriginal Australians. Established in 1969, the Queensland Trust Fund determined that Queensland Aboriginals under the Protection Act - which was a large majority of them - were not worthy of the right to control their own finances. They were seen as unfit to spend or manage their funds; as a result, the wages they earned were directly deposited into a trust fund and “doled out to them by the local policeman, as he saw fit.” The police were also able to “take possession of, retain, sell or otherwise dispose of any such property’ if satisfied that ‘the best interests of such assisted Aborigines require it.’” (The National Museum of Australia.) This resulted in widespread forgery

and irresponsible banking procedures; most often, no records would be made of Aboriginals paying off interest or displaying their regular earning deposits. The police abused their power to possess Aboriginal property for their own personal gain. Widespread appeals for justice and calls for boycotts cropped up but often failed to take root - many Aboriginals were hesitant to shut down their bank accounts, despite their mistreatment, because there were limited options available otherwise. Finally, the case was taken to court, where it would spend three years before it was ruled in favor of the Aboriginal's right to manage their own wages. The legal concept of 'assisted Aborigines' was abolished. Still, the struggle continues. Complaints have been put forward since the 1990s, spearheaded by the Foundation for Aboriginal and Islander Research Action, calling for compensation for those who had their own finances withheld from them. (The National Museum of Australia). Even today, the issue remains unresolved.

While work towards reconciliation between the Aboriginal and colonial Australia has been gaining traction, modern day is by no means free from oppression. Aboriginal people still do not have ownership of the majority of the land that was taken from them during the frontier era. There is a distinct lack of resources for Aboriginals, including disadvantaged healthcare, shelter, education, nutrition, and career opportunities. The average life expectancy is eight years less for Aboriginal Australians versus white Australians and show "substantially higher hospitalization rates" for chronic disease. (Redflag). Suicide rates are also drastically higher for the Aboriginal community, with the deaths of children making up a considerable amount; in 2019, there were 62 instances recorded. Over half of the victims were below the age of 25, and fifteen of them were children - with the youngest only 12 years old.

Utilizing Protest Music

With such deep-seated trauma permeating Aboriginal life, it comes as no surprise that music would become a vehicle for both healing and visibility. In their digital journal publication “‘Singing Trauma Trails’: Songs of the Stolen Generations in Indigenous Australia,” ethnomusicologists Katelyn Barney and Elizabeth Mackinlay make that much clear - stating that music plays a role in “telling stories of trauma and survival across the world.” (Barney, Mackinlay). Music connects communities, despite the degree of devastation they may have gone through, to comfort listeners through grief by reflecting their own worries back at them and helping them feel less alone. This holds true when examining Aboriginal popular music in recent history. Overarching themes of land rights, the right to self-determination, mourning of as well as resistance against the loss of culture, and calls for justice saturate the genre. By taking up music to broadcast their pain, Aboriginal musicians are reaching out to their communities that the government has attempted to wipe out, relocate, assimilate, and scatter beyond repair. In addition, Aboriginals creating music centered around their resistance to oppression also serves “as a means of mediating Aboriginal viewpoints and agendas into the Australian national consciousness,” drawing the attention of white Australians who have the privilege to remain ignorant to their struggles. (Barney, Mackinlay). The music is an instrumental part in changing Australia’s sociopolitical landscape and assumed history; in turn, greater acceptance and progress in the fight for equal rights allows for a greater amount of ways music can be utilized by Aboriginal Australians to make their voices heard. Barney and Mackinlay also point out the power Aboriginal music has in challenging the assumed history of Australia’s treatment of Aboriginals by presenting a ‘counterstory.’ By having them share a first-hand perspective in such an easily accessible manner, Aboriginal musicians challenge passive and active attempts to diminish (or, in other cases, entirely erase) the severity of the injustices committed against them,

further “securing, shaping, or stunting the power of the state.” (Fischlin, Heble, 12). These counterstories act as a collective testimony that reframe Australia’s history through the eyes of the oppressed and not the oppressor.

One prime example of this type of music at work is the 1990 song “Took the Children Away” by musician Archie Roach. As a member of the Stolen Generation, Roach is one of the multitudes of Aboriginal children separated from their biological families in the early days of their youth. He was fortunate enough to bypass government-run orphanages and more hostile foster families, but still suffered from the trauma of being kidnapped. He describes the motivation behind writing the song in his own memoir, recounting visits to one of many Aboriginal missions and being struck by just how silent it was. One of his close friends, an elderly Aboriginal man, explained how the very atmosphere of their home drastically shifted when the kids ‘got taken away’ - instead of the sound of children’s laughter, song, or playing, all that remained was silence. That night, Roach penned “Took the Children Away” as a response to experiencing the wildly unjust governing policies that forcibly removed him. The song was not only for himself, but also addressed “what had happened in those days on the missions, and what had happened to the mothers and fathers and uncles and aunties after the children were taken [...] That would be my song and Lawrence’s song, and Horse’s and Diana’s, Gladys’s and Myrtle’s and Alma’s too. That would be Mum and Dad’s song.” (The Guardian). Despite not remembering his own kidnapping, Roach wrote the song for himself and all other Aboriginal children who suffered the same fate. He firmly believed in the power behind his music as well. In an interview, he stated that “We can’t measure the depths of each other’s suffering. When you suffer, that’s the worst suffering in the world. That’s what I try to talk about. When I first wrote Took the Children Away, I thought, ‘Here I’m writing for my people’ - at last a song that tells

this terrible thing.” (Barney, Mackinlay). At its core, *Took the Children Away* is a song of collective trauma, comforting those who experienced its oppression and forcing the oppressors to face the severity of their actions. The lyrics are poignant, opening with a pointed account of the treatment of Aboriginals under protection legislation:

This story's right, this story's true / I would not tell lies to you
Like the promises they did not keep / And how they fenced us in like sheep
Said to us come take our hand / Set us up on mission land
They taught us to read, to write and pray / Then they took the children away
Took the children away / The children away
Snatched from their mother's breast / Said this is for the best
Took them away

His reference to lies may be a statement about the government's refusal to acknowledge the policy as immoral - as the practice ended in the 1970s, and yet an official apology was made decades later in 2008. He also highlights the government policies of dislocating Aboriginals, first by forcing them onto reservations where they were strictly corralled and controlled - 'like sheep' - and later forcibly kidnapping children in the guise of looking out for their best interests. Roach continues with this idea:

The welfare and the policeman / Said you've got to understand
We'll give them what you can't give / Teach them how to really live.
Teach them how to live they said / Humiliated them instead
Taught them that and taught them this / And others taught them prejudice.
You took the children away / The children away
Breaking their mothers' heart / Tearing us all apart

Took them away

Roach then shifts to the perspective of the parents, and then the children:

My mother cried go get their dad / He came running, fighting mad

Mother's tears were falling down / Dad shaped up and stood his ground.

He said 'You touch my kids and you fight me' / And they took us from our family.

Took us away / They took us away

Snatched from our mother's breast / Said this was for the best

Took us away

Told us what to do and say / Told us all the white man's ways

Then they split us up again / And gave us gifts to ease the pain

Sent us off to foster homes / As we grew up we felt alone

Cause we were acting white / Yet feeling black

Both parties - the biological 'household' and the children that were ripped from it - experience their own trauma. The parents were powerless to stop the abduction of their own children, tearing open an irreparable rift in their lives. The children were cast adrift, facing hostile and abusive environments that wholly disconnected them from their ethnic identities and vilified their culture. Throughout the entire song, Roach keeps hammering out the phrase 'took us away' - away from their land where they rightfully belonged, where 'their hearts grew strong.' The song also provides an outlet for the righteous anger felt by Roach and others in his situation - without music, there is a chance that the anger felt as a result of such an intense violation would drive the affected parties towards the unhealthy coping mechanisms that plague oppressed groups: methods such as alcoholism, drug use, self-harm, and more. It actively endangers their lives further. For Roach, music "brought [him] out of" these states. (Barney, Mackinlay).

Roach was by no means the only Aboriginal musician to discuss the impact the child removal policies had on him and his family. Aboriginal singer, actor, and playwright Leah Purcell draws on her upbringing in rural Australia to imbue her music with elements from country and western genres. Her 1998 song “Run Daisy Run” combines these with the trauma incurred as being a part of the Stolen Generation. However, unlike Roach, the song is not a personal account; it is meant to reflect her grandmother’s removal and the impact it had on her family. Purcell recounts how her grandmother was kidnapped from her family when she was only five years old, alongside her two young siblings. They had been living on an Aboriginal camp while their father worked at a distant homestead. As Purcell describes it, by the time someone had traveled to alert him - prompting him to set off as quickly as possible on horseback - the children had already been taken into town. Purcell’s great-grandfather arrived at the train station in time to watch as his children departed. To add further insult to traumatic injury, they were loaded on the cattle cars instead of the passenger cars.

Purcell centers the lyrics on her great-grandmother, framing it from her perspective. They describe trying desperately to hide one’s own child from the government authorities set on ripping families apart. Knowing that her tactics would probably fail, the lyrical mother coaches her child on what to do in the likely future that they become separated:

Run Daisy run, run Daisy run / They were the last words her mama had said

“Run to the highlands, run through the scrub, / Just run, run Daisy run, just run, just run

Because the whiteman he’s ridin’ high”

As the song progresses, Purcell shifts to the Aboriginal language her grandmother spoke in order to describe her great-grandmother’s pain after her children were taken from her:

Wondah yarrmun taia nunni kurra mulli kai ngun ngun tulla yani yani. (White man on horseback come and took my baby, where all I can do is cry.)

By creating a narrative that is partially removed from her own family's experiences but still centered on the pain and suffering it brought to them, Purcell - like Roach - is creating music that acts as a catharsis for herself and all others impacted by child removal policies. The Australian government has claimed in the past that Aboriginal mothers consented to the policies - willingly giving up their children with the 'correct' knowledge that they would be better cared for by white people. The Aboriginal mothers affected knew this to be false but faced efforts to silence them. Purcell's "Run Daisy Run" stands with the mothers in full opposition to this claim, but by instilling it into music, the brutal desperation and pain these mothers felt unifies into one accessible vehicle. It draws the attention of the listener, bringing the counterstory of those affected (and not those perpetrating the injustice) into the spotlight. "Run Daisy Run" works to dismantle the oppressive forces that would silence these traumatized families, collecting and amplifying their voices to push past restrictions.

"Run Daisy Run" can also be seen as an example of the transgenerational trauma that clings to the family of those affected by the Stolen Generation's policies. Purcell's grandmother and great-grandparents were directly affected, but a ripple effect followed. The rest of their lives would be colored with this experience, influencing their actions, decisions, and interactions with the people around them - eventually reaching Purcell's mother and then herself. She describes how she felt that the song was somehow 'given' to her in one interview:

"I literally wrote the song in five to ten minutes. No sort of, even, drafts. At that stage, my grandmother had died. She died when I was ten. And this song came out of me and I believe that she wrote that song through me, because I don't remember writing it."

Leah Purcell. (Barney, Mackinlay).

Other Aboriginal musicians focus on the centuries of abuse that occurred before the events of the Stolen Generation's era. Singer-songwriter Kev Carmody is another member of the Stolen Generation and is frequently held alongside Archie Roach as one of the most popular Aboriginal musicians with protest-based music. While Roach was three years old when he was kidnapped from his family, Carmody was approaching his teenage years at ten years old when he and his brother were ripped from their household. The two of them were then sent to spend their childhoods at a Catholic educational facility. Carmody finished his schooling with a subpar education, working as a rural laborer. Carmody was able to enroll in university at the age of 33 but struggled to read and write. He negotiated an alternative; while pursuing his doctorate, Carmody would present his work in musical forms. This was especially appropriate, as he was researching Aboriginal culture, which is rich with oral tradition, and their persecution. The knowledge he gained would go on to fuel the majority of his music. For example, his 1998 song "Thou Shalt Not Steal" lays out a scathing criticism of the colonizers who had landed on Australia's shores in 1788, decrying their actions in the opening bars:

In 1788 down Sydney Cove / The first boat-people land
And they said sorry boys our gain's your loss / We gonna steal your land
And if you break our new British laws / For sure you're gonna hang
Or work your life like convicts / With chains on your neck and hands

Carmody then focuses on the Christian missionaries that viewed the Aboriginal Australians and their deeply intricate religion as savage before effectively scrubbing out the majority of their beliefs in favor of the more 'civilized' Christianity. The rule 'thou shalt not steal' stands as one of the major commandments of the Christian religion; despite this, the very same missionaries

not only allowed the vicious attack on Aboriginals and their land to happen but aided in their destruction of livelihood and culture. Carmody points out this same hypocrisy in his chorus before placing the responsibility of 'healing' on the oppressors, not the oppressed:

And They taught us / Oh Oh Black woman thou shalt not steal
Oh Oh Black man thou shalt not steal / We're gonna civilize
Your Black barbaric lives / And teach you how to kneel
But your history couldn't hide / The genocide
The hypocrisy to us was real / 'cause your Jesus said
You're supposed to give the oppressed / A better deal
We say to you yes whiteman thou shalt not steal / Oh ya our land you'd better heal

He then shifts perspective to the then present-day, where the issues surrounding land rights still run rampant:

Job and me and Jesus sittin' / Underneath the Indooroopilly bridge
Watchin' that blazin' sun go down / Behind the tall tree'd mountain ridge
The land's our heritage and spirit / Here the rightful culture's Black
And we sittin' here just wonderin' / When we get the land back

It makes sense that Carmody would liken himself to the biblical character of Job; in the Bible, he too was tormented and lost his own property. The lyrics also suggest that, since the Christian deity is with Carmody waiting for Aboriginal land rights to be restored, the white Australians perpetuating injustice are acting out of line with their own preaching. Carmody emphasizes the importance of the land to Aboriginal religion with the lyrics 'the land's our heritage and spirit / here the rightful culture's Black.' He even refuses to recognize the Anglicized name for the area

they are waiting in, adamantly using the original Aboriginal term - the Indooroopilly bridge. He continues to describe the hypocritical injustice that more modern white Australians spread:

You talk of conservation / Keep the forest pristine green

Yet in two hundred years your materialism / Has stripped the forests clean

A racist's a contradiction / That's understood by none

Mostly their left hand hold a bible / Their right hand holds a gun

Carmody leaves little to the imagination here, explicitly referring to the oppressive group as racists that wield religion as an excuse for their actions. At the same time, anyone who would oppose them - namely, the Aboriginal Australians - were historically only met with mass violence. Carmody also makes sure to clearly state one of the largest transgressions committed against the Aboriginal people: the destruction of their land. By focusing on 'materialism' - the antithesis of Aboriginal culture - white colonists have stripped Australia of its natural resources, something that benefits neither party. He closes the song with a closing refrain of the chorus, ensuring that the last thing heard is a command: "Our land you'd better heal" - leaving the implied 'or else' hanging in the silence.

How Aboriginal Protest Music Incurs Change

As Aboriginal music grew increasingly more politically charged during the 1980s and beyond, white Australians' perspectives began to shift as well. Before that time, "Christian mission music, the bush ballad styles, the music hall, and male singer-guitarists had been an entertainment sideshow for Europeans to add to their list of other available exotic and traditional musics." (Garofalo, 160). Aboriginal music was mainly utilized by Europeans as a way to placate themselves - boosting their egos by allowing them to feel worldly and educated - without

having to face the reality of the horrors faced by the Aboriginal community. A number of the songs were even written by white composers before being handed off to Aboriginal performers - songs such as “I Thank You,” a track from the late 1960s that staunchly avoided any mention of politics or personal struggles in favor of sentimentality.

However, as internal tensions mounted and worldwide music took a few dives into the political sphere, Aboriginal Australians began to see music “as a form of black celebration and resistance.” (Garofalo, 160). Instead of being relegated to the background and interpreted through European viewpoints, Aboriginal voices pushed to make themselves heard - and in the process, they began to change the political world around them. There were, however, a few obstacles placed in the way of the musicians trying to create a change. They could write about their experiences and use music as the ultimate vehicle for forcing their voices to be heard, but little could be achieved without a mouthpiece in the media to project it. Numerous efforts cropped up almost immediately to fulfill this need, with one that would eventually stand in the forefront - the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association, or CAAMA.

By the 1990s, CAAMA was the culmination of many Aboriginal musicians’ and activists’ visions for change. As an Aboriginal organization, all of its members must be Aboriginal, including all twelve members of its overseeing committee. CAAMA was able to gain traction through the Australian public radio after applying to and receiving licenses from the Australian government - something that was not easy, but was made possible at least in part due to the shifting consciousness on Aboriginal issues. From the start, CAAMA was focused on not only delivering relevant news and reports to the lesser-represented Aboriginal community, but also as a space to cultivate Aboriginal musical tradition. By injecting this cultural material into a unifying, accessible format, the hope was to foster “a sense of purpose and empowerment” -

better mental health through a more positive ethnic identity - among the Aboriginal Australians. (Garofalo, 163).

While Aboriginal music had obviously existed for nearly countless centuries, the action of broadcasting it was no small challenge. CAAMA started off based in one of Central Australia's main cities - which meant they were isolated from the majority of Aboriginal Australians that were forced to live on the very outskirts of urban areas. The workers behind CAAMA had to travel out to more obscure areas to find Aboriginal Australians who practiced traditional musical forms. With an obligation to broadcast Aboriginal music for a minimum of six hours per day - in English as well as multiple Aboriginal languages - the demand for these musicians was high. Though these musicians were present, there was a distinct lack of appropriate recordings; the only ones in existence were predominantly created by ethnomusicologists and focused on solo male balladeers rather than more traditional forms. This opened up a new necessity: a recording space. CAAMA opened a humble recording studio, making one of their first branches into music production in the late 1980s. At first, they focused on the production of cassette tapes - in the 'extensive desert sands' of the area, battery-powered cassette players were both more portable and more practical than vinyl record players. (Garofalo, 164). They found great success in the circulation of these tapes, with a total of thirty-one under their label by the mid-1990s.

They moved next to a CD format, further boosting their reach and paralleling the "substantial leaps by Aboriginal music into the political and social life of white Australia." (Garofalo, 164). Furthermore, CAAMA formed an agreement with a major Australian record label in 1990, causing their music to become accessible to the average Australian; before this, the distribution of CAAMA content was restricted to mail order and "a handful of selected,

sympathetic retail outlets.” (Garofalo, 164). The musical content was rooted in protest music, with lyrics addressing Aboriginal issues. These ranged in subject from alcohol abuse, to disadvantaged living conditions, and to diseases such as AIDS that had a more devastating impact on the Aboriginal community due to a lack of medical resources. Through this music, Aboriginal life, struggle, and political activism was pushed to the forefront of both Australian and international consciousness. CAAMA has an indisputable role in the advancement of this music, showcasing the intricate ways media interacts with art and politics. It organizes Aboriginal thought and legitimizes their culture. Working in tandem with protest music, it challenges the assumed status quo that has been set by the prevailing, often oppressive groups.

Conclusion

Aboriginal protest music continues to this day as a way to bring to light the continued oppression faced by Aboriginal communities. Although its development may appear to be a ‘gradual process,’ it is nonetheless sharpened by the intense history of violence under colonial white Australians. (Garofalo, 170). Using this music, Aboriginal Australians find comfort and ways to survive the intense persecution they face in nearly every facet of their lives; it drives them with a purpose to continue despite it, all the while reinforcing the connections between themselves and the land - connections that, through music, are unable to be broken.

CHAPTER 2: SALVATION IN PROTEST SONG

PART II: IRISH MUSIC RESISTING IMPERIALISM

Historical Background to British Imperialism in Ireland

While oppression takes hold between those of different cultures, the people of these cultures might not seem to differ greatly at first glance. This can further complicate discussions of and repeals against hierarchies of unjust power. With a long and deadly history against colonization that continues to the present day, Ireland is one example of a less ‘clean-cut’ colonized nation. Academics on imperialism have pointed out the persistent issues; Edward Said referred to Ireland as a “continuous colonial problem” for the British. (Scott, 2). In 1992, scholar Anne McClintock admonished referring to Ireland as ‘post-colonial.’ She called such claims “prematurely celebratory,” going on to include that “Ireland may, at a pinch, be ‘post-colonial,’ but for the inhabitants of British-occupied Northern Ireland [...] there may be nothing ‘post’ about colonialism at all.” (Scott, 2).

According to Derek B. Scott in his essay *Irish Nationalism, British Imperialism, and Popular Song*, it is more common to be met with “awkward silence” when discussing Britain’s imperialist history in Ireland than not. Even in popular publications surrounding the issue of colonialism and imperialism, it is often left veiled in shadow. For example, the foundational text *Colonial Desire* by Robert Young asserts that a ‘contemporary’ version of imperialism exists in modern Ireland but fails to expand further. To some - especially those standing against the Irish

nationalist perspective - such claims of tyrannical rule may seem fanatical or hyperbolic.

However, Britain's forcible seizure of Irish land is undeniable.

The two nations were first involved on a large scale in 1170. The Normandy Invasion resulted in Henry II of England gaining control over a small area of Ireland - referred to as 'the Pale,' it was situated near Dublin and operated according to English rule, such as adopting the English language, and administrative structures. For the first time, a part of Ireland was looking towards England for both leadership and protection. However, efforts to extend English reign to the rest of Ireland failed to take hold. Colonizers struggled against native Irish clans for the next four centuries, but the balance failed to shift until the sixteenth century. (Darby, Dunn).

As Britain continued to pursue new ways to spread their control over Ireland, the practice of 'plantations' became common. In this process, large swaths of Irish land were forcibly taken from the native Irish clans before being handed over to English settlers. Many of these were British soldiers who had waged war on the clans, or else just "groups of people improve their lot, economically or religiously, by relocating to Ireland." (Fitzduff, O'Hagan). During the earlier stages of plantations, these people (along with their families) would eventually incorporate their lives with that of the native people. However, as time progressed, this would fall aside in favor of forcing English culture into the area.

The majority of English colonization occurred with the construction of the Plantation of Ulster in 1608. Prior to the Plantation's construction, harsh English military campaigns had succeeded in spreading their rule over much of Ireland. Ulster - which encompassed six of the province's nine counties - had fended off English rule; the Ulster clans put aside their "instinctive rivalries" in the face of a shared threat. (Darby, Dunn). In 1641, Ulster fell to

England after a violent 'campaign' stripped the native people of their land. The Irish people were banished into the far less habitable mountains and bogs, forced to live on the mere outskirts of their native land - if they were lucky enough to avoid being banished or sold as slaves. The new Ulster Plantation sought to draw in immigrants from all areas and classes of England, which set it apart from previous plantations. It did not matter if the people coming in were upper class or had battled against the native people - as long as they were English, they were welcome. Colonists came from Scotland, Wales, and England, bringing with them an entirely foreign culture. The Ulster Plantation worked to "transplant a society" into Ireland - one with a jarringly different way of life, including language and land management. It was also here that Ireland's stark religious divide first began to make itself known; while the native Irish people were Catholic, the colonizing English were mostly Protestant. Looking back, the struggle that continues to modern day was 'sketched out' within the first few decades of the construction of the Plantation - "the same territory was occupied by two hostile groups, one believing the land had been usurped and the other believing that their tenure was constantly under threat of rebellion. They often lived in separate quarters. They identified their differences as religious and cultural as well as territorial." (Darby, Dunn).

The next two centuries only strengthened the divisions between the native Irish and those that had taken over their land. The native Irish population suffered another blow in 1690 at the historic Battle of the Boyne, which saw the Catholic King of Ireland James II deposed by William III - a protestant. The victory of William III, also known as William of Orange, meant that the Irish Parliament was now entirely Protestant. This allowed them to exclude Catholics from "all offices, land ownership, schooling, and other avenues leading toward wealth and education," further deepening the division and hatred between the two groups. (Hancock). By

1703 - barely sixty years past the construction of the Plantation - less than five percent of the land of Ulster was retained by the native Irish. There were numerous attempts of rebellion, but they were unable to incite lasting change against the overwhelming population of English colonizers. The Irish ruling body - made up of the British monarchy, parliament, and government - established a further series of penal laws that persecuted Catholics and, to a lesser extent, other non-Protestant religions. The 1790s also saw a continued rise in clashes between the native people and colonizer groups, with a notable rise in violence in the county Armagh, where Protestants attacked the Catholic residents. The Protestant population then established the Loyal Orange Institution; named after William of Orange, the Loyal Orange Institution - more commonly referred to as the Orange Order - was created in order to align with the crown and “maintain the Protestant ascendancy for which our ancestors fought” in the face of increasing tension from the Irish Catholics. (Scott). Here, the ascendancy refers to the stronghold Protestants had on the government.

Seeking to have total control over the affairs of Ireland, the government pushed forward with the Act of Union in 1801, which completely abolished Ireland’s Parliament and directly connected it to Britain. Ireland was now considered part of the United Kingdom - losing the last of its independent status. The following century saw a “succession of movements” that aimed to overthrow the Union. (Darby, Dunn). Different tactics were taken. Some of the movements, such as the 1840s Repeal Movement and the 1870s Home Rule movement, were based in government; others relied on physical force by creating secret organizations, including the Fenians and the Irish Republican Brotherhood, both taking root around 1860. None of the movements succeeded in uprooting the union. As Ireland moved into the twentieth century, violence between the two communities further only escalated; as anti-Catholic laws and legal discrimination pervaded

daily life on increasingly deeper levels, physical force was glorified. Violent action was seen as a communal defense against the other group. The relationship between the Protestants, who had now been living in Ireland for generations, and the Catholics, who were facing oppression in their native land, had deteriorated to the point that Great Britain began to consider granting Ireland its own home rule by means of a limited self-government. This solution was met with disdain by both sides. The Protestant Unionists were terrified of giving up their ruling power to the Catholic majority, threatening to secede their area of Northern Ireland into a wholly independent state unconnected to either the Irish or British. On the other hand, the Catholic Irish felt that the only solution was total independence and would settle for nothing less. They were led by the newly established political party, the Sinn Féin, which supported the nationalist call for a united Ireland free from British rule.

The Partition of Ireland

In response to an irate Catholic majority that did not see themselves being represented in government warring against the Protestant minority that feared losing the power they had gained; Great Britain enacted the Government of Ireland Act in 1920. It went into effect a year later, dividing Ireland into two parts - the southern Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. The newly delineated Republic of Ireland contained twenty-six counties now free from British rule; Northern Ireland, which held six counties, remained as part of the United Kingdom. These six counties were “essentially the largest area which could be comfortably held with a majority in favour of the union with Britain” - in other words, the largest area that would guarantee there were more Protestants than Catholics. (Darby, Dunn). The partition led to an overwhelming Protestant majority of roughly 65% in Northern Ireland, alleviating their fears by further

validating their ruling positions - despite the fact that the native Irish were still present. Northern Ireland established its own parliament - called Stormont - and was able to preside over a few matters from their own shores (such as education), with sovereignty remaining firmly in England. Stormont was unable to perform a majority of larger-scale affairs, such as the production of capital, creating relationships with foreign nations, and creating its own army. Stormont was able to bypass the latter restriction by creating “paramilitary ‘police auxiliaries.’” (Hancock).

The partitioning of Ireland did little to ease the sectarian divide and violence. The clashes were often “cyclic in nature,” usually happening at the same time as local economic recessions. (Hancock). Political tension never fully eased at any point in time; the Catholic Irish only saw their situation worsen as ethnic biases continued on most levels of society. Even the first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, a Protestant named Sir James Craig, referred to the new state as being ruled by “a Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people.” (Fitzduff, O’Hagan). Catholics were discriminated against in housing, welfare, and jobs. They had no chance at any political representation, as membership in the Orange Order was an unspoken prerequisite for climbing political and business ladders. Even local politics and councils were dominated by Protestant unionists; according to the proportional representation system put in place by Britain, Catholics should have had control of about forty percent of local governing bodies. However, Stormont quickly ended the system; combined with a remapping of local government boundaries, representation for Catholics became extremely low. Even in 1920, after Catholic Nationalists had secured twenty-five positions out of eighty local councils, gerrymandering within the following years reduced that number to a mere two positions in the 1924 elections. Discrimination also prevailed within the voting system. Legislation was enacted to restrict voting rights and ensure

that Protestant voices dominated. Two groups of voters were established. The first, 'ratepayers,' were the primary occupants of a rented or purchased household; the second, were those who owned commercial property "valued at £10 or more per year." (Hancock). Only two household members were allowed to vote, restricting ratepayers by excluding extended family and adult children under the same roof as well as lodgers; the majority of these were Catholic. In the second category, not only was the majority of commercial land in Ireland Protestant-owned due to employment discrimination, these owners "were allowed to nominate special voters for each £10 of value of their property, up to a maximum of six voters." (Hancock). This greatly expanded the number of Protestants now eligible to vote, working in tandem with the ratepayer system to ensure Protestant Unionist control. The exclusion of native Catholic voices from governing bodies was justified by the Protestants. They claimed that "many Catholics did not want to co-operate with the new state, and [...] felt that the very existence of their state was threatened by what they saw as a subversive minority." (Fitzduff, O'Hagan).

Many of these 'subversive' Catholics viewed the partitioning of Ireland as a challenge to the unfinished business of freeing all of Ireland - not just the Republic of Ireland - from British rule. Although this goal had existed in their minds for centuries, new attempts at rebellion needed to be taken. In 1917, the contemporary Irish Republican Army (mainly shortened to IRA) began to form. The IRA is a nationalist paramilitary group that seeks to fight for an Ireland wholly free from imperialism; although supported by the Sinn Féin, the IRA is infamous for refusing to shy away from approaching physical violence from the British with their own. The IRA held campaigns in the 1920s, 1940s, and 1950s. Such rebellion in the new state only heightened the unionist Protestant belief that Northern Ireland would only survive through "constant vigilance" of those who opposed it. (Darby, Dunn). Emergency legislation was

mandated to suppress resistance from the IRA and other Catholics; these were often hugely overarching, such as the Special Powers Act in 1922. Created to “empower certain authorities of the Government of Northern Ireland to take steps for preserving the peace and maintaining order in Northern Ireland,” the Special Powers Act was a direct response to the Catholic mistrust and anger at the partitioning of Ireland. It opens:

1) The civil authority shall have power, in respect of persons, matters and things within the jurisdiction of the Government of Northern Ireland, to take all such steps and issue all such orders as may be necessary for preserving the peace and maintaining order, according to and in the execution of this Act and the regulations contained in the Schedule thereto, or such regulations as may be made in accordance with the provisions of this Act (which regulations, whether contained in the said Schedule or made as aforesaid, are in this Act referred to as "the regulations "): Provided that the ordinary course of law and avocations of life and the enjoyment of property shall be interfered with as little as may be permitted by the exigencies of the steps required to be taken under this Act.

From the Special Powers Act of 1922, *CAIN*

The Special Powers Act only aided to the power the wholly Protestant government had against Irish Catholics; and although the majority of the secessionist violence it was aimed to prevent had ended by 1927, it remained operative until repealed by Britain in 1973. The Act gave “considerable latitude” towards government forces’ conduct when dealing with those suspected to be dangerous - and for many, simply being Catholic was more than enough to garner suspicion. (Hancock). This ‘latitude’ manifested in practices such as searches and seizures without the need for a warrant, censorship, and - perhaps the most treacherous - internment for

an unlimited amount of time without trial. This was justified in the clause that stated that “if any person does any act of such nature as to be prejudicial to the preservation of the peace or maintenance of order in Northern Ireland and not specifically provided for in the regulations, he shall be deemed to be guilty of an offence against the regulations”; therefore, if someone was suspected of not maintaining proper order, they were able to be detained without charges or a trial for an indefinite length of time. (Hancock). In addition to suppressive legislation at the higher levels of government, local police forces were created that were almost totally Protestant, leading to legally acceptable violence against Catholics. The Special Powers Act was brandished by not only the local Royal Ulster Constabulary but also its adjoining paramilitary group, the Ulster Special Constabulary. Unlike the British police force, the RUC were equipped with arms and received military and heavy arms training. They were led by Stormont through the Northern Ireland Ministry of Home Affairs; although they were legally required to have one-third of its members be Catholics, there was never any more than 12% represented. The true colors of the RUC would become evident once “numerous incidents of the RUC facing off with Catholic demonstrators while ignoring violence from Protestant corners” became known. (Hancock).

Discrimination in housing led to the formation of Catholic ghettos, while abuse and prejudice in the school system resulted in the formation of wholly Catholic schools; essentially, by banding together against their oppressors, Catholic communities were segregated from the Protestants. By living, going to school, and going to church in two extremely separated communities, Catholics and Protestants had very little contact with each other. This allowed divisive attitudes on both sides to flourish. By not having to interact with Catholic people, Protestants were able to continue demonizing them - and vice versa. When casual contact did happen - typically among shared jobs and communal areas - it was often characterized by “its

often polite, but calculated, avoidance of any acknowledgement or discussion of differences [...].” (Fitzduff, O’Hagan). The prime concern of these conversations was noted by poet Seamus Heaney as “Whatever you say, say nothing.” (Fitzduff, O’Hagan).

The Rise of the Catholic Middle Class

For the first twenty years since the inception of Northern Ireland, Catholic workers were forced into the bottom of society. They only had access to unskilled labor - if they were lucky enough to remain unemployed. On the other hand, Protestant workers oversaturated the higher levels of skilled employment, business environments, and professional positions. Just as political mobilization remained firmly closed off from the Catholic community, attempts to advance the social ladder were likewise out of reach.

In the late 1940s, the new Labor government in Britain began constructing its own welfare state. This panicked the Unionist government of Ireland, who feared that the “widening gap in services between Northern Ireland and Britain would erode their working-class Protestant support” and leave them vulnerable to the angered, oppressed minority. (Dochartaigh). The Unionist government successfully received British funding for their own similar structures, whose construction was hastily begun to alleviate those fears. One such institution was a public housing program; prior to the 1940s, public housing in Northern Ireland was few and far between. The implementation of more widespread housing directly improved the lives of tens of thousands who had been struggling. Still, even this new public resource was not created equally. Numerous local Unionist authorities discriminated against Catholics in the allocation of public housing. Although they had multiple motivations, many were looking to preserve their political control from the perceived threat of Catholics being allowed to advance. This was especially

prevalent in particularly delicate areas of Northern Ireland; for example, in Derry, where “even minor population movements” had the potential to upturn Unionist political control.”

(Dochartaigh).

Despite the setbacks still evident, public housing became a site of collective action. Outside of public housing, tenants were isolated from each other as they dealt with private landlords; attempts to confront discrimination were difficult. However, public housing now meant that tenants shared a landlord. With power shifting towards the tenants, landlords were now more susceptible to pressure. This resulted in multiple tenants’ associations cropping up by the middle of the 1960s. These associations were able to create change at their local level, winning their own smaller-scale goals. They also demonstrated the success of collective action and directly helped create a new spirit of activism.

As public housing became a more prominent structure within Northern Ireland’s welfare state, public health services and educational facilities likewise expanded to encompass more people. This created a wealth of middle-class jobs for both health service professionals and teachers - jobs that were able to be picked up by the Catholic community. The new large Catholic middle class remained directly tied to and supportive of the working class in a way the Protestant middle class never had. The post-WWII introduction of free university education also benefitted the Catholic community; whereas discrimination in careers often meant that Catholic students were unable to afford higher education, universities were now accessible to working class families. While these communities were able to advance, economic decline in Ireland also meant that those who remained in the working class also grew in number. The combination of these growing numbers as well as the power shifting towards other members of the Catholic community would result in mass support for the civil rights movement just around the corner.

The Republican Movement

As the formation of the Catholic middle class took shape, they began to seek out ways to improve their current position further and fight against the discrimination that still ran rampant. By the mid-1960s, some political power had been won over by the Northern Ireland Labor Party. Although it was not enough to pose a threat to the Unionist governing bodies, it allowed more radical members of the NILP to form connections with “younger and more radical elements” of the Republican movement, spurring joint protests. (Dochartaigh, Klimke, Scharloth). The Republican movement - a “deliberately ambiguous term” - included the Sinn Féin, the nationalist ideals they were linked to, and the IRA while “avoiding the admission of any institutional link between them.” (Dochartaigh, Klimke, Scharloth). Republican political activity had been increasing; more radical Republicans had begun protesting social issues starting in 1963 after another unsuccessful IRA campaign. Seeking to revitalize the movement towards political reunification of Ireland, they began working with similar activists from other parts of Ireland to draw closer attention to the discrimination faced by Catholics.

As this network of activists grew, the Republican movement used the opportunity to organize. They arranged for a meeting in County Derry during August of 1966 to begin the process of establishing a civil rights organization. Such an organization would not only allow them to overcome the restrictions they were facing, but was also a new way to put pressure on the oppressive governing bodies for change. The Republican movement was instrumental to the creation of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association the following year, but the NICRA also encompassed other ideologies such as Catholic reformists, leftists, and Communists. It modeled itself after similar British structures while also using language prevalent in the civil rights

movement happening in the United States. Their priority lied with the current legal system; they demanded a reform of oppressive legislation - such as the Special Powers Act - put in place by Unionist political rulers. They also called for equitable suffrage, the abolition of paramilitary police forces, and the correction of electoral boundaries. Other issues, such as employment and housing struggles, were held secondary.

The NICRA was held with some criticism by other Republicans; some of the more radical activists saw it as overly cautious, while more moderate Catholics were wary of involvement from Marxist Republicans. Other similar organizations began to develop, such as the activist-established Derry Citizens Action Committee (DCAC) and the People's Democracy (PD), founded by students. These organizations began to organize mass civil rights campaigns, which drew great support from the Catholic community in Northern Ireland. They all advocated for voting rights as well as reforms within Northern Ireland's legal structure in order to push forward equality. Despite being inspired by the worldwide peaceful civil rights movements happening around the globe, the Protestant state still viewed these civil rights organizations as a threat to their very existence and began to react with violence, setting off the most hostile and contentious period of Northern Ireland's history: The Troubles.

The Troubles

"The Troubles" became the colloquial term for the period of turbulent violence that lasted for approximately thirty years. The Troubles began as a direct response to one of the NICRA's peaceful demonstrations, aimed to draw the support of and unite the Catholic community. While their first march from Coalisland to Dungannon in March of 1968 proceeded without interference, their second attempt later that year - this time taking place in Derry - was "banned

and baton-charged” by the RUC and the B Specials, leading to three days of intense riots. The B Specials were a section of the Ulster Special Constabulary. Their group was considerably larger than the police force and entirely Protestant in their ranks; no effort was made to hide their ties to the Orange Order or other illegal Protestant paramilitary groups that actively oppressed and physically abused the Catholic community. Many of the B Specials were members of the Orange Order, and the force even utilized lodges owned by the Orange Order to practice drills, hold meetings, and run through practice exercises. The Catholic community was ruthlessly persecuted by the B Specials, who became notorious for the use of state-sanctioned violence against them; they would be routinely searched at checkpoints, harassed, and beaten. As long as the victims were Catholic, little else mattered. Some of the B Specials were even neighbors to their victims. Protestants were “merely waived through.” (Hancock).

Three months after the initial attack, the People’s Democracy organized their own peaceful march from Belfast to Derry. They were also met with attacks, both from police forces as well as Unionist civilians that had gathered. Marchers inside and outside the city were subjected to extreme amounts of violence. A later investigation into the attacks described that “a number of policemen were guilty of misconduct which involved assault and battery, malicious damage to property in the streets in the predominantly Catholic Bogside area....and the use of provocative, sectarian and political slogans.” (Hancock). Despite these reports, violence continued to rise against Catholic activists, morphing into a “triangular” conflict, with the points being the British state (police and sanctioned paramilitary groups), illegal Unionist Protestant paramilitary groups, and the Catholic’s response - their own defensive paramilitary groups, including a revitalized IRA.

Violence continued to mount. One breaking point came during the summer of 1969; the annual Protestant Apprentice Boys of Derry Parade followed their same route around the city, city walls, and alongside the border of the local Catholic community. While they had been previously met with unfriendly silence, tensions had sparked a more direct expression of displeasure. The Catholic community set up barricades and threw stones at the marchers, inciting two days of fighting between themselves and the police. The British government was then prompted to send in military troops in an attempt to separate the two groups. Some Catholics initially saw the troops as a positive force that would protect them from the oppressive forces present in Northern Ireland. However, it quickly became clear that the troops' main purpose was to support the RUC in as many ways as possible, working closely with them to carry out the same injustices. A new police force was created - the Ulster Defense Regiment (UDR). The troops became a symbol of the primary grievance of the nationalist's cause: British troops taking over Irish land. This deployment would become known as Operation Banner. With troops remaining in Northern Ireland until 2007, Operation Banner stands as the longest continuous occupation in British military history.

Over the course of the next three years, the British government attempted to implement numerous reforms lobbied by the NICRA and the Social Democratic and Labour Party, one of the parties that was created among the violence and now one of Northern Ireland's two main nationalist parties. These included the dissolution of the B Specials, the redrawing of electoral districts, improved needs-based housing, universal suffrage, and more. While ambitious, the reforms were only partially implemented (if they reached certain areas at all). The reforms were also unfitting for the new era the Troubles had ushered in. For example, while the B Specials had been disbanded, the majority of their ranks simply turned around and enlisted with the UDR,

adding more strain to the already tenuous relationship between the Catholic community and the British soldiers. By 1971, the same year government reforms petered out, the IRA had extended their violent defense towards the army as well.

1971 also saw the “final straw [which] escalated the violence to an insurgency” - mass internments without trial, as sanctioned by the Special Powers Act nearly 50 years before. (Hancock). Mass internments began that August with 342 men falling victim to the first of many dawn raids; over the course of the following years, the number swelled to nearly 2,000. These forcible arrests were wholly focused on the Catholic community - specifically those thought to be connected to the IRA - and were carried out by the British troops. The practice resulted in a sudden increase of violence and renewed central ideas surrounding civil rights; the NICRA was once more introduced to the scene. Internment without trial and inhumane internment camps became a “clear-cut issue that reunited Catholic moderates, left-wing radicals, and Republicans of all varieties in opposition to repression.” (Dochartaigh, Klimke, Scharloth). Some retaliation came in the form of anti-internment rallies, led by the NICRA. These rallies, including demonstrations and marches, decried the inherent breach in basic human rights posed by internment without trial. One such demonstration would become the backdrop to arguably the most infamous event of the Troubles - Bloody Sunday.

On January 30, 1972, one of the NICRA’s first anti-internment marches took place in Derry. At the time, the leaders behind the NICRA were looking for a nonviolent means to protest state oppression; these nonviolent demonstrations were meant to serve as a vehicle for that purpose. With thousands of people attending the march in support, it was the first instance of a large-scale civil rights demonstration in Derry since 1969. The march had been progressing without issue until word was received that they would be banned from the community center.

Pockets of rioting flared up in response, which calmed themselves down relatively quickly. As the crowds were dispersing, British troops “surged forward” and fatally shot thirteen people in the span of twenty minutes; a fourteenth would later succumb to injury. (Dochartaigh, Klimke, Scharloth).

Bloody Sunday became proof to numerous nationalists and Republicans that any form of peaceful protest would be met with only a violent quell. It marked the end of the NICRA’s civil rights campaign and transformed the Stormont into the ultimate symbol of ruthless oppression. A resolution to the ongoing struggle seemed dramatically out of reach as basic human rights continued to be neglected by the State. In March - just over one month after the events of Bloody Sunday - the London parliament invoked the Government of Ireland Act, created alongside Ireland’s partition, to dissolve Stormont. From then on, Northern Ireland was to be governed out of London. Internment without trial still remained and would not be repealed for another year.

The Start of the Peace Process

Over the course of the next twenty years, multiple attempts to come to a peaceful agreement were introduced by the British government. The first of these was proposed in 1974 but was soon “destroyed by the actions of Loyalist paramilitaries.” (Fitzduff, O’Hagan). Unionists became more and more staunchly opposed to any compromise in the Republican’s favor. They condemned each attempt at establishing a power-sharing legislation as too radical. By 1985, the British government was still unable to obtain support from the majority of each side. Their solution was to bypass securing the population’s support altogether. The Anglo-Irish Agreement “went over the heads of the people of Northern Ireland” and allowed the government of the Republic of Ireland to have a consulting position in Northern Ireland’s government.

(Darby). While this was not quite joint authority, it permanently gave the Irish government a role in Northern Ireland's struggles. For many, it was a concrete sign that the British government acknowledged that it "held limited legitimacy among the nationalist community and could not secure a lasting political settlement on its own." (Darby). In exchange for the Republic of Ireland's involvement, they formally recognized the existence of Northern Ireland for the first time and ratified the 'principle of consent' - the idea that Northern Ireland can remain part of the United Kingdom as long as the majority felt that way. Following the Anglo-Irish Agreement, further legislation was introduced to tackle the discrimination still prevalent within Northern Ireland's society. As civil society progressed forward, new doors were opened within their political sphere.

By the middle of the 1980s, the Catholic community had started to question how sustainable their current approach was. The idea of 'wearing down' the British government had incurred great losses in fatalities, arrests, and continued exclusion. The Republication movement began to push into politics. New leaders were elected for both the Sinn Féin and the SDLP - Gerry Adams and John Hume, respectively - in 1983. The two men cooperated closely and developed a coalition between the two nationalist parties that brought together support from Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, the Irish Americans. While Hume's model of a complete cessation of violence and support of power-sharing was not the most popular among Republicans, it was a major step forward in political involvement. Loyalist paramilitary groups soon followed suit and established their own political parties: The Ulster Democratic Party (UDP) and the Progressive Unionist Party (PUP), both of which seemed to more readily compromise than their paramilitary counterparts.

The first formal movements towards peace had two components - continuing the political momentum of the constitutional parties and beginning to involve Republican voices in political talks. Both the Northern Ireland and British governments held their own secret meetings with the IRA (unaware of the other's involvement) in an attempt to discover the necessary conditions required for a ceasefire. In December of 1993, the two governments published a key piece of legislation - the Downing Street Declaration. One of its most important lines stated that "the British Government agree that it is for the people of the island of Ireland alone, by agreement between the two parts respectively, to exercise their right of self-determination on the basis of consent, freely and concurrently given, North and South, to bring about a united Ireland, if that is their wish." (Darby). The Irish government repeated their support for the principle of consent, raising tension within the British government. At the same time, Northern Irish Unionists became increasingly suspicious that a secret agreement was in the works between the British government and Republicans.

The official IRA ceasefire came on August 31, 1994, with Unionist paramilitary groups ending their own operations that October. The Unionist suspicions that feared Republicans were arranging secret deals to advance their own power reached the government level, and Sinn Féin was barred from face-to-face talks on these suspicions alone. They were not given a time frame as to when they would be able to return. At the same time, both the British and the Irish governments laid out the theoretical process for future political negotiations by creating the "Frameworks for the Future" document, which "stressed that the two governments wanted to see a 'comprehensive settlement' that would return greater 'power, authority and responsibility to all the Northern Ireland people'." (Darby). Still, the Frameworks document was severely limited by the paranoia that rampaged against the Republicans. The peace process stagnated in the face of

the British Prime Minister. The following year, tensions were mounting even higher when the Secretary of State instated arms decommissioning as a “formal precondition” for Sinn Féin’s re-involvement. For both Sinn Féin and many other Catholic Republicans, this was seen as a smokescreen for keeping their voices out of the political narrative, as they had been since Northern Ireland’s inception. The government’s solution came after eight months of agitation; they would establish a “twin-track scheme.” (Darby). On one hand, an independent decommissioning body was put in place to survey all the options at hand for paramilitary disarmament, while on the other, multi-party talks would be reinstated. The newly-formed International Body on Arms Decommissioning published a report on January 24, 1996, and recommended that arms decommissioning should take place parallel to party-inclusive talks rather than as a prerequisite. This was turned down.

Following this series of government blockades and continued offences, the IRA dismissed their ceasefire by detonating an explosion in London the following month. Frustrated, the IRA called out the Prime Minister John Major as well as the other Unionists, accusing them of “squandering this unprecedented opportunity to resolve conflict.” (Darby.) While this event would ban the Sinn Féin from all-party talks until the following June, the peace process itself was not halted entirely. It was, however, hindered as negotiations between the other parties as well as the British and Irish governments became weighted with procedural disputes.

The Good Friday Agreement

Governmental change came in May of 1997 when the leader of the Labour Party, Tony Blair, took over with an overwhelming majority. He immediately began by reinstating Sinn Féin back into the entire political process, and within one month the demand for arms

decommissioning before Sinn Féin's introduction was abandoned. Another ceasefire was announced from the IRA in July; on September 9th, Sinn Féin was allowed entry into the all-party talks. Despite finally crossing the barrier, they still faced discrimination; as the negotiations continued, the Unionist parties refused to directly engage with Sinn Féin, leading to unnecessary convolution. Nervousness both between and within parties only added strain onto the negotiations, with Unionist parties threatening to leave.

Both the Ulster Unionist Party and the Social Democratic and Labour Party disagreed about how power would be divided between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. The SDLP and Sinn Féin were suspicious of any new Northern Ireland assembly, while the UUP and other Unionist parties feared when cross-border governing systems might implement to take away their ruling power.

An agreement was met in April of 1998 in the form of the Good Friday Agreement. It outlined five main constitutional stipulations:

“First, Northern Ireland's future constitutional status was to be in the hands of its citizens. Second, if the people of Ireland, north and south, wanted a united Ireland, they could have one by voting for it. Third, Northern Ireland's current constitutional position would remain within the United Kingdom. Fourth, Northern Ireland's citizens would have the right to ‘identify themselves and be accepted as Irish or British, or both.’ Fifth, the Irish state would drop its territorial claim on Northern Ireland and instead define the Irish nation in terms of people rather than land. The consent principle would be built into the Irish constitution.”

From “Northern Ireland: The background to the Peace Process” by John Darby

In addition to what was established in the Good Friday Agreement, three interconnected institutions were created. Affairs between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland would be handled through a new “North-South Ministerial Council which would allow co-operation between the Northern Ireland Assembly and Irish Parliament on certain functional issues.” (Darby). The Northern Ireland Assembly would not be able to operate if the North-South Ministerial Council was unable to function. In addition, a British-Irish Council would also be created in order to connect members from both governments. Finally, issues within Northern Ireland itself would be processed through a new power-sharing assembly that would maintain inclusivity of all people. The Agreement was ratified on May 22, 1998, with 71% of Northern Ireland’s voters supporting it. The 71% encompassed effectively all nationalist voters; Unionists had an even split of opponents and supporters. In the Republic of Ireland, the Good Friday Agreement was supported by 94% of the voting population.

Further legislation was introduced after local parties held their own talks (and “much arm twisting” took place by the British and Irish governments). (Darby). These legislations agreed on a set number of departments within the Northern Ireland government as well as remit cross-border governing bodies. Other issues still stood unresolved in the wake of the Good Friday Agreement. Police reform was still unhandled; Unionist parties were still anxious that the IRA had not yet been disarmed. The IRA gave statements that further reasserted their intentions of ceasefire and their endorsement of the peace process but refused “even to accept in principle that decommissioning could take place at some time in the future.” (Darby). Over the course of the next few years, the continued effort for peace proved itself to be a rocky road. Issues surrounding demilitarization, decommissioning, and policing faced both improvements and setbacks. By the early 2000s, the peace effort “stood in suspension”; Unionists made demands that the IRA be

wholly disbanded, while nationalists still called for reform throughout the police force and the reimplementation of local institutions. While the changes reached at that point would have been nearly unthinkable at the beginning of the peace process in 1994, in 2003, the “strength of the underlying sectarian suspicions and fears seemed as stark as ever.”

The Troubles saw sectarian violence on both sides of Northern Ireland’s division, with loyalist violence shadowing republican violence. By the time of the Good Friday Agreement, there were over 3,600 fatalities - a “significant number given Northern Ireland’s small area and 1.6 million population.” (Darby). More than half of them were civilians; 91% were male; 53% were those under 30 years old; and the majority of the deaths were Catholics. While some feel that peace is finally taking root, others feel that it is still out of reach.

Irish Protest Music During and Following the Troubles

The struggles of native Irish people against British imperialist power have been chronicled in song for centuries. Aptly named ‘rebel songs,’ music focusing on resistance can be traced back to at least the end of the 18th century, with the publication of songbooks outlining a nationalist perspective becoming popular. Waves of newly penned rebel songs followed landmark clashes such as the 1798 rebellion or numerous risings spanning the 19th century. Rebel songs called for increased separation from British rule while celebrating “the deeds of those who fought and died for that cause.” (Parfitt). Rebel songs more often than not called back to past struggles and martyrs, reminding the listener that, while the struggles they were facing were far from a recent development, British colonists, government, and violence had yet to extinguish native Irish people and causes. The music not only paralleled but strengthened the prevailing attitude of ‘us versus them’ that existed among native Catholics and settled

Protestants. For the vast majority of Irish republicans, rebel songs were an act of vocal resistance against the British state and was one way to take an active part in the struggle for equality and a united Ireland. As time progressed past the partitioning of Ireland, there were some people - such as the folk music group The Dubliners - that ceased performing rebel songs when the Troubles took hold. The lead singer Ronnie Drew remarked that, before the Troubles, rebel songs were “valid”; however, now that “defenceless [sic] people were being killed,” his group would ‘drop’ the ‘rebel stuff’ for good. (Parfitt).

Drew’s approach was not mirrored by the movement at large. In fact, rebel music remained a large component of both politics and musical culture. Even as the Troubles ushered in a new era of violence, rebel music had not been ‘dropped’ by musicians, audiences, or political figures. In fact, rebel songs increased in number - both those that had been already established and newly penned ones. As musicians grappled with the new terrors that were rising around them, many put their experiences to music. In 1971, Paddy McGuigan founded the musical group Barleycorn; there, he wrote and performed many new rebel songs that became fast favorites of the Republican community. His most famous, “The Men Behind the Wire,” was a direct response to the mass interment of 342 Catholic men during August 1971. Released on December 14th of the same year, its popularity became apparent a month later as it headlined the Irish singles chart. “The Men Behind the Wire” held the number one position for a full five weeks, spawning covers from numerous other musicians. The song itself opens with its chorus:

Armored cars and tanks and guns / came to take away our sons

But every man must stand behind / the men behind the wire

Here, the reality of the mass imprisonment is put forth in no uncertain terms; a vast, militarized power ‘took away’ the sons of both Catholic families and, as many Republicans viewed, Ireland

herself. In the face of increased injustice after centuries of oppression, it would have been easy to give up hope with this deep blow to the Catholic Republican people; mass internments affected them on multiple levels, from a communal down to a single household. Still, McGuigan calls for every man - regardless if they are a weary Catholic, an oppressive Protestant, or a foreigner - to 'stand behind' those who had been unrightfully imprisoned. McGuigan continues by painting a further picture of the violent seizures and how it affects families:

In the little streets of Belfast / in the dark of early morn
British soldiers came a running / wrecking little homes with scorn
Here the sobs of crying children / dragging fathers from their beds
Watch the scene as helpless mothers / watch the blood fall from their heads

The phrase 'little homes' may be a reference to the comparatively disenfranchised positions Catholics held in Northern Ireland; it may also be used to draw the listener's sympathy to the fact that a humble home was now the site of violence and destruction, rather than the city streets. Similarly, the 'little streets of Belfast' create an image for the listener of a more modest city, asleep in the early morning only to be awakened with a rampage. McGuigan makes no attempt to veil the more gruesome details of the attack, describing how families are forced to watch in horror as their fathers and sons are beaten until blood pours from their heads. He continues:

Not for them a judge or jury / nor for them a crime at all
Being Irish means they're guilty / so we're guilty one and all
Around the world the truth will echo / Cromwell's men are here again
England's name again is sullied / in the eyes of honest men

The first lines reference the lack of trials held for these internments; again, a seemingly wholly illegal action that finds legal protection in the Special Powers Act from 50 years prior. Just the

fact that they were Catholic - the native people who had first populated the nation before British powers invaded, and therefore 'true' Irish rather than Irish and British - was enough to justify suspicion, invasive action, physical assault, and imprisonment. The following lines ties the current brutality with that of the past; 'Cromwell's men' refers to one the 17th century invasion that massacred tens of thousands of native Irish and forced them out of their lands. Led by Oliver Cromwell, the main goal was to avenge the colonizers that had fallen under the Ulster clans; instead, Cromwell set the stage for the Ulster Plantation and was a key figure in the brutal mistreatment of native Irish at a turning point for the nation. McGuigan is tying the two events together, as both - and countless others - target Catholics merely for being Catholic. Just as they were able to stand strong during the 17th century, McGuigan encourages the same:

Proudly march behind our banner / proudly march behind our men

We will have them free to help us / build a nation once again

All the people step together / proudly firmly on our way

Never fear or never falter / till the boys come home to stay

Despite being persecuted for their identity, McGuigan maintains that the Catholic Republicans should continue to remain proud and strong, binding together to free the men who were imprisoned so they can continue the pursuit of 'building a nation once again' - assumingly, reuniting Ireland once more. They cannot afford to 'fear nor falter' until those who were arrested are returned - and this time, 'to stay.' McGuigan once again draws back to historical stands against imperial oppression, once again embedded in the lyrics. The rebel song "A Nation Once Again" is implicitly referred to; written by Thomas Davis in the 17th century, it came out of the Young Ireland rebellion of 1848. Just like "A Nation Once Again," "The Men Behind the Wire"

is using “music’s role in resisting the British state, and the continuity of the Irish struggle” to connect across the Irish Catholic timeline. (Millar).

Although McGuigan had never been a part of the IRA himself, the music he produced was enough to make him a victim of the very subjects he brought to light. On January 13, 1972, an internment order was issued against him; McGuigan was to be interned on a British submarine that had been modified into a Republican prison. Later that year, McGuigan released a compilation album also called “The Men Behind the Wire.” It worked to give context to the rebel songs inside using stark references to the British imperialist forces at hand. The cover shows a silhouette of a prison camp, complete with barbed wire fences and guard turrets; beneath it, the names of the four prison internment camps were typed in bold, capital letters - Long Kesh, Crumlin Road, Maidstone, and Magilligan. On the inside cover, a copy of the internment order appears, making it “one of the first instances in which we see image, sound, and text combined to act as a form of multimodal resistance against the British state” (Millar):

HEREAS it appears to me, on the recommendation of the Chief Constable of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, that for securing the preservation of the peace and the maintenance of the order in Northern Ireland, it is expedient that PAT McGUIGAN, SONGWRITER who is suspected of having acted or being about to act in a manner prejudicial to the preservation of the peace and the maintenance of order in Northern Ireland, should be interned.

From “Irish Republicanism and (Post)Colonial Schizophrenia” by Stephen R. Millar

McGuigan's music continued to forge connections between those being interned and the outside world. Produced under the same record label as "The Men Behind the Wire," the album "Smash Internment," also published in 1972, was recorded live at one of the prison camps. Internees at Long Kesh recorded themselves performing songs of resistance, many of them rebel songs, before smuggling the recordings out. One such rebel song was McGuigan's "The Boys of the Old Brigade." The lyrics take the form of a Republican veteran of the 1916 Easter Rising describing the battle to a younger man, who asks why he appears somber and reflective:

Oh, father why are you so sad / on this bright Easter morn'
When Irish men are proud and glad / of the land that they were born?
Oh, son, I see in mem'ries few / of far off distant days
When being just a lad like you / I joined the IRA
Where are the lads that stood with me / when history was made?
A Ghrá Mo Chroí, I long to see / the boys of the old brigade

The opening introduces a lyrical motive that appears at the end of each chorus; "a ghrá mo chroí, I long to see / the Boys of the Old Brigade." A *ghrá mo chroí* is a native Irish phrase that translates to 'love of my heart.' Combined with the second half of the lyric, it solidifies the idea of solidarity and brotherhood found alongside the members of 'the old brigade' - the IRA. As the song continues, it frames their reasons for fighting against British rule as a selfless sacrifice.

From hills and farms a call to arms / was heard by one and all
And from the glen came brave young men / to answer Ireland's call
'T wasn't long ago we faced a foe / the old brigade and me
And by my side they fought and died / that Ireland might be free
Where are the lads that stood with me / when history was made?

A Ghrá Mo Chroí, I long to see / the boys of the old brigade

Like many other rebel songs, the lyrics refer to the expansive landscape of Ireland - here, 'hills and farms' nestled in 'the glen' - as a reminder of the natural beauty of the native land. While the 'old brigade' fights for the physical land, they are also fighting for an equally important, non-physical idea: Ireland's freedom from British imperialism. The fight does not come without a cost, as it was bluntly stated that many laid down their lives in the pursuit of that freedom. The impact of their deaths is still felt in the song's present day, as the narrator asks where his friends are. The final verse and chorus amplify the song's solemn nature:

And now, my boy, I've told you why / on Easter morn' I sigh

For I recall my comrades all / and dark old days gone by

I think of men who fought in glen / with rifle and grenade

May heaven keep the men who sleep / from the ranks of the old brigade

Where are the lads that stood with me / when history was made?

A Ghrá Mo Chroí, I long to see / the boys of the old brigade

Now the glen has been transformed from a peaceful home into a fierce, merciless battleground, disrupted with weapons of destruction. While the lyrics frame the past struggle as 'dark old days gone by,' making no reference to the struggles that were still persisting for the same purpose, the connection between the 1916 Easter Rising and the internments without trial of the 1970s was readily apparent, forged just by the internees covering the song. Similarly, compared to "The Men Behind the Wire," the songs are given further contextualization on the inside sleeve of the album as the cruel realities of internment without trial are described, making the already impactful recordings even more impressive:

The Concert took place in a corrugated iron hut. The 'captive' audience numbered over one hundred. At the time of the recording, they had already been interned for some months but their wonderful spirit—that unconquered and unconquerable spirit of the Irish people— can be heard in their laughter, in their applause and in their magnificent rendering of "The Boys of The Old Brigade"—the Internees Anthem. It is this spirit prevailing through the recording which makes this record unique.

Now lean back, close your eyes, picture in your mind a 'nissen' hut packed with some of Ireland's finest sons—as young as 17—as old as 75. This was the first break in their solitude. The Artistes are welcomed with such fervor. The atmosphere is electric with emotion—for Artistes as well as audience. The concert begins...

From theballadeers.com, R&O Records, Nick Guida

The distinct tradition of musical resistance through rebel songs continues past the signing of the Good Friday Agreement to today - in fact, with an official cease to armed conflict, both Republican and Loyalist groups have sought out other outlets for their ideals and frustrations. With strong cultural ties and unique, often historical narratives, Northern Ireland music's role in establishing a sense of communal identity and unity has only grown in importance. Ethnomusicologist Stephen R. Millar examines this development in his report “‘Music is my AK-47’: Performing Resistance in Belfast’s Rebel Music Scene” following four years of fieldwork among those continuing to utilize rebel songs as rebellion. He focuses on the performance of rebel music due to its nature - unlike a wide variety of other, more secretive forms of rebellion, musical performance is “conscious, specific, and highly performative.” (Millar).

Millar found that the majority of the rebel songs being performed were composed in the past century through the lens of the Troubles. As such, many references are made to the militarized conflict, especially in support of the IRA. This goes deeper than just lyrics sung aloud; Millar remarks that one musician referred to his guitar as his AK-47, saying that he “free[s] Ireland with this every week.” (Millar). Some other musicians take this combination of musical instruments and weaponry a step further by fashioning their guitar straps into bandoliers, or else customizing the body of their guitars to the shape of a firearm. One owner of such a guitar admitted that the sound quality was “not a great sound” that was only amplified through an electrical pickup. The musician, identified only as ‘John,’ continued: “But I only use it for about three songs, three of the rebel rousers ... where you can fire it up in the air.” (Millar). Of course, in most musical endeavors, the performers are striving for the most refined and best quality sound possible. That is not the case here. Rather, it is the visual connection to the IRA’s past activity combined with the ability to incite emotion through spectacle that is held in higher importance. Millar identifies this as a general pattern in the performance of rebel music - “where the more violent the songs become, the less they matter musically”; association and emotion takes precedence. (Millar).

This idea of musical connections to militant imagery extends further. Other musicians sample the sounds of machine gun fire onto electrical keyboards and synthesizers. Musically, it fills a percussive role that might otherwise be missing, while also drawing a clear connection to the IRA’s role in the Troubles. Additionally, it allows the audience to themselves mimic the firing of machine guns, deepening their relationship to the music, musicians on stage, and the cause being commemorated. In addition to pre-recorded tracks of actual gunfire, musicians also simulate it through exaggerated rhythmic motifs. Typically, these rhythmic breaks occur during

instrumental sections; without lyrics to potentially muffle them, the simulated gunfire is put on display, “thus creating space for performative gestures from musicians and audiences alike.” (Millar). The audience also often creates their own rhythmic breaks by pounding beer bottles on the performance area’s tables in quick, repeated bursts of sound.

However, even while attending the same performance and hearing the same music being performed, the Republican audience can still view it differently. Millar describes once such event where it was blatantly obvious that the audience was divided into two different, competing groups. It was later explained to him by a musician as follows:

You see, here they refer to them [the two competing republican groups] as the doves and the hawks: the doves are the people who are moving forward with the Peace Process and the hawks are those that want to maintain this war, or armed struggle. So, if you’re gonna work for the doves, you’re gonna be singing politics about things that happened years ago, that aren’t happening any more. The same music would be used by the hawks, but they would see themselves as ‘this is still happening’. If you get involved with the hawks, musically, you’re gonna be in trouble with the doves, because they’re gonna say ‘you’re not welcome here’ ... if you’re a musician who has played for them ‘don’t come to this bar looking for work’, even though you’d be singing the same music. But they would be understanding the music in a different context; they’ll be understanding the music as ‘this is the music from when there was the Troubles, when there was the conflict’, whereas the hawks will see it as ‘we’re still in the conflict, so this music is today’ (Liam, 24 February 2015).

From ‘Music is my AK-47’: Performing Resistance in Belfast’s Rebel Music Scene” by Stephen R. Millar

Millar differentiates this using scholar Svetlana Boym's division of nostalgia. The first group, restorative nostalgia, takes itself very seriously - it is primarily driven by 'anxiety about those who draw attention to historical incongruities between past and present.' (Boym as cited in Millar). In contrast, reflective nostalgia is less concerned with structuring a perfect narrative of past events; rather, it takes on the form of mourning the past and looking forth to the future while appreciating the fragments of memory that remain. This can be easily applied to the 'hawks' and the 'doves.' With the restorative point of view that the conflict being discussed is still underway, the hawks are focused on the disparities between the conflict of the Troubles and the conflict as it exists today between smaller groups and security forces. The doves' stance in reflective nostalgia means that the performance of rebel songs serves as a tribute to the intense struggle that took place - something that should be kept at the forefront of conversation while moving forward into a post-Troubles era.

As the amount of time following the Good Friday agreement grows wider, differing interpretations as to Northern Ireland's present and future can only be guaranteed to further divide. However, the music at the heart of it all - rebel songs - has the unique and powerful ability to be utilized by these different Republican groups, albeit forcing the performers to remain more vague on their own views of the present-day conflict. Regardless, all those who participate in the rebel music scene consider themselves as "engaging in acts of resistance" that can be traced back to past historical tradition. (Millar). Music has always been utilized as a tool for resisting British imperialism within Northern Ireland, and continuously defies the limits placed upon it in order to express the native Republican's struggles and demands.

CHAPTER 2: SALVATION IN PROTEST SONG

PART III: JAPAN AND THE ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT

Japan's Early Nuclear Culture

When Japan passed their first budget for the development of nuclear power on March 4, 1954, they were already off to a rocky start. Just three days before, the United States detonated the now-infamous H-Bomb in the Bikini Atoll. The hydrogen bomb stood as history's largest explosion - a standing that would remain unchanged for nearly a decade - and was believed to have been a thousand times more powerful than the atomic bomb that destroyed Hiroshima. However, consequences would soon arise in the form of a Japanese fishing boat caught in the fallout. While the *Fukuryū* (Lucky Dragon) was far enough away to avoid complete annihilation, all five men aboard suffered intense injuries and required immediate hospitalization for their exposure to radiation. That alone was enough to cause outcry among the Japanese people, especially when it was revealed that the boat was outside of all restricted zones. Public anger bled into fear when the public learned that sixteen tons of now-contaminated tuna had already been put into circulation and sold in several markets; additionally, many worried about possible contaminants polluting the air and spreading to water sources. The prevailing opinion around nuclear energy was charged with this intense resentment. Newspapers quickly began publishing statements decrying the United States' actions; the *Asahi* announced that "the Japanese people had now suffered from atomic bombs three times," while the *Nihon Shakai* "called for 'international control on all atomic energy as well as prohibition of tests, maintenance and use of atomic weapons.'" (Manabe, 36).

This push to put an end to nuclear weapons testing in the South Pacific was not acknowledged by the United States, who continued the practice despite the dramatic toll it had already taken on natives of the region. Waves of Japanese antinuclear weapons movements sprung up in response. Only one month after the incident, a statement was given by the Science Council of Japan that echoed the *Nihon Shakai*'s demand for the abolition of both nuclear weapon production and experimentation as well as the implementation of some kind of international overseeing council. A few weeks later, the newly formed Sugunami Petition Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs gathered 270,000 signatures ($\frac{2}{3}$ of the local ward) in the span of two weeks. Similar petition councils spread through Japan; the movements only gained traction following the death of one of the men from the *Fukuryū* that fall. The following summer - just over one year after the Bikini bombing - antinuclear petitions had collected a total of 33 million signatures from Japanese residents. (Manabe, 37).

As antinuclear sentiment grew in Japan, the then-President Dwight Eisenhower conferred with his secretary of state on "what things we can and should do now to improve our prospects in that region," suggesting that antinuclear stances were inherently also anti-American in nature. (Manabe, 37). In his response, the acting secretary of state Robert Murphy referred to the Japanese people as "pathologically sensitive" towards any and all mention of nuclear weaponry, as they saw themselves as "chosen victims of such weapons." (Manabe, 37). However, Murphy pointed out that remaining on good terms with Japan was "essential if we are to count upon the use of Japanese bases and other cooperation in any future conflict." (Manabe, 37). Not only does this reply show the 'condescending attitude' rampant towards the Japanese people, but also the importance of Japanese military resources - especially as the United States was fighting through

the Cold War. Therefore, in order to solve the ‘problem’ of Japanese antinuclear public opinion, the United States Information Service - or USIS - turned towards Japanese media.

The USIS began their intensive pronuclear campaign with an article that discredited the “wild rumors” surrounding the high levels of radiation found to have been left behind by the Bikini bombing. (Manabe, 38). Following that, the campaigns focused on diverting the public’s eye away from the vastly destructive potential of nuclear weapons in favor of viewing nuclear power as the ideal energy source - replacing “atomic emotion with atomic information” in order to give a platform to “a basic new science of untold potential for improving the life of the human race.” (Manabe, 38). Over the course of the year 1955, the USIS office in Japan ran 3,500 stories in Japanese newspapers - the equivalent of 10 a day. 149 radio programs were broadcast across over 250 stations, while the nation broadcasting station rebroadcast American content. The USIS produced films and television programs centered around the “peaceful atom” that would be seen by millions of Japanese residents. (Manabe, 38). The culmination of this media blitz was the Atoms for Peace Exhibition, which began in Tokyo during that November before being reproduced in other Japanese cities (including Hiroshima). The Exhibition demonstrated the effectiveness these campaigns had on the Japanese public, attracting a vast audience: 2.5 million in total.

That is not to say that the United States was the only driving force behind efforts to produce a pronuclear sentiment in Japan. In fact, the campaigns by the USIS would not have had nearly as much impact without the aid of Japanese media, government leaders, and other national voices of influence. One large reason to push a pronuclear agenda was the monetary gain - in general, the Japanese elite recognized the potential profit that could be derived from a rigorous

reworking of industrial resources centered around nuclear energy. However, government officials held more political incentives.

By 1955, Japan was only three years beyond the United States Occupation of the country following World War II. A large percentage of its governing body was concerned with ensuring Japan was seen positively at the global level and not perceived as a lesser nation. One member of the Diet of Japan was a particularly persuasive voice - Yasuhiro Nakasone (who would later go on to become the country's Prime Minister about thirty years later). In 1951, Nakasone asked for the United States to lift their ban that forbade Japanese research on nuclear fission. He was worried that the ban would prevent Japan from indulging in "the biggest discovery of the twentieth century," permanently marking them as a "fourth rate power." (Manabe, 39). Nakasone was also one of the four Japanese representatives to attend the Conference for the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Power, hosted by the United Nations in Geneva. There, he sent reports back to the current Prime Minister, Hatoyama Ichirō; Nakasone remarked that the mere possession of atomic reactors had become an international status symbol, leaving Japan at a disadvantaged position. Nakasone quickly concluded that "[t]he quickest route to restoring Japan's international position without irritating other countries is to join in this neutral scientific development program." (Manabe, 39). Within the next six months, the Japanese Diet had passed the groundwork for nuclear energy to begin in Japan - the Atomic Energy Act.

While the Act was fully focused on 'peaceful' nuclear research - for the purposes of powering the nation instead of weaponry - much of the research could be applied to either. The science that powers nuclear energy runs parallel to that which makes nuclear destruction possible. Both the Hiroshima bomb and a commercial reactor see a fission of uranium-235; more insidiously, the uranium and plutonium found in used energy fuel could be extracted and

repurposed into weaponry. By having the technology and knowledge behind nuclear energy, the possibility for Japan to produce their own nuclear weapons was suddenly all the more realized, even if the nation publicly claimed they would not be using their research as such. That also stood as another potential boost in Japan's national image - serving to deter potential aggressive powers.

Following the 1954 approval of a budget for nuclear power, focus then turned towards who would be completing the research. The Science Council - an organization of Japanese scholars and academics - initially met Nakasone with some resistance, but soon relented and endorsed his pronuclear agenda. Of course, rewards for their participation quickly followed. Then the president of the acclaimed Tokyo University, Yanaihara Tadao was soon promoted to the chair of a newly established nuclear research institute in April of 1954. Other academics were given the opportunity to speak about their nuclear research in avenues they may not have seen before, including radio broadcasts, public lectures, and even films. Some received grants that then allowed them to travel internationally. Similarly, in early 1955, Japanese figures from academics as well as industry and government traveled through Canada, Europe, and the United States in order to observe the "operation, structures, and technical aspects of atomic reactors and related organizations." (Manabe, 40).

Another Japanese force - one that was arguably more impactful - that propelled the pronuclear agenda was that of Japanese media. While the Science Council began nuclear research, CIA agents sought out the help of Shōriki Matsutarō, a "former class-A war criminal and then owner of the Yomiuri media empire consisting of the *Yomiuri* newspaper, Nippon Television Corporation, and other holdings." (Manabe, 40). Matsutarō agreed to begin the publication of pronuclear articles in his papers as well as the broadcasting of 'pro-American'

programs on his television network. He would go on to support the Atoms for Peace Exhibits and produce pronuclear films based on USIS. Other media production companies did the same. The *Asahi* - one of the many newspapers that condemned nuclear arms - cosponsored the Exhibition in Kyoto and Osaka. Another, the *Chūbu Nippon*, cosponsored the Exhibition in Nagoya. Interest groups formed amongst local figures, such as newspapers, academics, and industry leaders to further support the Atoms for Peace Exhibits. In all, it appeared that the public opinion had flipped from its antinuclear stance in early 1954. This sentiment was echoed by a USIS consultant, Harry Kendall, as he related a conversation he had had with a Japanese colleague: “[He] observed an almost complete reversal in Japanese public opinion concerning atomic energy during the last few months. He attributed this change from great fear to great hope to the intensive campaign which Japanese newspapers have been carrying on to promote the atoms for peace theme.” (Manabe, 40).

Legal and business processions towards nuclear energy accelerated; in December of 1955, the Japanese Diet sanctioned a U.S-Japan Atomic Energy Agreement, further clearing their path. The following month, Shōriki Matsutarō was promoted to become the first chairman of the new Atomic Energy Commission. Once in that position, he quickly promised that he would construct a nuclear power plant over the course of the next five years. Businesses with a potential to be involved in the nuclear industry such as Asahi Synthetic Chemical, Osaka Metal, Tokyo Electric Power, and Nippon Mining were enlisted to conduct research on atomic energy and its materials. Many of these firms had been a part of the international research tour that occurred the year before. Another ‘study trip’ was hosted by the United States government in 1956, giving Diet members, business executives, and bureaucrats the opportunity to observe the current “state of atomic power” as well as how American governments and industrial powers closely

cooperated for the progression of atomic power. This gave way to Japan building a “pattern of close relationships among the government, electric power companies, industrial manufacturers, academia, and the media.” (Manabe, 40). This interconnected grouping of powers came to be known as the ‘nuclear village’ and saw the opening of the first Japanese commercial nuclear power plant in 1966, in the village of Tokaimura. Only five years later, the Fukushima nuclear power plant began operations as well.

Further Development of the Nuclear Village

Antinuclear sentiment began to pick back up during the late 1960s and 70s alongside student-led protests against American military bases stationed in Japan. These antinuclear arguments were further fueled by outbreaks of disease caused by pollution: the “Minamata disease and Niigata Minamata disease from mercury poisoning, Yokkaichi asthma, and Itai-itai disease from cadmium poisoning.” (Manabe, 41). All of these substances were products of industrial waste. Other organized activism against nuclear power began to arise from members of select Japanese communities such as Kagoshima and Hamaoka; in these towns, the local elite had already approved the siting of nuclear plants without bothering to consult with the citizens that lived there. This led to the formation of two separate groups - the Citizens’ Nuclear Information Center and the National Liaison Conference of the Anti-Nuclear Movement. These organizations had two main goals: spreading information about the dangers of nuclear power and supporting local antinuclear groups.

In response to this swell in antinuclear opinion, Japan’s electric power companies alongside the Ministry of Trade and Industry (MITI) embarked on another public relations campaign; they would head to the communities that had potential to become hosts to nuclear

power plants and distribute informational pamphlets about the benefits of nuclear energy. In other cases, academic experts would tour these communities, providing a “neutral” stance while lecturing about “the plant’s safety and necessity in the face of a national energy crisis.” (Manabe, 41). These lectures would eventually progress into guided tours by 1982; these nuclear experts would show town leaders how other communities with nuclear power plants operated, culminating with entertainment. Towns were also highly incentivized to host these nuclear plants for monetary compensation, provided directly by MITI. Tax revenue from electricity users was directed towards the local governments of the towns that agreed to the construction of nuclear plants. This income was then used to build new public resources such as schools, roads, and other communal buildings. These subsidies only increased during the late 1980s and 1990s, as lasting effects from the oil crisis allowed MITI to designate nuclear power as a necessary solution to any theoretical energy shortages. By 1997, towns that were hosts to nuclear power plants received 900 million yen each over the course of five years.

Expectedly, this was extremely attractive to the number of more impoverished, rural Japanese towns; allowing a nuclear power plant to be constructed in their borders was seen as the easiest solution to rebuilding local infrastructure and elevating their conditions. As subsidies inevitably diminished, these towns found themselves more and more reliant on the income and eagerly undertook construction of additional reactors atop their existing sites. This practice of constructing multiple reactors at the same site would open the door for increased complications during malfunctions. In the landmark disaster at Fukushima Daiichi, the compound had six reactors with two others in planned development; this meant that the staff members had too many reactors to stabilize with limited resources. Additionally, the selection of construction sites “seemed primarily driven by expected compliance (because they were poor rural towns) or

political considerations [...].” (Manabe, 42). Numerous sites are also thought to be atop major fault lines, such as that found in Hamaoka; their plant is suspected to be constructed “near the junction of four tectonic plates,” where scientists anticipate a potentially disastrous earthquake in the future.

While MITI was using monetary gain to improve public relations, electrical power companies focused on media opinions. Companies that had been lauding nuclear power such as *Yomiuri* generally continued to do so; some others, such as the *Asahi* group had shifted their publications to express the reappearing antinuclear sentiment. In 1974, the Association of Electric Power Companies created a specialized organization - the Committee on Public Relations on Nuclear Power - led by Suzuki Ken, who told nine regionally electric power companies “to consider public relationships not as advertising costs, but as part of the cost of constructing a plant.” (Manabe, 42). The Committee offered not only educational materials, but also tours for school-age children and “other support for primary and secondary school educators to teach about nuclear power.” (Manabe, 44). Suzuki Ken also arranged for large, pronuclear advertisements to be placed in the monthly national editions of the papers that were the most antinuclear-leaning, such as the *Asahi*. These advertisements emphasized the national goals that could be reached by utilizing nuclear power - goals such as lowering greenhouse gas emission, protection against potential energy shortages, and energy independence from other countries. This sparked complaints from *Yomiuri* newspaper - as long-standing supporters of the nuclear power movement, they felt they should be receiving these ads (and therefore the ensuing revenue) as well. Soon, they began appearing on its pages as well. Other newspapers followed. Similar shaping of media representation was cropping up in the sphere of television broadcasting as well. For example, journalist Tahara Sōichirō led the production of a documentary series

based around Japanese nuclear power for TV Tokyo - only to have the nation's largest advertising agency, Dentsu, inform his employer that they would not be supporting the series by passing it onto their sponsors. Sōichirō was then forced to resign.

After nuclear power accidents occurred at both Three Mile Island (1979) and Chernobyl (1986), antinuclear sentiment in Japan spiked; the government was quick to assure the public that no such accident could happen on their soil, as they had better knowledge and technology than the countries that had had tragedy befall them. For many, this was enough to dissuade public opinion to a neutral or pronuclear territory. Despite what officials boasted, numerous accidents had already occurred at Japanese nuclear power plants - they were just covered up before the public could take notice. The Fukushima Daiichi plant incurred critical mishaps in both 1978 and 1989, but local media was wary of reporting on it; the region's largest advertisers and employers were various electric power companies, and losing their support would cause a tremendous blow at both the individual and communal level. These 'conflicts of interest' also plagued the agencies that oversaw safety standards. For example, NISA - the "industry watchdog" - functioned under METI (the successor of MITI), staunch supporters of nuclear power from the start. (Manabe, 43). The oversight positions were more likely to go towards bureaucratic elites, mainly knowledgeable in law and economics. Having a scientist, much less a specialist in nuclear power, holding these positions was rare. In fact, after the 3.11 tragedy at Fukushima, the head of NISA had to extend fully outside of the organization in order to find an advisor with a nuclear engineering background to consult with the current Prime Minister. As a result, safety standards were lenient; in fact, examination by independent experts found that "inspections were not rigorous and were watered down to accommodate the financial position of the electric power companies." (Manabe, 43). In 2001, Japan formed the Nuclear Safety Commission, or NSC, as

an independent party that would report the status of Japanese power plants directly to the Cabinet. However, at the time of the Fukushima accident, its head had been a former professor at the University of Tokyo - which had previously received outstandingly generous grants backed by the nuclear industry.

These coverups led to the endangerment of both the communities that hosted the power plants as well as the livelihood of those who attempted to speak out against it. For example, in 2000, an engineer working under General Electric observed the Fukushima Daiichi plant and discovered that the shrouds encasing the reactor cores were cracked. He reported such to NISA. Instead of halting production to execute repairs, NISA handed his name over to the Tokyo Electric Power Company (TEPCO) who in turn blacklisted the engineer throughout the entire industry. NISA then had TEPCO inspect the faulty shrouds while keeping the plant in operation. Two years would pass until NISA informed the public of the “series of systematic cover-ups by TEPCO involving the falsification of inspection records for thirteen out of its seventeen reactors over years and the concealments of flaws and accidents.” (Manabe, 43). Of course, this led to widespread backlash from the public. Both the chairman and president stepped down from their positions - but still maintained advisory positions. Around the same time, similar incidents of deceit and concealment were found by NISA at numerous other companies - such as Chūbu Electric Power, Japan Atomic Power, Tōhoku Electric Power, and Chūgoku Electric Power. Calls were made for NISA to fully divest from METI in order to avoid further conflicts of interest. However, no action was made on the officials’ parts - those at METI as well as members of the Cabinet and the Diet. In fact, further cover-ups would follow. In 1995, an accident occurred at the Monju reactor - a “cornerstone of Japan’s nuclear fuel reprocessing program” -

but the video records of the incident were doctored to obfuscate the severity of the accident and incurred damage.

How the Nuclear Village Binds Corporations and Government

While the separation of the organizations that maintain and oversee nuclear power plants from the more profit-seeking power companies may stand as a possible solution to these issues, the interrelationships within the nuclear village - again, composed of “national and local governments, electric power companies, industrial manufacturers, academics, and the media” - greatly impede these efforts. One of the ways the connections within the nuclear village were further strengthened was through a practice referred to as *amakudari*, or “descent from heaven.” Here, when it became time for government bureaucrats to step down from their positions, it was very common for them to take over an executive position in major electric companies following their retirement. Over the course of the last fifty years, more than 68 senior government officials entered such positions after retirement; by 2011, thirteen of these were on the companies’ boards of directors. Another venue these officials pursue is one of 25 “semi-governmental agencies” who are concerned with nuclear power, such as NISA. This provides government officials with a tremendously powerful incentive; if they act critical to these nuclear power-related companies or organizations, they jeopardize their own future.

On the other side of the same coin lies *ama-agari* - “ascent to heaven” - in which employees of electric power companies rise into bureaucratic or governmental positions. NISA often hired engineers from the very companies they oversaw. Most notoriously, in 1998, a former TEPCO executive - with the help of sizable donations from TEPCO itself - was elected to the Upper House of the Japanese Diet. This new appointee was Kano Tokio, who then went on to

push forth a plan that not only opposed the deregulation of electricity but further centered the nation's energy source to nuclear power; passed in 2003, the plan aimed to "increase nuclear power from 26 percent of total electricity production to over 50 percent by 2030, through the construction of fourteen additional nuclear reactors." (Manabe, 45). In this way, *ama-agari* allows the possibility of recentering laws towards corporate profit. Academics within the nuclear village often follow *ama-agari* as well, or else bounce between academic positions and positions within electric power companies. This can lead to further blurring of boundaries between these areas. Since many academics rely on heavy grants provided by the government or nuclear industry, further conflicts of interest could possibly arise. One of the most infamous examples of this stands with recorded remarks made by Professor Ōhasi Hirotada that state that the presence of plutonium in drinking water did not pose a health risk to those consuming it. Prior to returning to his position at Tokyo University, he had been employed by TEPCO for over five years. In 2012, NISA publicly disclosed that twelve members of its committee - most of them academics - had been compensated by industrial manufacturers and electrical power companies.

The media also played its own part in the nuclear village. Electrical power companies stand as some of Japan's largest advertisers; at the end of the 2010 fiscal year, they collectively spent an estimated ¥88.4 billion, or \$1.1 billion, on advertising alone. However, this figure does not tell the entire story; TEPCO owns a different account that contains an estimated ¥20 billion, most of which is put forth towards the media. Other electrical powers have their own expenditures; the Electrical Power Association spent around ¥30 billion, and government-based agencies such as METI have their own advertising budgets. Some estimate that the more accurate total lies closer to ¥200 billion (\$30.48 billion). Media resources are further obfuscated due to their personal relationships with the highest figures in the electrical power industry.

Editors and journalists are regularly entertained by these companies, taken on trips both nationally and abroad. In fact, at the time of the Fukushima disaster, the TEPCO Chairman Katsumata Tsunehisa had taken journalists to China as part of a “study tour.” (Manabe, 46).

Electrical power companies also paid a premium to run an abundance of commercials supporting nuclear power. Using athletes, actors, or other appealing public figures, these commercials lauded how environmentally friendly nuclear power was due to a lack of greenhouse gas emissions, juxtaposed with natural environments such as “idyllic beaches, sunlit lakes, and green forests.” (Manabe, 46). The target audience for many of these commercials was the same as those who carried some of the loudest anti-nuclear opinions: young women, especially mothers. These advertisements usually featured “attractive actresses with children living a comfortable lifestyle enabled by electricity.” (Manabe, 46). Other reasons attempting to validate the necessity for nuclear power were pushed forward, such as economic gains. Katsuma Kazuyo, a powerful female executive and author of bestselling financial self-help novels for women, was featured in these ads; she explained that the production of a strong economy relied on both a stable supply and cost of power - something enabled by nuclear power production. Still other commercials featured comedic and eye-catching cartoons, or reassurance that those overseeing nuclear power production were maintaining proper levels of safety and an awareness for possible environmental impacts.

Cultural theorists such as Stuart Hall have pointed out the powerful role that the media plays in shaping public opinion through the selection and subsequent ranking of news items and presentation within cultural context. Hall has also explained that media outlets have a need to maintain their relationships with those in positions of power in order to use them as new sources. In Japan, this presents as the *kisha* (press) club, exclusive associations of journalists that have

existed since the late 19th century. Kisha clubs are formed around these news sources, such as the Cabinet, the Diet, political parties, semi-governmental agencies, and occasionally around individual companies (such as TEPCO, who maintain their own kisha club). Kisha clubs are granted access to press conferences from these news sources; nonmembers - such as freelancers and foreign press - are excluded. Therefore, kisha clubs are usually composed solely of those employed by major news organizations, with priority falling onto national newspapers such as the *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* as well as television broadcasters. These clubs deepen the relationships between news sources and these select journalists by hosting private parties; the club also presses sanctions onto members that break unwritten rules, such as reporting statements that were given casually and off record. This culminates in a few effects; the clubs effectively “steer journalism toward rapid information gathering and dissemination of press releases, rather than critical, investigative reporting.” (Manabe, 47). Others argue that the kisha clubs are no more than “information cartel(s) among a small number of news outlets” that present the public with biased, pro-government knowledge, ‘impoverishing’ their understanding of current events and compromising Japanese democracy. (Manabe, 47).

Concerns about potential bias within media broadcasting are only exacerbated when looking at the statistics of Japanese citizens’ media consumption. Television is the most popular medium on a national scale, with the average citizen watching three hours’ worth of programming a day. According to a 2011 survey conducted by the *Asahi*, “54 percent of respondents relied most heavily on television for political news, compared with 34 percent on newspapers, 8 percent on the internet, and 1 percent on magazines.” (Manabe, 48). The majority of journalists employed by both national newspapers and television networks belong to a kisha club. Consumption of national news via television is also focused on a handful of major

networks, such as the NHK (the national broadcasting network), Nippon Television, Fuji TV, and Tokyo Broadcasting. Channels broadcast via satellite or cable are ‘dwarfed’ in comparison. Typically, each of these major networks have an affiliate newspaper, another resource utilized by many. The largest of these newspapers (the *Yomiuri*) distributes 10 million copies of its morning edition per day, with the other titles close behind. Because of the close ties that bind news broadcast over television and that found in printed editorials, media is highly concentrated across platforms, further diminishing the “potential diversity” of viewpoints. (Manabe, 48).

The Fukushima Daiichi Disaster and Initial Reactions

The disaster that struck Fukushima on March 11, 2011 - referred to by many Japanese citizens as 3.11, making a direct parallel to the United States’ 9/11 in order to highlight its lasting devastation - had direct consequences on the local nuclear power plant Fukushima Daiichi. The disaster initially began with an earthquake; while Japan is an extremely common site for these natural processes, the 3.11 earthquake was unlike any it had seen before. With a magnitude of 9.0, it stands as the worst earthquake Japan has ever recorded. While damage occurred from this, a more lethal disaster was following closely behind. A tsunami, triggered by the earthquake, swept over the area at heights of 13 to 15 meters.

While the earthquake and tsunami had already displaced and injured many, they would work in tandem to cause more insidious destruction within Fukushima Daiichi - resulting in the second worst accident in nuclear power generation history, triumphed only by the events of Chernobyl. The tsunami easily passed over the 10-meter seawall constructed around the nuclear power plant. At this point, all electricity flowing to the plant was cut off; however, the intended backup generators - situated in a basement - were quickly overcome with flooding and rendered

inoperable. This lack of electricity caused the cooling systems within the three operational reactors to fail. As the heat from the reactors mounted over the next several hours, the fuel rods in these reactors overheated and started to partially melt down - resulting in the release of radiation. In addition, melted fuel material dropped to the bottom of their containment vessels in two of the reactors, eventually boring “sizable holes” into the floor that exposed the nuclear substance within the core. (Britannica). Hydrogen gas also began to build up, eventually resulting in monumental explosions; the first reactor suffered from an explosion on March 12, while the third would follow on March 14. Yet another explosion would occur in the second reactor on March 15. Even the fourth reactor, which was shut down for maintenance, had its roof blown off due to a fire. It would then go on to release spent nuclear fuel into an unprotected pool.

As the Fukushima accident played out, the Japanese government “downplayed risks”; the media followed suit by delaying reports on the ongoing developments. (Manabe, 48). Even the initial drowning of the plant’s generators went unannounced for two hours; when it was reported by the public broadcasting station NHK, they also added that NISA confirmed that there was “no impact outside the plant, such as leaking radiation.” (Manabe, 49). Despite being recorded on local television, the explosion on March 12 was unreported on national television for over an hour. After the explosion of the third reactor on March 14, the Chief Cabinet Secretary Edano Yukio was quick to reassure the public that the radioactive materials housed within the reactors were unlikely to be dispersed outside of them - despite the fact that radiation levels at the nuclear power plant were climbing. On March 16 - after all three explosions and the additional fire had occurred - Edano and NISA made a statement to the public, pressing the safety of the local citizens. Edano claimed that the plant’s radiation levels were “a level that would have *no*

immediate impact on health (tadachi ni eikyō wa nai).” (Manabe, 49). He would go on to repeat this phrase multiple times. In actuality, the release of radioactive materials into the air were peaking at the time of the statement, going on to scatter over wide areas in both Fukushima and the Kantō region. The news of this heightened release would not be made public until the following month. Only three days after this announcement, Edano would report that “radiation over the official limits had been detected in milk from Fukushima and spinach from Ibaragi” - and, in the same breath, repeated that this radiation would not affect the public’s health. (Manabe, 49).

Government Response following the Fukushima Daiichi Disaster

The ruling administration under Kan Naoto was criticized for its response to the Fukushima disaster as they released delayed evacuation orders with confusing zones and guidelines. Some suggest that a chaotic result to such an unprecedented event could theoretically happen under any party; others respond that the Prime Minister’s Office and NISA themselves should have some sort of operational knowledge for evacuation orders. Additionally, both NISA contractors and personnel had vacated the plant; this meant that the only information reaching the Cabinet was from TEPCO headquarters, creating more confusion. Kan withstood several days before buckling under the mounting frustration and mandating the creation of “a joint government-TEPCO emergency headquarters” - once more mixing together business and government, this time in the face of a dire situation. (Manabe, 49). TEPCO would release information about the Fukushima Daiichi disaster months after it occurred, causing suspicion of a cover-up to arise among the general public.

Distrust in the government only grew as more dubious official announcements were made. Both TEPCO and the government denied that any nuclear meltdowns had taken place for more than two months after the disaster, despite the fact that the plant's manager had "communicated this probability" on March 11, when the first meltdown had begun (but was not yet officially detected). (Manabe, 49). The following day, NISA's Assistant Vice Minister also alluded to a possible meltdown and was subsequently vanished from the public eye. Information tracking the potential flow of radiation from the Fukushima Daiichi plant was delayed in its release to the public until March 23, 2011, while the United States had been given the data nine days earlier. Many citizens were unnecessarily exposed to high levels of encroaching radiation; some residents were even evacuated to a dangerously contaminated area. While there was a mandatory evacuation zone imposed by the government, it only applied to 20 kilometers around the Fukushima Daiichi plant; other countries (including the United States) recommend an evacuation zone of 80 kilometers or more. The government also raised the threshold of maximum radiation exposure for all citizens - including children - from 1 millisieverts per year to 20 millisieverts. Those who worked in the nuclear industry saw their limit rise from 100 to 250. These gross adjustments were performed "without adequate explanation" and directly contract the average limit of 20 mSv to 50 mSv recommended by the International Commission on Radiological Protection. (Manabe, 50). In June - nearly four months after 3.11 - NISA announced that "radioactive emissions from the stricken plants in the first week of the crisis had been more than twice as much as originally announced"; an entire year after 3.11, the Meteorological Agency stated that the particles of radioactive cesium released during the meltdowns were more than double what NISA had estimated. (Manabe, 50).

Media began to focus on government officials and academics reassuring the public that they were in no danger of the radiation levels affecting their health. A medical professor named Yamashita Shun'ichi was chosen as an official advisor to the local Fukushima government on matters relating to health risks imposed by radiation - a position he would become infamous for. Yamashita made numerous statements that only drove the public further away, such as stating that the radiation "would not harm people who smile," and that medical iodine dosages were unnecessary - despite increased levels of thyroid cancer in the area affected by the Chernobyl disaster. Frustrated with seemingly endless broadcasts of placating affirmations in the wake of the nation's largest nuclear disaster, many citizens began to consume news sources they had neglected beforehand: sources such as serialized magazines, foreign news reports, social media and blogs, independent reporting, and more. Here, the safety lapses found within the entire nuclear village were clearly laid out, defying the companies such as TEPCO - who had been shifting the blame towards the 'unprecedented' earthquake and tsunami. This defense was brought into further question when it came to light that TEPCO's own employees had raised questions about the company's preparedness for natural disasters as early as 2008. As distrust in government-reported figures swelled, independently operated sources for measuring radiation also appeared; websites were created that collected individual Geiger-counter readings and made them publicly available.

These divisions reached the bureaucratic level - and not without consequence. Officials and businessmen alike were calling for the restarting of nuclear power plants; after the disaster, they had all been shut down for safety testing and maintenance. Those who opposed this were quickly disposed of. For example, when METI official Koga Shigeaki spoke out against the destructive *amakudari* practice - going as far to tie it to 3.11 - he was forced into resignation. The

acting Prime Minister Naoto Kan ordered a preventative shutdown to one of Japan's power plants that was suspected of lying in the path of an imminent earthquake. Kan also publicly called for a reduction in the nation's reliance on nuclear power, suggesting that it start turning towards renewable energy instead. TEPCO retaliated by claiming that Kan's earlier visit to the Fukushima Daiichi plant was responsible for the events of 3.11, despite the fact that the first meltdown had taken place before his arrival. The newspaper *Yomiuri*, "prodded by a newsletter from subsequent Prime Abe Shinzō office," falsely reported that Prime Minister Kan had forcibly stopped officials from injecting seawater onto the reactors in order to aid their cooldown. (Manabe, 51). Five months after 3.11, Kan resigned as Prime Minister following the onslaught of criticism and slanderous campaigns against him; since then, he has become a common voice at antinuclear demonstrations. In contrast, his successor Noda Yoshihiko was quick to voice his support for Japan's reliance on nuclear power.

Critique Following Musician Advocacy

While anti-nuclear sentiment had existed before the 3.11 disaster, few contrary opinions made it to the media. However, as these ideas became more prevalent, so did the number of professionals that felt the need to speak out publicly. Many were fearful of future meltdowns and had lost faith in government regulations following the delayed or omission of information following the Fukushima Daiichi meltdown. As activism rose among everyday citizens, these professionals in the public eye also began their own efforts - one of the chief among them being musicians.

One of the largest Japanese musicians to speak out against nuclear power was Sakamoto Ryūichi, an Academy Award-winning composer and former member of the iconic group Yellow

Magic Orchestra. While he was mainly performing in the later 1970s, he still maintained a revered celebrity status among the Japanese people; the media magazine HMV listed YMO as “the second-most influential band in Japanese pop history,” while Sakamoto himself stood eleventh. (Manabe, 67). Sakamoto is held to an extremely high standard, as indicated by his ‘nickname’ - *Kyōju*, or ‘Professor.’ Sakamoto famously spoke out against nuclear power during an anti-nuclear demonstration in Tokyo’s Yoyogi Park on July 16, 2012. It was one of the largest demonstrations yet, with the total figure of attendants estimated to be somewhere around 170,000 protestors. In his speech, Sakamoto “expressed his disappointment” with the government’s decision to restart the Ōe Nuclear Power Plant just two weeks earlier. (Manabe, 67). He upheld the deregulation of the electric industry which would then lead to the disbandment of monopolies such as the Nuclear Village. In his speech, Sakamoto pointed out that it was “only electricity [...] Why is it necessary to expose life to danger, just for the sake of electricity?” (Manabe, 67). He followed by expressing a hopeful future where each independent household or business office would be generating its own electricity within the next 40 years; Sakamoto also pointed out the imminent danger towards the lives of children - the future of Japan - “just for the sake of electricity.” (Manabe, 67). He continued by stating that “life is more important than money; life is more important than the economy. Let’s protect the children. Let’s protect the land of Japan.” (Manabe, 68).

The audience present reacted with great force at his words, intermittently cheering and applauding to show their support. Many paraphrased his words on their social media, highlighting his main points of threats to children and the natural landscape. It was clear that his speech was not a direct attack on electric power, but rather a criticism of the nuclear power industry and a support for alternative energy power. Nevertheless, those who stood on the other

side of the argument - those who were in support of nuclear power - only focused on his opening statement of “It’s only electricity.” The phrase was picked out from the context of his speech by those who had not heard his entire speech and was circulated ‘ad infinitum’ in cyberspace, impressing that Sakamoto was really claiming that electricity wasn’t necessary to everyday life. Criticism soon followed as many pointed out electricity’s role in key situations such as powering hospital equipment and providing careers for many. Others underlined the irony of Sakamoto’s perceived statement and the connection YMO had to electricity; as a techno-pop group, Sakamoto played the electric synthesizer. They pointed out that electricity was essential in music production and distribution, and therefore, Sakamoto should be more grateful to the power that had granted him success in the first place. This skewed controversy was only pushed further when one of Japan’s national newspapers - the *Sankei Shimbun* - ran a scathing editorial that again ignored the context of Sakamoto’s entire speech and “reframed” it as a call for the end of electricity itself. The article diminished Sakamoto to ‘a stylish person of culture’ that wholeheartedly relied on electricity; it also further posed him as someone who stood against the lifesaving power electricity provided medical institutions with. While many refuted the article, its place in such a prominent newsletter gave a tremendous amount of momentum towards Sakamoto’s harsh critics. Other articles began to crop up in magazines, especially those popular with white-collar businessmen. They continued to perpetuate the idea that Sakamoto was calling for an end to electricity and dismissed the idea that Sakamoto was being too harshly criticized. By late September, the *Sankei Shimbun* finally published a revision penned by Sakamoto clarifying his original context and reiterating that he was indeed seeking out a less dangerous energy production system. His reputation had nonetheless taken a large amount of damage.

Sakamoto Ryūichi's treatment following his own anti-nuclear expression is unfortunately not uncommon. In fact, his 'only electricity' experience is only one example of the risks musicians take by choosing to speak out for what they believe in. Many Japanese musicians are often told to mind their own place as a performer and keep their own opinions silent. Musicians such as Gotō Masafumi (of the popular band Asian Kung-Fu Generation) and Namba Akihiro have also made anti-nuclear criticisms clear, only to be told by their fans that they should "stick to music" and that "you musicians should just sing about daily life." (Manabe, 71). Even charitable causes are policed; when the rock band Acidman made attire proclaiming 'No Nukes' in order to raise money for Fukushima following 3.11, the management company they were working under told them to cease production and cited it as 'political activism.' The band had to go to great lengths in order to prove that the goals were indeed purely charitable, with no underlying political themes. In fact, many musicians are 'muzzled' by their management companies in order to protect their image and - in turn - their profit. Gotō Masafumi spoke up about it, saying: "You're expected to restrain yourself. Whenever I appear on television, I'm told, 'Don't wear a No Nukes T-shirt,' or 'Don't bring a Free Tibet flag.; When I speak about nuclear power or other matters, it's just my opinion as one human being. Perhaps my expressing an opinion would have some impact, because I'm a musician. What's wrong with that?" (Manabe, 71).

This 'self-restraint' has historically been a feature of the Japanese music scene. Some musicians, such as the band Soul Flower Union, took up an antinuclear sentiment during the 1990s following the Chernobyl accident; these opinions quickly faded. As member Nakagawa Takashi explained, "no one wanted to hear about it, and the reaction was bad." (Manabe, 71). Japanese reggae artist Rankin Taxi commented on his own genre's handling of these topics,

saying that it “tends to omit the aspects of the genre related to social reform, criticism, or protest. It had to do with the general climate in Japan. Usually, a protest song only appeals to people who either agree with it or sympathize with protesting in general. The majority of Japanese people would prefer to not hear or think about it.” (Manabe, 71). Rapper Shing02 echoed this idea while addressing the risks musicians take by taking a stance on controversial issues. He maintains that it’s easier to discuss simple, relatable topics such as love or family instead of facing “something that might be hurting people. It’s definitely easier to stay abstract than to talk about a specific issue, company, or person. It’s very accusatory, and people don’t want to come off that way... Most artists would rather do a benefit concert than talk about issues. Charity - that’s something that everyone can agree with.” (Manabe, 72).

Professionally Released Protest Music

The pressure that Japanese musicians face to remain unpolitical does not necessarily render them helpless. For those artists under an independent label, the restrictions - while still present - are less intense. They have the freedom to approach the topic from a more direct angle while still taking on the risk of being censored, receiving backlash from fans, and losing revenue. However, for those musicians working under a major record label, any antinuclear opinions in their music are heavily discouraged; their career requires media exposure, and the media in turn is financially embedded in nuclear-related businesses and government powers. Censorship rarely needs to come from these bodies themselves. Rather, it more commonly takes hold within the recording company or the musician themselves.

These constraints have forced recording artists to find more indirect ways of expressing antinuclear opinion, both in musical lyrics as well as more formal interviews. When conversing

with the media, most - even those who are otherwise outspoken with their antinuclear opinion on social media or activism efforts - deflect away from stating their opinion on nuclear power.

However, when composing lyrics, these major-label musicians have taken to using anti-censorship devices to allow their opinion to be heard. Using allegories and metaphors, musicians are able to make a statement on nuclear power and the 3.11 disaster. Some musicians draw on imagery from childhood; for example, multi-genre artist Saitō Kazuyoshi's songs "Ōkami chūnen" (Middle-Aged Liar) and "Usagi to kame" (The Tortoise and the Hare) are both based off popular children's fables by Aesop. Other artists convey their feelings by directly mentioning the devastation of nuclear power without adding further commentary.

Already a well-known group long before the 3.11 disaster, Quruli's song "Sōma" reflects on a once-beautiful beach town that was laid to waste from the nearby Fukushima Daiichi meltdown. Sōma, only thirty miles or so from the Fukushima Daiichi plant, suffered from high levels of radiation; compounded with severe tsunami and earthquake damage, the town was left in extreme peril following 3.11. Calls for help saturated the media. Even Sōma's mayor took to the internet in order to upload an "impassioned plea" for aid. (Manabe, 334). Musically, Quruli's ode to Sōma is riddled with loss from its opening lyrics: 'My memories already seem about to fade.' The lyrics go on to detail the landscape, including its clear blue skies and the calming sound of waves. While this might be nostalgic in other contexts, Quruli maintains a sorrowful mood - this natural beauty may now be lost forever. Even the instrumentation reflects on the town Sōma was before the accident. Pedal steel guitars, which are historically used in Japan to represent island life in Hawaii, evoke images of the sea. Percussive sounds such as rolling cymbals and piano chords are meant to mimic the crashing of waves, while the bass line gently curves to show the tide rising and falling. By merely putting a real-life place that was greatly

impacted by the Fukushima Daiichi meltdown on display, it “reminds the listener of the consequences of the accident without ever mentioning them.” (Manabe, 321). Fans online have mentioned that the song allowed them to gain a complete picture of what Sōma was like without having visited before; others say that they had not realized they were crying until the song was finished.

Another device large-label musicians use to indirectly approach antinuclear discussion is both the implications and the manipulation of the Japanese language itself. For example, in Asian Kung-Fu Generation’s song *N2* (which he confirmed to be shorthand for “No Nukes”), the opening lyrics urge the listener ‘Behind the walls deep inside / Don’t put your trust.’ Here, Gotō Masafumi utilizes conventional Japanese literary symbols to serve as metaphor. The characters for both ‘wall’ and ‘inside’ work to portray “an image of exclusion, an enclosure hiding an inner circle.” (Manabe, 346). Metaphorically, it refers to Japan’s oligarchical structure within its government. Likewise, the lyrics continue with the line ‘With urgency, / search and doubt. / The crematorium of capitalism, / as if in a spell, they say, “not to worry.”’ Masafumi uses a phrase - 矢のように, or *ya no youni* - that conveys something should be done ‘with urgency,’ but literally translate to ‘like an arrow.’ Manabe takes this to perhaps imply not only speed, but possibly includes the concept of aim. She posits that this aim is directly pointing towards the following character: to search. Here, サーチ or *saachi* typically means searching something on the internet. Therefore, Manabe takes this to be a “reminder that, while the mainstream media [...] has stuck to official views, the internet has reflected information and opinions from many angles.” (Manabe, 346). *N2* also uses an obfuscation of language to carry other messages. By intentionally mispronouncing certain words, different ones can be heard in its place. Masafumi pronounces ‘wall’ - 塀, *hei* - as one syllable instead of two. This places the accent (incorrectly)

on the first syllable, having it sound closer to 弊, or “evil custom.” (Manabe, 348). This practice occurs throughout the song. Instead of directly stating the words ‘rain falling’ (a common metaphor for radiation contamination), Masafumi warps its syllables to sound similar to the word ‘call’ that comes before it, cloaking an otherwise subversive statement. Masafumi also rhythmically offsets words to push forward antinuclear messages. The words ‘locality’ (現地, *genchi*) and ‘body’ (身体, *karada*) are fractured to sound like ‘*gen chikara*.’ This “rhythmic isolation” can cause the listener to hear separate, otherwise disconnected words: *gen* (原), as the first character in the word ‘nuclear,’ and *chikara* (力), or ‘power.’ (Manabe, 349). Diving deeper, it is this nuclear power that poses a risk to both one’s home and body - ‘breaking’ them up the same way Masafumi portrays through music.

These tools can be used on larger musical projects as well. The solo project Acid Black Cherry - powered by the musician Yasu - was able to release an entire concept album - *2012* - surrounding the devastating effects of nuclear power by creating an original fairy tale to serve as the foundation. Working under Japan’s second largest record label, Acid Black Cherry (often shortened to ACB) is widely popular; in its output, all fifteen of their singles found a place in the top five on Japan’s Oricon charts. All of their albums landed within the top seven. Holding such a high position allowed them to make a large impact with *2012*, whose story is summarized by Manabe as follows:

“Acid Black Cherry’s allegorical tale is about an angel who sings to make children happy. One day, a man persuades the angel to bring down a sphere of light (a source of all energy that is dangerous if misused) to earth. Man uses the sphere to make life more comfortable, but he also uses it to make bombs. Groups start fighting over the sphere. One day, an earthquake and a tsunami occur, causing widespread deaths. The men lose control of the

sphere, which breaks open and emits black smoke. Black rain falls causing death and disease; it stains the angel and causes him to lose his voice. Some people believe the end of the world is near and engage in wanton behavior; others heroically try to stop the black smoke; others sell farm products they know to be contaminated in order to feed their own families. The angel meets a girl who has been blinded by the black rain. When she dies, he plunges into despair. His spirits are lifted by a butterfly, which he sees as a sign that the earth is regenerating. Clean rain falls; the angle is cleansed and regains his voice. A child is born; laughter and life return.”

(Manabe, 325-326)

It remains clear to see that the ‘ball of light’ granted to mankind is a metaphor for nuclear power; like nuclear power, the ball of light was able to provide energy and created a more comfortable life, but its abilities were also utilized for bombs. It also corrupted the area around it with black, contaminated rain when mishandled. ACB more directly addresses the impact 3.11 had on the people living in and around Fukushima; the threat and fear of contamination was rampant, and the health risks still remain partially unknown. Many farmers had their livelihoods severely impacted as reports of contamination among produce cropped up; other workers were suddenly left unemployed or working in dangerous environments. Some fans have speculated as to whether *2012*’s angel was meant to be Yasu himself. He had been outspoken about finding it difficult to compose and perform music following the 3.11 disaster, a sentiment echoed by many of his peers. Even Yasu’s staff claim that the sphere of energy is meant to reference nuclear power. Still, when dealing with the press and other media, Yasu has steadfastly avoided mentioning nuclear power at all. The closest he comes is stating that “he approached the album with ‘great caution’ because it could be taken to ‘include quite a delicate issue.’” (Manabe, 326).

Even while touring the concept album, he opted out of a stage performance of the storyline in favor of straight play-throughs.

Off of *2012*, the track “Doomsday Clock” serves a warning to the continued dangers of using nuclear power. The title refers to the real-life symbol created by the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* - a nonprofit organization that raises awareness to global threats - to “express how close humankind is to catastrophic destruction;” the point of total destruction is positioned at midnight. (Manabe, 327). Scientists then determine how close numerous global issues, including nuclear arms and meltdowns resulting from lax oversight, translate into minutes away from midnight. In January of 2012, the time was accelerated from seven minutes to five. Yasu incorporated this into his own story, even choosing the image of a clock with its hands positioned at five minutes to midnight as the album cover for *2012*. During the song “Doomsday Clock” itself, he opens by reminding the listener the treacherous situation humanity finds itself in due to greed:

<p>叫ぶ大地 荒れ狂う空 静まりたまえ 静まりたまえ</p> <p>なに故に?なぜ故に?誰のせい?神の怒り?</p> <p>『世界の終わり告げる時計』針は残り5分を指したって!?</p> <p>そしてまた大地が揺れ これがその前兆だと言わないでくれ</p> <p>大気の侵食 緑の伐採 許したまえ 許したまえ</p> <p>幸故に...富故に...我等は求め過ぎた?</p> <p>『世界の終わり告げる時計』針は残り5分を指したって!?</p> <p>そして黒い雨が降った まるで世界の終わり告げるかのよう</p> <p>に</p> <p>Five minutes to go on the doomsday clock</p>	<p>Screaming Earth Raging</p> <p>Sky Calm Down, Calm Down, Why?</p> <p>The "clock that heralds the end of the world" hand pointed to the remaining 5 minutes!?</p> <p>And the earth shakes again, don't tell me this is the fore.</p> <p>Erosion of the atmosphere, green felling, forgive me, fortunately...</p> <p>Because of the wealth... Did we ask too much?</p> <p>The "clock that heralds the end of the world" hand pointed to the remaining 5 minutes! ?</p> <p>And then it rained black, as if it were the end of the world</p> <p>Five minutes to go on the doomsday clock</p>
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Similar to Quruli's "Sōma," ACB draws on the devastation to Japan's natural landscape as a stark reminder of what is (partially) at stake. He consistently circles back to the outcry that humanity only has five minutes until 'the end of the world' - all due to their overarching greed causing them to 'ask too much.' Even now, before the clock strikes midnight, an omen of their doom comes in the form of contaminated black rain. He continues:

<p>Why did it end up like that? 【どうしてこうなった?】</p> <p>Prediction or Fate? 【予言か運命か?】</p>	<p>Why did it end up like that? [Why did this become it?]</p> <p>Prediction or Fate? [Prophecy or fate?]</p>
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Two, zero, one, two adds up to five 【2+0+1+2=5】

tick-tack. tick tick tick tick. 【チクタク チクタク】

You only have five minutes left. 【残り5分しかないよ?】

踊れ 叫べ シャララ 昇って落ちて

残された時間の中 何をすべきか考えよ

弾けて シャララ 混ざって至って

夢と現実の狭間で 混沌せよ 目を閉じて

Don't get signals crossed human beings.

【勘違いするなよ人間】

God is not the one who ends the world

【世界を終わらせるのは神ではない】

Ah, to move the hand forward or to put it back is all up to human being

【その時計の針を進めるのも戻すのもすべて人間次第】

神に背いて 変えたDNA 嘆きたまえ 嘆きたまえ

進化ゆえ...望まれて...未来よどこへ向かう?

『世界の終わり告げる時計』針は残り5分を指したって!?

馬鹿げると笑う奴と 信じる者は救われると唱う奴

Five minutes to go on the doomsday clock

Two, zero, one, two adds up to five 【2+0+1+2=5】

tick-tack. tick tick tick tick. 【Tiktak Chictak】

You only have five minutes left. [There are only 5 minutes left?]

Dance, shout, Shalala,

rise, fall, think about

what to do in

the time left. Play, Shalala, mix, chaos between dreams and
reality, close your eyes.

Don't get signals crossed human beings.

God is not the one who ends the world

Ah, to move the hand forward or to put it back is all up to human
beings [it's all up to man to move the hands back to human
beings]

Disobey to God, changed DNA, lament, evolve...

Wanted ... Where are we going in the future?

The "clock that heralds the end of the world" hand pointed to the
remaining 5 minutes! ?

A man who laughs when he's stupid and chants that those who
believe can be saved

Five minutes to go on the doomsday clock

The lyrics question if this armageddon was avoidable; they draw on the Mayan myth that proclaimed the end of the world in 2012, pointing out that the numbers add up to five - coinciding with the clock's five minutes to midnight. Anxiety rises as the vocals begin to simulate the ticking of the doomsday clock with the repeated warning that 'you only have five minutes left.' The lyrics clarify that the end of the world was not brought on by a higher power, but by the actions of humanity; therefore, they cannot trust that same power to save them - to do so would be 'stupid.' It is only by rising up and taking action against the destructive force that they can save themselves.

During the last refrain, ACB changes the lyrics from 'you only have five minutes left' to 'you still have five minutes left' - a clear call to action. By returning to the same idea that we are running out of time to fend off the end of the world, the listener is left with a renewed sense of urgency. Musically, the song carries the lyrics at a fast-paced tempo; the opening introduces an "oscillating" chromatic figure that sets these ideas into motion and audibly creates a scene of chaos. (Manabe, 327). Even the song's emphasis on the somewhat harsh tritone - an augmented fourth - sends a clear message of frantic anxiety. However, nuclear power is only referenced with a single line (with the symbol of black rain). ACB also does not attempt to provide a solution for the nuclear power crisis, such as a call to use alternative means of energy production. The song "Doomsday Clock" is "less about diagnosing the problem [...] than a personal, emotional response to the crisis." (Manabe, 327).

CHAPTER 3: CONCLUSION

Oppression can take a multitude of forms – not all of which are obvious at first glance. Both active and passive suppression does its part to wear down entire communities of people on both a group and individual level, affecting their mental health and often forcing them to into further perpetuating the cycle of oppression by limiting available opportunities or making them feel inferior and out of place. Against larger systems such as governing bodies, oppressed individuals are usually unable to make meaningful change; they act to splinter groups apart and thus make it more difficult for collective action to bring justice.

Music can be utilized as a tool to bring groups of people together by broadcasting ideals and struggles and drawing in those who empathize. Because music exists as a nonphysical object, it is unable to be destroyed by oppressors. It can be passed along and spread rapidly - especially when aided with recordings and transmissions. Minority groups can use music to serve as a broadcast for their voices where they would otherwise be silenced. This can be seen in the music of the Aboriginal Australians, who use protest music for a variety of means: as a way of collective healing, a system to bring together their community that has been metaphorically and literally torn apart, and as a way to spread their own side of historically censored events.

Protest music also works as a tool for rebellion in areas where distinctions between oppressor and oppressed may not be as clear. In Northern Ireland, music draws on traditional melodies, themes, and instrumentation in order to reinforce a national identity that otherwise consistently falls under violent oppression. By using music as a way to remember this bloody past, the native people are spurred forward to continue acting against British imperialism. Just as with Aboriginal Australian protest music, Northern Irish protest music presents a

counternarrative to a history that was penned by the oppressor. By setting their experiences to music, Irish Republicans weaponize it and make their conflict audible to the world. Those who participate in the creation of protest music are therefore given a new sense of personal agency to take an active stand against suppression.

Even when it seems that all of the power lies in the hands of an oppressive body, protest music still fights for a way to be heard – and succeeds. In Japan, nuclear power is a lucrative industry that is fiercely protected by both the governing and business-related bodies, despite the continued dangerous risk it poses to the individuals of the nation. Attempts at speaking against nuclear power is laden with risk to one's career and personal life. In the face of pervasive propaganda and censorship, it may seem like musical dissidence has little chance of survival. However, one reason protest music works as well as it does is due to its mutability; rather than speak directly, many Japanese anti-nuclear protest songs utilize intricate metaphors or verbal manipulation of speech in order to skirt these strict, unwritten rules and still portray their message loud and clear.

Within the field of ethnomusicology, music is commonly seen as “a locus for resistance, a subaltern response to political hegemony and social injustice whereby asymmetrical power relations are critiqued in musical texts and performance styles.” (O'Connell, as cited in Millar). Resistance against oppression and music consistently come together, time after time and place after place, to speak for those who would otherwise remain unheard. As a key part in lending both personal authority and power to individuals, the subject of protest music must be taken into account to paint the entire picture of an oppressed group's response to injustice.

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Chapter I: The Facets of Oppression

→ In this chapter, I will focus on the theory and analytical research behind oppression, including reasons why it exists and how it affects both the oppressed and the oppressors. I will also examine research of protest music in general, such as why it is made and the multitude of effects it has on the listeners and creators.

- a. Politics of oppression
- b. Psychological responses of the oppressed mind
- c. Songs of the oppressed

Chapter II: Salvation in Protest Song

→ In this chapter, I will focus on three distinct cultures - the Australian Aborigine, the Japanese, and the Irish. For each, I will first examine their social and cultural structures before following with relevant protest history. Finally, I will detail their music making and how it intersects with the human rights issues they face.

- a. Australian Aborigines
 - i. Australian Aborigines as a people
 - ii. The belief system of Australian Aborigines
 - iii. Making music and the instruments used
 - iv. History of oppression
 - v. Aboriginal protest music
- b. Japan
 - i. Social context for Japanese life
 - ii. How society relies on nuclear power
 - iii. Historical protests following disasters
 - iv. Protest music
- c. Ireland
 - i. Historical context – Conflict through The Troubles
 - ii. Historical background of traditional Irish protest music
 - iii. Folk protest revival of the 1960s

Chapter III: Conclusion

→ This chapter will serve as a conclusion for my thesis paper. I will not only summarize the work that came before it, but also draw relevant comparisons between the three cultures I have researched. Finally, I will end with a brief history of the emotional impacts of music.

- a. Summaries and comparisons
- b. The emotional effects of music throughout time

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ABSTRACT

My undergraduate thesis inspects the intersection that occurs when social advocacy and music combine to create protest music. It looks in depth towards three distinct cultures - that of the Aboriginal Australian, native Irish, and Japanese - to see how the nuanced issues present in those societies shapes the protest music that comes out of them. My thesis also examines the consequences brought about by this music, and how it goes on to shape the resolutions to these issues.