

What's Be Happen? A Bakhtinian Analysis of
Aotearoa New Zealand's First Pacific Reggae Album

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Abstract

This thesis presents an analysis of Herbs' record album *What's Be Happen?* The album has been recognised in Aotearoa New Zealand for being at the forefront of Pacific reggae, for its ground-breaking social commentary on important issues and conflicts in New Zealand in the 1970s and early 1980s, and for the culturally and historically significant themes it addresses. The six-track album was released in 1981 in a period of social and political conflict. There were protests over race relations and the treatment of migrants from the Pacific Islands, over the historic and ongoing loss of Māori lands, and against the scheduled tour of New Zealand by a racially-selected rugby team from apartheid South Africa. The campaigns for change in this period were struggles over human rights, associated ethical values, and the kind of society people wanted New Zealand to be. Situated in the broad field of applied linguistics, the thesis also draws on other areas such as the study of popular music to present an analysis and interpretation of the ways in which the album constructs, comments on and contests political and social events and conditions at that time.

The thesis is underpinned by Mikhail Bakhtin's philosophy of language and discourse that conceptualises utterances as ethical acts, and by Bakhtin's overarching notion of dialogism, which conceives meaning as a relational phenomenon contingent on social and cultural context. The thesis mobilises Bakhtin's categories of narrative style in the novel and his concepts of the chronotope, heteroglossia and polyphony in the analysis of narrative form, language choices, and aspects of Herbs' performance. These Bakhtinian concepts and analytical tools, in their encounter with other theories and concepts in the thesis, are central to the analysis of constructions of social commentary, resistance and protest in Herbs' album.

The analysis shows that meaning is generated by a network of inter-connected, dialogic relationships in and between Herbs' music, lyrical content, the form and use of language including the compositional structure of the lyrics, aspects of performed form, text and images on the album cover, the order of the songs on the two sides of the record, and the relationship of these features to the historical context. The thesis identifies five key themes in the album: resistance, oppression, power and the struggle for liberation, spirituality, and identity, of which the dominant theme is resistance. The study is a

contribution to the analysis and appreciation of the cultural importance of Herbs in New Zealand and the political salience of this album.

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List of acronyms and abbreviations used in the thesis

ACORD	Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination
ANC	African National Congress
APEC	(the forum for) Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
APRA	Australasian Performing Right Association
APRA AMCOS	Australasian Performing Right Association Australasian Mechanical Copyright Owners Society
BE	Black (American) English
CARE	Citizens' Association for Racial Equality
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CE	Common (Current) Era
EP	Extended Play (recorded album)
HART	Halt All Racist Tours
IMNZ	Independent Music New Zealand
LP	Long Playing Record
PAC	Pan-African Congress
R and B	Rhythm and Blues
SE	Standard (American) English
UHP	Upper Hutt Posse
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signature:

Name: Elizabeth Turner

Date:

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Chapter One: Introduction

I'm in the Great Hall of Auckland's neo-baroque Town Hall, with its white pilasters and ornate ceiling. Sitting in a red velvet seat on the horse-shoe shaped balcony, I'm watching the people below. This space has been the setting for many significant events in its 100 year history: a reception in 1915 for survivors of the battle at Gallipoli; civic functions for the Prince of Wales in 1920 and Queen Elizabeth in 1953, and for various other royal some-bodies in subsequent years. There was a radical feminist speech by Germaine Greer in 1972; a dinner for US President Bill Clinton and APEC leaders in 1999; and concerts by orchestras, musicians, classical singers and rock bands, including a Beatles concert in 1964.

But tonight musicians, song-writers, families and friends have gathered at the Town Hall for the Australasian Performing Right Association (APRA) Silver Scroll Awards to witness the inauguration of the band Herbs into the New Zealand Music Hall of Fame. Herbs are being recognised as the founders of Pacific reggae in New Zealand, and for their "enormous contribution to the cultural fabric of life in this country, while forging a unique and original sound"¹. I'm here because of my work on this thesis at the invitation of Toni Fonoti, who brought the first Herbs musicians together. Last night I went to the APRA reception for Herbs and met some of the past and present members of the band.

My seat is in the front row of the balcony, and standing next to me in the aisle is a photographer holding a still camera with an enormous telephoto lens. Beyond him the seats have been removed and the central space is taken up by film crews and cameras and computer monitors. There's much tinkering with wiring and cables going on. On the far side of the balcony cameras, lights, white reflective screens and chairs are set up, and people come and go for interviews with Māori TV.

1 APRAAMCOS's Director of New Zealand Operations Anthony Healey cited by APRA (2012)

The seats beside me and behind me are beginning to fill up with guests and supporters. Below us, on the ground floor, people are eating and talking at large circular dining tables and young people dressed in black carry trays of drinks and food through the room. The lights go down, I lean forward, and proceedings begin on the stage with a series of bands covering songs chosen as finalists for best song of the preceding year. Then it's time to celebrate Herbs.

After a roll call of the names of 11 previous inductees into the New Zealand Music Hall of Fame, master of ceremonies Dai Henwood gives way to musician Che-Fu (Che Kuo Eruera Ness) who greets the audience "Kia ora everybody...What's Be Happen?". (What's Be Happen? is the title of Herbs' first mini-album.) His introduction to Herbs is witty and warmly respectful of the band members, who included his "uncles" Dilworth Karaka and Toni Fonoti. According to Che-Fu, Herbs:

...weren't afraid to reinvent themselves... they weren't afraid to highlight the injustices that they were faced with ... they were fearless. They were forging a new path for themselves and we needed it back then... this was during the time of the Land Marches [to protest against the loss of Māori land], the Springbok Tour [the Apartheid South African rugby tour of New Zealand in 1981], and Muldoonism [government under National Party Prime Minister Sir Robert Muldoon, 1975-1984] ... when the prospect of a kōhanga reo [a total immersion Māori language kindergarten] was just wishful thinking.... So when "French Letter" dropped, it was like, thank you God... ² It was witty, it was scathingly poignant. Herbs were a band that was

² Herbs' 1982 single challenged French testing of nuclear bombs in the South Pacific and came to symbolise New Zealand's anti-nuclear stance (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012). Its reggae beat, and its use of accordion music and French language to direct its message to the French - "Get out of the Pacific – Quittez la Pacifique" (Graham Reid, APRAAMCOS, 2012) - made it a hit single for eleven weeks, even though it had no radio play (Will 'Ilolahia, APRAAMCOS, 2012). [see APRAAMCOS (2012) and link to "Herbs' induction into the New Zealand Music Hall of Fame at the APRA Silver Scroll Awards" <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rO6rOVSnvyc&feature=youtu.be>].

politicised and they weren't afraid. The rebels had spoken and I loved them for that....³

We watch the large screen above the stage. It shows clips of the band performing songs, snippets of archive news footage and shots of album covers over a soundtrack of Herbs' music.

There are commentaries and tributes from musicians including Ryan (Captain Funk) and Betty-Anne Monga from the band Ardijah, Tim Finn and the band UB 40, and from journalists and others closely associated with the band. Colin Hogg (music writer and producer) and Will 'Ilolahia (Herbs' first manager) tell tales of the band's early apprenticeship, performing at the Trident – a (“scary”) pub in Auckland's Onehunga - singing in the corner amid fights and flying bottles. Musician Don McGlashan highlights the influence of Bob Marley who demonstrated the possibility of having “a pointed lyric” and at the same time a music that makes people want to dance and move: “Herbs took that and ran with it... made it Pacific”. 'Ilolahia and Tigilau Ness explain that the band faced difficulties because of their political message, and because people were afraid of what they had to say about Māori land rights. Journalist and music critic Graham Reid points out that Herbs' songs which commented on social issues and raids on the homes of Pacific Island “over-stayers” were political at a time when New Zealand had no history of political bands. They were, as Tigilau Ness adds, a voice for oppressed people.

Then, “Give it up for Herbs!” Past and present members of the band start to emerge from between the tables nearest the stage... spotlights are finding them in the darkness of the auditorium. The musicians gather on stage to the noise of applause and their song “Dragons and Demons”, followed by a roll call of 17 names that includes the deceased Fred Faleauto and Charles Tumahai. Greeting the audience in several Pacific languages and in English, Dilworth Karaka

³ See “Herbs' induction into the New Zealand Music Hall of Fame at the APRA Silver Scroll Awards” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rO6rOVSnvyc&feature=youtu.be>).

explains that they had met last night after some 20 years without seeing each other, “and it was like yesterday, the magic, the spirit, the love... it was all there, it was reborn again”. As Karaka finishes speaking the musicians break into a spontaneous a cappella singing of the traditional Māori waiata (song) “E Papa” led by Willie Hona. I am standing, everyone is standing, and like everyone else I am singing, with great pride to be part of this.

At the close of the awards ceremony Don McGlashan speaks as APRA New Zealand Writer Director to summarise Herbs’ achievements. He describes the band as having broken down numerous doors when they arrived on the New Zealand music scene in the early 1980s:

They fused Pacific and reggae sounds into something unique and relevant to this part of the world; they gave a voice to an emerging, politically-aware audience that had grown up with the Springbok Tour, Bastion Point [the extended occupation of former Māori land in Auckland in order to prevent its sale] and Mururoa [a Pacific atoll used for notorious French atomic tests], and they gave a generation of young Māori and Pasifika musicians and songwriters a new path to follow.

Suddenly, the spotlight had moved, and original New Zealand music could be as culturally diverse as the people who make up this country. That spotlight hasn't shifted back; it's continued to expand to this day, and the vibrant, multi-cultural music scene that we now enjoy owes much of its existence to this one band.⁴

Herbs and their album *What’s Be Happen?*

Herbs’ significant contribution to cultural life in New Zealand was publicly acknowledged by The Silver Scroll Awards ceremony on 13th September 2012. The commentaries and tributes celebrate Herbs’ music, their cultural influence, and their political stance in what is described as an important period of activism

⁴ See APRAAMCOS (2012).

(Hubbard, 2010) that contributed to significant social change in New Zealand (King, 2003). More recently on 15 April 2015 Herbs musicians, Warrior Records founder Hugh Lynn, and label and artist manager Will 'Ilolahia were awarded the Independent Music New Zealand (IMNZ) Classic Record award for *What's Be Happen?* (1981) at the Taite Music Prize event (Stehlin, 2015). The award recognizes New Zealand's "rich history of making fine albums that continue to inspire us and that also define who we are" (Independent Music New Zealand, 2015, para.4). In June 2015 the band was again recognised in the Manukau Institute of Technology Lifetime Achievement Award at the Vodafone Pacific Music Awards in Auckland. That award was for *What's Be Happen?*, described at the ceremony as a ground breaking album of social commentary, as well as for Herbs' second album *Light of the Pacific* (1983), and the songs on both albums that continue to "inspire, create and heal" new generations (Stehlin, 2015).

This thesis provides an analysis and interpretation of *What's Be Happen?* Herbs' album constitutes a popular nexus that connects, marks and speaks "with a righteous anger" (Reid, 2009, para. 4) of salient international and domestic political events and issues, in a particular discursive space that falls outside the dominant discourses at that time. New Zealand's first reggae album, has been described as a defining moment in the history of New Zealand popular music (Reid, 2009) in which the multi-ethnic mix of five musicians introduced an innovative and distinctive style of Pacific reggae (Dix, 2005). In 1981 Herbs consisted of vocalist and song-writer Toni Fonoti of Samoan heritage, Tongan drummer Fred Faleauto and guitarist Spenser Fusimalohi, Māori rhythm guitar player Dilworth Karaka and European bassist and song-writer Phil Toms. In localising Jamaican roots reggae⁵, the extended play album (EP) embodies the influence of Bob Marley on Māori and Pacific Islands musicians, activists and audiences in particular, for whom Marley's music "became part of the fabric of

⁵ Roots reggae as defined by Weber (2000) is the form popularised internationally by Bob Marley and others, featuring full instrumentation and harmonized vocals ; it is less frequently heard now in Jamaica, where "dancehall" reggae form predominates, with spoken vocals and computer-generated backing.

the post-colonial... experience of history and their search for identity” (Fala, 2008, p. 85).

What's Be Happen? is an important cultural artefact that discursively constructs and contests political and social realities in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The period leading up to the release of Herbs' album in 1981 is described by historian James Belich (2001) as a time of critical change in New Zealand's recent history. Historians and social commentators agree that the events and issues so fiercely contested and debated at that time had a significant influence in shaping subsequent opinion and many New Zealanders' senses of identity (see Belich, 2001; Minto, 2009; Phillips, 2006; Waring, 2009). The conflicts and campaigns were struggles over human rights, associated ethical values, and national identity, the kind of society people wanted New Zealand to be (historian Jock Phillips, cited in Hubbard, 2010). These included protest over the loss of Māori ancestral land (King, 2003; Walker, 2004). There were protests against nuclear testing in the Pacific and critical degradation of the environment, and against racism in the form of South African apartheid (Chapman, 2009; Sinclair, 1988). Highly socially-divisive demonstrations took place against the New Zealand tour of South Africa's racially-selected international rugby team (Mita, 1983; Sinclair, 1988). Other protests arose over local racism in government and police treatment of Polynesian “over-stayers” as well as the day to day police treatment of newly urban Māori and Pacific Islands people (Belich, 2001; Carlyon & Morrow, 2008). The 1970s also saw the rise of the feminist movement in Aotearoa New Zealand and elsewhere, and struggles for women's and gay rights (King, 2003; Waring, 2009).

New Zealanders' experiences and responses to some of these conflicts form the social and political context for Herbs' songs and are constituted in the lyrics that are the main focus of this thesis. Significant themes in the lyrics of *What's Be Happen?* have been identified by Graham Reid (2009) as relating to “the realities of street life for young Polynesians” and the struggle against apartheid in South Africa (para.4). Coverage of the Vodafone Pacific Music Awards in the TV documentary *Tangata Whenua* similarly highlights the album's social commentary on race relations in New Zealand and the Springbok tour as well as

the increasing awareness of spiritual, cultural and political dislocation suffered by New Zealand born Pacific Islands people (Stehlin, 2015). My initial analysis of the album elaborates on these themes in identifying references to racist police treatment experienced by Māori and Pacific Islands youth in urban New Zealand (“Whistling In The Dark”); the loss of Māori ancestral land (“One Brotherhood”); the struggle against the racism of apartheid (referenced in “Azania (Soon Come)” and “One Brotherhood”); the dislocation from Pacific Island roots and the struggle of Pacific Islands people for material betterment in New Zealand (“What’s Be Happen?”); spirituality and the struggle between different internal voices (“Dragons and Demons”) as well as the death of Bob Marley and identification with reggae (“Reggae’s Doing Fine”). In Chapter Eight I identify the ways in which generally recognised themes in Herbs’ album are constituted by five key themes constructed in the music, the lyrics, and the album cover. The thesis therefore provides an opportunity to extend widely accepted understandings of the album in providing a more detailed analysis of the network of related themes and significant aspects of language use that produce its discourses.

The events and issues in the late 1970s and early 1980s referenced in Herbs’ album are historically important and have continued to reverberate through to the present time. A number of political, academic and historical commentators have written about the significance of these for New Zealanders and for the future of New Zealand (see for example, Belich, 2001; Carlyon & Morrow, 2008; King, 2003; Minto, 2009; Sinclair, 1988; Trotter, 2007; Waring, 2009). Their importance is evidenced by recent events that connect back to this period, such as the visit to New Zealand of South African President Nelson Mandela in 1995, by the continuing circulation of related discourses in contemporary society, and recurring references to Herbs’ songs (see Chapter Five).

Apart from the awards Herbs have received for their cultural contribution and for their album *What’s Be Happen?* there is evidence of the enduring cultural significance of individual songs from the album. “Dragons and Demons” was used to evoke the early 1980s in the recent New Zealand film “Boy” (Waititi, 2010). “Azania (Soon Come)” has been described as part of the sound track for

the anti-apartheid protests in 1981 (Maniapoto, 2015; Reid, 2015). And Herbs performed “One Brotherhood” at a reception in Auckland in 1995 for President Mandela, at which he thanked New Zealand’s anti-apartheid protestors on behalf of the people of South Africa (Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision, 2016). However, the issues referenced in Herbs’ album have not been examined from the perspective of song lyrics. Herbs’ music is referred to in Jennifer Cattermole’s (2004; 2011) study of themes in roots reggae songs in Aotearoa New Zealand and elsewhere, and Tony Fala (2008) interviewed Herbs musicians in his investigation of the influence of Bob Marley in Aotearoa. There has, however, been no study to date that analyses the “combination[s] of words and music” (Brackett, 1995, p. 29) that constitute the songs on the album, nor the album cover in terms of their relationship to the New Zealand social and political environment in the early 1980s.

Although it is a contested field, I privilege “words” (Brackett, 1995, p. 30) in focusing predominantly on the narrative of the lyrics in relationship to the political and social context at the time of the album’s release, and their co-construction of aspects of that context. It is argued in the field of musicology that because audiences hear lyrics and music at the same time, musicologists should avoid privileging one over the other in the study of popular songs (Brackett, 1995; Tony Mitchell personal communication November 26, 2010). However, while acknowledging the importance of the “music/text relationship” (Brackett, 1995, p. 30) I seek in my analysis to investigate meaning constructed in Herbs’ songs largely from a perspective of applied linguistics, broadly defined by the journal of *Applied Linguistics* as the application of theory in the study of language use in specific contexts (<http://appliedjournals.org/>) emphasising language as a system of communication and a form of social action (Kaplan, 2010), rather than as a musicological study. There is implicit support for such an approach in the work of musicologist Richard Middleton (1990). Middleton posits a three-pole model of “words/music” relationships in popular songs in which the second pole (“story”) relates to relationships in which oral text is predominant and “words as narrative...tend to govern rhythmic and harmonic flow”, as opposed to those in which words are deployed as “affect” (emotional expression) or as “gesture” (sound) (p. 231). This categorisation of relationships

in which words as narrative are the controlling element suggests support for a privileging of lyrics in analysis of this type of song. The thesis does also take account of the effects of musical genre and style (see Brackett, 1995) including features such as Pacific influences and tempo in Herbs' recorded performance of these songs. In considering these features it draws on Herbs musicians' own descriptions of their music as well as other New Zealand musicians' comments on Pacific reggae.

Extending Bakhtin's theories and concepts to popular songs

The analysis of Herbs' songs is framed by the theories of Russian philosopher, theorist and literary critic Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin (1895-1975). Bakhtin is among the twentieth century's most significant literary theorists, and his approach to literature continues to be productive across the range of the contemporary humanities (Renfrew, 2015). His influential concepts and terms have become part of the lexicon of language and discourse theory as well as literary criticism (Eagleton, 2007b). Furthermore, Bakhtin's theories and certain of his concepts have been fruitfully applied for example to literary texts in the work of David Lodge (1990); as an aspect of the analysis of biblical text in the work of Alan Bell (2011); and to non-literary texts by Chik Collins (1999; 2000).

This thesis extends the work of other studies that have applied Bakhtin's ideas to contemporary cultural forms. Bakhtin's work has been mobilised by Esther Peeren (2008) in her analysis of contemporary cultural products that were beyond his sphere of interest and analytic focus, including television series, films, and London's Notting Hill Carnival. In extending Bakhtin's work beyond his field of analysis Peeren describes herself as staging a confrontation between certain of Bakhtin's concepts, selected artefacts and other theoretical frameworks and concepts relating to identity. As in Peeren's analysis, this study produces encounters that are fruitful in "pushing" Bakhtin's concepts into new circumstances.

Bakhtin's theory of dialogism and particular tools of analysis have also been extended to popular music in David Brackett's (1995) study of James Brown's (1970) song "Superbad" (reviewed in Chapter Two). Brackett examines certain musical, linguistic and features of performance of the recorded song that include

internal and external dialogic relations and examples of double-voiced discourse (Bakhtin, 1981). In this context I use the term performative to refer to elements of the (recorded) performance of music (see Sawyer, 2003). Like Brackett I apply Bakhtin's theory of dialogism and the analytical category of double-voiced discourse in the examination of Herbs' album, and also extend other concepts from Bakhtin's analysis of novels to popular music. These include Bakhtin's (1981; 1984) concepts of heteroglossia, the stratified, dialogically interrelated set of speech practices of different social groups within a language at any given time (Hirschkop, 1986), and polyphony (multiple voices) as forms of double-voiced discourse (Baxter, 2014); the notion of appropriated language populated with new accents and intentions (Bakhtin, 1981; Voloshinov, 1986); as well as Bakhtin's concept of hybrid texts in which "two semantic intentions appear, two voices" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 189) and the notion of the chronotope (Bakhtin, 1981b), which is extended to explore representations of time and space in the narratives of Herbs' songs. As in Peeren's study, Bakhtin's theories encounter other theories in the thesis. These include theories of identity (for example, Bhatia & Ram, 2001b; Frith, 1996; Hall, 1990; Hermans, 2001b), as well as the theorisation of popular music as a marker of cultural identity (Shuker, 2008b) and of the relationship between language and form in poetry (Eagleton, 2007). The analysis involves encounters between Bakhtin's concepts and notions that relate for example to the appropriation and localisation of musical genres (Pennycook & Mitchell, 2009) and to the micro-genre of the slogan (Pechey, 2001). Such encounters test the value of Bakhtin's ideas and analytical tools in this context and their relevance in theorising the discourses of social commentary, resistance and protest in Herbs' songs.

Rationale for a predominantly Bakhtinian approach

I argue that Bakhtin's work has relevance for an analysis of Herbs' songs for a number of related reasons. As this section explains, these are his focus on popular culture and literary texts; his conceptualisation of utterances as ethical acts; his politicisation of theories of language and discourse; his focus on the construction of meaning and understanding (Renfrew, 2015) and his underpinning and overarching notion of dialogism (see Bakhtin, 1981), which

conceives meaning as a dynamic and relational phenomenon (Bostad, Brandist, Evensen & Faber, 2004).

In adopting a Bakhtinian framework for analysis this thesis occupies a different space from previous studies that have referred to Herbs' songs. I ground the analysis of this popular cultural product in a theoretical approach that explicitly regards popular culture as "the privileged bearer of democratic and progressive values" (Hirschkop, 1986, p. 92), valorises its products, and privileges discourse that has the power to subvert the authority of monologic discourse (see Bakhtin, 1981c; Hirschkop, 1986). The term monologism is used by Bakhtin (1984) to signify discourse that expects no answer. As Jayne White (2009) explains, for Bakhtin monologism represents "the shutting down of dialogue" (p. 1) and authoritative claims to a single truth that make no allowances for other perspectives. It denotes a single evaluative point of view as well as an authoritarian attitude towards another discourse (Brandist, 2014). Bakhtin (1986f) in contrast posits a culture and language in which all have the right to speak and none has absolute authority or the final word.

Bakhtin's identification of ethics as a dimension of language and discourse (Hirschkop, 1999; Nielsen, 1995) and his conceptualisation of utterances as ethical acts are particularly compatible with an analysis of lyrics that engage with moral values associated with opposition to racism and indigenous peoples' loss of rights and land. The theorisation of dialogic discourse (Bakhtin, 1981), building upon an early philosophical concern with inter-subjective relationships (Bakhtin, 1993) that was later recast in terms of discursive interaction (Brandist, 2014) incorporates the social act of speech as an act of position-taking and commitment (Hirschkop, 1999, p. 35). On this view, every utterance is an ethical deed (Dentith, 1995; Holquist, 1990), and language choices are ethical choices (Nielsen, 1993).

This analysis of Herbs' songs which speak *inter alia* of political struggles over human rights is positioned in a theoretical framework that politicises language and discourse (see for example, Hirschkop, 1986). Bakhtin (1981) conceptualises language as embodying dialogic social relations based on different world views and values, and as a site of struggles between centralising authoritative

(monologic) forces and decentralising (dialogic) forces. His notion of heteroglossia signifies the strata of socially-determined linguistic forces within a language and in its products: dialects, socio-ideological languages and genres embody differing values, conceptualisations and social experience as well as the contingent social and historical forces that form language (Morson & Emerson, 1990). Language users, and particularly those involved in creative work, face the necessity to make ethical and political choices between these different discourses: to “actively orient [themselves] amidst heteroglossia... [to] move in and occupy a position for [themselves] within it” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 295).

I employ the word discourse in the thesis in two main ways that draw upon Bakhtin’s theory of dialogic relations in language and discourse, his own usage of the Russian term *slovo* (“word”), translated as discourse, and his concept of heteroglossia: as an approach to the “choice of linguistic means” in a particular utterance (Bakhtin, 1986c, pp. 84-85), and as stratified and institutionalised sets of speech practices (Hirschkop, 1986) characterised by particular values, meanings and objects (Bakhtin, 1981).

Bakhtin’s (1981) conceptualisation of the variety of discourses in the heteroglossia of the modern novel has relevance for analysis of texts that represent subordinate voices (Hirschkop, 1986) and those that construct political resistance (Robinson, 2011). As David Lodge (1990) explains, a range of discourses in the discursive, literary space of a novel establishes “resistance... to the dominance of any one discourse” (p. 22). Developed at a time of volatile political and social tensions in the Soviet Union, heteroglossia foregrounds language as the material of conflicting ideologies (Hirschkop, 1986) and challenges the authority of monologic discourse, such as the discourse of the Stalinist state (Shepherd, 1989b).

Although some might regard it as a leap to extend the political values associated with Bakhtin’s concept of heteroglossia in a literary context to the social and political realm, as Ken Hirschkop (1999) and Simon Dentith (1995) argue, the concept has significant implications for critiquing civil society. Bakhtin uses the term to denote the dialogic, social and institutional nature of discourse (Hirschkop, 1986) as well as the involvement of discourse in social struggle and

historical becoming (Bakhtin, 1981). The concept offers a prism through which to view the historical, political and social implications of language in practice (Blackledge & Creese, 2014).

Bakhtin's theory of dialogism in discourse is complex and operates on a number of levels (Dentith, 1995; Holquist, 1981). It includes an emphasis on "social context" in the construction of meaning (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 300) which is relevant to an analysis of songs that comment on specific events and social issues.

Bakhtin (1981) views meaning as a dialogical experience dependent on factors beyond basic propositional content. These include circumstances and events as well as the words of others (Bakhtin, 1986f) in a particular social and ideological environment at a particular historical time, (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986) that help to determine stylistic form and content (Bakhtin, 1981). Bakhtin's (1986c) dialogic conceptualisation of meaning stresses its inter-subjective quality as a social act:

"the fact that it is always found in the space between expression and understanding" (Hirschkop, 1999, p. 4). Meaning "emerges" from the relationship between discourse and context (Zbinden, 2006, p. 17), in an utterance's response to previous discourses as part of a chain of communication, in its addressivity and orientation towards a future response, and in the responsive understanding of those who listen or read (Bakhtin, 1986c).

Understanding is dependent on the reader or listener's background of knowledge and experience (Bakhtin, 1981), that is, "what the reader [or listener] brings to it" (Paton, 2000, p. 168). It is "a correlation of a given text with other texts... and reinterpretation, in a new context" (Bakhtin, 1986f, p. 161).

In practice Bakhtin's acknowledgement of social and cultural context, of "the social life of discourse outside the artist's study" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 259), is largely implicit (see Barsky, 1998; Brandist, 2002; Paton, 2000) in his work on Dostoevsky (Bakhtin, 1984) for example, or no more than generalised, as in his analysis of Dickens' *Little Dorrit* (Bakhtin, 1981). However, the fact that much of Bakhtin's life was lived through periods of political turmoil and oppression could explain the absence of more explicit connections between discourse and social forces in his work. What is important is that Bakhtin (1981) points to a

“sociological stylistics” (p. 300) that considers the ways in which the language of discourse is embedded in and constructs context.

Bakhtin’s ideas may at times be considered idealistic, ambiguous and flawed (as argued for example by Brandist, 2000, 2002; Shepherd, 2001) and may include apparently contradictory elaborations of the concept of dialogism (Peeren, 2008). Nonetheless, as Ken Hirschkop (1986; 1999) argues, the great level of interest in Bakhtin is because of the relationship dialogism constructs between literary values and socio-political values and its significant contribution to the project of democracy.

In the context of a life lived through the First World War, the Russian Revolution, Stalinism and the Second World War, Bakhtin’s overarching philosophical task was to seek an understanding of what constitutes an ethical act in inter-subjective relations (Bakhtin, 1993) which led to an eventual focus on discursive interaction (Hirschkop, 1999). In doing so he built upon the work of philosophers and theorists such as Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), G. W. F. Hegel (1770 - 1831) and Max Scheler (1874-1928) (see discussions of such influences in Brandist, 2000, 2002; Poole, 2001) to produce innovative theories and concepts that have been widely influential across discipline areas (see for example, Mandelker, 1995).

Bakhtin may have been forced by political circumstances to refrain from overt political and social commentary in a way that Herbs musicians were not. However, the connection between Bakhtin’s lived history, his theories and concepts, and the ethical motivations that helped engender them provide a sympathetic framing for this analysis of Herbs’ album.

Research questions

I am arguing that given the political nature of Herbs’ album, Bakhtin’s theories and concepts are relevant to the analysis in this thesis, which addresses two research questions:

1. How does Herbs’ album *What’s Be Happen?* construct, comment on and contest contemporaneous political and social events and conditions?

2. How do Bakhtin's theories and concepts contribute to the analysis and interpretation of *What's Be Happen?*

Approaches to analysis

In the spirit of Bakhtin's (1986c) idea of understanding as active and "inherently responsive" (p.68), my analysis of the album brings to bear tools of literary and discourse analysis from Bakhtin's work, and applies those that seem most relevant to the interpretation of social commentary, resistance or protest in the album and in each song. Choices I make in the application of analytical tools and in the presentation of the analysis are part of a particular response and interpretation. Relationships and features that are seen to contribute significantly to the construction of meaning in one song may not be relevant in another.

Bakhtin and his Circle were opposed to systems and mechanisms that stifle dialogue (Emerson, 1997). They argued that the "abstract objectivism" of systems, exemplified by Saussure's synchronic linguistics that was seen as "reifying the system of language" (see Voloshinov, 1986, p. 81), diverted attention from the social functions of language and its "living, dynamic reality" (Dentith, 1995, p. 123), and reduced the particularity of human acts to theoretical principles. Bakhtin (1981) viewed the creative response of understanding as dependent on the reader or listener's background of knowledge and experience. The analyst is part of the dialogising background in which meaning is recast in new contexts of understanding, and new perspectives are brought to bear (Peeren, 2008).

Bakhtin's theories imply the need to avoid monologic and definitive statements of "truth" in analysing the meaning of utterances. Instead, analysis should be seen as "an interpretative textual enquiry" (Hirschkop, 1986, p. 94). Such interpretation, as Bakhtin's theories suggest and Paton (2000) argues is contingent on an exploration and rich description of the context of a text's production, including other texts, and its orientation towards its reception, as well as close attention to language and style.

In line with Bakhtin's focus on meaning and understanding, and given the referents of Herbs' lyrics as well as Bakhtin's emphasis on the significance of

social context for meaning, my approaches to analysis begin by broadly identifying key social, political and ethical themes in the lyrics. This is followed by an examination of relevant historical issues and events in contemporaneous and subsequent texts that relate to these themes.

I investigate three key areas of dialogic relations in Herbs' songs. These include relationships between the songs and the social events they reference, such as the conflict at Bastion Point, as well as between the Jamaican reggae genre and Pacific musical traditions, and those embodied in discernible references to specific other texts, such as particular Bob Marley songs. In addition, Bakhtin's (1981b) concept of the chronotope (differing configurations of time/space relationships) in literary texts is employed as a framework for analysing relationships embodied in representations of space and time in Herbs' lyrics.

Analysis also includes exploration of choices made among the heteroglossia of the English language, and choices of narrative style such as the use of particular forms of double-voiced discourse as well as the use of polyphony (multivoicedness) (Bakhtin, 1984) in the recorded performance of songs. I supplement Bakhtin's (1981) ideas about the relationship between content and form by drawing on aspects of literary theorist and critic Terry Eagleton's (2007) contemporary approach to the analysis of poetic discourse. This approach is extended here to popular song lyrics as similarly "compressed structures of language" (p. 52) to investigate internal dialogic relationships constructed in features such as rhyme and repetition.

Following and building on the analysis of Herbs' songs, I examine images and text on the record sleeve, including the list of songs on the two sides of the record album, and present a more detailed examination of key themes and recurrent features of language use that produce its discourses.

I draw on interviews with Herbs' songwriters Toni Fonoti and Phil Toms in the examination of the context and the analysis of the album.

Musical performance and event

Terry Eagleton raises an important issue in relation to analysis, which is the extent to which song lyrics can be treated “in abstraction from the whole musical event and experience” (personal communication, November, 11, 2009). In response to this point it needs to be acknowledged that because I approach the meanings of the lyrics of Herbs’ recorded songs from the perspective of applied linguistics, and because I lack the skills of a musicologist, considerations of aspects of performance are necessarily limited to significant sonic and verbal aspects, and are informed by interviews with Herbs’ songwriters and musicians. In the case of recordings like Herbs’ album, visually performative aspects of music “made by bodies and listened to by bodies” such as gestures, with their significance for the acquisition of knowledge and as a form of “cognition in process” (Johnson, 2013), are inevitably missing.

From a musicological point of view, live music is uniquely instructive (Johnson, 2013), and “it is in the irreversible experience of playing [works of music] or listening to them [as they are performed] that ‘the meaning of their meaning’ is given voice” (Abbate, 2004, p. xviii). Drawing from the ideas of Vladimir Jankélévitch (2003), Carolyn Abbate focuses on the experience of live (classical) musical performance as an ‘event’ rather than a ‘work’, as an ‘act’ rather than a ‘text’. Her examination of the dichotomy between performance and interpretation encapsulates Jankélévitch’s distinction between “drastic” and “gnostic”. The former refers to “the modes of doing” (Jankélévitch, 2003, p.77) which constitute the knowledge that emerges from the physical experiences of composing, playing and singing of music, as well as listening to music. Gnostic, in contrast, relates to knowledge constructed through verbally mediated reasoning that tends to focus on music as a text. For Abbate, gnostic is “the abstraction of the work” (2004, p. 505), while “real music is music that exists in time, the material acoustic phenomenon...Musical sounds [that] are made by labor...a material, present event” (Abbate, 2004, p. 505-506). It is perhaps in part this distinction that Eagleton draws attention to.

While acknowledging this distinction, it is also important to note a point made in Chapter Two, which is that although resources such as tablature and on-line

tuition videos on platforms such as Youtube are now available for amateur and professional rock musicians who want to learn to play a particular style of music, for earlier rock musicians, recordings have constituted primary texts (Gracyk, 2001) and therefore have had a particular significance. Music philosopher Theodore Gracyk points out that it has been predominantly through familiarisation with and imitation of recorded songs that rock musicians learned to play in particular styles, rather than through exposure to live musical events or reading a musical score. (Eagleton (2007) states in relation to poems as texts, that meaning is as much a matter of form, including aspects of rhythm, tone, pitch and structure, as “content”. Meaning (the semantic) is grasped in terms of its dialogic relationship to sound, rhythm, structure and so on (the non-semantic), which also generate meaning (Eagleton, 2007). In examining these Herbs’ songs the experience of performance is limited to recorded musical, vocal and verbal (sonic and phonic) elements. It is however possible to take account of aspects of experienced musical form and the impact of these on meaning in the context of the album as an event at a particular historical time. These aspects include tempo, rhythm, tone, sound intensity, structure and harmonisation.

Furthermore, while much of what was recorded may have been played “live” at the time of the recording, recording studio technology allows for the electronic manipulation of sound and the insertion of sonic elements such as the sounds of the sea at the beginning and end of the title track, “What’s Be Happen?” I argue that these additional elements, which may not have been easy to incorporate in live performances at the time, serve to extend dialogic relationships and to augment meaning.

Personal statement

This study combines my long-standing interest in popular music and song lyrics and a love of reggae with my research interests in the areas of language and discourse. I bought my first reggae album when Bob Marley and the Wailers’ *Catch a Fire* (1973) was released.

Music transmits and articulates cultural memory (Bennett, 2010) and produces expressions of place (Frith, 1998; Mitchell, 2009). It has unparalleled power to articulate identities “at every level from the individual to the national” (Johnson,

1997, p. 6). The thesis has provided me, as a migrant to New Zealand, with a hugely valuable opportunity to learn more about the country's culture, history and stories through the medium of a highly valued but under-researched cultural artefact, and with the participation of musicians who produced it. For this I am very grateful.

I studied English, French and Russian language and literature as an undergraduate student at a time when the influence of the literary critic F.R. Leavis (author of *The Great Tradition*, 1948) and similar approaches were still dominant in university departments of English in Britain. Such approaches involved a focus on literary texts that isolated them from their cultural and historical contexts (see Eagleton, 1996). I remember submitting an essay on D.H. Lawrence which connected his work to its social context, and receiving a poor grade with the comment "This is not what we do here". Although it was too late for me and my peers as undergraduates, in my final year of study at the University of Bristol we began to see the arrival of young academics influenced by people like Raymond Williams (see for example, Williams, 1977), who had very different views on the relationships between texts and their contexts. In my present study Bakhtin's insistence on the importance of context for the construction and understanding of meaning provides theoretical support that legitimises an investigation of Herbs' songs in relation to their social, cultural and historical context, and as literary works and social and ethical acts (see Morson & Emerson, 1990). Nonetheless, undertaking this very rewarding study has at times felt rather like (defiantly) running with scissors!

Organisation of the thesis

This section explains the organisation of the thesis across the following eight chapters. The next chapter reviews literature related to popular music in a number of areas in order to establish a framework for the analysis and interpretation of Herbs' songs and their appropriation of reggae. The analysis of the album builds on this knowledge base and draws on Bakhtin's theories and relevant concepts. Chapter Three outlines the life and work of Mikhail Bakhtin, providing a context for his theories. It traces the development of his theory of language and discourse, describes key associated concepts (focusing particularly

on those that have relevance for the thesis), includes consideration of Bakhtin's contribution as a cultural theorist and refers to certain critiques of his theories of discourse. Chapter Four describes and explains the approaches to analysis.

Chapter Five examines major issues and conflicts that form the social and political context for the album. In doing so it considers the significance of Bob Marley and his music for Māori and people whose origins are rooted in the Pacific Islands in particular, as well as the formation of Herbs in the late 1970s and the band's appropriation of reggae. Chapter Six is the first of two chapters that present a detailed study of Herbs' songs in order to address the two research questions. The chapter examines the ways in which the four songs written by Toni Fonoti, grouped under the heading of "experience and identity", construct and comment on contemporaneous conditions and political and social events. Chapter Seven, headed "protest and resistance" similarly analyses the two most overtly political songs "Azania (Soon Come)" (France, 1981) and "One Brotherhood" (Toms, 1981).

Having analysed each of the six songs in relation to their context, Chapter Eight draws on this earlier analysis to consider features of the album as an artistic whole that produce the discourses of social commentary, resistance and protest, for which *What's Be Happen?* is recognised. The chapter includes considerations of aspects of the narrative architecture (Symes, 2004) of the record cover in their relationship to the social and political context of the album. Because features such as the images and title on a record sleeve are theorised as "thresholding devices" (Genette, 1997, p. 2; Symes, 2004, p. 95) it might seem logical to examine these before moving to an analysis of the songs they "present" (Genette, 1997, p. 102). However, I argue that the examination of such elements of paratext (Genette, 1997; Symes, 2004), in which I include the song order on the two sides of the record, is more meaningful in the thesis when considered in the context of my analysis of those six songs. Chapter Eight builds on my examination of the individual songs and the album cover to produce a more detailed analysis of themes and patterns of textual practice (Pennycook, 2010) across Herbs' album. Finally, Chapter Nine draws conclusions based on the thesis as a whole.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has introduced the New Zealand band Herbs and their first Pacific reggae album and has explained the rationale for choosing the album as the subject of this thesis. In doing so it has referred to recent recognition the band has received from the music industry in New Zealand. This acknowledged the new and distinctive style of Pacific reggae produced by Herbs (APRAAMCOS, 2012; Dix, 2005) and the musicians' role in highlighting and connecting important domestic and international political events and issues in *What's Be Happen?* (Reid, 2009; Stehlin, 2015) in a period of critical change in New Zealand's recent history (Belich, 2001). Although Cattermole (2004) includes the songs from *What's Be Happen?* in her analysis of roots reggae themes I have made the point that in spite of formal recognition by the music industry of Herbs' contribution and influence, there has been no academic study that focuses solely on Herbs and on this album in its relationship to the contemporaneous social and political environment. This thesis seeks to fill that gap from the perspective of the broad field of applied linguistics.

The chapter has explained the rationale for grounding the analysis of Herbs' album in Bakhtin's theories of dialogism, language and discourse. It has further explained that I extend a number of Bakhtin's concepts (such as heteroglossia, polyphony, and narrative forms) to the analysis of popular music for what appears to be the first time. In doing so I investigate the ways in which the album constructs, comments on and contests contemporaneous political and social issues and events, and how Bakhtin's theories and concepts contribute to the interpretation and analysis of Herbs' songs.

The next chapter includes a review of the cultural significance of popular music, as well as the development of reggae and the reasons for its global influence. It examines notions of identity and the role of popular music in the formation and articulation of a sense of identity, as well as reviewing a dialogic approach to the interpretation of meaning in popular songs.

Chapter Two: Popular music and meaning

“One of the pleasures of pop music is that we feel its effects before understanding its causes.” (Frith, 1989, p. 9)

Introduction

This chapter examines relevant literature in a number of areas that underpin and inform the analysis and interpretation of Herbs’ album *What’s Be Happen?* The chapter begins with a review of the variety of ways in which popular music has cultural significance, including references to the role of popular music in politics, social commentary and resistance. The next section of the chapter focuses in more detail on resistance and protest in music, as these are particularly salient for an analysis of Herbs’ songs. This is followed by an examination of literature relating to practices of resistance to oppression and critique in music of the African diaspora, which includes reggae from the Caribbean. Resistance in broad terms and in a literary context is defined by Barbara Harlow (1987) as the struggle against “dominant forms of ideological and cultural production” (p. 29). Oppression is defined by Morton Deutsch (2006) as the “repeated, widespread, [and] systematic” experience of structural injustice that is systematically reproduced in political, economic and cultural institutions (p. 10). In addition, social oppression is described as the relationship between classes or social groups, including ethnic groups, in which those that are dominant profit from the systematic exploitation, abuse and unjust treatment of other groups (Johnson, 2000). The following section of the chapter includes a more detailed examination of the roots of reggae as resistance music, as well as a summary of the origins of Rastafarianism (Rastafari) in Jamaica and its philosophy, because of the close relationship between reggae and Rastafari.

The contemporary literature on popular music frequently addresses the significant role of music in relation to the construction and articulation of a sense of identity. The chapter therefore includes a focus on identity and identification in popular music, and relevant information from texts that refer specifically to issues of identity in the context of New Zealand popular music. I begin this section on Music and Identity by examining literature that defines notions of

identity from a number of discipline areas, including dialogic theories of identity. Because Herbs' songs on the album are predominantly reggae songs I also explore approaches to the notion of appropriation of musical forms and include a discussion of the significance of recordings as primary texts.

The next part of the chapter reviews Theodore Gracyk's (2001) approach to the interpretation of meaning in popular music; Gracyk's analysis is dialogic and implicitly framed by the theories of Bakhtin, and thus fits the overall framework for the study. Another section of the chapter identifies studies that have examined popular songs and reggae music from a variety of different perspectives; some of these are examined further in discussion of approaches to analysis in Chapter Four. This last section focuses particularly on David Brackett's (1992) analysis of James Brown's song "Superbad" (1970), which draws explicitly on Bakhtin's theory of dialogism, and is a valuable illustration of the relevance of Bakhtin's ideas in its examination of particular aspects of song lyrics.

The cultural significance of popular music

Popular music and song lyrics have cultural significance in a number of key ways. In broad terms, music serves to preserve, transmit and articulate cultural memory (Bennett, 2010; Cohen, 1998; Cooper, 1991); it "taps collective memories of the past" (Lipsitz, 1994, p. 153) and embodies traditions (Nyairo & Ogude, 2005). The expression of African-American music in its different forms and particularly its vocal forms, for example, illustrates the ways in which African traditions such as the call and response⁶ have been reorganized in successive genres (Baraka, 1999, p. 188); each new African-America genre is part of the "changing same" (Baraka, 1999, p. 203). Music and song have also been employed to embody invented traditions, as illustrated by Eric Hobsbawm's discussion (1994) of the use of the *Marseillaise* as an official symbol of the invented traditions of the Third Republic, in building the French modern nation

⁶ Call and response - a form of interaction in which a musical phrase, melody or utterance is answered or echoed by a non-verbal or verbal response from other musicians or listeners - has been identified as the most significant feature of West African music (see O'Brien Chang & Chen, 1998).

state. Similarly, Derek Scott (2010) traces the history of the British National Anthem over three centuries to illustrate the ways in which music can be used politically to help forge national and class identities. And Benedict Anderson has emphasized the significance of national anthems in identifying the “imagined communities” that constitute nations (Anderson, 1991, p. 145).

Music is capable of defining places (Frith, 1998); it produces expressions of place, as well as the traces of lands that are lost by people as a result of the processes of migration (Mitchell, 2009). Musicians use musical forms, styles of performance and lyrics to bring to mind attachments to particular places, whether intentionally or unintentionally (Lipsitz, 1994). George Lipsitz describes popular music as permeated by “a poetics of place” (p. 4). Furthermore, Lipsitz argues that because globally marketed recorded music voyages from place to place, it increases our appreciation of place by highlighting differences. In transcending boundaries, popular music demonstrates and accentuates differences in the ways that people in different places create cultural forms. This ability to make comparisons frequently leads to a deeper awareness and exploration of local traditions, historical experiences and memories of particular localities on the part of musicians and audiences (Lipsitz, 1994).

Studies of African-diasporic music have shown that music has the power to help people to endure, transcend and resist suffering (for example, Ellison, 1972; Springer, 2001; Werner, 1999), as well as to assert communal narratives and histories (Rose, 1994). Music has power to change emotions (Scott, 2010); and as Frith (2007) points out it has an important emotional function in the lives of individuals. People regularly use music themselves not only as “the soundtrack of everyday life” (Frith, 2007, p. 202) to accompany and help organise their activities, but also as a tool to control and change their own emotions, frames of mind or moods (p. 203). Frith argues that the music we listen to is more significant for our sense of self than the books we read or the films and TV programmes we watch. As a consequence, according to Frith (2007), social life is more effectively mapped by patterns of music consumption or use than by habits of reading or viewing: “[M]usic just *matters* more than any other medium...” (Frith, 2007, p. 205).

Bruce Johnson argues in relation to the cultural importance of music that:

The ubiquity of music is one of the definitive aspects of modern urban experience. It is not simply the amount of music that makes it important, but its unparalleled power as a way of articulating identities at every level from the individual to the national. (1997, p. 6)

Much of the recent literature relating to popular music has involved discussion of the relationship between music and identity (Frith, 2007). Sara Cohen (1998) for example describes popular music as stimulating a sense of identity, and particular musical forms are described as acting as markers of cultural identity (Lipsitz, 1994; Shuker, 2008b), while at the same time creating a network of identities among those who play and listen to them (Frith, 1996). (I examine aspects of music and identity in more detail later in this chapter.)

Perhaps most obviously, if sometimes over-looked, the performance and appreciation of music as a cultural activity and aesthetic practice brings people pleasure (Frith, 1996). Music induces people to dance and to take pleasure from its “pure sensuous flow” (Gracyk, 2001, p. 157) in a world in which for many there are few sources of pleasure or happiness. We absorb rhythm into our bodies; “we absorb songs into our own lives” (Frith, 1998, p. 273). Pleasure in music, according to Frith (1996), derives in part from its use as an aesthetic and social process through which in their responses to a song or to particular sounds, people both discover themselves and are drawn into emotional associations and relationships with others.

Gracyk (2001) argues that seeking pleasure from listening to music implies the need for engagement with the perspectives and intentions of those who produce it, although does not make it clear that he is here excluding popular music genres such as novelty songs and easy listening. Audiences have a responsibility, according to Gracyk, to view music as a “directed utterance” (p.159) in the context of the historical and cultural context it expresses. For Gracyk “[mu]sic without history is music without meaning” (p. 159), and in his view audiences

commit themselves to hearing not only the emotions expressed, but also political ideas and attitudes that are expressed in the music they listen to.

To extend Frith's (1996) argument, in their responses to a song or to particular sounds people gain not only a form of pleasure in discovering themselves and being drawn into emotional associations and relationships with others, but also from being drawn into relationships based on communal interests (on solidarity). These include, as Lipsitz (1994) points out, shared political aspirations. The alliances forged between people who are moved both literally and metaphorically by listening to music can engender social change (Grossberg, 1992). According to Lipsitz (1994), popular music creates a form of micro-politics of affiliations and identity, and can act as a catalyst for new local and global social movements (such as the role of reggae in the growth of Rastafari as a social movement (Shuker, 2005)). These use the channels, circuits and networks of transnational capitalism and commodity exchange to reach beyond their local communities, to make known their struggles, and for promoting political education, agitation and resistance.

Because of its relevance for the analysis of Herbs' lyrics, the following section focuses particularly on this last notion of resistance and on protest in popular music.

Protest and resistance in popular music

While protest songs in the Anglophone world date back to medieval times, the terms protest and resistance have been used explicitly in discussions and studies of popular music since the 1930s (Laing, 2003). David Laing's distinction between protest and resistance songs is a useful starting point. Laing distinguishes between protest songs as overt statements of opposition to social, political and economic conditions, while he describes resistance songs as more opaque or coded in their expression of opposition and criticism.

Marvin Gaye's single "What's Going On" (Cleveland, Benson & Gaye, 1971), and the songs on the influential album of the same name, are protest songs (Smokey Robinson in *What's going on*, 2011). Driven by the singer's determination to release "a song with a conscience" the single was released with

great commercial success in January 1971 (What's going on, 2011). The album followed in May that year when the Vietnam War was at its peak, and at a time when people protesting against the war in the United States were being beaten by police at demonstrations and marches (What's going on, 2011). According to Smokey Robinson, the album reinvented soul music as a creative agent for social change in a series of thematically related songs that highlight and protest against social problems and injustices in America.

In contrast, Willie Walker's "South Carolina Rag-take 2" (Walker, 1930) is an illustration of Laing's categorisation of resistance songs as coded opposition. The lyrics have a surface meaning apparently related to the singer's or narrator's girlfriend "Talk about your girl, boy, oughta see mine". However, according to Robert Springer's (2001) analysis, the song presents a coded criticism in its comparison between the singer's (mean) girlfriend ("oughta see mine"), and the girlfriend of an unnamed addressee. The singer's girlfriend brings him petrol when he asks for water: "Begged for water, she bring gasoline, / Now, let me tell you, ain't that mean? / I wanna tell you, that ain't no way to do". Springer explains that the song's coded sub text indirectly (and therefore more safely) voices African-American experiences of frequently cruel mistreatment at the hands of white people (coded as "she"). Similarly, Lipsitz (1994) describes the lyrics of Thomas Mapfumo's songs as a covert ridiculing of the Rhodesian authorities in coded language that was easy for audiences to understand, but difficult for the authorities to censor.

However, Barbara Harlow (1987) suggests a notion of resistance in poetry that differs from the idea of resistance as coded opposition, and is extendable to analysis of resistance and protest in popular song lyrics. Harlow's text *Resistance Literature* focuses on poems, narrative texts and prison memoirs of political detainees, written by people closely involved in struggles against colonialism and imperialist influences. She makes the point that the political function of poets has been highly contested among writers of resistance literature as well as among literary critics of that literature. That contest revolves around differences in perceptions about the role of the poet. These include the view that resistance writers have a drive to locate poems and narratives in specific contexts

and for these texts to be read as documents or case histories of particular lives and times. Stratagems of resistance poetry therefore include archival features; in effect rather than being coded, resistance poetry is documentary poetry which provides accounts of day to day historic details and historical struggles, events and people (Harlow, 1987). For example, South African poet A.N.C. Kumalo's "Poem of Vengeance" is explained as serving as a memorial to African National Congress members who were hanged in Pretoria Prison in November 1964. Kumalo's poem quotes from and revitalises a freedom song written by one of the hanged martyrs, Vuyusile Mini: "How did Mini and my brothers die / in that secret hanging place? ...singing Mini's own song / ... 'Naants' indod' emnyama Verwoerd' / – Watch out Verwoerd⁷ the black man will get you ..." (Harlow, 1987, p.p. 52-53).

There is incompatibility, according to Harlow, between the insistence of resistance writers on the "here and now of historical reality" (p. 16) and on the conditions of possibility of that reality, and (what she argues is) the Western view of poems and narratives as universal statements about the human condition. In Harlow's view this is a reflection of the tendency in Western cultural and literary studies for the political to be displaced by the social and the personal; in contrast, resistance literature emphasises the power of the political to alter the world.

As an example of coded resistance in popular songs, it is clear that the lyrics of "South Carolina Rag-take 2" (1930) do not include the type of specific, documentary details suggested by Harlow's account of resistance poetry. They instead produce a coded and allegorical expression of resistance. This apparent difference between resistance poetry and resistance songs may in part be explained if Laing (2003) particularly had in mind African-American genres, in which habits of indirection and circumlocution were a long-standing and necessary protection (Springer, 2001). For an enslaved and greatly oppressed

⁷ Hendrik Verwoerd was the architect of apartheid who became Prime Minister of South Africa in 1958. He was in fact assassinated in 1966, by a mixed race man, classed as "white", who under apartheid law was unable to live with or marry his mixed-race girlfriend, classed as "coloured" (see Martin & Wright, 2007).

people to articulate complaints or protests was to court physical danger (Springer, 2001). Even when emancipated from slavery, African-American people had good reason to continue their habits of indirection. On the other hand, while the statements of protest in the lyrics of Gaye's title track may be overt, details of the focus of protest are not as explicit as might be expected. An explanation might be the fact that although the album "What's Going On" is recognised as focusing thematically on the "here and now" of events in the US and the impact of the Vietnam War in the United States in the early 1970s, Gaye envisaged the songs as being translatable and relevant to other contexts (according to Smokey Robinson in *What's going on*, 2011). The relative non-specificity of the lyrical content therefore facilitates Gaye's intention. For example, in the title track the lines "Mother, mother / There's too many of you crying / Brother, brother, brother / There's far too many of you dying" and "Picket lines and picket signs / Don't punish me with brutality" could translate to and have relevance for a range of contexts where there is social conflict and / or war, including the American civil rights movement.

There is support for this explanation of the relative non-specificity of lyrical content in protest songs in the ideas of Gracyk (2001). The idea that musicians and song writers *intend* their songs to have meaning for future audiences is central to Gracyk's argument. If this is accurate it follows that protest song lyrics may to a degree inevitably lack explicitness and specific detail. Gracyk's point can be broadened usefully if musicians' intentions are seen as encompassing not only future audiences, but also contemporaneous other audiences in different social and cultural contexts. Also possibly relevant is the idea that musicians may be constrained by ambitions for commercial success, and by the reliance for the circulation of recorded music on "the conduits of commodity exchange within commercial culture" (Lipsitz, 1994, p. 153) in ways that resistance poets and the circulation of their poetry may not.

In order to explain the cultural roots of reggae music and the influences that have shaped it, the next section examines literature relating to resistance and the African diaspora before I move on to a closer focus on reggae music.

Resistance and the music of the African diaspora

The practices of resistance and “immanent critique” have a long tradition among populations of aggrieved and oppressed peoples and include the appropriation of different “instruments of domination” by putting these to different uses (Lipsitz, 1994, p.35). In illustration, Lipsitz cites enslaved people in the Southern states of nineteenth century America who inverted oppressive teaching by slave-owners about future rewards in heaven by instead focusing on Old Testament stories such as those of Samson, Moses and Daniel. These biblical heroes achieved deliverance on earth, rather than having to wait for heaven, and by implication encouraged slaves to seek their own deliverance. In another illustration of such appropriations, Black Trinidadian workers discovered that the dented oil drums discarded on their wharves and beaches by oil companies in the 1940s could be transformed into harmonic and melodic instruments that, through the combination of “rhythmic drumming and systematized pitch”, expressed their situatedness in both African and European traditions (Lipsitz, 1994, p.36). Lipsitz implies that to “turn the guns around” (p. 35) by taking control of the dented, empty oil drums and putting these to new, expressive use constitutes an inherent critique of the oppressive indifference of multinational oil to the effects of their operations.

Lipsitz (1994) argues that African-American culture and the larger cultural domain of the African diaspora has an outstanding ability to nurture and sustain cultural and moral alternatives to dominant values (1994). Because of this it has served as an important source of inspiration for alienated and aggrieved peoples who may lack other forms of resistive and oppositional practice. Lipsitz cites examples of Euro-American musicians who became part of the culture they sought to emulate, and “black by persuasion” (p. 55), and the young people around the world who have been inspired by hip hop and have embraced its political and moral messages.

In elaborating on the ways in which African American music such as hip hop presents alternatives for oppressed peoples (Lipsitz, 1994), Rose (1994) states that the global popularity of hip hop is testimony to the salience of narratives of oppression and “creative resistance” (p. 19) voiced in the lyrics and music of rap,

as part of hip hop culture. She explains the emergence of rap as a basis for different identity formation and social status in the 1970s at a time when already economically vulnerable African-American communities had been disproportionately affected by postindustrial influences and conditions in America's urban centres (Rose, 1994).⁸ Rose describes hip hop artists and rappers as creating a reflexive style that drew on and reworked African-American cultural traditions as well as earlier and contemporaneous artistic practices of the African diasporic. Shaped by technology and economic forces, embodying themes related to class relations, gender and ethnicity, and in alignment with Laing's (2003) description of resistance songs, it had the (resistive) advantage of not being widely understood. According to Rose, these qualities and the ability of hip hop style to fashion narratives that challenged and countered dominant narratives of an oppressive, "mobile and shifting enemy" may be the most effective approach to bolstering "communities of resistance" (1994, p. 61), while at the same time maintaining the right to shared pleasure. Rap's ability to draw audiences from around the world is a reflection of the "powerful conglomeration of voices" that speak about their position at the margins of society in America to those at the margins of other societies (Rose, 1994, p. 19). While some are attracted by the symbolic skill, creativity and energy of rappers in the face of oppression, the voiced anger and pain (as well as pleasure and desire) resonate for different reasons with the experiences of people from very different backgrounds but in similar positions around the world (Rose, 1994).

Luis Alvarez (2008) similarly describes the global spread of the production and the consumption of reggae as creating a diaspora of peoples whose cultural connections are based on "shared struggles for dignity in the face of the dehumanizing effects of colonisation and globalisation" (p.575). Localised reggae rhythms and lyrics construct and reflect local economic, social and

⁸ Rose (1994) recounts the ways in which the global and local social and economic restructuring of the 1970s had reduced employment opportunities for working class people, limited access to affordable housing and reduced social services. The relocations and dispersal of communities in the name of urban renewal led to the undermining of local communities' processes of knowledge sharing and transmission.

political histories, struggles and place-based identities. They also relate to the struggles of others and indicate the possibility of indigenous identity that draws on shared struggles and convergences (Alvarez, 2008). Thus reggae music, rooted in specific social and historical concerns, participates at the same time in the formation of a global cultural form through the dialogue between local influences and characteristics and those of other cultures (Lipsitz, 1994).

In his study of the globalisation of reggae, Thomas Weber (2000) classifies the global producers and consumers of roots reggae as an emergent social movement or intercultural, which shares a cultural form moulded by dialectical tensions between macro, global political or economic forces, and micro level desires for autonomy and the legitimisation of local cultural practices. Weber argues that reggae's globalisation has led to a new form of cultural politics, offering "visions and models of meaning and identity which can be consciously chosen" (p. 217) where the key focus is on changing values rather than on achieving particular political goals. In the context of his analysis of the political dimensions of the expressive culture of British black communities in the 1980s, Paul Gilroy (2002) suggests that reggae contributes locally and internationally to the sense of "collective power and [to the] shape" (p. 207) of the social movement for justice and black rights.

In order to analyse meanings associated with Herbs' appropriation of reggae rhythms, the following section examines the roots of reggae, including the influence of Rastafari philosophy and music. In doing so it draws particularly from Lloyd Bradley's work, *Bass Culture* (2001), which provides a detailed account of the musical and social evolution of reggae as a new musical form in the late 1960s, in post-independence Jamaica.

Reggae: its roots as resistance and message music

Reggae emerged in the late 1960s and Bradley (2001) explains that it was preceded and influenced by three notable Jamaican genres. Mento, the earliest, is an acoustic folk blend of African and Latin rhythms often involving a guitar, a banjo, a gourd shaker and a "rumba box" (or thumb piano) and was particularly

popular in the 1940s and 1950s⁹. Ska, which combined influences from mento folk music, elements of American rhythm and blues (R&B) and featured danceable rhythms with a strong mento after-beat¹⁰, was to become part of “the rhythmic foundation of reggae” (Campbell, & Brody, 2008, p. 340). Rocksteady had a slower beat than ska (Bradley, 2001), and combined its constant after-beat with a back-beat (Campbell & Brody, 2008); that is, emphasis on the second and fourth beats in 4/4 time rather than the more usual first and third beats. In terms of technique, Michael Campbell and James Brody explain that reggae evolved as a more flexible and complex treatment of the basic rocksteady rhythms, with a typical pattern of emphasis: “light or no sound on the beat, strong after-beats, [and] even stronger backbeats” (p. 340). In terms of meaning, some understand the “one-drop” rhythm, where the first beat of the bar is unstressed or absent (dropped) as signifying “the sense of historical loss associated with the Middle Passage” (Fala, 2008, p. 206). The Middle Passage is the name for the part of the trading route in which slaves from West Africa were transported to the Americas in atrocious conditions (Edmonds, 1998).

As Bradley explains, the beginnings of ska were influenced particularly by music producer and distributor (and later Jamaican Prime Minister) Edward Seaga, who partly as a result of his postgraduate studies in anthropology had a particular interest in Jamaican art and culture. This manifested itself in his recording of local bands and in his ambitions for the development of truly Jamaican music. Seaga introduced a mento element to an otherwise rhythm and blues style Jamaican boogie in Higgs and Wilson’s “Manny Oh”¹¹ (Wilson, 1959) by a new and subtle guitar chord emphasis on the offbeat. This echoed a similar off-beat stress supplied by the banjo in mento (Bradley, 2001). The record was a huge success, selling over 25,000 copies and demonstrating the demand for a more original and indigenous Jamaican sound (Bradley, 2001).

⁹ See for example Lord Messam’s mento song – “Take Her To Jamaica” (Edwards & Fields, 1952) http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vFjkth_3XfU.

¹⁰ The after-beat is between the main beats, as in one [and] two [and] three [and] four, where the guitar is strummed in time with the “ands”.

¹¹ See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WxgS4WVAWRQ>.

Similarly, Clement Dodd, a sound system man (“Sir Coxsone”) who became a record producer, built on his realisation that the most popular records he played were sung by people who sounded Jamaican rather than American. He created a rhythm and blues sound that inverted the R & B beat by shifting the stress to the after-beat. “People used to call the very early ska ‘upside down R& B’... this offbeat became the focus of all Jamaican music that followed on after it” (guitarist and musical arranger for Dodd, Ernie Ranglin, quoted in Bradley, 2001, p. 53).

However, Prince Buster, another sound system man who became a record producer felt that what was really needed was a music style that was “nothing to do with America” (quoted in Bradley, 2001, p. 57) but was rather a celebration of blackness and African roots. Initially Buster produced records that Bradley describes as innovatively transferring mento marching rhythms played on hand drums to a foot drum, guitar strumming and the saxophone. This was followed later by an increased indigenous cultural element when, with the moral support of Edward Seaga, and in defiance of widespread hostility among the Jamaican middle-classes and the Jamaican Broadcasting Corporation to Rastafari, he managed to persuade Rasta(farian) Count Ossie and his group of four drummers to join a recording session. Count Ossie was a Rasta master drummer who was highly respected in the ghetto community (Bradley, 2001). That session produced three songs, including the landmark “Oh Carolina”¹² (Folkes, 1960) with the three Folkes Brothers. The record became a huge hit. “This was the sound of the poor black Jamaicans” (Buster quoted in Bradley, 2001, p. 60) and according to Bradley, much of its enormous impact was as “a piece of cultural legislation” (p. 61):

For the first time in the nation’s history one of the few surviving African-based artforms – a true articulation of black Jamaicanness – had become involved with a commercially viable mainstream expression. It was a bond between Rastafari and the Jamaican music business that is still in place to this day,

¹² See <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WxgS4WVAWRQ>.

with each side doing as much for the other - while reggae gives Rasta access to the world stage, Rasta's depth of spirituality means reggae will always have something to say. (Bradley, 2001, p. 61).

The rising up of Rastafari

In the following paragraphs I examine the development of Rastafari because of its significant relationship with reggae; in doing so I draw largely from Bradley (2001). The origins of Rastafari stem from the significance for the African diaspora of the crowning of Ras Tafari as Emperor Haile Selassie I in Ethiopia in 1930 (Bradley, 2001). At that time Ethiopia was the sole independent, non-colonised African state. It was successfully fighting a war against colonial oppression by maintaining a unified land mass against the encroachment of the Italians: "politically, Ethiopia was the poster child of anti-colonialism" (Dawes, 2002, p. 26). Less than 100 years since slavery was abolished in the West Indies¹³ the crowning of Ethiopia's black king, who was not controlled by Europe and appeared to command respect around the world, meant that Haile Selassie I acted as an international focus for black pride and optimism. Bradley makes the important point that the significance of Ethiopia was familiar to black Christians throughout the Caribbean and the Americas because the 1611 King James Bible referred to the "whole continent of Africa" (p.67) as Ethiopia¹⁴. Black preachers and churches had used the term Ethiopia for some 200 years to distinguish their adapted approach to Christianity which acknowledged the suffering of black people, from that of their white masters. In embracing Christianity, black people placed emphasis on the aspects of it that resonated with African belief systems and on "the connections between the poor and the

¹³ The purchasing, transporting and sale of slaves was declared illegal in 1807 by the British government; owning slaves did not become illegal until 1834. The British Parliament passed a bill freeing children under six in the West Indies in August 1834. At the same time, other slaves were termed apprentices and were required to work unpaid for six years (The End of Slavery, BBC, n.d. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/africa/features/storyofafrica/>).

¹⁴ The Book of Genesis 2:13 refers for example to: "the whole land of Ethiopia" as encompassed by the river Gihon (<http://www.kingjamesBibleonline.org>). However other sources suggest that biblical references to Ethiopia include what are now Sudan, Southern Egypt and modern Ethiopia (<http://www.gospelgazette.com>). It is promised in the Book of Psalms that Ethiopia would stretch forth her hands [and become] a place of power and hope" (Dawes, 2002, p. 22).

select, between the oppressed and the select and between the enslaved and the select” (Dawes, 2002, p. 21). Bradley explains that in Jamaica Haile Selassie’s coronation had particular significance. Jamaican Ethiopian Christians had historically understood the idea of Ethiopia as a physical reality rather than as a primarily spiritual notion. It was believed that the crowing of Haile Selassie as king of a nation that had been Christian for some 1600 years was a fulfilment of scriptures that predicted the coming of a new black Messiah, who would deliver the children of Israel from Egypt. Ethiopia’s successful defeat of an Italian invasion force in 1896 had also been significant as a sign that redemption for black people was in sight; “the black nation was fighting back” against the forces of colonisation, and God was “at last delivering his first children from suffering” (Bradley, 2001, p. 69).

However, as Bradley goes on to explain, at the turn of the century Ethiopianism was morphing into Pan-Africanism¹⁵ through which Africans on both sides of the Atlantic, but particularly the new class of educated Africans of the diaspora, sought to foster self-respect and self-help and to redress the inequities inflicted by colonialism. In contrast, for working class and poor Jamaicans, Marcus Garvey’s work around the world in building a global One Black Nation had more relevance and a significant impact on the development of Rastafari among Jamaica’s ghetto “sufferahs” (Bradley, 2000, p. 15). At a time of high levels of discrimination against black people and attacks on black communities in the US (Chivallon, 2002), Garvey established the *Universal Negro Improvement Association*, which held huge congresses and owned factories and businesses through the *Negro Factories Corporation*. He ran globally-read newspapers for a black readership and eventually his Black Star shipping company owned four ocean liners purchased with a view to mass repatriation to land he had acquired in Liberia (Bradley, 2001). Following a successful attempt to discredit him Garvey was charged with mail fraud in the US and gaoled; the land in Liberia was sold by the Liberian government to a multinational rubber company and Garvey was deported back to Jamaica, to a hero’s welcome. By the end of the

¹⁵ The first Pan-African conference (“Africa for the Africans”) organised by American W.E.B. Du Bois and involving members of the new professional African-Jamaican intelligentsia was held in London in 1900 to initiate a new form of global black consciousness (Bradley, 2001).

1920s Garvey had a huge following amongst both the dispossessed and poor as well as middle class black Jamaicans.

Bradley (2001) points out that by this time, in recognition of their significance to his audiences, Garvey was incorporating more references to the Bible and to the church in his speeches to gatherings in rural areas and the Kingston ghettos. Christine Chivallon (2002) suggests that it was precisely this mix of religious and political content, these mixed “registers of reference” (p. 363), that account for Garvey’s very large following, due to their particular appeal to a diaspora marked itself by a number of registers of reference, including traditional, modern, African and European. It was in these addresses that Garvey prophesied, before Haile Selassie’s coronation, that redemption would come when a black man was crowned as king (Bradley, 2001). As a consequence, Haile Selassie’s coronation in 1930 resonated as a signal of deliverance for Jamaica’s poor and oppressed in a particularly powerful way.

Marcus Garvey provided the ideological foundation for Rastafari, one of self-help, black pride, separatism and the aim of repatriation to Africa; although frequent imprisonment and persecution had driven Garvey to London by the time Rastafari as a movement acquired its name in 1931 (Bradley, 2001). Leonard P. Howell, Archibald Dunkley and Joseph Hibbard played key individual and collective roles in the dissemination of the new faith. While their approaches differed, according to Bradley, they were united in the defining idea that distinguished Rastafari from other forms of Ethiopianism, which was that Haile Selassie was the new Messiah. Leonard Howell (“The Gong”) played a particularly significant role, and has been referred to as an agitator against British colonialism. As a charismatic preacher he followed Garvey’s example of introducing the Rastafari faith, with its focus on spirituality and more importantly on social improvement, to urban communities and to plantation and mining communities in rural Jamaica, who were more actively nationalist and insurrectionist.

Rastafari was established as a political and a religious movement dedicated to advancement of the black population of Jamaica (Bradley, 2001) and to “the

restoration of what was lost” (Dawes, 2002, p. 22). The central importance of Ethiopia for Rastafari and the history of the Ethiopian Orthodox church provided

a rich tradition that connected the people of Africa with the narrative of the Children of Israel... [and countered] all the lies that colonialism had spoken to the black man, telling him that he had no history, no tradition and no connection to the glorious narratives of world civilisation. (Dawes, 2002, p. 22)

Rastafari resistance to any form of centralised organisation has been described as allegorically and uniquely symbolising a proliferation of collective forms of social relations in black cultures, and particularly the Caribbean, that defy reduction to dominant norms or an organisational centre (Chivallon, 2002). As a consequence of over four hundred years of violence inflicted by categories and control imposed by the dominating order, in “the old spaces of plantation societies... [and] recent places of migration”, African diasporic cultures appear, according to Chivallon, to be motivated by an omnipresent interest “in remaining *free to choose*” (p. 371, author’s emphasis). While Rastafari employs (and deploys) a mobilising rhetoric of symbols that particularise identity (such as Africa in opposition to Babylon) it is marked by its rejection of order and “operates in a space that is open and without constraining norms” (Chivallon, 2002, p. 371). There are no Rasta churches, no hierarchies other than one based on age, and few rules (Bradley, 2010). Most significantly, according to Chivallon, this resistance to order stems from an ethical position that underlies the movement: the philosophy signified by the use of “I and I” in place of “we” affirms “we” as the meeting of two individualities and locates authority in each and every individual. Given the religious foundations of Rastafari, the construction can also be seen to imply “I and the Creator who lives with I” (Steffens, 1998, p.256). The concept of “I and I” underpins Rastafari’s dedication to self-esteem and racial pride (Bradley, 2001) and its emphasis on a democracy and freedom that are resistant to centralisation and to constraining and oppressive norms (Chivallon, 2002).

Rastafari language, Rasta talk, is viewed as a dialect of Jamaican Patois (Barrett, 1997), a modification of that language to better fit the philosophy and spiritual

beliefs of a particular cultural group (Sullivan, n.d). Jamaican Patois has been a vehicle for revolutionary or subversive communication (Weber, 2000) partly because it could not be understood easily by the English slave masters who insisted that slaves spoke English (Cooper, 2012). Carolyn Cooper cites Jamaican writer Louise Bennett's ("Aunty Roachy's") subversive account of its development:

[w]e African ancestors-dem pop¹⁶ we English forefahders-dem!
 Yes! Pop dem an disguise up de English language fi projec fi-
 dem African language in such a way dat we English forefahders-
 dem still couldn understan what we African ancestors-dem wasa
 talk bout when dem wasa talk to dem one anodder! (Cooper,
 2012, para. 10)

Loosely translated as:

Our African ancestors outwitted the English forefathers. Yes!
 Fooled them and disguised the English language by projecting
 the African language in such a way that our English forefathers
 couldn't understand what our African ancestors were talking
 about when they were talking to one another!

But Jamaican Patois is also seen as an energising tradition in Jamaican culture that contributes to the widespread appeal of reggae (Cooper, 1995). Framed by its oral tradition, it is embedded with a wide-ranging repertoire of cultural themes and practice including biblical language (Weber, 2000), and verbal techniques such as repetition.

In adapting Jamaican Patois, Rastafari have consistently sought to eliminate traces of colonial influences in their everyday language by reshaping speech (Weber, 2000). According to Jamaican linguist Mervyn Alleyne (1988), because of a belief in the "evocative power of the word" a goal of Rastafari verbal constructions is to widen communication by eliminating internal contradictions

¹⁶ "Pop" here means to outwit, according to Jahan Ramazani (2001 p. 130).

in semantic structure, reducing inconsistencies between language function and form, and by “reducing the arbitrariness of the linguistic sign” (p. 220). The idea of widening communication can also be seen to reflect the Rastafari emphasis on democracy that Christine Chivallon highlights (2002). This goal is frequently achieved through lexical modifications to produce new meanings and the phonological modification of words to reflect their semantic implications and associations. An example of a modification designed to achieve consistency between the sound of a word and its meaning (Alleyne, 1988) is the use of “downpressor” in place of “oppressor”, cited by Weber and used in the reggae song by the same name (Tosh, 1977). Because the sound of oppressor is associated with “up” it is seen by Rastafari to have positive (that is, uplifting) connotations that are inconsistent with (its negative) meaning. In this form of creative modification the removal and replacement of the noun’s (inconsistent) pre-fix creates a new noun that signifies its meaning more effectively, particularly from the point of view of the “downpressed”.

The use of first person singular pronouns is a further example of the ways in which Rastafari have modified Jamaican Patois. Alleyne (1988) explains that in Jamaican Patois as in other English-based versions of patois, the first-person singular pronoun is commonly “me”, as in “me have me book” (p. 148). Regarding this usage as an expression that turns people into objects and implies subservience, Rastafari substitute I for “me” (I have I book). Such modifications embody the Rastafari philosophy that each person is a subject and that “we” therefore consists of multiple subjects.

Most relevantly here for the analysis of Herbs’ songs is the frequent use in Dread Talk (Rasta language) of biblical terminology and sayings (Cattermole, 2004; Weber, 2000). In line with the philosophy that underpins the language modifications outlined above, Rastafari have appropriated certain biblical symbols and endowed these with new meanings, some of which have been adopted by Patois-speaking Jamaicans (Weber, 2000). A commonly cited example is the use of the ancient biblical place-name Babylon to symbolise the “generalised evil of industrial capitalism, war and racial discrimination” (Weber, 2000, p. 78), and “the system”. The term also references the parallels drawn by

Rastafari between the exile of Jewish people taken as slaves to the ancient city of Babylon and the exile of Africans slaves and their descendants in the Caribbean (Buttermilk, 1998).

Rastafari is seen as having had a considerable influence on the wave of protest in Jamaica in 1938 against the consequences of a severe international and local economic recession that led to changes in labour and social legislation, as well as recognition of trade unions (Bradley, 2001). Without Rastafari's teachings, as Bradley explains, the sufferah classes would have lacked the new self-confidence and pride in their sense of purpose to demand and achieve changes aimed at addressing poverty, low wages and unemployment. Bradley explains that two years later Howell, in an overt rejection of colonial values, established a self-sufficient, independent Rasta "state", after purchasing an abandoned sugar plantation. Pinnacle had 1600 inhabitants and continued for 14 years. Although subject to frequent police drug raids and harassment, the settlement enabled a previously scattered Rastafarian movement to gather together and to implement theories of communally-owned property and co-operative labour, spiritual reflection, and "reasoning sessions" (Bradley, 2001, p. 82). It also facilitated the rapid development of Rastafari's version of Jamaican Patois, rich in inversions and puns, and the "large-scale creation of art that reflected [the people's] reality... images of slavery and sufferation... [and] imaginative 'promised landscapes'" (Bradley, 2001, p. 83).

The music of Rastafari at Pinnacle met ska when Prince Buster persuaded Count Ossie and his group of drummers to join the recording session in Kingston.

Rastafari music was inspired by African references and based on the drum music of Kumina, associated with the Pocomania religion that originated in Ghana, and inspired also by the drum music of the Burru people, who were descended from a West African tribe and retained a distinctive identity in Jamaica (Bradley, 2001). Count Ossie and other Rastafari studied Burru drum technique, which involved the use of three types of drum. The bass drum was responsible for the rhythm, the higher pitched repeater took on the melody, while the middle-pitched funde (or fundeh) harmonised and counterpointed (Bradley, 2001). In the Rasta style drumming that developed from this influence (also named Nyabingi style, after

an anti-colonial movement in Uganda), the funde kept the rhythm or beat with emphasis from the bass drum, while the repeater was used to produce melodies. Lipsitz (1994) explains that in reggae, Burru's bass drums and smaller, repeater drums are reflected in the bass line, while reggae's guitar patterns evolved from the funde drumming style.

In addition to these influences the hybrid form of reggae also drew upon African-American soul music, particularly the arrangements and instrumentation associated with recordings by Motown artists in the 1960s (Lipsitz, 1994). These were smuggled to Jamaica by seamen and Jamaican seasonal and migrant sugar cane workers, or heard in Jamaica on US radio stations (Bradley 2001; Lipsitz, 1994). In merging traditional Jamaican folk music with international commercial music, reggae musicians created a synthesis between international and national that parallels the incorporated fusion of politics, religion and spirituality forged by Rastafari. After its origins in ska, followed by rocksteady as its "fairly truculent adolescence", reggae was the "coming of age" of the identity of modern Jamaican popular music (Bradley, 2001, p. 199).

Message music

The concept of the some reggae music as resistance (Alvarez, 2008; Cooper, 1989; Weber, 2000), and as "message music" (Weber, 2000, p.117) is important as it not only helps to explain its popularity as a global cultural form but also the implications of its appropriation for meaning. The role reggae has played in voicing the desires of the African diaspora is described as stemming partly from "the moral and political power" (Lipsitz, 1994, p. 161) of African-Caribbean grammars of resistance and opposition, and signifying strategies. Music practitioners themselves have used the term message music to describe reggae as a genre which is seen to function as a "musical weapon" against racism, oppression and injustice, and which responds to and expresses the social realities of its practitioners (Weber, 2000, p. 121). This view of reggae as message music has been reinforced in New Zealand by musician Che-Fu, who in describing reggae as "the biggest music in Polynesia" in the late 1990s explained:

It's as if our people invented it... It came from a place of islands, sand, coconut trees and seamanship. So our people could feel

what they were singing. But it was the message as well. The Jamaicans talked about struggle... Reggae talked about poverty, hunger ... yep our people could relate to that (Che Rauhihi Ness as cited in Maniapoto, 1999, p. 32).

Appropriation and hybridisation of a global genre

To examine the meanings engendered in the relationship between Herbs' songs and the reggae genre it is useful first to contextualise this relationship as an instantiation of the workings of reggae as a global cultural form. As Said (1994) implies, the essentially hybrid nature of cultural experience (which reggae and Herbs' Pacific reggae exemplify) has been intensified and made more complex by the globalisation instigated by modern imperialism and colonialism, with its effects on migrations of peoples and flows of migrant labour. Equally, changes in transportation of goods and in communications technology under global capitalism can be seen as leading to what Said refers to as new zones of cultural contact, and to the intercultural processes that result in hybrid genres (Bakhtin, 1981).

The global flow of reggae to Africa, Europe, Australasia, Latin and North America and Asia as an oppositional cultural form and rhetorical critique has been well documented (Alvarez, 2008). In this regard Weber (2000) develops and presents a theory of the reggae genre based on four premises that can be seen as contributing to reggae's development as a global phenomenon. Underpinned by the philosophy of the Rastafari movement, these principles are that music is not private property; that the fundamental nature or essence of music is found in rhythm ('riddim') rather than in harmony or melody; that music is collaborative art; and finally that music needs to balance social consciousness and its role as entertainment. This philosophy leads to a [righteous] 'capturing', or refashioning of useful objects such as other songs, traditional rhythms, and to "versioning" as distinctive cultural practice (Weber, 2000, p.67).

Reggae's functions as music of resistance, its lyrics that speak of shared values and shared struggles and its distinctive and hugely enjoyable rhythm are all contributing factors in its world-wide popularity as a multi-faceted cultural form. It is also possible that the philosophical significance of versioning may help to

account for the apparent ease with which reggae has been appropriated and refashioned in the range of cultural locations identified by Alvarez (2008).

Furthermore, Bakhtin's (1986c) conceptualisation of secondary and hybrid genres that characterise the cultural sphere informs consideration of the relationship between roots reggae and manifestations of Pacific musical traditions in Herbs' songs. According to Bakhtin (1986c), while individual subjectivity necessarily adapts to a chosen generic form, some forms are more flexible and creative, and therefore more open to adaptation to specific circumstances than others. Bakhtin typifies secondary genres as more complex and more systematically organised than the primary genres of everyday oral interactions, and this type of systematic organisation is illustrated in the verse and chorus structure of popular song lyrics. Most importantly, Bakhtin points out that a language user's choice of genre is an important manifestation of their discursive intention.

Music and identity

As the analysis of particular songs in Chapters Six and Seven demonstrates, and as Chapter Eight explains, identity is a recurring theme in Herbs' album. The following section therefore examines theories of identity before moving on to examine notions relating to popular music and identity in more detail. It begins by examining approaches to defining identity. In doing so it draws particularly on ways of conceptualising culture and of understanding its influence on the development of self and identity that seem compatible with and relevant to an interpretive analysis of popular song lyrics. These include approaches in the fields of cultural and social psychology, as well as from literary and cultural theory and the philosophy of music.

Defining identity

Cultural psychologist Sunil Bhatia (2008, p. 302) states that in an era that is becoming increasingly "transnational¹⁷, diverse and global" and marked by

¹⁷ Bhatia (2008) explains that the term transnationalism has become significant in recent studies of the flows of capital, commodities and social and migratory movements, as well as studies of citizenship, non-government organisations and trade.

movements of displacement and dislocation, transnational diasporic communities have become important sites for reconceptualising concepts of culture, self and identity. If culture results from accumulated experiences with the resources and artefacts that communities have produced over generations, then the increase in diasporic communities has led to a new view of culture (Bhatia, 2008). Literary theorist Edward Said (1994) points out that as a result of the globalising processes instigated by modern imperialism, including the flow of migrant labour and population migrations, cultural experience is essentially hybrid. Culture itself is complex and entangled with other cultures (Said, 1994) and consists of new spaces of encounters between different histories, customs, languages and ethnicities (Bhatia, 2008) and by extension here, different genres of music.

Social psychologist Timothy Owens (2003) distinguishes usefully between the terms self and identity, which as he explains are often used indiscriminately or as synonyms. Owens points out that although the terms overlap and have a considerable amount in common, they are none the less distinct. According to Owens, the key quality of self that distinguishes it from identity is that it is a process and a cognitive organisation that stems from self reflection. Self is thus an interactive and organised system of “thoughts, feelings, identities and motives” (p. 206) that stems from self-reflexive processes and from language, as well as from an individual’s personal biography and experience [including presumably cultural and social influences]; it is attributed by individuals to themselves and characterises particular human beings. In contrast, identity, which as the previous definition illustrates is subsumed by self, is conceived of as a tool or stratagem, defined broadly as the categories used by individuals or groups to “specify who they are” (p. 207) and to locate themselves in relation to other people. Identity can therefore imply both “a sameness” in relation to other people as well as a distinctiveness from others.

In terms of the relationships between culture and identity, Bhatia (2008) focuses on the mediation of the development of self and identity by a network of cultural influences and resources that include “language, communicative practices, artifacts, tools, institutions, myths, practices, customs, histories [and] everyday activities” (p. 303), as well as the influence of movements of people, artefacts,

ideas and commodities in a global era. Similarly, in discussing identity and popular music Gracyk (2001) describes personal identity as dependent on appropriations from a large-scale “cultural apparatus” (p. 8) that includes both popular culture and mass media. The development of identity, or of multiple and often hybrid and “shifting” identities takes place in a context of multiple and frequently contested cultural practices and spaces (Bahtia, 2008, p.302).

The construction of identity and self in relation to colonial histories and the mediation of identity formation by culture, ethnicity, politics, and power have been highlighted by diaspora studies (Bhatia & Ram, 2009). Bhatia and Ram argue that the concept of diaspora suggests the need for a view of identity as situated in politics and constructed by history, cultural discourses and asymmetries of power. While Bhatia and Ram and cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1990) may be concerned particularly with transnational migrants and diasporic communities, their analysis has implications for understandings of the formation of identity in general. Of particular interest here is Hall’s (1990) conceptualisation of cultural identity as a “positioning” (p. 226), in his discussion of Black Caribbean identities. (This notion of positioning is defined in the context of Black Caribbean identities in relation to two vectors that operate simultaneously – one of continuity and similarity connected to the past, and the other of rupture or difference connected to experiences of transportation, slavery and colonisation.)

In addition to diaspora studies, Bhatia and Ram (2001b) draw upon postcolonial studies such as the work of Homi Bhabha (for example, 1994) that emphasise the ongoing and continuous processes through which immigrants in particular negotiate and reconstruct their sense of self and their identities. Bhatia (2008) describes movements of displacement and dislocation as the defining characteristics of the globalised modern world. Bhatia and Ram (2001b) see the construction of multiple, hyphenated and hybridized identities (p.13) as resulting from the consequent “intermingling, mixing and moving of cultures” (p. 11) . They argue that diaspora and postcolonial theories of hybridisation have led to the conceptualisation of cultures as “moving”, in highlighting the sense of constant negotiation between “here and there, past and present, homeland and

hostland, self and other” (Bhatia & Ram, 2001b, p. 15). This concept of culture leads to a view of the development of self and identity as both contextual in historical terms and contested.

Dialogic theories of identity

Given the theoretical framework for this study, a theorisation of self and identity that is based on Bakhtin’s notion of dialogism is especially relevant. Particularly as the dialogic conception of self connects a range of disciplines, including cultural psychology, linguistics, sociology and cultural anthropology, that all contribute to understandings of the relationships between identity and culture (Hermans, 2001b). Psychologist Hubert Hermans (2001a) argues that travel and the influences of globalisation require a dynamic conception of identity and self as historical, multivoiced and dialogical. Hermans (2001b) draws on Bakhtin’s theory (1981; 1984) of a plurality of consciousnesses (or multivoicedness) in the internal world of the mind of each individual to develop a dialogical model of self. He argues that Bakhtin’s analysis of the polyphonic novel in *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* (1984) is a metaphor for the multivoiced self that has provided the inspiration for subsequent dialogical approaches to the conceptualisation of self and identity. Hermans (2001b) proposes and elaborates on a view of the dialogical self as a “multiplicity of positions” (p. 244) which gives rise to the possibility of internal dialogical relationships between these multiple positionings of the self, as well as dialogue with other external voices. This view of the dialogical self resonates in a sense with Hall’s (1990) view of cultural identity as positioning, referred to earlier. The dialogical self is thus defined in terms of its cultural and historical context and is itself a historical process (Hermans, 2001a), or in Bakhtin’s (1981) terms an ideological becoming, in that it is an embodiment of a personal history as well as a collective history, localised both in time and in space (Hermans, 2001a).

At the same time travel, globalisation and increasing cultural connections are seen as frequently leading to what Bakhtin (1981) called hybrid genres or hybridisation. This occurs when intercultural processes result in the recombination of existing cultural forms and practices into new ones, and to the creation of so-called multiple identities, such as young girls from Morocco, in

Amsterdam, doing Thai boxing (Hermans, 2001b). In the context of popular music Lipsitz (1994) suggests that as a result of these influences and increased cultural connections, any performance of self is an illustration of the plurality of people's cultural and personal identity and of the heterogeneity and hybridity of their own community.

Bhatia (2002) in turn also draws on the work of Bakhtin and of others influenced by Bakhtin, including Hermans (2001b), in his development of a dialogical theory to explain the acculturation process and the development of multiple identities described earlier by Hermans. Bhatia focuses on explaining the ways in which diasporic migrant communities highlight identity as a constant negotiation between multiple dialogic voices and histories that are frequently in conflict. He describes the process of identity development as consisting of dialogic negotiations between, for example, the present and the past, between modernity and tradition and between the self and other. Identities are therefore "contested, multiple and shifting and are embedded in various cultural and historical practices" (Bhatia, 2002, p. 61).

Similarly, cultural psychologist Mark Tappan's (2005) discussion of identity development, and in particular of the development of what he terms moral identity, draws on Bakhtin's notion of identity as a process of ideological becoming, which emphasises the significance of the dialogic social context in which the development of self and identity takes place. Identity development is thus driven by the experience of dialogue and is a result of the "intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions and values" (Bakhtin, 1981, p.346) and equally by the ongoing struggle against the assumptions and impositions of others (Gracyk, 2001). Ideological becoming is mediated by a dialogic engagement with words, voices and different types of discourses (Tappen, 2005). Bakhtin's (1981) notion of identity as a function of utterances and both internal and external dialogue has particular relevance for the examination of Herbs' song "Dragons and Demons" (Fonoti, 1981c).

Furthermore, as Tappan (2005) explains, ideological becoming entails performing, acting and enacting identity through the use of particular cultural

resources and tools. This construction of identity as performance mirrors that of Gracyk (2001) who describes the actions of individuals as positioning them in relation to others: “As actors in our own culture, we must play a part – as if adopting a role in a game or in a play” (p. 9). The tools and resources used in the enactment of identity include language and different forms of discourse (Tappan, 2005) as referred to in the previous paragraph. By extrapolation, they also include the production of popular music and its consumption, which Shuker (2008b) and Gracyk (2001) describe as a type of cultural capital. Listeners derive significance from new and unfamiliar music in part through its positioning in terms of relevant cultural capital (already familiar music) in a particular musical culture (Gracyk, 2001). Cultural capital therefore plays an important role in positioning audiences to recognise and interpret encoded messages of social identity in music (Gracyk, 2001). Acquisition of cultural capital in the form of understandings and familiarity with particular popular music style thus functions to differentiate or distance social groups from other social groups or dominant traditions, or to assert an oppositional positioning (Shuker, 2008b).

The theories about culture and identity drawn on here have implications for understandings of the processes of identity formation in general (Bhatia, 2002). The influences of globalisation (which include global flows of popular music) mean that identity development takes place in a context of intermingling and mixing cultures, histories and cultural influences (Bhatia & Ram, 2001b; Said, 1994) and multiple and frequently contested cultural practices (Bhatia, 2008). These new spaces of cultural encounters (Bhatia, 2008) give rise to multiple and commonly hyphenated identities (such as New Zealand-Chinese) that are the consequence of the constant negotiation between multiple dialogic voices, discourses and histories (Bhatia, 2002; Lipsitz, 1994; Tappen, 2005) and are themselves seen as historical, dialogical and multi-voiced (Hermans, 2001a). If identity is viewed also as a positioning (Hall, 1990) then it is a dialogic and multiple positioning (Hermans, 2001b). Furthermore, Owens (2003) defines identity as a tool or stratagem by which people identify who they are, and in doing so identify with or differentiate themselves from others. The performance and enacting of the process of identity formation or ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1981) involves in turn appropriations from popular culture and mass

media (Gracyk, 2001) or in other words the use of particular cultural tools and resources (Tappan, 2005) such as popular music (Shuker, 2008b).

Music, cultural identity and identification

In examining the relationship between music and identity, Frith (1996) describes identity as a process – “a becoming not a being” (p. 109) that is comparable to the process of music in that each is both story and performance. The first aspect of Frith’s conceptualisation parallels Bakhtin’s (1981) idea of identity as a form of becoming in a particular historical and cultural context. The notion of identity as story resonates with Hermans’ (2001a) view noted earlier, that identity is an embodiment or construction of personal and collective histories (or stories). There is a further convergence between Frith’s description of identity as performance and the view of both Tappan (2005) and Gracyk (2001) that the process of identity development involves the use and appropriation of cultural tools and resources (such as music) in the performance of identity.

For Frith (1996), as for others (Bakhtin, 1981; Tappan, 2005), identity is mobile, a process and a becoming rather than a “thing” or entity. To experience music, in making music and listening to music, is to experience “the self in process” (Frith, 1996, p. 109), that is, to experience the process of identity. Frith describes the experience of the act of musical companionship as both a social process of interaction in which “we are drawn, haphazardly, into emotional alliances with the performers and with the performers’ other fans” (Frith 1996, p. 121), and an aesthetic one. Frith (1998) distinguishes between a musical response, which he describes as a process involving identification, and an aesthetic response to music, which he argues implies judgement and is a form of ethical agreement. He explains that the “aesthetic” implies a self-conscious merging of the emotional, sensual and social (Frith, 1998) and argues that it is the aesthetic aspects of this experience, the choices made, in playing or listening to “what sounds *right*” (Frith, 1996, p. 110, author’s emphasis), that reveal the nexus between the group, the social and the individual. In other words, people take on both a subjective and a collective identity in making sense of a musical experience and finding it “right” (Frith, 1996). Furthermore, Frith suggests that as social relationships are constructed and constituted in cultural practice, it follows that people’s senses of

identity and of difference are established “*in the processes of discrimination*” (Frith, 1998, p. 18, author’s emphasis). In this way, according to Frith, aesthetic criteria serve functional ends in terms of identity formation.

Frith’s distinction between a musical response as identification and an aesthetic response as a form of ethical agreement is not entirely clear and perhaps not entirely useful here. This is partly because it can be argued that in one sense identification implies a form of agreement, a conception of unity of feeling and outlook. A musical response can thus be seen as process of identification that involves aspects of the sensual, emotional, the collective as well as aesthetic and ethical, and even political judgements and choices, at a number of different levels. Alistair Pennycook and Tony Mitchell (2009) capture this conceptualisation in their view of the appropriation or localisation of particular forms of popular music as a dynamic process of identifications.

Rather than music being an articulation of the beliefs or values held by a particular social group, Frith (1998) argues that groups get to know and understand themselves as groups and to forge relationships with others through the processes of cultural activity and aesthetic judgements involved in making and listening to music. The individual self is subordinated as part of the social collective in the process of participation in the musical experience (Frith, 1996). According to Frith, music thus articulates and presents “the *experience* of collective identity” (1998, p. 273, author’s emphasis). In other words, music as a social process (Frith, 1998) expresses understandings of individuality, of group relationships, values and identity “*in itself*” (1996, p. 111, author’s emphasis), rather than representing these in some homological way. Instead of representing cultural values, according to Frith (1998), music articulates and “lives” them (p. 272). In one respect music is individualising: music’s “qualities of abstractness” and the “looseness of reference” of popular songs make them readily accessible (Frith, 1996, p. 121) as songs are absorbed into people’s lives and rhythms are absorbed into people’s bodies. In another and equally important respect music is collective – sounds are heard as music because they follow a familiar cultural logic and musical conventions that are socially and culturally constructed (Frith,

1996). Or as Gracyk (2001) and Shuker (2008) explain, music has meaning and significance because it relates to listeners' existing cultural capital.

Gracyk (2001) argues for a different and more specific perspective on identity and meaning in music that is particularly relevant to the analysis of Herbs' lyrics. Gracyk critiques Frith's (1996) broad proposition that the meaning of music is inherent in its effect on audiences, and inherent in its expressions of identity. In contrast, he stresses the significance of a historical perspective in the construction of identity in music. In an approach that echoes that of Hall's (1990) notion of cultural identity as a positioning as well as Bakhtin's concept of dialogism, Gracyk describes musicians as projecting an identity by positioning themselves in relation to other musicians. For musicians as well as audiences, identity construction depends upon a historical perspective of music as "a dialogue with the past" (Gracyk, 2001, p. 35). According to Gracyk, much of the meaning in popular music is constructed, "present" (p. 43), as a result of audiences engaging with the past but future-orientated intentions of musicians and song writers. This issue of musicians' and song writers' intentions is discussed in more detail below.

Nonetheless, while Gracyk's insistence on a historical perspective is particularly relevant here, Frith's (1996) broad view of music as an expression of "the individual in the social" and "the social in the individual" (p. 109) is also persuasive. As such an expression, according to Frith, music offers an explanation of identity as both a sense of self and of others and of the self in relation to the collective of others. Furthermore, Frith's (1996) argument that music, like identity, involves aesthetics as well as ethics in the process of identification is valuable. The idea that the aesthetic appreciation of music involves an implicit ethical agreement about the meanings and values embodied (or that equally may be interpreted) in music (Frith, 1996) as well as about what is right musically, is relevant to a discussion of the meanings embodied in reggae music as "message music" (Weber, 2000, p.117), and reggae lyrics.

Equally relevant is the way in which popular music articulates hybrid identities. As has already been noted, globalisation, including global flows of mass mediated popular music, has led to conceptualisations of identity development as

a positioning (Hall, 1990) that is influenced by a context of intermingling and mixing histories, discourses and cultural influences (Bhatia, 2008; Bhatia & Ram, 2001b; Said, 1994), and a continuous negotiation between multiple dialogic voices, discourses and histories (Bhatia, 2002; Hermans, 2001a; Lipsitz, 1994; Tappen, 2005). Global flows give rise not only to hybrid identities but also to a “genre jumble” of musical forms (Johnson, 1997, p. 5). As an example of the former, Bruce Johnson describes the multiple identity of Jimmy Chi, an Aboriginal Australian musician whose father and mother were Japanese-Chinese and Scottish-Aboriginal respectively, and who was educated in a Roman Catholic Mission school by German priests and Irish nuns (Johnson, 1997). The music performed by Chi and his band Kuckles in Broome in the early 1980s, was a hybrid fusion of “calypso, reggae, pop and indigenous musics” (Lipsitz, 1994, p. 18).

The example of Jimmy Chi and his band Kuckles leads to an interesting final point in this section of the literature review on identity and music. This relates to the historic and particular significance of seaports and seaside settlements for the development of hybrid musical forms or fusions, and for identity in relation to music. Lipsitz (1994) and Johnson (1997) point out that the conspicuous hybridity of Broome, a coastal town in North Western Australia, is a consequence of the historical demographic and cultural mixture of pearl divers from Japan, the Philippines and Europe, and its local Aboriginal inhabitants. Lipsitz cites further examples of the modern hybrid music forms of other seaports, such as Oran (Algeria), Douala (Cameroon), New Orleans (USA), Cartagena (Colombia), and Hamburg (Germany), that have been centres for cross-cultural communication between sailors from all over the world, or like Liverpool in England that were major ports for the slave trade between Africa and the Caribbean. In her focus on Liverpool’s rock culture in the context of that port city’s unique cultural and social environment, Sara Cohen (1991) similarly argues that the richness of the city’s music making is a reflection of “the influx of foreign cultures and influences entering Liverpool through its port” (p. 12). While these observations have relevance here given that Pacific reggae music emerged in Auckland, another seaport (and the home of New Zealand’s major international airport), Lipsitz reminds us that hybrid musical forms have arisen

prior to modern globalisation and mass mediation. As the description of the influences on the development of Jamaican reggae earlier in this chapter illustrates, fusions frequently represent current manifestations of a long history of inter-cultural connections and communications among the people of the world that stretches back for hundreds of years (Lipsitz, 1994).

New Zealand popular music and issues of identity

The following section continues the theme of the relationship between music and cultural identity before moving on to examine other aspects of the work of authors whose ideas are particularly relevant to New Zealand music and identity. New Zealander Roy Shuker, a theorist and researcher in the field of popular music, refers to music as a marker of cultural identity which operates at a range of levels: the level of the self or individual identity, community identity and the identity of the nation (see Shuker, 2008). However, he also points out the ubiquity of imported musical influences, as others such as Lipsitz (1994) have done, as a consequence of which “local musicians are immersed in overlapping and frequently reciprocal¹⁸ contexts of production, with a cross-fertilization of local and international sounds” (Shuker, 1995, p.3). Shuker argues that local music making cannot therefore be equated directly to local or national cultural identity.

Nonetheless, Shuker (1995) proposes three interconnected features as signals of national musical identity: the content of song lyrics as well as the name of a band or performer; instances of local accent or local pronunciations of words in song lyrics; and local styles of music associated with particular towns (for example, The Dunedin Sound) and record labels (such as New Zealand’s Flying Nun label). However, as Tony Mitchell (1996) notes in his critique of these categories, they exclude Māori and Pacific Islands musical traditions in New Zealand as well as other distinctive features of local identity, such as the increasing tendency for Māori and Pacific Islands musicians to use their own languages rather than English. Although Mitchell also argues that references to

¹⁸ By “reciprocal” Shuker (1995) intends to evoke the sense of appropriations of First World musical influences by Third World musics, but also the fact that much “First World” music in turn is influenced by African and Latin American influences.

local place names constitute an additional feature, these could be subsumed under Shuker's category of local content.

In his own discussion of popular music and local identity in the specific context of New Zealand, Mitchell describes the "hybrid musical idioms" in New Zealand (1996, p.6) as involving hybridised local representations of certain genres of pop music, which mainly reflect the social and cultural conflicts and concerns of the local context. According to Mitchell, the distinctiveness of a significant amount of locally produced music is therefore often found obliquely by means of extra-musical and rhetorical associations, and also in the ways in which New Zealand musicians have adopted and appropriated Anglo-American influences and styles in particular. Mitchell cites the example of the New Zealand band Crowded House's rock album *Together Alone* (1993), which incorporates Māori chants and harmonies from the Te Whaka Huia Māori Cultural Group Choir, and Cook Islanders' log drumming in the title track. He describes these incorporations as reflecting Māori and Pacific Islands musical traditions that express "a distinctive sense of place" and a local, New Zealand identity (Mitchell, 1996, p. 222).

With a specific focus on New Zealand reggae, Jennifer Cattermole (2004) presents a similar argument in terms of the significant role played by reggae in the social construction of postcolonial cultural identities and conceptualisations of cultural spaces and places. She refutes postmodern arguments that globalisation has resulted in a crisis of identity and in placelessness, a loss of cultural memory and of historical connections, and has led to cultural homogeneity and "deterritorialisation" (citing for example, Giddens, 1990). Cattermole's analysis demonstrates that while New Zealand reggae has stylistic similarities with international roots reggae, musicians have localised reggae music by drawing on their own Pacific cultures, including elements of traditional music styles, to create a distinctive localised form and sense of place.

The post-colonial desire of decolonised groups and communities has been described as a desire for an identity (During, 2005) and for immigrants in particular the negotiation and reconstruction of their sense of self and identities are ongoing and continuous processes (Bhabha, 1994). In New Zealand, reggae has been used to overcome people's sense of marginalisation, cultural dislocation

and demoralisation that results in part from colonialism and immigration by enabling the restoration of connections with cultural roots, and generating a more secure sense of cultural identity (Cattermole, 2004). Cattermole argues that perceived pressures on migrants from the Pacific Islands to assimilate to Pākehā (European New Zealanders') culture, stringent enforcement of migration law, and a cultural and political framework dominated by the bicultural relationship between Māori and Pākehā have prevented Pacific Islands people from making strong claims to New Zealand roots. Reggae has therefore been used to maintain and construct connections to Pacific ancestral homelands and has also assisted in creating a "Polynesian" identity shared by Māori and Pacific Islands people living in New Zealand. This identity is based on factors that include a shared home in NZ, shared ancestral ties to the South Pacific, experiences of colonisation, discrimination and prejudice, perceived social location with low socio-economic class status, and bonds of friendship forged through music. Reggae has been used to construct a public space for articulating concerns over social issues, and identities. According to Cattermole (2004), for some New Zealanders who are accustomed to being excluded, marginalised and alienated, reggae has enabled a sense of empowerment through the conscious exclusion of Pākehā culture.

Appropriation of popular music forms

Mitchell's (1996) reference to the ways in which musicians appropriate other styles points to the need to clarify the term appropriation as it is used in the analysis of Herbs' album. This sub section presents a discussion of its meaning.

"The history of all cultures is a history of cultural borrowings" (Said, 1994, p. 217), and as a result of manifestations of transnational capitalism and more recent forms of "print" capitalism (Anderson, 1994; 2005), popular music rooted in one part of the world has crossed national, physical and cultural boundaries. A variety of terms are used to refer to the process by which a cultural form, such as a popular music genre, associated with one geographical location and culture is adopted and employed in another. These tend to highlight particular aspects of this process for reasons that reflect the interests of their users. In focusing particularly on the qualities of music that make this possible, Edward Said (1992)

uses the term transgression to signify the ability of music to literally transgress or “cross over, drift from location to location ...” (p. xv). Said’s (1994) broad notion of cultural borrowing reflects his interest in the multiple and complex connections between different cultures, which lead to hybridity and mixed cultural forms. In the case of popular music, it is the ability for elements of musical style to cross over from other cultures, in a process of de-contextualisation from the originating culture followed by re-contextualisation in the culture that has appropriated it, that allows for the emergence of new hybrid forms (Gracyk, 2001).

Pennycook and Mitchell (2009) and Alvarez (2008) refer to the localisation of adopted forms of music in their respective analyses of hip hop culture and of the global diaspora of reggae producers and consumers. Said (1994), in contrast, refers to culture as among other things, a matter of appropriations, and Tappen (2005) uses the same term in describing the way in which cultural resources and tools that function to mediate identity are acquired. Appropriation suggests a sense of taking ownership of a cultural tool such a particular form of music, and “mak[ing] [it] one’s own” (Wertsch, 1998, p. 53). This explanation of the process of appropriation, and the adaption and localisation that is implied in the idea of a culture or social group making something its own mirrors Bakhtin’s (1981) more explicit explanation of the appropriation of language. As Bakhtin explains, “[another’s word] becomes ‘one’s own’ only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention” (p. 293).

It is interesting that most of these different terms can be seen as part of a continuum in which a musical form, for example, is borrowed or adopted and crosses over from one cultural space and/or geographic location to another, is localised, adapted and re-accented, and by these processes is appropriated by another cultural group.

Recordings as primary texts

Discussion of the idea of appropriation of musical styles (and genres) raises the question of how musicians are exposed to the styles they choose to appropriate, and Gracyk’s (2001) view of recordings as primary texts of rock music is

relevant in this regard. Gracyk argues that amateur and professional musicians generally become familiar with music by listening to recordings of it, rather than by reading a musical score. He cites the examples of Mick Jagger and Keith Richards, who rather than seeing live performances of earlier musicians such as Muddy Waters in the 1960s, listened to records and developed their art [in part] by listening to and studying recordings. Chapter Five includes a similar account of Herbs songwriters Toni Fonoti and Phil Toms' exposure to different artists through imported records, and their different introductions to Bob Marley recordings.

Gracyk (2001) makes the further point that because subsequent generations have access to the same preserved commercial recordings that were produced for original mass audiences, recorded texts are an important form of cultural memory. It follows that where recordings address specific events and movements, as the songs on Herbs' album do, they have a particularly significant role in chronicling the past.

Because this study focuses on the recorded songs in Herbs' album, Gracyk's (2001) examination of the relationship between recorded songs and interpretations of meaning is also relevant. Gracyk is mildly critical of what he argues is a trend in recent studies to reduce the notion of popular music practice to local scenes of musicians playing local performances, and to focus on popular music as an aesthetic grounded in performance. Such studies, according to Gracyk, tend to position the recording industry as an external and negative influence that is seen as limiting the creativity of local musicians and restricting their opportunities for participation in a collective identity. In contrast, Gracyk suggests that if recordings are seen as a central element of rock culture, it is possible to imagine a less tangible and more abstract community centred on influential recorded texts. Dick Hebdige (2003) implicitly supports this view in arguing that while some may regard the commercialisation, packaging and adaptation of Bob Marley's music with rock-style arrangements by Island Records as a "negative dilution of [its] original rootsy essence" (p.8), it was this same commercialisation and marketing of Bob Marley's image that made possible his connection with international diasporic interests across the "Third"

and “First” worlds. Marley’s historic attendance at the independence celebrations in Zimbabwe in April 1980 would not have occurred had he not been an internationally respected and loved figure, and he was an international figure because of the mediation of an international recording company (Hebdige, 2003).

Similarly, Lipsitz (1994) points out that the same conduits enabled by global capitalism and the mediation of global media corporations that brought the flow of North American and British popular music styles to the folk culture of Jamaica, also carried the ethical concerns, voices of self-respect, and Rastafari revolutionary nationalism to the rest of the world. The commercial routes and flows created by global capitalism have created new flows and circuits for culture and cultural forms including recorded music, as well as for politics (Lipsitz, 1994). These include the flow of recorded reggae music from Jamaica to audiences and musicians in New Zealand.

Music and meaning

Gracyk’s (2001) approach to the interpretation of meaning in popular music, although not without shortcomings, is valuable for the analysis of Herbs’ songs, particularly in relation to Herbs’ appropriation of reggae. This is because he takes what is essentially a Bakhtinian approach (although he does not acknowledge the influence of Bakhtin) in emphasising the understanding of context and focusing on choices made by musicians and song writers.

Refracting Bakhtin’s (1981; 1986c) emphasis on the significance of context (and con-texts) for meaning, Gracyk argues that the meaning of music, its capacity to convey any meaning or to convey a particular meaning, to support one ideological position instead of another, lies in its (dialogic) relationship to music that has gone before. In other words, musicians’ intentions in terms of meaning, and the value and meaning of music, can be understood when music is positioned against the already familiar, the context of other influences, and against relevant cultural capital in a particular music culture. Just as Bakhtin argues in relation to language and discourse, Gracyk describes the majority of music as more than patterns of sound, but as embodying meanings in sound through the roles it plays in a given culture. For Gracyk, “music without history is music without meaning” (p. 159), and in addition to the meaning interpreted from song lyrics,

there are meanings embodied in the principles used to organise music (2001, p. 134). Derek Scott (2010) argues similarly that meanings in music are socially constituted and inseparable from the flow of meanings in the culture of which it is a part. Music is dependent on social conventions; musical styles are historically embedded and embrace social values that are able to be located historically (Scott, 2010).

Gracyk (2001) argues that musicians use paradigms to communicate their intentions about the general context against which the music should be positioned. Broadly speaking, and in parallel with Bakhtin's (1986c) theory of discursive genres, Gracyk describes paradigms as sets of assumptions which together define an intellectual tradition and are acknowledged as a basis for future practice. He also defines a paradigm as an exemplary body of work or music, or an example of practice (a particular recording of a song or album) which forms the normative basis for the organisation of a community's beliefs and practices. Because of the diversity of mass art, and because of its greatly dispersed audiences, its traditions teem with competing paradigms. On this view, particular recordings (such as those of Bob Marley) can be seen as fundamental paradigms in that they serve as common reference points for subsequent music; their status as such gives rise to the techniques and ideas that musicians derive from them, and to the values that may be invested in them by audiences.

At one level the appeal of popular music structures, its rhythms, basic beat and the expressive dimensions of songs as melodies and harmonic movement, crosses cultural boundaries and has little to do with particular meanings; the emotional element of songs is accessible to anyone with an understanding of the patterns of Western music (Gracyk, 2001). In illustration Gracyk cites the longing expressed in Bob Marley's "Redemption Song" (1980c), which can be felt without any knowledge of Rastafarian iconography, and the sense of tension at the beginning of Marley's "Concrete Jungle" (1973), which can be experienced without any knowledge of the politics of Kingston. However, while Bob Marley's songs can still connect with mass audiences worldwide at this level, Gracyk asserts that at another level there is a richer experience in identifying the connections between

texts that suggest an original authorial intention in Marley's songs, and in those of other musicians.

In the context of the relationship between verbal as well as musical elements of popular music Gracyk argues that audiences have a responsibility to engage with authorial intentions and perspectives in viewing music as "a directed utterance" (p. 159). He highlights two principles which he suggests are overlooked in other approaches to interpreting meaning and authorial intentions. The first is that each of the choices reflected in a text has significance in terms of its meaning, and secondly, that understanding the relevance of a particular choice involves regarding it as a decision made by an individual in a particular historical context. Ignorance of that original context generates misreading of either the specific message or the particular identity the song was designed to communicate. These principles echo Bakhtin's (1981) view that discourse and individual words are marked by their social history. Choices to deploy particular types of discourse or words at a "particular historical moment in a socially specific environment" involve dialogic negotiations that position users in terms of that social history (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 276). As others have pointed out, these are choices between different values (Hirschkop, 1999) and are ethical choices (Nielsen, 1993) that have implications for meaning.

However, other areas of Gracyk's argument are problematic and suggest an inaccurate interpretation of Bakhtin's (1981) notion of the responsivity of discourse. A key tenet of Gracyk's discussion of the meaning of music is that products of mass art such as song recordings are designed for future audiences. Gracyk makes the point a number of times that popular musicians (intentionally) "plan on the future reception of their music" (p. 40). According to Gracyk, for later readings or understandings of texts to have any relationship to their original intended meanings we have to assume that the artists' intentions include their relevance or application to the situations of future listeners. Gracyk assumes an intention on the part of musicians to make music that is meaningful to *future* audiences, but this does not necessarily follow from Bakhtin's theorisation of future oriented discourse. Bakhtin theorises utterances as future-oriented in that they are shaped by the anticipation of a future response. Discourse is "oriented

toward a future answer-word: it... anticipates it and structures itself in the answer's direction" (1981, p. 280). Although as Bakhtin points out, responses may take the form of "a silent responsive understanding" and reaction may be immediate or delayed: "sooner or later what is heard and actively understood will find its response in the subsequent speech or behaviour of the listener" (1986c, p. 69). Bakhtin's notion of responsivity conceptualises a future response; it does not follow that discourse is necessarily orientated towards a future listener or reader. This point of difference is particularly relevant for songs such as Herbs' that comment on contemporaneous social and political issues and concerns.

As a consequence of apparently re-casting Bakhtin's notion of future oriented discourse, Gracyk argues that songs, like poems, will include words with fixity of meaning (such as names) but also areas that lack explicitness. This, according to Gracyk, is because an intention in terms of meaning that is future oriented must by necessity avoid the inclusion of a large number of specific details so that there remains considerable flexibility in interpreting areas of meaning that are not explicit in future, interpretive contexts. According to Gracyk, recognition of the open-ended intentions of musicians and song writers is important in that without it texts have little relevance for future audiences and therefore little "present value" (2001, p. 41). In support of this proposition he claims that "Most fans don't relate to older music for its historical value" (p. 41), but rather relate to earlier music as "living texts embroiled with our lives" (p. 41). However, it could also be argued that some texts have historical value and are also living texts in the sense that they relate to social and cultural history that is valued as part of the history of people's lives and their ideological development.

On the one hand Gracyk argues that songs must be open-ended and lack explicitness because they are designed to have meaning in the future. On the other, there exists a "superior" form of interpretation of meaning that emerges from an author-centred or historical perspective on the music (Gracyk 2001, p. 43). Gracyk describes such forms of meaning as "higher-level" intentions that include political and social commentary (p. 148). Manifestations of such higher level authorial intentions include combinations of particular musical, thematic and narrative choices that are assumed to reflect an intended message.

Appreciation of these meanings requires “active interpretation” (p. 149) on the part of the audience (as Bakhtin (1986c) also argues), and as Gracyk explains, involves a relatively sophisticated platform of knowledge, including knowledge about the relationship of the music to earlier forms of musical organisation that influence it. On the other hand, Gracyk argues that as the product of mass art, songs inevitably involve the higher-level intention of being open-ended: “because song lyrics are meant to be adapted to future cases whose features are not fully anticipated, they remain subject to individualized interpretation even when there is agreement about their literal meaning” (p. 50).

Gracyk describes a shift in lyrics away from the specific details found in other forms of communication to the use of details as *exemplified* concepts in images and references, which accounts for the open-ended nature of forms of musical and poetic communication. Higher-level intentions according to this argument are only exemplary - “never more than exemplary” (p. 42). Interpretations of meaning therefore, according to Gracyk, have to take account of details that are exemplary “placeholders” in the lyrics and music in order to avoid misreading. While it may be justified to argue that audiences rely on processes of imaginative substitution in making specific references (such as the Beatles’ “Strawberry Fields”) personally meaningful, the argument is not persuasive in the case of a certain type of historically specific protest and resistance songs.

As Gracyk points out, it is possible to enjoy a song without understanding the lyrics. In doing so listeners may understand the language but lack understanding of the context or background (and therefore specific references) that would have been more obvious at the time the lyrics were written, and the song was recorded. Gracyk uses the example of Lynyrd Skynyrd’s song “Sweet Home Alabama” (King, Rossington & Van Zant, 1974) to illustrate how lack of historical knowledge of the context of a song may obscure elements of its meaning. The song references the specific place of Birmingham (Alabama) and “the Governor” (George Wallace) in the line “In Birmingham they love the Governor”, as well as

the Watergate scandal¹⁹. As Gracyk points out, modern audiences may be unaware that Birmingham is in Alabama, that George Wallace, who epitomised racism in US politics, was governor of the state, and unaware of the nature of Watergate. However, Gracyk states that political or moral messages may be found in implied concepts: where lyrics include references to concrete and particular events or places without explicit moralising or drawing explicit conclusions. Thus the direct reference to the Watergate scandal and the reference to Governor George Wallace in “Sweet Home Alabama” are seen, according to Gracyk, as standing for other political scandals and other politicians (in the present or future).

There appears to be a contradiction in Gracyk’s argument. He asserts that recordings need to be and are future oriented and open-ended (albeit not necessarily entirely open-ended), and that the message of music and songs may be found in implied concepts. That is, lyrics include references to concrete and particular events or places as exemplified concepts (Gracyk, 2001). At the same time he argues, justifiably, that without sufficient knowledge of the context and the significance of specific references – to places or people, for example – elements of meaning are obscured. This raises the question whether specific, concrete references such as Watergate and “the Governor” are in fact able to stand for future scandals and future politicians as Gracyk argues, if lack of context knowledge renders their significance obscure.

The meanings of some songs, such as Herbs’ songs on this album, as in resistance poetry (Harlow, 1987) may be intentionally imbedded in and speak of a specific historical context, and are targeted particularly at those with an understanding of that context. In illustration of the former, Marvin Gaye’s song

¹⁹ In May 1972 US Republican President Richard Nixon’s aides ordered members of a Special Investigations Unit (the “Plumbers”) to break into and bug the Democratic Party’s National Committee headquarters in the Watergate complex in Washington DC (Hamilton, 2011). Five people were caught in the act during a second burglary in June. The Watergate scandal led to the resignation of the President in August 1974 after investigations by the US Senate Watergate Committee, White House staff resignations and the call for Nixon’s impeachment by Senate’s House Judiciary Committee. The grounds for impeachment included obstruction of justice, refusing to comply with subpoenas and the unlawful use of executive agencies (Hamilton, 2011).

“What’s Going On” (1971) refers to “too many of you dying” and “[p]icket lines and picket signs”, which may be interpreted as specifically relating to the Vietnam war and urban problems in the United States in the late 1960s, by audiences with knowledge of their context (see for example, *What’s Going On*, 2011). However, these references are equally interpretable as non-specific (or universal), and therefore more able to convey meaning in future contexts as well as contemporaneous other contexts that are similar to their original intended meaning. In the case of songs such as Lynyrd Skynyrd’s “Sweet Home Alabama”, however, the inclusion of specific references may indicate, contrary to Gracyk’s proposition, that the song writers did not necessarily plan for delayed future reception of their music, at least in terms of understanding. Knowledge of context and understanding of references in these cases therefore becomes crucial to interpretations of meaning. Thus while the popularity of many songs in terms of musical appeal may endure, intended meaning in others becomes obscure when the original context of lyrics is no longer known or understood.

This review of Gracyk’s argument is productive in two ways. Firstly, his approach to meaning in popular music parallels Bakhtin’s emphasis on the understanding of historical, social and textual context and on the implications of authorial choices in analysing discursive meaning. It thus provides support for my extension of Bakhtin’s theoretical framework to the analysis of meanings associated with Herbs’ appropriation of reggae (see Chapter Five). Secondly, notwithstanding apparent contradictions, it has assisted in clarifying the proposition that musicians’ choices in popular songs of protest and resistance may refract intentions that are specific to particular audiences at a particular historical moment.

Previous studies of popular music and song lyrics

Popular music and individual popular songs have been analysed in numerous studies from a range of disciplinary perspectives, with different aims. These include, as a small selection of examples, studies that focus on content and thematic analysis (such as Cooper, 1991); the effectiveness of messages of political dissent on student audiences (Denisoff & Levine, 1971); issues of local identity and the production of place (Mitchell, 1996); and those that investigate

social commentary and the role of popular music in political discourse and change (such as Denisoff, 1972; Nyairo & Ogude, 2005; Power, Dillane & Devereux, 2012; Rose, 1994). Others have discussed the global flows of rap (Alim, Ibrahim & Pennycook, 2009) or involve the sociolinguistic and musicological analysis of rap (Zemke-White, 2000); while further studies focus on global flows of reggae (Alvarez, 2008), the perceptions of reggae practitioners and consumers (Weber, 2000), or ethnomusicological aspects of reggae (Cattermole, 2004; 2011).

A number of such studies have been discussed in this chapter, and others that are particularly relevant to the analysis of Herbs' lyrics are examined in Chapter Four. Before moving on, however, I examine David Brackett's (1992) textual and musical analysis of James Brown's "Superbad" (1970). This is because Brackett draws explicitly on Bakhtin's concept of dialogism in his textual examination of particular linguistic features and dialogic internal relations in the lyrics of Brown's song.

Brackett discusses features of language use that are seen as marking differences between African-American and Euro-American cultures and values. Key differences between Black (American) English (BE) and Standard (American) English relate to paradigmatic rhetorical strategies involved in "signifyin(g)" as the black rhetorical "trope of tropes" (Brackett, 1992, p. 311), where signifying as a cultural and linguistic practice is a form of commentary on other texts and discourses. According to Brackett, in BE there is more emphasis on the sound of words than on their meaning; speech is seen as a game or a performance as opposed to an act of providing information; the distinctions between performer and audience tend to be obscured in BE (for example, by call and response in songs); conversations involve conscious stylisation in contrast to spontaneous or unplanned conversations; and BE embodies a view of "performance as a process... rather than performance as a thing" (p. 311).

Brackett argues that signifying intertextuality (dialogism) is a key to understanding the text of "Superbad". He notes the prominence of intertextual relations embodied in the use of formulaic phrases (largely BE slang) that signify, reuse and recombine stock phrases and slogans in an innovative way

(rather than the lyrics constructing phrases that are markedly original). Lyrics also frequently index catchphrases that were popular in the 1960s' Black Nationalism and Black Power movements, such as "Say it Loud – I'm Black and I'm Proud", and "I need some power – soul power". And the style of saxophone playing, according to Brackett, is evocative of the style of jazz players such as John Coltrane who were to an extent identified with the Black Nationalism movement.

Other, internal textual relations take the form of the pairing of lines that end in phonetically similar ways, that sound similar, and so, according to Brackett, reflect the first difference between BE and SE noted above. Disruption to the rhyme scheme is interpreted as a device that serves to highlight a particularly striking phrase. In terms of Bakhtin's (1984) notion of double-voiced discourse, Brackett (1992) explains that this is illustrated in the title of the song itself. In its semantic inversion of "bad" ("bad" is good), the title is seen as simultaneously embodying different perspectives associated with what he refers to as white and black discourse, and also perhaps celebrates "the heroic figure of the 'badman' in African-American discourse" (p. 322).

In addition, Brackett examines an internal form of dialogic relation in the repetition and variation in rhythm of repeated musical cells, as well as the repetition and variation of fragments of texts, particular syllables and a type of scream (which varies, for example, in position and pitch). He describes these repetitions with variations as a form of self-referential commentary on and dialogue with features of Brown's own performance. Furthermore, he argues that repetition creates expectations (of further repetitions) in the audience, which are then thwarted by a variation. Henry Louis Gates explains that "this form of disappointment creates a dialogue between what the listener expects and what the artist plays" (Gates, 1988, p. 123, cited by Brackett, 1992, p. 313).

Brackett interprets the song as a celebration of African-American culture. More specifically, it musically and lyrically celebrates the African-American experience of having soul ("I've got soul and I'm superbad"). James Brown's music is seen as an affirmation of values embodied in the lyrics' explicit references to African-American street language and to Black Power slogans, in

“how he says it” rather than what he says (Brackett, 1992, p. 321). This affirmation is also found in the music’s overt invocations of particular African-American practices as well as references to appropriated and revitalised West African musical traditions. These include an emphasis on recombination, repetition and variation and on “the foregrounding of the chain of signifiers” (Gates, 1988, p. 79, cited by Brackett, 1992, p. 321). Brackett’s analysis shows that these musical and linguistic processes are (dialogically) interconnected and this connection reflects a particular historical context. It is a productive application of Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism to popular music, and valuably illustrates the ways in which dialogism works at a variety of different levels. It is also interesting that the African-American tradition of signifying can be read as a culturally specific practice that embodies dialogic discourse.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has examined literature in a number of areas that contribute to the analysis of popular songs and to Herbs’ songs in particular. The literature relating to different functions of popular music assists in establishing the cultural significance of music. In particular it highlights the role of popular music in preserving cultural memory, in producing expressions of place and in constructing and articulating a sense of identity, all of which are relevant here. The exploration of Laing’s (2003) distinctions between songs of protest and of resistance and Harlow’s conceptualisation of resistance poetry creates a foundation for the analysis of Herbs’ songs in relation to these concepts. In addition, the review of the African diaspora’s practices of resistance and critique and their global influences provides a framework for the examination of the history of reggae, including the influence of Rastafari. Understandings of reggae as music that constructs and articulates resistance as well as a sense of local and global identity are important in informing analysis of Herbs’ appropriation of reggae in Chapter Five.

Theories and concepts of identity and of appropriation in popular music as a form of identification reviewed here contribute to the analysis of Herbs’ songs and of the musicians’ appropriation of reggae. The chapter has explained that in the context of an increasingly global era, marked by displacement and dislocation

caused by migration (Bhatia, 2008) and characterised by hybrid cultural experience (Said, 1994), the development of self and identity are mediated by a complex of cultural influences and resources (Bhatia, 2008). These include music. Identity development may involve the appropriation of cultural forms (Gracyk, 2001) such as reggae that are employed by individuals or groups to “specify who they are” (Owens, 2003, p. 207). Furthermore, when the view of identity as a positioning (Hall, 1990) is extended by drawing on Bakhtin’s theories, it is seen as a dialogic and multiple positioning (Hermans, 2001b).

In spite of some apparent contradictions, Gracyk’s (2001) approach to the analysis of meaning in popular music is valuable in its Bakhtinian emphasis on the dialogic relationship between meaning and historical and social context, and on the significance of choices made by musicians. The review suggests that Gracyk’s emphasis on music’s future direction and his perception of successful music as inevitably inviting multiple interpretations do not necessarily hold true. I argue that popular music that is meaningful to contemporaneous audiences at a particular period of time can equally be described as successful.

The final section has focused on Brackett’s analysis of James Brown’s song “Superbad” and illustrates the relevance and value of Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism for the analysis of meaning in popular songs.

The next chapter examines the development of Bakhtin’s theories and concepts, elaborating particularly on those that seem most relevant for the analysis of Herbs’ songs. It begins by examining the social, political and historical context of Bakhtin’s life because of its relevance to the philosophical goals that underpin his theories and concepts.

Chapter Three: Theoretical framework

“[T]heories carry world views” (Rice & Waugh, 2001, p.1)

Introduction

This chapter traces the development of Bakhtin’s philosophical and theoretical ideas and examines concepts that are particularly relevant to the analysis of Herbs’ album in more detail. Described as a philosopher, literary critic, and as a language and cultural theorist, Bakhtin is regarded as one of the most significant twentieth century theoreticians (Emerson, 1997; Emerson & Holquist, 1986; Holquist, 1981), whose pivotal concept of dialogism has had a progressive influence on literary and cultural studies (Brandist, 2002; Lodge, 1990).

Bakhtin’s approach to culture and language illustrates the dialogic nature of popular discourse, and thus its relation to history and social context (for example, Bakhtin, 1981; 1984). Furthermore, as this chapter explains, Bakhtin’s philosophy and the theories that he developed are rooted in ethical problems related to moral obligation or “oughtness” (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 46), and therefore particularly relevant for a study of lyrics that speak of divisive political, social and ethical issues and events.

Bakhtin (1981; 1986c) argued that discourse, as chains of utterances in a living context, is contingent. That is, it is inseparable from and located within a particular historical and social moment, a specific sphere of communication of a particular community, and a particular place. This is also true for Bakhtin’s writing (Hirschkop, 2001). Ken Hirschkop suggests that Bakhtin’s work is too closely connected to its difficult history to be separated from it, and that this history imbues his work with its philosophical “truth” (p.10). Caryl Emerson (1997) views Bakhtin as a “*survivor*” of his history (p. 8, Emerson’s emphasis), who mastered evasive strategies and protective skills in order to survive physically and morally in dangerous times, and to avoid either harming others or needlessly sacrificing himself. Bakhtin’s low profile in terms of publications and relative obscurity during the Stalinist era of mass repression of intellectuals probably saved his life (Morson & Emerson, 1990). The political and social context of Bakhtin’s life is relevant to philosophical problems he attempted to

resolve (Morson & Emerson, 1990), and the theories he developed. The next section therefore examines the life of Bakhtin and the times that he survived, and provides a context for the sections that follow which trace the development of his theories and key concepts. Subsequent sections of the chapter review evaluations of Bakhtin's contribution as a cultural theorist and critiques of his theories of discourse, respectively.

Bakhtin: biographic details

Bakhtin was born 22 years before the Russian Revolution in 1917, and lived through the First World War in Europe, the hardships of the civil war in Russia, followed by the oppression and purges of the Soviet Union under Stalin, and the Second World War. After studying at university in Odessa he studied classics at Petrograd University from 1914, formerly St. Petersburg and later Leningrad after 1924 (Dentith, 1995). He lived in small provincial towns between 1918 and 1924 to escape the particular hardships of city life during the civil war (Hirschkop, 1986), where he was a school teacher. In the town of Nevel and later in Vitebsk Bakhtin was a member of an active circle of intellectuals and sought himself to investigate issues of particular concern to philosophers. These included the relationship between lived experience and art, and the intricacies of responsibility in ethics and discourse (Holquist, 1990, p. 2). He married his wife Elena Aleksandrovna Okolovič in 1921 and with no secure and regular source of income until after the Second World War they lived in poverty for much of Bakhtin's life. In 1924 Bakhtin moved back to Leningrad where he was a central figure in discussion circles and lecture groups of Marxist and other intellectuals (Holquist, 1990). Bakhtin was also a peripheral member of some informal, underground Russian Orthodox religious groups that sought to reconcile intellectual and scientific influences with theology (Dentith, 1995; Morson & Emerson, 1990). As he had no permanent teaching position, partly due to illness and perhaps also to his lack of acceptable political credentials (Morson & Emerson, 1990), he gave private lessons to supplement a small pension for his illness. Bakhtin developed severe osteomyelitis in 1923 which resulted in the amputation of his right leg in 1938.

Bakhtin first introduced his concept of dialogism in his book on Dostoevsky, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (1984), which was published in the Soviet Union in 1929. In the same year he was arrested in a series of mass raids on intellectuals, apparently for his association with religious organisations. After a number of appeals on his behalf against a range of different charges involving anti-Soviet conspiracies and ideological “corruption” of youth (Dentith, 1995, p. 6), and an initial 10-year sentence to a “death camp” in the far north (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. xiv), he was eventually sentenced to (a relatively lenient) six years’ internal exile in Kustanai (now Kostany) in “the wilds of Kazakhstan” (Holquist, 1981, p. xxiv). He left Leningrad for exile in early 1930 and as Holquist explains, he completed the years of his banishment working as a bookkeeper and teaching bookkeeping. He wrote several essays on the theory of the novel during this time, including “Discourse [*Slovo* or “the word”] in the Novel”, written in 1934. In 1936 he found work lecturing in Russian and world literature at a teacher training institution in Saransk, approximately 400 kilometres to the east of Moscow. After a year, and during the height of “The Great Terror” of the Stalinist purges of political opposition, in which some eight million people were arrested of whom at one million were executed, and as many as two million people died in gulag labour camps (Conquest, 2008), Bakhtin was forced to resign amid rumours of looming renewed political arrests (Morson & Emerson, 1990). It is estimated that over 20 million people were sent to the gulags during Stalin's rule of Russia, and that nearly half of these people died in the camps (Gracheva, n.d.). Bakhtin moved to the small town of Kimry/Savelovo in 1940, 200 kilometres north of Moscow, where recognising that “out of sight was out of mind” as Hirschkop (1986, p. 95) suggests, and in the interests of survival, he remained until the end of the Second World War. This was as near to Moscow that he was allowed to live as a former political exile.

At Kimry Bakhtin wrote a book on the “*erziehungsroman*” (Holquist, 1981, p.xxiv;) or “*bildungsroman*”, the “novel of education”, (Dentith, 1995, p. 6) which is the category of novel that centres on the upbringing, psychological and moral development of the main character, as well as a doctoral dissertation on the French Renaissance writer Rabelais. The invasion of the Soviet Union by Germany in 1941 during the Second World War prevented the publication of his

book (which had been accepted for publication) and also prevented the examination of his submitted dissertation until the late 1940s. The complete manuscript for the book was destroyed in German bombing of the publication house, and much of Bakhtin's own partial copy of the manuscript was used by him for cigarette papers during war-time shortages. All that remained was an essay-length manuscript published later as "The Bildungsroman and its Significance in the History of Realism" (1986b).

After the end of the war Bakhtin was reinstated to his former position at Saransk Pedagogical Institute, now a University (Brandist 2014), where he worked as a highly popular and well-regarded teacher and in academic administration until 1961 (Holquist, 1990). During the late 1940s in a period of new political prejudices and "insane xenophobia" (Holquist, 1990, p. 10) against "cosmopolitanism", Bakhtin's dissertation on Rabelais had become contentious. Dentith (1995) explains anti-cosmopolitanism as a code for anti-Semitism and suspicion of those who studied non-Russian literature. The examination process caused controversy and divisions in Moscow scholarly circles, and he was finally awarded a candidate's degree in 1952, rather than a full doctoral degree. Despite obstructions from official sources, when the teachers' college became a university in 1957 Bakhtin was appointed head of the now larger Department of Russian and World Literature. His dissertation, which examines popular humour, folk culture and carnival, was eventually published in the Soviet Union in 1965 and as *Rabelais and His World* (1984) in the United States. Bakhtin retired due to ill health in 1961.

As Hirschkop (1986) and Dentith (1995) record, in the early 1960s Bakhtin was "re-discovered" by a group of young intellectuals and scholars in Moscow, who read his book on Dostoevsky and his archived dissertation and campaigned for his work to be published. Bakhtin's book on Dostoevsky was re-published in 1963 with his own revisions, followed by his book on Rabelais in 1965, based on his dissertation. With these books in circulation Bakhtin became a cult figure in post-Stalinist Soviet intellectual circles up until and beyond the time of his death. When his health declined in 1969 he was moved from retirement in Saransk to a Moscow clinic, and after the death of his wife supporters found him an apartment

with nursing care. He gave a number of interviews and wrote a series of notes (see Emerson, 1997) and soon after his death in March 1975 a collection of his essays *Questions of Literature and Aesthetics* was published in the Soviet Union (Holquist, 1981). Some of these were later published in English in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin* (Holquist, 1981). From that point interest in Bakhtin spread firstly to France and the United States in the 1980s and to Western scholars in general (Morson & Emerson, 1990).

Bakhtin's life, as described in the accounts cited here, was framed by severe hardships, political oppression, and the traumas of events in the twentieth century. These obstructed his work but serve to ground and give particular meaning to his theories and concepts in a courageous life history, in the course of which Bakhtin appears to have remained optimistic about self-other relationships and the possibility of change for the better. While Bakhtin may rightly be seen as an idealist (Hirschkop, 1986; Brandist, 2002), what is remarkable and admirable is the fact that his theories of self and of discourse survived the material circumstances of poverty and professional frustrations he endured. Since his rediscovery in the 1960s these have continued to have an impact on theories of discourse and interpretation of texts in a wide range of disciplines today (see for example *Bakhtin in Contexts: Across the Disciplines*, Mandelker, 1995).

As these paragraphs on Bakhtin's biographical details suggest and the subsequent sections will further argue, Bakhtin's theories of discourse, imbued as they are by his particular history (Hirschkop, 2001), provide a powerful and sympathetic framing for this interpretive study of Herbs' album, which is conceived here, according to Bakhtin's theories, as a conscious "discursive intervention conditioned by precise social and historical circumstances" (Hirschkop, 1986, p. 93). Within this framework there are more specific compatibilities between Bakhtin's focus on ethics and moral obligation, and reggae music. In broad terms these are located in the fact that reggae as message music (Weber, 2000) speaks of ethics and moral values, and of just alternatives to dominant values (Lipsitz, 1994). Bakhtin was concerned by what he saw as the oppressive values in Europe and the devastating damage these had wreaked. His early thinking was aimed towards a philosophical solution to the problem of those values that was

grounded in the ethics of inter-subjective relationships; his thinking later evolved into an ethical theory of discourse. The next sections outline the development of Bakhtin's ideas, and refer to authoritative interpretations of these. This is in order to locate ideas that are particularly relevant to this thesis within the overall framework of Bakhtin's theories and key concepts.

The evolution of Bakhtin's theories and key concepts

While Bakhtin may be seen as an idealist, with limitations in terms of social theory (Brandist, 2000) and inconsistencies in his thinking (Peeren, 2008), he built upon the work of other philosophers and theorists to produce innovative theories and concepts that have been widely influential, not only for cultural theorists (Hirschkop, 1986) but across discipline areas. Bakhtin's (1981; 1984) notions of dialogic relations in discourse and his category of double-voiced discourse that includes heteroglossia, as the stratified and interrelated set of speech practices within a language (Hirschkop, 1986), and polyphony (multiple voices) have particular value and relevance for the examination of contemporary popular song lyrics. The following sections explain these concepts in the context of the development of Bakhtin's ideas.

Self, other and responsibility (answerability)

The development of Bakhtin's ideas and concerns falls into four main periods (Morson & Emerson, 1990), which according to Hirschkop (1986) illustrate strong continuities in terms of themes, but also significant shifts in conceptual thinking. In the first period he focused on a philosophical investigation of ethical and aesthetic acts and a critique of formalist approaches to the study of literature and language. Hirschkop explains that Bakhtin initially embarked in the early 1920s on a philosophical work on ethics and "the subject of right" (a letter from Bakhtin to his friend Matvei Kagan in 1921, cited in Hirschkop, 2001, p. 11). Sergei Bocharov (1993) elaborates that the project concerned the sphere of human action which Bakhtin refers to as the "world-as-event" (Bakhtin, 1993, p.32) or the world of "the performed act" (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 39), in which a life is conceived as an "uninterrupted performing of acts" as deeds, including thoughts (Bakhtin, 1993, p.3). The project's dominant philosophical category, and possibly the most important category in Bakhtin's work (Brandist, 2001) is

the concept commonly referred to as “answerability” (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 3), more accurately translated as responsibility (Brandist, 2001), and expressed in the metaphor of “non-alibi in Being” (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 40). The planned four-part philosophical work outlined in Bakhtin’s introduction to *Toward a Philosophy of the Act* (1993) was not completed. Two incomplete fragments of this work (Bocharov, 1993) were published as *Toward a Philosophy of the Act* first in Soviet Union in 1986, after some of Bakhtin’s earliest writings were found hidden away but badly damaged in Saransk in 1972 (Holquist, 1993), and published in the US in 1993.

The problem for which Bakhtin sought to find a solution was the loss of what he termed “obligation” to others, or oughtness, “the ought” (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 4). He saw this loss as resulting in the historical trauma of the deaths of millions in the First World War in Europe, and the struggles of the 1917 revolution and civil war in Russia (Hirschkop, 2001). Hirschkop suggests that in the particular historical context of Europe in the early 1920s Bakhtin chose a philosophical path because philosophical truths present “a solid guide to moral conduct when the world around you is filled with the rhetoric and reality of ‘struggle’” (Hirschkop, 2001, p. 10). While the norms of obligation existed still and were embodied as a legalised notion of morality in modern law or rules, their binding or motivation power had diminished. As Brandist (2004) explains, the German state’s Civil Code first enacted in 1896 is a particularly striking example of theory-based codification of national law, in which logical and ‘scientific’ methods based on codified principles and a “catalogue” (p. 25) of possible relationships and offences were used to solve legal problems, rather than judgements related to social values, practical reason, or causal considerations (Brandist, 2004). As a result of such legal rules and codes, in Bakhtin’s view, moral responsibility was no longer practised in Europe, and had led to “a crisis of contemporary action” (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 54).

While having a great interest in science (Dentith, 1995; Holquist, 1990; Morson & Emerson, 1990), Bakhtin blamed the influence of the law-like nature of modern scientific knowledge on the field of ethics for this loss of obligation (Hirschkop, 2001). According to Bakhtin, in approaches that viewed ethics

mechanically (Morson & Emerson, 1990), as consisting of principles and general norms that can be applied in an unthinking and automatic way, the acts of an individual are seen as merely instantiating (or failing to instantiate) a norm (Morson & Emerson, 1990). This encourages reliance on rational argument to produce “conscience” and on the use of rules or laws to achieve consensus on matters of morality (Hirschkop, 2001). Bakhtin argued that while systems of rules and laws might be instructive about *how* to behave for those who intended to be moral, they are incapable of persuading anyone that they *should* behave in a moral way, and did not obligate “anyone to anything” (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 44).

Bakhtin articulated a philosophical answer to the problem of the “oughtness” necessary for a “morally obligating orientation” (1993, p.23-24) in the early 1920s in *Toward a Philosophy of the Act* (1993) and in “Author and Hero in Aesthetic Activity” (1990a). In essence this was that “*I*” exists, and a “particular concrete *other* exists”, rather than some abstract “man-in-general” (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 47). As he explains, oughtness depends on the subject realising that “any inner experience and mental whole can be concretely experienced, can be inwardly perceived, either in the category of *I-for-myself* or in the category of the *other-for-me*, that is either as one’s own experience or as the experience of this definite, singular other person” (Bakhtin, 1990a, p. 24). In other words, a subject experiences its own feelings and thoughts in a way that is unique and different from the way it experiences these in others (Hirschkop, 2001). Hirschkop explains Bakhtin’s idea as meaning that in “experiencing itself as unique, the subject interprets moral requirements [to act with “forward-thinking” or regard to future impacts] in the form of a “conscience”, which addresses *it*, and it alone, rather than a law” (Hirschkop, 2001, p. 14, emphasis added). It follows that a subject can defy this conscience, but cannot ignore it or remain indifferent to it. We are responsible and there is a “non-alibi-in-Being”, there is no avoiding our unique responsibility (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 40).

Bakhtin argues in *Toward a Philosophy of the Act* (1993) that morality (“the ought”) arises in the historical concreteness and individuality of “the ongoing performance of acts or deeds” (p.6) and in the judgements for which a consciousness in particular conditions is responsible, rather than in some

theoretical truth relating to abstract moral norms. As Gary Morson and Caryl Emerson (1990) elaborate, “[o]bligation, the ‘oughtness’ of responsibility, arises in and responds to each particular situation in a way that cannot be adequately generalized [by rules and principles] without depriving it of its very essence” (p. 26) or its “eventness” (Bakhtin, 1993, p.105). While Bakhtin acknowledged that principles and rules have pedagogic functions, in that in recognising where these work and where they do not work our understanding of the complexity of morality is enriched (Morson, 1988), he argued that morality cannot be found in philosophical rules as an area of systematic knowledge (Morson & Emerson, 1990). Rather, morality is found in the wisdom that develops in relation to the prosaic inter-subjective actions and judgements of daily life (Morson, 1988; Morson & Emerson, 1990). Ethics therefore is seen as performative, as the patterns of deeds over the course of the event of a life (Clark & Holquist, 1984).

In a view of utterances as ethical deeds that perhaps has particular import for song lyrics that respond to the historical and contemporaneous deeds of others, Bakhtin conceptualised such deeds in their making as acts “in the process of creating or authoring an event” (Clark & Holquist, 1984, p. 63). These can be termed deeds, whether they are thoughts, physical actions, or utterances either spoken or in the form of written texts.

Bakhtin’s early notion of self (1993) prefigures and provides the philosophical basis for his later conceptualisation of dialogue. This concept of self and of self-other relations is comprised of three relational elements: “I-for-myself”, “the other-for-me”, and “I-for-the-other” (1993, p. 54). The first is a unique individual, a unified whole, which rather than being articulated in relationships between I-for-the-other and the-other-for me is the self’s perception of its own potential (Bender, 1998). In contrast, the I-for-the-other and the other-for-me are particular constructions that occur in unique inter-subjective acts particular to time and space; they represent respectively how others experience “outerly” completed acts, and how I experience theirs (Emerson, 1997, p. 199). As a result these constructions of I-for-the-other and the other-for-me are never finalised in that they are always partial and incomplete. According to Bakhtin and Courtney Bender’s explanation (1998), when I interact with another, I see the parts of that

person that are contingent on the specificity of the particular act. I do not “see” all of him or her. That person in the context of a specific action is the other-for-me. The same is so in reverse; the part of me that is realised as an I-for-the-other is only a partial I. Katerina Clark and Michael Holquist (1984) summarise Bakhtin’s view of self-hood as “[m]y self is that which through [the performance of deeds] answers other selves” (p. 64). It is in the particular relation between these partial selves that an individual responsibility or “answerability” to each other is constructed (Bender, 1998). Emerson (1997) points out that the Russian word for responsibility (*otvetstvennost*) suggests literally the “ability to respond,” but also importantly carries meaning related to ethical responsibility – “a more ethically burdened meaning” (p.283).

It is important to note that rather than inventing entirely new categories as a philosopher, Bakhtin’s terminology draws from and develops the sources he combined and utilised to original and innovative effect (Brandist, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004; Poole, 2001). Brandist (especially 2001, 2002) and Poole (2001) examine such influences and their impact on Bakhtin’s ideas and theory of the novel. Brandist (2002) focuses particularly on the philosophical and intellectual threads that influenced Bakhtin’s ideas, and Poole’s investigations include biographic details through correspondence with friends, and internal evidence in references and direct quotations from source texts in Bakhtin’s notebooks. Poole’s findings show that Bakhtin was particularly influenced by the work of the German intellectual and philosopher Max Scheler (1874- 1928). In Scheler’s categorisation of four main types among otherwise often conflated conceptions of empathy (cited in Brandist, 2002; Poole, 2001), genuine sympathy demonstrates itself by taking into account the character, existence, and individuality of the other. Scheler, according to Poole, referred frequently to the significance of the distinction between “I” and the other and to the theme of “distance” between their consciousnesses. Brandist (2002) explains that Bakhtin, like Scheler, argued that “intersubjective relations are characterised by the co-experiencing of an ‘event of being’” (p. 45-46), but that co-experience in itself is not an ethical activity. In the intentional act of seeking to perceive and understand, after experiencing what the other perceives or feels, it is necessary for the ‘I’ to return to her or his own position *outside* the other, from which

position it is possible “to give shape and wholeness to the one perceived” (Brandist, 2002, p. 46) and to evaluate the experience. “Ethical virtue” in an intentional act thus arises from maintaining one’s own distance in the sense of “one’s own unique place in existence” as well as the ability to co-experience, and in recognising the other as another subject of equal value (Brandist, 2002, p. 48). In his analysis of narrative technique Bakhtin (1990a) argued that it is this conception of the relationship between “I” and the experience of distance from the other that introduces an aesthetic dimension with ethical significance, in that “these feelings [of sympathy] are ethically qualified” by that relationship (p. 48). Brandist (2002) describes the notion of outsidedness as pivotal to Bakhtin’s aesthetics, in which he applied principles of ethical philosophy to art and authorship. Furthermore, Bakhtin’s early texts illustrate his interest in intentionality and the notion of the *ethically* intentional and therefore “productive” emotional or cognitive act (Poole, 2001, p.116).

Outsidedness

Bakhtin’s conception of I and other as “the absolute and invariable structure of human existence” (Hirschkop, 2001, p. 16) implies “a necessary ‘outsidedness’ of one person in relation to another” (Emerson, 1997, p. 207). The realisation of the outsidedness of the relationship between ourselves and others led eventually to Bakhtin’s particular interest in art and literature, cultural and literary history, and to his examination of the *dialogical* art of Dostoevsky published in the Soviet Union in 1929 (1984). While the following paragraphs focus on ideas related to Bakhtin’s analysis of the novel, those ideas located in the realm of the aesthetic have implications for the world beyond the novel, as Brandist (2001) points out.

Craig Brandist (2002) argues that Bakhtin focused on the authors he chose (mainly Dostoevsky, Rabelais and Goethe) for their philosophical and historical significance, arguably treating these writers largely as “philosophers of history” (p. 134). Jerome Game (1998) suggests that Bakhtin’s work is an epistemology and a philosophical anthropology that speaks both about literature and through literature. Similarly, Emerson (1997) describes Bakhtin as a “philosopher-critic” (p.81), who rather than using his thought solely to illuminate literature, utilised

selected literature to demonstrate the course of his thinking and his philosophical principles. Emerson argues that Bakhtin's approach can be seen to an extent as following a particular Russian tradition. She refers to the culturally institutionalised tradition in Russian intellectual circles since the 1800s of the use of "Aesopian language" or allegory as a hermeneutic or interpretive device to outmanoeuvre "the unfree authoritarian word" of censored printed texts (Emerson, 1997, p.8). In the face of centuries of censorship of real-world events, literature was seen in Russia as the location of honest ideas, and readers had learnt to find nonfictional referents below every fictional surface. Until the end of state censorship, Emerson explains, "Russian literature *was* the real world" (p. 9) and the role of literary criticism, in dealing with literature as "a mediated form of life's mode of existence" (p. 11), was to help people interpret it.

"Author and Hero in Aesthetic Activity" (Bakhtin, 1990a) focused on the philosophical relationship of self and other as manifested in the relation between the author-as-creator and the author's creation (hero). Bakhtin conceptualised the art of the author as the creation of the forward-directed or future-orientated life of the I of an other, as seen from the "outside" or distanced perspective of the author. As the following sections explain, he later came to view the novel in terms of style and narrative as a unique genre that represents the essential features of modernity, and particularly modernity's "orientation to the future" (Hirschkop, 2001, p. 18).

Dialogic relations

Bakhtin first utilised the term dialogic relations in his 1929 book *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (1984). Dialogic, in which *dia* means across or through, signifies the logic of the ways in which meaning is derived "from relations *between* the intersecting meaningful acts" of subjects (Brandist, 2004, p. 38). For Bakhtin, Dostoevsky was the originator of modern novelistic dialogic method, in which in his "form-shaping ideology" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 98), the dialogic relationship between author and hero (other), is expressed in prose language that can reflect the perspectives of the author and the hero (or heroes) at the same time (Hirschkop, 2001). Dostoevsky, according to Bakhtin's analysis, changed the nature of the novel by creating characters that were not governed by usual

conceptions of plot (as in the epic story) nor by impersonal authorial ideas, but by the hero “conceived of and represented by the author as free” (1984, p. 29), “carrying” his own idea, which is allowed to develop “at a distance” from the author (1984, p. 85). Bakhtin’s analysis reveals an inter-subjective level of interaction between the discourses of author and characters in which the latter appear to have a consciousness and a position of their own that is separate and distinct from that of the author.

According to Hirschkop (2001), the philosophical categories of I-for-myself and the other-for-me thus became superseded in Bakhtin’s work by the category of the dialogical relationship between subject and subject, given bodily form in author-hero relations. Bakhtin in other words recasts intersubjectivity in dialogue (Brandist, 2002). In relation to Bakhtin’s original planned project on ethics, Hirschkop (2001) argues that recognition of dialogical relationships as symbolised in the modern novel offered the possibility of morally responsible Europeans, as opposed to what Bakhtin viewed as Europeans who saw life from an a-historical perspective of “I-for-myself”.

Dialogic relations in discourse

In the same text, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, Bakhtin also identified what he termed extralinguistic dialogic relationships in the sphere of discourse itself, “where language *lives*” (1984, p. 183, Bakhtin’s emphasis). These occur between different utterances by different subjects and between language styles and “social dialects” that construct semantic positions or worldviews (p. 184). Dialogic relations also occur in what Bakhtin terms double-voiced discourse (p. 185); that is, within an utterance that incorporates the voice (semantic position) of another and within individual words that signify “someone else’s semantic position” or serve as representatives of someone else’s discourse (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 184). As Emerson (1997) further explains this latter aspect of dialogism in discourse, words by their nature resist homogenisation and unity of meaning; the more frequently a word is used in speech acts, the more it accumulates an increasing number of contexts and meanings over time. Significantly, the recognition that discourse or living utterances and individual words are inevitably participants in social dialogue establishes a connection between language and history. Judith

Baxter (2014) points out that Bakhtin developed different versions of the notion of double-voiced discourse that reflect different levels of interaction. These forms are discussed in more detail below and include polyphony, internally persuasive discourse, the use of reported speech, and heteroglossia within national languages. While double-voiced suggests a relationship between two discourses, polyphony and heteroglossia imply plural and multi-voiced discourses.

The combination of these ideas led Bakhtin to describe dialogic relations in a broader sense as “an almost universal phenomenon, permeating all human speech, and all relationships and manifestations of human life – in general, everything that has meaning and significance” (1984, p. 40). This idea of dialogic relations suggests a frame for an analysis of the relationship between Herbs’ lyrics as utterances and the historical and contemporaneous events and deeds (including previous discourse) to which they relate and respond, as well as the relationship between Jamaican reggae and Pacific musical traditions.

Polyphony

Bakhtin describes Dostoevsky’s novels as characterised by an innovative type of metaphorically *polyphonic* or multi-voiced artistic thinking that involve “a *plurality of independent and unmerged voices and genuine consciousnesses, a genuine polyphony of fully valid voices*” (1984, p. 6, Bakhtin’s emphasis). The novels embody “universal principles of humanity”, in which all subjects have the same rights (Brandist, 2001, p. 218). For Bakhtin, Dostoevsky shaped novelistic form into an innovative style of “democratic novel” (Brandist, 2004, p. 30) that embodies the essence of democratic and progressive culture (Brandist, 2002).

In what Bakhtin describes as “novels of trial” (1981, p. 391), Dostoevsky’s plots expose, provoke and test his heroes in their collisions and conflicts with others (Bakhtin, 1984; Brandist, 2001). But as Brandist (2001; 2004) explains, in Dostoevsky’s novels there is no distinct authorial voice or leading character passing judgement on a hero, as in other novelistic forms. Rather, the hero speaks for himself, reveals himself, and as a “juridical [legal] individual” is judged as “an autonomous discourse” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 53) in a co-constructed process. Brandist (2004) explains a juridical individual as a subject “with full rights” (p.

30), who is morally responsible for his own discursive and non-discursive acts (Brandist, 2001, p. 209).

This judgement involves the author's act of producing the hero and her or his image-world (Brandist, 2004), a general and abstract "authorial presence" as opposed to the explicit and intervening voice of the author, and the reader, who together witness and sit in judgement on the hero's discursive acts (Brandist, 2001; 2004). Brandist (2001) describes this as the "judgement of being" (p. 216) against a universal notion of the "ought", or the values that *should* apply (Brandist, 2004), rather than the author's or another character's perception or some theory-based set of rules about what is ethically right. In this way Bakhtin, influenced particularly by a German tradition of legal-philosophy (Brandist, 2004), develops a juridical model of modern narrative literature and of dialogic relations in which Dostoevsky's novels are "an aesthetic version of the court of enquiry" about what is morally and ethically right, the court of enquiry that figures metaphorically in notions of the model democratic state (Brandist, 2001, p. 218).

In an example of Bakhtin's development of existing ideas, Brian Poole (2001) explains that Bakhtin came across the term "polyphonic dialogue" in a work of Ernst Hirt (1887 – date of death unknown) published in 1923. Hirt developed the concept in relation to the authorial perspective that intervenes in a plot and arranges the distance of elements of that plot in relation to the central values. This is in contrast to the "cosmic [removed] distance" of the epic poet (Hirt, 1923, as cited in Poole, p. 119). Hirt in turn derived the term from German novelist Otto Ludwig (1813-1865), according to Poole. Ludwig applied the term to dramatic soliloquies in which a single character seems to speak in dialogue with off stage characters, as a consciousness "anticipating, provoking, remonstrating – acting *as if* in dialogue with others" (Poole, 2001, p. 120; author's emphasis). Poole explains that in the second edition of his work on Dostoevsky (1984), Bakhtin employed both Scheler and Hirt's theories of distance in his interpretation of narrative and his approach to the narration of consciousness and narrative perspective. While Scheler referred to the ethical dimension of "distance" as the foundation for "genuine 'communication'" (as

cited in Poole, p. 118), it was Bakhtin who went on to develop the concept of polyphony in the novel and a theory of communication and discourse that drew on Scheler's concept.

Historical and ideological becoming

Bakhtin (1984) suggests that a weakness in Dostoevsky's artistic vision can be explained by the author's own history as a journalist (p. 29). In his novels Dostoevsky focused on the present and stripped characters of environmental causality, of justification or motives, and of context or explanations in the past for current motives. According to Bakhtin, Dostoevsky's "love of the newspaper...[and] understanding of the newspaper page as a living reflection of the contradictions of contemporary society" (Bakhtin, 1984, pp. 29-30) influenced his artistic representations, in present time, of contradictions and ambiguities and of coexisting and interacting voices in opposition, with the result that these lacked any sense of evolution or a temporal course. Here, interestingly, Bakhtin provides a context and causality for Dostoevsky's artistic achievements that Dostoevsky himself purposely denies the characters in his novels. In doing so, as Brandist (2001) points out, Bakhtin identifies a weakness in Dostoevsky (1984) that leads him to argue for an integration of the idea of the trial of a ready-formed personality with the idea of becoming. That is, a process of emergence or "ideological becoming" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 341) that is revealed in the influence of past experiences and environment on a hero's world view and character. In *The Bildungsroman* (1986b) Bakhtin writes of the significance of a particular type of "novel of human emergence" (p. 21), in which the hero emerges in a new "spatial sphere of historical existence" (p. 24), and changes "*along with the world*" (p. 23, Bakhtin's emphasis), reflecting the "historical emergence of the world itself" (p. 23). The transition of the world from one epoch to another is represented in the changing character of the hero. Such works represent "the emergence of modern man" with a new developing sense of historical consciousness (Brandist, 2002, p. 134).

Bakhtin's idea that in the becoming of a person that person "*emerges along with the world*, [and] reflects the historical emergence [becoming] of the world itself" (Bakhtin, 1986b, p. 23) embodies the notion that the actions of each self,

including speech acts, are tied into the historical future and to a sense of such historical becoming. Bakhtin's ideas imply not only that ethics are guided by the conscience of the self rather than simply by cultural tradition and norms, but also that the idea of future orientation necessitates, significantly, an understanding of the world as historical (Hirschkop, 2001). Furthermore, if the world, defined as the "'image world' of culture" (Brandist, 2001, p. 219), and the future are open and free, it implies that there is an obligation on individuals "to act, to make a unique and irreplaceable contribution to the ongoing formation...of [that] world" (Brandist, 2001, p.219).

Joan DeJean (1984) points out that Bakhtin framed Dostoevsky's achievement of novelistic polyphony in the historical context of the (relatively abrupt) arrival of Russian capitalism which, according to Bakhtin, created the necessary preconditions for polyphony. Indeed, Bakhtin (1984) argues that the polyphonic novel was only achievable under capitalism and that in Russia particularly "where capitalism set in almost near catastrophically", it met "an untouched multitude of diverse worlds and social groups" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 20). Such worlds and groups had not been previously weakened over time as they had in the West by the gradual arrival of capitalism, and were thus particularly "vivid" in their individuality (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 20). Bakhtin's idea implies that this vividness in the diversity of cultural worlds and groups lent itself to sharper and more effective representation in Russian literature than was possible in the literature of other capitalist cultures.

Unfinalisability

A further concept, which Bakhtin refers to frequently in different contexts, is unfinalisability. For example in *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* the world itself as represented in the novel, is seen by Dostoevsky and by Bakhtin (1984) as unfinalisable:

[n]othing conclusive has yet taken place in the world, the ultimate word of the world and about the world has not yet been spoken, the world is open and free, everything is still in the future and will always be in the future. (p.166, Bakhtin's emphasis).

In the same text Bakhtin uses the term in relation to the self: “So long as a person is alive he (sic) lives by the fact that he is not yet finalized, that he has not yet uttered his ultimate word” (1984, p. 59). Dialogic discourse in turn is defined as concrete utterances that are links “in the chain of speech communication” (Bakhtin, 1986c, p. 91) related to preceding and to subsequent links in a particular sphere, and as such is unfinalisable. “There is neither a first nor a last word and there are no limits to the dialogic context (it extends into the boundless past and boundless future)” (1986f, p. 170).

The idea of the unfinalisability of discourse as a result of its dialogic relationship to previous and future utterances represents a complex of ideas that relate to freedom, openness, innovation, creativity, potentiality, and the possibility of change (Morson & Emerson, 1990), as well as to reinterpretation in new contexts and “newer ways to mean” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 346). It can be seen as a critique of authoritarian, monologic thinking that is unable or unwilling to allow for this range of freedom and creativity. Bakhtin’s use of the term monologic, which as Eagleton (2007b) points out is likely to have been a polite word for Stalinism, refers to authoritative versions of the truth, a reduction of many voices and consciousnesses to a single absolute voice, which “at its extreme, denies the existence outside itself of another consciousness with equal rights and equal responsibilities” (Bakhtin, 1984, p.292).

According to Bakhtin, Western forms of knowledge turn open-ended dialogue into monologic statements that summarise and paraphrase its content but at the same time misrepresent its unfinalisable essence, and in so doing unavoidably monologise the world. In real dialogism, the unity of the world is fundamentally one of multiple voices, where conversations are never finalised and “cannot be transcribed in monologic form” (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 61).

Unfinalisability therefore represents a resistance to Western modes of thinking about knowledge and truth that tend to reduce life events to rules and systems and definitive statements about what constitutes truth and proof. Bakhtin first used the term “theoretism” (1993, p. 11) for the erroneous regard for systems; he later used the term monologism for the assumption that all things have a meaning that relates them to the “seamless whole”, a meaning that is discoverable through

the relevant code provided by the given theory (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p.28). Morson and Emerson refer to this as “semiotic totalitarianism” (1990, p. 28) because such an approach assumes that the totality of things can be explained and that all accidental events are signs of an “underlying order” (p. 28) to which the given system has the code or key. Examples provided by Morson and Emerson include the theories of Freud, which propose that all apparent accidents have meaning, and that forgetfulness is purposeful rather than sometimes the result of inefficiencies of the mind. They also cite approaches to literary criticism which assume that everything in a particular text can be accounted for in terms of thematic integrity or structure.

Morson and Emerson (1990) describe Bakhtin’s exploration of Dostoevsky’s work as continuing a strong Russian tradition of literary theory and criticism, as the practice of philosophy in a different form. A recurring theme in Russian literary-philosophical investigations, and for Bakhtin, was the apparent contradiction between the need for objective systems of scientific laws in order to understand the world, and the need and desire for freedom, and openness of future possibilities. Bakhtin (1986d) was critical of systematising approaches such as Formalism and linguistics that divide the particular from the general and the individual from the social (Morson & Emerson, 1990). According to Morson and Emerson, Bakhtin sought a conceptual resolution that allowed for a degree of orderliness of the world that would satisfy scientific knowledge, but also enough openness for real creativity and future possibilities in terms of the self, language, literature and culture. Such creativity and openness necessitates an understanding that the on-going processes of daily or prosaic existence are open and unfinalisable. Emerson and Holquist (1986) argue that the sole area in which Bakhtin was systematic, given his resistance to systems, was (ironically) in his regular insistence on a view of cultural units and artefacts as open and unfinished rather than as “closed monads [unities or singularities] or *finished* systems” (p. xii).

Critique of formalism and structuralism

In the early 1920s Bakhtin also wrote a critique of Russian Formalism in “The Problem of Content, Material, and Form in Verbal Art” (Bakhtin, 1990b). The

Formalist movement in literary criticism emerged from The Moscow Linguistic Circle and The Society for the Study of Poetic Language before the Russian revolution and lasted into the 1920s; it is seen as the first in a series of theoretical movements related to language and literature in the past 100 years or so (Rice & Waugh, 2001). Between 1925 and 1929 Bakhtin was part of a small study circle of friends and fellow writers in Leningrad involving his best friend the philosopher Matvej Kagan, as well as V.N Voloshinov and P.N. Medvedev with whom he published a range of articles and books on philosophical problems in psychology, literary theory and linguistics (Holquist, 1981). Bakhtin and his Circle criticised Russian Formalist linguistics and literary approaches for their objectification of human subjects and of their creative products (Bakhtin, 1984; Bakhtin & Medvedev, 1991; Voloshinov, 1986). They viewed Formalism as an incorrect application of the positivist principles and methods of natural sciences to what should be objects of *interpretative* textual analysis (Hirschkop, 1986). In what Hirschkop describes as an unusual fusing of epistemological and ethical arguments, Bakhtin and his Circle were critical of Formalist approaches for reducing literary works to the “material” – to language and linguistic devices. In a critique that has implications for this analysis of reggae song lyrics, Formalism was seen as ignoring content and ignoring the achievements of literary works as social (textual) and ethical acts (Morson & Emerson, 1990).

Bakhtin (1981) continued to emphasise the inextricable relationship between form and content in literary works. In stating that “form and content in discourse are one” (1981, p. 259) he identifies the need for textual analysis to overcome the distance between abstract, formal approaches (that is, those that focus on form) and those that focus on semantic aspects of discourse. In this he recognises the duality of every artistic sign, in which “all content is formal and every form exists because of its content”, and in which form is active as a particular aspect of a “message” (Krystyna Pomorska in the Foreword to Bakhtin, 1984b, p. viii).

In analysing features of form in Herbs’ album I supplement Bakhtin’s predominant focus on the analysis of prose by drawing on literary theorist and critic Terry Eagleton’s (2007) approach to the analysis of poetic discourse. In doing so I extend Eagleton’s analysis of poems as “compressed structures of

language” (Eagleton, 2007, p. 52), in which meaning is shaped by verbal form, to popular song lyrics that share some of the structural and surface features of poems. In Eagleton’s (2007) view, investigations of literary works that draw on Bakhtin’s theories keep faith with the task of classical rhetoric by setting out to investigate such works as patterns of meaning and historical events, and as locations where signification and power converge. Eagleton (1981) points out that in classical rhetorical studies poetry was viewed as a subordinate division of rhetoric, as dialogic and performative, and a form of discourse that (resonant with Bakhtin’s (1981) notion of the responsivity of the utterance) “constantly overheard itself in the ears of others” (Eagleton, 2007, p. 11). I suggest that popular songs that reference highly contested social issues and realities, as Herbs’ songs do, may share similar rhetorical purposes to the “fictional, verbally inventive moral statement[s]” of poetry referred to by Eagleton (2007, p. 25).

Eagleton (2007) states that poetry as discourse (and by extension here the discourse of popular song lyrics) dictates the need to attend to language as constitutive of ideas in “all of its material density” (p.2). This includes overall poetic form, “the carved-up shape of the lines on the page” (p. 31), in this case on the album cover, and its signification in terms of intended interpretation of the text as well as poetic features that have relevance for song lyrics, such as rhyme, rhythm, repetition and parallelism in terms of their effects on meaning.

The Bakhtin Circle and the so-called disputed texts

There is an on-going debate about whether Bakhtin wrote the books attributed to Voloshinov and Medvedev and it seems necessary to state a position in relation to this debate. According to Emerson (1997), Russian “Bakhtinists” argue that Bakhtin was the author of all the “disputed texts” and may have written them as a form of gift to his friends. Poole (2001), however, is convinced by his investigation of Bakhtin’s sources and early influences, the dates of these and relevant contemporaneous texts, that Bakhtin could not have written the disputed texts. Bakhtin himself wrote “V.N. Voloshinov and P.N. Medvedev are my deceased friends...we were in very close creative contact... the foundation of these books [*Freudianism: A Critical Sketch* (Voloshinov 1987/1927); *Formal Method in Literary Scholarship* (Bakhtin and Medvedev, 1978/1928); *Marxism*

and the Philosophy of Language (Voloshinov, 1986/1929)] and my work on Dostoevsky is a common conception of language and speech production” (letter written by Bakhtin in 1961, cited in Poole, 2001, p. 124). In a similar approach to that of Poole, Brandist (2003) supports the view of Galin Tihanov (2000) that there are no valid reasons for challenging the authorship of the disputed texts and that, as Bakhtin suggests, these authors influenced each other. Brandist (2003), Dentith (1995), Emerson (1997), Morson and Emerson (1990) and Hirschkop (1986) treat these texts as written by the signatory authors. I follow these writers in treating the texts as written by the authors attributed to them but as at times representing and at others converging with or sympathetic to Bakhtin’s views.

Formalism and Bakhtin’s critique

Eagleton (1996) suggests that modern literary theory has its beginnings in the publication in 1917 of the essay “Art as Device”, alternatively translated as “Art as Technique”, by the Russian Formalist Viktor Shklovsky (1991). Formalism stressed the systematic study of literature and aimed to develop a scientific approach to criticism. It sought a systematic method for analysing the functioning of poetic texts, which applied linguistics to a focus on the formal organisation or structure of language and literary devices that excluded content (Rice & Waugh, 2001) and social context (Eagleton, 1996). Such devices included imagery, syntax, rhythm and rhyme. Shklovsky’s essay develops the concept of “defamiliarisation” or making strange (Rice & Waugh, 2001) by which literary language and narrative devices ‘defamiliarises’; it makes habitual perceptions and everyday language strange by destabilising conventional responses that have become automatic. Formalism moved away from the concept of a text as “reflecting an essential unity which is ultimately one of moral or humanistic significance” (Rice & Waugh, 2001, p. 43). It sought rather, through close reading, to analyse features that make texts literary – or in other words how literary texts actually work in terms of the organization of language (Eagleton, 1996) and how literary devices, rather than content, function systematically to make literature possible (Rice & Waugh, 2001). In other words, literariness in the view of Formalists was the result of *form*. Eagleton (1996) points out a number of criticisms that can be made of the Formalist approach, and which were

made by Bakhtin and his Circle, including its focus on form as opposed to content and social context.

Russian Formalism was influenced by the posthumously published ideas of the Swiss linguist and semiotician Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913). Saussure's Structuralist approach treated language as a decontextualised and abstract sign system, in which meaning derives largely from opposition to or difference from other elements of the system (de Saussure, 1983/1916; Wertsch, 2001). For Saussure the relationship between language form and meaning was arbitrary and a matter of convention. Saussure's abstract objectivism (Voloshinov, 1976) treats language as a system of rules that govern the phonetic, lexical and grammatical forms which perform as norms for individual language users. According to Saussure's analysis, individuals make use of the system (*langue*) and its conventions in speech (*parole*). Saussure and the Formalists emphasised paradigmatic relations within the system of language (Holquist, 1990), that is, the possible combinations of linguistic elements rather than what language refers to (its "reference"); they emphasised structure and arbitrariness rather than function, thus eliminating the force of individual agency (Kress, 2001). In Voloshinov's (1986) view, such "a rationalistic and mechanistic world outlook" diverts us from "the living, dynamic reality of language and its social functions" (p.82). In Structuralism and Formalism language was treated as "a phenomenon not directly connected to the social" (Kress, 2001, p. 32).

Bakhtin's writing from the early 1920s to the 1970s indicate that he was critical of what he saw as the rather crude, binary instrument of the Saussurian "sign"; he was opposed to abstraction and systems building, and was anti-structuralist (Emerson, 1997). In personal notes made between 1970 and 1971 he wrote: "semiotics deals primarily with the transmission of ready-made communication using a ready-made code...A code is only a technical means of transmitting information, it does not have cognitive, creative significance. A code is a deliberately established, killed context" (Bakhtin, 1986e, p. 147). Emerson suggests that there are reasons for Bakhtin's lack of interest in deepening his own understanding of signs and codes. After living his whole career under Stalin's particularly crushing form of institutionalised political power he "had a

relationship with power that was more visceral, superstitiously evasive, and metaphorical than analytical. Rather than study it, he turned away” (Emerson, 1997, p. 48). He saw authority as a severe, dulling and impoverishing monological and centripetal force, “always pressing down from above on something more valuable and vulnerable than itself” (Emerson, 1997, p.47). In his experience, political power and authority reduced things to systems and mechanisms. Bakhtin had little patience with political commands or mechanical responses to rules. Emerson cites testimonies from Bakhtin’s students in Saransk for example, who reveal him as a “stubbornly independent pedagogue, [who was] impatient with political controls on literature” (p.60). And Bakhtin detected the workings of mechanisms in signs and codes. Emerson suggests that it is not therefore surprising that Bakhtin sought a more comprehensive vision and the individualising notions of dialogue, unfinalisability and novelistic prosaics to counter (and evade) the remorseless (and systematising) forces of power and authority.

This second period in the development of Bakhtin’s ideas between 1924 and the 1930s led to the advancement of a theory of prose or a “prosaics” in *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* (1984), based on a unified philosophy of language that privileged speech over other human acts (Morson & Emerson, 1990). Bakhtin redefined language in terms of utterances as dialogic discourse, and probably as a result of the influence of Voloshinov (Brandist, 2003), came to identify language and discourse as a crucial topic for investigation. He further argued that the dialogic relationships in discourse are the necessary focus of a new “metalinguistics” (1984, p. 183), which drew on the resources of traditional linguistics but which transcended it.

The chronotope

Following the writing of the book on Dostoevsky, in a third period of particularly productive development of his thinking between 1930 and the early 1950s Bakhtin broadened his enquiries (Morson & Emerson, 1990). The enlarged scope included the nature of the novel in general, the differences between novels and other literary genres and their use of language, as well as the notion of the chronotope in *Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel* (Bakhtin, 1981b).

Chronotope was the term Bakhtin borrowed from Einstein's Theory of Relativity as a cognitive concept to describe differing perceptions and representations of time and space in literary texts. Conceived as the main way of "materializing time in space" in literary works (Bakhtin, 1981b, p. 250) that "defines a literary work's artistic unity in relationship to actual reality" (p. 243), the chronotope serves as a valuable tool for analysing expressions of "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal and spatial relationships... the inseparability of space and time" (Bakhtin, 1981b, p. 84).

Bakhtin (1981b) applies the notion of chronotope in tracing a range of narrative typologies in the development of the novel, beginning with the ancient Greek "adventure novel of ordeal" (p. 86) and "adventure novel of everyday life" (p. 111). Tolstoy's nineteenth century novels are seen as based fundamentally on "biographical time" (Bakhtin, 1981b, p. 249), a chronotope in which the "humanness" of the hero is disclosed in the framework of relationships to family, social status, class and so on as "the stable all-determining basis for all plot connections" (1984, p. 104), and in which there is no place for contingency. Bakhtin (1984) describes Dostoevsky's novels, in contrast, as modern versions of the adventure genre, "placed wholly at the service of the idea" (p. 105) and focusing on acute and profound problems of human nature.

As a category of narrative construction, the chronotope facilitates the exploration of the indirect and complex mediated relationship between life (the world of experience) and artistic works in terms of representations of time and space (Holquist, 1990). It also accounts for significant generic variations in the historical development of the novel (Bakhtin, 1981b). The novel "of the *road*" (p. 243), is an example, which in literary history repeatedly constructs (among other possibilities) a place for chance encounters of people from a range of social backgrounds on parallel spatial and temporal paths. In such encounters social distances "collapse" and different fates collide and are interwoven (p. 243), and in the representation of chance events, time is characterized as of "random contingency" (p. 92). Bakhtin (1981b) argues that the chronotope of the road, with its "fundamental pivot [of] the flow of time" (p. 244), presents the clearest expression of the connection between time and space in Western narratives.

While Bakhtin (1981b) focused on chronotopes of the novel, he points out that the concept is equally relevant to non-literary genres such as journalistic travel writing, and ancient epic songs (in which a dialogic relationship between the singer and his or her audience can be inferred from the structure and composition of songs). As the next chapter explains in more detail, there are chronotopes of readers and authors of texts (see Bakhtin, 1981b) and the chronotope has also been employed productively in the analysis of films. In this thesis the notion of the chronotope is extended to examine narrative in popular song through the analysis of the relationships between time and space in the composition of Herbs' lyrics.

Carnival

In the 1930s and 1940s Bakhtin also investigated ideas of laughter, carnival and carnivalisation, especially in *Rabelais and his World* (1984b). Eagleton (2007b) describes Bakhtin's interest in carnival as a shift in focus from "the mighty polyphonic contest of discourses" in the novel to a similar "orgy of signification" on the streets (para. 13). In carnival, in the traditions of the Russian figure of the holy fool, the "ancient art of the people debunks all transcendental signifiers and submits all official values to satiric parody", and in a deflation of the portentous and sublime, pits the power of laughter against high-minded officialdom and its doctrines (Eagleton, 2007b, para. 13). As Brandist (2001) elaborates, the function of carnival and parody, as the deflationary and inverting tactics of the people is to undermine, oppose and contest official versions of the universal world of culture, to which each individual has a right and a personal obligation to contribute. Such official accounts of the world become immoral and deserve to be challenged for their authoritarian pretension to represent the whole and the truth (Brandist, 2001; 2002). For Bakhtin, the laughter associated with carnival is thus a collective, "popular-democratic corrective" of the dogma and pretensions of official versions of culture, and so a tool of critical thinking (Brandist, 2002, p. 127). According to Brandist, this perspective on laughter and scepticism reinforces the novel as a critical genre. Brandist stresses that Bakhtin was interested in carnival as a generic category, in past forms of popular-festive culture as they were represented, and their role in defining literary genres.

In an earlier text Eagleton (1981) questions the subversive possibilities in Bakhtin's idea of carnival, describing it as an officially "*licensed* affair... a *contained* popular blow-off" (p. 148, emphasis added) with little real power to disturb or subvert. In partial response, Keith Booker and Dubravka Juraga (1995) read Bakhtin's analysis of the revolutionary potential of carnival as both a telling metaphor for popular revolution and at the same time a masked commentary on the recent evolution of modern Russia. The interruption of earlier tsarist control by the "emancipatory excitement" (p. 7) of the 1920s after the revolution, was followed by the restoration of oppression under Stalin and the loss of contact between the revolution and its origins in the people. Bakhtin's book on Rabelais can be seen as an attempt to resuscitate the vitality of the revolution that had withered under Stalin's regime and as an attempt to keep hope alive in the middle of the Stalinist terrors (Booker & Juraga, 1995).

It has been argued that the concept of carnival was one of Bakhtin's weaker areas of thinking (see Morson & Emerson, 1990). While popular among some academics as the embodiment of particular popular cultural forces, it is suggested that it has led to misconstructions of Bakhtin as anarchically and playfully irresponsible and thus conflicts with Bakhtin's continuing commitment to ethical responsibility. While Morson and Emerson (1990) state that carnival "ultimately proved [to be] a dead end" (p. 67), the analysis of Booker and Juraga summarised here suggests that Bakhtin employed carnival in a far more complex manner than Morson and Emerson suggest. In their view carnival is a double-voiced metaphor for both emancipation and oppression, representing the potential for resistance to Stalinism and Stalinism itself. In addition, as Brandist suggests, carnival retained a significant place in Bakhtin's thinking; it continues in Bakhtin's repeated stress on the universality of laughter and its connection to a "popular utopia of equality" in the marketplace and on the public square (Brandist, 2001, p.220). Just as Bakhtin's theory of the novel proposes a juridical-ethical model, where characters are judged by those who stand outside it as a literary work, the carnival figures of the clown, the fool, and the rogue are seen as agents of the inquisition in such processes of judgement (Brandist, 2001). Carnival characters are mobilised in assessing the degree to which there exists proper recognition of each other as an other, with equal rights; where such recognition and rights are

absent, those who offend are rightly subjected to ridicule and parody (Brandist, 2001).

Dialogism

As an overarching idea, Bakhtin (1984) saw dialogue as the essential feature of consciousness and of human social existence: “[t]o be means *to communicate*...to live means to participate in dialogue” (pp. 287 & 293). Bakhtin conceptualised life as dialogic and discourse or open-ended dialogue as the only sufficient form for the verbal expression of human life. Every psychological entity (self) and social entity is conceptualised as “processual” and unfinalised by its nature and unable to be separated from its ongoing process of dialogic interaction and communication with other entities (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 50). Thus discourse is seen as the starting point of language rather than an act of combination subsequent to language (Morson & Emerson, 1990).

Bakhtin’s developing interest in the concept of dialogism as a subversive form of discourse took shape in a series of essays on the novel written in the 1930s and early 1940s (Hirschkop, 1986). In “Discourse in the Novel” (1981) written in 1934, dialogism, which was initially the ideal form of ethical inter-subjective relations, is identified by Bakhtin as the activity of the people, located in a position of opposition to “a ruling-official monologism that enacts individualism and domination” (Hirschkop, 1986, p. 95). Absolute truth in monologic systems of belief is seen as located in a single institution such as the state, an object such as a text, or an identity such as God (Clark & Holquist, 1984). In Bakhtin’s analysis, polyphony (many voices) and anti-systemic dialogism in novelistic prose contest monologic, “centripetal” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 270) authority that attempts to centralise and unify. Dialogism thus exerts “centrifugal” forces of language (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 272) that subvert the absolute voice of authorial control (Paryas, 1993), which can be read as an allegory for Stalinism.

In the year that Bakhtin wrote “Discourse in the Novel”, Soviet Realism was proclaimed the officially recognised and sanctioned “method” for Soviet art and literature, after which a restrictive and monologic understanding of the term

became a synonym for being Party-minded (Shepherd, 2001).²⁰ David Shepherd explains that this was symptomatic of a general process through which the Stalinist state established “the right of first and last word on all matters of import” (Shepherd, 2001, p. 146). This led also to an authoritative process of constructing and defining monologic intertextual relations between cultural artefacts (of the present and past) and their contexts which were acceptable to the state, in order in part to establish and legitimise a “heritage” for Socialist Realism. The process involved identifying antecedents in Russian literature, such as Maxim Gorky, who conformed to the Stalinist view of “Russianness” (Shepherd, 2001).

Bakhtin’s identification of dialogism as the subversive activity of the people can be seen as a generalised but indirect politicisation of the concept of discourse, and a more specific politicisation if we accept monologism as Bakhtin’s allegorical term for Stalinism. For Bakhtin, dialogic discourse is a social phenomenon. Its social life is in “the open spaces of public squares, streets, cities ... of social groups, generations and epochs” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 259) and no utterance can “fail to become an active participant in social dialogue” as it brushes up against a myriad of “living dialogical threads” (p. 276).

Brandist (2002) points out however, that Bakhtin’s focus on ethical significance and consistent ‘bracketing out’ of political and economic issues and structures in his analysis of dialogical discourse leads to a lack of clarity related to forms of discursive interaction and modes of social organisation. Bakhtin’s analysis is flawed, according to Brandist, in seeing centrifugal (decentralising) forces as invariably ethical, whilst centripetal (centralising) forces (including linguistic forces) are viewed as always unethical. There is thus a “collapsing [of] politics into ethics” (Brandist, 2002, p. 114). In illustrating this shortcoming in Bakhtin’s approach, Brandist (2002) cites the example of Antonio Gramsci’s opposition to educational reform in Italy under Mussolini. Gramsci argued that because of the

²⁰ Holquist (1990) argues that Bakhtin’s lost book on the novel of education and his dissertation on Rabelias can be read as a (largely subtle) challenge to the official Soviet doctrine of Socialist Realism.

lack of provision for teaching a standard (and therefore unifying) form of Italian in state schools, the reforms threatened to benefit Fascist control by fixing class divisions in place, and thus militated against the possibility of building a mass popular democratic movement in opposition to Fascism.

The multi-faceted notion of dialogic discourse

Bakhtin employed the term dialogue in relation to discourse in a number of senses, as Morson and Emerson (1990) explain. It is a view of the way the human world functions and in a further sense, since dialogue can only occur between at least two speakers and listeners or between authors and readers (and cannot occur between abstract units of language) all utterances are seen as dialogic. Every utterance in discourse requires the necessary feature of “addressivity... [the] quality of being directed or addressed to someone...” (Bakhtin, 1986c, p. 99). Utterances are therefore “oriented toward a future answer-word”, shaped by anticipation of an active response (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 280), and also by earlier utterances in “dialogic threads” about the topic that fill them with “dialogical overtones” (Bakhtin, 1986c, p. 92). The topic itself is “an already-spoken-about topic” (Morson & Emerson p. 137). In this way “language... is populated - overpopulated with the intentions of others” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 294). Previous utterances about the topic carry the emotionally evaluative intonations of others expressed in verbal tone and in lexical choices (choices of words), as well as choices of grammar and of composition (Bakhtin, 1986c, p. 84).

The combination of the complex of “already-spoken-about” qualities of discourse and the anticipated active understanding of the listener or reader creates an “internal dialogism” of an utterance (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 280) in which as a result of what Brandist (2002, p. 190) describes as its “relationality” it is “already dialogised from within” (Morson & Emerson, p. 138). Furthermore, as already noted, a specific word may be cited from another speaker along with the sense of tone used by that speaker, to function for example as a sign of another’s semantic position (Bakhtin, 1984). There can thus be a “microdialogue” in a specific word as well as the internal dialogism of the utterance (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 184).

In the final sense of dialogism summarised here, some utterances are seen as “double-voiced” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 199) when they include the words of others. The voices of others can be used in different forms of direct and indirect speech, and at different distances between the incorporated voice and that of the author or speaker who cites it. These forms and distances are a reflection of the aims of the utterance and of whether words of others are incorporated either to support the speaker’s or writer’s intentions because their intentions coincide, or alternatively because there is a clash of intentions (Bakhtin, 1984). For example, as Morson and Emerson (1990) explain, a speaker who incorporates the words of another in an utterance – in “quotation marks” as it were - may do so in order to allude ironically to what another person might say, in contrast to the views or values of the speaker and listener.

According to Voloshinov (1986), different types of reported speech crystallise different purposes and values in relationship to the discourse of others. In other words, “Specific forms of reported discourse correspond to specific modes of intersubjective interaction” (Brandist, 2002, p. 89). For example, in the first overall type where strong boundaries protect the reported discourse from “incursions by authorial intention” and maintain its linguistic features (Brandist, 2002, p. 89), utterances considered to be highly authoritative (such as the Scriptures) are likely to be cited in a depersonalised or distancing way that allows little room for the expression of agreement or disagreement (Morson & Emerson, 1990). In contrast, the second type (today’s free-indirect discourse) is notable for the erosion of boundaries between utterances, allowing for the incursion of the reported discourse by the intentions and commentary of the author’s own discourse (Brandist, 2002). Thus in analysing an utterance in its social context not only may we identify the explicitly reported words of others but also “the many half-concealed ... words of others” in other contexts (Bakhtin, 1986c, p. 93).

This section illustrates some of the complexity of Bakhtin’s theory of discourse as dialogic, and the fact that it operates on a number of levels (Dentith, 1995; Holquist, 1981). Theresa Lillis (2003) points out that Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism in language and discourse has been widely interpreted and applied, but

argues that in essence it can be understood at two levels. In its descriptive sense dialogue is a “given”, an all-pervasive dimension of human communication and language (Lillis, 2003, p. 197). At a second level it is an ideal to strive for in communication, in the conflict and tension between centripetal and centrifugal cultural forces and between authoritative and internally-persuasive forces (see below).

The extension of Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism to popular songs influences and shapes approaches to analysis in this study in a number of ways. For example, the global sense of dialogism as the ongoing and unfinalised interaction between cultural entities helps to frame the analysis of Herbs’ music as an interaction between reggae as a Jamaican cultural form and Pacific musical traditions. Furthermore, characterisations of reggae music as resistance and rhetorical critique (Alvarez, 2008; Weber, 2000; Cooper, 1989) and as protest (Bradley, 2000) are understood as centrifugal, subversive processes aimed at undermining historical and contemporaneous “monologic” discourse and repressive authority, as well as articulating and bolstering alternative values and perspectives.

Authoritative and internally persuasive discourses

In its conceptualisation of internal struggles between different discourses and the values and views they embody, Bakhtin’s discussion of the relationship between externally authoritative and “internally persuasive” discourse (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 342), can be located within the framework of dialogism. It may also be understood as a further politicisation of the theory of discourse in its likely allusion to the discourse of Stalinism. Bakhtin (1981) describes authoritative discourse as demanding “that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own; it binds us, quite independent of any power it might have to persuade us internally; we encounter it with its authority already fused to it” (p. 342). Brandist (2002) extrapolates that authoritative discourse is accepted (if it is accepted) as a result of the subordination of the person who is confronted by that discourse. Internally persuasive discourse on the other hand, according to Bakhtin, is affirmed by the process of assimilation. It is:

tightly interwoven with ‘one’s own word’... Its creativity and productiveness consist precisely in the fact that such a word

awakens new and independent words, that it organizes masses of our words from within, and does not remain in an isolated and static condition. ... [it] is... developed, applied to new material, new conditions;...new contexts [that dialogise it]. More than that, it enters into an intense interaction, a *struggle* with other internally persuasive discourses. Our ideological development is just such an intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological²¹ points of view, approaches, directions and values. (1981, pp. 345-346, Bakhtin's emphasis)

Our own discourse, according to Bakhtin's theorisation, develops out of the dialogic interaction between acknowledged and assimilated discourses of others.

Brandist (2002) argues that although Bakhtin describes authoritative discourse and internally persuasive discourse as "categories" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 342), there is in fact a hierarchical *relationship* between these discourses (p. 185) that reflects social structure, in which one discourse is subjugated, and the "authoritative perspective" attempts to impose itself regardless of the extent to which the listener or reader finds it internally persuasive (Brandist, 2002, p. 185). Brandist's argument that there is a hierarchical rather than category-based relationship between authoritative and internally persuasive discourse is supported indirectly by Bakhtin's (1981) view of language and discourse as dialogic, and thus representing socio-political relationships and contradictions. It is also supported by Bakhtin's description of the "sharp gap" between the two discourses, as a result of which persuasive discourse, unlike authoritative discourse, is "denied all privilege, backed up by no authority, and is frequently not even acknowledged... by public opinion, nor by scholarly norms..." (1981, p.

²¹ As Sarah Freedman and Arnetha Ball (2004) explain, the Russian word "*ideologiya*" does not necessarily have the political associations of "ideology". The Russian term refers more generally to the complex of concepts and ideas that may include political ideas, but are not exclusively political (Freedman & Ball, 2004) and include values (Dentith, 1995). For Bakhtin ideological becoming is the process by which individuals as well as social or cultural groups develop "a set of social beliefs" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 357), ways of viewing the world and a socially determined system of ideas, or in other words, their ideological selves.

342). In other words, “the ability of the ruling discourse to [dominate is] due to the social and intellectual subordination of other perspectives” (Brandist, 2002, p. 188).

Brandist (2002) identifies two shortcomings in Bakhtin’s theorisation. The first is that Bakhtin does not make clear what it is that makes discourse internally persuasive. The second is that Bakhtin avoids the possibility that one discourse might in fact be more effective than another in its representation or explanation of acknowledged extra-discursive realities. It can be argued in response that a person’s provisional state of knowledge and world view, in the context of their “apperceptive²² background” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 282), helps frame what is internally persuasive (and what is not). That is, understanding is gained through personal experience and perceptions of social and material realities (hunger, inability to find paid work, and inadequate housing, for example) as well as through the cognitively assimilated and dialogically organised discursive accounts of the experiences of others. As Brandist points out, however, such understanding is influenced and constrained by the position of individuals and social groups in relationship to social and economic structures.

In regard to conceptualisations of knowledge, Bakhtin counterposed Western approaches that turn open-ended dialogue into monologic, summarising statements of authoritative discourse, with discourse that is internally persuasive (Bakhtin, 1986; Morson & Emerson, 1990). Internally persuasive discourse is open to challenge and testable for truth (Sullivan, Smith, & Matusov, 2009); it opposes and is capable of subverting the normative meanings and socially sanctioned views embodied in authoritative discourse. In the process of its dialogic assimilation into consciousness and the struggle between different discursive points of view and the values and approaches of other internally persuasive discourses, it is able to lead to “newer ways to mean” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 346).

²² Apperceptive understanding is the cognitive assimilation of, for example, a new idea in terms of previous experiences and perceptions.

Heteroglossia

Just as there is a hierarchical relationship between authoritative and internally persuasive discourses, the term *heteroglossia* signifies the strata of linguistic forces within a language and in its products (Bakhtin, 1981). These centrifugal forces in the form of dialects as well as socio-ideological languages disrupt and destabilise centripetal attempts to see a language as a unified whole (Bakhtin, 1981). Dialects and the languages of different social groups within a language share the fact that they embody different “specific points of view on the world, forms for conceptualizing the world in words, specific world views, each characterized by its own objects, meanings and values” (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 291-292). They thus reflect the range of values, conceptualisations and social experience (Morson & Emerson, 1990). In the artistic genre of the novel, heteroglossia is incorporated as “another’s speech in another’s language” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 323). As Hirschkop (1999) extrapolates, differentiation between dialects and languages within a language is a result of different social forces and contexts. Thus the languages within a national language also reflect the contingent social and historical forces that have formed it (Morson & Emerson, 1990).

Bakhtin views heteroglossia as a fundamental and unavoidable dimension of discourse (Hirschkop, 1986). The “social stratification” of the languages of heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 290) consists of hierarchical relationships (Brandist, 2002) determined by different contexts and social forces (Bakhtin, 1981; Hirschkop, 1990). By extension, these include socio-economic structures that have a causal effect on human behaviour, and as a result of which one discourse is subjugated and an “authoritative perspective is imposed” (Brandist, 2002, p. 185). In what is seen as a politicisation of the notion of language and discourse (Crowley, 2001; Hirschkop, 1986), Bakhtin (1981) conceptualises the stratified languages within a language as the site of everlasting dialogic struggles between authoritative, centralising centripetal forces that strive for unity and the dominance of one, monologic point of view, and dialogic, centrifugal decentralising forces that seek to resist and rupture that dominance (Bakhtin, 1981). Social differentiation is manifested in the “multiaccentuality” (differing evaluative orientations, accents and meanings) of linguistic signs in discourse,

which powerful groups seek to suppress as these challenge the values and meanings they wish to disseminate (Voloshinov, 1986, p. 81). The language of discourse is therefore “shot through with intentions [and evaluative] accents” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 293) and the site of struggles over meanings and values in individual lexical items and phrases (Voloshinov, 1986).

Bakhtin (1981) writes that language users, and particularly those involved in creative work, face the necessity to make choices between languages. This means that speakers and writers have to “actively orient [themselves] amidst heteroglossia... [to] move in and occupy a position for [themselves] within it” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 295). In making use of words “populated by social intentions” of others to serve new intentions writers either embrace, reject or distance themselves from such previous intentions (p. 300). The idea that writers (including song writers) position themselves in making language choices and adopting or rejecting language populated by the intentions of others is salient for an analysis of song lyrics that deal with contested social issues and events.

Bakhtin’s use of the term discourse (*slovo*)

Bakhtin’s emphasis on the significance of historical and social context and of discourse as an act have their echo in theories today that refer to the “institutional nature of discourse and its situatedness in the social” (Mills, 1997, p. 11), to utterances that are determined by a particular social context (Mills, 1997), and to discourse as social practice, “the things we do with language that produce our ways of thinking about the world” (Pennycook, 2010, p. 121). It was the work of the Bakhtin Circle in the 1920s and 1930s (Bakhtin, 1984; Bakhtin & Medvedev, 1991; Voloshinov, 1986) that marked a widely recognised turning point in the theory of language. This took the form of a shift from the structuralist objectification of language as a system, to a view of language as dialogic social activity (see for example, Williams, 1977). While structuralist approaches detached language from the historical, concrete contexts of its usage, the Bakhtin Circle understood language as a continuous generative process implemented in social and verbal interaction between language users (Brandist, 2014; Dentith, 1995). This was a re-conceptualisation of language as discourse, as language

grounded in acts of communication (Hirschkop, 1999), and as a historically and socially situated, intentional, inter-subjective communicative act.

From the Bakhtinian perspective the relationship between form and meaning in verbal signs is the result of a process of social development in the activities of speech (Williams, 1977). Words, as verbal signs, are conceptualised as a fusion of material form and meaning (content) that is established through social and cultural convention and “goes beyond their given particularity” (Voloshinov, 1986, p.10). This meaning is not arbitrary and is not fixed (Williams, 1977): “a linguistic form... is an always changeable and adaptable sign” open to re-accentuation by different social groups with varying ideologies and in different historical and social contexts (Voloshinov, 1986, p. 68). Language is therefore described by Bakhtin (1981) as a site of “struggle among socio-linguistic points of view” (p. 273) in that any utterance directs itself at an object that is layered “with qualifications, open to dispute, charged with value... or shot through with shared thoughts, points of view, alien value judgements and accents” (p. 276). This conceptualisation of words as signs that are socially and historically embedded implies that they carry their previous use with them and that beyond their given particularity their “actual meaning” only emerges in specific, situated social interaction (Bostad, Brandist, Evensen & Faber, 2004, p.7). That is, meaning is constructed in the context of “a particular actual reality and particular real conditions” (Bakhtin, 1986c, p. 86).

Bakhtin employs the term *slovo* for discourse in a variety of ways. In Russian *slovo* signifies both an individual lexical unit (“word”) and an approach to the use of words (Holquist, 1981) to denote speech, discourse, or “the workings of language in general” (Seifrid, 2010, p. 68). Bakhtin (1986c) conceptualised an approach to the “choice of linguistic means” in a particular social and historical context as determined by, and also signifying, the speaker or writer’s semantic “plan” or intention and “evaluative attitude” (judgement) toward the subject of their utterance (pp. 84-85). Such means include the genre of utterance (such as a lecture, a novel), compositional devices (such as first-person narrative form), vocabulary choices (such as the lexicon of power and struggle), and choices

among heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1986c) that collectively constitute the style of an utterance.

Bakhtin (1984) uses discourse to signify the approach to language use of a particular utterance “in its concrete living totality” (p. 181) in his investigation of literary language use in *Problems of Dostoyevsky's Poetics*. In examining different compositional forms by which authors appropriate and organise heteroglossia in the novel, Bakhtin presents a typology of different types of narrative discourse, different interrelationships of “voices” in narrative styles that may be constructed within the creative whole of the novel as an utterance. However, Bakhtin also employs the term discourse (word) interchangeably with “utterance” as the phrase “any concrete discourse (utterance)” cited above illustrates.

The utterance is defined as the unit of meaningful speech communication that is “a link in the chain of speech communication of a particular sphere” (Bakhtin 1986c p. 91). While varying in compositional structure, content and length, oral or written utterances are the dialogic product of a particular moment in history in a specific social environment (Bakhtin, 1981). The linguistic significance of an utterance is understood in terms of the background of language (Bakhtin, 1981). However, its meaning is understood in different terms, “against the background of other concrete utterances on the same theme, a background made up of contradictory opinions, points of view and value judgements... that complicates the path of any word towards its object” (Bakhtin, 1981, p.281). As has been noted, an utterance is dialogically shaped as an act (Lodge, 1990) by its addressivity (in that it is directed to someone), by its responsivity to the utterances of others and by its anticipation of a response, whether in terms of responsive understanding or action (Bakhtin, 1986c). Utterances are further shaped by a beginning and “a finality” of compositional and generic form (1986c, p. 83) that gives way to a response (1986c, p. 71). They acquire sense or meaning under particular concrete circumstances of communication (Bakhtin, 1986c, p. 83) in which the listener's evaluative response encompasses both the linguistic and extra-linguistic context (Akhutina, 2003).

I use the term discourse in the thesis, as Bakhtin uses it, to signify the approach to language choices in the production of Herbs' songs, as utterances, including the choice of genre. At a second level I employ the term discourse to designate "the forms of representation, conventions and habits of language that produce specific fields of culturally and historically located meanings" (Brooker, 2002, p. 78). The conception of discourses at this second level overlaps with Bakhtin's (1981) notion of heteroglossia in the novel and in society as a "stratification of discourse types" (Halasek, 1999, p.10). That is, discourses are conceptualised here as stratified and institutionalised sets of speech practices (Hirschkop, 1986), including "textual patternings" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 112), that constitute world views or sets of beliefs and are characterised by particular values, meanings and objects (Bakhtin, 1981). At this level discourses include for example, "authoritative discourse" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 342) as well as the use of language of those who protest against breaches of human rights through the genre of popular song. They are "forms for conceptualising the world in words" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 292), which embody the contingent social and historical forces that have formed them (Morson & Emerson, 1990).

Reflection, recapitulation and consolidation

The fourth and final stage of development of Bakhtin's thinking stretched from the early 1950s to his death in 1975. In this phase of his life Bakhtin reworked his 1929 book on Dostoevsky and after his "rediscovery" by a group of Moscow students, earlier works were republished and he drew on previous work in new essays and interviews. Bakhtin became an established and respected academic authority in the post-Stalinist Soviet Union, and a spokesperson for his profession. Although his main focus was on methodological issues (Brandist, 2002) he also recapped and consolidated earlier ethical concepts and themes (Morson & Emerson, 1990). This work included Bakhtin's reiteration that thought and practice are moral or "responsible deeds" (1986f, p.168) in his last essay "Toward a Methodology for the Human Sciences", which concerns the position of the humanities in contemporary culture. Two areas of this later period of work have potential relevance for analysis of popular songs, particularly songs of social commentary and protest. The first of these concerns categories of genre and the relationship between genre choice and authorial intention.

Discursive genres

In what is described as an attempt “to establish generic study as a principle for the human sciences in general” (Brandist, 2002, p. 164) Bakhtin (1986c) distinguishes between two categories of genre. In his article “The Problem of Speech Genres” written between 1953 and 1954 (which refers both to spoken and written genres) primary genres are defined as utterances that predominate in day-to-day and largely oral interaction. More complex secondary genres characterise the sphere of culture and are largely written, may include primary genres within their structures, and are organised more systematically than primary genres (Bakhtin, 1986c). Genres are differentiated by Bakhtin according to their structural composition, as well as their “semantic-thematic” and stylistic features (p. 64).

Bakhtin explains that the will or intention of speaker is primarily manifested in the “choice of a particular speech [or discursive] genre” (1986c, p. 78). Choices are governed by factors that include the sphere and concrete circumstances of communication, the participants, and thematic concerns. “And when the speaker’s speech plan [discursive intention] with all its individuality and subjectivity is applied and adapted to a chosen genre, it is formed and developed in a certain [definite] generic form” some of which are more flexible and creative than others (Bakhtin, 1986c, p. 78; alternative translations, Brandist, 2002, p. 161). In this way, genres as cultural norms are adapted to specific circumstances (Brandist, 2002). By extension of these principles to music, this conceptualisation of the relationship between genre choice and authorial intention has relevance for the interpretation Herbs’ appropriation and adaptation of the Jamaican reggae genre.

The superaddressee

Bakhtin (1986d) introduces the term “superaddressee” (p.126) in the collection of entries from notebooks published as “The Problem of the Text” to signify the third presence in any utterance, which is understood as “a structural precondition” for dialogue (Brandist, 2002, p. 169). Bakhtin theorises that in addition to an immediate addressee, the speaker or author of an utterance presumes, to a lesser or greater extent, the completely just and responsive

understanding of a metaphorically or historically distanced “higher ‘superaddressee” (p. 126, Bakhtin’s emphasis). Ideological constructions of this superaddressee differ in different eras and according to different understandings, and it may be conceptualised variously as “God, absolute truth, the court of dispassionate human conscience, the people, the court of history, science, and so forth” (Bakhtin, 1986d, p. 126). Brandist (2002) explains that the notion of the superaddressee embodies the philosophical principle that the *idea* of God is what is important rather than God ‘himself’ (Brandist, 2002). God is a symbol for the “highest aspiration of human consciousness”, which is to be heard and understood by a just, overarching “presence” (Brandist, 2002, p. 170).

Bakhtin as cultural and discourse theorist

Bakhtin’s position as a cultural theorist is described by Hirschkop (1986) as part of a tradition of Russian populism, which was a forerunner to Russian Marxism. Writing for the *New Left Review* Hirschkop views Bakhtin as providing a “brilliant corpus of socialist cultural theory” (1986, p. 93) and as possibly the only key contributor to Marxist cultural theory who saw and theorised popular culture as “the privileged bearer of democratic and progressive values” (p. 92). In the sphere of language and discourse, Bakhtin exposed the shortcomings of Russian Formalism in the 1920s by arguing that literary techniques which estranged language or made it “self-conscious” were not simply techniques that highlighted language as linguistic material (Hirschkop, 1986). Instead, such techniques highlight language as the site of competing ideologies, seen as sets of beliefs (Morson & Emerson, 1990), in literary works that acknowledge their production as historical acts, as discursive interventions influenced by specific historical and social conditions (Hirschkop, 1986). As Hirschkop points out, the relationships and patterns of discourse are therefore revealed not as grammatical, but as social and interactional, and dialogical. For Bakhtin, the significance of discourse and its “concrete” meaning in real social situations escapes purely linguistic analysis. While requiring an understanding of language, meaning can only be understood if discourse is acknowledged and understood as a form of social interaction (Bakhtin, 1981; Morson & Emerson, 1990) at a particular point in history and culture.

Brandist (2002) identifies a number of core principles for those who draw on Bakhtin's philosophy and theories of language and discourse in research. These include "the permeation of every utterance by power relations; the registration of the institutional structure of a society in its linguistic stratification... [and] the struggle of world views in language" (p. 190-191). These Bakhtinian principles and Bakhtin's (1981) theorisation of the conflict between authoritative and internally persuasive discourse in heteroglossia are refracted in contemporary concepts of discourse. They include the definition of discourses as organisations of knowledge that have become "embedded in social institutions and practices, a constellation of power/knowledge relationships which organise texts...and are the result of protracted struggles over the worth... of different knowledges" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 104).

Bakhtin (see 1986c) was interested in meaning, understanding and truth. He conceptualised the "true essence", the meaning of a text, as always developing "on the boundary between two consciousnesses, two subjects" and involving not only thematic content but also its dialogic response to previous utterances in the given sphere, in terms of compositional and stylistic form (Bakhtin, 1986d, p.106). For Bakhtin, understanding is active, "inherently responsive" (1986 c. p.68) and involves an orientation (the taking up of a position) with regard to an utterance (Voloshinov, 1986). Truth is conceptualised as non-finalisable and "born *between people* collectively searching for truth, in the process of their dialogic interaction" (Bakhtin, 1984, p.110, Bakhtin's emphasis). It is seen as an emergent property of dialogic discursive processes (Hodges, 2008) in which internally persuasive discourses are selectively assimilated, reworked, and re-accentuated (Bakhtin, 1986).

Brandist (2002) argues that the fact that Bakhtin's ideas are grounded in idealist philosophy led him to view culture as a domain of freedom, "unaffected by material necessity" (p. 177). According to Brandist, Bakhtin's analysis of cultural forms therefore lacked connection to the material world in which they are formed. Brandist summarises Bakhtin's position in terms of the epistemological dimensions of discourse as positing a symbolic world of knowledge produced through and in subjective interaction. It follows that if that

symbolic world is not as we would like it to be this is “because the structure of intersubjectivity is unethical” (p. 178). Brandist argues that “if the world is already [socially and physically] structured before we encounter it”, and we as human beings embedded in social and natural structures have a given variety of biological [and economic] needs and abilities, “then there are given limits to the forms intersubjectivity can take at any point, limits that we need to discover” (p. 178). Our actions are governed by external factors; in other words, “agency is necessarily linked to structure” (p. 179). This implies the need to extend and supplement the scope of Bakhtin’s references to discourse as shaped by a “particular historical moment in a socially specific environment” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 276).

Notwithstanding his high regard for Bakhtin as a cultural theorist, noted above, Hirschkop has a related criticism of Bakhtin’s theorisation of the social context of discourse, which it is useful to acknowledge and address. This criticism and further aspects of Brandist’s critique are summarised in the following section, which also offers a response.

Critique of Bakhtin’s theories of discourse

While arguing that Bakhtin has much to tell us about the problems of a democratic culture (Hirschkop, 1999), Hirschkop criticises Bakhtin’s theories for the fact that the latter’s analysis of the social context of discourse defines it as “a multiplicity of consciousnesses” (Hirschkop, 1986, p. 97). For Bakhtin, social interaction is based on an inter-subjective, dialogic and transformative relationship between such multiple consciousnesses. While acknowledging that Bakhtin allows for a collective of subjects in social interaction and that his conceptualisation is therefore not based on individualism, Hirschkop argues that in Bakhtin’s analysis “the social situation is ... reduced to the interplay between the speaking subject and alien subjects” (p. 97). A social theory is inadequate, in Hirschkop’s view, if social connection is only seen in terms of the interaction of consciousness because it is unable to explain how social institutions limit the development of consciousness. Such a theory can only explain cultural oppression as an obstacle to social connection.

Bakhtin, according to Hirschkop's analysis, being "enmeshed in a philosophy of consciousness" (1986, p. 99) is not clear enough in making a connection between discourse and non-discursive social projects and forces, or a connection between discourse and the institutional stability in social structures through which discourse acquires its performative functions. However, while some of Bakhtin's concepts may be idealist and abstract, others are usefully politicised, according to Hirschkop. These include the opposition between the social forces of the dialogical and popular and the social forces of the monological or official social strata. Hirschkop states that Bakhtin's theorisation of dialogical utterances as units of social action means that the "rupturing of [the] self-identity" of an utterance as a result of its structural dependence on other utterances suggests a disparity between social forces, and it is therefore only possible to envisage dialogism in terms of ideological struggle. For as Hirschkop argues, "[c]onditions of ideological struggle, rather than subjective attitudes, define the shape of monologism and dialogism" (p. 104). Bakhtin's theories of discourse imply that "every utterance, if it is to be meaningful, must be connected with a speaker, an ideological situation, social interests and social context" (Hirschkop, 1986, p. 93).

On the other hand Hirschkop (1986) argues that while Bakhtin's perspective became politicised in the 1930s (in "Discourse in the Novel", 1981), it was still grounded in the largely ethical position that suggests the desire of the ruling class to dominate is caused by a belief in an erroneous individualist ideology (of I-for-myself). According to this position, political domination is seen as the result of "the ignorance and pretensions of a deluded ruling class" (Hirschkop, 1986, p. 105). Consequently it follows from Bakhtin's position that it is only these individualistic pretences that stand in the way of the destruction of the political status quo. Hirschkop argues that the position ignores the socialising functions of social and political institutions, including discourse, that influence consciousness.

In summary, Hirschkop's main argument here is that if discourse theory abstracts discourse from its institutional and performative functions it proposes language and ideology "as a space in which meanings are fought for" (1986, p. 110): as a

form of rhetorical struggle between groups of thinkers in which changes in consciousness are untouched by social or political institutional change. But discourse acquires meaning from the political and social relations in which it functions; changes in one area change the other. The power of discourse influences more than consciousness and in Hirschkop's view "the privileging of consciousness [has] fatal consequences for cultural politics" (1986, p. 111).

According to Brandist (2000), Hirschkop's critique appears to emphasise the significance of structures (or institutions) and their socialising functions in a way that separates these from the social conditions that produce them and in which they are embedded. As implied in the discussion above, Brandist argues that the biological (and economic) needs of human beings have ongoing causal influences on behaviour. Democracy therefore unavoidably involves socio-economic issues related to the control of the "extra-discursive necessities of human life" (p. 51). Brandist refers to Bakhtin's similar isolation of forms of inter-subjectivity from social conditions (as Hirschkop himself identifies in relation to Bakhtin's argument about the deluded ruling-class). This leads, according to Brandist's analysis of Bakhtin's ideas, to an inadequate conceptualisation of human agency that fails to recognise limitations on human action. In viewing individuals as well as social groups as legal or juridical persons, as solely carriers of responsibilities and rights, an entire range of important and relevant material issues are side-stepped (Brandist, 2004). These include:

the biological needs of discursive subjects, the economic structures underlying the formation and motivation of social groups, the institutionalisation of discursive intercourse, and the given structures of the world that are perceived by subjects prior to their reprocessing in thought. (Bostad, Brandist, Evensen & Faber, 2004, p.6).

None-the-less, Brandist (2000) argues that the inevitably political implications of Bakhtin's analysis emerge even though issues related to causality and human behaviour are "bracketed out" of consideration (p. 51).

A response to the (valid) criticism that Bakhtin privileges consciousness and inter-subjectivity can perhaps be located in the connections between discourse and social context and interests that, as Hirschkop points out, are implied by Bakhtin's theories. In "Discourse in the Novel" (1981) Bakhtin describes artistic prose as presuming "a deliberate feeling for the historical and social concreteness of living discourse, as well as its relativity, a feeling for its participation in historical becoming and social struggle..." (p.331). Bakhtin's reference to social concreteness, the material or "concrete issues of life" (Brandist, 2002, p. 29), and to the participation of discourse in social struggle, albeit framed by an inter-subjective theorisation of consciousness, allows for the possibility of extending (Barsky, 1998) or as Brandist (2002) suggests, supplementing his work. Brandist's critique suggests that such supplementation needs to refer explicitly to issues of causality, to economic, political and social conditions and their influence on discursive social interaction (or indeed the influence of the latter on the former).

The absence of more explicit connections between discourse and economic and social forces in Bakhtin's work could be explained further by the oppressive social forces he himself operated under. Having been arrested and sent into exile, and recognising the need for self-preservation, it would not have been wise to have been more explicit in identifying concrete political and social forces of oppression at the time. It is possible that in this area of social context Bakhtin was following in the tradition of Russian literary critics in masking more socially and politically critical elements of his ideas by the use of Aesopian language. Finally, as Hirschkop (2001) also points out, while (for whatever reasons) Bakhtin could not go as far as to consider unequal distributions of power, or people's ability to control the material structures that determine their life possibilities, he recognised that the historical becoming he sought would come about only with a change of cultural practices.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has summarised Bakhtin's biographic details in order to locate his work in its particular historical and social context. It has also provided a chronological overview of the evolution of Bakhtin's philosophy, theories and

concepts, focussing in more detail on those relating to dialogism in discourse and those that seem to have particular relevance for the analysis of Herb's album. The chapter identifies a number of aspects of Bakhtin's theories and literary analysis that inform and are compatible with an analysis of songs that refer to contested social and political realities and values. Among these, his emphasis on the importance of context and of the functions of language for any meaningful analysis of discourse (Bakhtin, 1981; Hirschkop, 1986) means that an investigation of Herbs' album would be inadequate without an understanding of its social and political context, and the social and economic struggles that shape it.

Bakhtin's (1981) interest in the textual manifestations of authorial intention, of the author's "speech plan" or "semantic assignment" (Bakhtin, 1986c, pp. 77 & 84) which determines authorial choices is also relevant. The chapter has explained that Bakhtin (1986c) conceptualised authors' utterances (whether oral or written) as shaped by their addressivity, in other words by their anticipation of an active responsive understanding in some form. Bakhtin writes that "[t]o some extent primacy belongs to the response, as the activating principle" (1981, p. 282). Utterances respond at the same time to previous utterances in the relevant chain of communication, and in expressing their intentions in discourse authors draw from the resources of language as well as previous utterances, and on the active understanding of the listener or reader (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986c). These areas of Bakhtin's theories suggest the need to include an investigation of the form and content of discernible responses to contemporaneous events and to previous songs in Herbs' lyrics.

Herbs' songs relate to struggles over human rights, over associated ethical values and over the kind of democracy people wanted New Zealand to be (Phillips as quoted in Hubbard, 2010; Phillips, 2006). The identification of ethics as a dimension of language and discourse (Hirschkop, 1999; Nielsen, 1995) is therefore a further aspect of Bakhtin's theories that underpins my approaches to analysis. In Bakhtin's transfer of ethical aspects of responsibility (answerability) to language (Nielsen, 1995), language is viewed as embodying the "inter-subjective essence" and therefore the ethical nature of human relationships

(Game, 1998, p. 507) in which we each have a unique moral responsibility for our discursive deeds (Bakhtin, 1986f; 1993), and utterances are understood as ethical acts. There is an interesting parallel and compatibility between Bakhtin's (1993) philosophical notion of "*I*" and a "particular concrete *other*" (p. 47) and the Rastafari philosophy that affirms "I and I" (in place of "we") as the coming together of two individualities, locating authority and ethical responsibility in each individual (Chivallon, 2002). While Rastafari philosophy is dedicated to self-esteem and racial pride (Bradley, 2001), the notion of "I and I" underpins the movement's emphasis on a democracy resistant to centralisation and oppressive norms (Chivallon, 2002). It is not far removed from Bakhtin's view of ethical self-other relationships in which "the *other-for-me*, [is a] definite, singular other person" (Bakhtin, 1990a, p. 24), and in dialogic, polyphonic social discourses (Lynch, 1993) is "another and other autonomous 'I'" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 63).

Equally relevant to the analysis of Herbs' album is the implication which flows from Bakhtin's theorisation of language and discourse that language choices are ethical choices (Nielsen, 1995): between languages, between lexical items marked by their social history and populated by others' intentions (Bakhtin, 1981), and among diverse values (Hirschkop, 1999). In other words, each utterance involves choices that align the language user with a particular "side" (or sides) in the dialogic negotiations and conflicts between world views and values that are constituted in language (Dentith, 1995).

Bakhtin's analysis of the overarching concept of dialogism locates it as the starting point of inter-subjective human relations, as the starting point of language, and as immanent in relationships between cultures (Bakhtin, 1981; Bakhtin, 1986a; Bakhtin, 1986b; Bakhtin, 1986c; Morson & Emerson, 1990). The chapter has indicated the relevance of different aspects of Bakhtin's notion of dialogism for this study. These include the global sense of dialogism as the ongoing and unfinalised interaction between selves as well as between cultural entities such as works of literature and culturally-constructed ideas and values, and Bakhtin's conceptualisation of dialogism in discourse as centrifugal and subversive (Bakhtin, 1981; Hirschkop, 1986). They also involve the aspect of dialogism that refers to the relationship of discourse to previous utterances and

its addressivity towards future potential responses. Bakhtin's ideas of the micro-dialogue and semantic positions embodied in the dialogism of particular words, and of the meanings implied by varying forms of dialogic, doubled-voiced discourse (Bakhtin, 1981) are also relevant. The latter as a category of narrative style described by Bakhtin (1981) along with the concepts of heteroglossia and polyphony provide a valuable analytical lens for the examination of aspects of the construction of meaning in Herbs' songs.

The next chapter describes and explains my approaches to the analysis of Herbs' album. Chapter Four includes further discussion of some of the areas of Bakhtin's theories and concepts introduced in this chapter. I also explain how my approaches are informed by and draw on the work of other relevant theorists and previous studies.

Chapter Four: Approaches to analysis

“Dialogism is the characteristic epistemological mode of a world dominated by heteroglossia... there is a constant interaction between meanings, all of which have the potential of conditioning others.” (Holquist, 1981, p. 426)

Introduction

This chapter explains the foci of my analysis of Herbs’ mini-album *What’s Be Happen?* and the tools I employ. My examinations of the song lyrics, aspects of heard performance and the album cover are framed predominantly by Bakhtin’s multi-faceted theory of dialogism and his theory of language and discourse as dialogic. I draw from aspects of other relevant theory and particular studies that are compatible with Bakhtin’s ideas and concepts in order to supplement these in an area (popular music) that was beyond Bakhtin’s scope.

In drawing on particular concepts and analytical tools employed by Bakhtin, the approaches to analysis reflect four major implications for analysis of discourse identified in Bakhtin’s work by Janet Maybin (2001). These are the need to understand texts as both responding to and anticipating other utterances, and by extension as Brandist (2002) points out, as responding to the social realities and causative influences that are referenced and constructed in texts. The second is that texts appropriate the voices of others, either implicitly or explicitly, and that the ways in which the evaluative perspective and content of others’ utterances are framed are constitutive of the construction of meaning. The third is that lexical items and phrases embody associations and social history, and in doing so carry connotations and nuances which language users draw from and re-accent in different ways. The final implication is that discourse reflects the conflicts and struggles between different world views and between authoritative and internally persuasive language that are embodied in the heteroglossia of language. In short, all discourse is essentially “heteroglossic, dialogic, and the site of ideological struggle” (Maybin, 2001, p. 70).

As the following sections explain in more detail, analysis begins by an initial identification of key themes of the album and, in alignment with Bakhtin’s emphasis on the shaping effect on discourse of the “particular historical moment

in a socially specific environment” (1981, p. 276), this is followed by an examination of the album’s historical, political and social context. In the light of this context I move on to consider dialogic relations between the Jamaican reggae genre and Pacific musical traditions in Herbs’ appropriation of reggae. I examine discernible references to specific other texts (such as particular Bob Marley songs) and dialogic relations embodied in representations of time and space are analysed through the lens of Bakhtin’s (1981b) concept of the *chronotope*. The analysis of Herbs’ appropriation of reggae and of the album is supported by information drawn from transcripts of my interviews with Herbs’ songwriters and musicians Toni Fonoti and Phil Toms.

In addition to lyrical content I explore choices made in the lyrics. As I explain in the following sections, these include choices of narrative form such as “direct and unmediated discourse”, “hidden dialogue” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 199) and double-voiced discourse (Bakhtin, 1984). I consider overall compositional form (Bakhtin, 1990b) and internal dialogic relations constructed for example by rhyme and repetition that create phonic connections (related to the sound of words) and semantic connections (Eagleton, 2007). Other relevant choices I consider are those made in terms of socially and politically marked lexical items²³, as well as language choices among heteroglossia and from polyglossia (Bakhtin, 1981c); and significant features of performative form (performance), focusing on tempo, tone, sound intensity and harmonisation.

Terry Threadgold (2003) makes the point that as a consequence of their subjective relationship to the contextual environment, cognitive schemata and dispositions, researchers inevitably make different interpretive choices in their approach to the analysis of discourse. In this case I believe my approaches align with Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism, in which “[e]verything means, is understood, as part of a greater whole” (Holquist, 1981, p. 426) and with Bakhtin’s wariness of an overly-mechanistic approach (Bakhtin, 1986e;

²³ The phrase socially marked lexical items means words that are characterised by their use within particular social groups, where what they denote (“mean”) and what they connote (suggest or imply indirectly) frequently differs from general usage, such as the use of Babylon by Rastafari to signify white, Western society.

Emerson, 1997). My interpretation of the significance of particular features in the different Herbs songs therefore leads to some variations in the ways in which I present the analysis of these. For example, while the examination of “Whistling in Dark” begins with a discussion of its narrative style, the discussion of others such as “What’s Be Happen?” begins with a focus on musical tempo because this seems particularly significant in framing the subsequent analysis of the song.

In order to consider the ways in which the album cover frames and acts as a “threshold” (Genette, 1997, p. 2) to Herbs’ record, approaches to analysis also include an examination of images and text, typography and colour on the album cover, that is, its paratext (Genette, 1997). This analysis builds on my discussion of Herbs’ appropriation and localisation of reggae, my examination of the context, and of the songs in relation to that context, and draws particularly from the work of Colin Symes (2004) and David Machin (2010).

Finally, I draw from the close analysis of the six songs and the album cover to identify repeated textual practices across the album, and extend the initial analysis of themes to identify a network of recurring themes that produce the discourses of social commentary, resistance and protest for which the album is so well-known (Reid, 2012).

The sections below provide more detailed explanation of these approaches to analysis. I elaborate on relevant aspects of Bakhtin’s theories and concepts that are extended here to popular songs, and refer to other areas of theory and relevant research.

Exploring and identifying themes

Analysis begins with a preliminary examination of Herbs’ lyrics and the album cover in order to identify themes that connect the songs to their historical context and the contemporaneous social and political environment in which they were written. Given the political nature of Herbs’ songs, the historical significance of the events and issues they refer to, and Bakhtin’s (1981) emphasis on the relationship between utterances and their specific “historical moment” (p. 276), I seek to locate the album in a “thick” account (see Collins, 2000) of its political and social context. I therefore provide an initial analysis of key social and

political themes in the album before moving on to examine accounts of relevant historical issues and events referred to in those themes (presented in Chapter Five). This provides a contextual framework that informs the analytical focus on features of the songs and album cover in later chapters.

Initial analysis of themes

The initial examination of themes was informed by and built on themes that are publicly identified and discussed by New Zealand music critics and writers such as Graham Reid (2012). I examined direct and perceived indirect references to events and issues by means of repeated readings of Herbs' lyrics (as published on the back sleeve of the album *What's Be Happen?*), and repeated listening to the album tracks, as well as considering images on the album cover. This was followed by an inductive analysis (Macdonald, 2001) and interpretation of content in terms of general themes (Crabtree & Miller, 1992; May, 2001; Miles & Huberman, 1994) and more specific themes relating to particular events and issues.

Previous studies involving thematic analysis

The initial inductive approach to analysis of themes is similar to other studies of themes in popular song lyrics that articulate economic, social and political concerns. For example, Serge Denisoff and Mark Levine's (1971) sociological study investigated the effectiveness of the anti-nuclear message in the 1965 US hit "Eve of Destruction" (Sloan, 1965), identifying a series of "dysfunctions in American society" that are chronicled in the lyrics, glossed thematically as "areas of discord", and an overarching theme "that man was on the brink of nuclear destruction" (Denisoff & Levine, 1971, p. 119). B. Lee Cooper (1991) undertook a more detailed thematic content analysis of United States rock-era lyrics between 1950 and 1990 as fragments of oral history, producing a chronology of selected themes of social criticism and political protest as part of an audio chronology of lyrics that chronicle social and political events and issues.

In another more recent and more relevant example, Jennifer Cattermole (2004; 2011) includes an investigation of reggae themes in an ethnomusicological study which answers Pennycook and Mitchell's (2001) call for consideration of the

uses musicians make of a globalised musical genre and new meanings generated by its production and use. In the context of global cultural flows and the dynamics involved in the adoption and localisation of music, Cattermole focuses on investigating uses that reggae producers and consumers have made of reggae. These include the construction of identities that are locally rooted or routed²⁴ to a place or a people, or to multiple peoples and places. Cattermole (2004) employs an inductive approach to identify twelve categories of song themes in reggae songs, some of which are relevant to this study. The first eight of these relate to: gender relationships; celebrations of reggae and Bob Marley; life in the ghetto; ganja (marijuana); the environment; calls for world peace and harmony; support for oppressed peoples; spiritual themes and lessons learnt from past mistakes. Four further themes that are more specific to New Zealand include Māori issues; conflicts with the New Zealand system of justice; displacement of Pacific peoples from their island homelands, and historical figures and events.

Building on the initial analysis of themes, my review of the social and historical context, the detailed analysis of Herbs' songs (presented in Chapters Six and Seven), and on the examination of paratext on the album cover, I focus again on the analysis of themes in the album (in Chapter Eight). This analysis extends commonly-held understandings of the album's themes (see for example, Reid, 2012; Stehlin, 2015) in identifying a network of key recurring and related themes in Herbs' songs, as the following section explains.

Analysing key themes

In order to identify recurrent themes that characterise the discourses of Herbs' album I identified, categorised and re-categorised themes in an electronic transcription of the song lyrics using colour-coding and track changes comments. This involved an iterative process of "sifting, comparing and contrasting", and drawing on my analysis of the songs and album cover to identify the different ways in which these themes occur (Tonkiss, 2012, p. 413). This process built on previously identified reggae themes of resistance to oppression, racial harmony,

²⁴ Rooted here refers to the syncretic musical form that "indexes New Zealand musical and geographical roots" (Cattermole, 2000, p. 13), and routed refers to the cultural routes explored in adopting stylistic features of Jamaican roots reggae.

anti-colonialism, and spiritual and environmental issues that are discussed by reggae practitioners (Weber, 2000) and on the 12 thematic categories in New Zealand and overseas reggae lyrics identified by Cattermole (2004).

Researching the context

My analysis locates Herbs' album in the specific temporal, spatial and social environment it references, and creates a contextual framework for closer analysis of Herbs' songs and the album cover. Bakhtin was interested in active interpretation and dialogic understanding of utterances in their relationship to other texts (con-texts) and to past, contemporary and possible future "contexts of understanding" (see Bakhtin, 1986f, p. 169). His notion of "contextual meaning" (Bakhtin, 1986f, p. 162) relates to the relationship of discourse to other texts and implicates more figuratively the social, cultural and political dialogising background or "intonational-evaluative context" for understanding a particular text (1986f, p. 166). Bakhtin is rather more specific in describing the literary transformation of an environment of "all [relevant] reality", as including circumstances and events as well as the words of others (1986f, p. 164).

However, because of Bakhtin's largely implicit acknowledgement of social and cultural context, Barsky (1998) and Brandist (2002) argue for a supplementation of his approach to understanding discourse by extending the notion of context to include more explicit issues of causality. These include the historical, economic and political environment that governs the relationships between those who control power and those who are in positions of subordination. I have therefore attempted to supplement the framework derived from Bakhtin's theories by including perceived discourse-shaping issues of causality relating to concerns and events referred to in the lyrics.

While some approaches argue that "the study of discourse... *can* involve matters like context, background information or knowledge" (Bloor & Bloor, 2007, p.7 emphasis added), Bakhtin's theories imply that it must. As Threadgold (2003) points out, such examinations involve interpretation of the ways in which significant contexts are constituted in other discursive, textual events. It follows that in order to investigate the construction of meaning in Herbs' album it was necessary to investigate other contemporaneous and subsequent utterances that

relate to the thematic objects and contemporary issues central to the songs. Such an investigation also helps to inform analysis of Herbs' lyrics in relation to the likely understanding of contemporaneous listeners, in terms of their previous experiences, exposure to discourse, and perceptions.

This area of analysis of the songs and album cover broadly parallels the overall approach adopted by Fox (2004) in his exploration of Texan, working-class country songs. Fox describes his study as being framed by Bakhtin's theory of dialogism, particularly in terms of the ways in which discourse is dialogically constituted in social communication and in internal thought. Rather than an analysis of song lyrics in relative isolation, Fox integrates a multi-faceted examination of vocality in social everyday speech, artful singing and improvisation, in the context of the participants' social history and experience, and the ways in which these help to construct history, sociability and identity.

Similarly, Martin Power, Aileen Dillane and Eoin Devereux (2012) position their examination of Morrissey's song "Interesting Drug" (Street & Morrissey, 1989) in its socio-historical and political context before moving on to focus on the specifics of content, structure and form. This context involves an overview of discursive representations of dominant ideologies. It centres on the 'New Right' ideology of "personal responsibility" and individualism in Britain in the 1980s (p. 377) that informed and helped shape policies seeking to impel people off state welfare benefits, and the notion of "the death of class" (p. 378).

I sought to provide the type of detailed socio-political context constructed by Chik Collins' (2000) in his analysis of the processes of language that contributed to a major reversal of British government economic policy in the early 1970s. Collins refers to a number of sources to provide an historical account of the political policies and economic ideologies that contextualise resistance to a British government decision to liquidate four publicly owned Scottish shipbuilding yards. In doing so he draws from Voloshinov (1986) and illustrates the notion that the evaluative accent and meanings of certain words are subject to contest and to change in new contexts, as a result of the struggles between speakers to re-accent them with the values and intentions shared by their social group (see Bakhtin, 1981; Voloshinov, 1986).

The analysis of Herbs' album involves a similar meta-level examination of relevant texts that construct and comment on the political and social context identified in the initial analysis of themes. As Collins' (2000) study makes clear, and as Threadgold (in an interview in Kamler, 1997) argues, researching the context is more than a matter of "just looking at the text and bouncing off to what must have been the context"; it requires a process that "really research[es] [that] context" (p. 449). In Chapter Five, "Examining the Social and Political Context", I examine accounts and commentaries by New Zealand historians, social commentators and journalists, a Māori action group, documentary films, and New Zealand government sources. I also focus on analysis and accounts by academics in the field of popular music studies and in newspaper articles, as well as commentary from Herbs' songwriters. Such accounts identify key conflicts and protest movements in New Zealand in the post war period leading up to 1981, the year Herbs' album was released: protests against the loss of Māori lands and resistance to further losses; protests as part of international movements to end the war in Vietnam, against nuclear testing in the Pacific and most relevantly against the racist apartheid regime in South Africa. I examine significant domestic issues such as the living conditions and treatment of urban Māori and members of the New Zealand community who had migrated from the Pacific Islands since the 1960s. This area of analysis also includes the influence of Bob Marley's reggae music on New Zealanders, on Māori and Pacific Islands people in particular and on Herbs' music as an important dimension of the historical, social and cultural context.

Because I wanted to investigate their views on the initial themes I identified in Herbs' album (as Berg, 2011 suggests) and their comments on the album and its context, I interviewed Herbs' songwriters and musicians Toni Fonoti and Phil Toms, as the next section explains.

Interviews with Herbs' songwriters

I interviewed two of Herbs' musicians and songwriters who between them wrote five of the six songs on the album. Toni Fonoti wrote four of the songs, and Phil Toms wrote "One Brotherhood". (Although Ross France who wrote "Azania (Soon Come)" kindly agreed to be interviewed it was not possible to arrange

this.) These interviews were semi-structured because structured interviews allow little or no deviation from a pre-planned schedule of questions, and therefore little opportunity to ask questions that allow for interpretation of meanings or that act as prompts (May, 2001). In this case, structured interviews would also have limited my ability to take into account the particular and different contributions of the songwriters. Semi-structured interviews, in contrast, while allowing for key questions to be asked at each interview, provide for flexibility in terms of sequence, additional questions and the ability to seek further information (Fielding & Thomas, 2001). While the semi-structured interview provides a degree of structure and consistency, the researcher is still able to enter into a dialogue with participants (May, 2001) and the ability to probe responses and prompt interviewees increases the depth and richness of responses (Dörnyei, 2007; May 2001).

Ethics approval was received for the interviews from the University's Ethics Committee. This included approved information and consent forms (see Appendices A and B) as well as approval for a sample set of key questions for the interviews. Appendix C illustrates these key questions.

Analysing interview transcripts

Comments and information likely to be relevant were identified and highlighted in hard copies of the interview transcripts in the course of multiple readings as Matthew Miles and Michael Huberman (1994) recommend. The transcripts were scrutinised again during the analysis of each song for relevant information. Some of the information from these expert sources is incorporated at the end of Chapter Five in the examinations of Bob Marley's influence in New Zealand, the evolution of Herbs and the band's appropriation of reggae. I also draw on the transcripts to help inform analysis in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Examining Herbs' appropriation of reggae

The examination of Herbs' choice and adaptation of reggae in Chapter Five draws on Bakhtin's (1981; 1986c) notions of appropriation and the hybridisation of genres that are extended here to popular music. It builds on the literature reviewed in Chapter Two relating to perceptions of reggae as message music and

understandings of reggae as a global genre, and takes account of the cultural significance of the musical genre appropriated by Herbs.

I believe it is possible to extend Bakhtin's (1981) explanation of the appropriation of language, through which it "becomes one's own" (p. 293), to aspects of the appropriation of this musical form. I therefore consider the ways in which Herbs' songwriters and musicians have appropriated and re-accented reggae and made it their own. This consideration includes a focus on local musical influences (as illustrated by Mitchell (1996) in his analysis of the music of the New Zealand band Crowded House), and the use of specific local place names in "One Brotherhood" (Toms, 1981). The latter, in addition to their possible rhetorical implications, constructs a local identity and a "distinctive sense of place" (Mitchell, 1996, p. 222), and thus contributes to the recontextualisation of reggae in New Zealand. As Gracyk (2001) implies is necessary, I consider the dialogic relationship between such reinscriptions and the historical and cultural context that includes meanings associated with Jamaican roots reggae.

Examining Herbs' songs

Dialogism and intertextuality

Analysis of Herbs' album involves interpretation of dialogic relations between Herbs' lyrics and other texts as a dimension of the relational "greater whole" (Holquist, 1981, p. 426) in which the album has meaning and is understood. I use the term intertextuality in a restricted sense within the overall framework of dialogism to refer to forms of discernible references to specific other texts. The rationale for this is influenced by critique of the use of the term intertextuality as synonymous with dialogism (for example by Dentith, 1995; Lesic-Thomas, 2005), which is seen as a stripping down of the concept of dialogism (Zbinden, 2006). In particular it is seen as a negation or omission of Bakhtin's more complex theories of subjectivity, agency and intentionality. The following paragraphs consider this critique and its implications in more detail.

According to Bakhtin (1984), dialogic relations permeate "all relationships and manifestations of human life – in general everything that has meaning and

significance” (p. 40). In order to become dialogic, “logical and semantically referential relationships... must become discourse, that is, an utterance, and receive an author [or a collective of authors], that is, a creator of the given utterance whose position it expresses” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 184). The significance of agency and intentionality in Bakhtin’s theorisation of language and discourse is illustrated by his interest in the textual manifestations of the intentions of authors that are made apparent in genre choices (1986c), in authors’ choices in drawing from language and from previous utterances (1981), and in the ways in which discourse is shaped by its addressivity towards an anticipated response (1986c). Bakhtin’s interest in reported speech (for example, 1981, 1984) is similarly relevant to interpretations of authorial intentions. Authors’ values and intentions in relation to earlier discourse are crystallised in the ways in which the discourse of others is directly or indirectly reported (Voloshinov, 1986), and there is an according correlation between particular forms of reported discourse and particular modes of inter-subjective relations or interaction (Brandist, 2002).

The notions that underpin Bakhtin’s terms dialogism and polyphony are conceptually very different from those associated with intertextuality, according to Andrea Lesic-Thomas (2005). Julia Kristeva’s (1969, 1980) idea of intertextuality is regarded as a misinterpretation (Lesic-Thomas, 2005). Central to that misinterpretation is the argument that Bakhtin substituted the concept of inter-subjectivity with the notion of intertextuality, defining any literary text as “a mosaic of quotations” (Kristeva, 1980, p. 66), which absorbs and transforms other texts (Lesic-Thomas, 2005). In the view of Lesic-Thomas, Kristeva’s notion of intertextuality as the assimilation and “transformation of texts by texts” (Lesic-Thomas, 2005, p. 6) has the effect of reducing authors, readers, cultural and social contexts, and history to texts, and to what Kristeva (1980) describes as “textual surfaces”(p.65). Ideas relating to human agency and intentionality are largely rendered irrelevant (Lesic-Thomas, 2005); or as Dentith (2005) explains, the very concept of subjectivity is “dissolved” (p. 96).

According to Lesic-Thomas (2005), Kristeva’s conceptualisation of intertextuality owed far more to Russian Formalism in its later stages than to Bakhtin’s conceptions of dialogism. Russian Formalists such as Iuri Tynianov

had rejected considerations of the role of the author and thus of agency in the development of literary texts. This rejection continued in the Formalists' later analyses of the interactions between literary genres, which culminated in the central significance of "difference" in relations between literary and other language uses. This focus on difference is illustrated by Tynianov's (1971) argument that "[a]n element [literary device] is on the one hand interrelated with similar elements in other works in other [cultural] systems, and on the other hand it is interrelated with different elements within the same work" (p. 68). As Lesic-Thomas points out, this approach constitutes an argument for "a comparative 'intertextual' concept of the literary function and of the literary text as a whole" (p. 11). In contrast, Bakhtin has been described as a "philosopher-critic", who utilised selected literature to demonstrate philosophical principles rather than solely to illuminate literature (Emerson, 1997, p.81). Bakhtin's focus on literary forms stems from his interest in the ways in which "literature relates to the dialogism of language and culture [more] than the way literature relates to itself" (Lesic-Thomas, 2005, p. 16). For Bakhtin, intertextual relations (in literature) are an extension of his founding principle that words carry "the resonances of other voices uttering the same words with particular intentions" (Lesic-Thomas, 2005, p. 16).

In his consideration of intertextuality in popular music, Gracyk (2001) is similarly critical of notions of "general intertextuality" (p. 58) and argues, like Bakhtin, that texts arise from a particular history, and meaning arises from the dialogic relations between texts. Textual connections and allusions create nuances of meaning and some aspects of the significance of a text are constructed through audiences' familiarity with specific previous texts and "specific intertextualities" (2001, p. 59). In Gracyk's view there is therefore a need to go beyond notions of general intertextuality in the interpretation of texts to focus on particular relationships between specific texts.

Given these critiques of understandings of the notion of intertextuality in relation to Bakhtin's theories, the term intertextual is only employed here in relation to features that are perceived as references to or incorporations from specific other texts. There is a difference between this approach and Fairclough's (1992)

concept of "manifest intertextuality" (p. 85). Fairclough explains manifest intertextuality as the explicit presence of other texts in which "specific other texts are *overtly* drawn upon within a text" (p. 85, my emphasis), and are marked by explicit surface signs such as quotation marks. I argue here that following Bakhtin, manifestations of other texts are not necessarily explicit, nor overt. These may be subtle, and perception of them may often rely on understandings of the particular social and historical context in order to reveal the "half-concealed...words of others" (Bakhtin, 1986c, p. 93).

The chronotope

Analysis of Herbs' songs also mobilises Bakhtin's (1981b) notion of the "literary artistic chronotope" (p.84) to investigate dialogic relationships between time and space in the narrative of the lyrics. This includes an exploration of certain features of lyrical content and language choices, the narrative construction of chronology compared with "real life" sequences of events, the use of a stylised form of oral speech (in "What's Be Happen?") and personal pronouns, verb tense choices, and the absence or presence of indices of time and space (such as the names of specific places in "One Brotherhood") where these are significant. The chronotope is valuable as a concept in studying the relationship between an artistic, narrative text and its social and historical context (Holquist, 1990), partly because representations of time in the narrative of such texts are frequently "concentrated and condensed" (Bakhtin, 1981b, p. 247).

Despite the centrality of narrative to human discourse (see for example, Abbott, 2008; Barthes, 1993; Lyotard, 1984), David Nicholls (2007) points out that narrativity is largely absent from analyses of popular music, and music is usually omitted from texts that address narrative theory. Nicholls, whose own examination of British top-ten rock music hits between 1960 and 1985 focuses on narrative voice, verb tense changes and supporting musical features, argues that narrative can be an important aspect of the interpretation of certain forms of popular songs.

A particular literary chronotope may be identified by the ways in which it "deforms" the (likely, real-life) sequence of events in its narration of those events (Holquist, 1990). Holquist argues that the chronotope offers a theoretical

framework for considering the meanings involved in the dialogical relationship between the chronology of events according to “real life” and generally-held concepts of time at a given point in a given culture, and the ways in which this sequence is seen to be deformed in a mediated narrative or plot (Holquist, 1990). It assists in conceptualising the ways in which “lived times and spaces” (Wall, 2001, p. 135) in narrative are shaped in a particular form of relationship to the conditions outside the text in which they arise (Holquist, 1990). Because the term signals the inseparability of time and space in social action, “the intrinsic blending of space and time in any event in the real world” (Blommaert, 2015b, p. 106) as well as its effects on social action, employing the chronotope for the analysis of particular “timespace configurations” also helps avoid an analysis of behaviour that separates it from context (Blommaert, 2015, p. 2).

The concept may be employed, as Bakhtin (1981b) employs it, in a focus on the narrative structure of particular texts and generic types of plot, and on the values and meanings reflected in authorial determinations relating to time and space. David Lodge’s (1990) analysis of D.H. Lawrence’s *Women in Love* (2002, first published in 1920) illustrates the productive use of the chronotope to examine the narrative structures of novels. He describes Lawrence’s text as “a kind of philosophical adventure story” (p. 62) in which the author foregrounds moments of illumination and crisis, debates and arguments either by relegating or deleting details of time and space usually associated with biographical or social-psychological novels. In doing so Lodge identifies chronotopic similarities between *Women in Love* and features of Dostoevsky’s novels discussed by Bakhtin (1981b; 1984).

Further examples of the way in which the concept of the chronotope has been employed are provided by Holquist (1990) in his analysis of texts from two different genres: Nikolai Gogol’s short story “Notes of a Madman” and the comic-strip hero Superman. In his discussion of Superman, Holquist explains common features shared between the narrative structures of the comic-strip narratives and Bakhtin’s category of the abstract “adventure novel of the ordeal” (1981b, p. 86) in ancient Greek romance novels. The latter is characterised by the absence of indices of historical time, by chance events and by “utterly abstract”

expanses of space (Bakhtin, 1981b, p. 100). As Bakhtin explains, because events in such novels are governed by random contingency, the details that might identify particular countries or particular stretches of sea where events take place are irrelevant. However, Holquist points out that although there are structural parallels in terms of time-space relationships, the Superman and ancient Greek adventure narratives constitute different events and have different meanings. These differences reflect the influence of new literary genres and changed concepts of the relationship between time and space.

While the predominant use of the chronotope is in the analysis of literary texts, it has been employed in the analysis of popular music and films. Moy (2015) drew on the construct as a critical framework in considering the significance of place (Detroit) and spaces (particular studios) involved in the production of Motown music, but not in the analysis of particular songs. Most recently Zaid Tlili (2016) has conducted a computer-assisted quantitative study of the use of deictic expressions that refer to or imply spatial and temporal context in a corpus of 90 chart-topping popular songs in the UK (between 2006 and 2014). Deixis is defined as “the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes and activities being talked about or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance” (Lyons 1977 cited in Lenz, 2003, p. vii).

Tlili’s (2016) study is interesting because it draws on Bakhtin’s notion of the chronotope. However, as a quantitative study and unlike the current one, it focuses solely on an analysis of the frequency of occurrence of deictic expressions (such as “here”, “now” and “tonight”) in a corpus in which only one of the songs is categorised as overtly political. Furthermore, apart from references to the recent “explosion” (p. 228) in the circulation and reception of popular music and the highly competitive context of production and reception of popular songs in the UK, there is no discussion of social and political context. In exploring the extent to which the chronotope can be identified as a generic move in this corpus, Tlili focuses on “the words on the page” and argues that there may be shared verbal deictic features that shape a “chronotopic pattern” (p. 233). Such a pattern, according to Tlili, may contribute to the chart success of the

songs “by triggering, maintaining and re-enactment of particular ideological constructs” (p. 233). He finds that the songs share a spatio-temporal pattern of deixis (a chronotope) based on “The here/now and night/club” (p. 241) that he suggests is a defining characteristic of these song lyrics. (The nebulous spatial reference in the use of the deictic expression “here”, for example, constructs “a chronotopic frame whose boundaries are blurred and within which each member of the target audience can locate themselves” (Tlili, 2016, p. 235).) According to Tlili (p.241), “Most of the songs sustain an ideology celebrating the value of dancing, love, promiscuity and hedonistic gratification of sexual desire in one way or another.”

Alexandra Ganser, Julia Pühringer and Markus Rheindorf (2006) appropriate the chronotope to analyse the multiple manifestations of time-space relations in post 1970s road movies through “a chronotopic lens” (p. 14). They make use of the chronotope to assess the ways in which “real historical time and space as well as fictional time and space are articulated in relation to one another” (p. 2), in a particular era, text, or genre. The chronotope provides a theoretical and methodological approach to mediated representations of space and time in texts, and through texts, that are “always already ideological, historically specific and constitutive of genres” (p. 1). In an analysis that has some relevance for the examination of Herbs’ song “Whistling in the Dark”, the authors describe the road as more a space than a material place “although it certainly is located in a specific environment charged with social and cultural meanings.” (Ganser et al., 2006, p. 15). They extend the binary of space and time to include place as the physical manifestation of lived space and the socially and culturally marked meeting point of time and space. Along the road, spaces are located that involve a range of variations in terms of space-time relations, such as petrol stations, motels and roadside dining places (diners).

In addition to the chronotope of the represented world in the text, there are also chronotopes of readers and authors of texts (Holquist, 1990). Bakhtin states this when he writes: “But even in the segmentation of a modern literary work we sense the chronotope of the represented world as well as the chronotope of the readers and creators of the work” (1981b, p. 254-255). As he explains, there are

at least two events that are “indissolubly united” in the single complex totality of a narrative text (1981b, p. 255). These take place at different times and in different spaces or places: the event of the narrative work and “the event of the narration itself” (p. 255), involving the author as “teller” (p. 256) of the event and the author’s readers and listeners. Holquist (1990) points out that meanings of texts are constructed and interpreted in the particular temporal and spatial context of their production, but also accrue meanings through subsequent readings in different contexts. Authors and readers in different places and at different times will employ “different sets of time/space co-ordinates” (Holquist, 1990, p. 118). As a consequence, relationships between time and space, and thus the relationships between presumed sequences of events and the “distortions” of these in given narrative progressions, will differ in different historical and social environments. While the chronotope may at one level constitute a certain mediated representation of aspects of the real world, there are also dialogic and chronotopic relationships between authors’ and readers’ constructions of time and space in the lived world that influence meanings and understandings of a text.

The conceptual openness and flexibility of Bakhtin’s concept (Ganser, Pühringer & Rheindorf, 2006) is illustrated in its productive application to a range of texts, from ancient Greek narratives and the modern novel to comic strips and modern road movies. It seems clear that the application of the concept of the chronotope can be extended to inform exploration of the meanings of popular songs that involve representations of time and space or the artistic narration of concrete experiences (Holquist, 1990) in which “spatial and temporal indicators are fused into one carefully thought-out concrete” (Bakhtin, 1981b, p. 11).

Dialogic relations and narrative style in discourse

Approaches to analysis include explorations of choices of narrative style and its relation to thematic content, as well as the form and content of the incorporated discourse of others in Herbs’ lyrics. In his examination of narrative in literary texts Bakhtin (1984) identifies three key categories of dialogic relations in discourse, although with the caveat that an utterance may include more than one of these at the same time. I apply the first of these typologies “direct and

unmediated” discourse (p. 199) in the analysis of “Dragons and Demons” (Fonoti, 1981c). Such discourse is “orientated toward its referential object” (p. 199) and toward the realisation of the author’s semantic intention “to signify, express, inform, [or] represent something” (p.187). In its expression of the writer’s or speaker’s “ultimate semantic authority” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 199), this parallels Voloshinov’s (1986) description of the linear style of authorial reporting. As Lodge (1990) elaborates, this linear style - the representation of actions in the [author’s] own voice (diegesis) - is characteristic of narratives and authorial summary before the development of the novel. In linear style the textual distinctiveness of the speech of others is suppressed, for example by assimilating it into the dominant authorial register. The result is that while boundaries between reporting and reported speech are maintained in some form, the author and all characters in a novel appear “to speak the same kind of language” (Lodge, 1990, p. 30).

Bakhtin’s second category is particularly relevant to the analysis of “Whistling in the Dark” (Fonoti, 1981a). He calls this category “objectified discourse (discourse of a represented person)” (1984, p. 199), and “represented discourse” (p. 188), which includes mimesis (Lodge, 1990, p. 33). It may involve the direct, quoted utterances of others as well as the indirectly reported speech, thoughts and feelings of others. Represented discourse equates to Voloshinov’s (1986) pictorial style, in which the individuality of the reported speech or thought is retained (Lodge, 1990, p. 31) but is incorporated into and subordinated to the author’s or the narrator’s utterance and intentions (Bakhtin, 1984). In tracing the different developments of pictorial style and of the dialogic intermingling of diegesis and mimesis in Russian and English novels, Lodge (1990) refers to the balance between mimesis and diegesis as one between “showing and telling, scene and summary” (p. 31).

The use of quotation marks around reported speech in objectified discourse may signal, for example, an ironic allusion to another’s speech and ideas, and serve to distance that discourse from the position of the citing author (Morson & Emerson, 1990). Distancing in the form of direct reported speech, may subordinate the cited discourse to the aims of the author, and alternatively may

serve to protect authoritative utterances from changes to their tone or meaning (Bakhtin, 1984), from linguistic alterations, and from being infiltrated by the intentions of the author (Brandist, 2002).

Double-voiced discourse

Bakhtin's third type of literary discourse, double-voiced discourse, also referred to as "doubly-orientated discourse" (Lodge, 1990, p. 33), is characterised by its "orientation toward someone else's speech" (Bakhtin 1984, p. 185), and by a reduction in objectification, an erosion of boundaries between utterances.

Different forms of this discourse type are found in all of Herbs songs on the album, and include, for example, the use of the biblical terminology of Jamaican Patois and Rastafari language in "Reggae's Doing Fine" (Fonoti, 1981b) and the language of call and response in "Azania (Soon Come)" (France, 1981). Such discourse is not only orientated towards its "referential object" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 189), but also refers to the speech act of another person "on the same theme... about the same object" (p. 195).

This discourse type is typified particularly by stylisation - the mimesis of someone else's implied discourse style (Bakhtin, 1984; Lodge, 1990); by *skaz*, the incorporation of day-to-day oral speech instantiated in "What's Be Happen?" (Fonoti, 1981d); and by parody. In these, the speech acts of others are reproduced to express new intentions (Bakhtin, 1984). As Brandist (2002) explains, in what is now termed free-indirect discourse the erosion of boundaries between utterances allows for the infiltration of the reported discourse by the intentions and commentary of the author's own discourse. Bakhtin (1981) illustrates such erosion in extracts from Charles Dicken's *Little Dorrit*. In these the speech style of others is introduced into informative authorial discourse in "concealed form... without any of the [usual] formal markers" of direct or indirect speech (p. 303). Such inclusions facilitate, for example, authorial parodying of generic discourse styles, such as ceremonial discourse, the language of hypocritical officialdom and of "current opinion" (p. 305). In this context even single words can be seen as representing another person's discourse, as "a sign of someone else's semantic position" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 184).

Other varieties of double-voiced discourse are categorised as indirect and antagonistic “hidden polemic”, involving a “sideways glance” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 196) towards another’s implied discourse, and as “hidden dialogue” (p. 199). The latter is mobilised in the analysis of the narrative form of “What’s Be Happen?” Hidden dialogue refers to discourse that is shaped by (Bakhtin, 1984) and alludes to “an *absent* speech act” (Lodge, 1990, p.33, author’s emphasis). It is characterised as a form of “intensely dialogic discourse” (p. 197) which suggests a conversation with a hidden presence (Bakhtin, 1984). While the utterances of a second speaker are not included, their traces have a determining effect on the speaker’s (or writer’s) response to that invisible presence. Such discourse constructs “two centres of value” constituting two represented consciousnesses (see Bakhtin, 1993, pp. 66-67).

Heteroglossia and polyglossia

Language choices include choices among the heteroglossia of language, such as the choice by Herbs’ songwriter Toni Fonoti to employ oral language typical of New Zealand youth from the Pacific Islands in the 1980s in “What’s Be Happen?”, and the incorporation of slogans in “Azania (Soon Come)”. Heteroglossia, as differentiation between languages within a language, arises as a consequence of social forces and different contexts such as the conditions that produce class structure, struggles against colonialism and different historical and generational epochs (Hirschkop, 1999). Brandist (2002) identifies this “registration of the institutional structure of a society in its linguistic stratification” (2002, p. 190) as a core principle forming the basis of Bakhtinian research. Authorial choices are made among the socio-ideological forms and words of different social groups and dialects within a language, which voice social and ideological values, positions and differences and embody different ways of conceptualising and discursively constructing the world (Bakhtin, 1981). Polyglossia (Bakhtin, 1981c), in contrast, is the relationship between different languages (Bakhtin, 1981c), such as the relationship between te reo Māori (the Māori language), and English in New Zealand, and is exemplified in the choice to employ te reo Māori, English, Samoan and Tongan in the title song “What’s Be Happen?”.

Analysing further features of form

In addition to the aspects of discursive content and form so far discussed, the analysis of Herbs' album involves examination of further features of form. Eagleton (2007) shares Bakhtin's (1981) view of the inseparability of meaning from form and provides a very useful examination of the influence of form on meaning in poetry. As I have explained in Chapter Three, I supplement Bakhtin's primary focus on the analysis of prose by drawing on Eagleton's (2007) analysis of poems, extended here to popular songs as compressed structures in which meaning is similarly shaped by verbal form. Poetic features analysed by Eagleton and which have relevance here are rhyme, rhythm, repetition and parallelism as well as assonance and alliteration. Such analysis is also informed by Brackett's (1992) examination of internal dialogic features of rhyme and repetition in the lyrics of James Brown's song "Superbad" (reviewed in Chapter Two). Chapters Six and Seven include considerations of these features as well as the impact of reggae beat²⁵ on the rhythm of the song lyrics and its influence on lexical choices and language structures, where these are relevant. Analysis also focuses on sonic form, for example the sound effects included in "One Brotherhood". Aspects of performative form such as tempo, tone, and sound intensity are examined where these appear to have particular significance for meaning, as well as the strategic use of polyphony and harmonisation in "One Brotherhood" and in "Azania (Soon Come)".

Analysing paratext

Another area of analysis focuses on the album cover and draws on Colin Symes' (2004) examination of the paratext of classical records. Symes extends Gerard Genette's (1997) analysis of the narrative architecture of books to this different cultural form. In theorising the practices and discourses that constitute supplementary paratext that is "next to" but "beyond" the main text and yet constituent of it, Genette (1997, p. 95) identifies two general categories. Peritext

²⁵ As noted in Chapter Two reggae is characterised musically by an emphasis on the backbeat (beats 2 and 4) as opposed to stressing the downbeat (beats 1 and 3) that are emphasised in blues and rock music (Bradley, 2000; Weber, 2000); it also features offbeat rhythms - rapid chords usually played by a guitar or piano between the main beats.

includes cover images, titles and contents pages, for example, which “surround” and are materially adjacent to the primary text (p. 1); they extend it, but have no meaning except in relation to that text. Epitext includes promotional material and newspaper reviews, for example, that are not necessarily materially attached to the primary text but circulate in relation to it. Paratext is a “threshold” and elements of peritext and epitext (Genette, 1997, p. 2) act as “thresholding devices” (Symes, 2004, p. 95) which convey information and can signal authorial intentions; they “present” the text and help to frame readers’ approaches to it (Genette, 1997, p.1). Genette suggests that the idea of paratextuality could be extended to musical recordings, where the text itself is the vinyl record or CD and the sleeve or other “containment devices” (Symes, 2004, p. 95) are the peritext and epitext.

Symes (2004) responds to Genette’s suggestion in employing the notion of paratext in the study of materials that surround classical long playing records (LPs), conceptualising record covers as important “textual extensions” of the records themselves (p. 122). Cover images and album titles are part of the narrative architecture that surrounds the text of records and function as “a phonographic form of impression management” (p. 121). Although beyond the primary text, they are nonetheless constituent of it and function as thresholding devices that provide a context for the text of the record and influence listeners’ predisposition towards the music (Symes, 2004).

My examination of the paratext of Herbs’ album cover in Chapter Eight is informed by David Machin’s (2010) analysis of the text and iconography (the images and symbols) of popular music album covers of bands such as Gravediggaz, Iron Maiden and The Clash. Machin builds on the semiotic theory and approaches of Roland Barthes (1977) and Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen (1996) in multimodal examinations of the ways in which record sleeves communicate identities and values, and signify particular discourses. Some of the visual language features discussed by Machin are relevant here. These include images and what these may document and denote, as well as the values and concepts they may connote (Barthes, 1977); that is their “meaning potential” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 8; Machin, 2010, p. 37). Such connotations are

historical and social in that they are dependent on the conventions, expectations and cultural values of the society in which an image appears and is interpreted (Bakhtin, 1986f; Barthes, 1977). Machin's analysis of images includes the role of poses in connoting meaning (identified by Barthes (1977) in his analysis of newspaper photographs). He discusses what might be suggested about a band by the poses of musicians in photographs, and by whether or not an artist's gaze is directed at the viewer. In addition he discusses the effects of varying degrees of "social distance" (p. 37) produced by the apparent proximity of figures created through close, medium or long photographic shots. I add to the features examined by Machin by considering in this case the meanings produced by the organisation of songs in the printed track lists and lyrics on Herb's album cover.

Machin (2010) also identifies the relevance of techniques that signify salience, of visual modality, and the semiotic resources of colour and typography. Salience is defined by Machin as the degree of importance elements have as carriers of meaning, which may be signified by the inclusion of culturally significant symbols, by foregrounding elements, and as Cal Swann (1991) also points out, through relative size. The modality of images refers broadly to the degree to which an image expresses certainty and is "real, more real or less than real" (Machin, 2010, p. 10). Most relevantly in terms of his exploration of the use of colour, Machin includes the associative values of colours and the use of particular colour palettes to denote identities. Finally, the way in which the name of a band is designed and written is an important signifier of the values and attitudes musicians identify with. In considering typography Machin includes the use of angular and curved fonts in the writing of band names, which has relevance here, and the use of different fonts to indicate a hierarchy of importance. My analysis of typography on Herbs' album cover is also informed by the theory and principles that underpin the work of Swann (1991). In *Language & Typography* Swann discusses the relationship between form, content and cultural context and explores culture-specific connotative qualities of typographic shapes. I have also drawn from the *Typographer's Glossary* (Playtype, 2015) in employing some of the terminology used by graphic designers.

Examining features of discourse

In addition to the detailed examination of recurring themes in the discursive content of the album outlined above, in Chapter Eight I examine what Alistair Pennycook (2010) refers to as “evident textual patternings” (p. 112) that also characterise the discourses of the album. In considering recurring textual practices across the song lyrics, the analysis focuses on compositional forms such as double voiced discourse (Bakhtin, 1984), the repeated use of juxtaposition in different forms, and internal dialogic relationships that generate and underscore meaning.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has provided details of the range of relationships and features analysed in the thesis, and the theories, concepts and previous studies I have drawn from in my approaches to this analysis. The chapter began by grounding my approaches to the examination of Herbs’ album in Bakhtin’s dialogic theory of language and discourse and its implications for analysis of discourse (identified by Maybin, 2001). I have argued that given this framework and the nature of this study which focuses on discourses of protest and resistance, there is a need to begin analysis of the songs with an examination of the historical, social and political context to which they refer. After an initial identification of key themes, approaches therefore include a review of this context as it is constructed in contemporaneous and subsequent texts. I have explained that analysis also includes information from semi-structured interviews with the song writers Toni Fonoti and Phil Toms and an examination of relationships and meanings produced by images and text on Herbs’ album cover. Building on the analysis of each of Herb’s six songs I identify recurring and interrelated themes and repeated textual features that characterise the discourses of the album.

Approaches include extending Bakhtin’s (1981) theory of appropriation of language to the appropriation of musical forms in considering the ways in which Herbs’ songwriters and musicians have appropriated and re-accented reggae. This involves examination of meanings produced by the dialogic encounter between reggae and Pacific musical influences. In a further area of dialogic relationships, I have explained the rationale for my use of the term intertextuality

to refer to discernible relations (references, incorporations) between Herbs' songs and specific other texts. Analysis also employs Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope as a basis for investigating representations of time and space in the narrative of Herbs' songs.

The chapter has explained that analysis also investigates a range of discourse features. These are choices made between forms of narrative discourse, in incorporating heteroglossia and polyglossia, and in features such as rhyme, rhythm, repetition and alliteration that serve to create internal dialogic relations in the lyrics, and contribute to meaning. I focus additionally on features such as tempo, sound intensity, and harmonisation.

Chapter Four has shown how the approaches to analysis of the album create connections between the predominant framework of Bakhtin's theories and concepts and the work of other theorists, authorities and researchers in a variety of fields. These include theory and studies related to reggae themes (Cattermole, 2004; Weber, 2000); Bakhtin's narrative theory in relation to novels (Lodge, 1990); the chronotope in films and novels (Ganser, Pühringer & Rheindorf, 2006; Lodge, 1990); features of paratext (Machin, 2010; Symes, 2004); the appropriation of musical form (Mitchell, 1996) and Eagleton's (2007) approach to the analysis of poetry. These works supplement Bakhtin's concepts and in the case of Eagleton's analysis, for example, facilitate the extension of Bakhtin's focus on the discourse of novels to this focus on popular song lyrics.

In summary, within the context established at a meta-level of analysis, further approaches described in this chapter investigate the dialogism and responsivity that shape Herbs' lyrics. Approaches to analysis move from the dialogic relationship between the album and the wider context to a focus on the meaning of specific content and form in relation to that context. I consider implications in terms of meaning in the appropriation of the reggae genre, as well choices made in the use of language and the relationships between these. Although the initial investigation of key themes in the lyrics and the examination of the social and political context necessarily precede other areas of analysis, I do not mean to suggest a staged or rigid hierarchy in the application of approaches. There are

changes in focus – sometimes swooping in on a “stray particular and sometimes pull[ing] back to pan the whole” (Eagleton, 2003, p. 93).

Finally, while this study is bounded by its focus on an album that comprises six songs and a record cover, such a level of delimitation is not unusual in the field of applied linguistics. As examples, Allan Bell’s (2011) extended analysis of Genesis 11 verses 1 to 9 centres on a short text of approximately 200 words, and Norman Fairclough’s *Language and Power* (1989) focuses on one case study text, a radio interview with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in 1985. As this chapter indicates, the analysis of Herbs’ album is detailed, and the thesis involves examination of other related contemporaneous and subsequent texts as well as interviews with participants and the album’s paratext, in addition to the songs themselves.

The next chapter begins by identifying broad themes in Herbs’ album. This is followed by an examination of accounts in the literature of major issues and events that caused conflict in New Zealand in the period leading up to the release of *What’s Be Happen?* The chapter provides more detailed accounts of issues that are particularly relevant to themes identified in the songs, including the importance of Bob Marley and his music for Pacific Islands and Māori people in New Zealand. It also outlines the history of the founding of Herbs, the release of the first album in 1981, and examines the band’s appropriation of reggae.

Chapter Five: Examining the social, political and cultural context

“The living utterance... [takes] meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 276)

Introduction

This chapter provides the social, political and cultural context for the analysis of Herbs’ *What’s Be Happen?* It identifies major issues that were the focus of conflict and debate in New Zealand in the 1970s and 1980s and that are addressed in the lyrics.

The discourses in the album are seen as constituting a social activity, which in line with Bakhtin’s (1981) emphasis on the significance of social and historical context is inseparable from broader social relations and circumstances. *What’s Be Happen?* was released in 1981 in a period described by James Belich as “a fulcrum of change in modern New Zealand history” (2001, p. 535); it was a time in which politics, dissent and protest were widespread and social concerns were fiercely debated (Minto, 2009; Waring, 2009). The issues and events so intensely contested in the 1970s shaped opinion and many New Zealanders’ sense of their own identity (Belich, 2001; Minto, 2009) in a period that would lead to unparalleled social change in New Zealand (King, 2003). Some of these can be identified in the broad themes of Herbs’ album. These include conflict and protest over Māori land losses represented on the album cover and in “One Brotherhood” (Toms, 1981); protest against racism in the form of South African apartheid in “Azania (Soon Come)” (France, 1981) and racially selected international rugby teams in “One Brotherhood”; domestic racism in government and police treatment of so-called Pacific Island over-stayers in “Whistling in the Dark” (Fonoti, 1981a), and the consequences for Pacific Islands people of the search for material well-being in New Zealand, in the title track “What’s Be Happen?” (Fonoti, 1981d).

Issues related to the rights of the indigenous people, to civil rights and to the destructive consequences of racism that led to widespread protest were not in essence different from those that were being contested elsewhere in the world.

Michael King (2003) has discussed the influence on New Zealand protest movements of the American civil rights and anti-war movements, which in turn influenced the development of the so-called counter-culture and women's movements. As Marylin Waring (2009) points out, the 1970s also saw the rise of the feminist movement in New Zealand, and significant campaigns in favour of homosexual law reform, abortion law reform and women's liberation. There were campaigns against sexual stereotyping and objectification of women (Waring, 2009) and the first university course in Women's Studies – "Women and Sociology" at the University of Waikato – was established in 1974 as part of the Social Science degree (Ritchie, 1994).

Such conflicts and campaigns can be viewed as struggles over human rights and issues of identity, as well as over associated ethical values and the kind of society people wanted Aotearoa New Zealand to be (Phillips, 2006; Phillips as cited in Hubbard, 2010). New Zealanders' experiences and responses to some of these issues and conflicts form the social and political context for the lyrics in the album, and are constituted in the lyrics themselves. The following sections therefore include an overview of salient major issues that caused protest and conflict in New Zealand, with more detailed accounts of those that are particularly relevant to the analysis of Herbs' album. The chapter also discusses the great significance of Bob Marley and reggae music to Māori and Pacific Islands people in particular, and their influences on the cultural context for Herbs' album. Finally, the chapter traces the development of Herbs that culminated in the release of *What's Be Happen?* in 1981 and examines the band's appropriation of roots reggae music.

Protest against social injustice in New Zealand

The history of protest over industrial disputes and social and environmental movements in post Second World War New Zealand can be traced in texts such as Ranginui Walker's *Ke Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End* (2004), Michael King's *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (2003), James Belich's *Paradise Reforged* (2001), and Keith Sinclair's *A History of New Zealand* (1988). This history includes protests against the Government's handling of the 1951 lock-out of waterside workers; a widespread environmental movement in

the late 1960s opposing the impacts of raising water levels in two lakes in New Zealand's South Island; and most relevantly here, protests against the injustice of historical Māori land losses and the exploitation of former Māori lands for the profit of property developers.

Māori land rights

Edward Said (1994) argues that issues over the ownership, settlement, as well as the present and intended use of land are the site of the main struggle in imperialism, which he defines as the theory, practices and attitudes of an overriding and dominant metropolitan centre. According to Said, the colonisation of distant lands takes place *because* of land. For native peoples therefore the history of colonialism begins with the loss of localities to outsiders, and one of the first undertakings of a culture of resistance is “to reclaim, rename, and reinhabit the land” in “the slow and often bitterly disputed recovery of geographical territory which is at the heart of decolonisation” (Said, 1994, p. 226 & pp. 209).

British settlers to New Zealand brought with them perceptions of land and an English legislative framework that were influenced by European beliefs and practices related to agriculture, in which land was regarded as property and a source of income (Andrews, 2009). They were also influenced by the ideas of nineteenth century economists who viewed land as capital that could generate a return, in contrast to the Māori tradition of treating land as a common and shared heritage (Andrews, 2009). According to Andrews, a three-layered relationship had emerged in England between (fewer and fewer) land owners, an increasing number of “incentivised” tenant farmers, and rural labourers who worked for wages, which was reinforced by the economic theories of John Locke in the late seventeenth century. Locke and others justified in biblical terms the enclosure [and private ownership] of previously common land, as well as the advantages taken of new economic opportunities in land that was regarded as ‘waste’ in the American colonies. The colonisers of New Zealand, some 150 years later, thus viewed land use and land rights as subject to a Waste Lands Doctrine, in which the cultivation and improvement of “waste” land was in accordance with “God’s law” (Andrews, 2009, p.65). After the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi between

the British Crown and Māori tribes in 1840 the New Zealand economy became a settler colony with an economy based on land, and the distribution of land became the key economic issue (Andrews, 2009).

The economic importance of land for European settlers is reinforced by details provided by Sir Douglas Graham, former Minister for Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations (in Morrison, 1999). He explains that Britain provided no money for the settler government's administration of the country, "so they bought land on the cheap from Māori and on-sold it at a profit". In spite of clear instructions from the British Crown that Māori lands that were needed by Māori should *not* be bought, 3000 acres of Auckland isthmus of Ngati Whatua Orakei was bought for £200 and within nine months 90 acres had been on-sold for £24,000 (Graham in Morrison, 1999). Furthermore, in line with Andrews' explanation of settlers' attitudes, the 700 acres that were retained for Māori as a papakainga (housing land on multiply-owned, sacred ancestral Māori ground) and protected by the Native Lands Act were regarded as wasted land by settlers (Graham in Morrison, 1999).

For some 100 years after 1840 there was a process of "relentless alienation and control" in the erosion of Māori land ownership by the government (Walker, 2004, p. 212). The major issue of Māori land and protests against land confiscation and losses over a period of many years came to the fore in the mid to late 1970. It related to a period of increasing political consciousness on the part of urban Māori (Walker, 2004), with a significant increase in Māori radicalism, activism, and cultural and political self-assertion (Belich, 2001). The consequences of colonisation itself and of the subsequent neglect of Māori interests by governments in the period of post colonisation had led to a significant loss of culture, language and land (Williams, 2007).

Limited changes that recognised Māori interests were introduced by the 1972 to 1975 Labour Government. Walker (2004) explains for example that pressure from Nga Tamatoa (The Young Warriors) protest movement in the 1970s led the Labour Government to introduce the teaching of Māori in primary and secondary schools in 1974, as well as a one-year native speaker teacher training scheme. Nga Tamatoa leaders' own inability to speak Māori made them, among many

others, feel cheated and culturally disadvantaged by the mono-cultural education system. The Government also extended Tamatoa's Māori Language Day to a Māori Language week. Furthermore, after submissions by the Māori Council, the Labour Government amended the Town and Country Planning Act in 1974, which now required consideration of matters of national significance and regional, district and maritime proposals to take account of the traditions and culture of the Māori people in their relationship to ancestral land (Walker, 2004). And in 1975 the Waitangi Tribunal was introduced. Named after the Treaty of Waitangi that was signed by Māori tribes (iwi) and the Crown in 1840, the tribunal had the role of hearing Māori land grievances, investigating claims submitted as breaches of the Treaty, and making recommendations to Parliament on their resolution (King, 2003; Walker, 2004). However, as Walker points out, the tribunal was severely limited in that it had restricted retrospective powers. These changes were not enough to satisfy Māori in relation to grievances over land rights and the unremitting erosion of Māori rights to the remaining 1.2 million hectares of their land by European New Zealanders' (Pākehā's) laws (Walker, 2004). Dissatisfaction with unresolved grievances against the Crown and a new tribunal with little substance, as well as extensive dialogue and increasing political consciousness among Māori, led to the formation of an influential Māori land rights movement, which in 1975 marched from the far north of New Zealand to Parliament in Wellington, led by Whina Cooper, the much-respected "dowager of the Māori world" (Walker, 2004, p.212).

The Māori Land March or hikoi with the slogan "Not one more acre of Māori land" was on the road for a month and half and stopped en route at 25 marae (Māori sacred meeting areas, usually situated in front of a communal meeting house or whare runanga). The hikoi politicised Māori people, particularly in terms of land losses in the struggle against colonisation and claims for the return of lost lands (Walker, 2004, p. 214 and as cited in Morrison, 1999), and drew the attention of Pākehā (European) New Zealanders and the New Zealand government to the issue. There followed protests in 1978 about the use of Māori land at Raglan (Whāingaroa) for a golf course, and a campaign for the return of that land to Māori ownership (King, 2003). Originally commandeered during the Second World War as a military airfield and then not needed for that, part of the

land was used in 1969 for a golf course (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012 c). The land at Raglan was eventually returned to the Tainui Awhiro people (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012 c). King (2003) records that these activities, along with the protest occupation for the return of Ngāti Whātua land at Bastion Point in Auckland and the use of force to end it, played an important part in highlighting long-standing injustices against Māori and in focusing media attention on these.

Bastion Point

The occupation at Bastion Point is critical for the analysis of *What's Be Happen?* Its contextual importance for the album is articulated unequivocally by the incorporation of a black and white aerial photograph of the final day of the Bastion Point protest on the front of the album cover. This section discusses in some detail the events at Bastion Point at Orakei, a prime and beautiful part of the city of Auckland on the east coast, overlooking the Hauraki Gulf and the island of Rangitoto. This is because the legal manoeuvres through which the Crown gained control of 280 hectares of Ngāti Whātua land, culminating in the occupation at Bastion Point and the force used to evict protestors, serves as an important microcosm of the Crown's dealings with Māori tribal land (Walker, 2004). The occupation was also significant in drawing national attention to historical and on-going injustices against Māori people (King, 2003), in changing conditions for Māori and modifying Māori-Pākehā understandings (Renee Hawke as cited in Morrison, 1999).

Before discussing the Bastion Point occupation, Walker (2004) explains the history and changes to legislation that had gradually eroded Māori land ownership over the previous century. These included the more recent Rating Act 1967, which allowed local authorities to lease or sell rural Māori land that was unoccupied as a result of Māori migration to urban areas. Because the land produced no income, people were unable to afford the accumulating rates, and after a notification period of six months in relation to overdue rates, land was sold to Pākehā farmers. Further legislation that helped prompt the resistive stand at Bastion Point included the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 – the “last land grab” by Pākehā (p. 207). This facilitated the compulsory purchase and sale

of Māori land by the Crown, and allowed for the re-designation of Māori land owned by fewer than four people, as European land. Earlier, in 1854, seven acres at Bastion Point had been gifted to the Crown by Ngāti Whātua on condition that these should be returned if not used for defence. This land had not been returned, and in 1885 a further 13 acres had been taken under the Public Works Act for a battery reserve in defence against a possible Russian attack (Tourell, 1977).

The events at Bastion Point, as a culmination of the “sordid tale of colonial oppression of the once proud owners of Tamaki Makaurā, the isthmus of a thousand lovers”²⁶ (Walker, 2004, p. 215), were finally triggered by a decision of the National Party Government led by Prime Minister Robert Muldoon. King (2003) explains that in 1976 the Government announced a Crown decision to subdivide and sell the 24 hectares of Māori land at Bastion Point to the highest corporate bidder, for high-income housing development²⁷. Muldoon considered that the development would “clean up the area nicely” (Tourell, 1977). As a matter of further interest, Bastion Point was in the Prime Minister’s Tamaki constituency (Joseph (Joe) Hawke cited in Morrison, 1999). The Orakei Māori Action Committee was formed to prevent the subdivision by organising direct action and occupation of the ancestral lands in January 1977 (see Orakei Māori Committee Action Group, 1978). Support for the occupation by a range of organisations strengthened the occupiers’ position and Māori activist Joe Hawke asked for the return of a total of 72 acres of land to Māori (Walker, 2004). The Crown responded by filing for an injunction from the Supreme Court for the

²⁶ After the Māori name Tamaki Makaurā, meaning land desired by many, or “of a thousand lovers” (Tourell, 1977).

²⁷ Walker (2004) explains that after the sale in 1840 of 1,200 acres of land for the construction of what is now Auckland city, and coming under pressure to sell more, Māori obtained a grant at the Native Land Court in 1869 to protect 280 acres at Orakei. A Court certificate of title named 13 people as trustees and established that “the land shall be absolutely inalienable” in order to protect and guarantee the rights of future generations of the Ngāti Whātua tribe (p. 216). The Orakei Native Reserve Act 1882 allowed for the leasing of Orakei land; in 1898 it was partitioned and thirteen trustees of communally owned land were declared “owners”. 15.6 acres (compared with the original 280) were now declared “an inalienable reserve”. In 1913 the Crown began to purchase Orakei on the recommendation of Cabinet. Māori resisted over this period with 16 court actions, six appearances before Commissions or Inquiries and 15 Parliamentary Petitions. By 1929 there remained only 1.2 hectares in Māori ownership; due to irregularities in conveyancing and absence of surveys by government agents, so that “ownership” could not be proven, Ngāti Whātua were eventually deemed to be “squatters on Crown land” (Walker, 2004, p. 217).

occupiers to vacate the land. Finally, on 25th May 1978, after seventeen months and in the largest ever police operation in Aotearoa New Zealand (King, 2003) the police and the army were used to eject the occupiers by force and destroy all traces of the occupation. Over two hundred protesters were arrested.

The significance of the Bastion Point protest and occupation for New Zealand's recent history is signalled not only by its place in histories of modern New Zealand, but also by a number of documentary films made about those events. The first of these, Television New Zealand's *Land of a Thousand Lovers* (Tourell, 1977), was produced and broadcast during the occupation. It shows the day-to-day activities of the occupants of the tent camp on the eightieth day of the protest, explains the background to the claims for the return of the land to the local Auckland iwi Ngāti Whātua, and includes the points of view of the protesters and of the tribal elders (kaumatua), who opposed the direct action. Three years later the much-respected Māori film-maker Merata Mita released her seminal documentary, *Bastion Point Day 507* (Mita, Narbey & Pohlmann, 1980), and director Bruce Morrison's later TV documentary *Bastion Point: the Untold Story* (1999) draws on Mita's footage as well as reflections of key protagonists in tracing the history of Māori settlement in Orakei. Morrison's film tells the story of Ngāti Whātua and the occupation of Bastion Point, which is described as shocking the country and changing New Zealand's race relations for ever. In introducing the documentary the commentary refers to the way in which this land, a former Māori fishing village, became Auckland's most expensive real estate as a matter of national shame: "it is time to hear the story; to listen and to understand".

The late Merata Mita's aim in film making was to "to see as a Māori sees [our changing society], to write visually as a Māori would write it" (as cited in Lusk, 2010). Mita presents the background to the Bastion Point protest from the Māori perspective, and the film's visual writing conveys events on the 507th day of the occupation. Relatively dry historical reports may account for the frustration and anger of Māori people over their loss of lands and of mana (influence, power, prestige) and the processes involved in these losses. But in revealing the great beauty of the high profile Bastion Point headland, in the heart of what had

become some of the most expensive and exclusively European residential real estate, *Bastion Point Day 507* implicitly explains the symbolic importance of *this* piece of land, and the reasons for the ending of Māori patience. Mita's film shows the moving dignity and sorrow of the Māori people on this final day of the tent camp occupation.

Merata Mita's gentle voice-over introduction traces the consequences of colonisation for New Zealand's Tangata Whenua [people of the land or indigenous people], under which "Māori land holdings shrank... [and] Māori land tenure and justice were ignored" (Mita, Narbey & Pohlmann, 1980). By 1940 Ngāti Whātua retained only three acres of land; their meeting house and village were burned down on Government instructions in 1951, and the people were re-settled on land previously taken from the iwi under the Public Works Act. Bastion Point had been ancestral land since the mid-eighteenth century. However, in 1976 the Government had released plans for this valuable piece of real estate that included an exclusive housing development. Ngāti Whātua pressed their claims for the land to be returned: "The Crown had guaranteed possession; the Crown had granted inalienable title; the Crown had taken it away. The Crown was asked to give it back" (Mita, Narbey & Pohlmann, 1980). To reinforce Ngāti Whātua's claim for the return of their land at Bastion Point Joe Hawke²⁸ and other protesters began an occupation of land in and around the Bastion Point marae with its centrally positioned meeting house. The occupation began on 5th January 1977 and sympathy began to build throughout NZ, including local support from the Auckland Trades Council.

The film shows trespass writs being served on leaders to leave and to remove "unlawful" buildings, as the court had ruled that the land was Crown land. The leaders respond to the writs by tearing them up and performing a haka [traditional Māori war dance or challenge involving chanting]. Mita explains that a rift developed between activists and tribal elders who favoured compromise,

²⁸ Joe Hawke of Ngāti Whātua had been radicalised by his involvement in the Māori land march in 1975. As a child he had witnessed the eviction of his people and the demolition and burning of their homes at Okahu Bay in 1951. He led the march across Auckland Harbour Bridge as it approached the city (Walker, 2004).

and that the leaders Joe Hawke and Roger Rameka left the occupation site under threat of arrest. The elders wanted a peaceful resolution and entered into negotiations with the Government involving an offer for the return of some land (a total of 11.6 hectares) in return for a payment of \$200,000 towards development costs. This offer from the Cabinet was rejected by Joe Hawke. The elders tried to persuade the protesters to end the occupation and leave, but the latter refused (Walker, 2004).

After attempts to achieve conciliation between the activists and tribal elders failed, protestors reaffirmed their decision to occupy the land. They were threatened with eviction by the government but reemphasised their commitment to peaceful and non-violent protest. The eviction threat provoked more sympathisers to join the occupation, and confrontation became inevitable. Finally, the last voiced comment from Mita narrates that on Day 507, May 25 1978, over 600 police and army personnel moved onto the land to evict the protesters. Thereafter the film shows, without added comment, the unfolding events of the eviction process. At the end of the film text captions explain that “222 people were arrested for trespass. The court was incapable of handling the defended cases. The Government dropped charges against the majority...”

All that remained at Bastion Point at the time the documentary was released in 1980 was the memorial to five year old Joanne Hawke, who died in a fire during the occupation. A final caption states that the Government’s plans for Bastion Point had not changed at that date. A conditional offer to return some 10 hectares of land required a payment to the Crown of \$200,000 by Ngāti Whātua and the dropping of all other claims by the tribe. This history and these events were a very significant part of the context for Herbs’ album, and for the increasingly politically-aware audience whose youth was dominated by events at Bastion Point (APRAAMCOS, 2012).

Protests against the New Zealand government’s overseas and domestic policies, and social injustices

Between the mid-1960s and 1981 there were three key areas of significant opposition to overseas and domestic government policy. The first of these related to the war in Vietnam. The second focused on the French government’s nuclear

bomb-tests in the Pacific. While neither of these is directly relevant to the detailed analysis of Herbs' album, they are important for understanding the context of protest and opposition to the abuse of human rights that frames the album.

There was extensive opposition to the decision by Keith Holyoake's National Party government in 1965 to send New Zealand combat troops to assist the corrupt non-Communist government of South Vietnam. Protests against engagement in what was perceived as an unjust and unjustified war took the form of demonstrations and 'teach-ins', involved a broad spectrum of opinion and people, and are described as the most significant and widespread public dissent against government foreign policy in New Zealand's history (Sinclair, 1988).

The overwhelming level of support for protest against French nuclear bomb-tests in the South Pacific united New Zealand rather than dividing opinion as other issues had done (Chapman, 2009). The first of the French government's atmospheric nuclear tests took place on Moruroa Atoll in French Polynesia in July 1966. In 1973 the New Zealand government itself, under Labour Prime Minister Norman Kirk, was involved in protest action against the nuclear testing, sending two frigates and a Cabinet Minister to the test area in official protest. In May 1973 New Zealand took a lawsuit against France to the International Court of Justice at The Hague ²⁹ to challenge the legality of the atmospheric tests. In response France undertook to end atmospheric testing in 1974, however, it began underground testing in 1975 at Moruroa and the nearby Fangataufa Atoll (Robie, 1986). French underground testing did not end finally until February, 1996.

The third area of conflict and concern is most relevant here; it divided New Zealand and centred on the racist apartheid regime in South Africa and domestic government policy on sporting contact with the regime. In 1972 Prime Minister Norman Kirk instructed the Rugby Union that a racially selected team from South Africa could not come to NZ, after advice from the police that public disorder was likely (Sinclair, 1988). In 1976 however, Muldoon's National

²⁹ See International Court of Justice "Nuclear Tests (New Zealand v. France)" www.icj-cij.org/docket/index.php?sum=317&code=nzf&p1=3&p2=3&case=59&k=6b&p3=5.

government had undertaken not to interfere in sport, and although the United Nations General Assembly had called on members to end sporting contacts with South Africa, the New Zealand rugby administration decided to send another All Blacks team on tour there. 25 African countries boycotted the 1976 Montreal Olympic Games in protest at New Zealand's continued sporting links with South Africa; New Zealand was widely viewed with contempt for its failure to comply with the UN sporting embargo (Sinclair, 1988).

In signing the 1977 Gleneagles Agreement every government in the Commonwealth had agreed to “vigorously combat the evil of apartheid... by taking every practical step to discourage contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organizations ... from South Africa” (Sinclair, 1988, p. 318). Despite the growing international campaign against what Nelson Mandela described as the ‘moral genocide’ of apartheid in South Africa (Nelson Mandela as cited in Carlin, 2008, p. 2), the New Zealand government failed to intervene when the Rugby Union invited the South African Springboks to tour New Zealand in 1981. This invitation fuelled huge protests and demonstrations against the matches, many of which are recorded in Merata Mita's documentary *Patu!* (1983). Mita's film documents the mobilisation of opposition around New Zealand to the rugby tour, and the demonstrations and protests that took place during the tour. The anti-tour coalitions involved rugby players and other sports people, trade unions, Māori organisations and women's groups such as the Māori Women's Welfare League, which had been campaigning against racist rugby tours since 1954, as well as students and major churches. Collectively they aimed to “stop the tour”.

Mita's commentary notes that the New Zealand Rugby Union's invitation to South Africa to undertake the tour was issued (ironically and provocatively) in 1980 on the anniversary of the death of South African black consciousness movement leader Stephen Bantu (Steve) Biko. The death of Steve Biko has been seen as symbolic of the sufferings of all black South Africans under apartheid (Woods, 1991). He was the hero of his community and of millions of Africans

who rejected apartheid (Woods, 1991). Banned³⁰ in 1973 and arrested in 1977 he died on 12 September that year in Pretoria as a result of head injuries during brutal treatment in police custody.

What's Be Happen? was released just before the beginning of the 1981 Springbok tour, with the first match held in Gisborne on 22 July. The tour resulted in the worst scenes of violence and disorder since the Anglo-Māori land wars in the 1860s (Sinclair, 1988) and the greatest civil violence since riots during the Depression in 1932 (Belich, 2001). John Carlin (2008), South Africa bureau chief for the London *Independent* from 1989 to 1995, is among those who have referred to the polarisation of the New Zealand population at that time, with the tour taking place in an environment of demonstrations, riot police, soldiers and barbed wire, and at the final game a plane flying low over the stadium dropping flour bombs (see also Rae, 2001; Reid & Gifford, 1981; Winder, 2003). A match in Hamilton was cancelled when protesters broke into the grounds; rugby fields were guarded by riot police with batons. These protests pitted New Zealanders against New Zealanders and in the view of Chief High Court Judge Joe Williams's (2007), illustrated the fragility of the fabric of civil society at that time.

Domestic social issues

Consequences of economic downturn for Pasifika people and urban Māori

Although New Zealand's involvement with the islands of the South Pacific stretches back to 1890, the people of the Islands did not move to New Zealand in significant numbers until after the Second World War (Belich, 2001). In spite of periods of economic downturn, New Zealand in the 1950s had maintained one of the highest average standards of living worldwide and was, for some, "a materialist's paradise" (Sinclair, 1988, p.29). In post-war New Zealand a more

³⁰ Under apartheid, banning orders restricted people to a particular district, required them to report to the police on a regular basis, and prohibited them from "associating with more than one person at any time (including family members), and... [from]visiting various public places and educational institutions. Additionally, nothing the banned person said or wrote could be quoted in the press or used for publication." People could not appeal against a banning order. (http://africanhistory.about.com/od/glossaryb/g/def_banned.htm).

overt type of materialism centred on the desire for more consumer goods and better homes. Given growing populations along with limited opportunities and resources in the Pacific Islands, it is not surprising that people from the Islands had similar material desires (King, 2003, p.412). With industrial development, full employment, and active encouragement by both the New Zealand government and businesses (Sinclair, 1988), the “slow, steady trickle” of Pacific Islands migrants to New Zealand since the Second World War became much greater in the 1960s (Boyd, 1993, p. 314). The number of New Zealand residents of Pacific Islands origin or descent grew from 2159 in 1945 to 65,694 in 1976 (Boyd, 1993). In the face of declining opportunities for work in agriculture in the Islands, migrants sought work, higher incomes and better living standards as well as educational and training opportunities (Boyd, 1993). The reality for many, however, was one of overcrowding and inadequate housing in urban areas once they reached New Zealand (Belich, 2001). In the Auckland suburb of Ponsonby for example, people from the Pacific Islands made their homes in low cost and low-rent villas that were draughty and dilapidated (Carlyon & Morrow, 2008).

Attitudes to Pacific Island immigration deteriorated in the mid-1970s, according to Belich (2001), with clear racist overtones. By the mid and late 1970s, New Zealand was undergoing the greatest economic difficulties since the 1930s (Sinclair, 1988). Sinclair explains that the materialist’s paradise was in trouble, with world oil prices quadrupling in 1973, high overseas borrowing and external public debt, and with inflation averaging 10% and reaching 18% in 1976. The new National government in 1975, led by Robert Muldoon, continued to borrow overseas; there was a vast domestic budget deficit and several devaluations of the dollar. Perhaps most significantly in terms of what was to follow, unemployment was increasing. A scapegoat for these difficulties was most obviously identifiable in the “overstayer affair” and dawn raids on the homes of Pacific Islands people between 1974 and 1976.

While people from the Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau were New Zealand citizens, an annual quota of 1500 Samoans were permitted entry as residents from 1962 and other Samoans required 6-month entry permits (Boyd, 1993). As Margaret Boyd explains, these permits were renewable by up to five years, after

which people might achieve residency status. Others, including people from Tonga, were restricted to three-month visitors' permits. In 1974 officials from the Immigration Department, with police support, raided the homes of Tongan people suspected of staying beyond the terms of their entry permits, in the early morning before they left for work (Boyd, 1993; Carlyon & Morrow, 2008). After further deterioration in the economy and increasing "white racism and Polynesian fear" during the 1975 election campaign, the newly-elected National government reduced immigration numbers and reintroduced the dawn raids (Boyd, 1993, p. 316), this time targeting the wider Pacific Islands population (Carlyon & Morrow, 2008; McFadden, 2015). In 1976 many more Tongan, Samoan and other so-called overstayers were rounded up in further rough dawn raids and deported, and in October that year in "Operation Immigration" there were hundreds of random police checks on Polynesian looking people on the streets of Auckland (Boyd, 1993). 600 people were questioned and 40 arrested because they could not produce residence documents (Carlyon & Morrow, 2008).

Organisations such as the Auckland Committee on Racism and Discrimination (ACORD), the Citizens' Association for Racial Equality (CARE) and the Polynesian Panthers, as well as people such as lawyer David Lange (later to become Prime Minister) provided a range of support for those targeted in the raids and in police checks (Carlyon & Morrow, 2008). This was part of their collective work to improve the welfare of the multicultural community of Auckland's Ponsonby and Freemans Bay, by for example organising community centres, information services and education programmes, legal aid leaflets translated into the community languages and telephone contacts for emergencies, as well as organising non-violent protests. In the face of economic and social hardships in these suburbs, and as a consequence of urbanisation, cultural dislocation, and "relative lack of educational, trade and professional qualifications" (King, 2003, p. 471), many local people were committed to creating a multicultural community of working class Māori and Pākehā, migrants from the Pacific Islands as well as "students, feminists, hippies, transients, artists and bohemians" that was tolerant and supportive and produced innovative strategies for addressing social problems (Carlyon & Morrow, 2008, p. 17).

For many, the treatment of people from the Pacific Islands in 1976 by Prime Minister Muldoon's government resonated with the police state in South Africa (Sinclair, 1988). Police action and attitudes - the chief of Auckland police proposed that "people who did not look like New Zealanders should carry passports" (Belich, 2001, p. 535) - led to high levels of racial tension. ACORD prepared a leaflet which asked:

What happened to the human rights New Zealanders once fought for? Police knocking on the door early in the morning and taking innocent people from their beds... is happening here. Doesn't it matter as long as it only happens to Polynesian citizens? This ... exemplifies the racism that is deeply entrenched in our institutions, and the gross injustices that stem from it. (ACORD, 1976, p. 2).

The goals of the pan-Pacific Polynesian Panther Party, established in the early 1970s, were to protect Pacific Islands people from the effects of racism and marginalisation and to provide a voice that would promote their interests and help to build a sense of identity among the first generation of Pacific peoples born in New Zealand (see McFadden, 2015; Papali'i, 2006; Salmon, 2010). People in the movement were incensed by the racism and unequal treatment inherent in the dawn raids: "They did that in South Africa to black people with the apartheid system, they did that in America to black people, they did that all over the world to coloured people. Now they were doing it to us." (musician and political activist Tigilau Ness, cited in McFadden, 2015, p. A24). Politically inspired by the US Black Panther movement³¹, the Party was co-founded by Will 'Ilohaia, who later became Herbs' manager.

³¹ The Black Panther Party for Self Defense was established in October 1966 to protect the interests of African-Americans and other oppressed minority groups. It sought "equality in education, housing, employment and civil rights" (see http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/black_panthers.htm, para. 3). Among other activities it ran social programs (Survival Programs) that provided services to support the needs of black and poor people (<http://www.blackpanther.org/legacynew.htm>).

The economic downturn also affected Māori people who had migrated from rural areas of New Zealand to urban centres and taken up industrial employment in large numbers in the post-war period (see for example King, 2003; Walker, 2004; Williams, 2007). Walker (2004) explains that a number of factors encouraged this gradual demographic shift: an upturn in the size of the Māori population after the beginning of the twentieth century, accompanied by a cultural revival; the bravery and achievements of the Māori Battalion during the Second World War; and the reputation of Māori as rugby players. In combination these gave Māori a new confidence to leave the poverty of rural life and exchange it for a new location in the capitalist culture and cash economy of the Pākehā social mainstream, with rents, rates, mortgages and hire purchase payments to meet (Walker, 2004).

Walker (2004) points out that before the Second World War, 90 per cent of Māori people lived in rural communities. The war however acted as a catalyst for people to seek to exchange rural deprivation and poverty for the urban environment where their labour could be sold for wages. Returning servicemen, including those who had served in the highly-respected Māori Battalion, had newly acquired skills and sought to put these to good use in the towns and cities. Young Māori men who were not eligible for military service had been required by the Manpower Act 1944 to contribute to the war effort by working in essential industries, while young Māori women worked as farm-girls or in factories. An urban relocation programme introduced by the Department of Māori Affairs in 1960 helped more Māori rural families to find employment and accommodation in urban centres. In Auckland the urban Māori population tended initially to be concentrated in run down and increasingly overcrowded inner city areas such as Ponsonby, Freemans Bay and Herne Bay where there was easier access to work opportunities (Walker, 2004).

The deterioration in the New Zealand economy from the mid-1970s therefore affected Māori particularly badly with a reduction in the number of the unskilled jobs young Māori had been encouraged to leave school early for, and high levels of unemployment (Belich, 2001). By 1981, for example, the overall unemployment rates were 14.1 percent for Māori, but 3.7 percent for New

Zealanders of European descent (Belich, 2001). Belich explains that the social impacts of the new economic situation on working class Māori included unemployment, poverty, a huge increase in rates of crime, distancing from kinship links and a new alienation from mainstream politics and economics. At the same time, however, there was a great increase in Māori radicalism, political activism and self assertion. Belich argues that this was partially the consequence of the sudden lowering of the aspirations and expectations that had been created by the earlier economic boom, and partly a new form of Māori “decolonisation” (p. 475). A new wave of Māori activists emerged at the end of the 1970s, a year after the occupation of Bastion Point, with a shared political ethos based on the struggle for liberation from racism, government oppression, sexism and capitalism (Walker, 2004).

The Haka Party Incident

An incident in 1979 involving activists from a group known as the Waitangi Action Committee and from other related groups had significant repercussions and led to an inquiry into race relations in New Zealand (Walker, 2004). It is useful to summarise this episode and the uproar that ensued as these have particular significance for analysis of Herbs’ song “One Brotherhood” (Toms, 1981) in Chapter Seven. As Walker (2004) explains, fourteen Māori activists raided Auckland University’s School of Engineering to stop students staging a mock haka (Māori war dance), which they had been parodying as part of their end-of-year capping day celebrations for some twenty years. Māori students had been trying to negotiate an end to this culturally offensive and racist performance for at least ten years, and in 1979 had the support of the Student Representative Council and officers of the Students’ Association. The “raiding party” confronted the engineering students while they were practising for the planned performance, a scuffle developed, the students’ grass skirts were forcibly removed and some suffered bruising and cuts. As Professor Walker notes, “[i]n less than five minutes of direct action, the gross insult of the haka party was stopped where years of negotiation had failed” (p. 222).

In outlining the outraged reaction of the (Pākehā) public and press that ensued Walker argues that the incident was perceived as a threat to the state’s control

and “the structurally assigned place of Maori subjection to Pakeha”, and that the press played the role of “whipp[ing] up Pakeha hysteria into a general condemnation of violence” (p. 222). The assumption that there was no other view of the incident than one of outraged Pākehā condemnation of the activists was undermined when it became known that prominent Māori leaders and the Auckland District Māori Council were supporting them. This was reinforced after the chairman of the Council argued that physical violence was no worse than the cultural violence of the engineering students’ haka. When it was eventually disclosed that the engineering students’ bodies had been painted with sexual caricatures as “tattoos”, applied with lipstick, the New Zealand Māori Council and Māori Women’s Welfare League also agreed to support the activists. In an expression of Māori solidarity the subsequent court hearing was attended by the presidents of both of these organisations along with the president of the Auckland District Māori Council and many other Māori supporters. Walker describes their presence as providing a social context for the hearing in which the mana of the judge was counterbalanced by the mana of Māori people and their significant organisations, transforming the court into an instantiation of the clash between Māori and Pākehā cultures. As a result of testimony by Māori elders and the judge’s understanding that this was a political case involving conflict between the two cultures, the activists were found guilty of assault but sentenced to periodic detention rather than imprisonment.

Walker (2004) describes this incident as exposing “the raw nerve of racism in New Zealand society, which for so long had been concealed by the ideology of Māori and Pakeha as one people living in harmony” (p. 225). It triggered an inquiry by the Race Relations Conciliator and the Human Rights Commission. Their first report *Racial Harmony in New Zealand* (Human Rights Commission, 1979) categorised submissions into those that promulgated the ideology of “one people” and according to Walker evidenced “entrenched attitudes of racial, social and cultural superiority” (p. 225), and those that argued for recognition of New Zealand as a bi-cultural and progressively more multicultural society. The report was widely quoted and debated in the press under headlines such as “Search for Harmony” (*New Zealand Herald*, 1980). A second, more extensive report with

recommendations to the Government expressed a sense of urgency reflected in its title, *Race Against Time*:

We are at a turning point in regard to harmonious race relations...the myth of New Zealand as a multicultural utopia is foundering on reality. Since Bastion Point, the Haka Party Incident and recent disturbances at Waitangi [the Treaty celebrations held at Waitangi on 6 February each year], there has been heightened awareness regarding racial conflict...
(Human Rights Commission, 1982, p. 12)

While the reports had no immediate impact in terms of change, Walker (2004) argues that the cumulative impact of Māori activism led eventually to “profound social changes” in the 1980s, which moved New Zealand into the postcolonial era (p. 225).

As the next section of this chapter explains, the 1970s also saw an increasing interest in reggae music among Māori musicians, audiences and activists in particular, which was reinforced by Bob Marley’s visit to New Zealand at the end of the decade. The significance of Bob Marley’s music for Māori and Pacific Island listeners, audiences and musicians since that time cannot be overestimated and is instantiated in Herbs’ appropriation of reggae in the songs on their EP.

Bob Marley and reggae in New Zealand

In April 1979 Bob Marley performed a concert at Western Springs in Auckland as part of the *Babylon by Bus* tour (Meschino, 2007; Mitchell, 1996). Marley’s dynamic and explosive performance (music critic Gordon Campbell cited in Kara, 2012), as well as his message music that spoke of equal rights, justice, resistance and liberation resonated particularly with Māori and Pasifika people in the audience (Meschino, 2005). This, along with earlier and continuing exposure to recordings of Marley’s music led to the development of a flourishing reggae scene, and an interest in Rastafari, particularly among Māori, and to the positioning of Herbs at the forefront of Pacific reggae (Dix, 2005; Reid, 2009). The growing popularity of Marley’s music in New Zealand in the late 1970s is not surprising given the concentration of contentious events and social issues at

that time, Māori experiences of colonisation, and the fact that Māori people were increasingly willing to “Get up, stand up: for [their] rights” (Marley & Tosh, 1973b). As Tony Fala (2008) writes, Bob Marley’s music might speak on behalf of the disinherited sufferer in the ghettos of Jamaica but it was seen as equally relevant to “rural poverty, hardship, racism, and righteous struggle in Aotearoa” (pp. 64-65).

The adoption of reggae music by New Zealand musicians can partly be understood in terms of its location within a framework of cultural resistance, because of its associations with cultural domination and suppression of the Jamaican sufferahs (Cooper, 1989), and its ability to engender and support alternatives to dominant moral and cultural values as part of the cultural sphere of the African diaspora (Lipsitz, 1994). Through its localisation reggae constructs local, social, economic and political histories and struggles as well as place-based identities and connections to the struggles of others (Alvarez, 2008). Reggae thus offers the possibility of local identities that draw on shared struggles and convergences that include struggles to secure control and re-gain use of ancestral lands. Fala’s (2008) study examines the influence of Marley’s reggae music in the specific context of Aotearoa, tracing this influence from the early 1970s on Māori, Pacific Islands people and particularly members of the Polynesian Panthers, as well as on Pākehā New Zealanders. The music helped to unlock “something inside of people”, partly because of the harmonious rhythms of Marley’s music: “[there is] something quite natural there - like the rhythm of the sea or the wind blowing against the trees” (Hugh Lynn of Te Aitangi-A-Mahaki who worked as a promoter, tour organiser and later managed Herbs, cited in Fala, 2008, p. 61). It is “soul healing, pick me-upping”, but is also seen as strategic, providing a form of “spiritual power” (musician, community worker and activist Miriama Rauhihi-Ness, cited in Fala, 2008, p. 106).

Through the oral testifying and histories in the korero (the speech) of the community workers, political activists and musicians he interviews, Fala examines the impact of Marley’s music on life and on political and spiritual beliefs, and the ways in which it helped to inform local concerns relating to identity, colonisation, and culture. He describes Marley’s music as “history,

spirituality, and political aesthetics” (p. 71) that travelled from Jamaica to Aotearoa, where two oral cultures whose communities had had to “do it hard” met without either one being silenced or absorbed (p. 72). According to Dilworth Karaka, a founding member of Herbs interviewed by Fala, Marley’s music was “an awakening...an uprising” and “spirit [and] confidence” (Fala, 2008, p. 90): “reggae... touched the soul of people, good people, hard working people, sharing people, gifted people, talented people, because they don’t think of themselves first, they think of others – and that’s what Bob Marley generated” (Karaka, in Fala, 2008, p. 102).

In investigating reggae as both a catalyst for political, spiritual and cultural change in the 1970s and 1980s and a cultural resource for people needing to make sense of their inner-city lives, Fala argues (like Alvarez, 2008) that Marley’s music acted as “the cultural means to articulate struggle” (p. 85) and as a literal and figurative accompaniment to protest and political activity. Marley and the music of Marley “became part of the fabric of the post-colonial Māori and Pacific Island experience of history and their search for identity” (p. 85). Protestors sang “Get Up, Stand Up” (Marley & Tosh, 1973b) during the Māori Land March in 1975; local reggae performers played Marley songs for demonstrators preparing to protest against the Springbok tour in 1981. And when “No Woman No Cry” (Ford, 1974) was sung at the Bastion Point occupation in Auckland in 1978, “Trenchtown” in the lines “Said I remember when we used to sit / In the government yard in Trenchtown” was replaced by “Bastion Point” (Fala, 2008).

In terms of record sales, Fala explains that between 1976 and 1999 Marley had 14 albums in New Zealand album charts. Four reached platinum sales (20,000 copies) and six sold at gold levels of sales (10,000 copies). The pattern of sales of single records, with singles unusually charting some time after the respective album releases on the basis of cumulative sales over a period of time, illustrates an increasing growth of interest in Bob Marley’s music by people discovering Marley through word of mouth or hearing other people’s records.

Kwame Dawes (2002) describes Bob Marley as the psalmist for the Rastafari religion. As a boy in Trenchtown Marley would have grown up hearing the

narratives and readings of Rastafari elders which challenged white interpretations of the Bible that ignored other historic narratives. As a young musician Marley met Joe Higgs, a Rasta who taught the Wailers much about harmony and also about Rastafari. According to Dawes, while Marley was initially unsettled by the powerful African energy in the new sounds of drumming, he recognised a “gentleness of spirit” (p. 27) and a consistency of belief in Rastafari. Dawes’ account explains that Marley was shaped as a songwriter by the conventional church and its moral teachings. It was a church which in Jamaica was influenced by African traditions and the need for black people to seek dignity in the face of oppression, but it was also influenced by a rural Jamaican culture steeped in an African tradition of mysticism and sensitivity to things spiritual. Dawes finds it understandable that Marley came to embrace the radical teachings of Rastafari and its spirituality (Dawes, 2002), which understood and gave voice to the pain and disquiet of young Jamaican men in particular. He argues that an understanding of “the spiritual subtext of Jamaican life” is necessary to appreciate that in his metaphorical treatment of political and economic forces Marley employs “a language rooted in spiritualism” (p. 27) in songs such as “Duppy Conqueror”³² (Marley, 1970b).

As Chapter Six explains, Herbs’ song “Dragons and Demons” (Fonoti, 1986c) resonates particularly with Rastafari spirituality and spiritual reflection. The song is also influenced in part by the impact of the Christian religion and its teachings on people from the Pacific Islands, just as Marley and his music were shaped by the church in Jamaica and the influence of African traditions. It is therefore important to note the significance of the church in the life of Pacific Island migrants and their families in New Zealand. According to Cluny Macpherson (2012), community life for people in the Pacific Islands and their sense of identity was built around the family, the village and the church, which were tightly integrated. In New Zealand a similar structure was created around existing church communities or new ones, and these took the role of “surrogate villages”

³² Duppy is a Jamaican Patois name for a ghost or evil spirit; the word and the folklore surrounding it stem from West Africa (see www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/duppy).

(Macpherson, 2012, p. 2). For many Pacific Island families these became the centre of social life, providing health and education services, as well as sport, music and social activities. The role of the pastor or minister was analogous to that of a village chief, as the most respected and powerful figure in the church community, with a high level of authority.

In Jamaica in the 1970s anti-colonial feelings and the political climate were permeated and shaped by Rastas' sense of racial pride, self-reliance and independence, and the sense that they could "take on the world" (Dawes, 2002, p.9). Rastafari and the ubiquitous sound of reggae defined many people's sense of self, and their language. It was this complex historical, cultural, spiritual and political context embodied in Marley's music and lyrics that met and spoke to the culture of Māori and Pacific youth in particular, and to traditions of music making in New Zealand.

Following Marley's Auckland concert, in fact "overnight", according to John Dix (2005, p. 260), Rastas were seen on the streets of Auckland. Over the following winter the Rastafari movement and reggae emerged elsewhere in New Zealand, particularly on the east coast. As for many Jamaicans, "part of [the] being of Pasifika-wide peoples is rooted in spirituality, in the connection to [their] lands, ocean and ancestors" (Fala, 2008, p. 209). Fala explains that Rastafari offered people answers in their search for a sense of purpose and meaning, and in their need to rediscover a community and a culture that provided mutual support, including philosophical and spiritual sustenance.

Some of the oral histories Fala records are accounts of "a process of dispersal and material and spiritual exile" (p. 116). They are stories of displacement of Pacific Islands people and of Māori from their rural roots culture, and of their resettlement in urban centres in order to find employment. For some, Marley was seen as a prophet with a spirit similar to that of the nineteenth century Māori prophet and spiritual leader Te Kooti³³. Herbs' song "Reggae's Doing Fine"

³³ Te Kooti of Ngāti Maru (a sub-tribe) of the Tūrangānui-a-Kiwa was a convert to Christianity and founded the Ringatū Christian church based on Old Testament teachings (see "Te Kooti

(Fonoti, 1981b) is a tribute to Marley, who died on May 11th 1981, a few weeks before the release of Herbs' album. Hundreds of Māori stayed at home to mourn his death (Dix, 2005), which was followed by a growth in the Rastafari movement in New Zealand (Fala, 2008). As Fala's study shows, the philosophical principles and spirituality of Rastafari and the music of Bob Marley continue today to be interwoven into the lives of the rural Ngati Porou Dread (Rastafari) community in Ruatoria. Furthermore Marley's "righteous songs" (Tigi Ness cited in Fala, 2008, p. 106) and reggae rhythms continue to be heard and to resonate in New Zealand culture; as Dilworth Karaka points out, most contemporary Pacific Islands and Māori music is reggae-orientated (Ryan, 2012).

Herbs

In 1975, "a loose knit collection of Ponsonby mates" in Auckland formed a group called Back Yard, which centred around three Pacific Islands musicians (Dix, 2005, p. 261). They were New Zealand born Samoan Toni Fonoti, who explains that as a percussionist he later became Herbs' (initially-reluctant) front vocalist (personal communication, October 5, 2012), Samoan-Cook Island drummer Fred Faleauto, and Tongan guitarist Spenser (Spenz) Fusimalohi. They played at back yard parties and social events around the suburb of Ponsonby and increasingly included reggae covers in their repertoire. The band's name was changed to Pacific Herbs and then simply to Herbs; Alan Perrott (2012) explains that the name is an acknowledgement of the musicians' herbal "'cloud of influence' rather than any enthusiasm for cooking" (Perrott, 2012, para. 16). Māori rhythm guitar player Dilworth Karaka joined in 1980, followed before the end of the year by Pākehā bassist Phil Toms.

In summarising the influence on him of key (recorded) musicians Toni Fonoti argues that the quality of Herbs' reggae music "comes from what you listen to", and in doing so he illustrates and corroborates Gracyk's (2001) view of recordings as rock musicians' primary texts. As Fonoti explains:

[in] New Zealand we couldn't get records, we couldn't buy magazines, so I imported everything...importing records and music magazines to see what music albums people were listening to... I was able to listen to the early blues...Janis Joplin...Bob Dylan...Jimmy Cliff... Marvin Gaye. (Fonoti, October 5, 2012).

Fonoti was in the audience at the Western Springs concert in 1979 and met Bob Marley in Auckland, but he was first introduced to Marley's records by his younger brother: "I listened [to Marley] and I was hooked, ever since". In listening to Marley's music and "really loving the message... whether it's spiritual or political", Fonoti realised that there was nothing like it in New Zealand (5 October, 2012). Phil Toms explains, however, that "young white hippies" like him were first introduced to Marley's reggae music by Eric Clapton, who covered and made famous Marley's song "I Shot the Sheriff" (Marley, 1974b) in the early 1970s (personal communication, November 21, 2013). Clapton's cover led Toms to Marley's album "Catch a Fire" (Marley & Tosh, 1973a) and then to further albums by Bob Marley and the Wailers.

According to Dilworth Karaka, Herbs' musicians were interested in the simplicity of the way reggae worked and in the ease by which "the two and four drop" reggae rhythm could be applied to cover songs (Karaka in Ryan, 2012). They began to play at other venues including "the ultimate Ponsonby gig" The Gluepot, and began to accumulate their own original compositions (Dix, 2005, p. 261). Herbs' identification with reggae music had struck a chord with audiences at a time when few people were playing it in New Zealand, and as they became increasingly popular, their gigs gradually extended from pubs to lunchtime college concerts and student orientation week concerts (Karaka in Ryan, 2012).

By the end of 1980 Herbs had "a dozen classy songs", had found their first manager, law student and co-founder of the Polynesian Panthers, Will 'Ilolahia, and had met Hugh Lynn, the owner of Mascot Studio; "[i]t was time to go vinyl" (Dix, 2005, p. 261). It was decided they should all write some songs for their first album (Phil Toms, personal communication, November 21, 2013). The lyrics of most of the band's early songs were written by Toni Fonoti, with important contributions by Phil Toms and Ross France. Fonoti's "strong lyrical touch... and

great way with words” (Dix, 2005, p. 261) combined with the support of the other musicians led to the emergence of “great little melodies and great little hook lines” from a process of trading ideas between the band members (Karaka in Ryan, 2012). After advice from members of the UK reggae band Black Slate, which toured Aotearoa with Herbs in 1981 (Dix, 2005), Toni Fonoti developed more confidence about taking on the role of lead vocalist and became committed to both the writing and performance of the lyrics, realising that “if you’re going to write the songs and sing them, you’d better mean it; you’d better get up there and forget about yourself” (Fonoti, personal communication, October 5, 2012). Hugh Lynn was generous in providing access to studio time for the band to rehearse songs, giving them the facility to record multiple demo tapes (Fonoti, October 5, 2012), and exposure to time in the recording studio helped the band to tighten up what they realised was fairly loose playing (Karaka in Ryan, 2012). The tracks for the mini-album were mixed live by sound engineer Phil Yule, and when the album was released in July 1981 on the ’Ilolahia-Mascot Warrior Records label the band sounded like “a very tight unit” (Fonoti, October 5, 2012).³⁴

John Dix (2005) recounts the album had no impact on the charts. Although a newspaper review at the time called it “an outstanding reggae album” that was instrumentally “magnificent” and the songs “so good” (Hogg, 1981, p. 25), it was only played by a few non-mainstream stations “down the line”, the album was not played by the major radio stations (Toms, November 21, 2013).

The band has been described recently as “a multicultural, sociopolitical powerhouse” that in 1981 denounced the apartheid system in South Africa as well as the New Zealand government’s treatment of Pacific Island “overstayers” and Māori land rights protesters (Moffatt, 2013, para. 2). Popular music critic

³⁴ While the focus in this thesis is on Herbs’ 1981 record album, it should be noted that In 1982 Herbs released a cassette album entitled *What’s Be Happen? Special Pacific Edition* (Herbs, 1982) to commemorate their Pacific Tour that year to Fiji and Tonga (see http://www.glenmoffatt.com/herbs_whats.htm). The cassette included the six tracks on the original EP, and three further songs that were recorded at Mascot Studios at the same time: “French Letter” (Fonoti, 1982); “Can’t and Shan’t” (Fonoti, 1982) and “Dub: French Letter” (Fonoti, 1982).

Graham Reid (2009) describes the six songs on *What's Be Happen?* as a watershed in the history of New Zealand popular music. It may have made little impact on the charts, but Herbs and the album itself had an important influence on other bands such as Dread Beat and Blood (Dix, 2005), as well as on the development of a distinctive Pacific Islands reggae sound. Reid (2009) places Herbs at the forefront of Pacific reggae, with the multi-ethnic mix of the five musicians representing “urban Polynesia” and bringing a variety of Pacific influences to bear on the music (para. 8).

Toni Fonoti explains that “times were changing” and reggae was a vehicle that expressed people’s concerns, raising consciousness and awareness of “who we are as a people and our rights as a people” (Fonoti in Goodman, 2010); rights that for Fonoti related particularly to indigenous land and the rights of Pacific Islands people in New Zealand, including the right not to be harassed by the police. For Phil Toms, the band was “part of a movement...everything was moving in the same direction and it all seemed to come together in 1981” (personal communication, November 21, 2013). Toni Fonoti’s account of factors that resulted in “the seed of thought that was the beginning of Herbs” (personal communication, October 5, 2012) can be seen through the lens of Bakhtin’s theories as highlighting the dialogic connection between affirmations of connections to ancestral roots (Cattermole, 2004) through the incorporation of Pacific Island musical traditions in Herbs’ music that are examined in the next section, notions of construction and enactment of identity (Tappen, 2005), and semantic and expressive intentions (Bakhtin, 1981). Fonoti explains that although he regarded Polynesian musicians as the “best of musicians” at the time, most were playing covers of other people’s songs rather than original music, and they were not making it into the music charts. Because of this and because there were tensions between people from different Pacific Island backgrounds, “...Māori weren’t getting on with the Samoans, Samoans weren’t getting on with the Tongans”, Fonoti’s vision was to bring the different ethnic groups together “under the umbrella of a music that would connect us together, which was reggae”. As Duncan Campbell explains, Herbs came to epitomise “the common purpose” of Māori and Pacific Islands peoples in a period when the

youth of these communities “were more intent on gang warfare” (cited in Mitchell, 1996, p. 51).

Herbs’ appropriation of reggae

Five of the songs on Herbs’ album are reggae songs, and the sixth (“Reggae’s Doing Fine”), although a ballad, is in part a homage to reggae. Meanings engendered in Herbs’ appropriation of the Jamaican roots reggae genre are therefore overarching and form part of the context for the analysis of the individual songs. For that reason this section examines the complexity of meaning suggested by the band’s appropriation and re-accentuation of reggae to create a localised, hybrid form, populated in Bakhtin’s (1981) terms with particular semantic and expressive intentions.

Bakhtin (1986c) argues that the intentions of language users are manifested primarily in their choice of a particular verbal genre. Choice of genre is thus “a strategic means” by which participants in dialogue are able to orient themselves in the relationship (White, 2009, p. 6). By extension, Herbs’ appropriation of reggae as a musical genre (see Bradley, 2000) for five of their songs is, in addition to an aesthetic choice, an orientation, a positioning (Hall, 1990) that relates to understandings of reggae referred to in Chapter Two. These include musicians’ perceptions of reggae as message music and a weapon against oppression and injustice (Weber, 2000). Further meanings relate to the cultural domain of the African diaspora as a source of oppositional practice and alternative values, to the “sedimented currents of opposition” in reggae’s past (Lipsitz, 1994, p. 103), reggae’s roots in Jamaica, and to global cultural connections created by reggae as a practice of resistance in the struggles against the effects of colonisation and economic globalisation, including the loss of land (Alvarez, 2008).

If Bakhtin’s concept of language appropriation is extended to music, Herbs’ music can be understood as illustrating the way in which appropriated language becomes someone’s own when populated with their “own intentions and [evaluative] accents” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 293). Herbs’ musician and song-writer Phil Toms echoes Gracyk’s (2001) conceptualisation of the localisation, re-contextualisation and re-inscription of popular music in his explanation of the

band's appropriation of reggae: "when you take your own cultural influences in your own place and you play reggae without being too rigid about how you play [it], then you basically have your own brand of reggae... Pacific reggae" (personal communication, November 21, 2013). While the band's music on the album incorporates the reggae beat (1, 2, 3, 4), with its rhythmic stress on the off-beat that is seen as the fundamental essence of the reggae musical genre (Weber, 2000), as well as the reggae guitar strum with an after-beat, Phil Toms describes it as less complex rhythmically than Jamaican reggae. According to Toms, apart from a cross-rhythm on the bass it is otherwise "a sort of Island beat, which is a much more straight forward rhythm". In the words of musician Charlie Tumuhai, it is "more of a rolling thing" (quoted in Cattermole, 2011, p. 54) when compared with the snappier, staccato style of Jamaican roots reggae. Phil Toms explains that although the music has the appearance and "flavour" of reggae it is influenced by the late Herbs' drummer Fred Faleauto who "played a Pacific rhythm onto a reggae tune" as well as by the Pacific influences in Spencer Fusimalohi's lead guitar playing. The result is a hybrid cultural form (Bakhtin, 1981) that is a consequence of the dialogic relationship in the mix of the music of Jamaican reggae and Pacific musical traditions involving a synthesis of Polynesian sounds, "the lighter guitar strum, the fine-patterned drumming, the choral harmonies - with a rocksteady back beat" (Eggleton, 2003, para. 5).

Pacific musical accents such as Polynesian guitar strumming style (see Cattermole, 2013) and segments of Rarotongan drumming on the title track have been identified in Herbs' music by Cattermole (2004). Harmonisation is also highlighted as an important Pacific influence in Herbs' songs by Phil Toms: "Polynesians are very strong on harmonies, so the *What's Be Happen?* album has very strong Pacific sounding harmonies and that really, you could say... was part of [Herbs'] blue print for Pacific reggae" (personal communication, November 21, 2013). It is worth noting the coincidence in the happy encounter between the parallel traditions of Pacific vocal harmonies that are evidenced in Herbs' songs and those of Jamaica, exemplified in reggae bands such as The Gladiators and Toots and the Maytals (O'Brien Chang & Chen, 2012). Jamaican harmony groups laid the foundations for multipart harmonisation in rocksteady (Shepherd

& Horn, 2014), from which reggae evolved (Bradley, 2001; Campbell & Brody, 2008).

By means of such incorporations Herbs' musicians construct and maintain their Pacific cultural identities and affirm their connections with their ancestral island homelands (Cattermole, 2004). They localise and situate their music in the Pacific and in Aotearoa New Zealand (Cattermole, 2011; Kean & Mitchell, 2011; Mitchell, 2009), and in Bakhtin's terms (1981) can be seen as adapting roots reggae to their particular expressive and semantic intentions, making it their own.

Through the lens of dialogism, meanings can be identified in the analysis of Herbs' songs that are produced in relationships between reggae's roots, its associations and rhetorical overtones as a practice of resistance, and the themes, techniques and referents of the Herbs musicians who appropriated it. Meanings associated with colonisation of New Zealand and its ongoing effects are inflected by their dialogic relationship with the struggles of the "sufferahs" of Jamaica (Bradley, 2000, p. 15) and their African cultural traditions. They are inflected too by Rastafari spirituality, with its emphasis on a democracy and freedom that are resistant to constraining and oppressive norms (Chivallon, 2002) and its dedication to self-esteem and racial pride (Bradley, 2000). These relationships are constituent of the construction of meaning in each of the songs on Herbs' album.

Chapter conclusion

In examining the social and historical context for Herbs' album as it is discursively constituted in relevant texts, this chapter responds to the implications of Bakhtin's (1986f) notion of contextual meaning. It reflects Bakhtin's (1986f) emphasis on the need for interpretations of meaning to be grounded in the dialogic relationships of texts to their contexts of understanding. It also instantiates the type of contextual research proposed by Threadgold (in Kamler, 1997) and illustrated by Collins (2000), which is not based on superficial assumptions, but has involved a process that aims to genuinely research the context.

In doing so, the chapter has explained significant social and political issues, events and influences that created the context for the album *What's Be Happen?* It has described protests and contests over political issues and values in the 1970s and early 1980s that are regarded as important influences on the shaping of opinion and sense of identity of many New Zealanders. I have elaborated particularly on those that are referenced in the broad themes I have identified in Herbs' songs. These include Māori land rights and the struggle over land at Bastion Point, protests against the racist oppression of apartheid in South Africa, and the racist treatment of people from the Pacific Islands living in New Zealand. The chapter has also discussed the influence in New Zealand of Bob Marley's records, of his concert at Western Springs, and of reggae and Rastafari's sense of spirituality and racial pride, which as Dilworth Karaka has explained, touched the soul of Māori and Pacific Islands people in particular (Fala, 2008). The final sections have drawn on the testimony of Herbs' musicians as well as the literature to trace the development of Herbs and the influences and processes that led to Herbs' appropriation of reggae and the release of the band's first album.

The chapter has described Herbs' appropriation of reggae as a positioning, an evaluative orientation in relation to understandings of the global role of reggae as a practice of resistance in the struggle against oppression and injustice (Lipsitz, 1994; Weber, 2000). It is a positioning in relation to reggae's roots among the sufferahs of Jamaica and the cultural influences of the African diaspora (Lipsitz, 1994). I have argued that Herbs' interweaving of musical influences such as Pacific drumming rhythms and Pacific-style vocal harmonies in their localisation of reggae produces an innovative form that generates a sense of Pacific cultural identity and constructs connections in the local struggles against the effects of postcolonial marginalisation on migrants to New Zealand's urban centres.

This examination of the context constructs a foundation for the analysis in the chapters that follow. The next chapter builds on this foundation in examining four songs in which themes relate to day to day experience and issues of cultural identity.

Chapter Six: Experience and identity

“Dialogic relations... are an almost universal phenomenon, permeating all human speech, and all relationships and manifestations of human life – in general, everything that has meaning and significance.” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 40)

Introduction

This chapter examines four of Herbs’ songs from the album that address issues of day to day experience and cultural identity. I examine these in the order they are heard on the album, and I explore the track order in more detail in Chapter Eight. Firstly, “What’s Be Happen?” (Fonoti, 1981d) constructs a description and rhetorical critique of the way of life of urban migrants and their families from the Pacific Islands. “Dragons and Demons” (Fonoti, 1981c) is influenced by Rastafari spirituality and biblical teachings in its reflection on each individual’s ethical struggle between right and wrong. Thirdly, “Whistling in the Dark” (Fonoti, 1981a) narrates experiences of young Pacific Islands and Māori people in encounters with police in Auckland in the late 1970s. Lastly, “Reggae’s Doing Fine” (Fonoti, 1981b), which was written shortly after the death of Bob Marley marks the great significance of Marley and his music for Māori and Pacific Islands people in particular.

Analysis is contextualised by the examination of the historical, social and political context presented in Chapter Five and draws also on my interviews with Herbs’ song writers. While framed by Bakhtin’s concept of dialogism it employs particular aspects of Bakhtin’s theories of discourse discussed in Chapters Three and Four, and builds on the literature on popular music and meaning examined in Chapter Two. Bakhtin’s (1981) concept of identity formation (ideological becoming) informs the analysis of “Dragons and Demons” and dialogic relations in the form of perceived references to other texts (Bakhtin, 1981; 1986c) are particularly relevant to the discussion of “Reggae’s Doing Fine”. In addition, Bakhtin’s notions of self (1993) and of internally persuasive discourse (1981) are pertinent to the analysis of “Dragons and Demons”.

As Chapter Four has indicated, analysis of these songs involves the extension of particular categories of dialogic relations identified by Bakhtin (1984) in the

narrative discourse of novelistic prose to popular song lyrics. Relevant categories are employed in considerations of “compositional-stylistic unities” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 262) and their implications for meaning in the narratives of Herbs’ songs. For example, the lyrics of “What’s Be Happen?” are narrated in the form of a one-sided conversation (“hidden dialogue”) (see Bakhtin, 1984, p. 199), and those of “Whistling in the Dark” take the form of a first-person narrative (unmediated authorial discourse) that incorporates the reported utterances of police officers (in a form of double-voiced discourse). In addition, the concepts of heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1981) and polyglossia (Bakhtin, 1981c) are relevant to considerations of meaning and authorial intentions (Bakhtin, 1981) associated with language choices in “What’s Be Happen?” and “Reggae’s Doing Fine”.

The analysis of each of these songs also illustrates the relevance of Bakhtin’s (1981) insistence on the importance of the dialogic relationship between discursive content and stylistic form as “equally powerful generators of meaning” (Morson & Emerson, 1990, p. 72). Bakhtin (1981) describes each element of style and of semantic content as figuring in the style of the creative whole (of the novel), contributing to the accent of the whole and to the process by which “the meaning of the whole is structured and revealed” (p. 262). Bakhtin’s (1981) theorisation suggests that analysis of these songs should involve examination of compositional and performative form (features of performance) as well as linguistic and compositional style and semantic elements, in other words “formal” and “ideological” components (p. 259) and the dialogic connections between them. The following analysis therefore examines salient aspects of discursive form in the lyrics and their relationship to referential content in individual songs. The focus on form is extended to encompass features of performance such as tempo, intensity and the effects produced by contrasts between single and multiple vocalists, where these seem significant for meaning.

As I have explained in Chapter Three, in extending and supplementing Bakhtin’s approach to discourse in the novel to relationships between form and content in popular song lyrics, I draw on Eagleton’s (2007) detailed examination of poetic form. This is valuable in informing considerations of features such as repetition,

phonic connections in internal and end-rhymes, patterns of assonance (repetition of similar vowel sounds) and alliteration in Herbs' lyrics.

In addition, Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope is employed to explore relationships between time and space constructed in the lyrical content and form of each song. Bakhtin (1981b) conceptualised the chronotope as the main means by which time and space is materialised in literary works and through which the "artistic unity in relationship to actual reality" is defined (p. 243). It provides a framework for examining narrative structure and choices made by authors in relation to space and time (Bakhtin, 1981b). As Holquist (1990) points out it is also valuable as an approach to examining the relationship between an utterance and its historical and social context.

What's Be Happen?

The title "What's Be Happen?" is a slang expression used in hip (cool) Pacific Islands circles in New Zealand at the time the song was written (Phil Toms, personal communication, November 21, 2013). The song is "about the times and about what was happening" to migrants from the Pacific Islands in New Zealand (Fonoti, 2010). It expresses loss of homeland and island roots, and the miserable realities experienced by many from the Pacific Islands as a consequence of their migration to NZ in order to achieve greater material well-being for their families. While other Herbs' songs are sung in English, the language of "What's Be Happen?" includes Samoan, Tongan and Māori.

Sonic form

The instrumental introduction to the song establishes a relaxed, slow-tempo Pacific sounding melody in a minor key over a reggae beat, which is joined by the harmonised voices of Herbs' musicians. The song begins with a fragment of reversed recording³⁵ of log drumming by the Rarotonganui Cultural Club and is framed again at the end by the sounds of Cook Island percussion. The music, log percussion and vocal harmonisation evoke Pacific Island homes left behind. However, in its relationship to lyrical content, the effect of the initial reversal of

³⁵ As explained by Toni Fonoti (personal communication October 5, 2012).

sound in rupturing familiar Pacific percussion rhythms can be understood as signalling and symbolising the conflict between (idealised) island origins and the unhappy day-to-day experiences of Pacific Islands people in New Zealand narrated in the lyrics. This clash is further embodied in the contrast between the relaxed tempo of the musical form and the lyrical content; while the choice of minor key evokes a sense of sorrow.

Hidden dialogue

The lyrics take the form of a one-sided conversation, which, through the lens of Bakhtin's (1984) sub-category of "hidden dialogue" in double-voiced narrative discourse, is shaped by the imagined, "reflected discourse of another", an invisible addressee (p. 199). Bakhtin's category implies that the discourse can be understood as determined by the experiences, understandings, beliefs and social context not only of the song writer-narrator but also of that other. As Bakhtin (1984) explains, double-voiced discourse is directed not only towards its referential object but also towards "someone else's speech" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 185). It thus incorporates a dialogic relationship to the discourse of another or others (Bakhtin, 1984) and produces meanings engendered by that relationship.

The lyrics respond to and probe the imagined discourse of another and in doing so narrate perceived contradictions between the aspirations of Pacific Islands people and Māori for a better material life (King, 2003), and realities of life in urban New Zealand (Belich, 2001; Walker, 2004) that are referred to in Chapter Two. As Figure 1 shows, the discourse of the first and third lines in each verse appears to echo the assertions of another: "[you] say you're alright brada..." because "you've just bought a house...you got hire purchase (verse one)... once you catch a boat [to New Zealand]... [and because having] a car is handy" (verse two). The second and fourth lines, however, respond with a multi-voiced, alternative perspective, that while there is "no need to pay" with a mortgage and hire purchase, the cost of having to "slave and slave" is high so that there is little time to spend at home ("Come in at eve and in the morning you leave"), smoking "big heaps" and not bothering to sleep, while the island home becomes "weak and abandoned, abandoned and forsaken". With the use of repetition and parallelism ("Say you're alright brada...") the narrative construction alternates

between the echoed statements of the invisible addressee and the responses of the narrators, mirroring the turn-taking between speakers in a dialogue.

(Verse One) <i>Say you're alright brada, cause you've just bought a house</i> <i>Come in to it at eve and in the morning you leave</i> <i>Say you're alright brada, cause you got hire purchase</i> <i>No need to pay just slave and slave and slave</i>	(Verse two) <i>Say you're alright brada once you catch a boat</i> <i>And smoke big heaps no worry no worry about sleep</i> <i>Say you're alright brada cause a car is handy</i> <i>While your island grows weak and abandoned, abandoned and forsaken, yeah</i>
(Chorus) <i>What's be happen, when the children turn away</i> <i>And why for you stay when nothing remains</i> <i>And why for you laugh when I long for home</i> <i>Sing that song, (Talofalava) that Samoan song</i> <i>Sing that song, (Malolelei Kainga) that Tongan song</i> <i>Sing that song, (Kia ora) that Māori song</i>	(Chorus) <i>Tau mai ia au poo leā le mea e tupu peā o ese tamaiti</i> <i>Olea le mea ete nofo ai peāfai va leai semea o totoe</i> <i>Olea le mea ete ai pea ou mafau – fāu i lo aiga</i> <i>Usu lau pese (fa soifua) Usu lau pese Samoa</i> <i>Usu lau pese (Ofa atu Kia moutolu Katoa) Usu lau pese Tonga</i> <i>Usu lau pese (Ko haere ra) Usu lau pese Maori</i> <i>Do do, do do...</i>

Figure 1: Lyrics of “What’s Be Happen?” (Fonoti, 1981d). Non-italic text signifies a sole vocalist; italics signify multiple voices

The chorus (sung once in English and once in Samoan) points to longer-term and fundamental consequences of the way of life portrayed in the verses, with a series of three rhetorical questions. These ask poignantly what is happening when the “children turn away”; what the point is of staying when these relationships and connections are lost and “nothing remains”, and “why for you laugh when I long for home?” It ends with repeated appeals by multiple voices to “Sing that song, that Samoan song... /... that Tongan song... / ... that Māori song”.

Polyglossia and identity

The first version of the chorus incorporates interjected greetings in Samoan, Tongan and te reo Māori, while in the second version, sung in Samoan, the interjections are words of farewell in these languages. Cattermole (2011) explains the use of these languages as strengthening Herbs’ “kaupapa [philosophy] of Pacific unity” (p. 53) and as reinforcing the construction and expression of Pacific identity in the song. Their incorporation in the song can be interpreted as a form of sonic activism, a call to assert and maintain cultural traditions in the use of languages that are inseparable from the values and traditions of historical island homes (Johnson, 2012). From a Bakhtinian perspective they also illustrate the polyglossia or interaction *between* different languages (Bakhtin, 1981c) spoken by communities in New Zealand. While it

could be understood as an implicit challenge to the monoglossic “tyranny” (Bakhtin, 1981c, p. 61) of the English language in New Zealand culture, as resistance to predominantly Pākehā-orientated cultural institutions (Cattermole, 2004), and an assertion of Pacific identity, it also illustrates Alistair Pennycook’s (2010) point that for many language users such “plurilanguaging” is an everyday language practice that emerges from social interaction. In the context of “What’s Be happen”, the use of these languages highlights everyday social connections between Pacific Islands peoples that relate to place as well as shared struggles in postcolonial Auckland.

Stylised skaz

Equally relevant to a discussion of meanings associated with language choices in the lyrics of the song “What’s Be Happen?” is the use of a particular form of oral speech associated with Pacific Islands youth in the period (Toms, personal communication, November 21, 2013), that is marked by expressions such as “what’s be happen?”, “brada” (brother) and “big heaps”. As an exemplification of “stylized *skaz*” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 187), in the sub-category of double-voiced discourse style, it represents a choice of narrative form from among the heteroglossia, the different voices or “‘social languages’ within a national language” (Bakhtin, p. 275), in this case of English spoken in New Zealand. As Bakhtin explains, in choosing to incorporate a particular socio-ideological language the author represents a “specific [point] of view on the world”, characterized by its own values and meanings (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 291). In this case the choice made can be seen as identification with the values of the social community that shares this language and as locating the narrator and the addressee on an equal footing in this hidden dialogue. Given Fonoti’s aims cited earlier with regard to “get[ting] an identity” for Pacific Islands people through the medium of Herbs’ songs, the language choices in this song can also be seen as a performance or enactment of identity (see Tappan, 2005).

However, the interview with Fonoti suggests further complexities of meaning that relate to the song-writer’s own apperceptive background (Bakhtin, 1981) as a first-generation Samoan New Zealander, who understood what it felt like to be marginalised as a Pacific Islander (personal communication, October 5, 2012). In

speaking about writing the lyrics of Herbs' hit song "French Letter"³⁶ (Fonoti, 1982), Fonoti explains that he was faced with a paradox because he had "never been to the Islands, how can I write about the Islands?" This meant that he had to imagine "what it would be like... this beautiful, idyllic Polynesian sunshine... the sound of the ocean...", and led to the appeal to imagination in the first line of that song: "Can you see yourself, under a coconut tree...". Fonoti describes himself as "an advocate and a huge supporter of the Samoan culture" (Fonoti, 2010) but as "a Samoan by birth, but not being a Samoan when [he] met other Samoans, [he felt] out of place with them". Fonoti's account suggests the sense of dislocation of identity that is experienced by migrants and their families (Bhatia, 2008). Herbs' song "What's Be Happen?" instantiates reggae's imagining of ancestral homelands as utopias in response to the dystopia of cultural and economic marginalisation of its consumers in New Zealand (see Cattermole, 2004). Fonoti's account also suggests that the questions raised in the one-sided conversation of the lyrics are a reflection of his own "striving to understand" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 282). As a New Zealand born Samoan who did not speak Samoan, and had never visited Samoa, the lyrics imply a genuine need for answers in order perhaps to help develop his own sense of identity and inform his own "becoming" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 341).

Time, space and the chronotope

Bakhtin (1981b) points out that any single literary work may be dominated by a chronotope, such as biographical time or "the road", but might also include a number of other chronotopes which interact in complex ways. Through the lens of the chronotope, the references to "that Samoan... that Tongan... [and] that Māori song" and to "your island" in the lyrics of "What's Be Happen?" ground the narrative in the physical and cultural space of the South Pacific. A more specific chronotope is produced by the use of a stylised form of oral speech that locates the implied interlocutors in a cultural space shared by urban Pacific Islands youth in Auckland in the early 1980s. The narrative also constructs a lived space that is dominated by work ("just slave and slave and slave") to pay

³⁶ Fonoti explains that this song is a protest against French nuclear tests in the Pacific and their effects on the Islands. Although "French Letter" was written at the same time as the songs included on the album, it was released a year later as a single.

for a house, a car and hire purchase and suggests the erosion of family ties, and loss (“when the children turn away... and nothing remains”). And this lived space is juxtaposed with a place that is “home”, an island that “grows weak and abandoned”.

My analysis has suggested a single invisible addressee in the implied dialogue of the song; however, a closer examination of time-space relationships suggests that the song is addressed to more than one implied interlocutor, who stand for many. This is largely due to the fact that what would be regarded as a normal chronology of actions for migrants to New Zealand who arrive by sea is reversed by the organisation of ideas in Verse One (“you’ve just bought a house”) and Verse Two “once you catch a boat” [from your island home]”. This analysis of the “deformation” of the usual lived (“real life”) sequence of events (see Holquist, 1990) is reinforced by the use of the gnomic present tense, which suggests that what is described is an ongoing lived experience shared by others in the past, and in the present and will be repeated for others in the future.

Reggae rhythms and double voiced discourse in social commentary

The analysis of “What’s Be Happen?” reveals an aggregation of features and relationships in content and in form that add to the complex of meanings associated with Herbs’ appropriation and localisation of reggae. Bakhtin’s theory of double-voiced discourse in the forms of hidden discourse and *skaz*, and his concepts of heteroglossia and polyglossia in particular are valuable in examining the choices of language use. They stimulate exploration of the dialogic relationships such choices embody and of the song writer’s intentions in employing them. Bakhtin’s notion of the chronotope prompts exploration of representations of time and spaces in the lyrics. The conflicting dialogic relationships between Fonoti’s idealised imagining of the yet-to-be-visited “idyllic” islands, his perceptions of the aspirations and experiences of Pacific Islands people in Auckland, and his own experience of marginalisation are constructed and reinforced in the contrast between the “loose, and happy” reggae rhythms (musician Roger Fowler cited in Fala, 2008, p. 75), Pacific overtones generated by the musical form, and lyrical content.

Dragons and Demons

The music of “Dragons and Demons” has a slow-tempo reggae beat with staccato guitar strumming that sounds a pronounced after-beat, in what Fonoti describes as “a very sharp rhythm, one drop on the guitar” (personal communication, October 5, 2012). An instrumental break after the second chorus is marked by a rock styled guitar solo from Spencer Fusimalohi. The lyrics of this song take the form of a first-person narrative (“Let me tell you a tale...”) exemplifying Bakhtin’s (1984) category of direct, unmediated authorial discourse. The discourse consists predominantly of a series of single-voiced assertions addressed to an unnamed, universal “you” and centres on the idea of demons and dragons that the chorus affirms are “in your head”.

Direct unmediated discourse

The first verse (see Figure 2) implies a positioning of the narrative of dragons and demons as a story (“Let me tell you a tale”) told by organised religion (Bollinger, 2012) to maintain authority and control: “to keep you on earth” through dread of “what’s up on ahead”. Its success, the fact that this story “never fails”, the narrative suggests, is based on its effectiveness in making you dread a future in hell. In terms of metre and end-rhymes, two of the features of poetry discussed by Eagleton (2007), the relatively regular metre and the end-rhymes in the rhyming couplets of this verse (“tale” / “fails”; “dread” / “ahead”; “church” / “earth” and “law” / “all”) add to the meaning by suggesting the performance of a much repeated and often heard story. This is reinforced by the contrast with the irregular metre of the next verse, where end rhymes are restricted to the last four lines (“out” / “house”; “far” / “are”).

(Verse One) Let me tell you a tale
That never never fails
To make you dread
What’s up on ahead
It’s told by the church
To keep you on earth
And written in law
Say forbidden for all

(Verse Two) We’re here on this earth to learn how to grow
Not Dragons or Demons
Not words but deeds
Cast them out,
In order put your house
Never get far

(Verse Three) Everyone’s got a secret, they will never tell
Everyone’s got a something, they will never sell
That secret that something is your heaven and hell
Your dragons and demons, make you saint or heathen

(Chorus) *Dragons and Demons (oh yeah) are in your head*
Nothing to fear except what’s in here
Dragons and Demons (oh no) are living within
Dragons and Demons, if you’re thinkin’ sin

(repeat Verse Three) Everyone’s got a secret, they never will tell (oh yeah)
Everyone’s got a something, they never will sell
That secret that something is your heaven and hell
Your dragons and demons, make you saint or heathen

If you stay where you are

(Chorus) *Dragons and Demons (oh yeah) are in your head*

Nothing to fear except what's in here

Dragons and Demons (oh no) are living within

Dragons and Demons if you're thinkin' sin

(Chorus) *Dragons and Demons (oh yeah) are in your head*

Nothing to fear except what's in here

Dragons and Demons (oh no) are living within

Dragons and Demons if you're thinkin' sin

(repeat)

Figure 2: Lyrics of “Dragons and Demons” (Fonoti, 1981c). Non-italic text signifies a sole vocalist (Toni Fonoti); italics signify multiple voices.

The second verse has the sense of a rebuttal to the tale told in the first, employing double-voiced discourse in the form of biblical language and intertextual references to the Bible to refute traditional teachings of the church. In doing so the song can be understood as a response and an implicit challenge to the authority of churches and their ministers in Pacific Island communities, referred to in Chapter Five (see Macpherson, 2012). The lyrics argue that “We’re here on earth / To learn how to grow / Not Dragons or Demons”. They enjoin the listener in biblical terms to “cast... out”³⁷ those dragons and demons, to “in order put your house”³⁸ and assert in similar language the significance not of words “but deeds”³⁹ and the need for personal growth (“Never get far / If you stay where you are”). The words of the chorus assert that “if you’re thinking [about] sin” there is “nothing to fear” as dragons and demons “are living within”. While the verse that follows the chorus implies that the dragons and demons of each of us are our secret, our “heaven and hell” that make us “saint or heathen”.

³⁷ See *Revelations* Chapter 20 verses 2-3: “And [an angel] laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit...that he should deceive the nations no more... (http://www.kingjamesBibleonline.org/Revelation-20-2_20-5/).

³⁸ See *Isaiah* 38 verse 1: “In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death. And Isaiah the prophet...came unto him and said unto him, Thus saith the Lord, set thine house in order: for thou shalt die, and not live” (<http://www.kingjamesBibleonline.org/book.php?book=Isaiah&chapter=38&verse=1>).

³⁹ See *1 John*, chapter 3 verse 18: “My little children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and in truth.” (<http://www.kingjamesBibleonline.org/1-John-Chapter-3/>).

Rastafari spirituality

In the second verse, the appropriation of biblical language mirrors Rastafari's appropriation of biblical teachings through which such teachings are inverted and subverted (Lipsitz, 1994). In this and in their theme the lyrics of "Dragons and Demons" carry overtones of Rastafari spirituality and of the movement's dedication to spiritual reflection, self-help and self-esteem described by Bradley (2001). This is not surprising. Apart from the connections between reggae and Rastafari discussed in Chapters Two and Five, at the time Fonoti was playing and writing songs with Herbs he was also playing reggae music with an uncompromising "staunch Rastafarian message" in the band Unity (personal communication October 5, 2012).⁴⁰

Fonoti explains that the lyrics relate to the idea that "we live with our thoughts and it doesn't matter where we go, we always go with that, we always go with ourselves, so to speak". Although enigmatic to a degree, the lyrics suggest the idea that each individual has control over the internal struggle over what is morally wrong or right: the "different voices" of the self (Bhatia, 2002, p. 65), the "multiplicity of positions" (Hermans, 2001b, p. 244), or plurality of internal consciousnesses (Bakhtin, 1984) that is our "heaven and hell", and that each has the ability to act to cast out dragons and demons ("Not words but deeds").

Time, space and the chronotope

The positioning of the narrative of "Dragons and Demons" as a story ("Let me tell you a tale") produces a chronotope of the lead singer ("me") and other vocalists as narrators of the tale and the audience as the universal "you" who hear it. The relationship between time and space is marked by the use of the present tense, the absence of any indices of historical time, and other than the indication of a cultural space influenced by authority of the "the church" and the language of the Bible, a dearth of details that might define a specific

⁴⁰ Fonoti left Herbs "to find out more about... Rasta, and... either become a Rasta or stop being one, or stop trying to look like one". He later visited Jamaica and on returning to New Zealand was one of the first members of "The Twelve Tribes of Israel New Zealand" that continues today (personal communication, October 5, 2012). Bob Marley was a member of The Twelve Tribes, which is an international Rasta organisation of affiliated communities around the world (Tigilau Ness, cited in McLennan, 2006).

environment. In combination with the use of the gnomic present tense in phrases such as "...a tale / that never fails" "It's told by the church" and "Everyone's got a secret", these features suggest the representation of an ongoing "reality" and serve to foreground the universal spiritual struggle between right and wrong.

The struggle between internally persuasive and authoritative discourses

The conceptualisation of self constructed in "Dragons and Demons" resonates with Bakhtin's (1993) philosophical notion of the unique "I-for-myself" (1993, p. 54) as an articulation of the self's perception of its own potential (Bender, 1998), and Bakhtin's (1981) view of identity as a function of both internal and external dialogue. The notion of internal, cognitive struggles with the dragons and demons "living within" can be recast in terms of Bakhtin's (1981) theory of internally persuasive discourse that emerges from the "intense interaction, [the] *struggle* with other internally persuasive discourses" (p. 346, Bakhtin's emphasis) and the values and views they embody. At the same time as the song appears to urge a rejection of authoritative religious discourse (see Bakhtin, 1981) it can be understood to seek the listener's acceptance of its own message as internally persuasive. According to the lyrics, the struggle to cast out internal dragons and demons and voices of oppression is the process of growth ("We're here... to grow"); it is the "intense struggle" that constitutes ideological development or becoming (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 346).

Whistling in the Dark

The lyrics of "Whistling in the Dark" take the form of a first-person narrative that recounts the experience of "Polynesians getting into scuffles with police when they were out walking at night, and how they always got stopped and pulled over and hassled" (Phil Toms, personal communication November 21, 2013). In recalling the context for these songs some 30 years after the release of the album, Fonoti (2010) explains that "the time [was] 1981, in New Zealand [there were] converging Polynesian cultures and [over]tones of [the racist] overstay policies" of the 1970s. As Chapter Five has explained, there were hundreds of random police checks on those who looked like Pacific Islands people in 1976 (Boyd, 1993) with hundreds of people questioned in Auckland for failing to produce residence documents (Carlyon & Morrow, 2008). Growing up

in Auckland, Fonoti had experienced and witnessed the police rounding up groups of Pacific Islands people on the basis that it was “illegal for them to meet” (personal communication, October 5, 2012).

Direct, unmediated discourse

The lyrics of “Whistling in the Dark”, like “Dragons and Demons”, exemplify Bakhtin’s (1984) first category of “direct and unmediated” narrative discourse. The narrative of the song can be heard and read as authorial discourse that recounts the songwriter’s own experience. At the same time it tells of the experiences of many of Pacific Islands youth who had been the targets of similar harassment by the police.

(Verse One) I was walking along just beating
the feet
When I chance to meet a pig on his beat
The look that he sent was one of contempt
I made no offence but he took to defence
Said if I did him wrong he’d move me along

(Chorus) *They’re whistlin’ in the dark no bite
all bark
’Fraid of young minds one spark all fire
Warriors will rumble, blue boys will stumble
They’re whistlin’ in the dark no bite all bark*

(Verse Two) I was chasing a cloud when I saw
a crowd
Thought I’d check it out when I heard this
shout
You’re obstructing the law gonna kick your ass
It was self defence not malicious intent
What I gave, gave back to stop his attack

They’re whistlin’ in the dark...

(Verse Three) I was minding my own floating
so free
Carload of D’s pulled me up for I & D (**What’s
your name boy!**)
They put me in chains then asked me my name
They kept me all night ignored all of my rights
Said give me some names better play the game

*They’re whistlin’ in the dark no bite all bark
’Fraid of young minds one spark all fire
Warriors will rumble blue boys will stumble
They’re whistlin’ in the dark no bite all bark
No bite all bark*

Figure 3: Lyrics of “Whistling in the Dark” (Fonoti, 1981a). Non-italic text signifies the lead vocalist (Fonoti); text in bold indicates that these words are called out loudly and forcefully by another single voice; italics signify multiple voices.

As Figure 3 shows, the three verses relate accounts of three separate encounters with the police, narrated by the lead singer, Toni Fonoti. In the first he is looked at with “contempt” and “move[d] along”. In the second he is accused of “obstructing the law”, threatened and attacked by an officer. On the third occasion he is stopped by detectives (“Ds”) for an “I & D” check. Toni Fonoti explains that I and D stand for:

idle and disorderly, it just means you can be picked up and moved or told to [move] without being arrested for any charge - that happened to me a lot. What would typically happen would be they would call you a racist name or swear at you and tell you to f...en' move, and jump on you if you hesitated or asked why you got arrested for resisting arrest, and [you'd be] taken to the holding room at Central and go to court in the morning... nobody knew where you were for a day or night [a] phone call [was] often denied; lawyers only. So who knows and can afford a lawyer you can call? (email communication, April 11, 2013).

In the third verse the narrator relates that he was “put in chains” and then asked for his name, “kept all night” with “all [his] rights” ignored and warned to “give them some names...[and] play the game”. The chorus describes the police as “whistlin’ in the dark no bite all bark”, afraid that “one spark” could ignite a fire in which the Pacific Islands “warriors will rumble” [fight in the street] and the boys in blue [“blue boys”] “will stumble”.

Elements of double-voiced discourse

In a further application of Bakhtin’s categories of literary discourse, the lyrics of the song are also at particular points “double-voiced” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 199). In two instances the narrative incorporates the “objectified discourse... of a represented person” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 199), a police officer. This objectification is signalled in the first case in verse two by the words “I heard this shout”, followed by “You’re obstructing the law gonna kick your ass”. In the second instance the words of a police officer are in parenthesis “(What’s your name boy!)” in verse three, and this objectification is reinforced in the performance of the song by the fact that these words are shouted out by a different voice. For Bakhtin, such objectification distances the words of others from authorial discourse, rendering them “a referential object” (1984, p. 187) that is characteristic or typical. At the same time such words are subordinated to the intentions of the author. In this case the use of direct discourse can be seen as serving the intention of highlighting the contrast in tone between the narrator’s account of his carefree and innocent activities – just walking along, “chasing a

cloud” and “floating so free” - and the officer’s threat to “kick [his] ass”.

Objectification also serves to distance and isolate the word “boy”. The term was commonly used by white Americans and by white people under apartheid in South Africa to refer to adult Black men, and embodied the racist and offensive idea that adult black males were not men (see Brown & Stentiford, 2008). In New Zealand it therefore carried overtones of the racism that many Pacific Islands and Māori people experienced at that time.

Dialogic relations in the notion of whistling

The notion of whistling is recurrent in lyrical content and the recorded performance of the song. This begins with the sound of a police siren, which is followed by a slow-tempo instrumental introduction punctuated by a whistle. The sound of a whistle is repeated in the first line of the chorus, in the instrumental break after the second chorus, and again at the end of the song. Fonoti explains that the single whistle was “used on the street... and it just means the police are coming, it’s a warning... so we’d duck out, wherever we were” (personal communication, October 5, 2012). In terms of the title of the song, Fonoti had come across the notion of “whistling in the dark” as an expression for summoning up courage in a text by Huey Newton, co-founder of the US Black Panther movement. As Chapter Five has noted, the Black Panther movement was a source of inspiration for the establishment of the Polynesian Panther Party, of which Herbs’ manager Will ’Ilolahia was co-founder. Fonoti recalls Newton using the metaphor to explain the United States government’s fear of the US movement: “the establishment... the Government, were fearful of the power of the Black Panthers...of a united African-American [people]...”. Fonoti says that he saw such fear behind the treatment of Pacific Islands people by the police:

they were afraid, you know, when they saw three or four
Polynesians they became extra rough with us and... made sure
that we knew our place, and that was out of fear... I could see in
their eyes...

The title thus embodies a dialogic interplay of metaphorical and literal meanings. There are those associated with the explicit intertextual reference to the text by Huey Newton, and that evoke connections between the Black and the Polynesian

Panthers. As Fonoti explains, it also refers to the whistle that “came from the streets where we used that as a signal” (personal communication, October 5, 2012).

Lyrical content and performative and lyrical form

An examination of certain features of content and form illustrates ways in which form is “*constitutive* of content” (Eagleton, 2007, p.67, author’s emphasis) and identifies correspondences that elaborate and intensify meaning in “Whistling in the Dark”. Eagleton points out that understanding the semantic (meaning) in literary discourse, and poetry in particular, involves the non-semantic, such as sound in the form of assonance, alliteration, rhythm and tone. In the lyrics of “Whistling in the Dark” the phonic connections created through assonance in “beat[ing]/ feet”, “cloud/ crowd” and by alliteration in “floating/free” can be understood as reinforcing the sense of ease evoked by lyrical content, musical style and tempo in the first lines of each verse. Coupled with the generally regular metre of the verses the effect is almost reassuring in meeting the listener’s expectations relating to common conventions of rhythm and rhyme in popular song lyrics. However, there is a shift to a more ominous (and darker) tone in the assonance that connects semantic meanings in the chorus and third verse, such as “dark/bark” and “rumble/stumble, and in “night/rights”.

Furthermore, by extending Bakhtin’s principle of the mutuality of content and form in relation to the production of meaning to include performative form, the relationship between tempo and lyrical content can be seen to emphasise meaning. The instrumental introduction and the music of the initial lines of each verse have a relaxed reggae beat with melodic, Pacific-sounding guitar playing. This is in complementary dialogic relationship with playful phrases such as “walking along just beating the feet” and “chasing a cloud”. However, the tempo accelerates in the third and fourth lines of each verse and in the chorus, and at the same time the music changes to a staccato style with a dominant reggae guitar strumming. The contrasting forms of swifter tempo and accentuated reggae style create a sense of heightened tension that adds to the meanings associated with the narratives of confrontations with the police.

Time, space and the chronotope

As this analysis has explained, the lyrics of “Whistling in the Dark” describe a series of three oppressive encounters between the narrator and police officers. Bakhtin’s (1981b) notion of the chronotope prompts consideration of the space or spaces constructed in the narrative, and of the way in which time is represented in relation to that space or those spaces. A specific type of space, a police station cell, is implied by the references to “chains”, being “kept” all night, and the ignoring of “rights” in verse three. In a repeated parallel structure involving the past continuous tense, “I was walking along...I was minding my own...”, the lyrics of verses one and three suggest that the narrated encounters with police take place in a road, perhaps with a pavement on which the narrator was “beating his feet” in the first verse, and where a “carload” of policemen pull up next to him, in the third verse. The second verse, introduced by a parallel structure “I was chasing a cloud...” indicates that a crowd has gathered in a public space of some form, possibly another road, and the narrator is accused of obstructing that space by joining the crowd. Just as Ganser et al. (2006) employ the chronotope in conceptualising “the road” in road movies as a space located in a particular environment “charged with social and cultural meanings” (p. 15), the public spaces constructed in these lyrics are charged with meaning related to the song’s particular historic context. This involved racist treatment of people from Pacific Islands or who looked as though they might be, random police checks and arrests as well as police action to prevent groups of young Pacific Island people forming in the streets of Auckland suburbs such as Ponsonby (see Carlyon & Morrow, 2008).

The narrative of “Whistling in the Dark” can be seen in Bakhtin’s terms to be based on an overarching “chronotope of encounter” involving three encounters on “the road” (see Bakhtin, 1981b, p. 243). In Bakhtin’s (1981b) analysis, the novel of the road constructs a representation of chance events in which time is characterized as of “random contingency” (p. 92). Similarly, the absence of temporal indices and connectors between the verses of “Whistling in the Dark” constructs a similar sense of randomness. Although the influence of the compressed nature of song lyrics needs to be acknowledged, the absence of indicators of a temporal relationship between the three encounters suggests that

such encounters with police are, in the chronotope between the narrators and the audience at that time, not unusual.

However, temporal relations are produced through the use of verb tenses. The switch to present tense in the chorus, “they’re whistling in the dark... ’fraid of young minds”, poses the narrated actions of the police as a consequence of their collective fear of those they harass. The use of the future tense in the third line “warriors will rumble, blue boys will stumble” suggests a more specific fear of a possible response by Pacific island “warriors”. At the same time it can be interpreted as an encouragement to those who suffer harassment, to withstand it.

Form, content and social commentary

This analysis of “Whistling in the Dark” draws on Bakhtin’s (1981) theory of dialogic relations; his categories of narrative styles in literary discourse; the principle of the inseparability of the relationship between form and content (the semantic) in the construction of meaning (Bakhtin, 1981; Eagleton, 2007) and Bakhtin’s (1981b) notion of the chronotope. In doing so, it identifies a dialogic complexity of meanings that in addition to those associated with Herbs’ appropriation of reggae contribute to the multi-faceted network of relationships that constitute the creative whole (Bakhtin, 1986d) of the song. Protest is engendered subtly and indirectly in the relationship between the direct discourse style that narrates the Pasifika experience of racist treatment in encounters with the police, and embedded elements of double-voiced discourse that serve to objectify and distance cited utterances of police officers. As the analysis has shown, meanings are produced by the intertextual reference in the title, between the content of the lyrics, the form of the music and the performance of the song, as well as between the content and form of the lyrics.

Reggae’s Doing Fine

“Reggae’s Doing Fine” (Fonoti, 1981b) is the final track on side two of Herb’s mini-album, and unlike the other five songs is a gentle ballad rather than a reggae song. Toni Fonoti, who had met and spent time with Marley in 1979, explains that the song was written on the day that news of Marley’s death on 11th May 1981 reached the band: “Will rang me, Will ’Ilolahia [Herbs’ manager], and he told me Bob Marley had passed away, I was... couldn’t believe it and I wrote the

song that night” (personal communication, October 5, 2012). The other songs had been recorded and were ready for release, so Toni and Will had to persuade Warrior Music’s Hugh Lynn to let Herbs record the new song quickly. As a result it was recorded acoustically and with simplicity; just “the beautiful acoustic guitars” (Fonoti, October 5, 2012) and the voices of Spenz Fusimalohi (lead guitar), Dilworth Karaka (rhythm guitar) and Fonoti (vocals).

Dilworth Karaka explains that the song celebrates and gives thanks “for what Bob did – in New Zealand, in our own society” (cited in Fala, 2008, p. 98). It is also a broader tribute to reggae and less directly to Rastafari: as a philosophy (Bradley, 2000), “a religion founded on resistance... [to] oppressive systems ” and a signifier that embraces those who think righteously (Dawes, 2002, p. 142). Marley’s growing popularity in New Zealand in the late 1970s and the reasons for this have been outlined in Chapter Five. Marley’s music was “soul healing, pick me-upping” (Miriam Rauhihi-Ness, cited in Fala, 2008, p. 106). His lyrics spoke of rights, justice, resistance and liberation and resonated particularly with Māori and Pacific Islands people (Meschino, 2005), who saw parallels between the racism, hardship, rural poverty, and “righteous struggle” in Aotearoa and the oppression of Jamaican sufferers (Fala, 2008, p. 65). The lives of Pasifika peoples were similarly “rooted in spirituality, in the connection to [their] lands, ocean and ancestors” (Fala, 2008, p. 209). The lyrics of the song affirm and articulate this identification with Marley and his music and cite the colours of the Ethiopian flag (see Campbell-Livingston & Johnson, 2012) as a symbol of identification with Rasta identity (“We who love you know what to do / I-den-ti-fy... I-den-ti-ty will always be what we see... / The yellow, the red, the green I-den-ti-ty”). As Cattermole (2013) points out, flags are powerful markers of identity, and the green, gold and red colours of the Ethiopian national flag are significant in symbolising Rastafarian identification with Ethiopia.

Double-voiced discourse and explicit references to other texts

As Figure 4 shows, the first verse and chorus are constructed as a first-person singular narrative (“...I would have cried... So now I sing...”), which switches in the second verse to first person plural (“just us survivors... we who love you”). The song is addressed to Bob Marley (“But you the soul coming in... You got no

rivals...”) and while the gist of the tribute is clear, meaning is also produced in the “fusion of voices” (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 199) of the double-voiced discourse that incorporates Rastafari language and references to specific other texts.

(Verse One) Once upon a time I would have cried Dwelt in sadness in thoughts of your death <i>But you the soul coming in, coming in from the cold</i> <i>The lion with the lamb you reign in Zion</i> For the love of man you shall sing Shall sing, sing with the kings	(Verse Two) You got no rivals just us survivors Fill the cup lively up light up <i>We who love you know what to do</i> <i>I-den-ti-fy ...whao</i> <i>I-den-ti-ty, will always be what we see yeah</i> <i>The yellow, the red, the green I-den-ti-ty</i>
(Chorus) <i>So now I sing raise my blazing sail</i> <i>No heavy heart can change the scales</i> <i>The very streets will always be mine</i> <i>Good times, good times, Reggae's doing fine</i> <i>Good time, good times, Reggae's doing fine</i>	(Chorus) <i>So now I sing raise my blazing sail</i> <i>No heavy heart can change the scales</i> <i>The very streets will always be mine</i> <i>Good times, good times, Reggae's doing fine</i> <i>Good time, good times, Reggae's doing fine</i>
	<i>So now I sing raise my blazing sail</i> <i>No heavy heart can change the scales</i> <i>The very streets will always be mine</i> <i>Good times, good times, Reggae's doing fine</i> <i>Good time, good times, Reggae's doing fine</i>
	<i>Good time, good times, Reggae's doing fine</i>

Figure 4: Lyrics of “Reggae’s Doing Fine” (Fonoti, 1981b). Non-italic text signifies a sole vocalist (Toni Fonoti); italics signify multiple voices.

The Rastafari biblical language and metaphors (see Cattermole, 2004; Weber, 2000) such as the phrase “[t]he lion with the lamb”⁴¹ and the reference to reigning in “Zion”, evoke Marley’s Rastafari philosophy, as well as the influence of the church on Pacific Island communities. For Rastafari, Zion has cultural, political and spiritual connotations in signifying a place of inner peace, security and spiritual liberation as well as Ethiopia, the Promised Land (Dawes, 2002). Aspects of the sung performance can also be heard as an echo of Rastafarian philosophy. There is a shift from “I” to “we” between the first and second verses, in which singing alternates between the single voice of Toni Fonoti and the combined voices of the vocalists (see Figure 4). Thus the solo “I” of the first verse is joined by further “Is”. While in the chorus “So now I sing...” is sung by the harmonised voices of *all* the vocalists.

⁴¹ See *Isaiah* Chapter 11 verse 6: “The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.” (<http://www.kingjamesBibleonline.org/Isaiah-11-6/>).

The combination of multiple voices in a narrative that employs “I” does not occur in any of the other songs on Herbs’ album. This difference is significant and suggests an intention in this song to enact the Rasta ethical position signified by the expression “I and I”, referred to in Chapter Two. The use of “I and I” in place of “we” re-inscribes and affirms “‘we’ as the meeting of two individualities” and locates authority in each individual (Chivallon, 2002, p. 371). Herbs’ performance can therefore be heard as voicing a tribute on the part of all people involved in this song (“I and I”) and at the same time as acknowledging and honouring Rastafari philosophy.

The lyrics are also woven with a complex of explicit intertextual references to the titles and words of Bob Marley songs and his own use of Rastafari language. In the first verse the words “you the soul coming in, coming in from the cold” incorporates the title of Marley’s song “Coming in from the Cold” (1980b) in which the lyrics describe the oppressive and damaging “system” of Babylon (see Weber, 2000). The line can also be interpreted as a reference to “Duppy Conqueror” (Marley, 1970b), which includes the phrase “[d]on’t try to cold me up... now I’ve got to reach Mount Zion”. As Dawes (2002) explains, to “cold up” in Jamaican Patois is to “kill the fire” in people, to “bully [people] into submission”; in the context of Rastafari, “the acts of Babylon are aimed at ‘colding up’ the fervour of the Rastafarian” (p. 93). In the second verse, “us survivors” echoes the title of Marley’s song “Survival” (1979), while the line “Fill the cup lively up light up” merges references to “My Cup” (Marley, 1970a) and “Lively Up Yourself” (Marley, 1974a). Like this Herb’s song, “My Cup” mourns the death of a friend: “my cup is running over and I don’t know what to do / ... I’ve lost the best friend that I ever knew” and draws from the Bible⁴². “Light up” can be heard as an echo of Marley’s assertion in “Could you be Loved” (1980a) that “[l]ove would never leave us alone ...in the darkness there

⁴² See *Psalms* Chapter 23 verse 5 “Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.” (<http://www.kingjamesBibleonline.org/Psalms-Chapter-23/>).

must come out the light”, and of Marley’s biblical source for the metaphor of light in darkness⁴³.

The biblical tone influences other language choices. For example, the verb “dwell” in the clause “I would have ... dwelled in sadness”, described as formal and literary by the Chambers Dictionary (<http://www.chambers.co.uk/>), occurs frequently in the King James Version of the Bible.⁴⁴ Similarly, language use and syntax in the phrase “for the love of man you shall sing” resonates with Isaiah 24:14 “They shall lift up their voice, they shall sing for the majesty of the Lord”.

The chorus is a multi-voiced assertion of the power of reggae and of song to uplift, in spite of a “heavy heart”, and an assurance that reggae’s influence and significance will continue. The words “[the] very streets will always be mine” can be understood as a response to the lines “So Jah Seh / Not one of my seeds / Shall sit in the sidewalk / And beg bread” in Marley’s song “So Jah Seh” (1974c). Fonoti expands the image of the sidewalk occupied by the begging child of Jah to a metaphor that encompasses and asserts the right to claim the very streets themselves.

Fonoti’s striking metaphor “my blazing sail” builds on some of these intertextual references. It suggests a confident assertion that song and reggae act as powerful counter forces to Babylon’s oppressive “colding up”. Marley’s reggae music and words are a source of blazing warmth and light in the cold and darkness of marginalisation and oppression. Furthermore, the choice of “sail” introduces associations with the seas that surround the islands of Jamaica, the Pacific Islands and New Zealand. The word can be understood as symbolising the spatial connection between Bob Marley and Pasifika peoples and at the same time signifying forward movement towards a “righteous” destination.

⁴³ See for example, *Matthew* Chapter 4 verse 16 “The people which sat in darkness saw great light...” (<http://www.kingjamesBibleonline.org/Matthew-Chapter-4/>).

⁴⁴ According to the King James Bible Online, the verb dwell occurs some 470 times, for example in Genesis 13:12 “Abram dwelled in the land of Canaan, and Lot dwelled in the cities of the plain...” (see <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/dwell/>).

Internal dialogic relations

The complex dialogic pattern of references and responses to Marley's songs is subtly underscored by a network of internal, semantic and sonic connections in the discourse. These include the repetition of phrases (such as "shall sing / shall sing" and "[g]ood times, good times"), assonance (in "soul" / "cold"; "cup" / "up" and "rivals / "survivors" / "lively" / "light"), alliteration ("lion" / "lamb / "love"), and sibilance ("soul" / "shall sing" / "raise" / "blazing" / "sail" / "us survivors").

Time, space and the chronotope

Drawing from Bakhtin's (1981b) approach and that of Ganser et al. (2006) in relation to spaces and places in time-space relations, the overarching chronotope in the narrative of "Reggae's Doing Fine" can be identified as based on an "abstract" cultural space (Bakhtin, 1981b, p. 100) tied to the present and the future. This space is created through a weaving of biblical language, allusions to Rastafari metaphors and philosophy, and references to reggae music and Bob Marley songs. These, combined with the absence of any indices of specific place produce a spiritual and cultural space shared and occupied by the "we", the "I" and "I", who love Bob Marley ("we who love you..."). Within that overall chronotope, time relationships in the lyrics of the song produce a sense of change linked to the influence of Bob Marley and his music, to whom (and to which) the song pays tribute. Temporal markers such as "once" and "now" as well as tense use produce a shift from the past ("once upon a time") and from the third conditional tense ("I would have cried... / [would have] dwelled in sadness...") after the first two lines of the first verse, to the present tense in the same verse and chorus ("you the soul coming in from the cold...you reign in Zion", "so now I sing..."). While the chorus repeats the affirmation that "reggae's doing fine", there are further shifts to future tense in assertions of certitude about the future ("you shall sing...with the kings", "the very streets will always be mine" and "[Rastafari] identity will always be what we see"). Two "places" can be identified through the lens of the chronotope, interwoven into this sequence of time and the predominant space: the "cold" and implicitly dark place of Babylon (located in the past before the influence of Marley, his music, and his Rastafari

philosophy) is juxtaposed with the “light” and implied warmth of Zion, a place of the present and future.

Interwoven with the words of Bob Marley

“Reggae’s Doing Fine” honours Bob Marley in its construction of dialogic homage that responds to his words and music and offers these back to the musician as a tribute. The incorporation of Rastafari, biblical language establishes a biblical tone that as this analysis has shown, permeates other areas of narrative in language choices. The effect of these influences is to construct a spiritual and cultural space that can be occupied by those who love Marley and his music, and an utterance that is itself almost psalm-like in its tribute to the “psalmist for [the Rastafari] religion” (Dawes, 2002, p. 23). The interweaving of Marley’s words into the discourse of the song is an aesthetic articulation of the way in which he and his music had become and were to continue to be “part of the fabric” of Pacific Island and Māori postcolonial experience and “their search for identity” (Fala, 2008, p. 85). That continuing significance is expressed in the echo that sounds in the repetitions of “good times, good times, reggae’s doing fine” at the end of the song.

Chapter conclusion

The chapter has examined the lyrical content of each of the songs in the light of the context established in the previous chapter and has explored the use of language in compositional form through the lens of Bakhtin’s theories of literary discourse. In particular, Bakhtin’s (1984) categories of dialogic relations in narrative discourse have prompted and informed a focus on the meanings associated with different narrative styles and structures in these songs. In “Whistling in the Dark” and “Dragons and Demons”, for example, direct authorial discourse is employed for the narration of and commentary on experience. In contrast, hidden dialogue is employed in “What’s Be Happen?” in a rhetorical structure that probes and responds to the imagined discourse of another. The choice of this narrative form suggests a search for understanding but also commentary and critique: what is happening when seeking better material conditions results in an economically oppressive treadmill of labour that results in the children “turning away”?

The analysis has considered compositional form in each of the songs in terms of Bakhtin's category of double-voiced discourse. I have described the use of double-voiced discourse in "What's be Happen?", in a form of what Bakhtin (1984) referred to as stylised *skaz*, as a positioning (Hall, 1990) which can be understood as signifying identification with the values and difficulties faced by the community that shares this language. In "Dragons and Demons" the influence of Rastafari is evidenced in biblical language and references to the Bible that suggest a subversion of biblical teachings, and also suggest a resistance to the influence of organised religion on Pacific Island communities. The analysis has shown that the deployment of objectified (double-voiced) discourse in "Whistling in the Dark" combined with features of performance has the effect of highlighting and distancing oppressive and racist utterances from the narrative. While in "Reggae's Doing Fine" the tribute to Marley and to reggae is produced by an interweaving of Marley's words and Rastafari language.

In a further area of analysis, Herbs' use of Pacific languages in the title track has been seen as reinforcing the sense of unity between Pacific Islands peoples (Cattermole, 2011). Bakhtin's notion of polyglossia, however, includes relationships *between* different languages in a particular culture. It thus prompts an interpretation that includes but moves beyond ideas of unity to encompass the possibility of resistance to the dominance of the English language, as well as associated cultural values, in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The analysis of these four songs through the lens of the literary chronotope (Bakhtin, 1981b) has focused on time-space relationships produced by lyrical content and particular language choices. Such relationships construct different spaces and places. Examples include the physical and cultural space represented in "What's Be Happen?" by the incorporation of Pacific Island languages and the stylised use of the language of Pacific Islands youth in Auckland in the early 1980s; the cold, dark place of Babylon in contrast to the cultural space produced by the use of biblical language, allusions to Rastafari metaphors, and references to Bob Marley's music in "Reggae's Doing Fine"; and the space of "the road" in "Whistling in the Dark" within an overarching chronotope of encounter. Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope has prompted attention to the function of

narrative features in Herbs' lyrics such as the absence of indices of time (in "Whistling in the Dark" for example), and their presence (for example in the use of "once" and "now" in "Reggae's Doing Fine"), the sequence of lyrical content (in "What's Be Happen?"); and verb tense choices (such as the shifts in tense in "Reggae's Doing Fine") in the construction of meaning.

The chapter has drawn on elements of Eagleton's (2007) analysis of poetic form in relation to content. These contribute to interpretation and understandings of the ways in which internal dialogic relations in the song lyrics can subtly underscore or intensify meaning. Examples of such features include the use of end rhymes, assonance and repetition in "Whistling in the Dark", and contrasts between regular and irregular metre in "Dragons and Demons". However, I have extended Bakhtin's and Eagleton's emphasis on the need to consider form in relation to content beyond considerations of discursive form. The role of changes in tempo in "Whistling in the Dark" that serve to intensify and elaborate meaning, and the association of Cook Island percussion in "What's be Happen?" with cultural meanings related to heritage, roots and identity, illustrate the ways in which meanings in these songs are also suggested by performed, sonic form in dialogic relation to lyrical content.

In the analysis of "What's Be Happen?" I have described the structure and content as constructing two centres of value, two represented consciousnesses (see Bakhtin, 1993), in which one voice questions the implications of narrated experiences as well as the evaluative perspective of an implied other, or others. The creative alternation in the verses between lines of description ("...you've just bought a house" / ... you got hire purchase") and lines of evaluative response ("Come in to it at eve and in the morning you leave... / No need to pay just slave and slave and slave") achieves an effective rhetorical patterning. In combination with the rhetorical strategy of repeated questions in the chorus and the conflict between the relaxed, Pacific sounding melody, harmonised voices and the lyrical content, the song artistically constructs penetrating social observation as well as a critique of economic conditions and quality of life in compact lyrical form.

In "Whistling in the Dark" the features I have analysed construct an account of a series of episodes that describe experiences of harassment in a compressed

narrative that produces social observation, commentary and critique. The chorus (“They’re whistling in the dark.../ ’Fraid of young minds.../ No bite all bark”) offers an explanation for police attitudes and actions towards urban Pacific Islands youth at that time. This may have had its roots in the writings of Huey Newton. It can also be understood as a rhetorical strategy of resistance, a form of spiritual power in the face of racist treatment (they behave in this way because they are afraid of our potential power). As Bob Marley’s music did, it bolsters resistance by providing encouragement “not to be afraid of anything” (in the words of musician Miriama Rauhihi-Ness, cited in Fala, 2008, p. 106).

Interpretation of the spiritual and philosophical implications of “Dragons and Demons” in this chapter is informed by Bakhtin’s (1981) conceptions of self and of discourse that is internally persuasive. Furthermore, Bakhtin’s (1981) theory of dialogism is particularly productive in the analysis of “Reggae’s Doing Fine”. The notion of the responsivity of discourse to previous utterances is instantiated in particularly concrete form in the complex dialogic pattern of references to Marley’s songs. The richly dialogic text highlights the response of discourse to previous utterances and the anticipation of a future response, as well as constant dialogic interactions between meanings (Bakhtin, 1981; Holquist, 1981). In addition, the subtle and fitting incorporation of Marley’s words and Rastafari biblical language exemplifies the functioning of double-voiced discourse and language choices to achieve authorial intentions to honour the singer and his music.

I have drawn on the contextual information provided in Chapter Five and in doing so illustrated the significance of Bakhtin’s insistence on the salience of social and historical context for textual analysis. Furthermore, in extending Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism and related concepts to these popular songs the analysis has demonstrated the value of Bakhtin’s philosophical, theoretical and analytical ideas in this popular cultural context. These include theories of dialogic relations (Bakhtin, 1981; 1986c), notions of the appropriation of language, ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1981) and the chronotope (Bakhtin, 1981b), and Bakhtin’s (1984) categories of narrative discourse in literary texts.

The next chapter presents the analysis of the two remaining songs, “Azania (Soon Come)” (France, 1981) and “One Brotherhood” (Toms, 1981). These are connected by a shared thematic focus on the politics of South African apartheid and the Springbok rugby tour that was about to take place at the time Herbs’ album was released.

Chapter Seven: Protest and resistance

“All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.” (Article One of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, <http://www.un.org/>)

Introduction

When Herbs toured New Zealand in July 1981 and promoted their new album their appearances frequently coincided with the South African Springbok rugby tour (Karaka in Ryan, 2012). “Azania (Soon Come)”, written by Ross France (1981) as a tribute to Bantu Steve Biko and to Nelson Mandela and as a protest against apartheid, became an unofficial anthem for the protest movement against the tour (Phil Toms personal communication, November 16, 2013). “One Brotherhood” written for the album by Phil Toms (1981) connects the struggle against the racism of apartheid with the struggle to regain former Māori land.

This chapter presents an analysis and interpretation of the construction of protest and resistance in these two reggae songs. As in the previous chapter, this is framed by Bakhtin’s theories of dialogic discourse. Relevant concepts include Bakhtin’s (1984) notion of words that are marked by political and social contexts and their history, heteroglossia in the form of double-voiced discourse and authorial intentions, as well as the concept of polyphony in literary discourse, which is applied to considerations of harmonisation in the vocal performance of “Azania (Soon Come)”. Bakhtin’s (1981) emphasis on the constituent relationship between form and content in relation to meaning underpins consideration of salient features of lyrical, musical and performative form. His notion of internal dialogism in discourse is extended and supplemented in the application of certain aspects of Eagleton’s (2007) analysis of poetry to internal dialogic relationships in the song lyrics. In addition, Bakhtin’s (1981b) concept of the chronotope is mobilised to consider the ways in which relations between time and space are constructed in “Azania” and “One Brotherhood”.

As Bakhtin’s (1981; 1986c) theory of dialogism suggests, meanings engendered by Herbs’ appropriation of reggae and in the network of dialogic relationships in

the form and content of “Azania (Soon Come)” and “One Brotherhood”, as well as between the music, the lyrics, and the performance of the songs, need to be understood in their contingent relation to the historical and contemporaneous social context. The analysis of these two songs builds particularly on Chapter Five in regard to the South African apartheid regime and Māori land rights, as well as the Springbok tour of New Zealand, which began just after the album was released. The analysis also mobilises the literature on popular music reviewed in Chapter Two and the interviews with Herbs’ song writers.

Azania (Soon Come)

As in many other countries there was widespread outrage in New Zealand at what Mandela had called the “moral genocide” of apartheid (Carlin, 2008, p.2). When *What’s Be Happen?* was released, Mandela was still incarcerated on Robben Island and New Zealand was about to host a government-sanctioned tour by the South African national rugby team, the Springboks. This was despite the United Nations’ call to end sporting contacts with the apartheid regime, contrary to the Gleneagles Agreement, and ignored advice from organisations such as the Catholic Bishops of New Zealand to stop the tour (Mita, 1983).

The South African team would include a sole black player, Errol Tobias, seen as a token black player in an otherwise racially selected team (Ryan, 2012) and as a gesture of “multi-racialism” in response to the sporting boycotts of South Africa (Moore, 1981). The team would be touring a country riven by conflict between opponents and supporters of the tour. The former, which included the organisation to Halt All Racist Tours (HART), may have enjoyed rugby, as many New Zealanders do, but strongly opposed the tour as a national disgrace (Ryan, 2013) that could be seen as an endorsement of apartheid’s crime against humanity (as the UN defined it, see Carlin, 2008). Opponents saw the tour as a lost opportunity to exert pressure on South Africa to break down its racial barriers (Rae, 2011; Stewart, 1981). Supporters of the tour, seeing no connection between politics and sport (Phillips, 2006), were determined that politics would not interfere with a good match (Ryan, 2013). The tour was to take place in a country with its own racial problems, where Pacific Islands people in Auckland had had their homes raided on the suspicion they might be “overstayers”, and where a cultural resurgence among Māori saw renewed attempts to reclaim the lands they had lost under colonial rule.

With this context in mind, Bakhtin's (1984) notion of words marked by their social and political context and history can be brought to bear in considering the title of "Azania". It is not entitled "South Africa", although those four syllables would scan and fit the song's rhythm equally as well as the four syllables in Azania. It is useful therefore to briefly explore previous uses of the name Azania before going on to consider possible significances of the choice made in using it here.

The etymology of the name Azania, which has been used to designate North-East Africa since at least the first century CE, is traced by John Hilton (1993). Hilton summarises more recent usages and interpretations of the name by African nationalist movements, beginning with a proposal to replace the name South Africa with Azania at the All-African Peoples Conference in Accra in December 1958. The implication is that this proposal to replace a European name imposed on an African country by a white minority, with an African name, was an act of political support for the Black Nationalist cause in South Africa by the All-African movement, which sought the liberation of all African countries from colonial rule, and unification of Africa. The name Azania is in effect a symbol of decolonization and of a future free from racist laws and political and economic minority control.

According to Hilton, Evelyn Waugh's use of the name in his satirical novel on British colonial rule in Africa, *Black Mischief* (1946 /1962), caught the attention of members of the Pan-African Congress (PAC) in 1965. It was subsequently publicised as the name for a new South Africa. From 1979 the name became more popular, with the formation of the Azanian People's Organization, the Azanian Students' Organization, and a number of other Black community organizations. At the time of Hilton's article in 1993, the leadership of the PAC were still using Azania to distinguish their political orientation from that of their political rivals, although the ANC has rejected the name since 1977 because of connotations of slavery and the oppression of Black people (Hilton, 1993). In the same year, Steve Biko's coffin carried the words: "One Azania / One Nation", as does the headstone that marks his grave. In this context, the name Azania can be understood as embodying opposition and resistance to the idea of a divided nation based on racial segregation and inequality, the "apart-hood" of apartheid, but at the same time as a symbol of decolonization it offers a vision of what this African nation could and must become.

As Bakhtin (1981) points out, we do not generally reach for a dictionary to find words, but find them in the discourse and heteroglossia of others, serving particular intentions and points of view, in particular contexts. The choice of a particular term (and by implication and extension, the rejection of another) can be seen as expressing an evaluative intonation (Bakhtin, 1986c) and also as signalling an author's semantic position (Bakhtin, 1984) and expressive intention (Bakhtin, 1981) in using a term "populated... with the intentions of others" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 294).

In Herbs' choice of Azania, the name remains "half someone else's" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 293) in the history, intentions and associations it carries, such as those of the Black Consciousness Movement that Steve Biko led. But its appropriation in a new context, sung by different voices, also conveys additional intentions and meanings. This choice of a name that symbolises a set of particular social beliefs (Bakhtin, 1981) can be seen as performative (in the sense of an utterance that in itself constitutes an act, such as "I promise to do my best", which in itself constitutes a pledge (see John L. Austin in Urmson & Sbisá, 1975)); in this case as a political expression of alignment and solidarity with the suffering of black people under the apartheid regime, and with Black Nationalist and multi-racial ambitions for a new and just society, with a new name. At the same time it performs and signifies a rejection of the English language name, South Africa. As such, it can be seen as an ethical act of refusal in discourse to identify with or implicitly condone the colonial history and forces that led to the imposition of that name.

"Soon come": heteroglossia and double-voiced discourse

Additional dialogic overtones and meanings emerge in the juxtaposition of "Azania" with the Jamaican Patois idiom "soon come" (see Hodges, 2008) in the song title, which is then repeated in the first verse and the chorus (see Figure 5). Used as a song title by Bob Marley and the Wailers (Marley & Tosh, 1971), its meaning in Jamaican Patois serves here to express the conviction that Azania, a South Africa freed from monologic and racist white-minority control, *will* be achieved, and at the same time a sense of willing its arrival: *may* it come soon, *let* it come soon. This stylisation (mimesis) of another discourse style (Lodge, 1990), in this case the style of speakers of Jamaican Patois, is a form of "double-voiced discourse" (Bakhtin, 1984, p. 185). It can be understood as an incorporation of the discourse of people who have been historically abused, marginalised and discriminated against. At the same time it is orientated towards the speech acts and

intentions of other musicians who have employed reggae as message music for sufferers of colonisation and its consequences.

The appropriation and positioning of the idiom by this multi-ethnic band in Aotearoa New Zealand creates a nexus that is the focus of a complex of inter-connected, dialogic relationships. These involve New Zealand's own history of colonisation in Aotearoa and Māori and Pacific Islands people's own experiences of racism; the struggle for liberation of marginalised, abused and oppressed peoples from colonial domination in South Africa; the historic and contemporary struggles of similarly marginalised peoples in Jamaica, as well as other musicians' intentions, voiced through the music and lyrics of reggae. In this case the appropriation of the discourse of others (Bakhtin, 1984) is employed in achieving the particular rhetorical goals of expressing support for and solidarity with the struggle for liberation in South Africa, and the polyphonic conviction, expressed in the chorus, that it will come.

Musical and lyrical form and lyrical content: Call and response

“Azania” has a strong, driving reggae beat and relatively brisk tempo⁴⁵. It begins with an almost military call to attention in the form of a sharp, rattling snare drum roll, followed by a two bar instrumental introduction with a reverberating bass guitar line. The introduction is joined by the vocal line “What you say, what you say, what you say, what you say”, suggesting an opening “call” in a call and response dialogue (see Brackett, 1992; Dawes, 2007). As Figure 5 shows, this call is repeated towards the end of the song after the second delivery of the instrumental bridge, which takes much the same form as the instrumental introduction. Each of the two verses is followed by the chorus. Each chorus is in turn followed by a repetition of the instrumental bridge.

⁴⁵ See video of Herbs' performance at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MgwwLsuDJUE>.

(Call) What you say, what you say, what you say,
what you say

Bridge

What you say, what you say, what you say, what
you say...

(Response / Verse One) **PRETORIA** we see through
all your lies

Hiding your evil system under multi-racial disguise
White racists holding power
through the barrel of a gun
Soon come the liberation war
Send racists on the run

(Chorus) **Now come Azania**

Power to the freedom fighters

Azania

Liberation soon come

Azania

Power to the brothers and sisters

Azania

Send racists on the run

Bridge (repeated)

(Verse Two) **STEVE BIKO**, murdered in your jails

While spreading the word to all black men

You'll win when you know you can

NELSON MANDELA, languishing on Robben

Island

But you can't keep 'em no you can't keep 'em down

(Chorus) **Soon come Azania**

Power to the freedom fighters

Azania

Liberation soon come

Azania

Power to the brothers and sisters

Azania

Send racists on the run

Bridge (repeated)

(Call) What you say, what you say, what you say,
what you say

Bridge (repeated)

What you say, what you say, what you say, what
you say

(Response) **ANGOLA**, MOZAMBIQUE,

ZIMBABWE, **AZANIA** (chant)

ANGOLA, **MOZAMBIQUE**, ZIMBABWE, **AZANIA**

ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, **ZIMBABWE**, **AZANIA**

ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, ZIMBABWE, **AZANIA**

ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, ZIMBABWE, **AZANIA**

(repeated chant)

Azania, Azania Azania, Azania.../ Azania, Azania,

Azania, Azania, Azania (simultaneous)

Figure 5: Lyrics of “Azania (Soon Come)” (France, 1981). Non-italic text signifies the lead vocalist, Toni Fonoti; italics signify multiple voices; text in bold indicates that these words are sung loudly and forcefully by multiple voices.

The verses and chorus together can be interpreted as a lengthy collective (first-person plural) response to the brief opening call that begins “...we see through all your lies”, and includes the declaratives “Soon come the liberation war / Send racists on the run” followed in the chorus by “Now come Azania”. Structurally this is an inversion of the more common balance between call and response, where statements (calls) are seen as punctuated (Smitherman, 1977) or emphasized by responses from the listeners (Foster, 2002). This understanding of the lyrics as constituting a call and response is reinforced by the shift from the pronoun “you” in the call (“What you say...”), to “we” in the first part of the response, “Pretoria we see through all your lies... Azania soon come”, suggesting that *this*, is what we, the immediate addressees of the call within the song, and by extension the community of listeners, say. The opening call is repeated after the second chorus, and in this case the response is a repeated chant of “Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Azania” (capitalised in the printed lyrics on the album sleeve). This is joined

by a parallel chant of “Azania”, with the implicit affirmation that South Africa will join the list of newly-independent African nations, liberated from colonial rule⁴⁶. There is a merging of form and content in that both are a call and response and draw from the heteroglossia that includes call and response as a traditional African communicative genre (see Brackett, 1992). As the next section explains, the structure and content of the lyrics also evoke the calls and responses typical of protest demonstrations.

Heteroglossia: slogans as double-voiced discourse

Bakhtin’s notion of heteroglossia serves to frame consideration of the implications of double voiced discourse in the response to the first call. Organisations such as the ANC and anti-apartheid activists in New Zealand and elsewhere often used the traditional Zulu/Xhosa call “Amandla” (“Power”) and the response “Ngawethu!” (“to the people” or “to the brothers and sisters”) in protest demonstrations, and carried placards that read “Power to the People” (see Mita, 1983). In the 1960s the American civil rights Black Power Party used the same slogan and had borrowed Mao Tse Tung’s creed, “[p]olitical power comes through the barrel of a gun” (Monges, 1998, p. 141). In part, the incorporation of these phrases reflects the gnomic function of reggae (Reckord, 1998) in its expression of truths and convictions by the incorporation of short succinct sayings. But in what Brackett (1992) refers to as the creative re-use of formulaic phrases and slogans in song lyrics, these incorporations are also intertextual (dialogic) references to the specific language of other discourse communities involved with the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

Graham Pechey (2001) describes the slogan as a micro-genre of the collective that is an utterance of collective assertion (Pechey, 1990). As modernity’s distant echoes of ancient rallying calls in battle, slogans are embedded with the “residual magic” (p. 80) of optatives (speech acts that express wishes or desires), and of performative speech acts. At the same time, slogans have an instrumental quality in celebrating the “certainties of the collective” and in playing a role in achieving a particular result or goal (Pechey, 2001, p.

⁴⁶ After years of war and centuries of Portuguese control, Angola in southern-west Africa had finally achieved independence in 1975. Mozambique in southeast Africa, also a former colony of Portugal, achieved independence in the same year. The Republic of Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) in southern central Africa gained independence and majority rule in 1980, after a long period of British colonial control followed by 15 years of white-dominated minority rule.

81). They function as representations of a “civil-society-in-the-making” that feed the desired “finished identity” of that society (Pechey, 2001, p. 81). In a new link in the chain of related utterances (Bakhtin, 1981), the incorporation of these liberation slogans is an expression both of the wish and the conviction that “liberation soon come” (just as “soon come” expresses a wish and an assertion). At the same time it is a musical and lyrical celebration of that collective assertion. The form of inclusion in this double-voiced discourse (Bakhtin, 1984), with no markers to distinguish these as the words of others, signifies a particular form of inter-subjective relationship (Brandist, 2002). It is one that aligns the singers’ values and intentions with the intentions of earlier voices, which in New Zealand may be understood to have included their own.

Compression and association; phonic connections and internal textual relationships

Extending Eagleton’s (2007) description of the language of poetry to popular song lyrics, the first lines of the response in verse one illustrate the way that the lyrics of “Azania” convey meaning by means of compression and association, without the fully articulated connections typical of prose. In the lines “Pretoria we see through all your lies / Hiding your evil system under multi-racial disguise / White racists holding power...” the administrative capital of South Africa is formulated in the compressed form of the iambic pentameter as the embodiment of the mendacious, “evil system” of the apartheid regime. At the same time the lyrics address “white racists” by means of personification of Pretoria in the phrases “your lies” and “your evil system” in the first and second lines, “hiding... under multi-racial disguise”.

As Eagleton (2007) points out, end-rhymes create sound (phonic) equivalences between words, which can have the effect of yoking meanings together or alternatively can serve to highlight differences between them (Eagleton, 2007). The rhyming scheme in the first verse follows an aa/bc/bc pattern and in the initial rhyming couplet there is a phonic relationship between “lies”/ “disguise”, which in this case connects their meanings. A semantic connection is thus created between the “lies” of Pretoria and its attempt to hide the realities of apartheid through “disguise”. The lies of Pretoria are likely to include the blatantly untrue official explanations for the deaths of political detainees in the 1970s, including the death of Steve Biko, ascribed by authorities to a hunger strike, when he died of head wounds received in custody (see Woods, 1991).

The phonic and dialogic association between lie and disguise focuses attention on the nature of Pretoria's lies, and the reasons for them, presumably in order to disguise the nature of the apartheid regime and protect people from the charge of murder. It also suggests that a disguise is a form of lie, in this case with the intention of masking the realities of apartheid practices. It is likely in this context that "multi-racial disguise" references the inclusion of a single black player in the Springbok rugby team that was about to tour New Zealand (see Moore, 1981).

Further internal phonic connections in the first verse create semantic links that similarly highlight dialogic relationships (Eagleton, 2007), and suggest a reinforcement of meaning. For example, in the end-rhymes "gun"/ "run", and the para-rhyme "power" / "war", the power held by "white racists" "through the barrel of a gun" is connected but "mis-matched" to the answering "liberation war". The mis-match suggests an unequal struggle through which the liberation war will triumph and racists will be "on the run". Kwame Dawes (2002) describes the deployment of alliteration and assonance in Bob Marley's lyrics as creating "a musicality in the lines themselves" (p. 49), and there is a similar effect here. For example, internal textual relations of the type identified by Brackett (1992) are created throughout the verse by means of the repetition and interweaving of "l" sounds ("all" / "evil" / "multi-racial" / "holding" / "barrel") related to Pretoria and the phonic connection but semantic contrast between the stronger initial consonant in "lies" and "liberation". The verse is also interwoven with sibilant sounds ("see" / "system" / "racial" / "disguise" / "racists" / "soon" / "send" / "racists") and this repetition and interweaving helps not only to construct overt patterns in the texture of the verse (Eagleton, 2007) and to emphasise internal lyrical and musical rhythms, but also creates semantic connections.

In a dialogic relationship between the first verse and chorus, the sixth line "Send racists on the run" is repeated at the end of the chorus and other themes introduced in the first verse are repeated in a different context and more forceful form. The word "power" is transferred from "white racists" to "the freedom fighters" and to "the brothers and sisters", and the lyrics assert that "liberation soon come". With each main line in the chorus consisting of three metric feet or units of rhythm (for example, "pówer to the fréedom fighters" / *Líberation sóon cóme*"), the rhythmic form parallels and reinforces the assertive lyrical content and evokes the chanted protests of marching demonstrators.

In contrast to the first verse, the second employs blank verse form. It is possible that the absence of any attempt to rhyme line endings or to create internal rhymes reflects the song-writer's intention to express particular and significant information related to Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela (whom the song honours), such as "murdered in your jails" and "languishing on Robben Island", that was not easily (or readily) manipulated to suit the demands of creative language use. "You'll win when you know you can" can be read and heard as a compressed reference to the political and cultural philosophy of Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement (see Mzamane, Maaba, & Biko, 2006). The Movement argued that in order to achieve their own liberation "any changes which are to come, can only come as a result of ...[black people's] defeat of the one main element in politics which was working against them, and this was a psychological feeling of inferiority" (Steve Biko, personal communication, n.d.⁴⁷). In other words, it was necessary for the black people of South Africa to reach the stage when they knew that *they* could achieve liberation from a brutal and oppressive political system.

Dialogic interplay and polyphony in vocal performance

Features of the vocal performance are also significant in the construction of meaning. As Dawes (2002) notes in relation to Bob Marley's song "Concrete Jungle" (Marley, 1973), the dialogic interplay between a lead vocalist and backing vocals can be as complex and pivotal to meaning as any other aspect of a song. Figure 5 shows that with the exception of particular words and names the two verses of the song are sung by the lead vocalist, Toni Fonoti. Exceptions include instances where Fonoti is joined by Herbs' main vocalists Dilworth Karaka, Spenz Fuimalohi and Fred Faleautu, for example in a harmonisation of every third repetition of "say". This interplay has the effect of emphasising the call ("...what you say") while allowing for a clear, single-voiced narrative in the verse response. There is multi-vocalisation of "Pretoria" and a polyphonic harmonisation of "Steve Biko" and "Nelson Mandela". These create polyphonic connections that can be understood as highlighting the significance of Pretoria in the fates of Biko and Mandela. At the same time the use of harmonised voices for the sounding of their names can be interpreted as a performative honouring of Biko and Mandela.

⁴⁷ See recorded interview with Steve Biko at www.youtube.com/watch?v=UWLeNMgdGcc.

The polyphonic chorus as well as the chanting at the end of the song are sung by the four Herbs vocalists. However, a further four background vocalists are identified for “Azania” on the sleeve notes, including the song writer, Ross France. These additional voices come into play in the chorus by adding to the intensity of sound for “Now come/Soon come Azania” and the repetitions of “Azania”. They also combine in shouting out the names of the three recently-liberated countries “Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe” followed by “Azania” towards the end of the song. As Figure 5 indicates, each country’s name is highlighted in turn over four repetitions of the rhythmic chanting, underscored by further accompanying voices in a steady, rhythmic and repeated chanting of “Azania”. The end of the final call after the second chorus is marked by a loud crash of a cymbal, heralding this new and dramatic form of response. While having the optative function of willing and wishing South Africa (Azania) into becoming another name in the list of newly-liberated countries, reinforced by more than 15 repetitions of the that name, the response also asserts that it will.

Time, space and the chronotope

Bakhtin (1981b) points out that there are chronotopes of the represented world in literary texts as well as chronotopes of their creators and readers. The narrative form of call and response in “Azania (Soon Come)”, in which a call is followed by an immediate response, produces a time-space relationship within the song that is inherently grounded in the present. The lyrics narrate in the present tense what in 1981 was the here-and-now of apartheid South Africa, located by the place name Pretoria with its “evil system” and “white racists” and by references to specific people. However, in the assertion and wish that Azania “now come...soon come”, a space of freedom from racism and a re-named place, the lyrics go beyond the present context of their narration to predict that apartheid South Africa will be relegated to the past. The chronotope of Herbs’ musicians and their audiences at the time of the song’s release was similarly grounded in the context of the present, shared knowledge of the impact of apartheid in South Africa, and shared aspirations for the future. Audiences today have a different chronotopic relationship with Herbs’ narrative in this song, in which apartheid South Africa is in the historic past, and what was predicted in the lyrics, a South Africa free from the racist apartheid system, has come to pass.

Call, response and the voices of others in protest

This analysis has shown that protest against apartheid in “Azania” is constructed in choices and dialogic relationships in the music, the lyrics and the recorded performance. These include relationships between the discourse and the political and social context at that time, those between the appropriated reggae genre and Pacific musical traditions, and others created by choices made in relation to double-voiced discourse. Words from the discourse of others, marked by their social history and associated values, are juxtaposed in the title to construct a sense of solidarity with those others and both an assertion and a will that a South Africa free of racism “soon come”. End-rhymes, para-rhymes and phonic and lexical repetition create semantic connections that also contribute to the construction of meaning. The song’s compositional structure draws from heteroglossia in the adopted generic form of the traditional sub-Saharan African call and response, in which calls and responses and references to specific names of places and people produce a chronotope grounded in the historic present of South African apartheid. Furthermore, assertions that liberation “soon come” are reinforced by the voices, values and intentions of others associated with the slogans of civil rights and anti-apartheid movements, and in repetitions of “Azania”. The analysis has also illustrated that in the performance of the song, dialogic relations in the interplay between a single voice, multiple voices and polyphonic Pacific harmonisation serve to highlight Pretoria as the administrative centre of the apartheid regime as well as emphasising and localising the tribute to Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela.

In explicitly addressing the racists of the apartheid regime (“we see through all your lies”), in its overt statements of criticism and slogans of opposition to apartheid, “Azania” meets Laing’s (2003) criteria for a song of protest, discussed in Chapter Two. However, rather than distinguishing between protest songs and songs of more subtly coded resistance, as Laing does, this analysis suggests that Azania produces both. The appropriation and localisation of reggae, and the choices and juxtaposition in the title of the song are acts of alignment and solidarity, and as such can be interpreted as subtle acts of resistance to apartheid, and to the Springbok tour that was imminent at the time of the album’s release. The strong, insistent reggae beat can be heard as emphasising the associations of reggae with rhetorical critique and its resistive function. Furthermore, in naming Pretoria, Steve Biko, and Nelson Mandela, the song can also be understood as

serving the documentary and memorial functions of resistance poetry, described by Harlow (1987).

In contrast to “Azania (Soon Come)” the lyrics of “One Brotherhood” are more explicit in their reference to protests against the Springbok tour. It is in this song written by Phil Toms that Herbs produce an overt, dialogic connection in discourse between growing opposition to racism and oppression of rights in New Zealand, and protests against racist oppression under apartheid in South Africa, represented by the forthcoming Springbok tour.

One Brotherhood

The examination of “Azania (Soon Come)” has shown a high level of correspondence in dialogic relationships between musical form, overall lyrical structure and lyrical content. In contrast, the relationships in “One Brotherhood” examined through the same lens of dialogism signify conflict rather than harmony. As the following paragraphs explain, the song title, the reggae form in terms of tempo and tone, the harmonised vocal performance as well as lyrical themes of apparent harmony in the chorus, are juxtaposed in referential content with allusions to fighting, shouting, “wrecking the joint”, and being knocked down by baton-wielding policemen. Choices made by the song writer within the overall narrative form of authorial discourse (Bakhtin, 1984) and by the musicians in creating these relationships can be seen as serving particular evaluative and expressive intentions (Bakhtin, 1981) and the construction of meanings of the song. In investigating these it is useful to begin by describing the overall sonic composition of the song.

Sonic form

Muted cries of seagulls and the sound of waves breaking quietly on a shingle beach lead into and then accompany a four-bar instrumental introduction with a relaxed, slow-tempo reggae beat. The tempo, as Phil Toms points out, is provided by the rhythm of the cries of seagulls (personal communication, November 21, 2013), and the taking up by the drummer of a rhythm established first by the sound of seagulls is suggestive of a sense of harmony in the relationship between man and nature. There are further suggestions of harmony in the Pacific sounding vocal harmonisation (as Phil Toms describes it), in the performance of the initial chorus, and also in the gentle instrumental bridges accompanied by the sounds of breaking waves that follow the second and third repetitions of the chorus. The song ends after the final bridge with a further three repetitions of the chorus,

in which the harmonised sounds of singers and musicians are joined again by the sounds of breaking waves. As the singers' voices fade in the final version of the chorus the music and sound of waves gradually dominate, echoing the beginning of the song. The harmonised voices combined with the legato musical style, gentle instrumental bridges and recorded sound effects serve to evoke the soothing sounds of the Pacific, and a sense of the relaxed spirit invoked by beaches on "a paradise island" in Aotearoa.

(Chorus)

We're one brotherhood, Aotearoa
Fighting man against man in the eleventh hour
Brother and sisterhood yeah, Aotearoa
Together we'll stand together we have power

(Verse one)

So you knock me down
 With your modunok baton
 'Cause I cause a big stir
 about the bad things goin' on
 'Cause it's a cover up
 about the goal posts and the slaves
 But you'd rather not know
 'Cause time is dealing out your days

(Chorus)

We're one brotherhood...

(Verse two)

Well they're fighting for land in Raglan
 And they're fighting for land in Orakei
 And they're shouting in Parliament
 People trying to get free
 On a paradise island
 Crazy people wanting *more, more, more*
 And they're wrecking the joint
 While they take from you and me

(Chorus, repeated)

We're one brotherhood...

We're one brotherhood...

We're one brotherhood...

We're one brotherhood...

Figure 6: Lyrics of "One Brotherhood" (Toms, 1981). Non-italic text signifies the lead vocalist, Phil Toms; italics signify multiple, harmonised voices.

Juxtapositions in dialogic relations

There are, however, significant contrasts between musical and lyrical tone and referential content. As the lyrics in Figure 6 illustrate, the first line of the chorus "We're one brotherhood, Aotearoa" maintains the tone of harmony established in the instrumental introduction. However, the second line "Fighting man against man in the eleventh hour" is in discordant contrast with the force (effect) of the initial tone. This pattern is repeated when the third line "Brother and sisterhood, yeah, Aotearoa", which parallels the first thematically and revives the theme of harmony, is in turn juxtaposed with the contrasting final line of the chorus: "Together we'll stand together we have power". There is thus a "baffling of expectations" (Eagleton, 2007, p. 92) in the abrupt shift from the idea of one brotherhood and one sisterhood, with its overtones of idealised harmony between people and peoples on a paradise island, to the notions of fighting, of Aotearoa being on the brink of disaster, and of an unexplained but urgent need to "stand together".

These juxtapositions might initially appear to be an exercise in irony, particularly given the “Haka Party Incident” in 1979 and its repercussions that shocked Pākehā New Zealand. As Chapter Five has explained, these had exploded the myth that New Zealand was a “multicultural utopia” (Human Rights Commission, 1982, p. 12) and ruptured the dominant ideology that posited Māori and Pākehā as one harmonious people (Walker, 2004).

Phonic connections and re-accentuation

Closer examination of the lyrics and the relations embedded in them, as well as Phil Toms’ own comments about himself in the late 1970s suggest a more subtle complexity of meanings. In the context of the other lines of the chorus the phonic association in the end-rhyme “hour” / “power” creates a dialogic semantic relationship that can be interpreted as suggesting an urgent eleventh-hour need for the power produced by political unity and solidarity in brotherhood and sisterhood. This interpretation is reinforced by Toms, who explains: “I was a political person at the time... I had married a communist who is the daughter of a prominent communist. And I’d been going on Vietnam demonstrations since I was about 17 and anti-nuclear ships demonstrations... I was part of that left wing movement” (personal communication November, 21, 2013). As a left-wing activist with Communist Party connections Toms can be understood to have appropriated and re-accented (Bakhtin, 1981) the terms “brotherhood” and “sisterhood”, in an evaluative context that imbues them with a particular meaning (Voloshinov, 1986) related to solidarity in struggles against inequity and oppression. In an exemplification of the struggle in discourse over meanings of words that reflect social usage and different semantic intentions, the lyrics appropriate the terms from the context of a mythical racial harmony associated with European liberal ideology. They are re-accented in the context of the lyrics and “We’re one brotherhood” can now be understood as a “rhetorical exhortation” (Eagleton, 2012, p. 119), an appeal associated with the working class solidarity necessary to resist oppression.

Language choices

The two verses, sung by Phil Toms, elaborate indirectly through dialogic associations on the nature of the oppression suggested by the discourse of the chorus. While the chorus addresses “Aotearoa”, the first two lines of the first verse, “So you knock me down / With your modunok baton”, the words “you” / “your” appear to address protest against the

police, and could reference the police forces in South Africa as well as New Zealand. New Zealand police were equipped in the early 1980s with a new, much longer monadnock baton, partly in preparation for protests against the planned Springbok tour.⁴⁸ While the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa's description of an exhibited baton frames the use of these in the context of "riot control" (see footnote), the lyrics construct a different point of view. With the additional lines "Cause I make a big noise / about the bad things goin' on" the lyrics evoke images of vocal demonstrators and protestors against injustice being struck down by baton-wielding riot squads. Referential content becomes subtly more specific in the second half of the verse in suggesting the righteous focus of some of the big noise protests. In the lines "Cause it's a cover up / about the goalposts and the slaves", goalposts evoke football and the Springbok tour. But the word also relates to political motivations as Phil Toms himself suggests, because as an idiom it refers to the political shifting of rules (personal communication, November 21, 2013). Given the context, this notion of moving the goalposts is likely to refer (among other possibilities) to the selection of Errol Tobias for the Springbok team, whose inclusion was seen as a token of multi-racialism. It did nothing to change the racist regime in South Africa, but simply made the chains of the slavery of apartheid less uncomfortable (Desmond Tutu as cited in Moore, 1981). For as Phil Toms explains in reference to the word "slaves", "we didn't talk much about the slaves but essentially in South Africa the Black people were still slaves back then...". Tobias' inclusion can be interpreted as an attempt to ward off protests that might disrupt the rugby matches, and to frustrate the struggle for majority rule in South Africa.

There is a shift of apparent addressee in the final lines of the first verse: "But you'd rather not know / Time is dealing out your days". The most obvious interpretation is that these words are addressed to the apartheid regime. However, the juxtaposition of content in the

⁴⁸ When Phil Toms learned that the New Zealand police force was "proud of these new [monadnock] batons" he heard it as "modunok". He explains that the baton "was creating a bit of an outrage...they got in these special container loads for the Springbok tour. Because they were going to have to hit a whole lot of people over the head." (personal communication, November 21, 2013). The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa has an exhibit of the 60 cm US made Monadnock PR 24 baton, "introduced...in the early 1980s for riot control". The Museum website adds, interestingly: "Confrontations between rugby supporters and anti-tour protesters grew increasingly violent as the tour progressed. To manage the conflict, police were equipped with helmets, riot shields, and the long PR 24 baton." (Tongarewa <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/objectdetails.aspx?oid=66823>).

first verse with the references to struggles to regain land in the second verse (“They’re fighting for land in Raglan...”) creates a dialogic relationship between conflicts over Māori land rights and the impending Springbok tour. In doing so it connects the racism of apartheid South Africa to racist colonial policies of land seizure in New Zealand, and more recent policies of land acquisition and unjust government tenure of Māori land. The implication is that the “you” (in “you’d”) addresses racists and institutionalised racism in New Zealand as well as the racist regime in South Africa.

Time, space and the chronotope

The dialogical relationships constructed in the first person narratives in the first and second verses and the chorus are examined here through the lens of Bakhtin’s notion of the chronotope. As noted in Chapter Four and particularly relevant here, the chronotope provides a theoretical framework for consideration of meanings engendered by the relationship between generally-held concepts of time at a given moment in a particular culture, the chronology of events in “real life”, and the ways in which a sequence of events is “deformed” in a mediated plot (Holquist, 1990).

Apart from a reference to an unspecified “eleventh hour” in the chorus and a generalised reference to the passing of (limited) time in the last line of the first verse (“...time is dealing out your days”), the only indicator to locate the narrative of “One Brotherhood” in time is the use of the present tense. Furthermore, while the space of “Aotearoa” is broadly identified in the chorus, there is otherwise an absence of indicators in the first verse that would locate the narrative in a particular space, or place (Ganser et al., 2006). The effect of the choices made to omit such details and the choice of tense, suggest the use of the gnomic present tense to express a general and ongoing truth or reality. The “I” and “me” in the direct authorial narrative of the first verse can therefore be understood to encompass the narrator, the Black or White South African who resists apartheid, the New Zealander who plans to protest against the Springbok tour (see Merata Mita’s film *Patu!* about opposition to the 1981 tour; Mita, 1983), Bantu Steve Biko, and others who have suffered, suffer and will suffer violence “fighting” in support of this cause.

The present tense is also used in the second verse. However, in contrast to the first verse, the second includes the names of specific places and spaces in a series of parallel structures: “Well they’re fighting for land in Raglan / And they’re fighting for land in Orakei / And they’re shouting in Parliament”. As noted in Chapter Two, musicologists

argue that reggae is employed by musicians in the social construction of cultural identity (Cattermole, 2004), and that references to local New Zealand place names engender a distinct sense of place (Mitchell, 1996). However, through the framework of the chronotope these names in this song can also be seen as part of the construction and expression of a political position and as serving rhetorical purposes by locating the narrative in particular places “charged with social and cultural meanings” (Ganser et al., 2006, p. 15), in the spatial environment of Aotearoa. The places are associated with significant struggles to regain lost Māori lands: the seventeen month occupation at Bastion Point, Orakei between 1977 and 1978 and the protests and occupations at the Raglan Golf Club between 1975 and 1978. The framework of the chronotope is valuable in considering the implications of these authorial choices for meaning, and for interpretations of authorial intention.

While the second verse locates the narrative in particular places, with names that evoke significant past events, it does so in the present tense. In this way, what would generally be regarded as a sequence of events in recent past time (given that the song was written in 1981) is creatively and rhetorically “deformed” (Holquist, 1990), condensed and concentrated (Jones, 1990) in present time. The effect is to suggest that these struggles are unfinished, and through juxtaposition and tense use they are dialogically connected to the narrative of protest, batons, goalposts, and slaves in the first verse. It also suggests that the “you and me” at the end of the second verse are in unity with the “I” and “me” of the first.

Time, space and a plea for resistance

“One Brotherhood” discursively and rhetorically connects events and issues that were significant to Herbs’ audiences and are significant to New Zealand’s modern history. Protest against past and anticipated future police treatment of demonstrators, against political authorities who move the goalposts, and those who attempted to hide the truth of apartheid is constructed in the first verse in the form of direct address: “So you knock me down... you’d rather not know time is dealing out your days”. Further, less direct protest against “Crazy people wanting more...wrecking the joint...” and resistance is produced through a complex of dialogical relationships in and between content and form. In the context of recent events at that time as well as planned protests against the Springbok tour, these include the relationship between the music, the lyrics, and Herbs’

performance, and between elements of a narrative in which there is a shift in addressee between the chorus and first verse. As with songs already discussed, the appropriation and localisation of Jamaican reggae as a recognised genre of social commentary is a positioning associated with critique and resistance, and at the same time generates a sense of political and geographic identity. Particular political and social values can be understood in lyrical content, by examining indicators of time and space through the mobilisation of Bakhtin's notion of the chronotope, in the exploration of language choices, in juxtapositions in the lyrics, in conflicts between referential content and musical form, and through the songwriter's own description of his political orientation. Among the language choices made, some contribute to a creatively "deformed" representation of time and space with the effect of overtly connecting protest against the Springbok tour to the issue of Māori land rights. Finally, the title of the song and its repetition in the chorus can be understood as a rhetorical exhortation, a plea for a particular form of resistance.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has examined "Azania (Soon Come)" and "One Brotherhood", which are thematically linked by references to South African apartheid (both explicit and coded) and allusions to the impending Springbok tour in 1981. The absence of direct references to the tour can be explained in part by Bakhtin's (1981) ideas in relation to the orientation of utterances, and the forces that shape them. Herbs' songs were written and performed in the context of the assumed knowledge and experience of listeners (their apperceptive background, in Bakhtin's terms) and shaped by an anticipated response.

Contemporaneous audiences in New Zealand would have been aware of recent events at Orakei and Raglan in the struggle for the return of Māori lands, and of the scheduled Springbok tour, and are likely to have understood the implications of their connection in "One Brotherhood". Audiences' understanding of the more tacit meanings of these songs are dependent on knowledge of the historical and contemporaneous social, political, and cultural context, as well as the derivation of embedded slogans, and the conceptualisation of reggae as an oppositional cultural form.

This chapter has extended a number of Bakhtin's concepts to the examination of these popular songs. In the analysis of "Azania (Soon Come)" these include choices between the languages of heteroglossia, double voiced discourse, and the notion of words marked

by their history and by the values and intentions of others. In addition, Bakhtin's concept of polyphony is applied in its more literal sense in investigating effects engendered by dialogic interplay in Herbs' vocal performance. Bakhtin's theory of the chronotope underpins an exploration of the ways in which meaning is constructed through relationships in narrative between space and time, and is particularly productive in the analysis of "One Brotherhood". Exploration of further features that are beyond the scope of Bakhtin's predominant focus on the novel is informed by Eagleton's (2007) analysis of form and content in poetry. These features include association, phonic and sonic connections, repetition in the compressed discourse of the lyrics, and their relationship to meaning.

The chapter has also highlighted the significance of juxtaposition in the construction of discourses of resistance and protest, particularly in "One Brotherhood". While the overall narrative form of "One Brotherhood" matches Bakhtin's (1984) category of direct authorial discourse, it is what Eagleton (2007) refers to as the intentional mismatch of content and form that is most marked in the song's construction of meaning. This mismatch occurs at different levels. A significant contrast is created in the juxtaposition of referential content with the relaxed tempo of sonic form, and vocal harmonisation in the chorus. At the level of lyrical form and content, although there are some significant correspondences in lyrical form, there are also conflicting internal dialogical relationships within lyrical content. The juxtaposition of the performed form suggestive of harmony with dissonant content is paralleled in the contrast between apparent affirmations of harmony ("Brother and sisterhood yeah, Aotearoa") and references to conflict in the lines of the chorus. These tensions between form and content and within content are intrinsic to the song's artistic unity and the rhetorical effects it produces. These evoke and at the same time enact the rupturing of the myth of harmony between different social groups in New Zealand.

In the title "Azania (Soon Come)" dialogic juxtaposition produces an assertion and a wish that there will be victory over apartheid as well as a statement of resistance and solidarity; at the same time it constructs associations related to the discourses of marginalised peoples, previous identifications and others' intentions. However, rather than the network of contrasts that constitute "One Brotherhood", in Azania there is a merging of form and content. The overall structure of the song is a call and response interwoven with semantic

connections created by end-rhymes, repetitions of sounds and strategic elements of polyphony. Lyrical content mirrors structure in the repeated call followed initially by the response of the verses and chorus, and finally by a chanted response. This chanted response, along with the increasing polyphonic volume, has the effect of intensifying the conviction that “Azania Soon Come”, and at the same time can be heard as an increasing urgency reflecting the growing momentum of the protests against the Springbok rugby tour in 1981. The chapter has shown that structurally and lyrically the song is both a call and an assertive response that evokes the rhythmic marching of a body of slogan-chanting protestors (“What do we want?”/ “Azania now!”). The complex of choices and relationships serves to construct and express protest, resistance, solidarity and the rhetorical conviction that “Azania will come”.

Finally, the analysis of these songs illustrates the significance of Bakhtin’s and Eagleton’s emphasis on the constitutive relationship between form and content in literary texts, and their dialogic relationship to social context and meaning. In adopting the generic structure of call and response with its roots in African culture and traditions, the compositional form of “Azania” is beyond the parameters of Bakhtin’s categories of narrative form in the novel. Nonetheless, the chapter has demonstrated that the principles underlying Bakhtin’s categories can be extended to help inform a focus on this form of narrative structure.

The next chapter extends explorations of Herbs’ album to the record cover, and identifies the key features of Herbs’ discourses of social commentary, protest and resistance. It includes an examination of the choices of images, text, typography and use of colour on the album cover and the meanings constructed by the relationships between these features, the songs and their context. In doing so the analysis is framed by Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism which posits a continuous interaction between meanings, in which everything is understood as part of a greater totality, and each meaning has the potential to influence other meanings (Holquist, 1981). It follows that the meanings constructed in each of the songs analysed here and in the previous chapter are inflected by their dialogic relationship with the meanings of each other song, by their relationship with elements on the album cover and by their location as part of the greater whole constituted in the materiality of the album. The chapter builds on the analysis of the songs in the previous

two chapters to examine lyrical themes in more detail as well as repeated textual practices that characterise the discourses of Herbs' songs.

Chapter Eight: What's Be Happen?

“Everything means, is understood, as a part of a greater whole” (Holquist, 1981, p. 426)

Introduction

In this chapter I consider the ways in which Herbs' album as a whole, constituted by the six songs and the album cover, produces the discourses of social commentary, resistance and protest for which it is so well-known (Reid, 2009). Up until this point in the thesis I have examined the social and political context for the album, Herbs' appropriation and localisation of roots reggae in five of the songs, and each of the six songs in relation to their context. I build here on this earlier analysis to extend widely accepted understandings of the album in providing a more detailed analysis of the interrelated themes and significant aspects of language use that produce its discourses.

The chapter focuses initially on the ways in which the record cover acts as a visual and textual introduction to the songs it encloses. Given that features such as the title and images on a record sleeve are theorised as “thresholding devices” (Genette, 1997, p. 2; Symes, 2004, p. 95), it might seem more logical to examine these earlier in the thesis prior to the analysis of Herbs' songs. However, as I argue in the introductory chapter, the examination of such elements of the album's paratext (Genette, 1997; Symes, 2004) is better informed and more meaningful in this thesis when considered in the context of my analysis of the six songs. I believe that this approach to the order of analysis is supported by Symes' (2004) additional theorisation of record covers as not only a “phonographic form of impression management” (p. 121) but also as textual extensions of the records they enclose. Furthermore, in extending previous analyses of record covers to include the order of songs on the two sides of the record and their listing on the record sleeve, I draw usefully on my earlier analysis of the songs.

The chapter also considers repeated textual practices, referred to by Alistair Pennycook (2010) as “evident textual patternings” (p. 112), and recurring themes in discursive content that characterise the discourses of the album and link it to its social context. In considering textual practices and patterns of language use across the song lyrics I focus on compositional forms identified by Bakhtin (1984) of direct authorial discourse, hidden dialogue and double voiced discourse as well as the use of juxtaposition in different

forms, and the significance of internal dialogic relationships in underscoring and generating meaning.

Herbs' album cover

This analysis addresses the typographic forms of the album title and the band's name on the album cover as well as the images and use of colour. In doing so it draws particularly on Symes' (2004) examination of the paratext of classical records, Machin's (2010) analysis of iconography and text on popular music albums, and Swann's (1991) consideration of typographic form, content and context that were discussed in the section on analysing paratext in Chapter Four, as well as the recollections of Herbs' songwriters. The analysis includes the textual organisation of the songs on the two sides of the record and the ways in which their order contributes to the discourses of the album as a whole. I consider dialogic relations between these visual and textual components and their significance in relationship to the album's cultural and historical context. The section begins its focus on paratext on the front cover by considering an intertextual relationship between the title *What's Be Happen?* and the title of an earlier album by soul musician Marvin Gaye.

Although Toni Fonoti states that he was not conscious of it at the time (personal communication, October 5, 2012), there appears to be an intertextual connection between the title of the album, and of Herbs' song by the same name, and the title of Marvin Gaye's influential album *What's Going On* (1971). As Chapter Two explains, Gaye's politically-charged album includes protest songs that are a commentary on social suffering and injustice, urban decay, police brutality and conflict in the United States (from the generalised point of view of a soldier returning from the war in Vietnam). The title track asserts the need for change: "We've got to find a way to bring some understanding" (Cleveland, Benson & Gaye, 1971). The album is described by singer song-writer and record producer Smokey Robinson as "music that defined a decade" by highlighting social and political problems in the United States at that time (What's going on, 2011). Robinson argues that *What's Going On* has provided inspiration for generations of musicians to produce music that highlights social problems.

Herbs' apparent localisation of the title of Gaye's seminal album in the vernacular of young Pacific Islands people suggests this intertextual influence. In Bakhtin's (1981) terms, Herbs' title seems to be a responsive reworking and reaccentuation of Gaye's

previous utterance. In referencing Gaye's album title as well as the title and repeated refrain of a further track on the album, "What's Happening, Brother" (Nyx & Gaye, 1971), Herbs' EP can be interpreted in Hall's (1990) terms as a positioning in relation to Afro-American soul music and its role in addressing social injustice and conflicts. At the same time, Herb's music is an identification with the values and rhetorical functions associated with Jamaican roots reggae, in the context of events and experiences in Aotearoa New Zealand. The musicians produce an ethically motivated political identity by apparently positioning themselves in relation to Gaye, Marley and other musicians in "a dialogue with the [recent] past" (Gracyk, 2001, p. 35).

It is significant that in Gaye's album title there is no question mark, suggesting an intentional framing of the album as a firm statement of social injustices. In contrast, Herbs' title as a question interrogates events, conflicts and experiences represented in the main image of the album cover (discussed below) and in the text of the songs. It appears to invite consideration of recent events in relation to Pacific Islands and Māori people's experiences in urban New Zealand, and particularly the struggles over Māori land and their relationship with the racism of apartheid in South Africa. In the typography of the album title (see Figure 7, page 230) the impression of an almost graffiti-like social comment is reinforced by the uneven positioning of letters along a notional baseline (see the "H" in particular). At the same time, an upward curve of letters at the beginning and end of the title has the effect of partially enclosing the image, signifying the relationship between the image with its high visual modality (Barthes, 1977; Machin, 2010), and the title question.

There is a relationship between the typography of the title and the design of the "Warrior Records" logo (positioned on the right hand corner of the rear of the album cover; see Figure 8, page 233). Although the fonts differ slightly in terms of the size of the serifs (serifs are projections that finish off the strokes of letters (Machin, 2010)) the letters are similarly cursive but are not joined. In both texts there is slight elongation in the vertical axis (discussed by Machin (2010) in terms of orientation) and narrow spacing between letters. The form of the name "Warrior" suggests a line of Māori warriors standing more or less to attention (the second stem of the "A" slopes towards the first letter). Furthermore, the relatively "spiky" form of the letter "W" in the company logo is suggestive of the taiaha, a wooden or bone fighting staff with long-handles used by Māori

warriors (see [http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/riri-traditional-maori-warfare/ page-3](http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/riri-traditional-maori-warfare/page-3)), while the final, ascending component of the “W” is heavy, and extends horizontally to enclose both words, connoting a protective palisade surrounding the “warrior” letters.

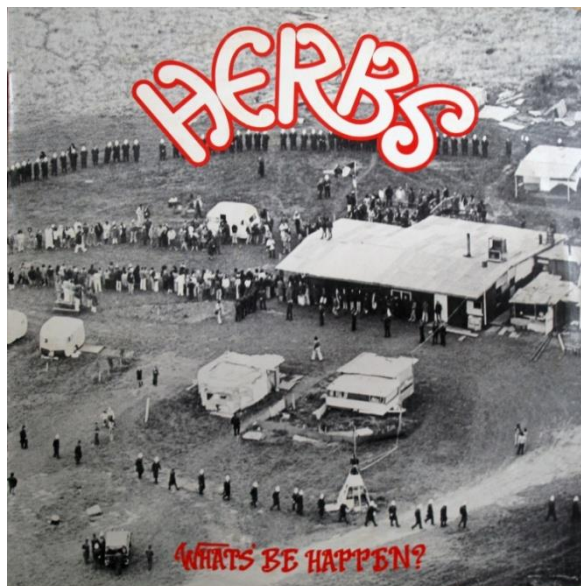


Figure 7: Front cover of *What's Be Happen?* Aerial view of Bastion Point evictions by New Zealand police, 15 May 1978.

In further connotations of Māori culture, the curvilinear letters of the band's name suggest the hand crafted kowhaiwhai designs associated with Māori wood carving (evoked in the connection between the “R” and the “B” in particular), which is frequently characterised by interlocking curved shapes and the stylised spiral koru (Dunn, 2002). The Herbs' logo has been an enduring contribution to the band by bass player and graphic artist John Berkley. Berkley replaced the first bass player in Back Yard, Dave Pou (Moffatt, 2013), but left the band in 1981 just before Herbs began to prepare to start recording, and his place was filled by Phil Toms. In Berkley's design, letter strokes end in ball-shaped terminals (see Playtype, 2015), with the exception of vertical ascenders, and these are particularly pronounced in the final “S”. These shapes are associated in the culture of Aotearoa New Zealand with the koru motif, the stylised spiral shape of an unfurling fern frond (see Royal, 2013), a symbol of renewal that is ubiquitous in wood carving and other forms of Māori art (Dunn, 20020; McLintock 1966). The same koru form is echoed in the question mark at the end of the album title, and on a smaller scale in stroke and serif terminals in the title.

The image on the front cover of the album signals and contextualises (Symes, 2004) the political content of Herbs' songs and what Voloshinov (1986) refers to as the evaluative orientation of the musicians' toward that content. The cover of the album is dominated by a black and white aerial photograph⁴⁹ of the contentious eviction of Māori land rights protesters on the final day of the Bastion Point occupation on 25 May, 1978 (see Figure 7). Phil Toms recalls that the decision to adopt the name of Toni Fonoti's song as the title of Herbs' album had been made before the cover image was decided on (personal communication, November 21, 2013). When the recording of the album was complete the band went to Hugh Lynn's house for a few celebratory beers; the Bastion Point photograph was on the wall and it was Phil who suggested including that image for the cover.

In what John Dix (2005) describes as a portrayal of the “clash of Maori mana⁵⁰ and Pakeha authority” (p. 261), the image shows part of a large circle of white-helmeted police officers surrounding the meeting house and a scattering of protestors' caravans. The police officers in the upper part of the circle are standing in position, facing inwards, with hands behind their backs. Other officers are seen filing into position in the lower segment of the photograph while protestors stand on either side of a pathway that leads away from the meeting house that is positioned off centre in the composition. The name of the band is superimposed at centre top in white curved letters outlined in red, and the album title in red is centred at the bottom (the significance of these colours is discussed below). The symmetrically positioned lettering of the foregrounded name and title curves towards to centre of the photograph, echoing the circle of police officers. In enclosing the image and encircling the police circle, the curvature of the typography suggests an embrace, a signal of willingness to support and speak for those damaged by the events depicted in the image.

The use of colour, red and white in Herbs' name, red in the title, black in the record company logo and the black and white images, symbolises Māori culture and interests.

⁴⁹ The photograph is not attributed, although a similar aerial photograph from the *New Zealand Herald* archive was recently published on 30 May 2015 (see McFadden, 2015 at http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11456874).

⁵⁰ The online *Māori Dictionary* provides the following meanings for mana (noun): “prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma” of a person, place or an object. <http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/word/3424>.

Red is a symbol of mana (McLintock, 1996) and these three traditional colours feature strongly and have cultural significance in Māori woodcarving and other art forms (McLintock, 1966; Sully, 2007). They carry political meaning as the three colours of the Māori Tino Rangatiratanga (sovereignty) flag (McLintock, 1966).

It is possible to extend Bakhtin's (1986c) theory of language choices to the choice of the image of the final day of the occupation at Bastion Point. Language choices are theorised as determined by and signifying the user's semantic intentions and evaluative orientation towards the topic of an utterance (Bakhtin, 1986c), that is, the language user's value judgement (El Ayadi & Smith, 2008; Morson & Emerson, 1990). The selection of an image of this highly contentious and political event is determined by the musicians' intentions to comment and protest against it and at the same time constructs a value judgement on the themes addressed in the lyrics of the songs, particularly in its juxtaposition with the album title. In its dialogic relation to the colour red the image can be understood to signify the discourse of Māori mana and by implication the protest of Māori and others who struggle against oppressive and racist treatment made manifest in the loss of Māori land (Walker, 2004). References to the koru, a symbol of renewal, in the cover typography discussed above can be seen as signifying not only growth and renewal but also the resurgence of Māori political activism and self assertion that emerged at the end of the 1970s (Walker, 2004) in what Belich (2001) describes as a new form of Māori "decolonisation" (p. 475). In this context the image is an explicit statement of political orientation in relation to the protests and occupation at Bastion Point and like the title, acts as a thresholding device (see Symes, 2004) for the songs on the record itself. The choice of image on the front cover, the use of colour and other visual components can also be seen as a form of positioning (Hall, 1990), a cultural and political statement of identity, and as a statement of identification and ethical alignment with the rights of racially and economically marginalised people.

There is a contrast between the allusions to Māori culture through image and text on the front of the album cover and those created through the image on the rear of the sleeve, a much smaller black and white photograph (see Figure 8). The photograph of Herbs musicians is edged by a frame that in this context evokes Pasifika weaving patterns. The musicians are posed around a piano, encircling it in a way that mirrors the curved positioning of the letters in the band's name. The posture of the musicians is relaxed, their

level gaze, juxtaposed with Dilworth Karaka's facial expression (stretching out the tongue is often used as an element of Māori performance), engages the viewer, and the close shot serves to reduce social distance through the relative proximity of the figures to the camera (see Machin, 2010 cited in Chapter Four). These combined effects create an impression of a brotherhood of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds united literally and metaphorically around music. The image suggests a representation of the kaupapa (philosophy) of unity. In contrast, the image of Bastion Point documents lived realities that contributed to the rupturing of the ideology of Māori and Pākehā living in harmony as one people (Walker, 2004).



Figure 8: Rear cover of *What's Be Happen?* Azania (Soon Come), Dragons and Demons, and What's Be Happen? are listed for Side One on the left. One Brotherhood, Whistling in the Dark, and Reggae's Doing Fine are listed for Side Two on the right.

As Figure 8 shows, the central section of the back of the album cover beneath the photograph of Herbs musicians is followed by a list of the musicians' names, "The Musos", and their contributions (such as "Dilworth Karaka, rhythm guitarist, vocals"). Credits below this acknowledge, among others, background vocalists on "Azania (Soon Come)" including Ross France who wrote the song and manager Will 'Ilolahia, and Phil Toms as lead vocalist for "One Brotherhood". The Rarotonganui Cultural Club is acknowledged for percussion segments in "What's Be Happen?"; recording and mixing engineers, Mascot (recording) Studios and Herb's management (for the cover design) are

also credited. These credits are followed by a paragraph of some 25 names, acknowledged with the words “thanks to...for helping us get where we are”. These thanks are echoed in the text that follows in a parallel construction that reads: “Special thanks to **YOU** for helping us get to where we will be”. The use of bold for these words, their centre alignment and the use of capital letters signal and emphasise a shift of focus from the musicians and all those who helped to produce the album to the significance of the audience, to those who hear the music and see the album cover. At the same time the words signal a shift in focus from the past and present to the future. Like the image of the musicians above it the message to “**YOU**” engages the reader. By directly addressing the audience and reducing the social distance between the audience, the musicians and the team that produced the album, it suggests that the readers who hold the album and who hear the music, those “who listen and... understand” (Morrison, 1999) are, and should be, part of a sisterhood and brotherhood committed to helping achieve a future free from racism and oppression.

Having examined the typography of Herbs’ name on the album cover and the Warrior Records logo, the album title, the images on both sides of the album cover and acknowledgements on the back of the cover, I now turn to the organisation of songs on each side of the record.

Taking sides

As a vinyl EP and a physical artefact the album has two sides, and has to be turned over in order to listen to the songs on each side. Changes in technological mediation involving digital files and the ability to buy single tracks off an album from an online store have changed the ways in which we listen to music (Hoar, 2012). The characteristic pattern of listening to a vinyl record album, however, is to listen to Side One first, starting with the first track, to turn the record over on the turntable and listen to the songs on Side Two. The order of the tracks on each side of an album therefore has significance. In the case of Herbs’ album the relationship between form and content in the organisation of the six songs is represented materially on the back of the record sleeve (see Figure 8) in the sequence of song titles listed for each side and in the “carved-up shape of the lines [of the lyrics] on the page” (Eagleton, 2007, p. 31). It is constructed sonically if the songs on the record are listened to in sequence.

A balance is achieved between the two sides of the album in that each of the track lists for the two sides includes one of the two most political songs as well as a song that narrates experiences of Pacific Islands people. In addition, the spirituality of “Dragons and Demons” on Side One is matched by references to Rastafari spirituality in the final acoustic track, “Reggae’s Doing Fine”, on Side Two. Significantly, as Figure 8 shows, each side begins with an overtly political track. “Azania (Soon Come)”, the first track on Side One, is musically and lyrically the most forceful of the six songs, with its strong, driving reggae beat, liberation slogans and confident assertion that racism will be overpowered and that Azania “soon come”. Chapter Seven noted that this is the only song that incorporates four additional background vocalists whose voices add to the intensity of sound in lines such as “Now come Azania” and serve to emphasise meaning. This song is followed on Side One by “Dragons and Demons”, which focuses on internal struggles between right and wrong, and the third track on the first side is the commentary on hardships faced by migrants from the Pacific Islands in “What’s Be Happen?”. Side Two begins with the explicitly political “One Brotherhood” in which the lyrics juxtapose the violence of police treatment of protestors and of social injustice and racism with lines such as “We’re One Brotherhood, Aotearoa” and with the sense of harmony suggested by the song’s musical form. “One Brotherhood” is followed by the narration of experiences of police harassment in “Whistling in the Dark”, while the last track on Side Two is the spiritual tribute to Bob Marley and to reggae, “Reggae’s doing Fine”. Thus overtly political songs at the beginning of each side serve to frame those that follow by establishing an explicitly political context in which subsequent songs are heard and interpreted.

Discourse features across Herbs’ album

The following subsections identify predominant features in the discourses of the album. They focus firstly on recurring content themes, followed by compositional form across the six songs, including double-voiced discourse, as well as juxtaposition and internal dialogic relations.

Themes

I have identified themes in *What’s Be Happen?* broadly as experiences of Pacific Islands and Māori people in urban Auckland and wider Aotearoa, such as experiences of racism and the loss of Māori ancestral land, as well as the racism of apartheid in South Africa.

This section, however, builds on the review of relevant literature, the review of the social and historical context and my analysis of the songs and the album cover to identify in more detail the recurring themes that contribute to the discourses of social commentary, resistance and protest in Herbs' album.

The status of *What's Be Happen?* as a valued cultural artefact is in large part a consequence of the struggles it bears witness to – the historically important themes (Belich, 2001) it addresses and their enduring cultural salience for New Zealand (Phillips in Hubbard, 2010). Formal recognition of Herbs by the music industry has consistently referred to the issues and conflicts referenced in *What's Be Happen?* (APRA, 2013; Independent Music New Zealand, 2015; Stehlin, 2015), as the following quote from the Pacific Music Awards Ceremony illustrates:

What's Be Happen? was the quintessential, ground-breaking social commentary album of a Pacific generation coming to grips with the politics of the nation ... race relations to Treaty of Waitangi, overstayers to dawn raids, 1981 anti-Springbok rugby tour, and a growing awareness of New Zealand born Pacific Island people facing spiritual, cultural and political dislocation. (Stehlin, 2015)

In this section I identify the ways in which these widely-recognised themes are directly and less directly constituted by five key themes in the album. The first and most prominent of these is “oppression”, in particular relation to civil rights and indigenous peoples' rights, in relation to economic status, and to the racist social structures imposed by the South African apartheid regime, and the brutal methods by which it was maintained. Others are secondly, “power and struggle for liberation”, and thirdly “spirituality”. I categorise recurring ideas of cultural dislocation, loss, identity and identification in a fourth theme of “identity”, while the final thematic category of “resistance” is recurrent across the album.

Oppression, defined in Chapter Two as the repeated experience of structural injustice that is systematically reproduced in social institutions (Deutsch, 2006), is a theme which manifests in different forms and contexts. “Whistling in the Dark” narrates a series of experiences of racist police treatment in which the narrator is looked at with contempt (“The look that [the officer] sent was one of contempt”), threatened with violence

(“gonna kick your ass”), called “boy” (“What’s your name boy”) and denied his legal rights (“They kept me all night ignored all of my rights”). “What’s Be Happen?” interrogates the effects of economic oppression that characterise the lives of many migrants from the Pacific Islands. Material gains are countered by the domination of life by work, and by mortgage and hire purchase debt: “Come in to [the house] at eve and in the morning you leave... No need to pay just slave and slave and slave... [and] smoke big heaps no worry no worry about sleep”. “Dragons and Demons” focuses thematically on the spiritual oppression produced by the authoritative discourse of sin promulgated by organised religion: “a tale... told by the church / To keep you on earth / And written in law / Say forbidden for all”. Oppression in the form of the loss of traditional Māori lands is referenced in the naming of Orākei and Raglan in “One Brotherhood” (“...fighting for land in Raglan...fighting for land in Orākei”). And in a different geographical context, the racism and brutality of the white-minority government’s domination of the black majority in South Africa is addressed in “Azania (Soon Come)”: “PRETORIA we see through all your lies / Hiding your evil system under multi-racial disguise”. The song refers to the brutal treatment of black leaders by naming Steve Biko (“murdered in your jails”) and citing the imprisonment of Nelson Mandela (“languishing on Robben Island”).

A second, related theme is power and struggle for liberation from oppression. Oppressive state power (and physical force) is addressed in the lyrics “White racists holding power / through the barrel of a gun” in relation to apartheid (“Azania (Soon Come)”), and in the lines “So you knock me down / With your modunok baton” that reference police action against protestors in New Zealand (“One Brotherhood”). In the chorus of “Azania” power and the struggle for freedom from racist oppression are thematised in slogans that call for “Power to the freedom fighters... / Power to the brothers and sisters”. Furthermore it is possible to identify two indirect references to the 1981 Springbok tour which instantiated and symbolised state power that discriminated against people in South Africa who were not white. One of these occurs in the phrase “multi-racial disguise” in “Azania (Soon Come)”, which I have suggested refers to the inclusion of a single black player in the otherwise white rugby team selected to tour New Zealand. The second, in “One Brotherhood” is in the lines “‘Cause it’s a cover up / about the goal posts and the slaves”. These relate to Phil Toms’ point that Black South Africans were in effect little more than slaves, and that no amount of “shifting of goalposts” could hide that (Phil Toms, personal communication, November 21, 2013); the lines reference political manoeuvres that

sought to hide the oppressive social conditions of Black people in South Africa, and the goalposts of rugby football. The same theme of power, in this case state power, is evoked by the circle of police officers at Bastion Point in the image on the album cover. The theme recurs in the chorus of “One Brotherhood” which asserts the power of unity and solidarity in the struggle for rights to reclaim Māori ancestral land, and for freedom from oppression: “together we have power”.

The theme of spirituality recurs in the lyrics of two of the songs and is implicit in Herbs’ music because of the influence of Rastafari spiritual values on roots reggae. “Dragons and Demons” includes reflections on inner struggles between right and wrong (“Your dragons and demons, make you saint or heathen... Dragons and Demons... are in your head”) and on the purpose of life (“We’re here on this earth to learn how to grow”). “Reggae’s Doing Fine” constructs a tribute to the spiritual influence of Bob Marley “the soul coming in, coming in from the cold” and of reggae music “The very streets will always be mine... Reggae’s doing fine”). Incorporated biblical language references Rastafari appropriation of biblical teachings and dedication to spiritual reflection in both of these songs, in lines such as “Not Dragons or Demons... Cast them out” in “Dragons and Demons” and “The lion with the lamb you reign in Zion” in “Reggae’s Doing Fine”, in addition to the influence of organised religion on Pacific Island communities.

I categorise ideas of cultural dislocation, loss, identity and identification under the theme of identity. The title of “What’s Be Happen?” signals references in the song to cultural dislocation and the loss associated with migrancy and with the struggle of Pacific Islands people for material betterment in New Zealand. The chorus and second verse elaborate: “What’s be happen, when the children turn away / And why for you stay when nothing remains... / While your island grows weak and abandoned, abandoned and forsaken”. According to Tappen’s (2005) theory of language as a tool in the performance of identity, Herbs’ use of Māori, Tongan and Samoan in the title song can be heard as an enactment of identity and of connections with Island homelands (Cattermole, 2004). “One Brotherhood” references another type of loss in the form of confiscated Māori ancestral land at Raglan and Orākei, and advocates an identity based on unity and mutual political interests in its title and chorus. The theme of identity and identification with Bob Marley, with reggae as the music of oppressed peoples (“us survivors”), and with the values and spirituality of Rastafari are implicit in Herbs’ reggae music and overtly represented in the

final song on the album. This identification is symbolised in the reference to the colours of the Rastafari flag: “Identify ... Identity, will always be what we see yeah / The yellow, the red, the green Identity”.

Of all the ideas that recur in Herbs’ album, the theme of resistance is most prevalent and is constructed in different forms across the album. Resistance to racist oppressive power is asserted and encouraged in “Azania (Soon Come)” in a number of ways, for example: in the song’s structure of call and response and optative slogans such as “Power to the freedom fighters... Liberation soon come”; in the line “But you can’t keep ’em no you can’t keep ’em down” that references “freedom fighters”, “brothers and sisters” and leaders such as Nelson Mandela; and in the addition of the name Azania (for South Africa) to the list of countries cited as already liberated from colonial rule, “Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Azania”. The chorus of “Whistling in the Dark” produces a form of rhetorical resistance to unjust and racist treatment through the assertion that police officers are afraid of the potential power of the youth they mistreat: “They’re whistlin’ in the dark no bite all bark / ’Fraid of young minds one spark all fire...”.

Similarly, resistance to oppressive discourse of organised religion is urged indirectly in “Dragons and Demons”: “Dragons and Demons (oh yeah) are in your head / Nothing to fear...”.

Resistance to loss of identity and marginalisation as a result of the domination by Pakeha culture in New Zealand (see Cattermole, 2004) can also be interpreted in the album’s appeals to maintain or reassert cultural identity, and for unity and solidarity. Chapter Six has discussed Herbs’ appropriation of reggae and the contribution of incorporated Pacific musical influences in the construction of identity. The lyrics of “What’s Be Happen?” construct a similarly resistive reassertion of cultural identity and solidarity through languages and their connections to ancestral Pacific Island homelands, in the use of Samoan, Tongan and Māori in the chorus, and the repetition of the chorus in Samoan. The song indirectly urges resistance to cultural dislocation and marginalisation in the exhortation to “Sing... that Samoan song ... that Tongan song... that Māori song”; and the implied appeal for a resistive unity between peoples of the South Pacific is reinforced by the photograph of the musicians on the album cover (discussed above). The image of Bastion Point on the album cover depicts the resistance of the occupiers to the sale of Māori land. At the same time the meanings associated with reggae as a practice of

resistance (Lipsitz, 1994, p.35) are reinforced in the lyrics of the last song: “No heavy heart can change the scales / The very streets will always be mine / Good times, good times, Reggae’s doing fine”. Cattermole (2004) categorises “One Brotherhood” under a theme related to “advocating world peace, unity, love harmony, justice and equality” (p. 156), but I have argued in Chapter Six that the lines “We’re one brotherhood, Aotearoa / Together we’ll stand together we have power” are largely a call for resistance through political solidarity. Nonetheless, in their relationship to the image on the back of the album cover, the lyrics and polyphony can also be heard and read as a reference to Herbs’ “kaupapa [philosophy] of Pacific unity” (Cattermole, 2011, p. 53), which in turn can be interpreted as a form of resistance through cultural solidarity.

There are convergences between the categorisation of themes and the attribution of aspects of Herbs’ album to particular themes (described here) and reggae themes identified by Cattermole (2004) (see Chapters Two and Four). For example, the theme of spirituality is represented in Cattermole’s (2004) analysis, as well as by Weber (2000). There are also differences. Certain repeated references in Herbs’ album are represented sufficiently frequently to constitute themes in their own right, rather than sub-categories or elements of qualified thematic categories, such as resistance to *racism* identified in Weber’s (2000) analysis. In illustration, the theme of oppression in Herbs’ album is more extensive than is suggested by Cattermole’s theme of “support for oppressed people”, or the sub theme of “liberation from oppression”, which she includes as a category under “spiritual themes” (p. 166). I identify the theme of “power” and link this with the notion of liberation, or rather with “struggle for liberation”. In further themes I identify in Herbs’ album, “identity” incorporates the related theme of cultural dislocation that in Cattermole’s analysis is represented in a separate theme of “displacement from Pacific Island homelands” (p. 166), while the theme “resistance” as this chapter shows, incorporates here a variety of contexts and forms that extend beyond Weber’s (2000) category of resistance to racism.

These differences reflect different purposes, different theoretical frameworks for analysis and methods, as well as the varied nature of the songs. Weber (2000) identifies themes in the discourse of interviewed reggae practitioners, producers and consumers and while I focus on a single Herbs album, Cattermole (2004) focuses on thematic content analysis of themes represented in 22 reggae songs (ten produced locally in New Zealand and ten

from overseas). Furthermore, interpretations and categorisations of themes are to an extent subjective and there are likely to be differing approaches to the treatment of connections and overlaps between themes. The analysis presented here shows that themes overlap and as a consequence, liberation from oppression, for example, cannot be fully separated from the notion of resistance. Perhaps most significantly, the detail of this analysis provides evidence of the ways in which the widely-recognised themes of Herbs' album (as quoted above) are the product of a multi-faceted network of frequently-occurring direct and indirect references to different forms of oppression and resistance, to power, and liberation and questions of identity in particular. Of these, the theme of resistance is not only immanent in much reggae music (Lipsitz, 1994); it occurs in each of Herbs' songs and is implicit in the images on the album cover and is therefore the predominant theme in Herbs' album.

Compositional form

This section employs aspects of Bakhtin's theory of dialogic relations and of compositional form in literary narrative discourse in considering key features that characterise the discourses of commentary, protest and resistance in Herbs' album. In the songs that predominantly narrate and comment on day to day experience there is, not surprisingly, a correlation between that focus and compositional form. As Chapter Six has pointed out, the compositional style in three of these songs can be categorised as direct authorial discourse (Bakhtin, 1984). The first person narrative style is made explicit in initial lines: "I was walking along" ("Whistling in the Dark"); "Once upon a time I would have cried" ("Reggae's Doing Fine"); and "Let me tell you a tale" ("Dragons and Demons"). "One Brotherhood" similarly employs direct authorial discourse. However, unlike "Reggae's Doing Fine", the narrative is not sequential, and unlike "Whistling in the Dark" it does not narrate a series of encounters. My earlier analysis has shown that the chronotopic structure of "One Brotherhood" reshapes and compresses time and events that were historically sequential, and the narrative is made more complex by a shift of implied addressee between the chorus which addresses "Aotearoa", and the first verse, addressed to the police and the state that directs the police (You knock me down...). "What's Be Happen?" is also structured as a narrative, but in the different form of a hidden dialogue. The narrator's voice alternates between accounts of experience (for example, "Say you're alright brada cause a car is handy") and commentary and critique

(such as, “While your island grows weak and abandoned”), punctuated by a chorus of repeated questions (“What’s be happen... / And why for... / And why for...”).

In contrast, the song of most overt protest and resistance differs from this pattern of narrative form in its structure of call and response. As Chapter Seven has shown, the compositional form of “Azania (Soon Come)”, which includes the opening call “What you say, what you say, what you say...” answered in the verses and chorus, reinforces and augments the effect of the content and form of slogans incorporated in the lyrics. As utterances of collective assertion (Pechey, 1990), these slogans were used in the form of call and response by anti-apartheid protestors and the Black Power Party (see Mita, 1983; Monges, 1998), while the interplay between lead vocal and harmony in reggae’s call and response is also influenced by traditional Jamaican work songs (O’Brien Chang & Chen, 2012).

In a further illustration of the inextricable relationship between form and content (Bakhtin, 1981), the two songs of overt political protest are marked by the way in which they address targets of protest directly. The lines “Pretoria we see through all your lies” in “Azania (Soon Come)” and “But you’d rather not know / Time is dealing out your days” in “One Brotherhood” are addressed to the “you” of apartheid regime. The lines “So you knock me down / With your modunok baton” are addressed to the “you” of police controlling demonstrators. These lyrics can be seen as performative in their construction of protest in contrast to the less direct protest implied by the narrated encounters with the police in “Whistling in the Dark”, and the forms of address that induce resistance in other songs “[Let us] Sing that song...”, “We’re one brotherhood...”.

Double-voiced discourse

The use of different forms of double-voiced discourse in the lyrics is a prominent feature that serves a variety of rhetorical functions. For example, in “Azania (Soon Come)” the incorporation of heteroglossia in the form of slogans from the anti-apartheid and civil rights movements, such as “Power to the freedom fighters / Liberation soon come”, constructs an alignment with the values and intentions of those movements. As Chapter Six demonstrated, biblical language and intertextual references to the Bible in “Dragons and Demons” such as “cast them out and “in order put your house” are employed in an apparent refutation of the teachings of organised religion, in a strategy that evokes and

parallels Rastafari's inversion and subversion of biblical teachings (Lipsitz, 1994). "Reggae's Doing Fine" involves two forms of double-voiced discourse. In the first, biblical metaphors and Rastafari language such as "[t]he lion with the lamb" reference influences on Bob Marley and on his own language, and are simultaneously employed to honour him. And in the second, a complex interweaving of overt intertextual references to the titles and lyrics of Bob Marley songs, such as "coming in from the cold" similarly serve to honour and celebrate him. In their functioning as a commentary on the importance of Marley's discourse and texts, such intertextual relations in double voiced discourse, particularly in "Reggae's Doing Fine", have parallels with the notion of signifying as a cultural and linguistic form of commentary on other texts and discourses (Brackett, 1992). Furthermore, while the hidden dialogue in "What's Be Happen?" is by its nature double-voiced (Bakhtin, 1984), "Whistling in the Dark" involves a further form of double voiced discourse in the incorporation of the objectified words of police officers ("What's your name, boy!").

Juxtaposition

A further significant feature is the frequent deployment of juxtaposition. In "What's Be Happen?" there is juxtaposition between different perspectives of experience in a repeating pattern of implied alternating dialogue (for example "Say you're alright brada once you catch a boat / And smoke big heaps no worry no worry about sleep"). The song also juxtaposes representations of a generalised island "home" that "grows weak and abandoned" with lived space that is dominated by work and hire purchase. In a further example, as Chapter Seven has shown, the song title "Azania (Soon Come)" constructs an encounter between a name with a particular history of resistance in Africa, and a Jamaican patois phrase that signifies a wish and an assertion. In another form of juxtaposition, expectations of a continuing theme of harmony signalled in the instrumental introduction to "One Brotherhood" are confounded in the chorus, in which a sense of conflict is produced by means of alternating lines of contrasting lyrical content ("We're one brotherhood, Aotearoa / Fighting man against man..."). This effect is reinforced in the same song by the mismatch between content and form (Eagleton, 2007); there is a marked contrast between lyrical content, such as "You knock me down with your modunock baton... they're fighting... they're shouting...crazy people wrecking the

joint”, and performed form that includes gentle instrumental bridges and harmonised voices.

Internal dialogic relations

Other distinctive aspects of Herbs’ songs are related to common characteristics of popular song lyrics. The analysis of the individual songs has illustrated the ways in which the lyrics are marked by internal phonic, sonic and semantic connections in features such as end-rhymes, assonance, alliteration, and repetition. These function to create internal musicality in song (Dawes, 2002), but as the analysis of “Azania (Soon Come)” has shown for example, and as Brackett (1992) and Eagleton (2007) point out, they also have a significant role in underscoring and generating meaning in these condensed structures of language. My analysis of “Azania” noted the phonic and semantic connections created in relation to Pretoria by the rhyming end-words “lies” and “disguise”, and the use of alliteration as in “all” / “evil”, “multi-racial”, “holding” (power) and “barrel” (of a gun). Further examples in “Reggae’s Doing Fine” include assonance in words such as “soul” and “cold”, “cup” and “up”, alliteration in “lion”, “lamb” and “love”, and repetition of phrases such as “shall sing / shall sing”, “good time / good times” that serve to sonically underscore references to Bob Marley’s songs. In another example, a series of end rhymes such as “tale” / “fails” and “dread” / “ahead” in the first verse of “Dragons and Demons” suggest the performance of an often repeated story “told by the church”.

Finally, internal dialogic relations are also constructed in dialogic interplay between lead and other vocalists in Herbs’ vocal performance. For example, while parts of verse one in “Reggae’s Doing Fine” are sung by a single voice, multiple voices are mobilised to symbolic effect in the harmonised chorus. As Chapter Six noted, this is the only song on the album in which first person narrative involving “I” is sung by multiple voices. In their use of polyphony in this context Herbs’ musicians offer a tribute to Bob Marley that is symbolically grounded in the Rastafari philosophy of “I” and “I” (discussed by Chivallon, 2002, cited in Chapter Two). In “Azania (Soon Come)” the distinction between multi-vocalisation (of “Pretoria” for example) and polyphonic harmonisation (for the names Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela) serves to highlight significance and blame in the first case and as an act of honouring in the second. While in the chorus of the same song multiple voices that intensify sound have the effect of augmenting meaning.

Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, in order to investigate the first research question, I have drawn on the review of the social and political context for *What's Be Happen?* and my analysis of the six songs to examine features of the discourses that “construct, comment on and contest contemporaneous political and social events and conditions” (the focus of the first research question) and that also mark the album’s cultural significance. The examination of paratext has constructed an encounter between Bakhtin’s (1981) theory of dialogic relations and a range of more contemporary theories and approaches to analyse the ways in which meaning is produced through culturally-specific associations of visual and textual components, and the relationships between these and the cultural and historical context at the time of the album’s release. It has extended the scope of Machin’s (2010) semiotic analysis of popular music albums to include considerations of song order. My analysis suggests that the album cover’s imagery, text, typography and use of colour construct an identity based on identification with struggles, resistance and protest against oppression and Māori land losses in particular. While the image of the final day of occupation at Bastion Point signals major themes in the songs, and the positioning of the first song on each side of the album provides a political context for the tracks that follow, the image of Herbs musicians on the back of the album cover implies the need for cultural unity in the face of these struggles, a unity grounded in reggae music.

The thematic analysis in this chapter builds on widely-acknowledged themes for which the album is recognised to identify a complex of interrelated themes of which the theme of resistance is predominant. The analysis identifies repeated references to and constructions of different forms of resistance that include but extend beyond the notion of resistance to racism identified by Weber (2000). Resistance is shown to be a persistent theme that occurs across the album: in Herbs’ music, in every song, and in the images on the album cover. In identifying the theme of oppression I extend it beyond the previously identified category of expression of support for oppressed peoples (Cattermole, 2004) to include local oppression in the form of abuse of civil rights (narrated in “Whistling in the Dark” and “One Brotherhood”), and as a consequence of economic status (in “What’s Be Happen?”). This theme also includes references to racist social structures imposed by apartheid and the oppressive methods by which apartheid was maintained in South Africa (in “Azania (Soon Come)” and “One Brotherhood”). The theme of spirituality occurs in “Dragons and Demons” and in the tribute to Bob Marley in the final song, “Reggae’s

Doing Fine”. The theme of power and the struggle for liberation from oppression includes references to state power “through the barrel of a gun” in “Azania (Soon Come)” and the power of the police baton in “One Brotherhood”, and to struggles against racism in the same songs. The theme of identity includes the cultural dislocation referred to in “What’s Be Happen?” and identification with Bob Marley and reggae in the final song.

Resistance is represented in the call for the reassertion of cultural identity as a response to cultural dislocation and marginalisation (in “What’s Be Happen?”), and in the localisation of reggae that constructs connections with Pacific Island roots. It is produced in the notion of police officers “whistling in the dark”, that serves as a rhetorical strategy to boost the confidence of those who resist; it occurs in appeals to political unity and solidarity as a form of resistance to racism and social injustice (in “Azania (Soon Come)” and “One Brotherhood”); and is produced by the images on the album cover and through understandings of reggae music as a practice of resistance (Lipsitz, 1994).

As for patterns of language use in the songs, the chapter shows that while there is an overall correlation between the narrated experiences of urban Pacific Islands and Māori people and the use of direct authorial discourse as narrative form (Bakhtin, 1981), the chronotopic structure of the more overtly political “One Brotherhood” produces a more complex narrative form. That chronotope serves the rhetorical function of linking specific campaigns to regain Māori land with anti-apartheid protests against the Springbok tour as concurrent and connected struggles. The song of most overt protest, “Azania (Soon Come)”, is marked by its adoption of the different compositional structure of call and response that begins with the call “What you say....” Another characteristic shared by the two songs of most overt protest is that the lyrics address the targets of protest directly in lines such as “Pretoria, we see through all your lies” (“Azania”) and “So you knock me down...” (“One Brotherhood”).

The chapter has also identified three further, prominent features that mark language use and performance. These are the exploitation of juxtaposition in a variety of forms, the incorporation of what Bakhtin (1981) refers to as double-voiced discourse, and internal dialogic relations. Among the first of these is the pattern of alternating, juxtaposed voices in a hidden dialogue (Bakhtin, 1981) in “What’s Be Happen?” and the encounter between two juxtaposed terms marked by their social and cultural history in the title of “Azania (Soon Come)”. In “One Brotherhood” there are contrasts between harmonious musical

tone and lyrical content, between lyrical content and performed form, as well as a narrative structure that “deforms” the historic sequence of events by juxtaposing them. Language use is marked by double-voiced discourse in the form of incorporated slogans in “Azania (Soon Come)” and biblical language and intertextual references to the Bible in “Dragons and Demons” and “Reggae’s Doing Fine”. There are also incorporations of the language of police officers in “Whistling in the Dark” and intertextual references to Bob Marley songs in the final album track. The chapter has also noted patterns of internal relations, in “Azania (Soon Come)” for example, that involve sonic and phonic connections, repetition, and interplay between single and multiple voices in the performance of these songs and serve to emphasise and produce meaning.

This chapter shows that social commentary, resistance and protest in Herbs’ songs are constructed in particular thematic and language choices, in narrative structure, the use of juxtaposition, and in the dialogic, interdependent relationships between these. Among the recurring and related themes identified, resistance is categorised as predominant and pivotal. The chapter has identified the multiplicity of factors that produce meaning (Lodge, 2012) and has referred to the complex of relationships and interrelationships that characterise the discourses of Herbs’ album. Bakhtin’s emphasis on the connection between form and content, on the need to define choices of content, choices of form and the connection between content and form in relation to social and historical context (Bakhtin, 1981; Medvedev, 1991), are particularly salient to the analysis of these relationships. They involve a network of thematic content, the generic form of popular song lyrics, compositional (narrative) form, textual form and images on the album cover, forms of musical and vocal performance, and internal patterns of sonic and phonic form. The analysis shows that social commentary and resistance are predominantly constructed in the narrative form of first-person, unmediated discourse (Bakhtin, 1984). In contrast, overt protest is characterised by direct address to the target of protest, and in the case of “One Brotherhood” by a chronotope that suggests a distortion of the sequence of historical events that connects and constructs protest against different forms of racism in different places. While in “Azania (Soon Come)” protest is produced through the form of call and response.

The discourses of heteroglossia are “forms for conceptualising the world in words” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 292). They are marked by conflict over the ways in which language is

used to construct a particular interpretation of experience (Voloshinov, 1986) and thus by the social and historical forces that have formed them (Morson & Emerson, 1990). The specific social and political purposes (Bakhtin, 1981) served by Herbs' album can be seen to include articulating and questioning the experiences of Pacific Islands and Māori people, protesting against the racist and oppressive practices of the New Zealand police and government and of the apartheid regime, and implicitly proposing strategies of resistance.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

“The dialogical analysis of popular music, like the dialogical analysis of the novel that inspired it, is... a means of both interpreting and championing its object” (Hirschkop, 2003, p. 66)

Introduction

This thesis has analysed the ways in which Herbs’ album *What’s Be Happen?* constructs significant issues and conflicts of its time. From the perspective of applied linguistics, and drawing from other discipline areas, it has employed a multi-faceted approach that is framed by the language and discourse theories of Mikhail Bakhtin.

Herbs’ inauguration into the New Zealand Music Hall of Fame in 2012 while this thesis was in progress, the Independent Music New Zealand Classic Record award for *What’s Be Happen?* in 2015, and the Pacific Music Lifetime Achievement Award presented in the same year have highlighted and honoured the musical and cultural impact of Herbs’ fusion of Pacific and reggae sounds. The band members have been recognised as “legendary figures that have shaped, influenced and advanced popular music in New Zealand [and whose] journeys are a direct reflection of the changing face of our culture. Who we were, who we are and what we might become” (APRAAMCOS, 2012). Herbs’ songs and the ways in which the musicians identify and construct what Peter Gibbons (2003, p. 47) describes as “convergences of experience”, in this case convergences between people in New Zealand and similarly oppressed peoples in other parts of the world, have become embedded in the cultural memory of many New Zealanders. This thesis has sought both to examine and champion its object. I believe that the analysis of Herbs’ album has shown that it constitutes a politically salient and discursively forceful cultural contribution that reverberates through time.

The thesis provides a comprehensive analysis of the ways in which meaning is constructed in the creative dialogic relationships between Herbs’ music, lyrical content and use of language, the record cover and aspects of the recorded performance of Herbs’ album. It does so by approaching analysis from a broad applied linguistics perspective that engages with and is informed by relevant literature from other discipline areas, including the study of popular music and theories of identity in cultural psychology. Most importantly, the exploration of the album is framed by Bakhtin’s theory of dialogism and

his emphasis on the relationship between cultural artefacts, discourse and social and historical context. In applying Bakhtin's concepts of appropriated language, narrative style, the chronotope, and double-voiced discourse in particular, and in responding to his emphasis on the significance of connections between form and content, the study has illustrated the value of these in exploring relationships and meanings that might otherwise be overlooked. It thus contributes to scholarship related to Bakhtin's work and will be of interest to those engaged in the study of popular songs of social commentary and protest.

I believe that from a methodological point of view the thesis demonstrates the compatibility of Bakhtin's theory and concepts with the study of this popular cultural form. More specifically it shows the relevance of Bakhtin's ideas to the examination of contemporary, creative, popular constructions of social commentary, resistance and protest related to ethical and cultural values, and to the study of discourses of popular music. It provides evidence in this sphere of the ways in which Bakhtin's ongoing contribution as a cultural theorist is facilitated by encounters with other theories and concepts related, for example, to the cultural influences of the African diaspora and Rastafari, the appropriation and localization of the global genre of reggae music, and the slogan as an utterance of collective assertion.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the methodological contribution of the study. This is followed by a section that summarises the key ways in which Herbs' album constructs social commentary, resistance and protest. The section focuses on interrelated dialogic relationships that involve the localisation of roots reggae, lyrical content, compositional and language choices, and features of performance that serve to produce particular recurring themes. The chapter ends with suggestions for future study and conclusions on the overall contribution of the thesis.

Methodological contribution

Unlike other studies that have drawn on Bakhtin's work to analyse popular music, approaches to analysis in the thesis are explicitly framed by the philosophical compatibility between the political and ethical dimensions of Bakhtin's theory of dialogic discourse and popular songs of resistance and protest against injustice, such as these reggae songs. The design of this study reflects the aim to investigate the ways in which Herbs' album constructs, comments on and contests significant events and circumstances.

It follows Bakhtin in focusing on meaning and understanding, and on the ways in which evaluative positions are signalled by language choices (see Dentith, 1995).

The thesis extends Bakhtin's (1986f) emphasis on the importance of "contexts of understanding" (p. 169) and on the "contextual meaning" of utterances (p. 162), as Barsky (1998) and Brandist (2002) suggest, by including in this case a rich description of the social, political and historical context for Herbs' album. This lays the foundation for bridging the gap between the study of the textual and the contextual, which Hirschkop (2003) argues is necessary in the study of popular music. Analysis of Herbs' album thus builds from the preliminary identification of key themes in the lyrics and on the album cover to examine accounts of relevant historical issues and events that these relate to, as well as contextual information provided by Herbs' song-writers.

In bridging the gap between the textual and contextual, part of the originality of this study centres on its extension of Bakhtin's theory of dialogism and related concepts beyond the scope of previous studies of popular music. Rose (1994) and Fox (2004) for example draw in general terms on Bakhtin's notion of meaning as a dynamic and relational phenomenon (Bostad, Brandist, Evensen & Faber, 2004) broadly contingent on social and cultural context (Bakhtin, 1981). Brackett (1992; 1995) mobilises Bakhtin's dialogic theory more specifically in examining incorporated phrases from black US civil rights movements in James Brown's song "Superbad"; internal (dialogic) textual relations in phonetic relationships in the song's lyrics, and double-voiced discourse in the songs' title.

The focus of this thesis on an album of six Herbs' songs (in contrast to Brackett's focus on a single song) has allowed for a more comprehensive consideration of dialogic relationships that produce meaning. These include connections between Jamaican roots reggae and Pacific musical traditions, as well as relationships constructed in representations of time and space in the song lyrics and in references to specific other texts. The examination of dialogic relationships between content and form (Bakhtin, 1981), such as the contrast between sonic form and lyrical content in "What's Be Happen?", is supplemented by aspects of Eagleton's (2007) theory and analysis of poetry. In this analysis Eagleton's work is extended to popular song lyrics in considering phonic connections in the lyrics of "Azania (Soon Come)" for example. In addition, the analysis supplements earlier approaches that examine the paratext of album covers (Machin, 2010;

Symes, 2004) by investigating the order of the two track lists on Herbs' album cover in dialogic relationship to the songs on the record it encloses.

The thesis applies Bakhtin's theory of dialogism and related concepts to aspects of popular songs that have not previously been considered, thus shifting the horizon of thinking and making new things visible (Marginson, 1997). For example, while most studies of popular music have ignored issues of narrativity (Nicholls, 2007) this study draws on Bakhtin's categories of narrative style in novelistic discourse to analyse narrative compositional choices in Herbs' song lyrics. The chronotope is mobilised throughout the analysis to examine constructions of time and space in Herbs' overtly political lyrics, and their relationship to social and political context. Bakhtin's concept of utterances as ethical acts (Hirschkop, 1999; Holquist, 1990), and his notion of language choices as ethical choices (Nielsen, 1993) are applied in considerations of the title of "Azania (Soon Come)", for example. In addition, Bakhtin's (1981, 1984) multi-faceted notion of double-voiced discourse is extended to consider, for example, the use of heteroglossia in the form of incorporated slogans in "Azania (Soon Come)" and polyphony (multiple voices) in the same song, as well as objectified double-discourse in "Whistling in the Dark" and the use of stylised oral vernacular (*skaz*) in "What's Be Happen?"

Herbs' construction of social commentary, resistance and protest

The application of the approaches to analysis discussed in the previous section has shown that meaning in Herbs' album is generated by a network of inter-connected, dialogic relationships in the six songs and the album cover. These are constituted in and between Herbs' music, lyrical content, the form and use of language including the compositional structure of the lyrics, aspects of performed form, text and images on the album cover, the order of the songs, and the relationship of these features to the historical context. This section explains and summarises the discourses of commentary, protest and resistance in Herbs' album according to the analysis.

Apart from the sheer pleasure derived from reggae's rhythms, Herbs' appropriation and adaption of roots reggae is identified here as a signal of rhetorical intention (Bakhtin, 1986c). It constructs a positioning in relation to reggae's cultural roots (Lipsitz, 1994) and the resistive function of reggae as message music (Weber, 2000), and an alignment with the struggles of other oppressed peoples (Alvarez, 2008). Herbs' songwriters and

musicians have appropriated, localised and re-accented reggae rhythms through the “re-framing and interweaving” (Hirschkop, 2003, p.66) of Pacific musical influences which “taste of the context and contexts in which [they have] lived” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 293). This results in a hybrid construction (Bakhtin, 1986c, p. 304) that along with lyrical content produces a local identity (Shuker, 1995; 2008b) and particular sense of place (Mitchell, 1996). In conjunction with the identifications constructed in the imagery and text on the album cover, Herbs’ music signals expressive intentions, a political and ethical position, and sense of identity based on identification with struggles, resistance and protest.

In addition, features that characterise the construction of social commentary and resistance in Herbs’ songs are found not only in lyrical content (discussed below), but also in patterns of language use, through the lens of Bakhtin’s (1984) categories of narrative style. Social commentary is largely constructed by means of direct authorial discourse (employed in the representation of experience in “Whistling in the Dark”, “Reggae’s Doing Fine” and in “One Brotherhood”) and objectified discourse (instantiated in objectified racist language in “Whistling in the Dark”), that narrate experience. “What’s Be Happen?” employs hidden dialogue as a form of double-voiced narrative discourse, to comment on and question social conditions of Pacific Islands people. However, with the exception of the use of double-voiced discourse, the narrative structure of call and response in “Azania (Soon Come)”, which includes direct address to the target of protest (“Pretoria, we see through all your lies”), does not fit Bakhtin’s categories of narrative style. This is not surprising given Bakhtin’s main focus on the European novel, and the oppressive political and social environment he worked in (where it was unsafe to voice protest). Nonetheless the analysis of that form is usefully grounded here in Bakhtin’s theorisation of categories of narrative style. Similarly, the concept of the chronotope prompts and frames a different horizon of consideration of the way in which events and issues are juxtaposed in “One Brotherhood” where protest is also constructed by direct address (“So you knock me down”).

Double-voiced discourse (Bakhtin, 1984) is a prominent feature as a signifying mechanism (White, 2015) serving a variety of rhetorical functions in the construction of social commentary, resistance and protest in Herbs’ lyrics. It occurs in the form of hidden dialogue (Bakhtin, 1984) with an implied other voice that is employed in the interrogation

of experiences of hardship and cultural dislocation in “What’s Be Happen?”. Discourses of heteroglossia as “forms for conceptualising the world in words” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 292) are represented for example in “Azania (Soon Come)” in incorporated anti-apartheid and Black Power slogans that construct an alignment with the values of those movements. And in the song title juxtaposed double-voiced discourse produces an alignment with oppressed discourse communities associated with the name “Azania”, and with the Jamaican Patois term “soon come”, dialogically connecting these appropriated terms that are populated with the intentions of others (Bakhtin, 1981; Voloshinov, 1986).

At the same time the use of a form of *skaz* in the narrative of “What’s Be Happen?” stylises oral vernacular speech associated with Pacific Islands youth at the time; it constitutes a positioning (Hall, 1990) signifying identification with the values and challenges faced by the community that shares this language. Biblical language and intertextual references to the Bible are employed in challenging the teachings of organised religion in “Dragons and Demons” (as Rastafari’s subversive inversion of biblical teachings (Lipsitz, 1994) has done before), and to signify and acknowledge the biblical and Rastafari influences on Bob Marley and on reggae music in “Reggae’s Doing Fine”. In addition, a complex pattern of intertextual references to the discourse of Bob Marley’s songs in a form of signifying commentary (Brackett, 1992) honour him by offering back his own words in “Reggae’s Doing Fine”. In “Whistling in the Dark”, through the lens of Bakhtin’s (1984) notion of objectified double-voiced discourse, incorporated reported speech functions to objectify and distance the cited, racist utterances of New Zealand police officers from the position of the song’s narrator.

Herbs’ use of multiple voices to produce and emphasise meaning is explored through the application of a further dimension of Bakhtin’s protean notion of double-voiced discourse. The deployment of polyphony (Bakhtin, 1984) in the first-person narrative in “Reggae’s Doing Fine” for example appears to augment meaning by grounding the song’s tribute to Bob Marley in the Rastafari philosophy of “I” and “I”. And in a recorded performance that is strategically polyphonic in its vocalisation, polyphony and harmonisation are employed in “Azania (Soon Come)” to emphasise the differing significances of the names Pretoria, Steve Biko and Nelson Mandela, while multiple voices in the chorus intensify sound and strengthen the assertion that “Azania soon come”.

Juxtaposition is perceived through the lens of Bakhtin's theory of dialogism as a significant and recurring feature in the album's construction of meaning. For example, double-voiced discourse juxtaposes languages and connects different perspectives, constructing a convergence of experience, in the title of "Azania (Soon Come)". There is juxtaposition of different perspectives, in "What's Be Happen?", and there is an intentional contrast in juxtapositions between musical form, lyrical content and the song title in "One Brotherhood".

The thesis has extended considerations of theme beyond generally acknowledged understandings of the album's content to identify a rich network of five themes related to social commentary, resistance and protest. The dominant thematic category of *resistance* is prevalent across the album, and is woven in a variety of forms into the music, the paratext of the cover and into the lyrics of each song. Resistance is signalled by the cover photograph of the final day of the occupation struggle at Bastion Point, and suggested by the association of roots reggae rhythms with what Lipsitz (1994) describes as urban resistance to dominant imperatives. In the face of cultural marginalisation and dislocation it is produced by the assertion of identity in Herbs' localisation of reggae and the image of unity produced by the cover image of Herbs' musicians. It is called for in the appeal for unity in "One Brotherhood", and the injunctions to use Māori, Samoan and Tongan languages in the title track. It is articulated in the call and response structure and incorporated slogans in "Azania (Soon Come)", in the references to struggles over former Māori land in Orākei and Raglan in "One Brotherhood", in the assertion that the police are "whistling in the dark", and in the injunction to cast out the notion of sinfulness in "Dragons and Demons".

Four further themes identified in the album are *oppression, power and the struggle for liberation, spirituality, and identity*. The theme of race-based and socio-economic oppression recurs in the contexts of police harassment, low economic status suffered by migrants from the Pacific Islands, and the loss of traditional lands. The closely-related theme of power and the struggle for liberation is constructed in references to the struggle against the armed power of the apartheid state, the physical suppression of protests against apartheid, and campaigns to reclaim Māori land from the control of the New Zealand government. Spirituality is inherent in Herbs' reggae music with its embodiment of the influences of Rastafari spiritual values, and so is intrinsic to the whole album. It

recurs in lyrical reflections on inner struggles between right and wrong in “Dragons and Demons”. Rastafari dedication to spiritual reflection is referenced in biblical language and the appropriation and re-casting of biblical teachings in the same song, as well as in “Reggae’s Doing Fine”. The fifth theme of identity incorporates recurring ideas of cultural dislocation, loss, and identity that occur for example in “What’s Be Happen?” and the explicit identification with Bob Marley and with reggae in “Reggae’s Doing Fine”.

The analysis shows that social commentary is largely constructed in the use of first-person narratives of experience in four of the six songs on Herbs’ album. In “Azania (Soon Come)” and “One Brotherhood”, songs that can be categorised as protest songs, the discourse aligns with Laing’s (2003) description of protest in popular music as evident statements of opposition, in this case to specific economic, social and political conditions. However, protest is additionally characterised in these songs by direct address to its targets (the apartheid regime in South Africa and the New Zealand police, respectively). Protest is also produced less directly in “Whistling in the Dark” by the relationship between the direct authorial discourse style that narrates the Pasifika experience of racist treatment, and double-voiced discourse that objectifies and distances cited racist utterances of a police officer. The analysis of the different and frequently subtle forms of creative resistance in Herbs’ album shows that opposition is largely indirect, as Laing suggests is the case for popular music. However, in the identification of specific acts of resistance (such as the image of the Bastion Point protest on the album cover and references to Bastion Point (Orākei) and Raglan in “One Brotherhood”) the album also instantiates Harlow’s (1987) theory of resistance (in poetry) as narrative that documents lived experiences and specific historic struggles.

Political significance of Herbs’ *What’s Be Happen?*

As a result of this historical, contextual and analytical work it is also possible to draw conclusions about the political significance of *What’s Be Happen?* The political intentions of Herbs (as well as their supporting team that included manager Will ’Ilolahia, and Hugh Lynn) to highlight oppression and injustice are unequivocally signalled by the image of the Bastion Point occupation on the front cover. The musicians’ rhetorical intentions to question and challenge racism and social conditions and to protest against the 1981 Springbok tour of New Zealand are indicated in the album title, and underpin

lyrical content. Furthermore, their intention to locate songs that narrate the experiences of Pacific Island and Māori people in a political context is implied by the order of tracks on the two sides of the album.

The occupation at Bastion Point and the protests against the Springbok tour were highly significant political events in recent New Zealand history that brought about changes in attitudes and in law, and continue to reverberate through time. The Bastion Point protest had long term outcomes for Māori and lasting impacts on New Zealand as a whole (Morrison, 1999). It led to the fourth Labour government establishing the legal right in 1985 for Māori to make retrospective claims to the Waitangi Tribunal to reclaim forfeited land (King 2003; Walker, 2004). The government accepted the Waitangi Tribunal's decision that Bastion Point was indeed Māori land, and the recommendation that 22 acres of land as well as houses on that land should be returned to Ngāti Whātua. A three million dollar settlement was also included, although this was described by Ranginui Walker as a "puny" settlement for the loss of 700 acres of prime land in the Orākei block (Morrison, 1999). The final agreement on the hand-back of Bastion Point to Ngāti Whātua was made in 1987. In an important comment on the cultural significance of this outcome, Pat Sneddon, a consultant to Ngāti Whātua Corporate, which now has a portfolio of properties of its own, argues that in the return of Bastion Point "nothing has been lost [by Pākehā] and everything has been gained in matters of honour and in matters of fair dealing" (cited in Morrison, 1999). It was the issue of "fair dealing" with regard to Māori people's rights that Herbs addressed in the album cover image and in the song "One Brotherhood" in particular.

More recently in 2012, a Treaty of Waitangi settlement bill, the Ngāti Whātua Orākei Claims Settlement Bill, became law (Davison, 2012). The reconciliation of interests enacted by this law is reinforced by the fact that it was introduced by a National government and it was a National government under Prime Minister Muldoon that had triggered the Bastion Point occupation by proposing to subdivide and sell 24 hectares of Māori land at Bastion Point in 1976. The settlement consisted of an apology from the Crown, an agreed historical account, and cultural and commercial remedies aimed at covering the loss of some 32,000 hectares of land on the Auckland isthmus. The address to Parliament by Chris Finlayson, National's Treaty of Waitangi Negotiations Minister, provided evidence that attitudes to Māori grievances over lost land had changed across

the political spectrum. Finlayson described the bill as providing “important redress and acknowledgement of the wrongs enacted by the Crown...Within two decades [of signing the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840], Ngati Whatua (sic) were rendered virtually landless. With landlessness came poverty and marginalisation within the growing settler community in Tamaki” (Davison, 2012, paras 9-11). In highlighting Māori land losses in *What’s Be Happen?* Herbs addressed an issue of great injustice and national significance, and in doing so their music has become inseparably connected with that issue.

The political significance of the 1981 Springbok tour for New Zealand at that time and subsequently is reflected in frequent media re-examinations of those events over the past thirty years, in newspaper articles with titles such as *Days of Rage 1981* (Rae, 2011), *The Tour that Split the Nation* (Winder, 2003) and *The Tour Files* (Yska, 2011) and reports on recent related events. On his visit to New Zealand in 1995 President Nelson Mandela thanked leaders of the local anti-apartheid movement: “You elected to brave the batons and pronounce that New Zealand could not be free when other human beings were being subjected to a legalised and cruel system of racial domination” (Daly & Kenny, 2013, para.4). In recognition of the damaging polarization of New Zealand society by the tour, Wynard Claasson, who was Springbok Captain in 1981, signalled the intention that the 30-year anniversary South African rugby tour of New Zealand in 2011 would be a “tour of apology” (Rameka, 2010). There have been recent references to the role New Zealand protests played in assisting the South African struggle to overthrow apartheid (for example, Reverend Makhenkesi Arnold Stofile cited in Long, 2010). And in recognition of the significance of Herbs’ song “One Brotherhood”, for that struggle, it was sung at a reception held for President Mandela at St. Matthews in the City in Auckland in 1995.

There is some disagreement among music critics over the political significance of *What’s Be Happen?* While Reid (2011) describes the album as unequivocal in its politics, speaking with “a righteous anger” and courage rarely heard from New Zealand musicians (2009, para. 4), according to Dix (2005) the early consensus was that Herbs’ sole achievement was “to produce a record that reflected the Polynesian experience through [localised] Jamaican music” with a New Zealand “flavouring” in the lyrics (p. 261). Although he describes the cover photograph as portraying a clash between European power and Māori mana, Dix implies a perceived shortcoming in describing the six songs

as “far from militant” (p.261); Mitchell’s (1996) summary of Herbs’ music as “a soft brand of politically orientated Polynesian reggae” (p. 243) is similar.

Given the meanings of mana, it is perhaps a misreading of the politics of these events and their history to conceptualise the struggle over former Māori land as centring on prestige and influence, as Dix does. Said (1994) has pointed out that reclaiming and re-inhabiting land lost in the processes of colonisation is one of the first undertakings of a culture of political resistance, although often bitterly contested. In a period of increasing political consciousness, activism and cultural assertion in the 1970s, Māori were engaged in a struggle against the relentless erosion of Māori land ownership (Walker, 2004). As recounted in Chapter Five, the Bastion Point occupation followed the government’s decision to sell land to private sector housing developers, land that had either been gifted pro tempore by Ngāti Whātua or taken by the government. It was more than a clash between Māori mana and government power; it was a pivotal culmination of the tale of colonial oppression (Walker, 2004) that included economic oppression.

In a view that goes some way to answering the implied criticism of Herbs’ songs for an insufficient level of militancy, Weber (2000) argues that the globalisation of reggae has led to a new form of cultural politics based on the shared common values and ideals of its practitioners. The key focus in reggae is on changing values, promoting collective action related to issues of equality, social change and justice, and offering visions of identity (Weber, 2000), rather than on (militantly) achieving particular political goals. Herbs’ album draws on the rhythms of reggae and that rhetorical tradition (Bollinger, 2012) in highlighting and protesting against mistreatment, racial prejudice, injustices and hardships that, as Cattermole (2004) points out, were shared by Pacific Islands and Māori people in New Zealand. In doing so the album promotes particular ethical values, resistance, unity and change.

If Toni Fonoti’s songs are said to reflect his political awareness (see Bollinger, 2012), according to Phil Toms, Fonoti “didn’t realise he was political” at the time (personal communication, November 21, 2013). In his interview, Fonoti explains he saw himself as standing “in the middle”, taking a middle road, and not particularly political (personal communication, October 5, 2012). There are, however, different ways of being political. Fonoti’s aim as a musician and songwriter can be seen as illustrating the notion that in the relationship between personal experiences and broader social, political and economic

forces and structures, the personal is political. As Chapter Five notes, Fonoti wanted to bring different ethnic groups together through reggae and by writing original songs that recounted their experiences, to put Pacific Islands people on the cultural map. As a New Zealand-born Samoan who had never been to Samoa he was seeking to contribute to the construction of a cultural identity for Pacific Islands people and “to get our voice out there”. He also sought answers to questions:

why do people who live in the Islands, where all they do is fish,
live off the land, have a good life, why do they want to come here
and work in a factory, buy a house, get a hire purchase and
basically be committed to living a life of debt...? (Fonoti, personal
communication, October 5, 2012)

Toms in contrast describes himself as a political person who had attended anti-Vietnam War and anti-nuclear demonstrations from the age of 17. He explains that there were tensions within the band and a degree of suspicion towards him as “the white guy”, in spite of the photograph on the back of the album cover and the apparent message of the song “One Brotherhood”. According to Toms, the mistrust of white people he perceived on the part of the Pacific Island musicians was “to them... more racial and to me it was more political, and so trying to equate the two [perspectives] was not easy”. As an example, while the line in the song he wrote, “crazy people wanting more, more, more”, referred according to Toms, to “red necks” and corporate property developers, some of whom would have been in line to acquire the land at Bastion Point, he remembers Herbs musicians thinking it was directed at them. If there was mistrust, it can be attributed in part to the experiences in the 1970s that had damaged relationships between Pacific Islands people and other New Zealanders (McFadden; 2015). Having been welcomed to New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s, Pasifika people in suburbs like Ponsonby had become the targets of frightening and divisive race-based dawn raids on their homes by police with dogs, and were frequently stopped on the streets in random checks by police.

It was Hugh Lynn’s decision to include “One Brotherhood” on the album, as Toms recalls. Other band members “didn’t like this one brotherhood thing” and some felt that they were not one brotherhood at all. However, as Hugh Lynn perhaps foresaw, when Herbs’ new album was sent to the radio stations as Toms explains, “the [track] they wanted to play was ‘One Brotherhood’ and that was partly because [the disc jockeys and

station managers] were white guys... this was reassuring for them that Herbs thought we were one brotherhood, they didn't realise that [the band] didn't think that at all" (personal communication, November 21, 2013).

Despite whatever tensions and misunderstandings there may have been between the band members, and notwithstanding their own views of themselves, *What's Be Happen?* has enduring political significance. This lies in the fact that it bears creative, popular witness on the part of a multi-ethnic band of musicians to important social issues, to racist treatment by the state of Māori and Pacific Island people, and to conflicts that were part of a struggle for a new identity for New Zealand as a racially tolerant society (Phillips, 2006). Toni Fonoti's songs focused on the experiences of urban Pacific Islands people and Māori (as he intended) and as Phil Toms points out, his own song "One Brotherhood" and "Azania (Soon Come)" written by Ross France connected those concerns to wider human rights and issues of racism. And when "One Brotherhood" juxtaposed the Māori land rights movement with the impending Springbok tour, Herbs connected the two issues that were of national and international significance.

Future research

This investigation could be fruitfully extended to the work of the culturally important New Zealand band Upper Hutt Posse (UHP) (see Mitchell, 2001) and the Dunedin band Koile (see Gilchrist, 2011). Formed in Upper Hutt, Wellington in 1985, UHP were in the vanguard of Aotearoa New Zealand's response to the emerging hip hop culture, producing an influential fusion of political reggae and rap sung in Māori and English (Mitchell, 2001). Koile is a Pasifika reggae group from Dunedin which was formed in 2000 under the initial name of Grassroots; its members speak and sing in Tokelauan, Tongan, and Cook Islands Māori as well as English. The band won the Tagata Pasifika Best Pacific Language prize at the Polynesian Blue Pacific Music Awards in 2011 and their song lyrics address issues such as the effects of global warming on the Pacific Islands (Gilchrist, 2011). Given Bakhtin's interest in the functions of double-voiced discourse, the framework and approach offered by this thesis seems particularly relevant for a study of songs that construct a form of sonic activism (Johnson, 2012) by drawing on more than one language to construct social commentary and political protest.

Conclusion

In its focus on Herbs' album the thesis adds to the historical and cultural record related to an era of pivotal change (Belich, 2001) in modern New Zealand history. It is furthermore a contribution to the ongoing circulation, analysis and understanding of Herbs' cultural and political influence. Toni Fonoti undoubtedly succeeded in his aim to create a cultural space for Pacific Islands musicians and to achieve recognition of their music. From a political point of view the album highlights and narrates experiences of cultural dislocation, oppression, racism and injustice. The analysis has shown that the creative discursive and musical whole of the album constructs a rich, diverse, and complex network of dialogic relations (Bakhtin, 1986d) and these produce connections and nuances of dialogic meaning that function rhetorically to construct protest and to promote resistance, unity and change.

When supplemented by more recent theories relating to cultural products which were beyond the scope of his work, Bakhtin's ideas and tools for analysis provoke a productive examination of dialogic relations that contribute to the construction of meaning in Herbs' album *What's Be Happen?* They have relevance for the analysis of creative popular discourses related to ethical and cultural values. The need to resist and protest against oppression and injustice continues. In a period when the gap between rich and poor is recognised as increasing in New Zealand and elsewhere at an accelerating rate (see for example, Piketty, 2014), struggles over human rights and ethical values are just as significant now as they were in 1981. As Hirschkop (1986) suggests, Bakhtin's theories are relevant for researchers interested in the ways in which utterances represent subordinate voices and incarnate moral responsibility. This study therefore has particular relevance for those who have an interest in the popular construction of resistance to social injustice.

Finally and most importantly, I hope the thesis has usefully contributed to the understanding and acknowledgement of the cultural and political significance of Herbs' album, which questioned, resisted and protested against the injustices of "What's Be Happen?" in Aotearoa New Zealand.

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Appendix A: Participant information sheet

Participant Information Sheet



Date Information Sheet Produced: 07 September 2011

Project Title

What's Be Happen: the lyrical constitution of protest and social commentary in New Zealand

An Invitation

This is an invitation for you to participate in a research project conducted by me (Elizabeth Turner) for my doctoral thesis at Auckland University of Technology. I would be very pleased if you feel able to accept this invitation. If you do so, your participation is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw from the project at any time up to the completion of the collection of data for the research.

What is the purpose of this research?

The aim of my research is to investigate the lyrics of the Herbs album *Whats' Be Happen?* from the point of view of applied linguistics. The album is regarded as significant both as the first New Zealand reggae album and because it connects and speaks of important international and local events and issues at the time of its release. There has been no study to date that analyses the discourse embodied in the lyrics in terms of its relationship to the New Zealand social and political environment at the time of its release, the international context at that time or the influence of the reggae genre. This study seeks to remedy that gap by studying the lyrics in particular in relation to their social and political context.

In addition to studying the content and language of the lyrics themselves, I would like to interview you as one of four important people who were instrumental in producing the songs and the album. The specific aims of this study include an investigation of the rhetorical goals and identifications that are expressed both in the lyrics and in the adoption and localisation of reggae.

The study forms the basis of my doctoral degree, so I am likely to use information gathered during the course of the study in conference presentations, in journal articles and other forms of publication such as book chapters, as well as in the thesis itself.

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

You were identified as a possible participant to the study because of your particular role in the production of the album. I either have your contact details because we have corresponded in the past or because these have been given to me by a mutual contact.

What will happen in this research?

If you are willing to participate, the project will involve a recorded interview with you as well as interviews with other people who contributed to the album. If you agree to being interviewed I will meet you by arrangement at a place and time suitable to you. In the interview I will ask you some questions relating to your role, to the lyrics, and to the political and social context that led to the writing of those songs and to the release of the album. Your responses to these questions will be

recorded and then transcribed. I will then use information from your interview transcript as part of my analysis of the context and meaning of the lyrics for my PhD thesis.

What are the discomforts and risks?

As someone with particular and valuable knowledge, I would like to be able to attribute information you may provide in the interview to you, by naming you in my thesis. This could be a potential risk or cause some discomfort if I were to misquote you or if you changed your mind about information you provided.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

Before I submit my thesis, I offer to send you the transcript of your interview as well as any sections of the thesis that include information provided by you and which refer to you by name, for your approval. If you do not agree with the way you have been cited you will be able to ask for this to be changed or deleted. Similarly, if I plan to submit an article or other text for publication, I would offer you the opportunity to read it and to ask for changes or for information attributed to you to be removed.

What are the benefits?.

One of the benefits is that the study will emphasise the significance of *Whats' Be Happen?* as an important New Zealand cultural artefact, the material and messages of which continue to resonate to this day. As a result of an interview with you, the study will also recognise your role in the production of the album and may include your interpretation of relevant events at that time. The study also benefits me in that it forms the basis for my doctoral qualification.

How will my privacy be protected?

If you agree to be named in the thesis your identity will be revealed to acknowledge the key role you played in the creation of the album. If you do not agree to be named, every attempt will be made to conceal your identity. However, because of the nature of your role in the production of the album, only limited confidentiality can be offered.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

The main cost to you is in terms of the time needed for the interview to take place. It is anticipated that the interview will take approximately 60 minutes. There would also be a cost in time to you in reading sections of the thesis or of possible publications, in order to approve information attributed to you, if you wished to do so.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

I would be grateful if you would respond to this information within two weeks of receiving it.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

If you agree to take part in this study on the basis described here, I will send you a Consent Form to sign to show your agreement.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

Assuming that my doctoral thesis is approved by the examiners when it is complete, I will send you the details of how to access the full online document via the AUT Library. I would also be very pleased to send you electronic copies of any related journal articles or other forms of publication as a result of this study.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, Dr Sharon Harvey, sharvey@aut.ac.nz tel: 0064 9 921 9999 ext 9659.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTECH, Dr Rosemary Godbold, rosemary.godbold@aut.ac.nz , 0064 9 921 9999 ext 6902.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Researcher Contact Details:

Elizabeth Turner, eturner@aut.ac.nz tel: 0064 9 921 9999 ext 6121

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Dr Sharon Harvey, sharvey@aut.ac.nz tel: 0064 9 921 9999 ext 9659.

**Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 23 January 2012
AUTECH Reference number 11/291**

Appendix B: Participant consent form



Project title: *What's Be Happen: the lyrical constitution of protest and social commentary in New Zealand*

Project Supervisors: Dr Sharon Harvey and Dr Peter Hoar

Researcher: Elizabeth Turner

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated 7 September 2011.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that notes will be taken during the interviews and that they will also be audio-taped and transcribed.
- ☐ I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant information including tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.
- ☐ If I do not agree to be named in the study, I understand that a guarantee of confidentiality is limited.
- ☐ I understand that I will have the opportunity to view and edit the interview transcript before the final report is submitted.
- ☐ I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research (please tick one): Yes ☐ No ☐

Please tick the following if you agree to your name and identity being revealed as an integral part of the research in reports on this research project:

- ☐ I agree that my name and identity will be revealed in the report on the study and in related published articles and conference presentations

Participant's signature:.....

Participant's name:.....

Date: **Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 23 January 2012 AUTEK Reference number 11/291**

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix C: Schedule of key interview questions

Schedule of questions for semi-structured interviews

Would you tell me about the beginnings of Herbs and your role in those beginnings?

Can you explain your musical role in the band?

Can you identify the *recordings* or records that had the greatest influence on you in the 1970s?

How did the concept for this album *What's Be Happen?* evolve?

Can you describe the process of planning for the album? *Prompts or supplementary questions:*

Was it planned as a cohesive collection of particular songs?

Was the band playing these songs before the album was released?

Was its release planned to coincide with the beginning of the Springbok tour, or was that just a coincidence?

Five of the six tracks are reggae songs. How would you explain the reasons for Herbs' focus on or adoption of reggae?

Can you explain the attractions of reggae?

In terms for example of its rhythms, reggae's roots and meaning in Jamaica, or reggae lyrics?

Bob Marley?

Can you describe how the songs for the album were written?

Individual songs are attributed to particular songs writers, but was the song writing in fact a more collective process?

"Dragons and Demons" was recently included in the sound track of the film *Boy*, and appears to have been particularly popular, can you talk a little about the meaning of the song?

Can you explain the reasons for including the final track "Reggae's Doing Fine" as a ballad rather than a reggae song?

The song "One Brotherhood" includes the lines "So you knock me down/ with your modunok baton" and I can't trace the derivation of modunok baton, can you explain where it comes from?

What were people's reactions to the album when it was released?

Can you tell me about more recent feedback since that time?

Do you still get feedback on the album? Overall, can you explain the significance of this album to *you*?