

BRATISLAVA INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF LIBERAL ARTS

The Narratives of Cultural Trauma in the Expression of Collective Identity
in Jamaica
(Music as Expression of National identity)

Bachelor Thesis

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Declaration of Originality

I declare that this bachelor thesis is my own work and has not been published in part or in whole elsewhere. All used literature sources are attributed and cited in references.

Bratislava, 23 February 2016

Michaela Hlôšková

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Abstract

This bachelor thesis discusses the topic of cultural trauma. The focus is on the case study of Jamaica. The paper will provide the reader with the information of historical development of the island and point on the events that could develop later on a cultural trauma. The definition of this concept is based on the study on this topic by Neil Smelser, complemented with the study of Ron Eyerman.

Jamaica will be examined through the analysis of music, as the thesis considers music as the reflection of the current situation. It captures the feelings of the society that creates that music, therefore it is possible to analyze the lyrics of the songs to understand the situation from the point of view of the society. Music is also seen here as a tool that can help the process of identity formation of a nation, Jamaica is perfect example.

HILOŠKOVÁ: The Narratives of Cultural Trauma in the Expression of Collective Identity of Jamaica

The main task of the thesis is to find out if Jamaica is facing nowadays a cultural trauma by comparing the topics discussed in the songs in the seventies and now.

The outcome of the thesis is the confirmation of the thesis, Jamaica developed the cultural trauma from the slavery era supported by the political violence and oppression coming from the system that developed after Jamaica gained independence.

Naratíva Kultúrnej Traumy vo Vyjadrení Kolektívnej Identity na Jamajke (Hudba ako prostriedok identity národa)

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Abstrakt

Táto bakalárska práca sa venuje téme kultúrnej traumy. Zameriava sa na jednu prípadovú štúdiu a tou je Jamajka. Práca v krátkosti uvedie čitateľa do dejín ostrova a poukáže na udalosti, ktoré mohli následne vyvolať kultúrnu traumy. V tomto prípade sa bude text opierať o definíciu Neila Smelsera, ktorý sa touto témou zaoberá a doplní ju štúdiom Rona Eyermana, pričom prípad kultúrnej traumy v Afro-Americkéj kultúre bude porovnaný s Jamajským prípadom.

Jamajka bude skúmaná prostredníctvom hudby, ktorá je v tejto téze vnímaná ako prostriedok, ktorý priamo odzrkadľuje aktuálnu situáciu v (jamajskej) spoločnosti. Hudba zachytáva pocity a názory spoločnosti, ktorá ju tvorí, a práve preto je možné jej prostredníctvom skúmať pohľad na vlastnú situáciu. Hudba je taktiež v niektorých prípadoch dôležitým prostriedkom, ktorý napomáha v tvorbe identity národa. Jamajka je jedným z nich.

Hlavnou úlohou tejto bakalárskej práce je zistiť, či Jamajka v súčasnosti čelí kultúrnej traume, a to práve prostredníctvom porovnania tém, ktoré hudba rozoberala v sedemdesiatych rokoch minulého storočia, a ktoré rozoberá dnes.

Výsledkom výskumu je zistenie, ktoré potvrdzuje tézu. Kultúrna trauma z otroctva a politického násillia, ktoré sa začalo po osamostatnení sa ostrova je prítomná v jamajskom povedomí.

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Table of Contents

Declaration of Originality	iii
Abstract	iv
Abstrakt	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Table of Contents.....	viii
Introduction	9
1.1 Concept of cultural trauma	11
1.2 Brief History of Jamaica	14
1.2.2 Spanish Conquest	15
1.2.2 British rule	16
1.2.3. Slavery Market.....	17
1.2.4 Independent Jamaica and the JLP vs. PNP conflict	18
1.2.5 The Violence and the politics	22
3. Discussing trauma and slavery – by Ron Eyerman	22
Chapter Two	25
2.1 Function of Music in Jamaican society	25
2.2. History of music in Jamaica	27
2. Chronological development	28
2.2.3 Reggae and Dancehall – social circumstances	31
2.3 The methodology for the musical research and comparison.....	32
2.3.1 Artists.....	33
Chapter three	34
3.1. The seventies – the slavery topic	35
Same ideology – awareness of the importance of a change.....	36
3.2. The seventies – the political violence topic.....	37
3.3 Current music	40
Conclusion	44
Sumár	46

Introduction

The purpose of the thesis is to show that the cultural trauma or the narratives of cultural trauma might be something that is not always officially recognized, but still influential part of cultural environment. By “not recognized” are meant cases when the societies are not aware of the narratives of cultural trauma of another society in comparison with those which are recognised, such as narratives of slavery in USA. History of human kind is full of cruel action caused by the necessity of chasing the wealth and power. It may sound like a cliché, but the world should understand that no society and no nation should be taken for granted. As well as the history and its negative actions, in purpose of correct and humanistic development of the world, should not be forgotten. Therefore the whole world should understand that the behaviour of people within a culture is highly influenced by its past.

A pain that a society or a nation goes/went through should not be ignored. If one would claim that the trauma is what people decide to keep in their memory, that is their decision to bring it back and not be able to forget it and move on, should know that if a memory is perhaps brought back with a negative background of today’s situation and it was probably impossible to overcome it and move on. Those are the main reasons to make a historical research in this case, concretely Jamaica. First task is to discuss the historical events connected to the cultural trauma. The next step is to find out if similar representations of the past and present are still a part of actual music production. Few concepts such as cultural trauma (the most important one), collective memory, national identity in connection with music, will be explained in this thesis. Also history of music and its importance in the identity formation in our study case is needed. Considering the hypothesis in which the cultural trauma is spread in the public space and transmitted from generation to generation, as it became the foundation for the modern identity of Jamaicans.

Jamaica and Jamaican music is the study case for this thesis. Since the moment that European man stepped on this island, people that were not rich and in power suffered. The colonization era was way too long comparing with the rest of the world, where many colonies gained independence; Jamaica was independent just since 1962. The world was growing fast and Jamaica had its first opportunity to make a change and step towards a better future. Without knowing how to manage the politics, and the socio-economic

situation, the hard times continued. This is a sociological study, where the analysis will be done through the focus on the feelings of the new nation – Jamaica after independence. How can this work without questionnaires, and quantitative research of some interviews? One of the ways how to get into the mind of a people is through understanding of their feelings. Jamaica is very specific by the expression of the society feelings through the music. The focus will be on the downtown people that mean the poor people or the middle class people, who those are suffering the most, meanwhile created the music of Jamaica. Therefore the analysis of this thesis will be done through the deeper insight into the lyrics. Music has a special role in Jamaica also because of the accomplishment of being a worldwide influential and a possible way of how to get out of their problems. As an important point in the formation of the national identity, it seems to be a good way, let me explain why.

CHAPTER ONE

In the first chapter I would like to present the concept of cultural trauma to set the background for my explanation. I would like to briefly introduce also other concept, collective memory which is complementing the theory of cultural trauma. My argument is that the music is a tool of expression (what will be further developed in second chapter) and in some cases can play important role in identity formation. Secondly I'd like to introduce the Jamaican historical development, focusing on political, social and economic factors. In the third part of this chapter I would like to highlight few connecting points of the book of Ron Eyerman and his study case of Cultural Trauma in connection with slavery in America and the further formation of the Afro American identity with this case study.

1.1 Concept of cultural trauma

To be able to find out if Jamaica's traumatic experience in past developed a cultural trauma, we have to define what a cultural trauma is. Firstly, it has to be noted that the narratives of a cultural trauma are closely connected to the collective memory. Process of creating a collective memory starts with a simple exchange between people: *"The specific character that a person derives from belonging to a distinct society and culture is not seen to maintain itself for generations as a result of psychogenetic evolution, but rather a result of socialization and customs."* (Assmann, 1995, p. 125).

From Assmann's point of view, the collective memory is created by the social interactions and customs. Therefore the theory is based on cultural principle instead of a biological one. In the process of interaction we communicate for example through narratives. By communicating with each other we create the memories, opinions, etc., according to which we identify ourselves with certain group of people. We can identify easier with a group that is holding the same perspective as we do. *"Cultural memory, a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behaviour and experience in the interactive framework of society and the one that obtains through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation"*. (Assmann, 1995, p. 126). As the circumstances in a society constantly change, together with the collective memory we have to consider also the generational concept, which is more developed in the texts of Radim Marada, who's research is built also the theory of generations of Karl Mannheim. By the collective it is meant the society which shares the same representation of the society's past. With the changes within the generations,

perspective will be always slightly different, finding its current interpretation. There are no boundaries which determine the collective memory; the collective memory is shaped by the collective. Even if there are some similarities between the collective memory and the individual memory, there are also distinctions, therefore both of them should be examined from different points of view. There are different ways of preserving the information of collective memory. There can be formal and informal way. The informal is the oral transmission. The formal refers to some statements which are written down in some of the public documents, text books etc. The text books preserve the information for the next generations, but they are influenced by the political powers. The influence is rooted in the control of what is published. The political powers influence the decision which information is transmitted and which one stays hidden. If there is a question of how the majority of the people in Jamaica certain events and how they feel about it, there has to be another way through what it could be explored. One way could be the music. The music in general can be seen as the narratives that interpret and transmit the reflection of the society's feelings about their situation without politics being in full control of what's published, in the case of Jamaica, as the songs were recorded individually, and in private studios. But the radio broadcast was regulated. In collective memory can be distinguished two types: cultural and communicative memory. Jan Assmann describes the cultural as the one carrying information from past, that people stopped to question and perceive it as the fact. Communicative memory is based daily exchange of information and experiences. The transmitting can last even few generations: *"Communicative memory has limited temporal horizons; it means information can remain in circulation for few generations."* (Assmann, 1995, p 127) The process of preservation is changing according to the present circumstances. If certain narrative stays in the collective memory longer than that, it could be considered that the transmitted issue is having greater "importance", often explained as positive or negative, or still having certain impact on presence. Radim Marada claims that if an experience is seen traumatic, it still stays in the memory, then the effort of forgetting isn't successful, and sooner or later a memory can be recalled. If it brings up a doubt or a negative reaction, there is still a problem going on. One of the thoughts from Sigmund Freud about the trauma from psychological point, which Mirada uses on cultural trauma, claims that it is as the patients did not end with the traumatic experience, as if they are still facing it and did not cope with it. (Marada, 2007, p 82) Another interesting point is the explanation of why is a certain

knowledge transmitted. "Access to and transmission of this knowledge is not controlled by what Blumenberg calls "theoretical curiosity", but rather by "need for identity" as described by Hans Mol". (Assmann, 1995, p. 130) A call of identity is a possible explanation in some cases. Is the fact that a national discourse keeps transmitting some historical narratives a sign of need of identity? The question of identity construction will be later on discussed in the comparison with Ron Eyerman's research.

On the simplest level of understanding, trauma indicates an overwhelming experience which may provoke aggravating conditions with longer endurance. (Smelser, 2004, p. 31) In this thesis we will also use adjective traumatic with connection of experience, referring to a "shocking or unpleasant" experience which could cause long term damages (in this case of a whole culture). To avoid the confusion, the claim of the trauma being a construct does not mean that the society has no reason to feel traumatized. The definition that this thesis will mainly build on is study of Neil Smelser. According to the history, not every historical negative event automatically turns into a cultural trauma, even lot of them have the onset to become one. We tend to automatically label disasters, genocides etc. into a traumatic category, but what makes the traumatic event turn into cultural trauma depends on few aspects, thus the trauma is determined by the context, for example the economy, sociological situation, . There characteristics that define the cultural trauma: it has to "be remembered, it is also associated with negative effect (disgust, shame, guilt" and the interesting fact that it can be a cultural trauma in certain moment, but not in another". (Smelser, 2004, p.36). Smelser develops his theory also by using some of the Freud examinations on psychological trauma. Instead of looking on all of its aspects, he chooses those that are relevant for the explanation of the cultural trauma. Even if a trauma of individual and trauma of collective is not the same, as we will face some opinions in further definitions, there are equalities in some points that should not be ignored. On the other hand, what his researches showed is that the process of development the traumatic experience into a trauma is different in collective and in a single person - that's why even there can be some points applied from the individual process, it have to be considered as two different concepts . There is a debate about the indelibility of the trauma, some scientists believe that once a person experiences trauma, it will preserve or come back. That would mean that the trauma is "incurable". This argument is very questionable, although

what is obvious is the long endurance of it. For Smelser the affects can have the same length of endurance in collective memory and in memory of one person. (Smelser, 2004, p.41).

To compare or complete the definition, Ron Eyerman states that cultural trauma is different than the psychological one. "As opposed to a psychological or psychical trauma, which involves a wound and the experience of great emotional anguish, a cultural trauma refers to a dramatic loss of identity and meaning, a tear in the social fabric, affecting a group of people that has achieved some degree of cohesion. " (Eyerman, 2004, p. 2). Also interesting point is this claim: "In Cathy Caruth's (1995; Caruth 1996) psychoanalytic theory of trauma, it is not experience itself that produce traumatic effect, but rather the remembrance of it". (Eyerman, 2004, p. 3). According to Caruth's research there is a link between the past and present and that is the today's representation of the collective memory. It can happen that certain narratives become so important that they are a part of identity formation. Here we see the connection between mentioned three concepts. Because in the process of the remembrance is the cultural trauma created. *Eyerman, combining it with other arguments, also works with Smelsner's thoughts the cultural trauma : " a memory accepted and publicly given credence by a relevant membership group and evoking and event or a situation which is a) laden with negative affect, b) represented as indelible, c) regarded as threatening society's existence or violating one or more its fundamental cultural presuppositions".* (Eyerman, 2004, p.2) History, in general, is full of events that could serve as a ground for the cultural trauma development. But it depends on how the situation is handled, how the society deals with it, and how the different social actors and institutions operate. The world is aware of some of the situations when the outcome of war or genocide caused a cultural trauma, or there still exist the narratives which points on the fact that the society did not went successfully through the healing processes yet. What about those cases where the narratives of cultural trauma are not recognized, for example, because of being a third world country?

1.2 Brief History of Jamaica

"Today history plays an important role in shaping Jamaicans 'understanding of themselves and their place in the world". (Robertson, 2002, p 25)

Robertson's point on the importance of the history. According to him the history can make a clearer way to future if the paths of how the habitants were moving, migrating on the island creating a cultural mix which was influencing the developing politics and so on. It is very important in question of the national identity building, mainly in this case when the islands of the "earlier generation" had the attempt to raise the new community. The long fight for the freedom of the enslaved people is not a bright history, because it shows the cruelty of the human kind blinded by the power, which is characteristic for the European great powers in the era of the colonization. But Jamaicans can be proud of the strength to endure the hard times. The island still suffers the poverty, but knowing the history is able to give the strength to believe in better future. (Robertson, 2002, p. 26) Explaining the history is necessary for understanding that Jamaica faced various hard situation so the development of the society should be under a line of sight to see if the society could deal with the past (mainly those who eventually caused the chaos in the society).

It would possible to write about history to depth, but as this research is not a historical one, it requires just the important facts connected to the question of identity, narratives of cultural trauma, and music. That's why I would like to present just a basic insight to the important issues that shaped the perception and circumstances of life of people living in Jamaica and their expression through music.

1.2.2 Spanish Conquest

Jamaica was found during the first trip of Columbus when he still believed that he reached the lands of India. The year 1494, the discovery of Jamaica will be the leading point since there is at least some evidence and since it was the first intervention islands natural development. The original inhabitants were the Arawaks, who were the migrated Indians living in the island for nine hundred years. Their existence was threatened by the European civilization taking over the island. At first, the inhabitants were naturally more aggressive and defensive than the inhabitants of other islands of the Caribbean area. The encounter of the invaders/explorers with the original inhabitants caused deaths during the first confrontations. European explorers also brought new sicknesses which the originals couldn't take as they were not use them. Firstly it was more or less a deal between the Spanish explorers and the habitants. The necessity of food and supplies was growing and from the previous deal it changed into a command. The mistreatment was increasing and even after

some agreements of exchange, the moment that the food supplies were not enough, the treatment got worse. The expedition did not lead just into the disturbing of the natives, but to their total extinction. The worst point was the enslavement of the Arawaks, which was the reason of the population dying out almost completely. Since the arrival of Christopher Columbus, the land of "Xamayca" as it was called in that time, it was proclaimed to belong under the Spanish monarchy. New land discovered by the European superpower had to face the disagreement about the division of the lands. The discoverer and his offspring did not get the recognition the way he expected. But Diego Columbus, as a governor of Haiti sent men to gain the land of Jamaica. His governing was the calmest that Jamaica ever had. (Gardner, 1873, p. 1-10)The occupation started in 1509, and it lasted for 146 years.

During the Spanish rule, Spaniards achieved to build cities as de city de la Vega, Sevilla, Mellila, but did not proceed in the development of the economy. In the English historical documents written during the eighteen century, was the Spanish rule described as extremely tyrannical and oppressive. That is also how it can be found on nowadays web pages. The web page of embassy of Jamaica even claims that some of the Arawaks which survived the attacks of Spaniards rather committed suicide than be treated badly by the colonizers. But the level of oppression was not about to be better in next centuries neither. On the other hand, these are the narratives which have the origins in the history collected by the English writers; Edward Long and William James Gardner. There is lack of information that would describe the Spanish rule. Key information for this thesis, transporting African slaves to Jamaica started already during the Spanish rule, in the point when the population of Arawaks was so weak and small that they needed to add the number of workers on the sugar cane plantations, etc.

1.2.2 British rule

British invasion started in 1655 when the British soldiers landed in Kingston. After the confrontation, the Spaniards gave up (further information in *The History of Jamaica* written by William James Gardner). The British invaders had to face small guerrillas coming from the Spaniards which did not leave the island and stayed hidden in the mountains, some of them went to Cuba. The British rule brought, except higher amount of the slaves coming from Africa, also around thousand habitants from Barbados who deeper the agriculture by the development of cultivation of cocoa and sugar cane, both important for the development of the economics.

Later on also Lebanese habitants came – the mix of cultures started to arise and caused the variety of skin tones that is notable till today. Within the British rule were established few changes on the island. Establishing the new Anglo-Jamaican society, defining what it means to be English, or question about what role and level of importance will Jamaica acquire within the British Empire (from the new habitants point of view). Another aspect was that the situations, establishing gave a way to the increasing level of slave trade during the next century. In the 17th Century people survived the French invasions, the Maroon wars. This time was not very prosperous in comparison with next century, which made Jamaica an important colony of Great Britain.

The descriptions and information coming to Europe were a bit distorted, as the main purpose was to “invite” new habitants coming from London. Inviting was done also by securing that there are enough of the great opportunities to develop the agriculture etc., in other words, great conditions to live a successful happy life. The colony went on a path of success, but on the other hand it was very “unhealthy” (Robertson, 2000, p. 26). As Robertson also mentions, the British invasion and victory took advantage of the bad rumours about the Spanish rule. The cruelty against the original habitants was part of the narration that was written down in the collective memory trough storytelling, legends etc. The English take over was than easily described as the punishment of the “Spaniards” for their mistreatment and cruel rule. From the humanistic point of view, it was not worse than what the slaves experienced during the British rule.

1.2.3. Slavery Market

The 18th century was the century of slavery and sugar trade in Jamaica. After the Spanish occupation, the cruelty that was spreading on the island had its continuation with the British take over. Massacres were taking place. Mistreatment of the slaves was still cruel. The slavery as such already existed before the Great Britain conquered the island. They were already connected to the sugar trade, which existed as well. What was the real difference, the expectations within the economy and trade which were not fulfilled, were about to change from the plans into the reality. Three centuries of British power on the island (1655 – 1962) were underlined by the big importance of the slavery market. The island was characterized by the highest demand of the slaves among all the British colonies. The import of African people from Britain was enormous. To understand how far the slave market did

reach on the island, we should point out on a fact that 37% of all the ships sent to British America brought slaves to Jamaica, and often they were sent from Jamaica to other the rest of South America. *“Indeed, Kingston quickly became the major market not only for the slaves intended for the largest British sugar island, but for those resold to Spanish America as well.”* (Burnard & Morgan, 2001, p.206). This fact is one of the reasons Jamaica changed into an important part of the British colony. Slave market was important mainly for the white habitants of Jamaica. It was about buying the most efficient slaves for the lowest price. It was a success, if they got slaves that could live a long life and live through the not so desiring circumstances of life. Even they took some steps to prevent the slaves from dying; it did not help the quality of their life. Except different diseases, bad life conditions, hardworking regime, the fertility of women was also generally low. They were often treated brutally, and many of them were broken as people already before they got to Jamaica (because of the long travelling, or they came from Europe where they were already working hard for the lords). The exploitation of the country and the enslaved people by European white and rich population was obvious. According to the question of origins of slaves brought to Jamaica, they were coming from all over Africa (except the southeast). Different African ethnicities were mixed during the time. Jamaica became the wealthiest British colony in eighteenth century. We could talk about the three sources of the wealth and each of them is related to slavery. From the historical background we can see that the gap between the lord and the slaves working for lord was really huge. They had no rights and if they got some advantages, it was to make them stay alive longer. The cruel treatment has impact till nowadays. After the abolishment of slave trade in 1807 the economy in Jamaica declined. (Burnard & Morgan , 2001, p. 205-210). Without the slave working force, Jamaica was as a Great Britain sugar cane supplier replaced by the cheap supplying from India and China.

1.2.4 Independent Jamaica and the JLP vs. PNP conflict

In the era of independent Jamaica, after the year 1962, the small economy became one of the main problems. By becoming independent, Jamaica started to build up its economy and during the years had to be facing various obstacles. From the political point of view, even Jamaica was active politically since the British rule, but the power holders were British. Therefore Jamaican politicians had no great experience with governing country. There were

new structures necessary to implement, social and economic tasks as for example decision if to create a Union with the rest of the Caribbean islands or be financially dependent on the help of USA, etc. In question of economics, former slaves were theoretically free now, but basically occupied the same roles in society, plus the upper classes maintained the same ideology as centuries before. There was a division of lands, former slaves could buy small lands and work on the cultivation for their own needs. One of the reasons why politics was unstable since the second decade after independence was the class division. The aim of the political parties was firstly to achieve the equality among the people, whether according to class or race. But at the end, they didn't achieve it. After the abolishment of slavery many manners and habits stayed the same. There were places which the black citizens could not enter in, if they did they were ignored. The slavery was over but Jamaica was not socially and racially equal, the colonization was over and people could not establish a new structure of the society.

In question of a deeper insight into the politics, independent Jamaican political history was pretty much about the fight between the parties. The main two political parties that still continue with their clash emerged at the end of 1930's 1940's. The People's National Party (PNP) led by Norman Manley, which was the middle class man of great vision and promising ideas, and the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) led by Alexander Bustamante, also coming from the middle class but he made his way and connected very well with the poor people. (Backford, 2002) Those were not the only parties that emerged within the time, but the only two leading ones. They were connecting masses of people which were repressed because of the social or economical injustice, for example skin colour. Considering the fact that majority of citizens were poor lower class members, and there was nobody who would represent and fight for their needs yet, joining the party was an opportunity to participate in politics, and maybe finally push the government towards the democratization and equality. At the beginning of the independent era PNP was more focused on the self-government and JLP on the raising of standards for the middle and lower class. (Hope, 2006) On the other hand, both of them promised to improve the economics and were in favour of free market. People felt emotionally involved with the parties as they were fighting for their better situation.

Between the 50's - 80's the GDP was growing, the housing for the poor people was doing lot of work, the agriculture was also on a good way with the cultivation of banana and sugar (for

example the distribution of lands after the independence was much more favourable for the small farmers, the percentage increased from 60% to 80% of small farmers). The parties were also working on a better education for all the .Data showed that over 75% of housing, just in the period of 1962–1971, was constructed thanks to the two parties. The parties were still going the same direction, Bustamante and Manley were fighting for the social equality, but there was slight difference. When Manley proposed to join a Caribbean union and get rid of the dependence of USA or Bustamante, in order to provoke, was against the Caribbean unity. He was seeing Jamaica as an individual island with the mentality of a big island (Backford, 2002) (Conolly, 2002). Even they had very similar goals to build up strong land; they were competing against each other, trying to gain votes and supporters. The major problem came up when PNP took a radical socialist position and JLP was pro-capitalist. Michael Manley, the son of Norman Manley, whom became the new leader of PNP. In his vision of socialism, there was equality of rights for people that lived in bad conditions for so long; he was fighting against the class inequality and race inequality. Meanwhile he was in power as a prime minister two terms; he brought reforms in education, free schooling and other social reforms. On the other hands the new leader of JLP, Seaga, wanted to attract back the investors that left Jamaica, and get out of the raising poverty during the socialist terms. When he got to power in 1980, the black power and fights for equality were forgotten, he was focusing more on the business formation. His term in power brought different foreign investors and the tourism was flourishing again, but the poor people were still suffering. From that point the blackness was topic that was not brought up so much, even if Norman Manley came back to power, he announced that he learned and understood a lot and he is not going to stand the socialist position and won't bring up the fighter inside of him that much. It was a consequence of his personal disappointment from rejection of his effort. (Backford, 2002)

The decade after independence was a decade of “dependent development model”, a model of a country that needs external support. There was a season when there was a balance between the plantation and the peasant's agriculture and also extraction of bauxite and local production of goods. The economy was also supported by the fact that Jamaica was a regular destination for tourists (mainly from North America). It looked good for Jamaican post-independent economy, but later a switch came. Jamaica was dependent on the crude

oil that was important for the electricity and when the price of the oil started to increase, Jamaica was one of the first countries that could not maintain the off take from OPEC (Oil Producers and Exporters Cartel) in 1972. Another problem came up when USA that stopped to support Jamaica on the basis of a political disagreement. The tourism was boycotted, the bauxite industry also failed. Suddenly the investors moved away. The balance from the decade before was gone. From the political point of view, USA had problem with the close connection between Michael Manley and Fidel Castro. Firstly there were earlier mentioned packages from International monetary fund accepted, but after it was rejected by the same government. The next term was also cruel because of the so called cold war between the two parties PNP and JLP (PNP was supported by Cuba, JLP by USA). During this time, many people were killed because of the political strives between the parties. After the JLP gain power, there was promised to attract more foreign investors again. It never happened, instead of that, the debts towards USA were increasing. (Clark & Howard, 2006, p 107- 108) Jamaica had and still has high unemployment, the quality of housing was low and the market was not working properly. From a sociological point of view, different factors caused a big concentration of poverty. In the 1980 the housing situation got better, thanks to the help of International Monetary Fund and their stabilizing packages – structural adjustment packages. On the other hand, it gave a higher amount of control to the hands of foreigners that it was likely to. The government's possibility to intervene in the housing was reduced. Complications in the Jamaican independent development was therefore created not only with the growing distance between the ideologies of the two parties, but also in a fact that out of the two parties there was a group of people, radically pushing the system to fight against the race and class injustice in Jamaica. The division of people came to an extreme point when there Garrison communities rose. Those were parts in which the supporters of one party were living. For people supporting the other rival party would be life threatening to enter the opposite party garrison.

Jamaica was growing till certain point, but as people were highly involved as supporters of certain party, when economy collapsed, more violence between the supporters was present. If a party won elections, its supporters had advantages. One of the advantages was also ownership of weapons. The criminality and violence among the people was present. The violent aspect of the politics of the next era after 1970 was shaping the autonomous state making, the government death with the problems through rough power.

One of the aspect of the inability of the system to provide better social situation was the political instability, the power was always switching from one side to another so the actual focus to improve was lost in a fight between the parties. Because of some disputes, also the supporters from outside lost the interest to help the situation. Even the situation got better; the violence as such is still big in Jamaica. And as Amanda Sives claims in her research of the crime and politics of the 21st century, the political connection with the violence is where the root of the violence in general comes from. (Sives, 2012)

1.2.5 The Violence and the politics

Violence and corruption are two things that are, unfortunately, connected to the Jamaican politics. Because of the economy, the division and the violence between the party supporters, the situation gave birth to the garrison communities. “The political violence of late 1970’s led to creation of a number of politically homogeneous areas. Communities previously not identified by their political identity were reconstructed through the violence...” (Sives, 2012, p. 417) During the independent Jamaica there could be two different eras classified, the first one could be called a “gangland”, Jamaica was divided into pieces, neighbourhoods which had always a person or a gang taking care of the area. These were not just the criminal bosses, as they were seen from the official point of view, but at the same time they were often taking caring of the poor people. Providing them what the politicians’ couldn’t manage properly since the independence. The schooling, the job opportunities, and other advantages are the things that the “criminal boss” could provide for the people living under his “wings”. This was the reason why the politicians started to make links with these people, because people were not only using these opportunities, but also standing behind these bosses. They were seen more leaders in the ghetto communities. They could rely on a don more than on the system, as the system could not help to provide what was necessary for everybody. Of course, the advantages were working for both sides. For the support of people, this was gaining more support. Policemen were corrupted too. The gun violence was a usual problem in the garrison communities. Many of the gunmen were working for the political parties.

3. *Discussing trauma and slavery – by Ron Eyerman*

Ron Eyerman defines a cultural trauma coming out of slavery as an issue of collective memory more than the experience of slavery itself. This argument will be applied to the study case of

Jamaica as well. After seeing the development of the political situation after the abolishment of slavery and the social situation of poor people, what was in fact still the majority of the Jamaican citizens, we have to consider that as a reason for the remembrance.

Second point, as the Jamaican stratification of society did not permit existence of an identity definition for all the Jamaican citizens - as the slaves were not identifying themselves with the "British", colonial, perception of the ruling citizens, after Jamaica gained independence there was a need to build own national identity. Slaves were oppressed by other nations for centuries, their original cultures have been swept away by the hard working life under the rule of the master, and from this fact it is logical to claim that they did not build their official identity in a cultural sense after. The importance of the English identity during the British rule was usually forced, not a specific Jamaican one. Taking a look on the study case of Jamaica and comparing it to the development of the identity of Afro Americans, it is possible to note certain similarities. One of them is the fact that the African American identity has been also successfully constructed also by the speeches and the art work of its representatives. Art was considered one of the strongest tools.

Cultural trauma as it is explains Eyerman, is an experience that is important in the question of identity construction of the nation. Important, because the narratives of cultural trauma creates a point which the whole collective identifies with. *"... slavery was traumatic in retrospect, and formed a "primal scene" which could in retrospect, potentially, unite all "African Americans" in United States, whether or not they had themselves been slaves or had any knowledge of or feeling for Africa"*. (Eyerman, 2004) The perception of self as a descendant of Africans was also part of the Rastafari movement in Jamaica. The difference is that instead of accepting the connection the Rastafari movement was pointing on, this thought was ridiculed its beginnings, mainly from the upper class. The politicians were against the Rastafari movement for almost two decades. They did not share the perception; it may be caused also by the involvement of the Christian church. High percentage of Jamaican population is Christian. The Rastafari people were also perceived as rebellious or deviant in the society.

The trauma from slavery is not necessary a trauma that needs to be lived through directly. After seeing the history of Jamaica, it is more than obvious that there are outcomes from the

slavery has certain impact on the life of the citizens today. People can feel affected by the outcomes of slavery. Within the similarities of the two cases, there are also few differences. The situation in USA seemed to develop into separation of black population by building own churches, own schools. Through this process of schooling and gathering communities together, there was the space for the acknowledgment of the African roots. (Eyerman, R., 2004, p. 23-28) In Jamaica even there was in 1970's free schooling provided, the development of communities was not possible as the ideology and class division was present. The economic crisis is one of the factors that made the identity re-construction impossible to achieve fully. One could consider the fact that the government itself is in debts, not just part of the population is living in poverty, as a decisive point in various aspects. Meanwhile the developing schooling for the children of former slaves in USA wanted to overcome the struggle by forgetting and moving on, building their own churches, schools and growing their education, working skills; in Jamaica the class stratification did maintain the perception of a colour of skin a factor that mirrors the class. Even after time Jamaican society still sees a darker skin person as a person belonging to a poverty stricken community. A light skin person, who is the descendant of black and white parents, is seen as a member of higher class. (Hope, 2006, p. 38-39) Confronting this type of hierarchy, the forgetting process can't be done as the same ideology in new circumstances is deeply rooted in the society of Jamaica. Another point is that meanwhile in USA within the new institutions, colleges, there was attempt of preservation of black past and present. (Eyerman, 2004, p. 29). In comparison to Jamaica, that was more than two decades fighting for the equal rights, but anyway at the end of seventies, JLP with the capitalist ideology how to get out of the economic crisis calmed down the political effort to fight for the lower classes, which were the descendants of the former slaves. The cultural appreciation is missing, it can be also acknowledged by fact that Jamaica is considering of selling some of the historical monuments. Process of identity construction was therefore different in Jamaica than USA had - because of the less possibilities coming out of the economical situations of the state and because politics at the end, lost the focus on the equality of rights and were focused more on the fight in between the two political parties. This argument is supported by the point that Smelser makes; the two countries made the cultural trauma develop differently because of the context of the traumatic event and the process of coping with it was different.

Chapter Two

In second chapter I would like to explain the importance of music as an emotional expression in the culture and especially in the Jamaican one. It will explain how is the music connected with emotions, and will also present terms Reggae and Dancehall which are the core music genres for this case study. It will also contain the characteristics of the groups of society that the text directly refers to. It also presents the basic information about the history of the music and the linkage between Reggae and Dancehall as the two genres can be found very different. The end will contain information about the artists whom songs will be analysed in next chapter, to explain the reason of choosing the concrete songs.

2.1 Function of Music in Jamaican society

There is a connection between musical expression and certain narratives, which often refers to the history, or it can be highlighting a recent situation. In this case we assume that Jamaican music could be analysed by looking on the development of cultural but also a communicative memory. It is communicative because it treats the day to day topics, and cultural mainly because of the symbols and links to the history. Reggae and dancehall are musical genres that directly reflect the moods of downtown people. Their voice is articulated trough the music. The term tool of expression in this thesis means a way of expressing of a whole society. The art in general has the expressing function, but what is special about Jamaica is the massive production of music (Kingston 3.city with higher prod) (Lesser, B., 2008, p.3). The topics in music change according to the development of the society's current situation. Therefore in this thesis, music will be the tool through which the presence or absence of cultural trauma in present will be explored. (Longhurst, 2007, p. 87) This claim is coming from the study of Pop music and society that can be applied on the case of Jamaican music. Even the term pop that is nowadays commonly explained as popular it is understood as the dominant or main stream. In the case of Jamaica, dancehall and reggae are the main stream genres on the island.

According to the topic of political intervention in the production of the music in Jamaica... The examples from past show that whenever the artistic production represented a threat to the political system, the situation ended up by restricting it or even in banning or

confiscating the work. One example is the Nazi Germany. To keep the control over people they could not afford to let people think and then create a group that would cause rebellion. In this case, Jamaican government does restrict music to certain point. To a certain point because it is impossible to control all the production on the island, considering that the studios in poor areas were working on the bases of renting it to the artists. On the other hand, there was a restriction within the broadcast. If the authors wanted their songs to be broadcasted in radio, sometimes they had to literally camouflage the message in the text. The messages were then hidden in metaphors or symbols. The slang language of Jamaica, patois, is coming from English. It is the language of the street and it's changing; new expressions are coming out every moment. Often they used double senses. The wide public understood the lyrics in one way, but people to whom the song was addressed could understand the message in the lyrics. But music was in certain moment involved with the politics, not just because of the political topics it later on treated, but in the era after independence politicians came to a point where they were aware of the influencing and mobilizing abilities of music that was developing in that times. The connection of music and politics will be presented in the third chapter, in the analysis of the certain topics.

The term Jamaican downtown people is an expression used often in this thesis. If the downtown is mentioned, it is understood as a group of people living in Jamaica that are socially and economically on the lower scale of successfulness. In this case it will also include the middle class in later decades (as firstly the middle class was connected more to the upper class because of the light skin tone; later a darker skin toned middle class emerged, descendants of slaves which acquired education). The upper class was always a minority in Jamaica, is mainly represented by the descendants of the slaves. The downtown people are the focus in this research because they were the ones who were suffering and needed to speak about the struggles that they were going through. In the case of upper class, the musical preference is different. For example "soca" is a music genre coming from Trinidad and Tobago. Soca is connected to the carnivals, celebration of life, freedom. In Jamaica soca music is nowadays preferred by uptown people. It is logical that the music differs, somebody who is living a happy life won't be listening a poor people artist singing about starving for example. Downtown is much more negatively influenced by the topics of slavery and the

development of the political situation (and the purpose of the thesis is to figure out if it still is, importance of the question of blackness, even nowadays).

There are several reasons for choosing the period of the seventies for the analysis. First point, Jamaica was finally independent so the artistic production was not repressed by the ruling English class. Secondly, the people could theoretically freely speak up about their feelings. The development of Reggae, that started in the seventies, was significant point in the overall development of Jamaican music even if later on we will continue with the development of Dancehall as a stage coming after the Reggae (the comparison of reggae and dancehall as a subsequent outcome of the situation in the music and society as well). Reggae as it was mentioned was a direct way of expressing of what was going on in the society, more concretely in downtown parts of Jamaica. "Since its birth reggae was the Jamaican's nation main collective outlet..." (Chang & Chen, 1998, p. 1)

2.2. History of music in Jamaica

For the purpose of understanding of how the society express their feelings through music, there has to be firstly the history of music presented. In first chapter was explained the political and economic point of view on history and now it's time to present the music and its development. The development of Jamaican music went through different phases. This thesis considers the most important point to look on the music that was developing after the independence of the island, where the process of national identity construction started to emerge. Second reason why the research starts there is the fact that the people had now more freedom to express what they felt. They could react on the slavery and the oppression, other situations they had to face after as a consequence. Also they were speaking about the situation in the 70's when there were political problems arising in the new independent Jamaica. The political violence was rising. People had represented their fears and pains through music. "Look there now! Everything crash. Fireman strike, waterman strike. Telephone pole man too. Down to the police man too. What bad in the morning, can't get good in the evening. Everyday carrying the bucket to the well, one day the bucket bottom must drop out." (Ethiopians, (1968), Everything crash) First part is pointing on the frequent strikes, meanwhile the second part are two proverbs. First one claims that what is already destroyed can't be fixed easily. Second one is talking about the everyday stress from the life they are living will lead to a disaster. (Waters, A. M (1985) p. 100) The song is politically one

of the most influential ones. Those two factors are the most important ones from the point of view of this thesis. They are the clues compared within the music. Analysis will show if they gave way to a cultural trauma. Slavery and political violence topic in the seventies and both of the topics nowadays the analysis will be proceeded. We will see also the development of the music in Jamaica. New genre emerged, with different vibe, talking to different kind of people, dealing with different topics. Are in the new music any symbols that would show that the narratives are still in the collective memory?

2. Chronological development

Jamaican folk music had largely religious function or it was meant to be a companion for different cultural occasions. (Barrow & Dalton, 2004, p. 4) The roots of the folk music come from Africa, as the slaves brought to Jamaica where mainly from Central part of this continent. Through the music that time they have been already talking about the everyday situations in society. For example the funerals, or singing about different social occasions. In comparison the traditional folk's music did not treat or remember concrete events like later period.

The chronological explanation starts with explanation of sound system. Sound system is basically a set of speakers "on wheels". On wheels refers to the mobility of the apparatus. The sounds systems are not just the systems that reproduced music, but also the group of people that carries it from place to place and play the songs. As Barrow and Dalton claim in their Rough guide of Reggae, the sounds system replaced the jazz orchestras playing in the streets. The live orchestras were hard to keep playing for long time, they needed rest. (Conolly, 2002) What those sound systems caused was that people from the neighbourhood were gathering together. In the streets of Jamaica, in between the houses, people start to meet, listen to music and enjoy the time together as a community. In this case we already talk about the downtown people which were taking part in these gatherings. The sound system parties were special not just because they made people come together but also because of the development of business environment that start a running and it is working till today. When there was music playing, the speaker boxes situated outside, and people around, it made perfect conditions for the small business markets selling food and drinks, snacks to the people standing outside. In this era, street singers were taking over. At the beginning of sound systems, singers were recording the songs and to keep the uniqueness

they kept them for their sound systems. The songs were speaking about the latest events happening in the streets of Jamaica. Later often sold their records for low prices, the musician set their path earning the money just to survive. The production was therefore enormous and songs were often similar. This is how the sound systems got unique records that nobody else had. The artist often made just one record and no more copies. Sound systems could attract people depending on who got the better record. From the battles between the special single records later one grew up one of the biggest “businesses” on the island – the recording business.

First recorded music in Jamaica was mento that also had impact on the upcoming developing genres. To be precise, each genre that developed in Jamaica had impact in certain way on what was coming next. After the independence, people were full of happiness and the new hope for a better life. The happy vibe of the poor ghetto people gave a way to new genre called ska. Ska has its origins in the previous musical expressions – some of the church styles of music mixed with drumming, also influenced by European production and the rhythm and blues coming from United States. The tempo of ska was expressing the celebration of freedom, it was fast, and played on every party held in the streets of Jamaica. Firstly it was music created in downtown; people of upper classes did not recognize it, but very soon it got popular worldwide. After the migration of Jamaicans to England in search for a better life, Ska got popular in Europe. As Jamaican people felt helpless not being led into any of the Jazz clubs in London – they managed to ship their records to Great Britain, formed sound system and started to organize parties in Jamaican style. Listening to the record coming from homeland made them feel less alienated in a new land, as their music was their identity base. Ska got more known and suddenly, all kind of people fell for the genre. Even artist representing other genres were caught in the rhythm of ska. As Jamaican uptown society saw the reaction coming from abroad, they started to recognize and link themselves with ska. In their eyes it was opportunity to get Jamaica in an international spotlight. In that time already was the happy mood of downtown people changing and the music was changing with the mood. Firstly, people realised that even they are independent, they still suffer from poverty and their situation is not changing. The tempo in music slowed down, within the.

The upcoming genre, was different then the ska. The baseline, which is the key instrument for in the development Jamaican music, was different – not so regular like in the previous

genre, the drums were stronger, and the rhythm was changing. (Conolly, 2002) The short era of rock steady has biggest influence on the further development of the Jamaican music. The first outcome was the “Rude Boys”, who were men with an attitude of gangster, always carrying gun, knife, or both. A rude boy was a rebel in society who did not obey the rules. They were creating music of the protest. After the rude boy short era, there came time where the lover’s topic was brought up. The slower tempo emerged in Rock steady love songs. The genre was very spiritual and people could find some way out of the struggles they had to face. *“Although rude boy records led the way, the increase in the number of songs voicing disquiet about Jamaican social conditions in the rocksteady era can also be related to the trends in Anglo-American popular music, which was then finding “protest “ lyrics commercially viable.”* (Barrow, Dalton, 2004)

The production of Jamaican music was always highly influenced by the USA music, concretely rhythm and blues, and jazz. It changed when the rock’n’roll came out, and Jamaicans couldn’t keep the line with the production and decided to take their own way, create their own records. (Conolly, 2002) Of course Jamaica was influenced from the outside world, trying to get the music to another level, but what linked those two lands was the American attempt of the black consciousness.

After the short term of Rock Steady, the social conditions got heavier and so the baseline did. Reggae was very important for people because function of mobilization of the inner-city society, plus from it made a big breakthrough to the rest of the world. Reggae has a big impact on the pop music. It emerged in 1968. The influence of R&B was enriched by the *“musical exodus to Africa. Reggae’s slower, heavier, almost hypnotic rhythms harkened a return to Africa.”* (King, 2002, p. 46) In comparison with the genres before reggae, now there was patois more present within the lyrics. Reggae is also closely connected to the Rastafari religion. *“As the economical crisis was deepening under the power of JLP, the situation of poor people was getting even worse, the Rastafarians, radical academics, and the militant poor became more unified force of resistance”.* (King, S.,2002, p. 45) The Rastafari in reggae promotes the cannabis in belief that it is a sacrament tool. The lyrics are often treating socio-political topics that help to raise awareness among the citizens of Jamaica, but also out of Jamaica about its situation. They often criticize the past colonialism, racism, class hierarchy,

system, injustice in general. That's just one segment of the genre, there are also more personal topics that narrate about love, etc. (*Hombach, 2010, p. 22*)

Dancehall is a term that does not define only the genre of music, but "dancehall" determines a whole culture. Different elements are embodied in dancehall, the style of dressing, the food sold in the streets and at the parties, the sound systems, the deejays, the music, etc. One of the sociologist that dedicated study to this genre pointed on an interesting characteristic of dancehall – dancehall is an important part of life on the island nowadays. "*I became aware that dancehall culture could not be contained in vague, imported social science theories because it was living, breathing organic part of Jamaican life*". (*Hope, D. 2006, p. X*) Generally, it is a specific genre. It differs from what was known in Jamaica till these times. The influence is basically coming from the capitalistic stream coming mainly from USA, the changes in hierarchy which was connected to the development in politics (middle class – free schooling), and the constant beef's between the political parties PNP and JLP. (*Hope, 2006, p. 1*) Dancehall as genre contains similarities with previous genres but it also new characteristics. The beat is faster. Primarily, the manifestation of the social and political situations gathers extreme forms. Even the dancehall artists who gain certain position in the culture and property, still reflects the dancehall existential struggles of the poverty stricken communities. (*Barrow & Dalton, 2004, p.27*) It treats the conception of self, the situation in which inner-city people live, the image of how they want to perceive themselves etc. As reggae, also dancehall has mobilizing function. Inner- city people not just listen to it, but identify themselves with the music, topics used in the texts. Generally it is know that because of the extreme manifestation in dancehall, the genre is not supported by the government. The local street parties are under the supervision of the police, which can stop the party when they decide to. Claiming that the culture is too violent, the official powers in Jamaica repress this culture instead of changing the conditions that the people live in. The fact that the music had grown in more violent should be alarming sign not of a deviant, but not enough carrying government.

2.2.3 Reggae and Dancehall – social circumstances

Reggae and dancehall as terms are defined very differently. For example the publication *Reggae Routes* sees reggae as the whole culture including entire musical development in Jamaica. The book arguments with the fact, that since the Jamaican music emerged, it was a

reflection of the feelings and thoughts of the people. On the other hand nowadays people involve in the term dancehall culture also reggae. Here we won't focus on the labelling, but at the differences of these two as genres of music.

There is a gap between the two major favourite genres of today. Not just in the rhythmic sense but also the topics that they treat. Reggae started in seventies and it was treating topics which were trying to alert people, make them come together and make them think. The social topics mixed with the linkage to the past of people living in Jamaica or even to the linkage to Africa are very different ones than the dancehall nowadays talk about. Anyway it's still relevant to take the samples of music from both of the genres, it just has to be considered as a development of the music as such in Jamaica. The question is, if in between the topics of today's dancehall that contains lot of erotic references and the violence between people, is also the past pains mentioned.

The differences are very influenced by the developing society. Logically, going back to the history, the first two decade after gaining Jamaican independence were more about the fight for the rights of Jamaican citizens. Political leaders were claiming to be speaking for the people (for the suppressed ones). When PNP came to power, there was socialist movement, and it aimed to make the life of the poor people, who were the descendants of slaves, better. In 1970 there were various social reforms that made people more equal. As the outcome, the music was dealing more with the question of equality; they had strength to fight for their rights. The reggae era was the era of hope and fight. But the socialist era had also a bad outcome. The poverty all over the country was getting worse. When JLP came back to power, the focus switched from the social questions on the capitalism, lot of new influences coming from the rest of the world and the music was the mirror of the situation. Dancehall came out. The capitalism brought made the economy of the island bit stronger, but the money was flowing around the same people. Most of the investors were foreigners and the poor people stayed poor.

2.3 The methodology for the musical research and comparison

The main task of the thesis is to look at the history, explain the way how the connection with the society and the music works and then make an analysis of the lyrics of the songs to see if the discourse of the trauma is reproduced. There were various possibilities of how to do the research to show the most realistic results. The first was, the most logical one, was doing the

research through the musical, radio charts to see which songs were the favourite ones. The success of the song is important, that's how we know that people can identify themselves and their lives with the lyrics of the songs. People most likely listen to the songs which they can rely with depending on the emotions they feel at the moment. In the times of beginning of Reggae era, there were no reggae and dancehall charts in the radio; the music was not supported by the official media, as they were under the power of the system. Another way could be through looking at the charts from United Kingdom. But it seems problematic as the results wouldn't be reflecting Jamaican citizens and their situation. If there is no official evidence such as the charts, another option is interviews with deejays and artists. Considering that every deejay has individual subjective point of view on the music, the result of a questionnaire would not come out properly anyway. Also doing interviews with people that are part of the society would be very difficult. That's why the methodology will be simple, choosing the songs one by one on the bases of collected literature, advices and researching till we succeed to find some samples. It is necessary to have the research backed by information that comes from good sources because the chosen artists are recognized by the Jamaican people (and popular), according to the documentaries and researches, sources.

The analysis is divided into three sections. First two sections will contain samples from the early 70's era. First one will focus on the narratives of slavery. Second section will be reggae and dancehall treating the topic of political violence that was very present that time. Third will be group of samples from last few years where it will be notable if people could deal with the problems and injustice from past in their communities. By comparing these samples, songs that are well known from those times, there will come out an answer for the question if Jamaicans still deal with the struggle of the past referring concretely to slavery in colonial Jamaica and the political violence in the independent Jamaica.

2.3.1 Artists

The first section that focuses on the seventies and the topic of the slavery brings us few names that have to be mentioned. The world known Bob Marley was the one that was known worldwide for fighting for the peace, justice, and equality of rights. Jamaican nation did recognize Bob Marley as an important artist, but after his success worldwide. A singer that was not so known worldwide, but was recognized and did a lot for Jamaican music with his "fight" for the equality, his name is Peter Tosh. First sample comes from the album from

1969-72 called "Can't blame the youth" contains ideas that were connected with the slavery that will be used in the research. Peter Tosh also with Bob Marley and Bunny Wailer were working under the name The Wailers. They are also called the Reggae Beatles, because of their success and influence on the scene. "If Marley's was the charismatic centrepiece of the original Wailers, and Mr. Wailer seemed the quieter mystic, then Tosh's image was the aggressive fighter, the juvenile delinquent turned artistic and political revolutionary." (Rockwell, J., 1987) Tosh left the group in 1973. His production was treating social topics; he was fighting against the violence. His language was sharp and straight, and it was representing his rebellious way of thinking. He was murdered at the age of forty-two; he was a victim of street violence about which he was singing. "Increasingly, his songs preached a more conciliatory mood, still raging against the evils of a system that perpetuated desperate poverty but holding out an image of a divine love, as well. All of which made his murder at the hands of three of Kingston's most desperate poor all the more ironic." (Rockwell, J., 1987)

In the third section there is one name brought up several times and it is Vybz Kartel. Vybz Kartel is a nick name for a singer and deejay, who in this moment is in the prison. Anyway, he is still producing songs with very strong topics; he is right now the most popular dancehall artist in Jamaica and overseas. He is dedicating his production to a variety of topics, but most important ones for the thesis are those which talks about suppression of ghetto people, which happens, based on the racial inequality as he claims. His music is very influential thanks to his popularity. As an artist he brings up issues which are risky to bring up, but the Jamaican society there needs to realize. In 2015 he wrote a book in which he is talking about the social problems in Jamaica, trying to inspire people to make their life better. There are also explanations of points which can be misunderstood in music by people out of the society.

Chapter three

The third chapter will analyse the songs and compare the two eras. The information from first and second chapter will be applied. Music became during the history very important tool through which are people of about what is happening in the society from in the moment and from the point of view

of the majority of Jamaican citizens (not the uptown, rich people). There will be few songs analysed with more depth, and others will be matched with them according to the topics they are treating.

The songs are full of symbols, proverbs, metaphors and there are different levels of understanding them. The using of proverbs and their different meanings are well explained in the book *Reggae wisdom: Proverbs in the Jamaican music*. This research is focusing on the social level that would explain the perception of the situation in the seventies and the present situation and the “narratives of the cultural trauma within the present situation. The language used is patois, which is Jamaican slang language coming from English language.

3.1. The seventies – the slavery topic

Embracing the topic of slavery, which was a constant suppressive power used against the old and new citizens in Jamaica, was a normal phenomenon after the acquisition of independence. That’s why it is acceptable to consider that the topic of slavery was a imaginable reaction, as the artist were not regulated by British power. Considering the importance of clarity, there will be a classification into groups made on a basis of the same purpose or same characteristics of the songs, in the lyrical sense, in which will be concrete songs implemented as the objects of analysis. This classification is not an official one made by a expert in music, but serves just to differentiate the motives among the lyrics connected to the traumatic experience, more concretely slavery and the political violence.

Rebellion – against any further oppression

The first motive is the fight against any further oppression. In other words, those which touch on the topic of slavery and point out that the situation can not develop towards that direction again. For example Peter Tosh in his song “You can’t full me again” (1970), sings about the society that is being Christianized, pointing out on the similarities of what is brought with the past slavery days. According to him Christianity claims that after death there will be the heaven, where the soul can live happily. This can sound for many people as: “it is okay to live poor life in pain, one day you will die and everything will be okay”. But he is letting the world know, that he won’t be a fool once more and does not accept what people make seemingly sound so divinely.

Gregory Isaacs as a description of the life of slaves, there is song called “Slave Master” (1978). In this song he treats the social topic of the relation between the slave and his master, describing the roles “Boss never do a thing, but hold on to his girth”. Also could be

classifies as with a overtone of resistance, as he sing that if he does not get to his music he will burn the plantation. He gets fierce when somebody tries to hold him back from his music, his life. The music was a way to escape, if it was forbidden it could provoke even greater anger.

Remembrance

Burning Spear with the song “Days of slavery” (1976) is an example of next motive. With the main chorus he directly make the point about slavery, asking the listeners: “Do you remember the days of slavery?” He comes up with the question linking to the past, which is a way of making people remembers. “While I remember, please remember” the singer appeals on the memory of people, memory of the nation. “How they beat us, how they worked us so hard, how they used us, till they refused us”, making the people remember that their ancestors went through the roughest times, but still were able to survive. Those who survived were strong individuals that are a basis for creating a strong nation. The intention is to then the remembrance, people should never forget about the struggle they had to come through to survive. The artist wants to appeal on the memory of the collective – it can probably mean that as important memory, it is a part of identity and it should not be forgotten. Here we could link to the Robertson claim about the importance of the history, to be able to work towards better future. The intension of the artist to make people remember could be considered as one of the characteristics of cultural trauma that Smelser names.

Part of the group that raised the awareness or at least made people think about their history was also the song from Jimmy Cliff “Rivers of Babylon” (1972), which sings about being brought to unknown land from Africa against the free will. “Because the wicked carried us away in captivity” refers to slavery, and it mixes the topic with the Rastafari movement and the original roots of the slaves in Africa.

Same ideology – awareness of the importance of a change

The third motive is the persistent ideology from the slavery era. After the slavery abolishment the situation did continue more or less the same way. The black population was not perceived equally as the white minority on the island. “400 years” (1973) from the Wailers refers to the constant situation which did not get any better from the slavery times. The official slavery was abolished in 19th century but still over hundreds of years after the

poor people, which are the descendants of the slaves live in bad conditions and yet nobody does intervene enough to change it. Bob Marley and The Wailers are trying to rise up the awareness of the situation. There is a line saying: “why do they fight against the poor youth of today”. In other words, he is questioning why the system is not helping but instead it oppresses the poor people in these days. The song was first time a part of the album *Soul Rebels* in 1970.

An angry call for more effort is also a song from Peter Tosh, “Equal rights (1977). “Everyone is crying out for peace, non is crying out for justice”. In this song he later adds that he don’t want no peace, he wants the equal rights and justice. The peace itself is not enough, if a part of the culture is still not seen as equal. He makes the listeners aware of importance of the justice before the peace can be successfully established.

Another song is coming from the Heptones. It’s also called “Equal rights” (1968), which main message is connected to the slavery. The people were divided and judged on the base on race or class. The song is leading people to not treat other people depending on these factors. Equal rights were missing in the times of slavery where people, slaves from Africa, were seen as something less than the “white race” owners of lands living in Jamaica. There is not straight mention about the slavery days, but the philosophy of slavery is obviously something to fight against.

The songs supposed to lead people out of the past situations. Motivate, put together and challenge them to move forward.

3.2. The seventies – the political violence topic

Biggest changes came along with the changes in the politics. After the independence there was a growing problem. The gap between the ruling class and the poor people was growing. Within this there was still continuing the race problem, white race and light skinned people representing the ruling class versus the poor people that are also called in Jamaica “the ghetto people” or inner-city people. The government couldn’t deal with those problems properly, even the PNP was in seventies fighting for the poor people’s rights by establishing socialism, this try was defeated at the end of seventies. Already during seventies the political violence was raising and creating a space for fighting.

1. Refusing political violence

Within the political violence the motives are simple. One type of songs is of course a refusing the violent situations, such as Tribal War (1976) by Little Roy. Little Roy claimed for the Gleaner that this song was a reaction on the situation in Jamaica. The first line of the song “Tribal war, we don’t want no more – at all”, were he refers to the elections in 1972 and to the war of two camps PNP versus JLP. This sample shows that even lot of people were part of one of those camps, there were people tired of the constant political fight. Next example is coming from Bob Marley and The Wailers and their song Crisis, in which “ so much have to be said, so little have been done, they still killing – killing the people,..., they just want to be a leader in the house of the rising sun”. This song is also serving to criticize the situation, which is not attempted to change.

2 Description of the events in which is political violence against people

Another type is direct reflection, description and pointing on the alarming situation in Jamaica that time. Green Bay killing was political motivated. Niggre Kojak and the Massacre is just one of the various songs that came on the “Green Bay Killing riddim”. Another song came out by Lee Scratch Perry treating the same topic. People were feeling frightened by the fact that police could react in situations like this straight by killing a person who seemed to be “dangerous” for the surroundings. That’s how they could deal with people who were uncomfortable politically. Also, if we imagine the high level of crime and violence in the downtown caused by the poverty, people were trying to get money by illegal actions; the police was not able and probably not even interested to investigate the crimes.

Songs which are reflecting more a personal story but links with the political violence is “Johny was” (1976) by Bob Marley. It is a song that narrates a tragic situation of a man shot in the streets of Jamaica which was not a unique case.

Max Romero and his song “War ina babylon” (1976) treat the Rastafari topics and the political oppression – “the policeman nuh like the dreadlock man”. “The dreadlocks”, the natural hair look of former Africans, were the connection to the African roots that the Rastafari movement celebrated and it also was a protest against the Babylon, which did force people to obey the system. Rastafari were raising the awareness, they where therefore kind of threat for the system. The system was forcing them to cut the dreadlocks off as a symbol of obeying.

Big youth and the song “Political Confusion” (1979) where he points on the division of people according to the political party preference. “... sisters will be against sisters”.

One of the examples of pointing on the raising political brutality, strikes, and poverty is the song “Everything crash” (1968) from the Ethiopians. *“Look there now! Everything crash. Fireman strike, waterman strike. Telephone pole man too. Down to the police man too. What bad in the morning, can’t get good in the evening. Everyday carrying the bucket to the well, one day the bucket bottom must drop out.”* (Ethiopians, (1968), Everything crash). First part is pointing on the frequent strikes, meanwhile the second part are two proverbs. First one claims that what is already destroyed can’t be fixed easily. Second one is talking about the everyday stress from the life they are living will lead to a disaster. (Waters, A. M., 1985, p. 100)

Other cases – mix of topics

Delroy Wilson and his song “Better must come” – which was in the 1972’s election commonly heard slogan, author did not relate to politics originally. He was singing about his personal life, but people could connect with the lyrics that time. Politicians used this song to appeal on people’s feeling, that with their rule better times will come. It was part of the PNP’s slogan. PNP that time originated the socialist movement that was supporting black awareness. Politics was also using the Rastafari symbols, language, to attract the voters. They also connected with the musicians for example Bob Marley and Manley. Marley was supporting the PNP that leaders were Manley in wish to end up with the violence between the parties.

There are many songs which don’t even talk directly about the political violence as such, but they talk about oppression of the system. The evidence of a hard life in poverty is not just in the official databases that count the percentage of people that get the minimal wage, or the level of unemployment, as we are use to. The true evidence is in the songs that talks about the hard life, even the musicians in the 70’s were not rich enough to leave the poverty aside. Jimmy Cliff sings in his song “I can get no justice” about the difficulties of getting money to survive – “I can get no justice under this system” – the political system could not manage to achieve higher quality of life of the downtown people and again, there is a connection to the racial discrimination and stratification that was presented in the theoretical part – “Why should one be judged by the colour of the skin”. Oppression of the system was also meant the Babylon that was, the politics, oppressing the poor people. At the end of the seventies,

when the capitalism was the important focus of the politicians, as they wanted to make the island step away from the poverty (the state maybe gain some wealth, but the poor people stayed poor).

Bob Andy in the song “Let them say” describe the struggle of surviving.

The division into categories is just casual, unofficial. It serves to a purpose of showing the different moods and point of view of people. Treating the same topics, but some artist felt angry so their reaction was rebellious, some are more a cries of the desperate situation, and some of them are motivational. All of them treat the same topics were we can find the linkage to the slavery very often, also the topic of political violence and the outcome of both, non working system that could protect people from persisting injustice, or increase the quality of life by diminishing the level of poverty.

3.3 Current music

In the third part of the analysis there won't be a classification of the songs into groups, but analysis of some that refers to the past. Reggae and dancehall developed different ways; dancehall has different manifestations of the social problems. In reggae there was a “black power” tendency that was related to the movement in politics, in comparison with the dancehall emerging in the new capitalist era.

One of the samples from the present is a song from Masicka, “Story Part 1” (2015). It is a dancehall song with the narrative about two people growing up in the same poverty stricken circumstances, but the life paths did develop in different ways. The main message of the song is again the ghetto life. There is a line that mentions slavery directly: “two a dem a par from baby stage, suffering like slavery days”. The connection with the slavery is just metaphorical, but it points on the suffering and the life conditions of Jamaican people. For many of those people the quality of life stayed the same.

The song from Mavado, “Overcome” (2008) is another example of the motivation for the ghetto people to overcome the struggle and oppression from the part of the system.

Vybz Kartel – Where is the love for the black child – song talking about the suffering of the “ghetto people” that have to face the consequences of the mindset from slavery times. The slavery brought to the Jamaican society a big issue dealing with the skin colour. That can be

very surprising knowing the fact that in Jamaica there are different races, people with different origins mixed. The darker skin tone a person is, less importance in the society he has. That sounds similar to the thoughts of slavery which were spreading out that dark skin people has no soul, that's why it is correct to be enslaved. "The coloured house slaves had held the highest social positions among the slaves, these then became freeholders..." (Lacey, T., 1977, p.26). People who had lighter skin step by step after the abolishment of slavery joined the upper class. The light skin in the land of Jamaica signifies power. "Blackness" was degraded by religion and the philosophy of the colonist for so long that people believed that if they would have lighter skin, they would have a better life. Nowadays there is a trend coming out of this philosophy called bleaching the skin. Once again, this topic is discussed in the lyrics of Vybz Kartel. That should be one of the biggest alarms for the rest of the world that the society still works with the philosophy and did not move on yet.

This is one of the reason Vybz Kartel wrote down a book where he is collecting information about the political violence. Politics is not just involved in the violence through cooperation but also trying to oppress the ghetto people, meanwhile gaining more power or control. The poor people are not treated well even in this time. In this case we can understand that the slavery has its consequences which are not dealt with yet. The music which this artist produces with the topics of a "ghetto life youth" is attracting attention. It is very rough, but it's a way of getting attention important to be able to change the situation. He is the "Voice of the ghetto people" as is his book's name.

Vybz Kartel in the song called "Poor people land" treats again the topic of the bad life of a marginalised ghetto youth person, but also links to the slavery that brought people there from Africa. The song is commenting on the politics and the MP which does not care about the situation of the ghetto people.

Tarrus Riley – Love created I (2008)

The message of the song is very comparable to the song "You can't fool me again". We can see the parallels between the "And you tell me about the paradise in the sky but that's a lie" referring to the Christianity and the heaven as the redemption of the carnal poor life. Using the words "you can't fool me". Even twenty years? Later on the situation is still feels the same, people feel oppressed by the Christianity.

"I know that's not how we look, don't take offense when we shout black power, it carries us through we been abused, put yourself in my shoes".

It is linking the present to the past. The God that is presented them to follow is not "looking like them", there is a racial tint throughout the song. The belief in "the black power" is what kept them alive meanwhile suffering in the past, so Tarrus ask people to understand why it is important to stand behind those words of black power and not get "fooled again".

Damian Marley - Welcome to Jamrock (2005)

Son of Bob Marley who was an important artist that believed that the political violence can't get to an end. The aim of his message is to show how the ordinary life of people living in Jamaica looks like. In the lyrics he uses a descriptive lines:

"Welcome to Jamdown, poor people a dead at random, Political violence can't done! Pure ghost and phantom, the youth dem get blind by stardom, Now the Kings of Kings call old man to pickeny, so wave unno hand if you with me, dem suit not fit me, to win election them trick we, den them don't do nuttin at all."

Singing in the Jamaican patois, he refers to the political violence and the brutality where poor people die randomly because of the political reasons. "Political violence can't done" means that the violence can't stop. With the reference to suit he means the symbol of the tie and suit which meant for the Rastafarians another type of "slavery". It meant to be enslaved in the system

Popcaan – System (2012)

Popcaan's song is oriented towards the irony of a post independent Jamaica's political situation.

"Di system designed fi set we up yeaah, dem give we di guns and dem same one come wet we up"

In these lines the artist refers to the political involvement with the gun possession of ghetto people. Parties during meanwhile maintaining the conflict were supporting the holding of guns because of "the party protection". The seventies were known by the gunmen who were

often closely involved with the political partisanship, and on the other hand the possession of guns was later a reason for police to take the life of a person.

Conclusion

In the conclusion, arguments and the thesis has been confirmed. Jamaica went through different stages that each was suppressing. Historically, the citizens were enslaved since the colonizers came on the island, firstly by Spaniards and afterwards by the British rule. During the British rule, Jamaica became the main island with the slave market, important sugar cane exporter, and because of those two reasons also the wealthiest colony. The slaves were brought from Africa, as the original habitants almost completely died out, and the hierarchy was based on the class and race. The enslaved Africans that later formed the majority of the population were considered as lower form of life. Those were the traumatic “events”. The word, events, is in quotes, because it took four hundred years. In nineteenth century the slavery was abolished, but the ideology, class stratification and even the treatment of people stayed the same. After rebellious uprisings, were lot of people died or were accused, finally in 1962 Jamaica gained independence. Lower class, poor people that formed a majority in comparison with the “white” descendants of slave masters and land owners were oppressed even after that. Slavery is classified as a cultural trauma in general, but as Smelser claims, the cultural trauma can exist in one moment of history and in other not anymore. It depends on the context in which the culture is meanwhile it is coping with the historical traumatic events. The situation in Jamaica after the independence was marked by the economic crisis, political fights that ended up causing enormous political violence and the lost fight for equality of race – the hierarchy and ideology about the class division did stay the same. Coping with the past was then not possible in such way as in North America after the fight for equality and the identity building was evidently very insecure. Jamaican lower class and later the educated middle class that emerged from the lower class after the schooling reforms, and to a point also the higher class did accept the identification (to a point because preferences of the higher class are not clearly the same) got the tool of identification as a nation in music. The musical expression in Jamaica was since the independence very strong, it mobilized people, treating the social, everyday life topics, fighting for the rights with the birth of reggae. The music developed into more extreme form, but still it is treating social, economic, political questions in connection with the poor people’s life. The analysis based on the claim that Jamaican music is very important because it served like a tool of identity

formation and had the ability to reflect directly the feelings of the lower and middle classes, it was possible to make a comparison of the musical topics from the seventies, mainly focusing on the slavery as a possible cause of cultural trauma, also together with political violence, comparing it to the recent music that developed in Jamaica, there were found matches that confirms the existing cultural trauma. In the results we can notice that the direct linkage on slavery and political violence is not that frequent as in the seventies (but they are still in the lyrics), but indirectly by linkage to the not changing ideology, or links to the “political violence that can’t done” shows that people are under the pressure of cultural trauma. Smelser’s point of the remembrance or bringing back the memories is present, as well as the point about the existence of negative affects such as anger, anxiety etc. It can be questionable, because the situation is still critical for many citizens. I would like to finish my thesis with a claim, that as it has still outcomes which cause suffering of people - slavery and political violence, persisting inequality, the culture will blame the past till the situation won’t change.

Conclusion from the research: if we compare both periods, the motivational intension, intension to raise the awareness, or the descriptive function is present in both. The topics of slavery and its outcomes such as poverty, higher criminality, injustice, racial discrimination is still present. The remembrance of slavery is also present, as people are aware of the causes of their current situation. On basis of this result, the cultural trauma from slavery is present, supported by the Smelser’s theory that the cultural trauma develops according to the context. The situation after independence was critical, the political violence is high, the coping with the history negative influence was not possible and the political violence made the cultural trauma even stronger.

Sumár

Jadro tejto bakalárskej práce je rozdelené na tri kapitoly. Prvá kapitola sa zaoberá konceptmi a vysvetľuje pojmy ako kultúrna trauma a kolektívna pamäť. Tieto dva koncepty spolu úzko súvisia. Ďalej poukazuje na určité podobne črty kultúrnej a psychologickkej traumy a zároveň skúma aj rozdiely pojmov. Predstavuje aj históriu ostrova od objavenia španielmi až po druhú dekádu nezávislosti ostrova. Politický vývoj je doplnený informáciami o ekonomike a sociálnych podmienkach Jamajky. Nachádzame dva body v histórii, ktoré by mohli vyvolať kultúrnu traumú. Je dôležité poznamenať, že z definícií, na ktorých je práca postavená vychádza tvrdenie, že kultúrna trauma je skôr vecou kolektívnej pamäte ako traumatizujúcimi udalosťami samotnými. Či sa kultúrna trauma z tzv. traumatizujúcej udalosti vyvinie záleží aj na okolnostiach, v ktorých sa spoločnosť nachádza. Posledná časť prvej kapitoly je venovaná porovnaniu prípadovej štúdie kultúrnej traumy u Afro Američanov a štúdie Jamajky.

Druhá kapitola sa venuje hudbe a histórii hudobného vývoja na Jamajke. Opäť spolu s chronologickým vývojom sledujeme aj sociálne pozadie vývoja. V tejto kapitole je na konci predstavených zopár artistov.

Tretia kapitola je zameraná na analýzu textov. Prvé dve kapitoly slúžia ako základ pre praktický výskum piesní v tejto časti. Analýza sa zaoberá výskytom tém, ktoré spomínajú alebo nepriamo poukazujú na otroctvo a politické násilie v rámci už nezávislej Jamajky. Práca pokladá tieto dva faktory za možné body, ktoré mohli vyvolať kultúrnu traumú. V závere sa téza potvrdzuje, keďže sa v súčasných textoch stále objavujú naratívy odkazujúce na minulosť alebo sa stále zaoberajú témou politického násilia a nespravodlivosti.

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