EXPLORING THE ROLE OF JAMAICAN MUSIC AS AN INSTRUMENT OF LEARNING AMONG ADULTS LIVING IN A JAMAICAN GARRISON

A Dissertation

by

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Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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May 2020

Major Subject: Educational Human Resource Development

ABSTRACT

This study was designed to explore the role of Jamaican music as an instrument of learning among adults living in a Jamaican garrison. Additionally, an aim of this study was to identify elements of culture that can be explored further as a pedagogical tool for others with similar life circumstances living within garrisons and other communities. Given the current state (criminality, poverty, lack of educational opportunities, and stereotypes) within Jamaica and specifically within garrison communities, it is essential to understand the sociocultural and socio-economic context of how adults navigate life within the garrison community. The perceptions of the garrison members are relevant in making meaning from their life stories. In an effort to illuminate the truth in the participants' stories, Moustakas's transcendental phenomenological approach was utilized as the basis for data collection and interpretation. In addition, the study was guided by four theoretical constructs. These included critical/emancipatory theory, postcolonial theory, sociocultural theory, and incidental or informal learning theory. Findings from this study illuminate how Jamaican music is used as an educational tool in reshaping the lives of adults living in a Jamaican garrison community.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife, Dahlia, and my son, Joshua. They have provided immense strength and motivation for me to proceed on this journey.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have to thank my Almighty God, the Creator of time, space, and matter first. He paved the way and allowed me to achieve this milestone. I am totally subjected to Him and to His will in my life. He ensured that the power was always greater than the load along the way and He provided a wonderful family for me. For this, I will always be thankful.

Next, I am grateful for my family. I thank my wife Dahlia for her tremendous support through good times and through times of struggle. She encouraged me most when I was down and stood by me, holding my hand like an angel, enabling me to traverse the rough path and she carried the load with me. Dahlia, thank you for being there and coping with the many challenges, my absences, and for being so thoughtful in the times I could not be there to support you as much as I should have or wanted to. My son Joshua, I am thankful for his love and understanding. I had to sacrifice many precious father-son moments in order to complete this study. I also thank my mother, my true inspiration. She taught me that giving up is never an option and this thought kept me going along this path. I am grateful for all my brothers' encouragement, support, and for their constant belief in me, especially Bevor Hibbert, for sacrificing his time and other resources helping to lighten my burdens while I worked on this study.

Additionally, I would like thank my committee members, Dr. Fredrick Nafukho, Dr. Idethia Harvey, and Dr. Elizabeth Roumell, for their time and effort, as well as valuable advice. Special thanks to my chair and mentor, Dr. Mary V. Alfred, who was very tolerant, patient, and supportive in countless ways for which I will be forever

grateful. Dr. Alfred, you are truly an advocate in the classroom and I am sure I could not have succeeded without your support.

I would also like to acknowledge the Texas Center for Adult Learning and Literacy (TCALL) for providing me with much needed support and research experience, as well as invaluable guidance. For consistent funding and academic support, I also thank the Department of Educational Administration and Human Resource Development. I have so much gratitude towards the Waller Seventh Day Adventist Church for their spiritual and moral support and guidance.

I would be remiss not to thank my friend and colleague, Dr. Petra A. Robinson for her encouragement and time dedicated to help see me through to the end.

Finally, I would like to thank the participants in my study, as I will be forever grateful for their input which made this study possible.

CONTRIBUTORS AND FUNDING SOURCES

This work was supported by a dissertation committee consisting of Professor Mary Alfred, advisor, Professors Fredrick Nafukho and Elizabeth Roumell, members, of the department of Educational Administration and Human Resource Development, and Professor Idethia Harvey, member, from the department of Health and Kinesiology. Data analysis and all other work conducted for the dissertation was completed by the student independently.

Additionally, no funding was received for the production of this document.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Jamaica is an island known for its beautiful blue seas, white-sand beaches, and athletics (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998). Like many other Caribbean countries, Jamaica is also famous for indigenous music. In this case, the country is the well-known home to reggae music (Robinson & Bell, 1978), a genre that has transformed music not only on the island, but has also influenced various cultural movements and inspired other music genres (such as rap, giving rise to hip hop culture in the United States) across the world (Dagnini, 2011). Although a powerhouse for culture and tourism, Jamaica is a small island with a troubled past.

From its early days in history, the nation of 2.73 million people (Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN, 2017) has experienced a wave of slavery, colonial domination (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998), and oppression. The Arawak (name applied to the Taino group of Indians by the Spanish) (Hopper, 2008) and Carib Indians were the initial inhabitants of Jamaica. However, they were massacred, or died from disease after the initial arrival of the Spanish in 1494 (Robinson & Bell, 1978). The savagery against and oppression of the indigenous people escalated quickly. According to Rogozinki (2000), Spanish "occupation of Jamaica began in 1509 [and]…within 10 years, nearly all the natives were dead" (p. 29). In recent archaeological studies, the claim that all the initial inhabitants were wiped out by the Spanish has been refuted, as runaway slaves were living communally among Indians (Hauser, Delle, & Armstrong, 2011). Nevertheless, the population of indigenous people soon dwindled away. In 1655, the British usurped power from the Spanish and continued to capitalize on the geographic location, tropical climate, and the slave trade (Thomas, 1999).

While “the Europeans came as victors, dispossessors and exploiters” (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998, p. 2), they also plundered the interest of other European territories. When the British captured the island from the Spanish, they focused primarily on the sugar industry, which led to a steady increase in the demand for slave labor. In fact, Jamaica played such a key role in the sugar trade for its colonial masters that by the eighteenth century it was “the most important colony in the British Empire” (Williams, 1984, p. 152). The exploitation and plundering of the tropics began the process of hegemony and tyranny on the lives of the Indians, and then the Black slaves, whose descendants make up the predominant population of contemporary Jamaica.

According to Thomas (1999), slavery, which controlled and influenced political and social life in Jamaica, was abolished in 1834. Although the slave trade ended (and former slaves were emancipated), British colonization did not formally cease until 1962 when Jamaica gained national independence (Shepherd, 2005). During the post-emancipation era, adult education, through the trade union movements, played a critical role in mobilizing people (intellectually and physically) in making the transition from colonized to independent. The trade union movements provided the mechanism to serve as a voice for the voiceless individuals whose lives were marked by high rates of unemployment, deplorable living conditions, and generally little moral or social support from the state.

Movements such as the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU), the Jamaica Association of Local government (JALGO), and the National Workers Union helped to engage workers and other social groups in terms of their human rights (National Library of Jamaica, n.d.). These educational endeavors raised awareness among the citizens resulting in “a wave of industrial unrest [that] swept the country, with workers on the waterfront, in the sugar industry,

transportation sector, and the government service taking the lead" (National Library of Jamaica, n.d. p. 60). This unrest helped to propel the island to independence from British rule in 1962.

Despite independence, history shows that from pre-emancipation through the post-emancipation era, the Jamaican experience was characterized by struggle, power, oppression, revolt, and religion (Gray, 2003). Additionally, there was a mixture of various cultures based on the nature of immigration at the time (Barnes, 2000). Further, because the population of the country consisted almost exclusively of immigrants, each group brought elements of their own cultural experience to the island. Both the natives (who were later extinct) and immigrants attempted to maintain aspects of their culture. However, the immigrants who at this point were predominantly Europeans, imposed themselves on the natives and later the enslaved, mainly Africans who were forcefully brought from Africa and who later became the majority group on the island.

With different cultural and ethnic groups interacting, the social space became a meeting place for different ways of life and expression of cultures. The main problem at this cultural crossroads was the hegemonic colonial (both the Spanish and English) system that forced their culture on the marginalized (enslaved Africans) groups. Because of this dominance, the oppressed were culturally ostracized and forced to accept the culture of the dominant group. As such, the minorities group mainly expressed its own culture through the use of oppositional tools (Carpio, 2008). Music was one such tool. For example, "music comforts, confronts and accompanies us in our social reality" (Banfield, 2010, p. 6). It was these oppositional tools that helped to emancipate the oppressed from slavery and eventually channeled them toward their independence (Thompson, 2006). In spite of such a rich cultural history, Jamaica is a relatively young independent nation.

As such, Jamaica's history, and more specifically Jamaica's political history, is wrought with incidents of rebellion, triumph, and victory—from slavery uprisings to maroon treaties (agreements signed between runaway slaves and colonial masters) and to even national independence from colonial oppressors (Goucher & Agorsah, 2010). Jamaica's experience is rife with slave revolts and rebellions and so the resistance of the Jamaican people and their colonial experiences, especially as they relate to politics, cannot be overemphasized.

The Jamaican political landscape has a history of systematic gun violence, division, and electoral manipulation, especially at the times of national general elections (Edie, 1991; Figueroa & Sives, 2010; Sherlock & Bennett, 1998; Stone, 1980; Thomas, 2011). In addition, the political system resulted in the multiplication of criminal activities which involved gangs, drugs, the gun trade, and transnational crimes (Figueroa & Sives, 2002). In all, the political system both in design and practice, continues the trend of oppression set by the former colonial system.

This political system adopted the culture of separation and hate for the other. As such, some urban communities, also known as garrisons (Stone, 1980), have become a space where criminal activities proliferate. There seems to be a unique link between the political system and the criminal elements in Jamaica. This argument is supported by Figueroa and Sives (2002), who state that in order for anyone to understand the political system in Jamaica, they must understand this link. The link between the political system and criminals hindered policing activities through political interventions. This is typically done by political leaders making specific requests of the police to prevent certain actions against political cronies within the communities. Such actions tainted security forces, and, most importantly, resulted in the formation of enclaves of communities that encourages crime. These enclaves or garrisons (Stone, 1980) are typical in the Jamaican political scene, and hence, play an important role in shaping Jamaican politics.

Modeled from the British parliamentary system, Jamaica's parliamentary democracy operates based on a system of representative and responsible government. A constitutional monarchy, and considered a unitary state, Jamaica is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations (Jamaica Information Service [JIS], n.d.) with a dominant two-party system which grew out of the national labor movement (Thomas, 2011). Interestingly, as Cunningham (2011) points out, there have been almost 50 political parties in the nation's short history with the longest standing being the two current major political parties, the People's National Party (PNP), founded in 1938 and the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP), which was founded in 1943. The PNP, first led by Norman Manley, is the oldest political party in the Anglophone Caribbean.

Background of the Study

This section first presents a background of politics and the political parties in Jamaica. Because politics and poverty are so interconnected in garrison communities, it is paramount to examine how they tend to influence one another. Therefore, the next section is an overall review of the influence of poverty and politics on the formation of garrison communities. Finally, because of the integral role that music plays on the island, and in garrisons in particular, materials on music, especially reggae and its influence on the garrison communities is explored.

Jamaican Politics and Political Parties: An Overview. According to Robotham (2000), following independence, the middle class which encompassed the poor population, gained political leadership and legitimacy on the island. The middle class secured a meaningful cultural standing and representation for the Afro-Jamaican majority. At the same time, it enabled a substantial degree of political participation for the majority through a nearly democratic election (Stone, 1980) and involvement in the party system. Elections tended to be partially democratic because of clientelism politics, where individuals received basic needs in exchange for their

votes (Edie, 1991). Although faced with economic turmoil, these voters felt a sense of belonging, being governed by a middle class which shared similar racial profiles (Gray, 2003).

The White ruling class often proved to be the greatest barrier to a smooth transition from slavery to emancipation. This was because the Whites were hesitant to put into practice and sometimes blatantly refused to enact orders given by the colonial master. By doing this, the transitional proceedings such as providing free-living accommodations were interrupted and hindered, thus providing opportunities for the plantation owners to continue manipulating the marginalized groups (Henke, 2001) and thereby making it more difficult for the already oppressed people. This led to general unrest among the labor force.

Because of the early labor unrest, Alexander Bustamante formed a workers' union—the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU)—to negotiate on the workers' behalf (Tortello, 2002). The context of colonialism, slavery, and capitalist-driven work environments characterized the Jamaican work environment, giving rise to the increase in popularity of trade unions. As Edie (1991) suggested, political support for the middle class mounted through early labor movements. The BITU eventually led to the formation of the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP). Like the JLP, the People's National Party (PNP), which represents the current (as of 2017) oppositional political party in Jamaica, was formed through the BITU.

According to Tortello (2002), Norman Manley, who was representing Bustamante while he was in prison, saw the need for a political movement and formed the PNP as the first formal political party in Jamaica. Although not the initial intent, the PNP and the JLP set the platform for a unique political system which has instigated political tribalism among the poor and the formation of homogeneous political zones known as garrisons (Stone, 1980). Stone (1980) describes garrisons as low-income communities where individuals are coerced by politicians to

secure votes during political elections. As such, the Jamaican political system is one that has been described as predatory (Gray, 2003). This reflects a system that preys upon innocent and poor groups of people to maintain political power and domination. This trend is reflective of colonial life although with the absence of the forced labor. Hence, the Jamaican political system seems to have adopted significant elements from the colonial system thereby resulting in a silent and covert hegemonic system that oppresses the majority poor population, who were unknowingly recruited to elect oppressors in political power.

For years, this postcolonial political system, termed by some as governmental gangsterism (Jennings, 2008), Babylon (Johnson, 1976), and predatory (Gray, 2003), operated as a vehicle of social control that facilitated intercommunity divide, chaos, and criminality (Figueroa & Sives, 2010; Stone, 1980) among and within garrison communities. This social disorder resulted in misconstrued learning and consciousness for the poor, thus perpetuating the cycle of poverty (Salmon, 2002). This cycle of poverty plays a key role in Jamaica's post-emancipation politics where political votes are often traded for scarce resources (Stone, 1980) and where rivalries are deeply entrenched in families and communities.

In the post-emancipation era, it is widely suggested that politicians who captured the representational interest of the middle class usually gained control of these deprived colonies (Edie, 1991). In the Jamaican climate, this representational interest promulgated through labor movements, (National Library of Jamaica, n.d.), and eventually led to political representation. According to Hutten (2010), the pre-independent gangs (labor movements) that once fought for similar causes were soon transformed into warring tribal factions that became a mode of political organization and mobilization. As Edie (1991) suggested, these relationships and movements concretized a support base for competing party groups. Here, the middle-class political leaders

relate symbiotically to their supporters by providing basic needs while ignoring the needs of those who fail to support their political views (Sives, 2010). This control of public institutions plants the seed for the control of the lower class and for clientelism politics (Stone, 1980). In this troubling system, politicians pay the voters to vote. This forms a major feature of the contemporary Jamaican political arena.

The governing Blacks, who were the middle class, did not implement innovative and workable economic policies or create sustainable economic growth to legitimize themselves (Robotham, 2000). However, on the opposing end, Henke (2001) suggested that the tenure of these political powerhouses confirms legitimacy based on having won political independence.

Poverty and the Making of Garrisons through Politics.

It is very hard to separate poverty and garrison communities. This is because garrisons were originally formed through poverty and because life within a garrison community continues to reflect high rates of poverty. While numerous definitions of poverty exist, Brown's (1994) description of poverty as any condition that affects individuals or groups who possess less than some standard which has been defined as acceptable, is quite fitting for this study. As Salmon (1997) explains, this standard may be determined based on the material conditions of other persons or groups. In addition, it may be a measure of the gap between what is possessed and some objective indication of elementary human needs.

Additionally, Ventura and Henry (1997) suggest, poverty relates to a lack of entitlements and capabilities. However, for the purposes of this study, the definition in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Report (1997) is considered most suitable. In this report, poverty is defined as the denial of opportunities and choices most basic to human development, for example a long, healthy, and creative life; a decent standard of living; freedom, dignity, self-

respect, and the respect of others (UNDP, 1997). These positive life-conditions seem to be arguably absent from garrison communities.

The Jamaican garrisons are unique communities formed through the exchange of economic and social favors (groceries, housing, promises for employment) to the poor and "socially fragmented" (Stone, 1980, p. 91), in exchange for direct political votes. Because the economic and social provisions to the poor and unemployed are inadequate, individuals are often cultured in a life of dependency and perpetual poverty. While remaining in poverty, this system of dependency tends to silence the people with a pretense as if the political parties and their affiliates care for them (Stone, 1980). These are the individuals Freire (1970) would describe as being in a state of semi-transitive consciousness. In this instance, individuals are so preoccupied with meeting their basic needs, and in essence, their survival, they are less able to be critical of the oppression. Further, Freire (1970) suggested educating these individuals so they can be critically aware of hegemony in their environments.

Therefore, for this kind of educational transformation, the sociocultural perspective of learning within an informal setting can be very instrumental in understanding the way of life in a Jamaican garrison community. Poverty, limited education, crime and violence, hegemonic forces (Gray, 2003), and a culture of music (Johnson, 1976) are some of the defining characteristics of the garrison communities of postcolonial Jamaica (Henry-Lee, 2005). For years, people living in garrison communities (highly politicized communities with almost homogeneous voting) have suffered from poverty (Stone, 1980). Poverty, however, is not unique to garrison communities or to Jamaica. This became evident at the World Summit of 1995, which focused on social development in the world. Representatives from 187 countries discussed issues of eradicating poverty, achieving full employment, and social integration (Salmon, 2002). Further, poverty is a

worldwide phenomenon and some scholars believe poverty is associated with colonized nations and globalization (Rowntree, Lewis, Price, & Wyckoff, 2006). Postcolonial politics is one of the major factors often associated with poverty and despondency in Jamaican garrisons (Edie, 1991).

Political independence in Jamaica has yielded both positive and negative results. Indeed, some politicians seemed to mean well for the poor because of the policies put in place to improve their living conditions. For example, some of the social programs and policies (mostly implemented in the 1970s) that yielded positive results in Jamaica included land leasing programs, which allowed farmers to lease land; free education to all from basic school to secondary level; institution of a minimum wage; and subsidized housing (Payne, 1992). Nonetheless, these programs were not enough to cushion the impact of globalization (Rowntree, Lewis, Price, & Wyckoff, 2006). Therefore, although significant efforts to eliminate poverty were made, conditions of high rates of inflation, global competition, an increased cost of living, a lack of employment, and other complications tended to erode the positive effects. As such, poverty remained, and is still a significant marker of life for people living in garrison communities and other areas in Jamaica. One other defining characteristic of daily life for Jamaicans and people living in garrison communities is the prevalence of music, reggae in particular.

Music and Life in the Garrison

While a majority of people living in garrisons appear to be confined to a space with few economic resources, music is always constant in the lives of the people who live there, especially reggae (Johnson, 1976). However, the role of reggae on the development of garrisonized people of Jamaica has not yet been fully explored. Other scholars have attempted to explore the role of music with various populations. Batt-Rawden, DeNora, and Ruud (2005) for example, in their

study of music as a lay or folk healing practice on the long term ill, found that participants with long-term illnesses considered listening to music an important tool in the process of changing and self-development, enhancing well-being and wellness, and offering resources for recovery and quality of life in the face of illness. Although the impact of music has been explored on the life of individuals faced with illness, the impact of music on the life of *garrisonized* individuals, especially as it relates to the sociocultural and educational impact, has not been fully explored.

Additionally, in other scholarly pursuits related to music and as a means of opposition and critique, scholars within the Caribbean have explored the expression of masculinity and sexuality within music as a means to resist the status quo (Cooper, 2013; Sabelli, 2011). For example, Cooper (2004) posits that the hyper-masculinity and sexuality emphasized in dancehall music reflects a counter to the Black men oppression. However, these studies have failed to explore the sociocultural and educational role of reggae on *garrisonized* individuals. An exploration of the role of reggae has the potential to understand more about the life stories of individuals who are living in garrison communities, specifically, an understanding of how they use music to navigate and deal with the constrained life circumstances.

It is no wonder that Lomax (1968) affirmed that music has the capacity to bind the community and can help to abdicate the dreadful effects of the hegemonic powers that exist. In addition to binding the community together, music has the power to inflict a forceful affective energy, thus allowing the music to inoculate one's intellect (Mans, 2008). With the culture of Jamaican reggae music deeply rooted in the backbone of garrison communities (Johnson, 1976), these environments provide the space to explore the role of reggae on the life and wellbeing of adults living in poverty in such communities.

According to Mans (2008), music is a force, which allows the affective or one's emotions to enable the music to saturate the body's intellect. In addition, Lomax (1968) identified a function of music as expressing shared feelings. Hence, in this study I explored the role of reggae on the lives of the *garrisonized* Jamaicans. However, this study has the specific aim to explore the role of music in addressing the educational, sociocultural, and political views of the participants.

Music and its popularity in the Caribbean are not new and have played an important role in life of Jamaicans since the times of slavery. It was used as a means of communication and celebration as well as a means of resistance (Giovannetti, 2005). The prominent and indigenous musical genre in Jamaica, reggae, evolved from a mixture of other Jamaican traditional music. Numerous scholars associate the inventors of reggae with close linkages to Jamaican traditional cultures such as Myal, Maroon, Kumina, Pocomania, Revivalism, Jonkonnu, Buru, and Niyabingi (Johnson, 1976; Manuel, Bilby, & Largey, 2006). Music derived from these traditional cultures was for entertainment, religion, and, in some instances, a means of rebellion. Manuel et al. (2006) described the prowess of Jamaica and its music genres by suggesting that through its popular music, "no country in the world, relative to its size, has had such a disproportionate impact on world culture as Jamaica… [gaining] the stature of a global musical currency" (p. 177). Based on a content analysis of selected reggae songs, Stoddart, Robinson, and Alfred, (2014) found several critical themes relating to colonialism, resistance, and spirituality. In other studies, the resistive themes of similar songs were amplified (Johnson, 1976; King & Foster, 2013).

During the early days of reggae, the music was used as a means of voicing resistance against the state and oppressive political system (Cuthbert, 1985; Manuel et al., 2006).

According to Anderson (2004), the heavy social commentary of the music was derived from the traditional cultural musical forms while "the harmonic and rhythmic structure of the music has its most significant antecedent in the American soul music of the 1950s and 1960s" (p. 206).

Traversing to the 1970s, the musical messages predominantly focused on the spiritual and political issues that dominated the time (Johnson, 1976). Then the country was faced with sociopolitical upheaval in addition to the maturation of reggae in the late 1970s and 1980s. At this time, the music with lyrical content dealing with socio-political issues and spirituality, was termed, "roots and culture" (Anderson, 2004, p. 208). The term roots—still popular today—refer to the "down-town ghetto experience of suffering and struggle as to the African sources of Jamaican culture" (Manuel, Bilby & Largey, 2006, p. 192). This is of great significance as the Rastafarian movement made use of this music to voice opposition to oppression that was unseen by many unaffected Jamaicans.

As Robinson (2011) pointed out "the main goal of Rasta or the Rastafarian movement is to Chant down Babylon… [Which] refers to an ideological resistance to structures which relate to Western domination in areas of politics, economics, and culture" (p. 45). This music was effectively communicated across a wide audience, particularly the poor and disenfranchised. This notion is supported by an artist who stated that "this a (is) the ghetto people song only them can sing this one" (Blender, 1997) and that it has grown directly from the experiences of Jamaican people. Today, dancehall music (a more contemporary descendant of reggae) is described as the creation of the people, particularly the "disenfranchised youth of African descent [who are poor and] snubbed by the upper classes" (Niaah, 2010, p. 1), and who often produce as well as consume this rich component of Jamaican culture.

It is widely accepted that musical meanings are inseparable from the social and cultural situations that give rise to their existence (Bohlman, 2000; Kramer, 1995; Martin, 1995). Music and in this case, an all-encompassing term, is meant to include both vocal and instrumental components—song lyrics, beats, and rhythm—a cultural form, has the possibility of reaching and acting on an audience's consciousness. In contemporary Jamaica, due to its evolving lyrical content, music is not only thought to have positive attributes, but it could also be negative.

This was illustrated by a Jamaican Minister of National Security, Peter Bunting, who called for the censoring of a song from airplay that he thought was influencing criminality and described a song as promoting social dysfunctionality (Robinson, 2013). The song, titled "Reparation," gives credit to criminal elements (lotto scammers) who are swindling millions of dollars from numerous foreign and local individuals, usually older retired people.

While the negative message in the music is a current concern, no formal research was found, especially none that makes meaning from the people's narratives to validate the claim that the music promotes such criminal activities. The current study reflects the participants' voices as to how they are educated or miss-educated by reggae. Indeed, censorship of songs is not new to the Jamaican society and the Jamaica Broadcasting Commission regulates the censorship of music. The Commission reports that it performs a monitoring and regulating role for Jamaican electronic media, broadcast radio and television, and subscriber television (Jamaica Broadcasting Commission, 2013). One can objectively question the fairness of one body having the power to determine what music is played and to determine the meaning of local music in the minds of the populace.

Music not only provides a platform for people's voices but also, according to Lomax (1968), the chief function of song and music is to express a feeling that is shared among people

and also to bring the power of community together. Mans (2008) described music as forceful, which uses the affective to enable the music to saturate the body's intellect. This means that music acts on one's emotions and eventually affects the knowledge base of the individual. If music is censored, what role does the learner/consumer have in charting their own education?

Furthermore, music relates to and speaks to specific tasks in communities (Mans, 2008). Within community settings, Lomax (1968) found that song styles shifted consistently with social structure. This means that in different classes of communities, different genres of music may be prominent. For example, some traits of song performances may exhibit a close relationship to forms of social edifice that may help in the regulation of cultural interaction (Mans, 2008). Some of these traits may be economic production, or at the political or class level. For example, in *garrisonized* communities, dance-hall music is more widely consumed than in other suburban centers (Cooper, 2013). The dancehall, as Robinson (2011) describes, is an "influential mainstay in Jamaican inner-city culture" (p.208) and a key component of urban lifestyle (Cooper, 2004; Stanley-Niaah, 2004). The garrisons are inhabited by individuals of the lower socioeconomic classes and are places where dancehall music is greatly consumed.

Due to the lack of employment within these highly politicized cultural spaces, music is often capitalized not only as social commentary (Johnson, 1976), but also as a means of economic resource. Music also forms part of the social interaction within these communities by providing a space (session/dancehall party) for people to enjoy themselves (Hope, 2010). According to Lomax (1968), one function of music is to bring the community together while at the same time expressing a feeling of sameness. Mans' (2008) understanding of music is more defining. He states that music has the power to inflict a forceful affective energy allowing the music to inoculate one's intellect. In a culture tarnished by a dreadful colonial past, one would

expect to identify the colonial influences on this cultural form and relatedly, Johnson (1976) found that music acts as a medium of social commentary; however, Stoddart et al. (2014) found elements of colonial expressions voiced in popular music.

Additionally, Cooper (2004) sees gender in the dancehall music (a genre of reggae) as counter-culture to colonialism. According to Cooper, dancehall music is dominated by males who use this space to express a form of hyper-masculinity which gives them a sense of reclamation of their masculinity that was taken away during the colonial era. Supporting Cooper's gender theory in the dance-hall, Pinnock (2007) stated "masculinity in the Jamaican dancehall is, therefore, represented as a space within which the concerns of the urban poor, as the primary ambassadors of Jamaican dancehall culture and music, are articulated into consciousness" (p. 74). While such gendered works on music are more popular in the Jamaican dancehall context, studies on how the music influences education, politics, spirituality, and socio-economics within the lower strata of the Jamaican society are limited. Therefore, this study sought to explore the role of reggae music on the educational, socio-cultural, and socio-economic lives of adults living in a Jamaican garrison community.

For long, music has played a critical role in Jamaican life (Johnson, 1976) especially in the garrisons (Cooper, 2013) and continues to play critical roles in contemporary Jamaica. Numerous scholars have explored music's impact on people or society (Packer, & Ballantyne, J. 2011, Davis, 1992, Dillon, 2006.), but most of these studies are limited to adolescents and have tended to employ quantitative approaches. Additionally, an in-depth literature review on the role of community music and the arts by McKay and Higham (2012), revealed several research gaps and opportunities to contribute to the literature on the role of music in everyday life, particularly related to learning.

Notwithstanding, scholars such as Guy (2004) and Cuthbert (1985) have explored the role of music as an element of African American culture and media, and as a tool for adult education. In his studies, Guy (2004) acknowledges the significance of music in Black culture by deeming it the "lifeblood of expressive culture" (p. 48). In the Jamaican context, music can be viewed similarly. Undeniably, the popularity and reputation of reggae is widespread and renowned. Hence, exploring the role of this Jamaican music on people's lives will not only narrow the knowledge gap in scientific literature but may also bring added value to educators who may use it as a tool to support learning.

Therefore, this study addresses the gap on the role of reggae in people's lives by exploring the influence of this genre on the educational, socio-cultural, and socio-economic lives of adults living in a Jamaican garrison. This *garrisonized* group of individuals provides the space, history, and experience for such a study since music plays an integral part in the lives of the Jamaican garrison communities.

Statement of the Problem

During its 54th year of independence, while at the same time exhibiting a stable democratic political system, over 11% of the Jamaican population (ages 15 and up) was classified as illiterate (UNESCO, 2015). That means, there were over 280,000 Jamaicans aged 15 and above who could not, with understanding, read and write a short, simple statement on their everyday life. With an unemployment rate of over 16%, it becomes harder for poor families to educate themselves and their children.

According to the Planning Institute of Jamaica Statistical Institute (PIOJ STATIN, 2008), the nation faces a great challenge that has implications for social and economic development. Consequently, there is much work for adult educators. While enormous work is needed in re-educating adults especially in *garrisonized* communities and enhancing the fight against poverty (Jamaica Foundation for Lifelong Learning (JFLL), 2011), additional work is needed to assess and explore means of garnering social justice for the poor and needy. This social justice need was exemplified in the massacre of over 70 individuals during the 2010 extradition saga of the infamous Christopher (Dudus) Coke (Schwartz, 2011).

This incident warranted a declaration of several curfews, and the community (garrison) leader, commonly referred to as the Don (Christopher Coke) for the community of Tivoli, was being pursued for extradition to the USA for involvement in criminal activities. During the incursion of the security forces, it was alleged that people were treated unfairly by various abusive behavior of the security forces (Schwartz, 2011). This resulted in the questionable deaths of over 70 individuals within the community. It is widely believed that with the proper motivational tools in place (Stoddart, Robinson, & Stoddart, 2016), a path guided towards

education could reduce the occurrence of criminality and as such reduce the death rate within these communities.

With education identified as an effective means to remove individuals from the cycle of poverty (UNICEF, 1999), educators are required by society to explore innovative means to educate. This need for education is well established. An article in the *Jamaica Gleaner* by the private sector organization of Jamaica (PSOJ, 2008) stated "as the adults of this country, we (Government, private sector, churches and citizens) have to come together and recognize that we have a crisis in education in this country, and a resultant crisis in crime and violence" (para. 12). Additionally, with a population already grounded in music (Henry, 2012), exploring the role of Jamaican Music on the lives of Jamaican may provide a positive step toward educating Jamaican adults and reducing poverty and violence.

Purpose of the Study

With the life challenges of poverty, crime, violence, and lack of formal education experienced by adults living in garrisons, it is imperative that adult educators explore feasible ways in which these individuals can be educated. Additionally, with the great role of reggae in the ways of life of individuals living in garrison, it is necessary to explore the role of this genre on their life experiences. Therefore, the primary purpose of this study was to explore the role of reggae as an instrument of learning among adults living in a Jamaican garrison and how reggae could be used as a springboard from which formal learning programs can be organized within such communities.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to explore the role of Jamaican music as an instrument of learning among adults living in a Jamaican garrison. Therefore, the following are the research questions that guided this study:

1. How do adults living in a Jamaican garrison describe their experience of learning through Jamaican music?
2. How do adults describe the challenges and opportunities for learning within the sociocultural context of a Jamaican garrison?
3. How does Jamaican music shape the social and political experiences of adults in a Jamaican garrison?

Conceptual Framework

The four theories that guided this study as a conceptual framework are postcolonial theory, critical/emancipatory theory, sociocultural theory, and incidental learning. The framework incorporated these theories to provide a lens for exploration and analysis and to inform the study overall.

Postcolonial Theory

While postcolonial theorists impose their own definition and position on the theory, Ramone (2011) suggests its basic function is to "critique the assumptions and representations on which colonialism is based" (p. 1). The frame and context of postcolonial theory is grounded on a timeline to which the theorists refer, meaning that based on a particular incidence of a postcolonial event, theorists will refer to the event of that specific time. Therefore, the undergirding principles of an author's perspective, reflect answers to questions asked at a particular time. For example, Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tifftin (1989) viewed aspects of postcolonial theory as cultures impacted by imperialism from the onset of colonial life to present

day. This aspect of postcolonial theory is particularly relevant to this study since this study seeks to understand how a culture of music embedded in resisting colonial influences affects peoples' lives in a garrision community in Jamaica.

Although some theorists concentrate on how colonialism affects people's lives, Darby and Paolini (1994) highlighted the reclamation mission of the theory. With an interrogative agenda, this aspect of the theory seeks to reclaim what was stolen from the slaves by the colonial masters. It seeks to rebuild eroded emotions and strives to reclaim the true self (Darby & Paolini, 1994). This aspect of the theory is relevant to this study as I seek to understand how reggae influences people's lives as they seek to navigate the challenges of living in a garrison.

Further, Rattansi (1997) explored the dualistic role of the colonizer and the colonized. Rattansi thought that the relationship was interactive and both the colonizer and the colonized were affected by the relationship. While the colonizer exploits the colonized, other aspects of colonization such as gender issues within the oppressed group, where the men expressed a form of hegemonic dominance over the female was of great concern. This view is crucial in postcolonial Jamaica especially as it relates to the musical content where a sense of hyper-sexuality and misogyny form major parts of the content of the songs. With these perspectives, one can formulate a frame to understand the way the Jamaican populace (colonized) responds to messages from popular culture, especially reggae.

Critical/Emancipatory Theory

The essence of critical philosophy is a commitment to social change (Merriam & Brockett, 2007) and liberation (Freire, 1970). The goal is not only to highlight and critique, but

more importantly, to free the oppressed from the political and other concealed hegemonic forces that suppress the thought processes of the marginalized group. This suppression will thus limit the choices and opportunities for a productive and meaningful future (Cranton, 1994). In addition, critical/emancipatory theory is aimed at reducing and ultimately eliminating control over people's lives and reshaping their mental capacity, which will inform them to take decisive action to bring about social and political change (Cranton 1994; Inglis 1997). The hegemonic system tends to dehumanize the oppressed (Freire, 1993). However, critical theory seeks to educate the oppressed by stimulating their thought process to ask questions.

Therefore, critical theory is important because it has the capacity to educate the marginalized in society not only through empowerment but also by teaching them to be fair in judgment when their power is restored (Imel, 1999). Freire (1970) believed that the purpose of education is to involve students in addressing social issues that contribute to their own and others' marginalization and adopting such an approach seems prudent in the context of this work. This view of education is also shared by Leonardo (2004) who stated that quality education begins with a language of critique and reiterated that at the heart of this critique is a process that exposes the contradictions of social life. It is this contradiction that will force those to be educated, including the oppressors, to conduct a series of introspections and seek amicable means of correcting their wrongs.

Critical theory, in the case of adult education, offers an in-depth assessment of the hegemonic structures and systems within society, particularly those that relate to learning and education. Furthermore, this critique extends to the capitalistic and freedom of modern society (Merriam & Brockett, 2007). Critical theory describes society's ideology as a compilation of widely unquestioned ideals and practices. Brookfield (2005) explained the ideology as "the

broadly accepted set of values, beliefs, myths, explanations and justifications that appear self-evidently true, empirically accurate, personally relevant, and morally desirable to a majority of the populace" (p. 41). Furthermore, promoting and perpetuating this ideology is important and essential to "maintain an unjust social and political order" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 41).

To add to this, critical social theorists have also broadened their influence by impacting education, including insights on new constructions of identity within the postcolonial context (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2004). Essentially, the philosophy that undergirds critical theory presents a critique to the assumptions, values, and beliefs that sustain dominant and hegemonic practices in society. Proponents of this theory toil effortlessly to open the eyes of the oppressed within the systems of oppression so they are able to challenge the ground or foundations on which hegemony is built. My goal was to utilize critical theory to emphasize the increase in awareness that will hybridize the output of attitudes and values, which will shape new behaviors of the postcolonial society of Jamaican garrisons. This reshaping of new behaviors is a true reflection of education in practice with specific emphasis on the critical emancipatory aspects of adult education.

Sociocultural Theory

Because the learning component is relevant in understanding how the participants learn from reggae, a sociocultural perspective of learning becomes necessary in this study. A sociocultural perspective of adult learning takes a more integrative approach to learning where the individual along with the sociocultural environment is factored in the learning process (Alfred, 2003). The sociocultural environment includes time, space, and human interactions. It is characterized by the environment in the urban (inner-city) area of Kingston, Jamaica which is overcrowded and home to families of low socio-economic status primarily affiliated with a particular political party.

Rogoff (1995) suggested that in order for learning to take place within the sociocultural context, three components are considered. These include the personal plane, the interpersonal plane, and the institutional plane. Hence, as Alfred (2003) suggested, the situated context of learning through the sociocultural lens tends to shift the focus of learning from the individual alone and considers the individual with the wider sociocultural environment. As such, sociocultural theory was fitting for this study because it seeks to understand how reggae, which forms a part of the cultural norms of Jamaicans, influences the participants' lives in a unique context.

In addition, sociocultural theory takes into consideration how the participants interpret who they are and the way they are able to process and make sound interpretations, and formulate their meanings from their experiences (Perez, 1998). As such, to get a good understanding of learning within a sociocultural context, one must give attention to the culture and the discourse of the community (Alfred, 2003). Based on the nature and activities of the community, it is not just a place to live but also where economic and social activities are taking place. In this study,

informal or incidental learning is relevant and as such formed an extension of the theoretical base upon which the study is constructed.

Informal or incidental learning

Numerous definitions of informal learning exist, but Hrimech's (2005) definition is appropriate for this study because the author states that "formal learning is the learning that occurs inside the curricula of institutions providing educational activities or programs sanctioned by some kind of formal or official recognition (mostly by a diploma or certificate)" (p. 310). On the contrary, informal learning involves getting new knowledge, skills, or changes in attitude which are garnered in an unplanned setting (Rothwell & Kazanas, 1990). Life in the garrison is unplanned but provides the environment for learning. This is especially relevant to reggae as wherever you go in a typical garrison, there is reggae playing within the community.

Although most of the literature on informal learning is centered in the formal work settings, incidental learning occurs on a day-to-day basis within garrison communities of Jamaica. As such, it is necessary to discuss participants' responses using the foundations of this theory. This theory is not only important because of its relevance in the garrison community but because this research is grounded in the education of adults and because learning is a lifelong process and it occurs at times when we are least aware. This theory therefore provided a base to understand and discuss how learning can occur within garrisons.

Significance for the Study

The study is significant in various ways and the following section describes the significance for the study in terms of research, practice, and policy. Several studies have explored the role of reggae on various aspects of peoples' lives. For example, Crawford (2010) explored how Jamaican dancehall music affected adolescent sexual and violent behavior in

Jamaica. Southgate and Roscigno (2009) explored the impact of music on childhood and adolescent achievement. Miranda (2013) studied the role of music in adolescent development. However, no literature was found that explored the role of reggae as an instrument of learning among adults living in a Jamaican garrison. Since research is limited in the field, the findings of this study expand the literature on learning in marginalized communities. It provides the participants' experiences and understanding of the educational and other influences of the music as a tool for future learners and educators especially those with a social justice agenda within a formal setting. This knowledge also advances the concept of informal learning, which was pivotal to this study but also key to the theoretical foundations of adult education.

By studying the experiences of adults in a Jamaican garrison and the role reggae plays in their lives, this study provides a better understanding for educators and policy makers regarding how adults living in marginalized communities characterized by poverty, low literacy, and crime utilize creative learning methods and tools. This knowledge provides insights for adult educators on how they could incorporate music in their teaching to better assist with the education of low-literate adults in informal educational settings.

Additionally, policy makers within the Ministry of Education (governing body responsible for national education policy) could use this knowledge to develop adult educational programs and campaigns suited for educating adults within garrisons and other marginalized communities. However, findings from this study cannot be generalized since the goal of qualitative studies is to understand and make meaning of a particular phenomenon (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this study, the phenomenon was the essence of the learning through reggae experienced by residents of a Jamaican garrison.

Delimitations of the Study

This research study does not seek to provide an exhaustive exploration of the role of music in the lives of all individuals living in garrisons. The results of the study are limited to data gathered from participants in one garrison community. Additionally, because of the boundaries of the study, it did not seek to generalize the results to other garrisonite populations or communities. Nevertheless, using the post-colonial theory and critical theory, and the body of literature to guide the study, I sought to explore the role of reggae in the learning among adults living in a Jamaican garrison. Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 25 participants from a Jamaican garrison in Jamaican parlance, patois. As Robinson (2011) explained,

> … the translation from patois to standard English may be complicated in the sense of communicating the true sentiment embodied in the local vernacular. Given the focus on meaning making, this semantic equivalence may serve as a limitation due to the potential that the meanings participants assign to particular issues may get lost in the translation. (p. 27)

Operational Definition of Terms

The operational terms presented below support the purpose of this study and may have different meanings based on the context in which they are used.

Clientelism: A type of democratic electoral system unique to Jamaica. It involves the bartering of economic and social compliments to the needy for political party support (votes) (Stone, 1980).

Don: "A unique figure, created by a divisive and polarized partisan culture, and produced by the social and economic conditions of urban poverty and limited access to legitimate employment. Usually a male informal governance actor who uses both fear and material rewards as tools for achieving and maintaining power inside Jamaica's garrison communities" (Blake, 2012, para. 3).

Garrison: A highly politically charged community that unanimously (usually by force) and homogenously votes for a political party (Stone, 1980).

Garrisonite: This is a term used in this study to describe people living in a garrison community.

Rasta: A Black nationalist who identifies and resists oppression especially in a postcolonial state (Thomas, 2004)

Rastafarian: An anti-system religious movement that espouses Black consciousness and African identity. Rastafarians are mindful of not becoming the oppressors while fighting against oppression (Stone, 1980).

Reggae: The most popular genre of Jamaican popular music since the late 1960s (Manuel, Bilby & Largey, 2006). Reggae originated in the ghettoes of Jamaica (Cooper, 2004).

Chapter Summary and Organization of the Report

This chapter outlined the background for the study that explored the role of reggae as an instrument of learning among adults in a Jamaican garrison. Chapter I introduced the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose, and significance of this study. Next, relevant scholarly literature pertaining to the topic was analyzed and presented in Chapter II. This included history and politics of Jamaica, evolution of Jamaican garrisons, Jamaican music with a focus on reggae, and theoretical foundations which guided the study. The review ended with an exploration of scholarship on music and learning. Chapter II, as well as all the following chapters, conclude with a summary.

Chapter III outlines the methodological approach and procedures used to collect, analyze, and manage data. Chapter IV begins with profiles of 25 participants who were interviewed based on their lived experiences and goes on to outline the major findings which are organized by the emergent themes. The last chapter summarizes the findings of the study in relation to the

research questions and provides a discussion of the implications for policy, theory, and practice. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Traditionally, popular culture has been a means of expression (Cooper & Donnell, 2004), a tool of opposition (Johnson, 1979), and music in particular, has been an avenue that provides a sense of self and worth to the marginalized (Mans, 2008). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore the role of reggae as an instrument of learning among adults living in a Jamaican garrison. Garrison communities are communities where violence is used as the primary means for maintaining power (Stone, 1980) and they were historically formed and continue to be maintained as insulated political communities with strong affiliations to a particular political party. Riddled with overcrowding and insufficient social supports, these communities operate almost as independent communities that ascribe to special rules of order and governance through leaders (Dons) that instill fear as well as provide material support to the citizens (Blake, 2012).

In this chapter, I first present the review of literature on the history of Jamaica. This background work was necessary to set the context and to provide an understanding of how colonial history, environment, and lived experiences helped to shape the culture of Jamaicans. In his song Buffalo Soldier, Bob Marley (1983) stated, "If you know your history then you wouldn't ask me where I am coming from." Therefore, establishing the historical perspective is relevant to the understanding of this study. Additionally, the historical background is necessary to address the transition from the colonial into the postcolonial era and how each era shaped the resistive culture (Niaah, 2010) of the Jamaican people. I then peruse literature that explores the shaping of Jamaican politics and how the political processes helped to shape poverty, criminality, perpetual resistance, and a culture of otherness, especially within garrison communities (Figueroa & Sives, 2010). Finally, literature which discussed the ways garrisonized people are situated in a life of low socioeconomic status is explored. What the literature also

revealed was that remnants of colonialism still exist and are some of the causes of the social ills of today. However, critical pedagogy can begin the dialogue that can be instrumental in dismantling such negative effects.

History of Jamaica

Jamaica, an island within the Caribbean basin, is composed of 4,244 square miles of land mass. It is commonly known for its beautiful blue seas and white sand beaches. Jamaica is also home to a wealth of cultural endearments, including reggae music (Robinson & Bell, 1978; Cooper & Donnell, 2004). The history of Jamaica is rich and must be considered when exploring contemporary issues (Thomas, 2013). In this chapter, the history of Jamaica is presented by looking at three categories: (a) colonization and slavery, (b) emancipation and independence, and (c) post-independence to the contemporary period. This discussion is necessary to help the reader understand how colonial history contributed to the culture and identity of garrisonized people.

Colonization and Slavery

From its early days in history, Jamaica, a nation with a population of 2.7 million people (STATIN, 2017), has experienced a wave of slavery, colonial domination, oppression (Kopytoff, 1978; Paul, 2009), and eventual emancipation, followed by independence (Goucher & Agorsah, 2010). According to Robinson and Bell (1978), the initial inhabitants of the island were the Arawak and Carib Indians. Soon after the Spanish arrival in 1492, and consequent colonization in 1510, the population of the original inhabitants of the island (Arawak and Carib Indians) became almost extinct due to the hegemonic domination and the introduction of pathogenic diseases (Robinson & Bell, 1978). This is significant as the extinction of these Indians highlighted the degree of hegemony faced by those who were colonized. The depletion of this population promoted the need for a sustainable labor force to work the plantation system (Kopytoff, 1978).

Consequently, in 1517, African slaves were introduced to the island of Jamaica (Kelly, Hauser, & Armstrong, 2011; U.S. Department of State, 2005). These slaves were demonized and treated like animals by the Spanish (Johnson, 2007; Patterson, 1982). Patterson (1982), in a comparative study outlining the basic social facts about slavery, explained that slaves were victims who were devoid of power and their own will; they were mere chattel who were whipped into submission and sometimes worked to death. In addition, numerous slaves were denied family life (Smith, 1999). In other words, slaves were bred like farm animals and were available for buying and selling (Patterson, 1982). This savage but highly profitable economic world of the colonies that was driven by forced labor influenced other nations that were hungry for some of the profits being generated. Hence, the British attacked the Spanish on the island in 1655, about 161 years after the Spanish had arrived (Johnson, 2007; Robinson & Bell, 1978).

Through this attack, the reign of the Spaniards was cut short, as the British seized domination of Jamaica in 1655 (U.S. Department of State, 2005). Although the powers of control changed hands, the marginalization and demonization of slaves intensified under the British rule (Eyre 1980; Kopytoff, 1978). This was so because the demand for tropical agricultural products which were produced by forced labor was growing and the system of production (colonialism) was raising the profit margins without much concern for the conditions of the laborers. According to Kopytoff (1978), the agrarian economy was the order of the day, as the high demands for agricultural products, such as cotton, sugar, coffee, and other crops continued to rise.

To facilitate the production of the aforementioned crops, slaves were forcefully removed from various regions of Africa because they were considered to be of a hardy breed (Hall, 2005). That is, they were thought to be physically suited for the intense fieldwork needed to keep up with the demands for the production processes such as land clearing and tilling of the soil. Therefore, slaves were strategically selected from areas such as greater Senegambia in the Upper Guinea region, the Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast in Ghana, the Slave Coast in Bight of Benin, the Lower Guinea region or the Bight of Biafra, West Central Africa and Mozambique, Central and Southwest Africa, as well as other regions (Hall, 2005; Johnson, 2007; Warner-Lewis, 2003).

This forceful removal of people from Africa was only the first step in the dehumanization process. The dehumanization process continued while the slaves were being shipped to the Caribbean and was amplified by public lashing and hanging when the slaves resisted on the plantations (Hall, 2005). Such processes of dehumanization enforced on the slaves triggered a sense of cultural transformation (Lovejoy, 2011). According to Lovejoy (2011), in a study based

on the narratives of four individuals who lost freedom to slavery, there was a period of cultural transformations even at the onset of slavery. This stemmed from the subjugation endured by Black slaves who used culture both as a coping and retaliatory mechanism time to adjust to the work regime, exploitation, and other related social discourses resulting from the imperialist regime. Consequently, the patterns of behavior of the slaves were altered through other ways of knowing in an effort to navigate a path towards their survival. For example, the way they communicated with each other was coded so that the oppressors were unable to understand the true meaning (Brown, 1994).

Therefore, although the slaves were subjugated, this subjugation allowed them to improvise and capitalize on new ways of knowing. In this instance, the slaves were forced to utilize their culture by developing innovative and efficient means of communication, which not only helped them to codify language, but also use it as means of resistance (Lovejoy, 2011). Although slaves experienced constant struggle during this imperialist era, this struggle gave them the opportunity to advance their communicative skills and find new paths of knowing through informal learning (Petley, 2005). This was done by using culture to resist and counter the oppressive colonial system. For example, Myal, which is a form of dance that uses beats of drum, was often used to disorient the soldiers who usually hunted for the Maroons—runaway slaves (DjeDje, 1998; Petley, 2005). When the soldiers were looking in the direction of the sound, they would be attacked from another direction. In addition, the abeng, which is a horn, was used to communicate messages from a distance (Bilby, 2010). The colonizers were unable to understand and access the codes to these messages, which became a tool that helped the enslaved people to successfully gain their freedom that started with the maroon treaties in 1739 (Kopytoff, 1978; Banfield, 2010).

Hence, this struggle for freedom helped to shape the slaves' ways of knowing, behaviors, and ways of life. Cultural forms were modified and used as means to cope with the harsh life experiences of the enslaved people living in the Caribbean (Nettleford, 1979; Petley, 2005). For example, Maroons, who were the runaway slaves, were reported to be the first people in the new world to resist colonial domination (Goucher, & Agorsah, 2010). These resistive events were the foundation that set the stage for subsequent launching of emancipation and the road to political freedom (Goucher, & Agorsah, 2010). Survival of the Maroons was based on strategic raids of plantations in search of food and other needed resources. This is an example of the risks one would take to achieve a sense of freedom.

To imagine this freedom, a lifestyle of resistance became eminent in the culture and the life experiences of the Maroons. For example, cultural activities such as Myal (chanting and dancing to specific musical beats) were strategically used to insight resistance, and drumming and other instruments such as the abeng (a very loud horn) were used to coordinate revolts (DjeDje, 1998). In some colonies, because drumming and Myal formed part of the cultural hardware used in the resistance to slavery, such cultural activities were outlawed (Petley, 2005).

Nevertheless, the resistance continued, and the Maroons eventually became such masters of raiding the plantations and setting up ambushes that this practice began to greatly impact the profit margin of the colonial masters (Williams, 2011). It was during this time that the colonial masters decided to dialogue with the Maroons to find a way to prevent them from continuing this practice. It is, thus, clear that a culture of resistance became a part of the enslaved people's lives. What engineered this culture was the need to resist the colonial experience. This need for freedom eventually led to the signing of the first treaty in 1739 and the abolition of slavery followed by emancipation (Kopytoff, 1978).

The road to the abolition of the slave trade and emancipation of slavery in Jamaica started with the first resistance of the Maroons. Because of the continued resistance in the form of attacks, ambushes, and guerilla warfare tactics that were mastered by the Maroons, Patterson (1982) talks about the counter productivity of the resistance that began among the colonizers. According to Robertson (2012), while there were numerous abolitionists in the 1700s, the opposition that the abolitionists faced was tremendous and their proposed reforms were not innovative enough. However, it was the fear brought forth by the Maroon resistance that forced the colonizers to rethink their strategies (Robertson, 2012).

Robertson (2012) argues that the rethinking of strategies was first brought forward in 1774 in Kingston by a group of colonial organizers. In this discussion, the question of whether it was still economical to continue the slave trade was raised. Although there were numerous discussions and anti-slavery lobbyist movements, emancipation in British colonies did not occur until 1834.

Emancipation and Independence

"On the mountains and in the valleys of Jamaica, under the shadows of its mango trees, were to be found a happy people whose faults came from slavery and whose virtues came from emancipation" (Liberator, 1860, p. 124). As suggested here, emancipation was designed to free the slaves; however, the plantation owners, especially those in Jamaica, resisted emancipation. Thus, resistance to emancipation significantly affected the smooth transition from slavery to freedom (Robertson, 2012). Emancipation brought happiness for the Blacks, but the colonizers did not cease their hegemonic stance and additional structures were put in place to maintain labor on the plantations in Jamaica and other colonized territories (Williams, 1984). Although slaves were emancipated, the change was not visible in practice (Ellison, 1985; Kelly, Hauser, & Armstrong, 2011). Rather, what emancipation meant was that all individuals of the subordinate class born after August 1, 1834 were technically free, but all others were subjected to work as apprentices up to August 1, 1838 (Kelly et al., 2011). Emancipation was, thus, a precursor to independence (National Library of Jamaica, n.d.) and was marked by sabotage from opponents to the abolition of slavery (Williams, 1984).

Although the emancipated slaves were allowed free movement, the lack of choice of where and when to work, and a lack of education and training limited their scope of true freedom (Sherlock & Bennett, 1998). There was a limitation to freedom of speech, freedom to acquire education, and a lack of economic freedom. That is, freedom to obtain gainful employment. While numerous slaves left the plantations to become peasant farmers, they often worked seasonally on plantations which provided their primary source of income. Nevertheless, structures were put in place by anti-abolitionists such as high living expenses and restricted education, which severely impacted the chances of survival for the emancipated slaves. These

were especially pronounced in Jamaica, because, while planters on other islands in the West Indies embraced emancipation, planters in Jamaica were less sympathetic and were reported to oppress the peasants at unprecedented levels (Garrison, 1860).

Full economic freedom was not achieved by most. Subsequently, this deprived former slaves of autonomy and a sense of true freedom (Kelly et al., 2011). The resultant economic barrier was a tool used by the oppressors to keep former slaves working on the plantations for severely meager wages and in deplorable conditions (Beason, 2002; Marshall 2003). Additionally, labor movements, which eventually evolved into the political parties, now had the opportunity to first represent and then subject the individuals to a life of dependency and oppression.

Slavery, which controlled and influenced political and social life in Jamaica, was abolished in 1834 (Thomas, 1999). Williams (1966) outlined the major reasons for abolition and emancipation that eventually led to independence explaining that they were the increasing cost of slave labor, continued rebellion in the colonies, and lobbying of the abolitionists. Although the slavery ended, British colonization did not cease until 1962 when Jamaica gained national independence (Goucher & Agorsah, 2010; Jamaica, 2005).

Although emancipation modified the rigid anti-social structure of slavery that existed, a divided Jamaica based on race and skin color continued to exist (Curtin, 1955; Robinson, 2011). Not only was the island divided by racial disparities and color barriers (Robinson, 2011), but socioeconomics also played a critical role in this division (Curtin, 1955; Ellison, 1985; Williams, 1966). This was influenced by the change of the economic system from a plantation/imperialist system to a capitalist one (Thorne, 2012). According to Thorne (2012), in the capitalist system which succeeded the imperialist system in the British Caribbean, the poor were needed to

empower the system for the wealthy few. Hence, the only difference from the previous colonial system was that individuals were not technically enslaved but were subjected to policies that were not economically and socially friendly. Ellison (1985) suggested, elected officials were aware of the threat that economic equality would bring to the socio-political climate which was the reason why they made "minimal cosmetic improvements and handed out superficial aids" (p. 17). This hand-out, especially during general election periods, was consistent within the political arena of Jamaica where politicians used the poor to maintain power (Figueroa & Sives, 2010).

Therefore, although the poor and marginalized population fought for their rights as citizens, they were denied economic equality (Ellison, 1985). This created a society of haves and the have-nots. The wealthy could afford education while the poor remained uneducated, low waged, and experienced extremely poor working conditions. These poor working conditions gave rise to the need for representatives who had a voice. Some of these individuals included the founders of the early labor movements, who at that time defended the poor workers' rights.

As such, formal labor movements were developed to fight for social justice (which is one of the agendas of adult education) and better working conditions for the poor (Gayle, 2009). The labor movements in Jamaica were founded by individuals from the middle class, who seemed to have embraced the needs of the have-nots (Williams, 2011). They provided a "classed" voice for the working class which was voiceless. The middle class, which encompassed the founders of the labor movements, was mostly bi-racial and definitely more affluent. Members of the middle class were allowed access to education that the working class was denied. These leaders were not only more affluent but of a lighter skin tone, and thus, were classed not only based on socio-economic status but also their lighter skin tone (Robinson, 2011).

Consequently, the two major labor movements were headed by two mixed-race individuals, Norman Manley and Alexander Bustamante. The labor movements, especially the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) advocated for the poor workers' rights. According to Phelps (1960), "the rise of the labor movement in Jamaica is the story of the labor revolt of 1938 and its remarkable success, due to the coincidence of an underlying need and the fortuitous appearance of able leadership" (p. 418). During the 1930s, there were a series of labor revolts. These were not centered in Jamaica alone but extended from British Guiana about 1,200 miles northwest of Jamaica and the patterns of incidence that unfolded were similar in each region. These incidents involved mob action, violence, bloodshed, and property damage. The states' responses were usually martial law, arresting the organizers of such events as seen with Bustamante in Jamaica who was incarcerated for some time. Eventually, a settlement based mainly on marginal wage concessions was achieved and the usual unfilled promises of additional employment followed (Phelps 1960).

Nevertheless, the labor movements in Jamaica achieved great milestones (Barnes, 2000). Some of the early achievements of the BITU included: advocating for the passage of a minimum wage bill and workmen's compensation, paid holidays, regulating women's hours of employment, creating pension funds, advocating for laws related to slum clearance, and passing the Trade Union Act of 1939. This Act provided mediation, conciliation, and arbitration of disputes between employers and employees (Tortello, 2002). In addition to the BITU, another organization, formed through the BITU when its leader was imprisoned, became the first political party in Jamaica (Thomas, 2004; Tortello, 2002). The People's National Party (PNP) was formed by Norman Manley to represent the Brown individuals, who were people of a lighter skin tone and were the representatives of the privileged class, based on the imperialist view

inherited from the colonial system (Bustamante, 2010). It was from these two organizations that the two first and currently active political parties, the Peoples National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP), were formed (Thomas, 2004; Tortello, 2002).

Although the labor movements initially highlighted a need for equality and justice for poor laborers, the two political parties, which emerged as the major political powerhouses, started fighting against each other for political power after political independence in 1962 (Hutton, 2010; Thomas, 2004). This became counterproductive to the task of their social justice agenda and led to the early labor movements being described as the "pre-independence gangs" (Hutton, 2010, p. 23).

As soon as the people gained political independence, the once advocates for social justice were transformed into warring tribal factions that became a mode of rival political organization and mobilization. Friere (1970) referred to this discussing his fear of the oppressed becoming the oppressors after gaining freedom. Therefore, although the two major political parties in Jamaica were developed through the labor unions (Thomas, 2004), which were created to advocate for the Jamaican poor, once the country gained political independence, their objectives shifted from one of social justice to one of political power (Thomas, 2004). Since then, the political parties and hence the political system, have failed poor people and Jamaica at large (Henke, 2001; Thomas, 1999; 2011).

Post-emancipation to Independence

During the post-emancipation period, the continued oppression of Black and working-class Jamaicans led to the formation of labor movements. These labor movements orchestrated the withdrawal of workers from their jobs and initiated other protests that were sometimes violent, in spite of initially being geared at advocating better working conditions and salaries for

the emancipated slaves. The continued withdrawal from work by the oppressed former slaves led to the need for a new set of willing laborers. Therefore, a new wave of immigrants, mainly from Asia, who were commonly termed indentured laborers, were transported to replace the Afro-Jamaicans (Alleyne, 2005). The addition of this new immigrant population created a new dynamic within the class structure. These new immigrants brought along added cultural experiences and identity that eventually fused with the existing culture to enrich the social and cultural identity of Jamaicans (Stoddart et al., 2014).

Nevertheless, because former Black slaves were the majority of the population, their influence on the culture was more pronounced. For example, the 1930s riots were critical historical markers in the Afro-Jamaican community. The hunger marches, riots of banana workers, and strikes of dock and sugar workers (Campbell, 1987; Hart, 1989) had significant influences on changes to wages and work conditions for the Afro-Jamaican community while at the same time maintaining the culture of resistance as part of the Black identity within Jamaica (Stoddart et al., 2014). Therefore, the fight for justice and human rights is crucial to the identity of Jamaicans. This is important because it helped to shape how individuals react to oppressive structures in Jamaica. It is also necessary to note that these resistive activities were organized by the labor movements, which became the representative political parties when the country gained independence in 1962 (Thomas, 1999).

The Blacks, who were at a lower echelon of society hoped that the post-emancipation Jamaica would be a period of great jubilation (Henke, 2001). It was supposed to be a time of freedom, and extinction of slavery. It was also meant to be a period for people who knew nothing but oppression to express feelings of great jubilation, something the Maroons had long fought for. The people who were subjugated and powerless hoped to feel a sense of inclusion. These

uneducated individuals hoped they would see the educated minority become the voice of the uneducated (Henke 2001). However, following political independence, instead of being voices and advocates for the oppressed, the educated used their influence and power in guile to trick the poor, use them as tools to gain political power (Thomas, 2004), and further oppress the poor (Figueroa & Sives, 2002). Therefore, the objective of emancipation and political independence is yet to be achieved in the Caribbean, especially in Jamaica (Figueroa & Sives, 2002; Henke, 2001; Thomas, 2011), and the struggle to be emancipated from hegemonic systems continues (Thomas 2011). As the postcolonial groups fought, contemporary Jamaicans are still fighting for their true freedom (Gayle, 2009).

While former slaves were supposed to be free from the rules of the plantation owners who forced them to work strenuously and for long hours, it was not so in reality. This seems to be so because elements of the colonial system were passed on to the new system of government. In addition, the government was still being monitored by the forces that once enslaved the colonies. For example, numerous colonial laws remained after independence and even today the final appeal decisions by the Supreme Courts in Jamaica are handed down by the British Monarchy. This gives rise to questions such as: Is the British Monarchy still ruling Jamaica? and, Does the population feel independent?

It is quite alarming how some Jamaicans feel about such questions. Clarke and Howard (2005) referred to a survey that was conducted in Jamaica, which disclosed that the majority of Jamaicans preferred to remain a British colony. Another similar survey conducted more recently confirmed such a statement. In this research, as reported by the Jamaica Gleaner (2011), an island-wide survey of over 1,000 individuals was conducted. Of this group, 60% supported the notion that the country would be better off if it were still under British rule. Likewise, a study

conducted in 2014 demonstrated that almost 60% of Jamaican youth were willing to give up their Jamaican citizenship in exchange for greater opportunities (Jamaica Observer, 2014). Seventeen percent of those surveyed stated that the country would be worse off if it were still under British rule while 23% said they did not have an opinion either way. This is despite the fact that independence was almost the universal goal of Jamaicans in 1962 (Clarke, 2006). This is troubling as over 50 years after national independence, people feel a sense of frustration in that they would give up their independence after years of fighting for it. This is mainly because of the division in the social classes and because of the poor social structures and the lack of safety nets for the poor.

The implications of the above data suggest the post-independence political systems have failed the Jamaican people (Henke, 2001). Why then is this so when it is the same organizations that advocated for social justice and the rights of the poor people that formulated the political system of contemporary Jamaica? Did they inherit too many dominant traits from the colonial system? At this point these questions remain unanswered but the culture of two-ness (upper-class and lower-class) as discussed by Curtin (1955) seems to remain current and may provide some level of explanation to the continued hegemony even after independence (Jamaica Gleaner, 2006; 2009). In addition, the phenomenon of the oppressed being liberated and becoming the oppressors themselves as highlighted by Freire (1970) was pronounced in the Jamaican political movement after the country gained independence.

While racism, mainly through colorism (Robinson, 2011), played a major part in post–independence Jamaica, it seems as if Curtin's (1955) thesis on class divide based on the haves and have-nots tends to stand out. This is mainly because of the wide division in the social classes and the poor social structures that supplied inadequate basic needs for the poor majority (Broom,

1954). The political system that succeeded the hegemonic colonial system did not fail to retain elements of the colonial system that it replaced. This system continued to demean the poor and failed to implement adequate, innovative, and workable economic policies or sustainable economic growth options to be truly beneficial to the poor (Robotham, 2000). Hence, this multiplied and complicated the struggles for the lower classes of society, while the middle class who formed the new government increased their wealth and power. The legitimacy, which was based on having Black or colored individuals as political representatives for the Black individuals, was not enough to prove true independence. According to Henke (2004), people need a sense of economic freedom and until that is achieved one cannot feel or see the legitimacy of the political independence.

Economic independence, in essence, would provide a sense of freedom, self-fulfillment, and representation for the Afro-Jamaican majority, while enabling a substantial degree of political participation for them through a nearly democratic election (Stone, 1980) (individuals were bribed to vote) and involvement in the party system. However, because individuals were kept in a state of perpetual poverty and promises were not kept, individuals felt a sense of betrayal. Nevertheless, a sense of belonging remained while being governed by leaders who shared similar racial profiles (Gray, 2003).

Politics in Jamaica

The political system in Jamaica was adopted from the Westminster system of government from its colonial master, England (Figueroa & Sives, 2002). The Westminster system is marked with periodic, ballot-driven elections and in a normal setting with the people's free choice of government. However, according to Figueroa and Sives (2002) the electoral processes in Jamaica have been marked by electoral inconsistencies such as gun violence and widespread electoral

manipulation. In addition, the political system resulted in the multiplication of criminal activities, involving gangs, drugs, gun trade, and transnational crimes (Figueroa & Sives, 2002).

Consequently, some urban communities became a breeding spot for these criminal activities. Figuero and Sives suggest that in order for anyone to understand the political system in Jamaica, they must first understand the unique link between the political system and criminal elements. According these authors, this link tainted security forces, and most importantly formed enclaves of communities where criminal activities are orchestrated. These enclaves, termed garrisons (Stone, 1980), are typical in the history of Jamaican politics, and hence, play an important role in forming the culture of politics in Jamaica.

Although Cripps suggested in his speech that the formation of the political party was one of the most significant moves in the history of Jamaica (as cited in Tortello, 2002), the events that unfolded following the advent of postcolonial politics, were seen by scholars to be negative (Clarke & Howard, 2005; Henke, 2001; Thomas, 1999). For example, Henke (2001) revealed that the promise of true freedom is not yet fulfilled since the majority of people are kept from meaningful participation in the political process. According to Henke, the meaning of freedom within most Caribbean territory is misinterpreted and hence, the true meaning is locked away, "ossified" (p. 416). Furthermore, Thomas (1999) identified the hegemonic system that is impenetrable, especially at the institutional level, suggesting that people's sense of nationalism can erode due to the great oppression that they experience.

There is also a marked dichotomy that formulated the European-Jamaican and the African-Jamaican division (Clarke & Howard, 2005). This duality is still characteristic of contemporary Jamaica and is evident even more markedly in social settings. For example, garrison communities are separated from other communities and the social interactions are

different from other communities that are considered uptown communities. Clarke and Howard (2005) posit that there is a marked distinction between the haves and the have-nots, and it is evident in the large percentage of poor and the small number of individuals of the upper social class status in Jamaica. Therefore, the fight for equality is ongoing and while colonialism seems to be dormant, the roots of hegemony, planted by the colonial masters, continue to regenerate elements in a more modern form. Currently, the political machinery in Jamaica seems to be a reincarnation of the colonial system. Hence, removing the roots of hegemony remains critical, especially as it relates to communities that are isolated from mainstream society. In Jamaica, these communities are termed garrisons. Because garrison communities are formed through politics, one cannot separate the politics from garrison in the discussion.

Major political parties in Jamaica.

There are two major political parties in Jamaica, the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP). The discussion in this section will explore how these political parties influence the educational, socio-cultural, and socio-economic segments of the lives of adults living in Jamaican garrison communities.

The Jamaica labor party. The JLP was formed when Sir Alexander Bustamante was released from prison on February 8, 1942. According to Tortello (2002), he decided to build a political party based on ideas formed during his imprisonment although the conditions of his release prohibited him from speaking in public, or to more than 49 persons at any one time inside a building without official permission. Bustamante was also prohibited from leaving Kingston, which was the major metropolitan area in Jamaica, without notifying the police. Further, Bustamante felt that the socialist predispositions of the PNP and his cousin, Norman Manley, were not in keeping with his own belief in free enterprise and a democratic capitalist society. As

such, his union, the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) and the new party would move in different directions.

This direction-split was a result of those individuals affiliated with the PNP who had become greatly involved with the BITU during Bustamante's imprisonment. They turned their attention to the Trade Union Advisory Council. This council then became the National Workers Union (NWU). Today, this trade union is closely associated with the PNP. In addition, Bustamante recognized that in order to participate and represent the workers in dialogue over Jamaica's new Constitution in 1943, he needed recognition as a political leader and not just as a labor leader (Tortello, 2002). This was what compelled him to initiate the formation of the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP).

The name for the JLP was chosen as fitting to represent an organization that resulted from the worker's movement. The JLP was described in the *Jamaica Gleaner* as a party with liberal policies and a progressive outlook that would recognize the legitimate claims of both labor and capital for adequate representation (Tortello, 2002). July 8, 1943 was the official launch of the party, which was held in front of a massive crowd at the Ward Theatre in Kingston.

Most of the active and influential individuals who were a part of the BITU eventually became leaders of the newly formed JLP. Among them were Hugh Shearer, St. Clair Shirley, Lynden Newland, Isaac Barrant, L.W. Rose, Leopold Lynch, Frank Pixley, and E.R.D. Evans. These individuals all achieved a political title and function within that capacity. Within 18 months, in the general elections held on December 14, 1944, after the declaration of a new constitution a month earlier that called for a two-tiered House of Assembly and an Executive Council, the JLP won 41% of the vote, compared to the PNP's 23% and the Jamaica Democratic

Party's (JDP's) 4%. The JDP was formed slightly before the JLP and represented the interests of employers that were somewhat discouraged by the strong socialist agenda of the PNP.

The People's National Party. During August of 1938, Osmond Theodore Fairclough, one of the proponents of Manley's agenda, which is referred to as social democratism, traveled all over the island to recruit members of middle and upper classes (Tortello, 2002). These recruits included businessmen, lawyers, and members of established organizations such as the Jamaica Union of Teachers (JUT) and the Jamaica Agricultural Society (JAS) (Tortello, 2002). This recruitment was in an effort to select representatives to formulate the full sectors of representatives within the PNP.

Through this recruitment, a set of 50 delegates were selected from the group and a steering committee of seven was appointed. This included Norman Manley as chairman, accountant O. T. Fairclough as secretary, teacher H.P. Jacobs, Lawyer N.N. Nethersole, Rev. O.G. Penso, and architectural draftsmen W. G. MacFarlane and Howard F. Cooke (Tortello, 2002). According to the Jamaica Gleaner (2001), Cooke remembers the excitement of the time and the almost missionary urge of wanting to implement change. The steering committee's task was to draft a founding constitution and prepare the party's formal launch slated for September 18, 1938, at the Ward Theatre in downtown Kingston.

The meeting at the Ward Theatre was packed to capacity with more attendees on the street (Tortello, 2002). People of different political orientations, backgrounds, and religious and denominational beliefs were present to listen to Norman Manley (Tortello, 2002). In addition, a British Labor Party Member of Parliament, Sir Stafford Cripps, was the guest speaker. The Jamaica Gleaner (2001) reported that Manley spoke of a new era and stressed the difference between living in a place and belonging to it in a sense that one's life and destiny are inculcated

in the life and destiny of that place. He claimed that a radical change was under way and according to Thomas (1999), this radical change is still talked about in Jamaica. In addition, Manley spoke of the need for collaboration between politics and trade unionism. This change was necessary and was supported by Cripps, who, according to the *Jamaica Gleaner* stated that it was a progressive and bold move and may have been the most significant in the history of Jamaica at the time.

The Making of Jamaican Garrisons

One cannot ignore the fact that deprived, gang ridden urban centers existed pre and post emancipation (Hutton, 2010). However, the introduction of politics post-independence resulted in the formation of garrisons (Stone, 1980). Scholars who are vocal on the topic of garrisons and politics in Jamaica agree that one cannot talk about politics in Jamaica without mentioning garrisons and similarly one cannot talk about garrisons without mentioning politics (Charles 2008; Edie, 1991; Gray, 2003; Sives 2010; Stone, 1980). For example, the 2010 intrusion of security forces in the Tivoli area of Kingston left over 70 civilians dead and millions of dollars in physical and personal damages (Blake, 2012). On the other hand, the political leader who had some direct involvement in the situation resigned, walking away freely with a hefty retirement package orchestrated by a former prime minister (The Guardian, 2011).

This is why I find it necessary to remind the readers that the Jamaican political system, which is a major player in the formation of garrison communities, originated from the labor movements of the 1930s (Gray, 2003). The labor movements were driven by resistance and violence that were influenced by colonialism (Thomas, 2011). Therefore, the work, disposition, and structure of the postcolonial labor movements were passed down to the political movements that provided representation for the individuals (Williams, 2011).

However, although the colonial system was abolished, this system of government did not meet the needs of the people in terms of representation. While the actions of the labor movements were directly influenced by colonialism, it was the postcolonial influence that affected the political machinery of Jamaica. This is so, since elements of colonialism such as classism, colorism (Robinson, 2011), male dominance (Cooper, 2004), and other issues of social relevance remain parts of Jamaican society.

Since the onset of the inherent violence within the political parties (PNP and JLP), a smooth democratic process was destabilized (Figueroa & Sives, 2010; Stone, 1980; Thomas, 2011). This was done by party loyalists at the community level along with the support of political leaders, especially those dependent on political patronage to be successfully elected. Therefore, the political parties supported those loyalists to protect and defend local constituencies while being highly active in direct political conflict (Figueroa & Sives, 2010). This, in itself, is the foundation on which garrison communities originated (Williams, 2011). This loyalist phenomenon tends to adopt the principle of otherness and, therefore, supports the colonial racist ideology, though in the form of political parties and affiliates in this instance. In addition, violence between two political parties gives strength and credence to Curtin's (1955) philosophy of two Jamaicas by having an upper-classed and an under-classed group. Hence, Curtin's philosophy of two Jamaica remains valid even in contemporary Jamaica (Jamaica Gleaner, 2012) where highly politicized, homogenously voting communities, locally called garrisons, exist (Williams, 2011).

The work of Carl Stone (1980), whose masterpiece, *Democracy and Clientelism in Jamaica*, chronicles the term garrison (Figueroa & Sives, 2002). Garrisons are highly politicized communities that vote homogenously during national political elections in Jamaica. In his book,

Stone highlighted that the 1967 election was the most significant marker in defining the path to garrisonization. According to Stone (1980) the first political election was marked by political patronage where houses, jobs, cash, thugs, and other means were used on a substantial basis to secure votes during the general election.

Similarly, Sives (2012) reported that as early as 1949 during the second general election in Jamaica, there were political clashes that resulted in deaths. The political patronage (Stone, 1980) and violent political tribalism (Sives, 2012) seem to be the grounds on which garrison communities were founded with the intent for political officials to secure successful election results and maintain a strong political base within the constituency (Henke, 2001).

To obtain this strong political support and to maintain political power, the political leaders kept garrisons in poverty, isolation, and a state of virtual dependency (Edie, 1991). In other words, garrison communities did not create themselves but were forced into a substandard way of life, similar to how slaves were forced into slavery. This was a reflection of the colonial society from which this new system of democracy was pollinated. As a result, individuals who occupied these spaces became vulnerable and would do almost anything to feed themselves and their families. Therefore, individuals who are living in garrison communities are resilient, and like the Maroons, they will fight for survival. However, this postcolonial fight involves political battles, criminal activities for financial gain, as well as utilizing culture for monetary gain and entertainment.

As such, garrison communities have been described by scholars as "socially fragmented" (Stone, 1980, p. 91), highly politicized communities of low economic status, limited educational opportunities, high crime and violence, which experience high rate of hegemonic forces (Gray, 2003). Garrisons have also been described as communities which are deeply rooted in the culture

of reggae music (Johnson, 1976), and have homogenous voting patterns (Figueroa & Sives, 2002). Hence, garrison communities are politically charged in one direction, and the poor have limited formal education and rely heavily on culture for voice and comfort (Johnson, 1976).

Thomas (2012) added that the contemporary violence within garrison communities is one with a long history. According to this author, a misrepresentation or misunderstanding of this history may result in a misunderstanding of trends in current violence. This violence is a "principle of both personhood and colonial and postcolonial state formation" (Thomas, 2012, p. 130). In other words, one must study the historical path to understand contemporary violence within garrison communities and Jamaica at large.

Based on the foundations of garrisons, it is obvious, then, that colonial impediments play a critical role in how garrison communities were shaped and can be reflected in cultural identity, especially as it relates to reggae music (Stoddart et al., 2014) and dance-hall music (Cooper, 2004). According to Cooper (2004), the pervasiveness of hyper-masculinity in dancehall music is a means for those who are oppressed in the society to gain a sense of self. This reflects an opposing reaction to the colonial removal of manhood from Black men. Therefore, through culture and music, the Black male attempts to regain what was taken from him. This is illuminated in songs such as Trailer Load a Girls by Shabba Ranks and Man fi Have Nuff Gal by Beanie Man. While these hypersexual behaviors might give men a sense of manhood, they are avenues for negativity within these communities. As such, it is thus clear that the fight for freedom from an oppressive system remains paramount in these communities. Additionally, cultural expression through music is a modality in which such fight for freedom and reclamation efforts are done.

This freedom, according to Sen (1999), must come from individual freedom which eventually will result in social and economic freedom, not only of the individual but the community and the country at large. Accordingly, this social and economic freedom will result in a free civil society. Therefore, the current study is important as it is an exploration of what belongs to the people—their culture—and makes meaning of how it influences their overall education and wellbeing. Additionally, this study intended to understand how knowledge can be utilized to provide a more culturally relevant system of education to guide the individuals towards true emancipation, one that the country has been yearning for since the Spanish invasion. Hence, exploring Black indigenous culture, especially as it relates to the function of reggae music within these garrisonized spaces, provides a template from which to begin to address the problems within these communities.

Effects of Music on Learning

According to Trimble (2007), music is a language and a means of communication that individuals use in the expression of emotions. It is a collection of harmony, rhythms, and sounds from the voice with or without musical instruments. Although it could be problematic to designate specific emotional response to music, Wang and Agius (2018), believe that with motor skills, the expression of one's body and tone of the voice are good places to begin with observing emotions. Music enables the listener to have a pleasant appearance whenever the music is enjoyable for that person. For centuries, music has been a source of entertainment and for the listening pleasure (Woo & Kanachi 2005). However, music not only has an impact on emotions, but it enhances learning. In fact, according to Jancke (2008), a musician's brain possesses more gray matter in their frontal cortex (a section of the brain that is involved in memory) than non-musicians.

This shows that music is very powerful in stimulating neurophysiological activities resulting in more space for memory. Humans use memory to record, retain, and recall information. Memory is subdivided into short-term and long-term memory. Short-term memory stores information for a short while and can store 2- 7 bits of information and the information may be lost in 30 seconds while long-term memory on the other hand stores information for a very long time even for years (Atkinson, & Shiffrin, 1971). With stimulation and repetition of the information in the short-term memory, it is stored into the long-term memory for later use (Putra, Gumilar, Kusuma, Purnomo, & Basumerda, 2018). According to Patterson (2013), music was added to the curriculum of selected schools in inner city Jamaica with the aim of improving literacy. While the data on this trial is not yet published, enough literature is available to show that music stimulates learning. For example, Poku Quan-Baffour, (2007) used indigenous music to educate adults about HIV, while Salmon, (2010) showed how music promoted children's thinking and enhanced their literacy skills. Data from these studies support the notion that music enhances learning and if properly incorporated in the curriculum, has the potential of improving learning within the classroom.

Jamaican Popular Music and its Significance in the Caribbean and Jamaican Landscape

Although Jamaica receives extensive inflow of exogenous cultural influences, the Jamaican people take great pride in their indigenous culture, especially its music (Cuthbert, 1985). According to Hope (2006), Jamaican popular music served as the needed "safety valve to release the pent-up frustrations of many dispossessed Jamaicans" (p. 8). Many may think that themes associated with Caribbean popular music are that of carnival, rum and coconut water, happy-go-lucky smiling people, Rastafarians, Reggae, Calypso, and marijuana. However, Hope (2006), Cooper (2004), and Niaah (2010) found the above themes to be somewhat misconstrued

and popularized by the media and governmental organizations, including the tourism sector as marketing strategies.

Popular culture, especially Jamaican and the Caribbean music, reflects a fusion of the diversity of lifeways brought about by colonial traditions and other lived experiences (Stoddart et al., 2014). Africans, Asians, Europeans, and other individuals brought their customs, norms, and value systems which eventually fused to form the popular cultures of the region. This diverse ethnic heritage is reflected in the Jamaican motto "out of many, one people" (National Library of Jamaica, n.d., para. 1).

Regardless of this plurality of heritage, the musical genres in Jamaica reflect African heritage and cultural forces such as music which created a robust sense of nationalism among Jamaicans, especially those of African descent (Freeland, 2013). Within this music culture and the history of colonialism, there is a facilitated rise of cultural uniqueness and collective identity. This is also supported by Cooper (2004) who suggests that the "dehumanizing conditions remain potent social forces shaping the consciousness of a new generation of artists and constitute for them sources of inspiration, creativity, as well as despair" (p. 182). Because of the great role of Black culture on the music in Jamaica and the Caribbean, Reggae music is seen as indigenous Black music (Stoddart et al., 2014).

Banfield (2010) highlighted that "no art form will survive without dedication of the values envisioned by its creators" (p. 4) also emphasizing that Black music is a form of political and social language created by slaves on the road to freedom. Reggae music is Black music and supports a sociopolitical language with a social justice agenda (Johnson, 1976). This social agenda of reggae music can be mostly observed through Rastafarianism (an Afrocentric spiritual

movement) and how the Rastafarians used reggae music as the vehicle to transmit their nationalistic and spiritual agenda (Manuel, Bilby, & Largey, 2006).

According to Lee (1981), the worldwide recognition of reggae music, mainly through Bob Marley, who was a Rastafarian, highlighted the Rastafarian revolution in Jamaica. Although reggae music internationalized the Rastafarian agenda, popular music has always been a part of the Jamaican culture and played a major part in public commentary, giving voice to the voiceless (Johnson, 1976; Nordine, 2007; Dagnini, 2011). Quite often, individuals tend to misunderstand the lyrical content of reggae music. This is understandable as popular musician Everton Blender (1997) stated in his lyric to a song, "this a ghetto people song only them can sing this one." Therefore, individuals who are not familiar with the living conditions and the language used can easily misinterpret the messages from the music. For example, Sabelli (2011) argues that sexuality and masculinity within reggae music are counter to colonial experiences that capitalized on gendered issues as a part of the oppressive machine of the imperialist core. This hyper-masculine perpetuation of the Black man is seen as a means to regain the manhood stolen by the colonizers (Cooper, 2004). The expression of this manhood tends to support Friere (1970) where the once oppressed could become the oppressor.

In addition to the gendered attributes of pop culture in Jamaica, Hope (2010) pointed out that music, especially in the dancehall form, provides an economic outlet, a social outlet, and a medium where one can celebrate being Black and marginalized. Hope (2010) also emphasized that the infusion of violence is a liberatory tool expressed in the music. This liberatory aspect of the music is also supported by Cooper (2004) who stated that "dancehall culture at home and in the diaspora is best understood as a potentially liberating space" (p. 17). However, the utilization of violence as a liberatory tool is not new, nor is it centered on the music alone. It was through

intense violence and continued resistance that emancipation and eventual independence were achieved. Therefore, the culture of resistance is not only instilled in the history of Jamaican resistance to colonial powers but also manifests itself within the pop culture. It is therefore critical that we thoroughly investigate the role of reggae on a marginalized group in Jamaica with emphasis within garrison communities.

Reggae in Jamaica: A Brief Historical Perspective

According to Manuel, Bilby, and Largey (2006), popular music in Jamaica has gained great significance and consists mainly of reggae music. This is aligned with the reception received by jazz, rock, and hip hop, which have strong Black cultural influence. In addition, reggae's international acceptance is not indebted to commercial exploitation but is rooted as a means of spiritual expression, a liberatory movement, local self-expression, pan-Africanism, and as highlighting hegemony within the society (Manuel et al., 2006). Although reggae music gained great reception on the global scene, its beginning is shadowed by a movement of survival and persistent resistance to a hegemonic colonial and postcolonial system.

As a genre of indigenous Black music, reggae is an art form that consists of "ideas, and ideals that are spiritual, cultural, intellectual and aesthetic" (Banfield, 2010, p. 4). However, not all individuals view reggae music in this light, especially as it relates to those in hegemonic positions who see the lyrical content in the music as anti-status quo. For that reason, Everton Blender (1999) states in a lyric a song "this a di ghetto people song only them can sing this one" which simply means that others might not understand what he is trying to say since their experiences may be different. Additionally, the fact that the Jamaica Broadcasting Commission finds it fit to censor songs that it deems are not fit for airplay shows that the democratic process

of free speech is constrained and Afro-Jamaicans are still marginalized after 50 years of independence from colonialism.

Hence, a raw cultural form such as Myal, which was once used to rebel against the colonial system, is now transformed to popular music of which reggae is the major contemporary genre is still used today to rebel against the postcolonial hegemonic system (Cooper, 2004). Therefore, reggae music owes its lineage to pieces of cultural forms that are rooted in the spiritual, social, and resistive experiences of the Afro-Jamaicans (Chang & Chen, 1998). It is for this reason that Katz (2012) identified crucial elements of Jamaican folk culture as "defining elements of reggae" (p. 13). The most significant of these were: Myal, Pocomania, Junkanoo, Call and Response Chants, Kids Ring Games, and the adaptation of the European dance known as the Quadrille. Although European influence on the musical culture of Jamaica and cannot be overlooked, the dominance of the African culture in the music is pronounced. This is especially expressed in the lyrical content where themes related to the fight for social and political justice are vocalized.

Resistance in Reggae Music

Resistance and protest in reggae is not a new phenomenon and, according to King and Foster (2013), protest through songs has become embedded in the DNA of Black people around the world. Reggae music is rooted in this protest and resistance especially to colonial and postcolonial powers (Hill, 2007). Because the influence of Rastafarians on reggae music is so great, one cannot overlook the relevance of Rastafarians in reggae music in Jamaica (Nordine, 2007). According to Lacey (2005), the Rastafarian movement in Jamaican pop-culture was founded out of resistance connected to Black consciousness and nationalism.

Additionally, Rommen (2006) purported that "Rastafarian gradually emerged as an oppositional alternative to Protestant faith, middle- and upper-class wealth, and Euro-centric cultural, racial, and social paradigms" (p. 238). According to this author, the crowning of Haili Selassie as Emperor of Ethiopia strengthened the urge of Rastafarianism as a rooted oppositional system to colonial and Eurocentric ordeals. Therefore, the Rastafarian movement rejected the Christian interpretation of the Bible and rejected Eurocentric ordeals while promoting, embracing, and nurturing Afrocentrism.

With the biblical principles adopted by this movement Forsythe (1980), and the great drive towards socio-cultural issues (Murrell 1998), especially as it relates to descendants of African slaves, Rastafarianism became a major unit which voiced a political, cultural, and social issues that is heavily skewed toward Africanism and the descendants from Africa (Nordine, 2007). Voicing these social and political concerns in chants, backed by the beating of drums provided a source where current topical issues could be heard through musical forms. Thus, Jamaican popular music chronicles the struggles of Jamaican oppressed people (Katz, 2012). The music incites the people's identity (Stoddart et al., 2014), and transcends messages of a colonial system that shaped life in contemporary Jamaica (Katz, 2012). Because of the oppressive nature of life within Jamaica, critical adult education becomes necessary in this fight for freedom and equity.

Theoretical Foundations Guiding the Study

The theories that guide this study include postcolonial theory, critical emancipatory theory, sociocultural theory, and incidental learning theory. These four theoretical constructs provide for the concepts, propositions, assumptions, beliefs, and history that guided, supported, and informed this research study (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In their description of conceptual

frameworks, Miles and Huberman (1994) noted that narratives or symbols (e.g., graphs) are used to express an understanding of the key elements to be studied. Therefore, by utilizing the lenses of these theories I was able to better understand the meaning that adults living in garrison make from their experience with reggae.

Postcolonial Theory. The negative influence of colonialism on the identity and social and economic lives of people living in the colonized world is paramount to any study in a postcolonial world (De Jesus, 2005). Cultural norms were forced on the marginalized groups in the colonized world, and Jamaica is no exception (David & Okazaki, 2006). According to Brookfield (2017), the field of adult education is racialized with a Eurocentric view.

Therefore, to understand and critically review contemporary events in the postcolonial world, it is important that we obtain a better understanding of how colonial experiences, influenced by Eurocentricism, shaped the experiences of the colonized. Therefore, in this study, postcolonial theory formed one of the bases for understanding the experiences of the adults in a Jamaican garrison.

Postcolonial theorists view the theory through their individual lens and their definition of postcolonialism is context-based. Therefore, all adults living in a postcolonial state are affected by and influenced by events associated with colonialism. On the other hand, Darby and Paolini (1994) stated that postcolonial discourse is a reclamation mission. Thus, on a mission to reclaim cultural inclusiveness of the marginalized group in science education programs within some colonized nations, Adams, Luitel, Afonso, and Taylor (2008) found that scientism patrols the borders of science education serving to exclude local epistemological beliefs and discourses and negating culturally contextualized teaching and learning. Despite the diverse cultural hybrids of these countries, science education is disconnected from the daily lives of the majority of their

populations, serving inequitably the academic Western oriented aspirations of an elite group (p. 999). This study revealed the relevance of postcolonial theory in studies pertaining to nations that have been colonized.

However, in most cases, the colonized are those who are negatively affected by the colonial experiences. Kim, Moon, and Joo (2013) used postcolonial theory to examine Korean high school world history textbooks to identify ways in which the textbooks reproduce Eurocentric colonial hegemony. The results revealed that the texts credited Europe for positive historical developments such as world trade while failing to highlight the positive contributions of other territories towards world history. Hence, the suppression of the marginalized story is highlighted. The authors identified a need for a more open, pluralized approach towards historical consciousness. While this study highlighted the effect of colonization within the formal school system, in my study the informal system that provides education to the most marginalized is interrogated with the frame of postcolonialism.

Colonialism as a system has economics as its basic foundation; however, it is also social, psychological, political and, most importantly, oppressive (Sartre, 2001). This means that the colonizers acculturated the colonized to satisfy its economic goals (Strobel, 2001). Although the slave trade ended, British colonization did not cease in Jamaica until 1962 when the island gained national independence. Despite gaining independence, the history shows that from the pre-emancipation through to the post-emancipation era, the Jamaican experience was centered on struggles, power structures, oppression, revolts, religion, and most importantly, a mixture of various cultures based on the nature of immigration at the time. According to Strobel (2001), these are some of the colonial influences affecting the psychology of the colonized world. Therefore, although colonialism ended years ago, Strobel (2001) believes that colonialism

remains a state of mind within the peoples of the colonial world. This author cited that the mindset of the colonized world lacks the critical awareness of the presence of colonial influences such as hegemony, which inevitably shapes the output of attitudes, values, and behaviors of the peoples within that world (Strobel, 2001). In other words, there is a negative educational influence of colonialism on the marginalized of colonized nations.

Similarly, Bustos-Choy (2009), who conducted a study with Filipino women in the United States to investigate the impact of colonialism on their lives, revealed that beliefs and behaviors of colonial mentality, which the participants were unaware of, were greatly limiting their career potential. It was found that understanding these individuals' behavior was a key element to help them become aware of some of the unseen impediments that hinder their progress. In this study, the lack of awareness of hegemony was very important. As such, I investigated how reggae can help adults from a garrison become more informed.

In addition to the direct colonial effects, globalization and greed associated with capitalism bring numerous changes that continue to negatively affect the lives of the vulnerable in the society, especially members of low socio-economic strata (Rowntree, Lewis, Price, & Wyckoff, 2006). According to Symington (2004), globalization finds the coffers of the privileged increasing while the means and social conditions of the oppressed decreasing. In addition to the oppressive forces imparted by globalization, many traditions and practices of third-world countries are replaced by cultures and traditions of first world countries that have little or no meaning to the third world. For example, U.S. pop music culture has infiltrated the small markets within the Caribbean, and they are unable to compete with the U.S. market. This makes it uneconomical for the average youth to pursue careers in popular music within Jamaica and other Caribbean territories. Therefore, some among the youth population are finding other

means to make money, such as criminal activities, thereby, eroding the social health in some areas of Jamaica (Stone, 1980).

Therefore, to understand and begin a discussion on the negative implications of colonialism and globalization within the context of the Caribbean, this study explored the ways in which adult education might utilize the knowledge of the people's use of Jamaican music. This knowledge could be used as a pedagogical tool to stimulate consciousness (Elias & Merriam, 2005). This might, then, provide the space for dialogue (Freire, 1970) and reflective action that is needed for consciousness raising among marginalized populations like those of garrison communities.

Critical/Emancipatory Theory. Another theory that was relevant in guiding the study and building a discussion about a society bewildered by oppression is critical emancipatory theory. Critical or radical philosophy is based on a theory that is committed to change (Merriam & Brockett, 2007). According to Merriam and Brockett (2007), great emphasis must be placed on critical theory, especially for the case of adult education, as it offers an in-depth assessment of the hegemonic structures and systems within society, particularly those that relate to education. Furthermore, this critique extends to capitalism and elements of democracy that form parts of modern society (Merriam & Brockett, 2007). Critical theory describes society's ideology as a compilation of widely unquestioned ideals and practices. Brookfield (2005) explained ideology as "the broadly accepted set of values, beliefs, myths, explanations and justifications that appear self-evidently true, empirically accurate, personally relevant, and morally desirable to a majority of the populace" (p. 41). Furthermore, promoting and perpetuating this ideology is important and essential to "maintain an unjust social and political order" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 41). Critical theory interrogates all philosophy that promote injustices within society.

As such, critical social theorists have also broadened the influences of the theory on education, including insights on new constructions of identity within the postcolonial context (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2004). Essentially, the philosophy that undergirds critical theory presents a critique to the assumptions, values, and beliefs that sustain dominant and hegemonic practices in society. Proponents of this theoretical framework toil to raise awareness among the oppressed within the system so that they are able to challenge the foundations on which hegemony is built.

One of the major proponents of this frame is Paulo Freire (Elias & Merriam, 2005). Freire, a Brazilian whose work found roots in using literacy to emancipate peasant workers, was popularized mainly because of his work in the Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Freire (1970) believed that people will be free when they achieve a state of critical consciousness. This can only be achieved through a process he describes as conscientization. According to Freire, radical theory seeks social and political change with the goal to improve the living conditions of the oppressed and the oppressors. In order to achieve this change, one must use authentic education that is driven by political action.

Like Friere's (1970) theory of conscientization, which, according to Elias and Merriam (2005) stimulates consciousness, an effort was made in this study to investigate if reggae is used by the adults from a garrison to bring awareness to themselves, and redress their lacking in consciousness (Stone, 1980). This would stimulate the process of dialogue and hence reflective action, which could essentially transform the political and social life of the oppressed (Beder, 1991). To humanize the oppressed, one must not only highlight hegemony, but most importantly find ways to free the oppressed from the political and other forces that suppress the thought process of the marginalized group.

Abrahams (2004) found critical theory appropriate in music classes. According to Abrahams, critical theory helped to empower students by connecting their experiences with local music and with music lessons in school. In so doing, it connected the genres of contemporary popular music cultures with the goals and objectives of the music class within the school. The study confirmed that using critical theory, by allowing students to utilize their personal experiences, helped them to learn on their own and the knowledge was retained at a higher rate. Because the emphasis of this study is on learning, the development of autonomy through connection with the objectives of the class was relevant in this study. This is so because the indigenous music of the Jamaicans is a connection to the Garrisonites who are marginalized from the formal education system. In addition, critical theory is aimed at reducing and ultimately eliminating the control over these people's lives which will emancipate them, fulfilling the emancipatory aspect of critical theory. For example, in identifying with the vast social forces of domination in the lives of bicultural students, Darder (2011) found that critical theory of cultural democracy helped to liberate students who were suppressed.

Freire (1993) explicitly highlighted the dynamics of the dehumanization process. He warned that being seen as less human leads the oppressed to oppose the oppressors and it has a deleterious effect on society. Hence, there would be no corrective action but the dynamics of the phenomenon would change (Freire, 1993). This would result in the potential of the oppressed to overpower the oppressors and become the oppressors themselves (Freire, 1993). This, according to Freire, would not result in a true meaning or consciousness.

According to Freire (1970), true meaning would be achieved when both the oppressors and the oppressed receive and restore true humanity. It is this humanity that the struggles throughout the historical development of Jamaica were all about. The Maroons fought tirelessly

to achieve their humanity (Zips & Seller, 2002). The postcolonial groups fought and are still fighting for this freedom (Gayle, 2009). It is no wonder that Bob Marley (1980) in his Redemption Song told his listeners, "Emancipate yourself from mental slavery, none but ourselves can free our minds." This statement suggests that although slavery was abolished and the people were "emancipated," oppression in the form of mental slavery still exists in contemporary Jamaica. This scenario of mental slavery supports Freire's (1970) dynamics of true humanization. In that, "freedom" was achieved in Jamaica, however, when this "freedom" was achieved, the leaders of the political movements secured power for themselves and thus overpowered the vulnerable and poor in the society (Henke, 2001). This phenomenon, or type of power system was described as a democratic system with patron-client relations (Stone, 1980). In this system, the political leaders manipulated the poor to ensure power for themselves and the poor were left to suffer. Stone's (1980) analysis revealed that this system was not totally democratic. In his review, he argued that although the power structure in Jamaica remained to a large extent democratic, the democratic structure coexisted with authoritarian patron-client relations. This is similar to what Freire (1993) warned of in that when one group achieves the power of humanity and starts to manipulate the other. The difference is that it is not the oppressors that are being oppressed but the most marginal of the group (Stone, 1980).

Additionally, in her study with child welfare workers, Lietz (2009), found that critical theory highlights why it is important to deconstruct meanings, utilize critical thinking and reflect on multiple perspectives before making decisions pertaining to complex cases of child welfare. Elias and Merriam (2005) outlined other forms of the theoretical framework within the scope of adult education that may reform society. However, it is only with the radical critiques that indelible changes will be enforced. With this body of literature, a piercing lens is illuminated

through which we can critically view and understand the way in which reggae music shapes the educational, social, and political life of the Jamaican adults living in garrisons. One of the uses of reggae in Jamaica is to provide a voice for the voiceless, and as a medium to highlight hegemony and critique the hegemonic system. As such, critical theory provided a means to frame the results of this study.

Sociocultural Theory. Sociocultural theory formed one of the lenses through which meaning making was understood in this study. Perez and McCarthy (1998) suggested that sociocultural theory takes into consideration how the participants interpret who they are and the way they are able to process and make sound interpretations and formulate meaning from their experiences. As such, to get a good understanding of learning within a sociocultural context, one must give attention to the culture and the discourse of the community (Alfred, 2003). Since the major purpose of this study was to explore the role of reggae as an instrument of learning among adults living in a Jamaican garrison, understanding learning through a sociocultural lens was relevant to this study.

Informal/Incidental Learning Theory. According to Skule (2006), while informal learning was discussed decades earlier by Dewey (1938) who made connection to experiential learning, this study draws heavily from an understanding of the theoretical frame by Marsick and Watkins (1992), who looked at informal learning in relation to formal learning. According to the theory, formal learning is institutionalized, structured and usually classroom based (Marsick & Watkins,1992). In contrast, incidental and informal learning are not structured and while they may occur in a structured setting such as the classroom, they both revolve around learning in an unstructured environment. Although the authors emphasized learning within the context of the workplace, this study sought to understand what was learned from listening to reggae within the

garrison community. Therefore, in this study the workplace is replaced by the community. Hence, it is necessary that I provide an explanation of what is meant by community. In the context of this study, examples of community could be the home; public domains, such as markets or businesses; or at specific social events, such as parties or other communal activities, sporting events, or on-the-street gatherings and celebrations.

Drawing from workplace learning, Marsick and Watkins (1992) identified seven features of incidental learning, namely, learning comes from experience, learning is embedded in organizational context, learning has a focus on action, learning is not routine, learning is concerned with tacit dimensions that must be made explicit, learning is delimited by the nature of the task and enhanced by critical reflection, and learning is creativity. However, instead of a focus on learning in the context of the workplace, this study focuses on incidental/informal learning from reggae within the community settings. A comprehensive review of the literature done by Marsick, Watkins, Callahan, and Volpe (2006) revealed that most studies on informal learning had a focus on learning within a work environment.

Therefore, some aspects of the theory, such as learning, which are embedded in an organizational context were viewed as learning within the community. However, learning is not guaranteed (Marsick & Watkins, 1992), and needs two key components. These components are presence or absence of reflection and the presence or absence of action. The interactions of the components would determine the type of learning that takes place. Based on Marsick and Watkins' (1992) summary, when there is a presence of action interacting with the absence of a reaction, incidental learning occurs (Marsick, Watkins, Callahan and Volpe, 2009).

Chapter Summary

Chapter II presented a review of literature relevant to the phenomenon of adults living in a Jamaican garrison learning through reggae. It examined issues related to the history and politics of Jamaica by outlining how Jamaican garrisons came to be. Additionally, in providing an overview of Jamaican popular music and its significance in the Caribbean, the chapter also provided a historical perspective of reggae and instances of how resistance in reggae is displayed. The chapter also included details on the theoretical foundations that guided the study as well as some literature that are related to music and learning.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to explore the role of reggae as an instrument of learning among adults living in a Jamaican garrison. One way of doing this was to explore the lived experiences of adults in the garrison using a qualitative research approach. To be specific, a phenomenological approach was employed as it was necessary to garner the true essence of the participants' experiences with learning through reggae. The central question guiding this study was: how do adults living in a Jamaican garrison describe their experience of learning through Jamaican music? The findings from this study add to the current literature on learning in marginalized communities and also provide a better understanding of how reggae influences the lives of adults living within garrisons.

In this chapter, I first present my positionality in an attempt for the reader to understand my background and motivation to conduct the study. Following my positionality, the methodological approach is outlined beginning with a description of some common qualitative research methods with details on procedures used for data collection, data management, and data analysis specific to this study.

Researcher's Positionality

According to Merriam (2002), the "phenomenological researcher usually explores their own experiences, in part to examine the dimensions of the experience and in part to become aware of their own prejudices, viewpoints, and assumptions" (p. 94). These prejudices are then set aside to prevent them from influencing the study. Moustakas (1994) used the term 'epoche' to illustrate the same process, or the "elimination of supposition and raising knowledge above every possible doubt" (p. 26).

Therefore, prior to collecting data, I reflected on the essence of my experiences as a Jamaican, understanding what it means to be poor, a high school dropout, and an individual stereotyped by prominent members of the community as a looser. Most importantly, I reflected on how Jamaican music influenced my social, educational, spiritual, and political experiences. I also reflected on my experience doing scholarly work that involved Jamaican music. This was important, as phenomenological epoche seeks to identify and put forward the researcher's experiences that are closely aligned with the phenomenon.

My experiences with poverty and music in Jamaica. In Chapter I of this study, I talked about poverty within Jamaica. I chose to use the UNDP definition of poverty. According to UNDP (1997), poverty is defined as the denial of opportunities and choices most basic to human development, for example a long, healthy, and creative life, a decent standard of living, freedom, dignity, self-respect, and the respect of others.

Based on this definition, I felt that my early life epitomizes this definition. As I reflected on my life, I found it very hard to document my experiences. This was because such experiences brought back sad memories that I would just like to be erased from my existence. However, as I studied adult education, I realized that life, in itself is a learning tool and all lived experiences, good or bad, are valuable in shaping one's future.

From birth to fourth grade, I grew up in a one-bedroom house, shared with three older and two younger siblings, my mother and a stepfather. This house had no running water and no electricity. We retrieved water through natural harvesting (rainfall), the community catchment, or from natural springs. Sometimes, we would have to travel over four miles on foot to retrieve this water, usually transported in a plastic bucket on one's head.

Additionally, we depended solely on agriculture for our basic resources. My personal involvement in the farming process began as early as I can remember. I was unable to attend school every day since I had to assist in harvesting and planting in whatever capacity that I could. Food sources were mainly products harvested from the farm, and this ranged from potatoes, yam, bananas, breadfruit, corn, pigeon peas, eggs, and chicken meat on Sundays. Although I had to participate in all aspects of the farming and harvesting activities, my mom emphasized early education. Therefore, missing a day or two of school was not enough to keep me from performing at the top of my class. This provided me the opportunity to acquire a place in one of the top tier high schools in the city of Spanish Town and the parish of St. Catherine.

High school dropout. Although I gained the opportunity to attend a respected high school, experiences of poverty severely altered my potential for success. I received money for bus fare each day; however, there was not enough money to provide lunch. Therefore, I did not have lunch during the days at school. This affected me drastically because I would leave school every day with severe headaches. It was only in recent times that I realized these headaches were due to me being hungry and the brain could have been responding to a lack of energy. Because of this, I could not stay focused and was severely underperforming in high school. Because of the lack of money, I oftentimes missed field trips and other learning activities that were relevant to my academic performance.

I was not only affected by my personal poverty but was also affected by the poverty of the surrounding communities. In one such garrison community, young men would enter the campus where I attended school through holes in fences and would demand money from students. On one occasion, I was robbed in one of the rest rooms of all my bus fare by a youngster from this community. Although I did not live in a garrison community, I was

experiencing some of the negativity that exists within such communities. This made me so scared that I never went back to the rest room. At that time, it was the only rest room on campus. I can also remember days when security forces would be chasing criminals across the campus, and at times guns were involved. These events affected me severely, but I never spoke to anyone about them. I was very fearful, shy, and recently discovered that I could have been in a state of intransitive consciousness (Freire, 1970). According to Freire (1970), intransitive consciousness is the first stage of consciousness where the subject is aware of the problem or issue but thinks that they have no control and will not make efforts to solve the problem.

Additionally, I was unable to afford bus fare during certain periods of the year, especially the dry season; so, I was unable to attend school for half of the semester and sometimes the entire semester. I do not remember receiving a letter from the school asking why I was absent or even requesting a meeting with my parents. My mom became sick when I was in fourth form (10th grade) and I was unable to attend school because I could not afford the fees nor the transportation costs to attend school each day. As such, I dropped out of school. No staff member ever contacted me or my parents to find out what happened to me. All these experiences are very common within some communities in Jamaica and might even be more severe within garrison communities. As such, I must share them in order to expose my experiences that are in line with situations that exist in these communities.

Some of the experiences within garrison communities are also similar in other non-garrison communities. Nevertheless, as a young individual, I always had dreams of using education as an escape route from the vicious cycle of poverty. However, after dropping out of high school, my hopes were totally gone. What made it worse was the way in which community members reacted to my inability to complete high school. Individuals began scolding me. Some

stated that I was worthless and would never gain any meaningful achievement in life. Such stereotypical experiences are common within garrison communities.

How Jamaican music influenced my social, educational, spiritual, and political experiences. My initial experiences with Jamaican music was through my neighbor who usually played music loudly on Sundays. She would start the day by playing gospel music. These are generally referred to as traditional gospel songs, which usually have themes of individuals overcoming hardships and obstacles through faith in God. Whenever I listened to this music, it usually gave me a sense of hope. I can clearly remember the words (e.g. … though the road is rocky and the hill is tough, Jesus will carry you through). These songs provided hope for me even in hard times.

Following the gospel session in the mornings, the afternoon's music would change from gospel to another indigenous non-gospel music. Themes that emanate from these songs include misogyny, politics, oppression, and other current issues. While I was not in the realm of thinking critically about issues involved in the non-religious music, those of religious persuasion resonated with me. They helped me during times of hunger and having little. The major lesson I learned from these songs was that once I have hope, aspirations, and work hard, I could be successful.

Another musical form that was successful in gaining my attention was the pocomania drum (a Jamaican folk religion combining revivalism with ancestor worship and spirit possession). The melodious sound of the drum would bellow from the hills of Bambooridge, a neighboring community of where I lived. This drumming would bring me a sense of peace and serenity. It would bring comfort to my soul. I can remember hearing these drums rolling sweet beats that would keep me up late on Sundays and awaken me in the mornings on Mondays.

Music did not only provide spiritual and comforting feelings but provided a source for economic gain. This was so, as periodic sessions (dancehall concerts) would occur in our neighborhood. At these events, promoters would sell glass-bottled drinks. After these events I would accompany my eldest brother to go collect bottles that we sold to acquire money for food and other goods. I can also remember music as an avenue of expression. This occurred when I was in grade five. Here we sang folk songs in competition. This gave me a sense of belonging and success when we would go out and perform in competitions and were placed in positions to perform in other rounds. At that time, I just "did" music to have fun.

Therefore, I did not start thinking critically about music until I started my graduate work at Texas A&M University and was introduced to various issues of marginalization that different groups experience. It was then that I started reminiscing on lyrics of reggae music and reflecting on some of the artists and the soul they put in their music. My work in exploring the music began when I started taking the adult education classes and was asked to study an adult educator. I immediately started reflecting on some of Bob Marley's songs and realized that these songs were lessons to students. These students were the poor individuals in Jamaica, who are used by political leaders to maintain power, while the people themselves remain in subhuman conditions.

Since then, my interest has grown in this particular subject area (the influence of popular culture). While studying adult educators in my first adult education class, I realized that there were few folks of Color mentioned in the literature. As an avid listener of reggae music, I recalled lyrical content of songs speaking politically, socially, and spiritually, while denouncing the oppression of the poor. Having an understanding of the social justice agenda of adult education, I realized that some reggae music had similar potential role.

I began to listen to more reggae music and developed great interest in the music as a cultural and integral part of the Jamaican everyday life. Consequently, I have published on how pop culture, particularly Caribbean pop culture, may influence individuals' identity. In addition, I studied the pedagogical effect of reggae music. Having accounted for all my preconceived notions, beliefs, perceptions, and experiences of the music and the research participants' social and economic conditions, I entered the research site as unbiased as possible so that the participants' life experiences with Jamaican indigenous music was the source of meaning in this study. At this point my personal views and perceptions were bracketed and all participant's responses were given equal value.

In the remaining portion of this chapter, I introduce some common qualitative research methods and outlined Moustakas's (1994) phenomenological approach that was utilized in this study.

Methodological Approach

For this study, the methodological approach chosen was a qualitative design. As Merriam (1998) highlighted, "choosing a study's design requires an understanding of the philosophical foundations undergirding the type of research" (p. 1). In addition, Morgan (2007) further noted, the paradigm selected will influence how the researcher selects the questions studied and the methodological approach employed. According to Creswell (2003), a paradigm embodies the assumptions and processes involved in knowledge formation. Therefore, the paradigm selected guides the techniques and procedures of the research design.

The major purpose of this study was to understand the role of reggae as an instrument of learning based on the experiences of adults living in a Jamaican garrison. As such, a qualitative paradigm was fitting for this study as it provided opportunities for open ended questions so participants could provide clear, rich, thick descriptions of their experiences with the

phenomenon. Over the years, qualitative researchers have used different approaches and methods to collect data. These methods often overlap and are not mutually exclusive. According to Flick (2000) qualitative research is multifaceted in its methodology. The use of multiple methods in the same study, a process called triangulation, allows for a deeper, more complex and rigorous understanding of the phenomena being studied.

Multifaceted methods in qualitative research include narratives, archival material, discourse, semiotics, and content analysis and much more. It may also include tables, numbers, graphs, and even some statistics (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Approaches to qualitative inquiry clearly describes the purpose of the study, the different stages, the role of the researcher(s), and the intended method of analysis. Some of the most widely used approaches are: case study, grounded theory, ethnography, basic interpretive, and phenomenology.

Case study. The case study is used to investigate a phenomenon by studying a single case example (individual, group, event, or institution) in-depth, exploring both the perceptions and interactions among participants. Case study possesses the following attributes – particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic (Merriam, 1998). Particularistic is seen as a study that focuses on special occasions, conditions, groups, settings or circumstances. Descriptive or transcendental is defined by Moustakas, (1994) as a "thick description" of a particular behavior or occasion. Heuristic is the expectation of discovering new meanings (Moustakas, 1990). Six types of case studies have been identified in the literature – historical, oral, observational, multi-case, situational, and clinical (Cresswell, 2003).

Grounded theory. Grounded theory is an approach developed by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s (Charmaz 2005). As implied in the name, the method is theory development "grounded" in the body of data gathered about phenomena of interest. This is usually

accomplished through participant observation, review of records, interviews, quantitative data, and surveys.

Ethnography. Ethnography has an emphasis on studying an entire culture through close field observation. The ethnographer becomes an active participant in the culture, getting the opportunity to record extensive field notes.

Basic interpretive approach. The basic interpretive approach involves the researcher going "into the field" to gain a first-hand view of the phenomenon occurring in its natural, undisturbed setting. The researcher, as participant observer, will record observations in the form of field notes which are then coded and analyzed (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Richards & Morse, 2007). The field interview is usually in-depth, with the researcher asking unstructured and nondirective questions in an attentive and friendly manner (Neuman, 2000). Since phenomenology is the specific approach employed in this study, in this section I discuss phenomenology as an approach that emphasizes obtaining data on people's experiences and interpretations of an event, thus seeking an understanding of how the world appears to others.

Phenomenology. This study centered was on the lived experience in the real world and I was interested in how participants experienced the phenomenon of learning through reggae music and how it informed their lives. Therefore, the phenomenological approach was employed for this investigation. This method provided an appropriate approach to entering the garrison community and to get an understanding of how reggae shaped the reality of the participants' lives. The nature of the research problem determined the choice of the methodology I used in this research study. According to Marshall and Rossman, (2006) methodology refers to the "methods for attaining entry and managing role, data collection, recording, analysis, ethics, and exit" (p. 205). As such, Crotty (2003) emphasized the critical importance of the methodological element of the research. Hence, this research utilized the descriptive phenomenological method as it helped to describe and provide a basis for capturing and understanding the core of what learning through reggae meant to adults living in a Jamaican garrison.

Although qualitative research usually situates itself within the interpretive paradigm, this study employed a qualitative approach that provided the options between interpretive and descriptive approaches in order to make meaning of the participants' lived experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). In addition, qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). This means, the researcher is an important element of the research process, an instrument (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Therefore, as an instrument, I made meaning through, first putting aside (e.g., bracketing) my biases followed by the analysis of the participants' lived experiences. My positionality and experiences with the phenomenon were presented at the beginning of this chapter. In the following section, I provide a detailed account of the methodological procedures.

Applied Research Method

Method is identified as all the strategies that were involved in the process of highlighting the phenomenon (Creswell, 2003). According to Moustakas (1994), the process includes: (1) identifying the research topic and purpose, 2) conducting a thorough review of literature, (3) outlining the significance of the study, (4) describing the site selection, (5) outlining the process of participant selection, (6) describing data collection, and (7) analytic strategies that adhere to the research purpose and questions. Using Moustakas' (1994) seven-step phenomenological method provided the necessary tools to conduct the research study. A detailed explanation of the strategies involved in phenomenology for this study is below.

Identifying the Research Topic and Purpose

According to Moustakas (1994), the first procedure in conducting a disciplined phenomenological study is to discover a topic with a question that has autobiographical meanings and values, social meanings, and social significance. This study was stimulated by my personal life experiences living in poverty and relying on education as a means of emancipation in Jamaica. Because of my life experiences, I explored how people who are not provided with equal opportunities cope in a life of poverty, especially in an environment where individuals are greatly stereotyped and systematically marginalized. Therefore, because my life experiences regarding poverty were integral to the study, this study exhibited autobiographical meaning.

Additionally, this study has significant social relevance and it helped me to understand the role of reggae as an instrument of learning among adults living in a Jamaican garrison. This study includes people living in poverty and oppressive conditions, thus clearly dealing with issues of social class. As such, this study had significant social meanings. The social significance

and relevance of this study, particularly based on the sociocultural context of living in a garrison, were highlighted and articulated explicitly in Chapters I and II.

Conducting a Thorough Review of Literature

According to Moustakas (1994), a review of literature is the second procedure necessary for conducting a phenomenological study. A detailed review of literature was conducted and highlighted in Chapter II. The bodies of literature that were reviewed dealt with matters of poverty, politics, history of Jamaica, reggae music, and learning.

Outlining the Significance of the Study

The significance of the study is clearly articulated in Chapter I where I describe the reasons of relevance for doing the study.

Describing the Site Selection

Phenomenology is concerned with wholeness. This study examined the participants' perspectives from multiple angles until the essence of the phenomenon was articulated and understood (Moustakas, 1994). In this study, adults living in a garrison community in Jamaica provided their perspectives on how reggae music is used as an instrument of learning that influences their lives and personal experiences. In this study, site selection formed a critical element, which enabled me to achieve viable research outcomes (Patton, 2002). According to Merriam (2002), qualitative inquiry seeks to understand the meaning of a phenomenon from the participants' perspective. Hence, that was the reason I chose participants from within the garrison community. These are individuals who have lived and experienced the phenomenon for many years. By doing this, authentic data with multiple perspectives were achieved. In this study, the garrison community provided an "information rich" (Patton, 2002) environment, which was critical for the meaning making process (Merriam, & Tisdell, 2015). Since garrison

communities are well documented in Jamaica (Clarke, 2006; Figueroa & Sives, 2002; Stone, 1980; Thomas, 2012), it was not difficult to locate this community.

The site selected is located in the capital city (Spanish Town) of the parish of St. Catherine, which is located in south central Jamaica. The history of Spanish Town spans two colonial eras, the Spanish, from 1534-1655 and the British, from 1655-1782. Spanish Town was once the capital of Jamaica and has the finest collection of historical buildings in Jamaica. The national archive is also located in this city. Currently, the population of Spanish Town is over 500,000 and it serves as a popular travel and business hub for surrounding communities.

The city's industrial center is one of the biggest employers in Jamaica and hosts the largest salt production plant in the region. Other industries include the food industries (e.g., Jamaican milk products), a cigarette company, carpet manufacturing, manufacturing batteries, plastic items, as well as manufacturing medical and pharmaceutical products. Additionally, agriculture plays a large part in the parish's economic base. For example, sugar cane production and the manufacturing of its byproducts such as sugar and alcohol. Sporting is also important to the area, as the city hosts the only sports and physical education college and horseracing track in the region. There is also one hospital and numerous health centers in Spanish Town.

Additionally, Spanish Town has over five high schools and numerous primary and junior high schools. Like most urban centers in Jamaica, Spanish Town is highly politicized and, therefore, has communities that are garrisonized. That is, communities that are consistently loyal to one political party. Whenever the political leaders are unable to provide resources for individuals, these individuals usually find illegal ways to gain their basic resources for survival. Because of this, criminality is engraved in these communities, including gang activities, which result in extortions and clashes between the security forces and criminals. Spanish Town also

hosts one of the oldest prisons in the region. Hence, Spanish Town provides history of oppression and a wealth of diverse backgrounds along with the garrison community that made it the ideal site for this study. Consequently, in the study, to explore the role of reggae as an instrument of learning on the lives of adults living in a Jamaican garrison, I used a purposeful sampling technique in selecting the participants.

Outlining the Process of Participant Selection

Moustakas' (1994) fifth procedural step in conducting an authentic phenomenological study involves the construction of a set of criteria to locate the appropriate participants for the study. According to Rudestam and Newton (2007), the unique characteristics of each participant are highly valued in qualitative research. Therefore, I took sampling criteria as critically important to maintain the richness and credibility of data as well as quality, and most importantly, the safety and rights of the participants. According to Creswell (1998), criterion sampling is necessary in phenomenological inquiry. In this study, criterion sampling ensured that all the participants selected had experienced the phenomenon of interest.

Therefore, the purposeful sampling had four basic criteria a) all participants were Jamaican adults (age 18 and over); b) all participants had lived consistently in the community for at least five years (this time provided the participants' to not only live and experience the culture of the community but was ample time for them to engage and became a part of the culture and life of the community); c) all participants were closely associated with reggae music, either through listening, practicing/performing, or by providing services through local entertainment or religious activities; and d) participants were willing to be interviewed and audio-recorded.

Ensuring all participants had experienced the phenomenon was important because phenomenology, as with this study, is concerned with an examination of the phenomenon from

different angles and perspectives of the participants. Hence, the individual perspectives, uniqueness, and expressions of the phenomenon were necessary in understanding the essence of the phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994). As such, a diverse group of individuals (males, females, younger adults, middle age adults, older adults, adults from various denominations, and religious beliefs) were interviewed.

Additionally, I also used snowball sampling, where I got referrals from interviewees for other potential participants. Snowball sampling provided a means of recruitment in this study and it enabled me to meet participants who had experienced the phenomenon (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015; Patton, 2002). All participants received an informed consent form approved by the Internal Review Board at Texas A&M University. This form stated that the participants' information would remain confidential and data be used only for educational purposes. Additionally, a pseudonym was used to represent each participant. By doing this, I ensured that data could not be directly linked to the participants by outside readers. Given the context of situation within garrison communities (e.g., poverty, mistrust, severe violence, control of territories by Dons or gang leaders), to gain full support of participants, I provided an incentive of a pre-paid calling card valued at $12.00 US for each participant. This amounted to about $1,169 Jamaican dollars.

Describing Data Collection

Moustakas' (1994) sixth step in the procedure involved describing data collection. For this study, this step included developing an interview protocol, and conducting and recording the interviews with a focus on bracketed topics and questions. Therefore, interviews were the primary method of data collection. Although interviews were the primary source of data, additional data were retrieved from lyrics of selected songs and also news clips. The songs and news clips were selected based on participants' referencing songs by a particular artist. For

example, numerous participants made mention of Garnett Silk's songs. I then did a Google search for songs by Garnett Silk and selected the one that had most views. Similarly, participants mentioned incidents within the community that may have been motivated by the content of songs. Again, I conducted a Google search and selected those clips for a content analysis. All 25 face-to-face interviews were conducted in Patois (local language). The quotations used throughout the study are, therefore, provided in both Patois and Standard English according to the way the participant responded.

Additionally, in this study, I conducted the interviews at separate times and in different locations. This was done based on the availability of the participants. Additionally, all interviews were informal and conducted at the participants' home or at the community library. This is very important because based on the social settings, every unknown visitor to the community seems to be considered a suspect. This was apparent in two instances. I approached one of the participants and before I introduced myself to her, she told me she was watching and listening from inside of her fence and she knew what I was doing and that she was willing to participate. In the other instance, a young man started questioning my credentials and asked other community members if they were sure I was the person I said I was. He then looked at a logo on a bag that I had my documents in, that read, American Criminal Justice Association and began to rant, that I was just there to spy on them. At this point, I started to become frightened, but I was able to keep calm with the assistance of my inside contact. In non-formal settings, these occurrences can happen and that is why one should be prepared prior to entry in the community. That is why Moustakas (1994), noted that phenomenological interviews involve informal and interactive processes that utilize open-ended comments and questions. This is what Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) termed a semi-structured interview.

However, in this phenomenological study, I worked to ensure that my questions were not "leading the participant [but] directing the participant" (Giorgi, 2009, p. 123) towards describing the phenomenon. What this means is that the answer to the initial question guided the direction of additional questions and conversation. For this study, the participants were not led into providing specific answers, but rather guided to provide their perspectives on the role of reggae as an instrument of learning in their lives in the garrison.

Therefore, in this study, I used a semi-structured interview guide to conduct the interview with each participant. Member checks, through a follow up phone interviews were done with participants to clarify transcripts and interpretation of data. I was unable to access all participants by phone as a few of their contact numbers were not working. Nevertheless, in most of the interviews, I made sure to repeat the answers to the questions to get affirmation that I understood their responses. This gave me confidence that the transcripts and my interpretation of the responses were accurate and credible. The semi-structured interview guides consisted of open-ended questions that probed participants to understand the role of reggae as an instrument of learning in their lives. These open-ended questions were created based on the study's purpose, theoretical framework, and review of the literature. For example, when asked, "How does the history of slavery influence the content of the music?" this question was probing to find out how and if the history of colonialism is an evident part of the culture of music and way of life.

During the first interview, which lasted from 30 minutes to over an hour, I interacted with participants, thanking them for participating in the study, providing my personal background, the purpose of the study as well as probing for their demographics (age range, education, and religious affiliation). I then asked open-ended questions in a conversational tone. This helped to capture the true and natural thoughts of the participants. During the interview process, some

participants were reluctant to answer questions. In these instances, I had to change the question to close-ended and follow up with additional questions for explanation to the close/yes/no questions. For example, when asked, "What role does music play in your political life" one participant had no response. However, when I asked, "Do you think music plays a role in your political life?" He replied, "Sometimes" I went on to ask, "How do you think the music influence your political views?" He replied, "To me, if you really believe in that person (the political representative) and the right music is playing you will go (vote) for that person."

For the second interaction with some participants, I reviewed the transcript from the first interview for accuracy and listened to the tape multiple times. For some of the transcripts where I had questions, I contacted participants by telephone and read sections to the participants for clarification. I was able to make contact with at least six of the participants for clarification and ensure that the participants' meanings were represented. I also used this time to seek clarification on some statements. Lastly, I asked the participants "Based on your review of the transcripts I provided, what changes and or clarification would you recommend?" and "Do you have any additional information that you would like to share about your experiences with Jamaican music or how these experiences influenced various aspects of your life?" All correction/clarification and additional questions based on the first interview were recorded through notes. In addition to participants' responses, as mentioned earlier, additional data were attained from the lyrics of selected songs as well as clippings from local news outlets.

Analytic Strategies that Adhere to the Research Purpose and Questions

According to Moustakas (1994), the final procedure in conducting an authentic phenomenological study is a detailed data analysis. Data analysis in descriptive phenomenology allows the participants' words to be the basis of the data. This is because phenomenological

studies are committed to descriptions of the participants' experiences and not on too much explanation or analysis of their experiences. According to Moustakas (1984), data derived through phenomenology is descriptive and as such I refrained from providing detailed explanations of participants' experiences but instead used the participants' statements as the data. Therefore, descriptive phenomenology allows the data collected to retain its natural state as much as possible. In this final procedural step in this phenomenological study, composite textural and structural descriptions of the phenomenon were highlighted. According to Moustakas (1994) the textural descriptions involve 'the what' while structural involves 'the how' of the phenomenon. To achieve this, I employed the three steps of phenomenological analysis recommended by Moustakas (1994). These include: 1) phenomenological reduction; 2) imaginative variation; and 3) synthesis.

Phenomenological reduction. The participants' transcribed interviews were carefully read in order to get a good reminder of what was said during the interviews and to aid in understanding. I read each interview until I felt comfortable with my understanding of the responses. In doing this, I also reflected on the emotions and body language of the participants as best as I could recall and based on the notes I made during the interviews. Once this was achieved, the process of reduction began. According to Moustakas (1994), reduction entails five different phases which includes (a) epoche or bracketing, (b) horizonalization, (c) delimiting to invariant horizon, (d) clustering the invariant constituents into themes, and (e) individual textural description.

Epoche/Bracketing. I chose to highlight my positionality at the beginning of this Chapter as it seems to fit best here. It also helped to remind me that it is not my perspective that is

important but that of the participant. The second phase of the reduction process is horizonalization.

Horizonalization. According to Moustakas (1994), horizonalization is the act of placing equal value or emphasis on all participants' statements and is a very important component of a phenomenological study. In this process, I carefully read all participants' statements to gain clarity and understanding. What I realized was that I repeated most of the responses to participants to gain clarity during the interview process. To place equal value to each participants' statement, I did two things. First, I printed all participants' interviews and instead of using their pseudonyms I assigned a number (1-25) to each participant. Second, I uploaded all the participants' transcribed interview responses or statements into NVivo, a qualitative analysis software. Participants' responses ranged from a single word, multiple words, a sentence, paragraph, to multiple paragraphs. Uploading the data in NVivo not only facilitated later data coding but also provided an organized platform for data coding.

Delimiting to Invariant Horizons. Following horizonalization, the third task in the analytic reduction process is delimiting to invariant (unchanging) horizons or meaning units (Moustakas, 1994). In this step, the actual coding process began. This step provided the opportunity to scrutinize the data and thus identifying the unique qualities or units that stood out about each participant's experience with the phenomenon. To achieve this, I uploaded all participants' responses after they were read for clarity. I then assigned codes to unique statements, words, or phrases using different colors to represent a particular statement. For example, all codes that have meanings or commonalities with violence, I highlighted those with green. I used different colors to represent different codes. I did not preselect codes; they were derived directly from the raw data.

Clustering the Invariant Constituents into Themes or Categories. The fourth step in the analytic reduction process involves identification of related codes or categorizing codes. According to Moustakas (1994), this step involves clustering the invariant constituents into themes or categories. In this step, the codes achieved through delimiting to meaningful units were carefully observed and clustered into themes or categories. This was achieved by looking for similarities between codes. The codes with similar meaning were placed in like categories. This particular step was carefully guided by the research purpose, questions, relevant literature, and the conceptual framework. Hence, while determining the categories, I observed the codes while at the same time reflecting on the purpose of the study, questions, the literature, and the theories that undergird the study.

For example, one participant stated, "Good music make you feel good. Whenever I listen to the old gospel songs, I feel good. Music cheer up my spirit and make me feel good." Another stated, "I listen to the music to get a better understanding of what is happening in the country. Therefore, I listen to more than one genre. Music may help you by providing you with a message that might not be available to you otherwise. Music makes me relax."

In this case I got numerous meanings or codes, such as (feelings, emotions, learning/education, information, messages, available, and relaxation). From this, I clustered feelings, emotions and relaxation in one group. When reviewed carefully, all three terms were categorized as emotions. Additionally, learning, education, and messages were all seen to be educational in nature and clustered under education. Although two clusters were observed, based on the research question, how does music influence individuals in a garrison? The theme of representation came out and both clusters fell under representation.

Highlighting the Phenomenon

With the categories identified and narrowed down, the final step in the analytic reduction process was highlighting the phenomenon. According to Moustakas (1994), in this task, the researcher must synthesize the invariant themes into individual textural descriptions. In this study, I gained the textural description by first looking at the categories and aligning categories with text from each individual's interview. I then further aligned the categories/textural descriptions with each participant's demographic information. I then grouped participants according to those that shared similar categories/textural description/demographic information. This was done continually until I looked at the entire descriptions of the participants' categories. Here, the analytic reduction process was concluded since all the participants' statements/textural description was linked to a particular category.

Imaginative Variation. Following the analytic reduction process, the second step in the phenomenological data analysis process is imaginative variation (Moustakas, 1994). According to Moustakas, (1994) imaginative variation is a process that determines why integrated meaning units are necessary and make up a stable identity for the phenomenon. There are four steps in this process. These include: 1) Systematic varying of the possible structural meanings that underlie the textural meaning. In this task, common structures (for example, spirituality), through the process of coding and categorizing were identified; 2) recognizing the underlying themes or contexts that account for the emergence of the phenomenon. In this task Moustakas suggested that the researcher must seek to find out how related categories come about; 3) considering the universal structures that precipitate feelings and thoughts with reference to the phenomenon. In this task, the entire world of the phenomenon was considered. As such, all elements that potentially influenced the phenomenon such as time, physical environment, causality, and

relation to self and others were considered, while at the same time using the themes to reach the essence of the phenomenon; and 4) searching for exemplifications, which facilitates the development of structural themes that illuminate the essence of the phenomenon. This task was achieved through continued scrutiny of the participants' spoken words which allowed me to identify distinguishing features, for example, numerous terms were identified that showed how music represented the participants (representation, messenger, education, social, and emotions) which pointed to intercessor being highlighted as the invariant structural themes.

This was so because all the codes reflected an action that intercedes on behalf of the participant. This enhanced the richness in the description of the data. From here, I moved to the fifth task, which involved illuminating the how of the phenomenon. In this task, Moustakas proposes that the categories along with phrases from participants' interviews amalgamate, resulting in an individual structural description. For example, representation, messenger, education, social interaction and emotions all clustered to act as an intercessor. From this structural description, Moustakas suggests that the next task is synthesis.

Synthesis

The final data analysis step is phenomenological synthesis. According to Moustakas (1994), in this step, the integration of the textural and structural description into a phrase or statement expressing the essence of the phenomenon is done. Previously, I synthesized the textural and structural description using the NVivo platform as well as producing tables, some concept maps, and printing and highlighting on regular printing papers. Finally, I then synthesized the textural meaning (the what) and the structural meaning and essence (the how), which is presented in the Chapter IV. The section that follows highlights the quality control and reliability of the study.

Quality Control and Trustworthiness of the Data

Trustworthiness refers to the quality and integrity of the study that render the findings significant and valid. Trustworthiness is important in qualitative studies, particularly due to the negative view held by some researchers who have been hardened by the positivist paradigm regarding the validity of the qualitative paradigm (Shenton, 2004). As such, in this section, I discuss the means used to ensure quality and reliability in this phenomenological study. Creswell (2013) recommends that researchers provide disclosure of their validation strategies and quality standards. As discussed in the above section, Moustakas (1994) phenomenological approach provided a clear strategy that validates the way in which thus study was conducted. As such, I will now discuss quality control measures followed by trustworthiness of the study.

Quality control in this study was done by using Creswell's (2013) five standards for assessing the quality of phenomenological studies as a guide. In the first standard, the author should reveal their philosophical understanding of the undergirding principles of the study. As such, with an understanding of this philosophical template of Moustakas phenomenology, I found it necessary to utilize this methodology as the means to acquire and analyze the data of this study.

In the second standard, Creswell (2013) suggests that a clear phenomenon be articulated. In this study, the purpose was to explore the role of reggae as an instrument of learning within a Jamaican garrison. This revealed a clear, articulated phenomenon of interest.

In the third standard, Creswell (2013) implores that a clear phenomenological data analysis process is followed. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, this study utilizes Moustakas' (1994) phenomenological data analysis procedures. According to Creswell, Moustakas' method

of phenomenological data analysis provides a good direction and guide for upcoming researchers to follow.

In the fourth standard, to depict quality of a phenomenological study, Creswell (2013) opines that a clear description of the essence of the participants' experiences be presented. Therefore, in this study, the essence of the phenomenon, was achieved by interacting the textural and structural description followed by synthesis.

In the fifth standard, Creswell (2013) suggests a reflexive nature of the researcher. Therefore, I paid great attention to all aspects of the study and all the codes were considered until the essence was achieved. Reflexivity refers to the time the qualitative researcher invest in ensuring that all his/her biases are known. This will help to ensure all biases are known and will therefore highlight areas where the researcher could be subjective. Reflexivity in this study is exemplified through the presentation of my epoche during the reduction process. Using Moustakas (1994) phenomenological approach as the guide to this study, fulfilled Creswell (2013) recommendations of the researcher's validation strategies and quality standards.

Another aspect of data quality, validity, and reliability of the study are directly related to clarity and how the researcher followed dependability of the findings (Creswell, 2013). In this study, I implemented four strategies that exemplified validity in research protocols and that I followed in arriving at the research findings. These include a) clarification of the researcher's bias, b) member checks, c) peer debriefing, and d) rich thick description. In these strategies, the epoche addressed the researcher's position. To achieve validity and clarity through epoche, I highlighted or "bracketed" my own experiences and prior knowledge of the phenomenon (Merriam, 2002). This enabled the perspectives, perceptions, and experiences of the participants to be the basis of meaning making. According to Moustakas (1994), perception is the primary

source of knowledge and it should be highly valued. Hence, a consumer of the research report will be able to clarify whether the researcher primarily used participants' words or depended on the researcher's own understanding of the phenomenon.

Second, member checks were conducted to ensure that the transcripts portray the participants' meaning. Copies of individual transcripts were read to participants and clarification or accuracy discussed. Third, following member checking, peer debriefing was also implemented to enhance the accuracy of the study. Peer debriefing is where the researcher's peer who is familiar with the research methodology reviews the study for authenticity Creswell (2013). One individual who is not only familiar with the research protocol but also with the phenomenon conducted the review. In this review, the peer listened to tapes, ensured the accuracy of transcription, and also reviewed the processes that involved coding. Following the review, I met with the reviewer, compared codes and themes, and discussed any discrepancies. Finally, rich and thick description was sought in the interviews based on participants' responses. The participants' responses provided a clear understanding of the context and settings. Rich and thick descriptions ensured that the readers are able to make informed judgments pertaining to the credibility of the study.

Document and Cultural Artifact Analysis

In addition to interviewing (the primary data collection method), I reviewed the transcripts of four songs and analyzed their content. These songs were selected based on participants referencing an artist or songs during the interviews. I further selected the songs based on the ones most highly viewed on YouTube. Lyrics of the songs were retrieved from online sources and I listened to the songs multiple times in order to ensure that the downloaded transcripts were accurate. Moreover, participants referred to some events that occurred within or

in surrounding communities, therefore, it was not difficult to find news articles with relevant themes. Therefore, some local newspaper articles available in online formats also served as sources of secondary data. These secondary data, alongside notes taken during the interviews, served as a means to achieve data triangulation.

All data, primary and secondary, were compared and analyzed in order to achieve triangulation and look for similarities and contradictions. Furthermore, by utilizing a multiple theoretical viewpoint to provide rich analysis of the phenomenon, theoretical triangulation (Banik, 1993) was achieved.

Chapter Summary

This chapter outlined the methodological procedures used to conduct the study. It provides a clear reason why I selected qualitative design and why the phenomenological approach was selected. In general, the chapter provides background on the methodology selected and why the methodology is best suited for the study. It also highlights different phenomenological procedures that were used. Finally, a discussion of how quality and reliability of the study were achieved by following Moustakas Phenomenological approach.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to explore the role of reggae music as an instrument of learning among adults living in a Jamaican garrison. Three foundational questions guided the study: (1) How do adults living in a Jamaican garrison describe their experience of learning through reggae? (2) How do adults describe the challenges and opportunities for learning within the sociocultural context of a Jamaican garrison? And, (3) How does reggae shape the social and political experiences of adults in a Jamaican garrison?

In this section, four major subheadings are presented. These include: (a) a profile of participants interviewed regarding their perspectives on the role of reggae within the garrison, (b) the major themes from the participants' interviews, (c) basic qualitative analysis of social/cultural artifacts (lyrics from selected songs and selected news clippings), and (d) a summary of the overall findings of the study.

Participants' Profiles

The participants' profiles are relevant because they provide background information for the reader to formulate a perspective from which the participants' reasoning and life experiences can be examined. I then developed a profile of each participant interviewed based on demographics, my personal perception of the environment, the participant's disposition as it relates to body language and other non-verbal ques, and the participant's responses to the interview questions. Participants were men and women between the ages of 18 and 65. However, based on accessibility and availability, most of the participants were men. Participants' demographic information is presented based on their age and their respective pseudonyms. Pseudonyms were assigned after reviewing the transcripts and formulating a representation of the participant to maintain anonymity or confidentiality. Creating the pseudonyms was important to

develop a sense of who the participants were and what they represented (Chevannes, 2001). Pseudonyms were assigned to each participant based on a key feature of their personality or experiences, and the participants' profiles are organized based on age. Each age category is followed by a table which is very important as it displays vital elements that helped to shape the participants' experiences. These elements are placed into five categories which are age, educational level, employment/occupation, gender, and marital status.

Age range. As stated earlier, all participants were adults with the age range 18 to 65 years. Age is a significant category in the demographic profile as the participants from different age groups tended to think and act differently. For example, most of the younger participants were inclined to listen to more dancehall genre of music while the older participants tended to listen to spiritual music, more positive content.

Educational level. Educational level is relevant as it helps us to understand if this demographic category had a significant influence on how participants discussed their experiences within the garrison. Most of the participants had some level of high school education. One interesting observation was that most of those who attended junior high school did not pursue further education.

Employment/Occupation. Most of the participants were employed in the informal system of employment. That is, they were self-employed and, in most cases, traded goods and services within the garrison. It was also noted that local music provided a source of income for some members of the community. This was mostly through street dances (sessions) and selling food and other items during the events.

Gender. Gender was one of the most controversial categories as it brought out masculinity and the homophobic inclination of some Jamaican males. Most participants felt as if

I disrespected them by asking them to state their gender. Fifteen participants identified as males while seven participants identified as females. One participant identified as "male or female" while another identified as "Man ah King."

Marital status. Seven participants were married while 12 participants identified as single. Four participants identified as common law (living with their partner) while two participants identified as "otherwise" which implied that they were in a relationship but not necessarily committed.

Demographic Profiles of Participants Ages 18-25

Participants were grouped by their age range because it was considered that individuals from the same age group may share similar perspectives on the topic. In the youngest group included nine participants. An introduction of each participant is provided to give the reader a better understanding of each participant's personality and background.

Table 4.1 Participants ages 18-25

Pseudonym	Gender	Marital status	Education Level	Employment	Religion
Banton	Male	Single	High School	Self-Employed/ Entertainer	Christian
Bob	Male	Single	Some High School	Unemployed/ Handyman	Seventh Day Adventist
Jack	Male	Single	High School	Self-Employed/ Handyman	Pentecostal
Tecky	Female	Common Law	Some High School	Self Employed	Seventh Day Adventist
Sister P	Female	Single	Some High School	Self Employed	Christian

Table 4.2 Continued

Pseudonym	Gender	Marital status	Education Level	Employment	Religion
Tecky	Female	Married	College	Self-Employed/It Specialist	Church of God
Yout-Man	Male	Single	High School	Unemployed	Church of God

Banton. Banton was born and raised in the community where the study took place. He is a high school graduate and considered himself a self-employed recording artist. Banton is not married but stated that he is in an uncommitted relationship. Banton stated that his parent raised him in the Christian faith. He described the music he makes as "bad." What this means is that his rhymes are very catchy, and he has a large group of social media followers, especially high school youth. He further stated that, like other artists' lyrics, his lyrics described life events and that some people may describe them as negative. However, he believes that whatever he talks about in his music is the reality of life.

Bob. Bob was born in the garrison in which the study took place but attended high school in another garrison. He did not complete high school and was unemployed at the time of the interview. Although unemployed, Bob was willing to work whenever opportunities arose. He was quite optimistic that he would get a job soon. He is inclined to Christianity and is single. At the time of the interview, his mother provided his basic daily needs. Bob reported that he listens to music with positive content and receives motivation by listening to that music. According to him, he uses the music as a tool to help him overcome obstacles in his life. Being a young man, he tends to listen to the older reggae music that has content which is more positive than the dancehall genre.

Jack. Jack was born and raised in the garrison where this study took place. He is a high school graduate and considers himself a Jack-of-All-Trades? According to him, he did whatever job was available to earn a living legally. Jack identified as single and grew up with Christianity informing his major religious views. He stated that he grew up in a Christian family where gospel music was the dominant music in the household. This helped to shape his beliefs and helped him to live a law-abiding life. Although Jack grew up listening to gospel music, at the time of the interview, he reported that he listened to all genres of Jamaican and other international music.

Lady Saw. Lady Saw was born and raised in the garrison in which the study took place. She lives with her spouse and their child. She is a high school dropout who trades goods in the community market to help her spouse earn a living for the household needs. Although Lady Saw did not complete high school, her spouse attended college. She is a very outspoken young woman who thinks that music is very influential, especially songs with violent lyrics. She listens to all genres of music but loves those with sexually explicit content. Although she spends a lot of time listening to dancehall music, she thinks that most dancehall music promotes violence and immorality within the society, but still finds them captivating.

Sister P. Sister P was born and raised in the garrison where the study took place. She did not complete high school, and at the time of the interview she was single and self-employed. She described herself as a higgler who trades mostly local foods in the community market. Although soft spoken, she spoke boldly of her ethnicity as an African Jamaican. She also identified as a Christian. This differs from most other participants who identified their religiosity based on their denomination.

Tecky. Tecky was born and raised in the garrison where the study took place, but hopes to move out it whenever she is financially stable. Techy got this pseudonym because she is technology oriented and is currently using technology as a means to survive within the garrison. She was educated outside of her garrison and commuted daily to attend a university in Kingston. Tecky is married and lives with her husband and their daughter. She does not work outside the home but provides IT (Information Technology) services from her home to garrison members. She reported that she used music as a motivational tool to help her through hard times during college. Tecky reported that she listens to positive music and instead of focusing on the negative messages in the dancehall music, she uses the positive messages as a form of motivation to persist and overcome the obstacles that hinder her progress.

Yout-Man. Yout-Man was also born and raised in the community where the study took place. He stated that he was single, and unemployed, but was willing to work. Being a high school graduate who spoke eloquently, yet he was reserved in his responses to the interview questions. Although very reserved, he was very clear in making his arguments and maintained composure during the interview. He took time to reflect and thought carefully about the questions before he provided responses. Like some of the other participants, Yout-Man recalled being influenced by reggae music that has positive content. He described good reggae music based on the artists. For example, he reported that good music encompasses songs of Bob Marley and Garnet Silk, suggesting that some music artists focus on positive content.

Demographic Profiles of Participants Ages 26-30

There were four participants in this group. Three participants identified as male and one identified as female. An introduction of each participants is provided to give the reader an understanding of each participant's personality and background.

Table 4.3 Participants ages 26-30

Pseudonym	Gender	Marital Status	Education level	Employment/ Occupation	Religion
Carlene	Female	Common Law	High School/Adult Learning	Unemployed	Christian
DJ	Male	Otherwise	Some College	Self-Employed/Musician	Christian
Everton	Male	Single	Adult Education	Student/Adult Education/Lay Labor	Christian
Whistler	Male	Otherwise	High School/Adult Learning	Self-Employed/ Musician	Christian

Carlene. Carlene was also living in the community where the study took place. She studied up to the high school level in a nontraditional school. She is unemployed and lives with her fiancé and their three-year-old daughter. She reported that her fiancé is self-employed and provides for their basic needs (food and shelter). During the interview, she was reserved in her responses and answered the questions with few words and little elaborations. However, while reporting on her perspective on Jamaican music within her community, she stated that she loves all genres of music, but is more inclined to listen to gospel songs.

DJ. DJ, another participant from the community is a very outspoken and enthusiastic man. He is a high school graduate with some college credits and currently resides with his mother, stepfather, and stepbrother. As his pseudonym suggests, DJ works as an independent disc jockey (DJ) and provides DJ services for schools, colleges, local businesses, and his community. DJ is enthusiastic about his business and the music industry. Although he plays all genres of Jamaican music, his favorite is dancehall music. According to DJ, Jamaican music has had great socioeconomic impact on his life. He mentioned that the first time he travelled abroad was to provide DJ services for an organization. He is also passionate about reggae music as he stated that it is the greatest music in the world. He explained that some people's perception of dancehall music is that it is full of negativity. However, his philosophical view is that the music in itself is not negative. Negativity, he explained, comes from people's reaction to the music (innate perceptions, temperament, and response to the music).

Everton. Everton, another member of the community where the study took place, did not attend a traditional high school. He attended the Young Men Christian Association (YMCA) where he completed his high school education. Everton was employed and worked as a security guard. Currently, he is attending HEART (Human Employment and Resource Training) where he is hoping to get certification in building construction. One of Everton's goal is to marry his girlfriend after he completes his certification. Everton felt attached to his community and described it as a "hard core area." Though he was reluctant to explain the term hard core area, he meant the community was a garrison and has multiple challenges that may hinder people's progress.

Whistler. Whistler, proud individual who lives in the community where the research took place is a vibrant and enthusiastic young man who was educated at a nontraditional high school.

In Jamaica, traditional high schools are those schools that remained after emancipation. These are the schools that the Whites and upper classes usually attended before and after slavery ended. As such, many resources were invested in these institutions. They were identified as elite schools and most parents would work hard to ensure their children were provided a space in such schools.

Although Whistler was not born within the community where the study took place, he had resided in the community for more than 20 years. He is a musician who posts songs on YouTube and he sings and plays instruments for a living. He was well-spoken and expressed himself freely. He noted that he loves music and feels that music is an integral part of his life. He lives with his common law wife and their three-year-old daughter. Although he has a physical disability that is hardly noticeable, he lives a relatively normal life.

Demographic Profiles of Participants Ages 31-35

In this group, there were six participants, and all identified as male. These individuals were all self-employed and provided valuable data for the study.

Table 4.4 Participants ages 31-35

Pseudonym	Gender	Marital Status	Education Level	Employment/ Occupation	Religion
Chemist	Male	Married	Some High School	Self-Employed/ Businessman	Pentecostal
Cobbla	Male	Single	Trade School/Adult Education	Self-Employed/ Higgler	Pentecostal
Hustler	Male	Single	High School /Adult Learning	Self-Employed /Music Shop	Grew up as Pentecostal but is Rastafarian

Table 4.3 Continued

Pseudonym	Gender	Marital Status	Education Level	Employment/ Occupation	Religion
Professor	Man, ah King	Single	High School/Street College	Self-Employed/ Driver/Higgler	Christian
Ras-Shiloh	Male	Single	Some High School	Self-Employed	Rastafarian
Teacher	Male	Married	High School	Self-Employed	Spiritual

Chemist. Chemist completed high school in another community but has been living in the community where the study took place for over 18 years. He is married and is helping his wife to pursue tertiary education. He is self-employed and considers himself a manufacturer within the community. As his pseudonym suggests, he works with chemicals to produce items used for cleaning and other household purposes. His love for Jamaican music is endless but he is concerned about the negative content in the dancehall genre of the music. He was very enthusiastic about the research and hoped that at the end of the research, it could address the issue of negative lyrics in the dancehall genre.

Cobbler. Cobbler has lived his entire life in the community where the study took place. He did not complete formal high school. However, he went to trade school and is capable of making shoes. Although not formally employed, he considers himself a lay laborer and a hustler and will do any odd jobs to earn money to sustain himself. Cobbler is very optimistic and is seeking to be certified as a shoemaker. I felt somewhat connected to Cobbler since I had not completed formal high school myself. I was encouraged by his drive to become certified because that was the path that reshaped my journey to the formal educational system. Cobbler is interested in music that teaches him about himself and his life situations.

Hustler. Hustler has lived in the community where the study took place for over 15 years. He graduated from high school and is currently single and self-employed. He operates a shop where he provided an Internet access point to individuals who wanted to access and purchase certain online music. Because of his engagements in entrepreneurial activities, he found it necessary to pursue studies that provided knowledge to enhance his business management skills. Hustler is a Rastafarian, who is highly engaged in listening to music, especially music with positive messages.

He was very outspoken and had great concerns about the negative lyrics within contemporary dancehall music. He was very in tuned to cultural reggae music and reported that he communicates with numerous individuals from outside the borders of Jamaica who have interest in the music. He pointed out that one of his contributions to nation building is to encourage individuals to visit Jamaica and spend money while at the same time experiencing the culture and music of Jamaica.

Professor. Professor is a very outspoken man who completed formal high school education. He has lived in the community where the study took place for over 20 years. Although Professor is currently not in a committed relationship, he emphasized that marriage is a wonderful thing. Like proponents of adult education/learning, Professor believes that learning is an ongoing process. He thinks that although he had not been to college, the knowledge available on the streets are tangential to that in the formal college. One very important characteristic of Professor is that, although he was unable to talk specifically about learning theories, he was able to articulate the concepts and tenets of incidental learning without mentioning the theory itself. This is very important especially since this study, as well as adult education, is rooted in this type of learning.

Ras Shilo. Ras Shilo has been living in the community where the study took place consistently for over 20 years. He graduated from junior high school, is a Rastafarian, and is currently living alone as he is single. Ras Shilo is self-employed and supplies food and clothing items to individuals in the community and within the city limits. As a Rastafarian, he only listens to music that is spiritual in nature. According to him, this music must be meaningful to him. He only listens to positive music as he thinks that music is very influential and if the content is negative then it can have a negative impact on his life.

Teacher. Teacher is a very outspoken enthusiastic individual who credited the streets for his and his spouse's higher education. As a resident in the community where the research took place he was outspoken. While his mother and father had a college education, his formal education was limited to high school. Nevertheless, he spoke well and seemed to be very philosophical and critical in his reasoning. He spoke proudly of being a Jamaican and separated himself from formal religion. Nevertheless, he identified himself as a spiritual being. He is self-employed but did not make mention of his occupation.

Demographic Profiles of Participants Ages 41-50

In this group, the two participants were female. These participants indicated they did not complete high school and indicated it was unimportant to talk about education level.

Table 4.5 Participants ages 41-50

Pseudonym	Gender	Marital Status	Education Level	Employment/ Occupation	Religion
Heather	Female	Married	Less Than High School	Self-Employed/ Higgler	Christian

Table 4.4 Continued

Pseudonym	Gender	Marital Status	Education Level	Employment/ Occupation	Religion
Peta-Gay	Female	Common Law	Less Than High School	Self Employed/ Higgler	Baptist

Heather. Heather has lived in the community where the study took place for over 30 years. She did not complete high school but is anticipating her daughter's completion and educational success beyond high school. She is married and both she and her husband are self-employed. Heather buys and sells different types of merchandise at the community market. She loves to listen to gospel music and is motivated and inspired by the music. She is enthusiastic but was somewhat reluctant to respond to some questions. She seemed to be quite content with her current position in life and is more focused on the educational success of her daughter currently attending one of the traditional high schools within the city.

Peta-Gay. Peta-Gay has been living in the community where the study took place for over six years. She did not complete high school but completed junior high school. She is married and has a daughter who attends one of the high schools within the city. She believes in transformative education and strongly believes education will deliver her daughter from the life within the garrison.

Peta-Gay is self-employed and works as a trader of agricultural goods within the community. My initial contact with Peta-Gay was somewhat controversial but very interesting since it gave me a deeper view of everyday life within this community. While approaching her small house, which was fenced with reused zinc roofing materials, she came out to investigate what mission we were on within the community. While inquiring, as I was about to explain to her, she stopped me and told me she heard it all already as she was previously watching through

holes in her fence as well as listening to us. When I was told that story, I started to develop some level of fear while at the same time I became much more aware of my environment because I did not know if others were watching me with any unwarranted intentions. At the beginning of the interview, Peta-Gay was reserved but when I spoke to her and told her that I was from the parish and attended school within the city she became more relaxed and open. It was important for her to become familiar with me and to understand my intentions in order for her to be comfortable and freely respond to the questions.

Demographic Profiles of Participants Ages 51-65

This group consisted of six males with three of them married. The participants provided valuable data for the study. In this group, three participants were married and two singles while the other was in a common law relationship.

Table 4.6 Participants ages 51-65

Pseudonym	Gender	Marital Status	Education Level	Employment/ Occupation	Religion
Ackee Bud	Male	Single	Less Than High School	Unemployed	Church of God
Driver	Male	Married	Some High School	Self-employed	Christian
Inswood	Male	Common Law	Some High School	Unemployed	Non-Religion
Protector	Male	Married	High School/Trade School	Employed	Rosicrucian
Rasta man	Male	Single	Less Than High School	Employed	Rastafarian
Shoppie	Male/Female	Married	High School	Self Employed/ Corner Shop	Rastafarian

Ackee Bud. Ackee Bud has been living in the community where the study took place for over 20 years. He is single, did not attend high school and is currently unemployed. He sometimes sells ackee to get money to purchase some of the basic items he needs to survive. He is a very outspoken individual and seemed very keen and critical while responding to the interview questions. Although he was unemployed, he seems quite contented with himself. However, he found it troubling that some of the negative lyrical content of the Jamaican music are played on radio and other media sources where adults and children are able to consume that musical content.

Driver. Driver has lived in the community where the study took place for over 50 years. As a middle-aged individual, Driver only had the opportunity to attend and complete a junior high school education. He is married, and a proud father of two kids. Driver is self-employed as he provides a taxi service within the community. He speaks fluently and did not hesitate to answer when asked questions. Although his mother did not complete high school, she later went to an adult education institution and eventually pursued a nursing career. Driver's perspective on Jamaica's music is that both negative and positive music are produced and affect individuals both negatively and positively.

Inswood. Inswood, an elderly man, has been living in the community where the study took place for over 21 years. Inswood attended the all-age (junior high) school hence he did not have the opportunity to complete high school. He mentioned that his parents were unable to read so they ensured that he attended school sometimes. He worked for over 20 years on a sugar plantation while it was in operation. However, he noted that since the factory was closed over 20 years ago, he became unemployed. He is not officially married but is in a common law relationship. He was hesitant to elaborate on his finances but stated that he receives some

pension from his former job and expressed much disappointment in the current lack of job opportunities in the surroundings. He also spoke very strongly about the educational system in Jamaica and showed little confidence in the Ministry of Education to provide an equitable system that will fully cater to the poor.

Although recent efforts by the Ministry of Education were made to put all high schools on the same level, he strongly believes that the traditional high schools are the true high schools and the recently upgraded ones are not true high school. He spoke of his days as a child when only the rich and light-skin individuals were able to attend high schools.

Protector. Protector was born and raised within the community where the study took place. He graduated from high school and completed formal adult education studies at one of the skills training centers in Jamaica. He is currently married and works as a security guard for a security company in Jamaica. While the common religions in Jamaica are Christianity and Rastafarian, Protector states that his religious views are grounded in Rosicrucian. I was unware of what Rosicrucian was, however, he explained it to me and I did additional studies to better understand it. This was a classic case of incidental learning in action.

Rastaman. Rastaman has been living in the community where the study took place for over 35 years. He did not have the opportunity to complete high school but completed junior high which was common for the masses at the time. Rastaman is single, and as his name suggests, endorses Rastafarianism. He has been employed with the Ministry of Agriculture as a machine operator for over 28 years. He has a daughter who lives overseas and he spoke very highly about her and her son. He is a very influential middle-aged male living in the community. Unlike other older adults, Rastaman listens to all genre of Jamaican music and thinks there is a place and time for all the music. Rastaman is very outspoken and thinks that most of the songs

contain lyrics related to real life events occurring in the country and the community. He thinks that individuals should speak of things as they are and not just use acceptable words to describe situations. He feels that even songs with violent content are relevant to be voiced.

Shoppie. Shoppie has lived in the community where the study took place all his life. Shoppie does not think formal schooling is very important. He thinks what is important is how individuals within the community are able to face challenges and use critical decisions to overcome the challenges within the community. Shoppie is married and has two daughters who are adults. He sees himself and all other Jamaicans as spiritual beings and not attached to a religion. As an operator of a community corner shop, he emphasized that Jamaicans are self-employed and do not work for others. Shoppie is well-known and respected by community members and tends to have leadership roles as an owner of a snack and drink retail shop. He was able to give me the confidence that I was safe in the community and no harm will come my way. In the next section, the findings of the study are presented.

Presentation of Findings

The interviews revealed the varying perspectives of each of the 25 participants and in the following section, I present the overall meanings and understandings associated with the interview data gathered over a one-month period. From the participants' responses, two major themes were identified. These include a) complex and nuanced identities, and b) music as an intercessor. The first theme for presentation was noticed very soon after the individual interviews began. This theme is related to the way participants define themselves. The supporting evidence for this theme is presented in four sub-themes namely ethnicity, gender, age, and education.

At the beginning of each interview, I asked each participant the same set of standard demographic questions listed in my interview guide. These preliminary questions were designed

to solicit demographic background information for two main reasons. The first was to ensure that the participants met the criteria for participation as outlined in Chapter III. The second was gain a thorough picture of each participant's experience with the phenomenon under investigation. After presenting themes, there is a summary section which captures the essence that emerged from the data.

Complex and nuanced identities. Under normal circumstances, I would have expected that collecting typical demographic data would have been a simple and standard exercise. I did not expect that simply asking the demographic questions would have led to extensive conversations. The findings that emerged from the conversations are presented according to the following sub-themes: ethnicity as a form of nuanced identity, gender as a form of nuanced identity, age as a form of nuanced identity, and education as a form of nuanced identity.

Ethnicity as a form of nuanced identity. As referenced in Table 4.6, the participants used a variety of descriptors to self-identify based on their perceived ethnicity. Of the 25 participants, 12 provided answers with more than one identifier. Interestingly, this multiplicity of responses would not be found as a standard category on a national census form. For example, at least 15 participants used the label of their nationality, Jamaican, to describe their ethnicity, some in combination with other terms, and others simply declaring *Jamaican* as their ethnicity. Among the diversity of responses, participants used the terms *Black, African, Black Jamaican, Afro-Jamaican, Black African Jamaican born, Black man, African Jamaican, and Yaadie*. When specifically asked how one would describe their ethnicity, Carlene stated,

> Mih woulda seh Black African. Dat is what I was told when I was going to school.
> *I would say Black African. That is what I was told when I was attending school*.

In addition to Carlene's response, Petagay, another young female said "Black." However, Driver, who described his ethnicity as "Blackman, African, Jamaican, Jamaican" responded,

Well, wih nuh discriminate against people colour innuh, wih love everybody.
Well, we do not discriminate against the color of people's skin. I know we love everyone.

This response suggested that Driver, and possibly other participants, may not have understood exactly what is meant by the term ethnicity. This is not surprising because in Jamaican culture, it is uncommon to ask someone what their ethnicity is, because the general understanding and feeling is that we are all Jamaican. The Jamaican population is over 90% Black (Oxford African American Study Center, 2010). In addition, repeating Jamaican twice placed a strong emphasis on Driver's bond to his place of birth. In responding to the same question, Everton declared that he was "Black, African, Jamaican born." This response supported my analysis of Driver's answer that his race was Black and his ancestors were African, but the place of his birth was Jamaica. Banton responded, "Jamaican, Yaadie." Also indicating he has devotion and patriotism to his place of birth, his homeland, Jamaica. According to Chevannes (2001), yaad is a term depicting "that space where lineage identity is constructed and maintained, where the circle of life opens with birth, matures with living, and closes with the burial and tombing" (p. 131). Banton was saying he was born and raised in Jamaica and, therefore, committed to his "yaad," Jamaica. As with other themes that leaned towards certain gendered responses, ethnicity was not gendered. I observed something very interesting about the male participants and their identification of gender.

Gender as a form of nuanced identity. It is also uncommon, outside of completing documents, to ask a Jamaican about their gender. Contextual understandings of gender in Jamaica centers on the traditional notion of the male-female binary; there is no space for anything else. So, when asked to identify their gender, many of the participants, especially male participants, had interesting, puzzling facial and verbal expressions. In a number of the interviews, particularly with men, the participants' answers and body language to this question

showed a sense of discomfort and in some instances rhetorical questions followed. It became clear that they were taken aback and possibly felt offended by the nature of the question. This offence is not surprising, because cultural understandings of the term gender, as seen in this instance, include a misinterpretation of the term. Driver's response to the question about gender was quick, explicit, and abrasive. He explained,

> Mih wouldah seh ah female ah my gendah innuh, caah mih affih seh hooman. Yeah, man ah pussy man! Weh yaah talk bout? How mih fih guh love man? Ah music worl innuh man?
> *I would say female is my gender, because I have to say woman. For sure, I am a man that goes for pussy. I cannot make love to a man. This is the music world, do you understand?*

By wording it in such a manner, Driver implied that I should not have asked such question. He went further to state that he is a heterosexual,

> How mih fih guh love man?
> *How can I make love to a man?*

These responses indicate that Driver's understanding of the term gender meant that I was questioning his sexual orientation. To further emphasize his heterosexuality, he went on to explain that he only cares about the female genitalia:

> Yeah, man ah pussy man!
> *Yes, I am a pussy man.*

Such statements are common messages in reggae, especially the dancehall genre, thus perpetuating and highlighting a homophobic culture. This is important for this study as it showcased the important role reggae plays in guiding ways of living and defining oneself in a Jamaican garrison. In reiterating the importance of the role reggae plays, Driver suggested that music is everything.

> Ah music worl innuh man.
> *Jamaica is the music world. Don't you know?*

In addition to the homophobia, Shoppie's comments speak to the hyper-masculinity of the culture. According to Cooper (2004), in describing the dancehall, such features identified as hyper-masculinity are a counter action to the "demasculation" of Black males during slavery. By acting in such manner, the contemporary males within garrisons feel as if they regained what was taken from them during slavery. In addition to gender identification, age was another definition of nuanced identity that the participants espoused.

Age as a form of nuanced identity. Although less controversial than the responses for gender identification, and more standard than the responses related to ethnicity, age-related demographics were interesting as the participants began to describe their affinity for various kinds of music based on their age range. Each participant was asked their age range and they were able to select from the following ranges: 18-25, 26-30, 31-35, 36-40, 41-45, 46-50, 51-55, and 56 and older.

Most participants between the ages of 18-40 years prefer to listen dancehall genre while older participants tend to listen to traditional reggae. This suggests that there is a generational difference in terms of what is learned from the different kinds of songs and music. For example, DJ, a 26- 30-year-old young man stated,

> I like to listen to the dancehall genre because the music speaks to you sometimes the music is your voice. Your choice of words. Meaning like, you have a particular song out there that talk about a particular situation that you are going through right now.

Additionally, Lady Saw, a 18-25-year-old female said,

> Bad chune and Slack chune and dem ting deh mi listen to and when you really listen to eemh all a dem Kartel and suppen deh, Kartel chune is bringing out violence.
> *Music with violent and sexually explicit lyrics, those are the types of music I like to listen. Whenever one listens to those types of songs especially those by Vybz Kartel, they bring out a lot of violence*.

However, Protector who is over 50 years old said,

> Well, the music that I listen to, ahm, supposed to be, ahm, a feeden or a food for my soul. Whichen that, if the music is not that really composed, when mih seh composed, giving mih the inspiration of things that surrounds mih that surrounds, the universe that surrounds others, we as human beings which can better ourself in life, that is what I gravitate to.
> *Well, the music that I listen, supposed to be a feeding or food for my soul. If the music is not that composed, giving me the inspiration of things that surrounds me, that surrounds the universe that surrounds others, surrounds us as human beings and can make us better ourselves in life. That is the type of music I gravitate to.*

Education as a Form of Identity. The educational level of the participants ranged from less than high school to some college. There were no college graduates among the participants, although three participated in certificate programs from the HEART Trust NTA (Human Employment and Resource Training, National Training Agency). This is a continuing education program in Jamaica for those who did not complete high school or completed high school and aspire to acquire work skills, such as cosmetology and other vocational and technical fields.

Although no participants reported that they completed formal college, two males in the group, Professor and Teacher, reported that while they did not complete formal higher education, they did receive a full education based on their lived experiences. When asked what his education level was, he stated, "Ah fram primary school to high school an dats it." However, when asked about his spouse's education, Teacher did not hesitate to say.

> Street! Street! In the street. We Jamaican call it street, because fram dih time wih leave high school wih are in dih streets. Derefore, dere is no college afta high school odder dan dih street callege.
> *Street! Street! In the street. Jamaicans call it street, because since leaving high school we are in the streets. Therefore, there is no college after high school other than the street college.*

Similarly, Professor replied,

> I have graduated high school, never been to college, but, here in dih street. I sen myself to dih street college.

> *I have graduated high school, never been to college, but here in the street. I sent myself to the street college.*

Street, in this instance is a similar reference to the idiomatic phrase 'the school of hard knocks,' which means that the education one receives is based on difficult or challenging experiences that are distinct or apart from the formal education system. This is a clear indication that individuals within the garrison community identify informal education as an integral part of their being and such education is necessary for their survival. This was pronounced in Shoppie's dismissive response,

> Ole aan deh. It nuh matta if dih school waah high or eeh waah low innuh, but ah one ting, yuh have some man wid education an nuh have nuh andastanding. Suh, pass eeh school paat an continue.
> *Hold on! It does not matter if the school wants to be high or if it wants to be low, but one thing [is clear], there are some people with education, but they have no understanding of life. Therefore, pass the school part [discussion] and continue*.

During good times or hard times, one thing is constant within the confines of the community, which is the sound of music with varying lyrical content on the streets. This music therefore formed an integral part of this informal education.

Summary of theme one

The first theme, Complex and Nuanced Identities, encompassed participants' identities based on their biography and experiences. This means that there were no simple responses to seemingly simple questions related to demographic data. The findings under this theme show the appropriateness and connection to post-colonial theory. For example, some participants identified themselves as Black, some as Jamaican, and others as African-Jamaican. Others referred to themselves as "yaadies." This concept of ethnicity portrays some aspect of postcolonial theory, as it has ties to the history of slavery and shows a sense of pride in African heritage, although derived from the slave trade. The findings in theme I also illustrate the

relevance of critical theory as a framework of analysis. Critical theory provided the lens through which I interpreted the gendered self-identification and homophobic views of the participants.

Reggae Music as Intercessor in Learning

As participants described their lived experiences in the garrison, especially in terms of their learning through reggae, the following sub-themes were identified: (a) music as a form of representation, (b) emotional experiences through music, (c) educational experiences from the music, (d) role of music in social life, and (e) messages in Jamaican music.

Music as a Form of Representation

Some participants feel that because of their status within the community, they do not have a voice. However, the music speaks for them and directly represents them. For example, participants stated that the music acts on their behalf. It is a medium that represents and speaks on their behalf. In particular, DJ stated,

Sometimes the music is your voice. Your choice of words. Meaning like, you have a particular song out there that talk about a particular situation that you are going through right now.

In this instance DJ feels that the music speaks for him in a direct manner. Also, according to Teacher:

> Ahright, music talk about life, an it talk about weh yuh sih innah eeh street, like ah everyday living. Suh ah everyday living, ah man just tek it and turn it innah music suh everybody can listen to it. Suh you yuself can look back and seh yuh know seh ah mih dah song deh is all about. When ah nevah did even yuh him sing it about. But, eeh jus, be your use.
> *Alright, the music talk about life and what is happening in the streets on an everyday basis. In everyday living, the artist just take that and transform it into song where everybody can listen to it. Therefore, you of yourself can reflect on that song and realize that the song relates to your personal life experiences. While at that time the song was not exactly about you. Nevertheless, it represents your life experiences.*

In support of Teacher, Driver stated:

> Wheneva yuh listen to dih music yuh can canneck eeh to real ting.Eeh mek yuh focuspan reality. Moas ah dih time when yuh listen to dih music yuh cramp dih devil, yuh trample him. Wih need fih listen to dih good music, becaase eeh help mih fih coomunicate bettr wid mih fren dem. Eeh also help mi fih communicate betta when mih a date woman.

> Wance mih a listen to good music, it aggoh teach mig good sitten an also help mih fih refresh mih brain an help mih fih memba tings.
> *Whenever one listens to the music you can connect it to real things in life. It gives you a focus on the reality. Most of the time whenever you listen to the music you cramp the devil, you trample him. We need to listen to the good music to get people to do good things. Whenever I listen to good music, it helps me to communicate better with my friends. It also helps me to communicate better with dating women. Once I am listening good music, it will teach me good things and also help me to refresh my brain and help me to memorize things*.

These participants' remarks point out music as a form of representation for the voiceless within the community. Overall, the participants seemed to appreciate the way certain songs are reflective of their difficult life circumstances and were appreciative for the therapeutic nature of the music.

Emotional Experiences Through Music

Music, according to the participants, gives rise to various kinds of emotions. This was a prevalent theme I heard throughout the interviews with the participants. They explained that music may trigger feelings of happiness, comfort, companionship, sadness, calmness, and feelings of spiritual connection and inspiration. For example, Whistler, in describing music that taps into emotions, stated,

> Clean and it saaf. It give yuh a vibes. If yuh are down and yuh listened to music yuh always be happy.
> *Clean and soft. It gives you a good feeling. If you are down and you listen to music, you will always be happy*.

Here, Whistler is stating that the music stimulates a sense of happiness whenever he is feeling sad or depressed. To support Whistler's statement, Ras Shilo stated,

> Well, music help a lot. If I fine myself in a depressing state, music help fih cheer mih up or change ih mood; yuh understand? Sometimes when I am down, music helps mih to guh back to my happy place; Get mih spirit lifted.
> *Well, the music helps a lot. If I am in a depressive state, music helps to make me cheerful or change the mood. Do you understand? At times when I am down, the music helps me to find joy and maintain that happiness; it keeps my spirit lifted*.

In addition, music provides a sense of inspiration that helps participants to navigate their daily routines. For example, Cobbla stated,

> For me, witout music, I would not be able to complete my task whenever I am working. Music gih mih dih drive; it is like a motivational energy that helps mih to get my work done.
> *For me, without the music I would not be able to complete my task whenever I am working. Music gives me the drive; it is like a motivational energy that helps me to get my work completed.*

Cobbla's statement points to the importance of music within the community as a tool to maintain a space where adults can cope even through harsh conditions. The music not only supplies emotional support but is in itself a major source of information within the community; it acts as a messenger.

Messages in Jamaican Music

The participants emphasized that while music can influence their emotions, it can also convey a message. Additionally, this message is conveyed in the music and can either be positive or negative. For example, Rastaman stated,

> Deer is a message every time, because moas time when an artist duh a song, a wah him experience inah him everyday life or wha him sih odder people experiencin in deer life. Deerfore him come out an relate it plain to dih sociaty in dih faam af music.
> *There is a message every time, this is because most of the time when an artist sings a song, the content about what he experiences in his everyday life. It consists of things he sees another individual doing in their life. Therefore, he puts the song together and presents the experiences to the society in the form of music*.

Like Rastaman, Jack believes that reggae provides rare and vital messages for the Jamaican people. According to Jack, he listens to music to get a better understanding of what is happening in the country. As such, he listens to all genres of Jamaican music. Jack stated,

> Music may help yuh by providing yuh wit a message dat might nat be available to yuh odderwise.
> *Music may help you by providing you with a message that may not be available to you otherwise.*

Chemist sees the music as very critical and to provide positive messages. But, he is very concerned about the negative messages that are available to youngsters who might misuse the negative messages. According to Chemist:

> Music is a, caah memba innuh, music travel chue, dih oale spirit travel chue same way innuh. Yuh andastan? Caah, yuh nuh, suh is jus a powerful thing An dats why its been such a great influence to so many people tuh. Because chue dih type music weh dem listen an ting, Yuh nuh? Eeh drag yuh a way. Learning weh me get fram music? Well is a, music learn you fih live up innuh. Right innuh? It teaches! An yuh nuh fih hate yuh breddas an sistas an eeh combine-ehh can combine a community togedda Positive tings …, when mih listen like aal Kaatel dem … mih realize seh dem yah yute yah innah prablem. Because mih fraid ah my likkle yute hear all dem ting deh, becaah mih nuh waah dem-dem caah mih nuh waah him gravitate to dem ting deh. Influence by dem negative suppen deh.
> *Music is a, I can't even remember. Music travels through your entire, the holy spirit travels through the same way. Do you understand? Because, you know, it is a very powerful thing and that is the reason why the music is such a great influence to a lot of people in the community. However, the influence of the music is dependent on the type of music you listen. Do you understand? It leads you into a particular position. Lessons are what I get from the music. The music teaches you to live in an upright manner. To do the right thing. Also, it teaches you not to be hateful towards your brothers and sisters. This loving that is learned from the music helps the community to unite and become one. Some positive things! …, whenever I hear Kartel and others… I realize that the youth of today are in trouble. I am very concerned about my son hearing all the lyrics in those songs because I do not want him to gravitate to those things. The influences of the negative lyrics…*

This suggests that reggae plays an informative role in the participants' learning, primarily based on the content of the songs and connectedness to their experiences. In other words, as Jack said, music is his source of information. It is a way of keeping up with what is actually happening in the country. However, participants also highlighted the importance of music, not just as a vehicle of information, but as a means to their education. In addition, participants were concerned about the negative messages in popular songs that are available to youth within the community.

Reggae Music as an Educational Form

According to the participants, music is very influential, motivational, and educational, alongside having other functions. Therefore, the music is acting on their behalf by providing various support structures that enhance their lives. For example, Bob stated,

> Like for example, one artist sing that, right now life really tuff, if it is even to get a wuk pan a candy truck. This reflects my situation now.
> *At this time, life is very challenging, therefore, I am willing to get employment anywhere. If it is even on a candy truck.*

In addition, he underscored the way in which music teaches by suggesting,

> I can remember when I was in school, the music helps me to remember about the epidermis. It was a song that Vybz Kartel sung about pushing the needle through the epidermis. The lyrics helps us to relate to lessons. There is another song he does about how much makes a billion. In the song he said, one thousand million makes a billion.

Not only is the music a source of knowledge, but hearing and repeating it continually, has proven to help the participants to remember and recall information. Education or knowledge gained from the music can either be positive or negative. Some of the terms that suggest the positive role of music in the lives of the participants includes motivate, teaches, connect, encourage, and influencing. Participants suggested that music motivates them to learn. It puts them in a place where much learning can take place.

For example, DJ stated;

Music motivate me sometimes because when I was in high school, for me to get in the mood to study, I would have to listen some songs. Yuh andastand? To get in that mood, and then I would say, I am now in the mood. It is this time that I would start studying. *Sometimes I am motivated by music, for example, it helped to put me in the mood to study*

I find this statement by DJ very important, as similar methods are used in the formal learning environment as an attention grabber. Additionally, he noted that some of the content in the music had valuable lessons he could apply in the classroom. In one such instance, DJ said"

> In one of his songs Vybz Kartel said, a hundred million equals one billion. When ask the question in class I was able to answer correctly because of my memory of the content of the song.
> The lyrics in one of Vybz Kartel's song was "one hundred million makes one billion" When I was ask to tell what was one billion in my class, I was able to remember the lyrics from the song and answer correctly.

The educational value or role of reggae was not seen by all participants as positive. Some of the participants found the content of the music to be negative and that the youth tend to idolize some of the artists. The youth then take the content of the songs literally and may follow a negative pathway directed by the lyrics of the songs. For example, Inswood stated:

> In dih music, deer is a lot of vilence an lyrics talking in a bad way about di woman dem bad.Dat is what dey are teaching yuh. I do nat love dose types of sangs." Moas ah dih music have no love, deer is no love in dem. They talk about man kicking adder man in deer mouth an doase tings. Dih type of lyrics in the music dem is promoting more evilous tings innah Jamaica.
> *In the music, there is a lot of violent lyrics, talking in a bad way about the women's body (misogyny). That is what they are teaching you. I do not like those type of songs. Most of the music have no love, there is no love in them. They talk about men kicking other men in their mouth and those things. The type of lyrics in the music are promoting more evil things in Jamaica*.

On the other hand, most participants talked about the music as a source of information, and a method in which information is being transmitted to the individuals within the community. For example, Saw noted:

> I listen to music wit vilent and sexual lyrics, artists like Kartel weh him music bring out a lat of vilence. Whenever I listen to dih music wit di vilent and sexual lyrics mih feel like mih waah get involved in dose tings too. Artists like Kartel is Idolized an him lyrics are saying vilence; killing, explicit sex. Whenever yuh get involved in dem activity deh, you staat reflectin pan dih music, feelin a sense of achievement.
> *I listen to music with violent and sexual lyrics, artists like Kartel. His music brings out a lot of violence. Whenever I listen to the music with the violent and sexually explicit lyrics, I feel as if I want to get involved in those things. Some artists like Kartel are idolized and his lyrics are promoting violence and explicit sexuality. Whenever you get involved in those activities you start reflecting on the lyrics of the songs which gives a fulfilling feeling*.

What Saw is saying is that the content of songs is violent and sexually explicit; therefore, it can promote violence and promiscuous behavior. Although this is an example of incidental learning, the objective of adult education is to promote a positive lifestyle for the community. My concern as an adult educator is to find ways to encourage positive messages from the music.

Role of Music in Social Life

Participants provided data that suggest ways in which music helps in their socialization. According to the participants, music may help them positively or negatively. Music helped individuals to be more fluent communicators, to exercise self-control, and to build positive relationships with others. Jack provided the following example:

> Some ah dih cantents in dih music teaches self-control; whenever people offen yuh, dih music teaches yuh to do dih right ting instead of retaliatin vilently.
> *Some of the content in the music teaches self-control; whenever people offend you, the music teaches you to do the right thing instead of retaliating violently*.

In addition, Professor stated:

> Music play a very impoatant role in my social life. It help mih an a daily basis to intaract wit people that I meet. Far example, dih sang by Bab Marley, This is love, help mih fih mentain a loving relationship wit people weh mih interact wit on a daily basis. Dis is because ah dih lyrics of the sang which tell dat love mus be to all. As I tell yuh, I listen to positive music, artist like Garnett Silk, Richie Spice an so on. One ah dih pasitive weh mih sih innah my life is the love and adoration fih mih madder as shown innah one of Garnett Silk's sang "My father was a good old man."
> *Music plays a very important role in my social life. It helps me on a daily basis to interact with people that I meet. For example, the song "This is Love" by Bob Marley, helps me to maintain a loving relationship with people that I interact with on a daily basis. This is because of the lyrics in the song that tells me to love all. As I told you, I listen to music with positive content, artist like Garnett Silk, Richie Spice and so on. One of the positives that I see in my life is the love and adoration I have for my mother. This love is shown in one of the songs by Garnett Silk, "My Father was a Good Old Man."*

While participants had no trouble sharing the influence of music in their social life, I realized that most were reluctant to state how music influenced their political life. As observed, most responded that music does not affect their political persuasion. This is significant because

these communities are highly politicized and are skewed toward one political party. While most individuals reported that reggae did not influence their political life, there are still some who believe that music can help an individual to select a particular representative.

Summary

Music represents the participants in numerous ways. It helps to make their lives meaningful. In this sense, music provides an active role in their lives. For example, because of the socioeconomic status of individuals within the community, individuals feel that their voices do not reach the powers of influence. They shared the feeling that the larger society does not hear their voices. However, when they hear a song playing with content that shares their stories, they connect with that song and feel represented. As such, the music represents these individuals even when elected officials fail to represent them. Secondly, the music represents the individuals in the form of triggering different types of emotion. Under stressful situations, individuals exhibit varying emotions. The music helps them to relax, thus reducing their stress. According to the participants, the music triggers feelings of happiness, comfort, companionship, sadness, calmness, and feelings of spiritual connection.

In addition to emotion, Jamaican music acts as a source of information for individuals living in the community. It literally acts as a messenger for individuals. Additionally, the educational value of music cannot be overemphasized. It is a source of information and provides a means for participants to be aware of what is happening in the wider community and country. These findings are significant as they have sociocultural and theoretical implications. They also provide a base on which educational practice can be developed and improved.

Cultural Artifacts as Supporting Data

In an effort to compliment and triangulate the primary source of data (participants' interviews), cultural artifacts, which include lyrics from popular songs and news clips, were also analyzed. I reviewed the text of four songs with themes ranging from violence, hyper-masculinity, spirituality, love, peace, and unity. The popular songs analyzed were: Romping Shop by Vybz Kartel and Spice (2009), Kill Dem an Done by Vybz Kartel (2009), Redemption Song by Bob Marley (1980), and Lord Watch Over our Shoulder by Granett Silk (1995). These songs were selected because they were frequently referenced by the participants during the interviews as songs of influence.

Song lyrics. In this section, I present the lyrical contents of four popular songs from the reggae genre. The lyrics of the songs depicts both negative and positive contents that participants suggest are influencing or providing a means of education for the members especially the youngsters of the community where the research took place.

Romping Shop. "Romping" is a term used to describe a playful behavior especially by kids. In this song, Romping Shop, Adidja Palmer who goes by the stage name Vybz Kartel, World Boss, Teacher or Gaza, and Grace Hamilton (Spice) are engaged in a playful behavior in a space they call the "romping shop." In the song, it is not literal playing, but rather, they are indulged in a deep sexual endearment and both are expressing a deep desire to be the victor in this game of explicit sexuality, masculinity, and femininity. In the song, Kartel endears himself to overpower Spice, thus securing his bullish masculinity.

Every man grab a gyal
And every gyal grab a man
Man to man, gyal to gyal dats wrong
Scorn dem
Every man grab a girl
And every girl grab a man

Man to man, Girl to girl, that's wrong
Scorn them

This song was very controversial, in that it was sexually explicit, and expresses disgust at homosexuality; however, it gave both artists popularity. Although very sexually explicit and homophobic, the song was widely streamed and played locally in the community thus enabling individuals under the age of 18 the opportunity to listen to such content. This shows how powerful music can be to promote hate, intolerance, and antisocial behavior, thus fueling the reputation of Jamaica as a homophobic country.

Kill Dem an Done. In 2009, from the album most wanted, Vybz Kartel released the song Kill Dem an Done (kill everyone without mercy). This song exemplifies the artist's maleness or masculinity as a heartless killer who has no mercy for anyone who opposes him. He incites severe lethal violence against his enemies and anyone with whom they are associated—hence, the title of the song. Although both songs were banned/censored from the airwaves, it was played endlessly in the community at corner shops, in public vehicles, and on the streets. Therefore, these were two of the songs referenced by some participants as songs with negative lyrics that influences violence within the community. Vibz Kartel manages to capture the attention of a large portion of the younger individuals who see him as an idol. There is the belief among some study participants that he has the power to influence his followers, especially the youths. Some of the lyrics of the song are as follows:

Kill dem all an done,
Kill dem all an done
Tall rifle or handgun
Bwoy life ah done
Body deh pan di fucking grung
Madda bawl out
Kill dem off an done,
Face drop off pan grung
Gunshot chop off one lung

Bwoy life ah done
Baddy deh pan di fucking grung
Kill them and done (Excessive violence)
Kill them all and done
Tall rifle or hand gun
Boy life will be over
Body will be lifeless on the ground (Violence)
His mother will be crying out (Merciless)
Kill them all and done (Extreme Violence)
Face drop off on the ground (extreme Violence)
Gunshot cut out his lungs
Boy life is finished
Boy lying lifeless on the ground

Numerous participants were highly concerned that the lyrics of this song would encourage and is encouraging crime and violence within the community. In addition, when online news articles were viewed, law enforcement officers and other government officials also thought the song might promote crime. Although the lyrics of contemporary dancehall music seems to have content that exhibit sex, sexuality, violence, and homophobia, the older reggae music (culture music, conscious music) seems to be more positive, spiritual, and to encourage peace and love while breaking down the barriers of injustice within the society.

Redemption Song. In this song, Robert Marley, with stage name Bob Marley, is reflecting on the history of the Atlantic slave trade and colonialism. He is highlighting the colonial masters' role in taking people from Africa and the poor treatment they received on the slave ship. He, however, used the words of former Pan Africanist Marcus Garvey, that although as a people they have faced oppression, they should not use that oppression to hold themselves in a current state of mental slavery. He is advocating for one to think critically and find ways to overcome the obstacles in life. In the song, a strong sense of spirituality and religiosity is shown as a means to cope with atrocities.

Old pirates, yes, they rob I
Sold I to the merchant ships

Minutes after they took I
From the bottomless pit
But my hand was made strong
By the hand of the Almighty
We forward in this generation
Triumphantly
Won't you help to sing
These songs of freedom?
'Cause all I ever have
Redemption songs
Redemption songs

Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery
None but ourselves can free our minds
Have no fear for atomic energy
'Cause none of them can stop the time
How long shall they kill our prophets
While we stand aside and look? Ooh
Some say it's just a part of it
We've got to fulfill the Book

This was one of the last songs that Bob Marley released prior to his death from cancer in 1985. Although he died many years ago, this song is very popular in Jamaica and around the world because of the inspiring messages it delivers. The teachings from his songs contribute to history, spirituality, civil rights, social justice, and humanity in general.

Lord Watch Over Our Shoulders. When Garnett Silk started recording songs, he was referred to by many Jamaicans as the reincarnation of Bob Marley. This particular song is a prayer asking God for his protection of his oppressed people. This is a deeply spiritual song that is asking God to lead his people in a life of righteousness. According to the artiste, he seems to have given up on political leaders for help and direction and is depending only on God for help.

Lord, watch over our shoulders tonight
And help us live thy words tomorrow
Let's not forget where we're from
Father, show us the way to go

You said I must love and feed my enemies
And I'm gonna do it

You said I shouldn't change or grudge
And I won't; not even for a minute

Let only truth come from my lips
Bless our souls, 'cause without you we can't make it

Garnett Silk met a tragic death when he was trying to save his mother from fire caused by an explosion of a liquid petroleum gas (LPG) cooking cylinder at his home. As was observed in the participants' responses, these songs all represent some aspect of the Jamaican life. Listening to one artist or one song will only provide one aspect of what life is like within garrison communities. Other artifacts that were analyzed included news clips from Jamaican print news media.

News clips. The news clips selected were incidents that occurred in surrounding communities or other communities in Jamaica at large. The articles described incidents of violence that occurred and a conversation on music as a possible contributor to the violent act. In the first article, participants referenced that incident as one that reflects lyrical content in one of the songs. The second article involved the voice of a prominent dancehall singer that thinks that the music should not be blamed for the high volume of negative behaviors exhibited by individuals within the community and the wider Jamaica. Since participants highlighted the possible negative and positive influence of the music within the community and the country at large. The third article reflected on some of the positives of the music and how it may be used in the community.

Three Children Among Five Killed In Spanish Town Shooting; Two Others Injured. In this article, Brown, (2016) highlighted a tragic crime that took place in a neighboring garrison community. Brown reported that seven persons were shot and five were fatal. Following the shooting incidents, the criminals set the houses afire to ensure that all who were in the household

would surely die. The crimes reported in this article shares similar violent content in the song by Vybz Kartel "Kill dem an done."

This news article relates to crimes being committed in a neighboring community of the garrison where this study was conducted. It reflects or could be considered an enactment of some aspects of the song "Kill Dem an Done" by Vybz Kartel. In the participants' interviews, participants directly relate this crime to the song by Vybz Kartel, thus showing how participants understand music's influence within the community. Another article I reviewed that was mentioned in the interview involves an entertainer's view of how music promotes violence in the society.

Music & violence - Ninjaman rubbishes correlation. According to Livingston-Campbell (2014), in this article, Desmond Balentine, a popular dancehall artist who goes by the stage names, Ninja Man or Don Gorgon, argues that music does not negatively influence violent behavior within the community. Most of Ninja Man's songs have violent content or exhibit hypermasculinity, homophobia, and explicit sexual content. According to the article, his view is that violent cartoon content and other violent movies are the major contributor to violent behaviors within Jamaica. His views are in support of some participants who think that the violence portrayed in the music is a reflection of what is happening in society and is not what is influencing the violence within the society. Ninja Man was charged with and is currently serving time in prison for murder.

Use Dancehall to Teach. In the article, "Use Dancehall to Teach," Bolton (2015), highlighted a verse from a song by Vybz Kartel that encourages school youths to dress appropriately and be responsible at school. He pointed out the negativity in some of the music but insist that music with positive lyrics can be used and should be used in a positive way.

Bolton insisted that based on the lyrics of the music and the behavior of the schoolers, it is obvious that the artiste is very influential and act as role models for the kids. As such, he is campaigning to use the same artistes to use positive lyrics to influence the youngsters to focus on their education and appreciate themselves and others.

Summary of Content Analysis

By analyzing popular songs from different genre and eras, the findings corroborate with the participants' responses that there is varying content in the music. The content reflects themes of spirituality, love, peace, social justice for the oppressed, transformational learning, violence, explicit sexuality, misogyny, and violence. Such themes provide the opportunity for listeners to make a choice from the themes that could influence positive or negative behavior. In addition, when a sociocultural approach is taken, it shows that the sum-total of the content of the music captures the way of life in the garrison. This supports Alfred (2003), who suggested that in order for one to get a good understanding of learning within a sociocultural context, one must give attention to the culture and the discourse of the community. Reggae, which is an integral part of the culture of garrisons, showed to highlight the way individuals learn from the music and how contents are used to help them navigate life circumstances within garrisons.

Chapter Summary

I began this chapter by presenting descriptive profiles of all 25 participants, organized alphabetically by age range. This segment was followed by the findings based on participant interview data. These findings were categorized into two major sections. Section one was based on the theme Complex and Nuanced Identities, with subthemes being ethnicity, gender, age, and education. The second section was organized to represent the role of music in the lives of individuals living in a garrison community with the following themes: Messages in Jamaican

Music, Education from the Music, Music as a Form of Representation, Emotional Experience through Music, and Role of Music in Social Life. The analysis of cultural artifacts followed, which included songs: Romping Shop, Kill Dem an Done, Redemption Song, and Lord Watch over our Shoulders, as well as two newspaper articles that provides brief commentary of life within garrison communities and the possible negative implication of the music on life within these communities. The third article put some life on the positive implication of the music within such volatile communities.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter presents an overview of the study, discussion of the findings guided by the literature, the implications for policy, practice and research, and finally recommendations for future studies.

Overview of the Study

During the time of slavery, music within Jamaica and other parts of the Caribbean was used as a means of celebration, communication, as well as a tool of resistance to oppression (Giovannetti, 2005). In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Jamaican music focused more on voicing a message of resistance to oppression posed by the political system (Cuthbert, 1985). In 2013, the commissioner of police voiced that Jamaican music served as a tool that promotes and influences criminality among Jamaicans, especially the youth (Robinson, 2013). Therefore, a study exploring what is learned from Jamaican music was necessary.

This study was conducted in Spanish Town, the old capital of Jamaica, and the primary purpose was to explore the role of reggae as an instrument of learning among adults living in a garrison community. The overarching questions that guided this study were: (1) How do adults living in a Jamaican garrison describe their experience of learning through Jamaican music? (2) How do adults describe the challenges and opportunities for learning within the sociocultural context of a Jamaican garrison? and (3) How does Jamaican music shape the social and political experiences of adults in a Jamaican garrison?

This study is situated within four bodies of literature: postcolonial theory, critical/emancipatory theory, sociocultural theory, and informal/incidental learning theory. All four theories are relevant as the study's findings suggest that a discussion without any of the theories would not fully capture the essence of the phenomenon. This qualitative study utilized

the phenomenological approach and included face-to-face interviews with 25 adults from a garrison community in Spanish Town, Jamaica as the primary means of data collection. With the data collected from the interviews, I was able to select additional artifacts such as lyrical content from songs and newspaper articles from local news media to gain additional insights into how participants used reggae music as an instrument of learning.

Discussion of the Findings

The responses from the participants revealed two major themes. The first theme was derived from demographic data, and the second from participants' responses to interview questions that explored their perspectives on the role of music in their lives. In this section, I first present a summary of the themes, followed by a discussion of the research questions.

The first theme reflects how participants identified themselves. As participants answered specific question pertaining to their demographic backgrounds, unique responses were identified. The data showed that participants identified themselves through their ethnicity, gender, age, and educational level. These measures of identity are all common content identified in Jamaican music. As Rice (2007) noted, the association between music and identity is growing in importance. This association was exemplified by the participants of this study. The song by Peter Tosh (1977), African, made reference to the identity of some Jamaicans. According to Tosh, it does not matter where you live or where you were born, as long as you are a Black man, you are an African. This content of Africanism align and reflect tenets of postcolonial theory. According to De Jesus (2005), any influence of colonialism or postcolonialism on the life and identity of the colonized or those living in a colonial past is critical to the theory. In this study, by highlighting the various ethnic identifiers through which participants identified themselves, it is evident that the lens of postcolonial theory is relevant. According to Adams, Luitel, Afonso, and Taylor

(2008), who were looking from a postcolonial lens, highlights the need to include cultural contextualized local epistemological beliefs and experiences in the teaching and learning experiences of the locals.

Other identifiers that participants used were Jamaican and Yaadie. An outsider could understand someone identifying themselves as a Jamaican, however, the term Yaadie could be puzzling. Most of the elements of identity that Tosh (1977) sang about were identified by participants but others added Jamaican and Yaadie. Both of these terms referred to terms used in scholarship that Chevannes (2001) highlighted. The terms, especially "Yaadie" was referring to a period of time in the late 1960s -1970s when the country was facing both political and social problems brought about by remnants of the colonial past. During that time, many individuals started migrating to the USA or England. However, some felt a sense of devotion and deep patriotism and decided that whatever happened, they would remain in Jamaica, their home (yard/Yaad). By devoting their life to Jamaica, individuals decided they would not migrate to be subjected by their former colonial masters, the white majority in Britain and the US at the time but will remain loyal to their home, Jamaica. Therefore, the term Yaad showed a special bond between the individual and the land, that space where their life experiences were nurtured (Chevannes, 2001).

Most of the data on ethnicity identified in this study could not be found on the formal national census forms, thus showing that these categories were not learned from the formal education system but have been passed on either through familial generations or cultural traditions. This was evident as the data show that participants referenced music and family as sources of information. This not only supports the sociocultural theory as important in this study but also supports that learning happens in informal settings.

While participants were willing to express their ethnicity or their ethnic identity, the data revealed that most male participants had showed a sense of discomfort when asked about their gender. According to Cooper (2004) gender, especially issues surrounding masculinity, still affect Jamaican men. Although the participants and the wider Jamaican population have not experienced slavery firsthand, the effect of robbing males of their manly duties during slavery still has a psychological effect on the males, especially those living in poverty. This phenomenon is evident in the content and expression of Jamaican music (Cooper, 2004). The data from this study support existing literature, that after 185 years of emancipation of slavery and over 56 years of independence from the British, postcolonial effects still remain in Jamaica (Thame, 2011; Cooper, 2004). This is so evident that it transcends beyond pure masculinity to take in sexuality. Hence, based on the responses to the question about their gender, most male participants thought that I should have looked at them and saw that they expressed dominant masculinity and no traces of femininity. As such, it seemed that by asking what their gender was, triggered a sense of disdain and shock, that I would be standing in front of them and not recognize their gender.

Participants were so passionate about this question that they started defending their sexuality. Individuals went as far as to suggest that they were heterosexual and not homosexual. Jamaica is known to be homophobic (Robinson, 2011). This homophobic/hyper-masculinity nature or culture of Jamaican males has resulted in great prejudice for lesbians and gay men (West & Cowell, 2015). This homophobic nature of individuals could be one of the colonial legacies that Strobel (2001) believes continued to influence the colonized world. It is widely circulated in the music and as Shoppie suggested while addressing the topic “a music worl dis innuh” (This is a world of music), such homophobic content is common in Jamaican music.

Another very interesting phenomenon that came to light in this study was the type of music participants listened to, based on their age. Individuals over the age of 40 years seemed to prefer to listen to the more traditional reggae music that has more conscious and positive lyrics, while younger individuals tended to listen to more of the dancehall genre with more sexually explicit and violent content. As such, a generational difference was seen in how participants engaged with the music. The type of musical content an individual listen to is very important because as seen in the data, participants in the study believed that the content of the music had significant social implications on the listeners and society at large. The participants also identified themselves as people with street education. With the music playing consistently on the street corners, and is available for all community members to listen, it forms an important element of the curriculum of the 'street university' that the participants highlighted. This education of the streets points to the relevance of incidental learning theory as an important underpinning for this study.

Addressing the research questions. In order to fully understand and illuminate the meanings of the participants' responses to the major questions of the study, it is important to examine and discuss participants' response to each research question in detail. The following represents the discussion of each research question.

How do adults living in a Jamaican garrison describe their learning experience through Jamaican music? In reviewing data from participants' interviews, lyrics from selected songs, and news articles, the findings suggest that adults viewed learning from reggae music as a simple binary. What this means is that the learning acquired from the music is either positive or negative. Participants described positive learning as anything learned from the content of the music that is beneficial to the individual or the community at large. Participants identified

several beneficial experiences that they gained from reggae music. Accordingly, reggae music serves as a source of information, it provides messages, stimulates the mind while providing a conducive environment for learning to take place, it helps with memory and information recall, and importantly, provides emotional support.

As a source of information, the participants stated that the music helped them to become more aware of activities that were happening within their communities and the country. Individuals shared that the news media was not a reliable source of information, and as such does not provide authentic information, "but the music tell it as it is," and one participant noted. "Telling it as it is" sometimes becomes a problem, according to the participants, when the reggae artists are too explicit with violent and sexual content. In addition to a reliable source of information about what was happening in the community, participants voiced that reggae music provided valuable messages that helped them in navigating various challenges (e.g., poverty, crime and violence, unemployment, negative stereotypes) within their communities and country. For example, participants used the knowledge gained from the music to understand how to love and to forgive one another, and how to take care of their partners. Some of the messages include love for humanity, survival skills within the community, mediation during conflict, and spiritual enlightenment.

In addition to messages, participants noted the music provided an environment conducive to learning. Some participants expressed that while they were in school studying, listening to reggae music helped them to stay focused on the material and learning activities that resulted in increased learning. Additionally, participants voiced that listening to reggae music helped them with memorizing and recalling information much easier than when they do not listen to reggae music. Also, some participants expressed that listening to reggae music was a means of

emotional support. In this study, emotional support cannot be overemphasized given the current climate on fostering good mental health in Jamaica and globally. Therefore, emotional support is important because life within the garrisons is stressful hence, participants believed that constant emotional support was a key component of their survival.

Although numerous participants highlighted the positivity of the music, some participants articulated that Jamaican music, especially the dancehall genre presented harmful content that tended to influence individuals to display negative behaviors. Two of the most common negative behaviors that participants highlighted were violence and explicit sexuality in the content of the music. Participants reported that violence and aggressive behavior were put forth in the music as a means of dealing with conflict among members of the community. While previous studies suggested that forceful/explicit sexuality content served as a means of expressing masculinity (Cooper 2004), both negative attributes encourage homophobia and violence against the individual, thus depicting misogyny (Hope, 2002; Sabelli, 2011; Skjelbo, 2015).

This binary, twofold function (positive and negative learning experiences) of reggae music is very important especially as I viewed it from a sociocultural and postcolonial perspective. Historically, reggae music has been used as a means of spiritual expression, liberation, local self-expression, pan-Africanism, and highlighting hegemony within the society (Manuel et al., 2006). In addition, reggae music is an art that consist of views, ideas, and ideals stemming from Black spirituality, traditions, cultural aesthetics, and strong resistance to postcolonial powers (Banfield, 2010; Hill, 2007; Nordine, 2007).

Although the music's conception was built on a foundation to educate and emancipate the oppressed from postcolonial hegemony (Manuel et al., 2006), recently there has been grave outcry that contemporary reggae music is hegemonic (negative) and is adding to the social decay

within society. For example, a 2016 article in the Jamaica Gleaner noted that past commissioner of the Jamaica Constabulary Force, Dr. Carl Williams, suggested a study should be conducted to investigate the influence of reggae music on crime and violence within Jamaica. This is because he believed the negative lyrics in the music influence criminality. This type of criminality is politically motivated because in the past, politicians have exchanged goods and supplies (food and money) with members of garrison communities for their votes (Stone, 1980). However, in recent times, members of the garrison community have not benefitted from such support because once the politicians receive their votes, then individuals do not hear from them until the next election campaign (Stone, 1980). As such, it seems as if the content of the music changes to fit the temporal and spatial experiences in the contemporary era. According to the participants, current contents in the music talks about gangs and dons and excessive violence which are also current problems being face by the community. Therefore, the content of the music changes from one of fighting the oppressors for survival but using violence and hyper-masculinity to be powerful agents (dons or gang leaders) of the community.

Participants expressed that reggae music played an important in their social and cultural experiences as a learning tool. As such, the data in this study support Johnson (1976) who noted that people living in garrison communities rely heavily on culture, in this case, music for voice and comfort. With each interview, there were echoes of this importance and a clear description of music as playing an active learning role instead of a passive inanimate function in their lives.

As the findings from this study suggest, what is learned from the music is largely dependent on the type (content) of the music. Participants described reggae music as *slackness music and cultural music*. They explained that slackness music are those songs with negative content, while culture music are those songs with positive content that benefits the community.

As Manuel et al., (2006) pointed out, traditional reggae music is rooted in emancipation. These attributes of reggae music are all foundational elements that also embody what adult education represents—the human experience—an expression of and a fight for social justice and eventual liberation.

While the traditional reggae music was considered beneficial, some music, especially the contemporary dancehall music, contained graphic, violent, and sexually explicit content that were considered negative by most participants. Hence, there was a consensus by all participants that much is learned from the music, but what is learned has both positive and or negative consequences on people's lives.

Some participants stated the reggae music was a source of expression and voice. They discussed that reggae music spoke to the power structure that represents marginalized individuals living in the garrison communities. In addition to reggae music acting as a voice and as a tool of empowerment, it stimulates and or enhances learning. Enhancing positive learning within the informal or a formal curriculum is an important feature of adult education. For example, participants reiterated that when they listened to good (positive) or traditional reggae music it taught them good things.

The traditional themes of love, social justice, and peace for all humanity were themes of traditional reggae music identified by the participants. Further, the participants believed that listening to traditional reggae music kept their minds active, therefore improving memory and recall. This data supports other studies on music and its impact on memory. For instance, Jaschke, Honing, & Scherder, (2018) reported that listening to music enhances short term memory. Additionally, Fassbender, Richards, Bilgin, Thompson & Heiden (2012), showed that students who listened the same words in music have a greater recall percentage than those who

just listened poems. According to the author, the words learned in the sung modality are more easily blended into the mental faculty than words learned in the spoken form. In addition, Ferreri, Aucouturier, Muthalib, Bigand, & Bugaiska, (2013) suggested that music improves the general verbal memory.

Similarly, the data from this study suggest that reggae music provided the drive and motivation for the participants to complete their tasks. Participants believed that without the music, they would be less efficient in completing tasks, especially when working. Participants described the music as a "motivational energy" that enabled them to get a job done. Many participants reported that the reggae music provided hope and they used it as a coping tool in uncomfortable life situations such as the poverty and an overall lack of resources, coupled with crime and stereotypes. Using reggae music as coping a tool is very important, especially when one considers the harsh sociocultural environment (crime, poverty, unemployment) that exists within garrison communities.

Although reggae music has many positive attributes, especially in terms of the positive messages, many participants focused on the negative messages within the music. In addition, participants focused on the strong influence artists, whose songs are riddled with violent and sexually explicit content, have on youth within the community. This, according to participants, influences the youth to get involved in crime which will consequently decrease productivity. For example, some participants cited popular music, or those songs that are mostly aired locally within the community, as depicting violence and misogyny. The data suggest that violence and misogyny are the two underlying lessons learned from the most popular contemporary music within the community. While some of the data from the artifacts corroborated with the participants' statements on negativity in the music, there is music with positive lyrical content

and is popular with youth. The problem is, according to the participants, these artists are less popular and influential among the youth within the community.

In one of the artifacts examined in this study, the song Romping Shop both Vybz Kartel and Spice expressed that all males should forcefully hold a woman and the women should also forcefully hold a man. This exemplifies, as participants voiced, violence against women (misogyny). In addition, the artists highlighted their disgust towards same sex relationships "man to man or woman to woman that wrong, hate them". This message highlights homophobia, as illustrated by Robinson (2011) and the hyper-masculinity that Cooper (2004) highlights as remnants of colonialism. This oppressive language in the music, supports the relevance of discussing the findings of this study through the postcolonial lens.

The participants connected the lyrical content of the songs to negative or antisocial behaviors such as crime and violence, which are currently among Jamaica's major problems. While homophobia, masculinity, and sexuality have been linked to colonialism (Cooper, 2004) no studies within Jamaica have shown how contemporary social ills such as violence and criminality are linked to colonialism. The fact, that Jamaicans had to fight for freedom for a very long time likely resulted in a psychological or mental mindset similar to that of the masculinity that perpetuates violence and criminality as observed in the content of the music. According to Irwin and Umemoto (2012), who used the lens of the colonial criminology framework, social ills such as crime and violence are results of the continued inequalities and marginalization of individuals as a result of a colonized past.

Although previous studies demonstrated that a preference for rock and heavy metal music with content inclusive of sex, drugs and alcohol abuse might be an indicator for youth suffering isolation, drug and alcohol abuse, suicide risk, or other risky behaviors (Brown, & Hendee, 1989;

King, 1998; Klein, Brown, Childers, Olivera, Porter, & Dykers, 1993), no studies were identified that looked at such impact of reggae music. However, data from this study demonstrate that participants are concerned about the violent content in the songs (e.g., 'Kill Dem an Done' by Vybz Kartel) as well as the great influence the said artists (e.g., Vybz Kartel/The Teacher) have on youth within the community and Jamaica at large.

The news clips also corroborate the interview data and support concerns about negative or antisocial learning from the music. For example, the article titled "Three Children Among Five Killed In Spanish Town Shooting; Two Others Injured" (Brown, 2016) was referenced by some participants who believed that such violent and brazen acts are directly influenced by the song Kill Dem an Done by Vybz Kartel. By attributing such acts of violence to the lyrical content of the music, participants are supporting Alfred's (2003) point that the sociocultural perspective of adult learning takes into consideration an integrative approach to learning where the individual is influenced by activities within the community. Here, the situated context of learning through the sociocultural lens, shifts the focus of learning from the individual alone and considers the individual with the wider sociocultural environment. In this instance the community based on participant's response (a music worl diss innuh) being strongly influenced by the local music helps to shape the learning. Consequently, because participants acknowledge the learning taking place, it therefore solidifies incidental learning theory as an integral theoretical base to build the discussion of the results.

It is very important to note that the field of Adult Education, based on its mission to emancipate (Tisdell, 1998; Imel, 1999), does not promote the influence of learning to promote negativity within the community. However, like positive learning experiences that are attributed to positive content of reggae music, the negative content will also encourage learning that

promotes negative or anti-social behavior. As an adult educator, this is important as it provides an opportunity to observe from a different perspective so that instead of learning negativity from the music, a campaign for positive content can be launched which could in the long run change the mindset of youngsters within the community.

Although numerous participants highlighted their disgust at the negative content and antisocial learning from the music, some participants pointed out that the music is a medium that discusses the true authentic nature of the community. Hence, music forms a foundation and a guide to positive learning experiences in their lives. Some participants identified lyrics or the content of the music as a reflection of what is happening within the community and country at large. Here, it is highlighted that subculture played a critical role in reflecting what is happening in society while at the same time reproducing oppressive conditions that creates certain "characters" that seem like the "real" identities with "street credibility" in the community. Therefore, instead of producing "real positivity" the subculture could actually undermine the emancipatory role, by subverting the larger community and subjecting it to further violent and other oppressive domination.

Additionally, music provides emotional support that creates an atmosphere conducive to positive formal and informal learning. According to participants, if the musicians were selective in the content of the songs, then the music would not be authentic. Hence, participants believed that the music is their authentic source of information. As such, it is clear that all participants agreed that music influences education. However, in taking a sociocultural view of learning, all participants had varying views based on their unique cultural space. That is why Thomas (2012), cautions that contemporary violence in garrisons depends on the individual and can be attributed to colonial and postcolonial state formation. Additionally, scholars within the field of

criminology have argued for more interest in the colonial theory of crime. According to Gabbidon (2010), and Hawkins (2011), the cause of crime is a result of oppression, inequality, and alienation present in a colonized or postcolonial society. Therefore, to fully understand how music influences individuals in the community, one must take a closer chronological assessment of historical events within the community and how these events, along with music, and other cultural forms influence learning.

How do adults describe the opportunities and challenges for learning from Jamaican music within the sociocultural context of a Jamaican garrison? In this study, adults described their opportunities for learning based on the positive content in the music. The participants noted that positive content depicts good moral and social values. With regard to learning good morals and social values, several participants made reference to Bob Marley and Garnette Silk's music. They shared that songs from these artistes helped them to make better decisions on how they relate with others in the community. For example, participants referred to a song by Garnette Silk titled Mama and expressed that this song taught them how they should treat women with love, respect, and dignity. Also, other participants expressed that content from Bob Marley's songs taught them how to become a loving person -not just loving to those one is close to, but to love all. Other participants emphasized that the content from this music taught children to love each other.

In such a garrison, such a positive message is actually the "deviant" message, if you will, the message that goes against colonial domination through force. This is, in fact, true resistance and can awaken critical thinking and conscietization. Therefore, adults described the opportunities based on all the positive attributes of the music. It is therefore understandable that participants emphasize the importance of good music within the community.

These findings corroborate with literature on the history of reggae music that showed the music is seen as a means to communicate, liberate, and celebrate (Giovannetti, 2005). Therefore, the data support some of the original functions of reggae music in communicating messages that have the potential to liberate the individual. While the music acts as a source to liberate the individual, some participants argued that some of the most popular contemporary music tends to be oppressive. This oppressive nature of the music supports the challenges that the participants shared. Some highlighted the negative lyrics of violence and sexual immorality that may negatively affect the social lives of the youth within the community. In addition, most participants shared concerns about the great influence artists whose songs contain negative lyrics have of the youth within the community.

Since some adults in this study found it fitting for music with sexually explicit and violent lyrics to be played in public spaces, it is relevant that I contextualize their perspectives and roles within the community, and their interpretations of the music. The data revealed that older individuals voluntarily listen to less of the music with derogatory or negative content. To contextualize this, a sociocultural view indicated that the perspectives and roles of the older individuals vary from the younger ones. For instance, most of the participants who were concerned about the negative content in the music were either parents or grandparents. Hence, they occupied a space where they were thinking about the negative influence on children's development. Thus, highlighting elements of the acute childhood experiences (ACEs), literature where such exposure can cause long-term effects on both mental and physical health. There are concerns that emphasized trauma can further inhibit learning, growth and development. On the other hand, the younger adults felt that they should be free to listen to the music and make selective choices as what to do or not to do with the content of the songs.

How does Jamaican music shape the social and political experiences of adults in a Jamaican garrison? The data suggest that music greatly influenced the social life of participants. The music provided a source of information, it enhanced their speech and communication with each other, helped individuals emotionally, enhanced community interaction, and helped to bind the community together. The social power of the music was highlighted by participants who described it as acting as a source of information that helped individuals to become more aware of what was happening in their surroundings. Participants shared that reggae music helped them to communicate more fluently and to exercise self-control during interactions with others, thus uniting the community. According to one participant, some of the content of the music emphasized self-control, which helped him to deal with conflicts.

While the participants highlighted the social value of music in their lives, not much was mentioned of its influence on their political lives. Although the content of some music is very political, participants ascribed a limited role of music in their political lives. Given that garrisons are already highly politicized environments, usually over 90% affiliated to a political party (Stone 1980), most participants stated that the music does not impact their political decisions. This is an indicator that political affiliations are not influenced by the music but is determined by the affiliation of that community. Therefore, individuals are expected to support the political party affiliated with that garrison despite any influence from musical content. As such, the data suggest that not much could influence participants and in extension, members of the garrison from supporting that political party representative of the community. Although most participants suggested that music will not impact their political views, a few participants suggested the possibility of the music in influencing political votes during an election. However, most participants did not find the music very influential in their political decisions. At this point the

music does not inform decisions, as there are no decisions to be made. The lack of comment here, to me, shows that they do not feel like they have any political freedom or free will in this area. This is highly political, even though it is not explicitly stated.

To my mind, the earlier forms of reggae actually conveyed a legitimate kind of conscientization and resistance, whereby perhaps some of the more current forms may represent an assimilation of the colonial command (violence/ domination) as a form of internalized oppression. While in some ways it is an externalized expression of their everyday experiences, the subculture inadvertently reproduces that economic and social oppression through the domination of their own community. This is definitely aligned with Freire's interpretations of the oppressed becoming the oppressors. This, therefore, further highlights the need for a different kind of learning through music. The political domination within the communities is also a reproduction of colonialism, and what the interviewees DID NOT SAY expresses something VERY political… they have no voice. This is ironic, as reggae was once a means for achieving voice… it could be used this way again.

Implications and Recommendations

Music in Jamaican garrisons and in extension, to the wider Jamaican society, is universal to all. It touches the old and the young in some way. However, the content of the music may depict a positive or a negative meaning. This can be influential or offensive to the members of the community and is especially relevant when the content of the music can be interpreted as being violent and the behaviors of community members tend to show high levels of violence. Therefore, based on the findings of this study, there are significant implications for policy, practice, and research as it relates to the field of adult education.

Implications for policy. Because it is thought that music has enormous influences on people, the Jamaica broadcasting commission (JBC) placed a ban on "daggering" music (Watson, 2011). Daggering music are songs with excessive sexual and violent contents. Censoring of songs has sparked controversy as musicians feel that they should be free to express themselves. In addition, some participants believe that most of the lyrical content of the music are a story line of things happening in the community and the wider society. As evidenced by the participants' comments, they feel supported by music that reflects their life circumstances. Some participants feel that the music speaks for them. Since participants believe the music can serve as a source of hope and motivation, more research needs to address how music can be used in formal and other informal settings as a means of providing a more holistic educational experience, especially for members of traditionally marginalized communities. Additionally, with the dualistic role of music as a positive and negative learning tool, more study is needed to understand why the negativity in the music is highlighted more than the positivity in the music. Additionally, a study is required to find out how if the music has any real impact on crime within the community. With the close association of the labor movements, political parties, and garrison communities one needs to take a closer look at the formation of garrison communities through a postcolonial criminology lens. This could provide a clearer view of the persistence of crime and violence within garrison communities. More study is also needed on how reggae music could be infused in the formal educational system within garrison communities.

According to literature on early childhood education, music can be effective in learning vocabulary, enhancing communication skills, improving good behavior, and strengthening basic as well as social skills (Southgate & Roscigno, 2009). In addition, Poku Quan-Baffour, (2007) demonstrated the strength of local music in helping adults to learn. This study has revealed that

adults in a Jamaican garrison have experienced positive effects as reggae music has played a role in their informal educational life.

Although there are mechanisms in place to censor or ban specific songs from the public airwaves in Jamaica, the findings show that there is unlimited access to these songs. Policy makers should, therefore, consider alternative approaches to restricting access for juveniles and other impressionable groups, especially in informal settings, such as garrisons and dancehalls. Policy makers may also consider partnering with influential popular artists to create adult education campaigns to address societal problems, such as skin bleaching crime and violence, as well as alcohol and drug abuse. The findings show that positive messages in songs are instructional at teaching people to communicate, improve intimate and platonic relationships, and to be good citizens.

Additionally, the data reflect an impressionable mark of the music as a source of information, a tool for mediation, and a source of emotional and spiritual support. If these impressionable functions are carefully integrated into the formal curriculum of public schools, then the Ministry of Education in collaboration with HEART Trust and the Jamaica Foundation for Lifelong Learning could develop policies to infuse this cultural form as a fixture or an instrument to enhance learning and make positive change both in the formal and non-formal educational environments.

Implications for Practice. As the literature on music and learning suggests (Dickson & Grant, 2003; Tamminen, Rastle, Darby, Lucas & Williamson 2017; Wallace, 1994), music influences and reinforces learning through memorization and repetition. Adult educators can make reference to the findings of this study which suggest that adults living in impoverished communities also learn or benefit from music as it reinforces and influences learning for them.

Other instructional implications include using music to tap into emotions in order to motivate adult learners. This is a powerful tool for people living in circumstances with few opportunities and access to means of upward mobility. As the findings in this study suggest, music can affect a person's mood, and thereby may help to alleviate depression.

Implications for Future Research. The findings of this study highlight the need for additional scholarly exploration on the effects that particular music genres, as well as music in general, have on adult learners in both formal and informal educational settings. One particular area that would benefit from further study is in exploration of generational music preferences and the implications of these preferences for learning.

Final Thoughts

Living and thriving in a Jamaican garrison is difficult. This is because garrisons were created as a machinery to maintain political power. Because of the lack of resources, the political leaders are unable to provide the basic resources to maintain the livelihood of individuals living in garrison. As a result, community members found ways, mainly through criminal enterprise to support themselves and their families. Because garrisons were "political safe zones" law enforcement within these communities were carried out by the community leader (the don or enforcer). This type of informal system breeds other crimes and social ills. As such, garrisons are stereotyped, and members of such communities are usually redlined (prevented from entering formal systems). As the data showed, most participants were self-employed since it was very difficult for them to acquire a job in the formal system.

However, music, especially reggae, is an ever-present cultural commodity that has a way of making the circumstances of living in a Jamaican garrison less difficult. This study addresses a gap in the scholarship regarding the role of music in adult learning, specifically, reggae and learning among adults in a Jamaican garrison. It underscores the value and power of music as an educational tool. Importantly, the study highlights the duality of the music to act as a positive and or negative re-enforcer of knowledge. Future work could investigate ways in which one could highlight and advance the positive while at the same time suppressing the negative elements of the valued instrument of learning.

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APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

APPENDIX A : Interview Protocol

The Liberator , November 9, **1860**. 178. by William Lloyd **Garrison** ... Antislavery
Influence of Jamaican Music as a Medium for Adult Education
Interview Questions – Resident of Garrison Community
Participant Background, Educational History, & Employment Status

1. Where were you born? Raised?

2. Where do you live now and how long have you been living there?

3. What is your age range? ☐ 18-25 ☐ 26-30 ☐ 31-35 ☐ 36-40

☐ 41-45 ☐ 46-50 ☐ 51- 55 ☐ over 55

4. Gender:
☐ Male ☐ Female

5. How would you describe your Ethnicity?
☐ Black ☐ Afro-Jamaican ☐ Jamaican
☐ Indian ☐ Asian ☐ White

6. Marital Status:
☐ Married ☐ Common-Law ☐ Single ☐ Divorced ☐ Separated

7. What is your educational background?

☐ Less than High School ☐ Some High School ☐ Graduated High School ☐ Some College ☐ Graduated College ☐ HEART ☐ JFLL ☐ Apprenticeship
☐ Other, please describe

8. What is your spouse‘s (if applicable) educational background?

☐ Less than High School ☐ Some High School ☐ Graduated High School ☐ Some College ☐ Graduated College ☐ Other, please describe

9. What is your mother‘s educational background?
☐ Less than High School ☐ Some High School ☐ Graduated High School
☐ Some College ☐ Graduated College ☐ Other, please describe

10. What is your father‘s educational background? ☐ Less than High School ☐ Some High School ☐ Graduated High School ☐ Some College ☐ Graduated College ☐ Other, please describe

11. What is your employment status?

☐ Employed ☐ Self-Employed ☐ Unemployed
12. What is your occupation?

Religious belief/Spirituality
13. What is your religious background? ☐ Revivalist ☐ Penticostal ☐ Church of God ☐ Anglican ☐ Catholic ☐ BoBo Shanti ☐ Nyahbinghi ☐ Twelve Tribes ☐ Seventh day Adventist ☐ Seventh day Church of God ☐ Obeah ☐ Other, please describe

Music and its influence

14. How do you describe the type of music you listen? Why?

15. How would you describe good music? Explain.

16. How do you think listening to music may help you?

17. What role does music play in your political life?

18. What role does music play in your social life?

19. What role does music play in your educational life?

20. What role does music play in your economic life?

21. What role does music play in your spiritual life?

22. How does music contribute positively to your community?

23. How does music contribute negatively to your community?

24. What are the common messages in the music?

25. How the history of slavery helps to shapes the content of the music?

26. Does the kind of music you listen to reflect your lifestyle? If so, explain?

27. Are there any community programs that utilize music as part of their activity?

28. What are the different types of music in Jamaica?

29. Are there uptown and downtown music/rich people/poor people music? Explain

30. Do you regard music as being an important part of the community?

31. Who are your favorite Jamaican music artists? Why?

32. How long do you listen to music each day?

33. How do you feel when you listen to the music?

IRB NUMBER: IRB2016-0418D
IRB APPROVAL DATE: 07/07/2016
IRB EXPIRATION DATE: 07/01/2017

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM

TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTECTION PROGRAM

CONSENT FORM

Project Title: EXPLORING THE INFLUENCE OF JAMAICAN REGGAE MUSIC AS A FORM OF LEARNING WITHIN THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT OF GARRISON COMMUNITIES

You are invited to take part in a research study being conducted by Dr. Mary Alfred, a researcher from Texas A&M University. The information in this form is provided to help you decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part in the study, you will be asked to sign this consent form. If you decide you do not want to participate, there will be no penalty to you, and you will not lose any benefits you normally would have.

Why Is This Study Being Done?
The purpose of this study is to explore the influence of Jamaican reggae music as a form of learning within the sociocultural context of garrison communities.

Why Am I Being Asked To Be In This Study?
You are being asked to be in this study because you are a Jamaican adult born, raised and currently living in a community that is labeled Garrison. In addition, you are willing and able to participate in this study.

How Many People Will Be Asked To Be In This Study?
25 people (participants) will be invited to participate in this study.

What Are the Alternatives to being in this study?
No, the alternative to being in the study is not to participate.

What Will I Be Asked To Do In This Study?
Participation involves being interviewed twice. The first interview will last approximately 60-90 minutes and the second interview will last approximately 30-60 minutes.

Will Photos, Video or Audio Recordings Be Made Of Me during the Study?

Language for Required recordings:
The researchers will make an audio recording during the study so that we can investigate how Jamaican reggae music influence adult learning within the sociocultural context of garrison communities. If you do not give permission for the audio recording to be obtained, you cannot participate in this study.

_____ I give my permission for audio recordings to be made of me during my participation in this research study.

_____ I do not give my permission for audio recordings to be made of me during my participation in this research study.

Are There Any Risks To Me?

IRB NUMBER: IRB2016-0418D
IRB APPROVAL DATE: 07/07/2016
IRB EXPIRATION DATE: 07/01/2017

The things that you will be doing are no more/greater than risks than you would come across in everyday life. Although the researchers have tried to avoid risks, you may feel that some questions/procedures that are asked of you will be stressful or upsetting. You do not have to answer anything you do not want to

Are There Any Benefits To Me? (If there are no direct benefits, this section may be omitted)***
There are no direct benefit to you by being in this study.

Will There Be Any Costs To Me?
Aside from your time, there are no estimated costs for taking part in the study.

Will I Be Paid To Be In This Study?
You will not be paid for being in this study. However, you will receive a five US dollar gift card as appreciation for your participation.

Will Information From This Study Be Kept Private?
The records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking you to this study will be included in any sort of report that might be published. Research records will be stored securely and only the Principle Investigator, Mary V. Alfred and Protocol director, Donald Stoddart will have access to the records.

Information about you will be stored in locked file cabinet; computer files protected with a password. This consent form will be filed securely in an official area.

People who have access to your information include the Principal Investigator and research study personnel. Representatives of regulatory agencies such as the Office of Human Research Protections (OHRP) and entities such as the Texas A&M University Human Subjects Protection Program may access your records to make sure the study is being run correctly and that information is collected properly.

Information about you and related to this study will be kept confidential to the extent permitted or required by law.

Who may I Contact for More Information?
You may contact the Principal Investigator, Dr. Mary V. Alfred, to tell her about any concern or complaint about this research at 979-845-2718 or email malfred@tamu.edu. You may also contact the Protocol Director, Donald Stoddart at 713-909-5347 or dstoddart@email.tamu.edu.

For questions about your rights as a research participant, to provide input regarding research, or if you have questions, complaints, or concerns about the research, you may call the Texas A&M University Human Subjects Protection Program office by phone at 1-979-458-4067, toll free at 1-855-795-8636, or by email at irb@tamu.edu.

What if I Change My Mind About Participating?
This research is voluntary and you have the choice whether or not to be in this research study. You may decide to not begin or to stop participating at any time. If you choose not to be in this study or

IRB NUMBER: IRB2016-0418D
IRB APPROVAL DATE: 07/07/2016
IRB EXPIRATION DATE: 07/01/2017

stop being in the study, there will be no effect on your employment. Any new information discovered about the research will be provided to you. This information could affect your willingness to continue your participation.

STATEMENT OF CONSENT

I agree to be in this study and know that I am not giving up any legal rights by signing this form. The procedures, risks, and benefits have been explained to me, and my questions have been answered. I know that new information about this research study will be provided to me as it becomes available and that the researcher will tell me if I must be removed from the study. I can ask more questions if I want, (if applicable) and I can still receive services if I stop participating in this study. A copy of this entire consent form will be given to me.

_____ _____

Participant's Signature Date

_____ _____

Printed Name Date

INVESTIGATOR'S AFFIDAVIT:

Either I have or my agent has carefully explained to the participant the nature of the above project. I hereby certify that to the best of my knowledge the person who signed this consent form was informed of the nature, demands, benefits, and risks involved in his/her participation.

_____ _____

Signature of Presenter Date

_____ _____

Printed Name Date

IRB NUMBER: IRB2016-0418D
IRB APPROVAL DATE: 07/07/2016
IRB EXPIRATION DATE: 07/01/2017

APPENDIX C

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL LETTER

DIVISION OF RESEARCH

TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

DATE: July 07, 2016

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mary Alfred
TAMU - College Of Education & Human Dev - Educational Adm & Human Resource Develop

FROM: Dr. James Fluckey
Chair, TAMU IRB

SUBJECT: Expedited Approval

Study Number: IRB2016-0418D

Title: EXPLORING THE INFLUENCE OF JAMAICAN REGGAE MUSIC AS A FORM OF LEARNNING WITHIN THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXT OF GARRISON COMMUNITIES

Date of Determination:

Approval Date: 07/07/2016

Continuing Review Due: 06/01/2017

Expiration Date: 07/01/2017

Documents Reviewed and Approved: Only IRB-stamped approved versions of study materials (e.g., consent forms, recruitment materials, and questionnaires) can be distributed to human participants. Please log into iRIS to download the stamped, approved version of all study materials. If you are unable to locate the stamped version in iRIS, please contact the iRIS Support Team at 979.845.4969 or the IRB liaison assigned to your area.

Submission Components			
Study Document			
Title	Version Number	Version Date	Outcome
Authorization from Host Country	Version 1.0	06/27/2016	Approved
Interview Guide/script	Version 1.0	06/24/2016	Approved
Consent Form	Version 1.1	07/07/2016	Approved

Document of Consent: Written consent in accordance with 45 CF 46.116/ 21 CFR 50.27

Comments:

- This IRB study application has been reviewed and approved by the IRB. Research may begin on the approval date stated above.
- Research is to be conducted according to the study application approved by the IRB prior to implementation.
- Any future correspondence should include the IRB study number and the study title.

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1186 TAMU
College Station, TX 77843-1186
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http://rcb.tamu.edu

Investigators assume the following responsibilities:

1. **Continuing Review:** The study must be renewed by the expiration date in order to continue with the research. A Continuing Review application along with required documents must be submitted by the continuing review deadline. Failure to do so may result in processing delays, study expiration, and/or loss of funding.
2. **Completion Report:** Upon completion of the research study (including data collection and analysis), a Completion Report must be submitted to the IRB.
3. **Unanticipated Problems and Adverse Events:** Unanticipated problems and adverse events must be reported to the IRB immediately.
4. **Reports of Potential Non-compliance:** Potential non-compliance, including deviations from protocol and violations, must be reported to the IRB office immediately.
5. **Amendments:** Changes to the protocol and/or study documents must be requested by submitting an Amendment to the IRB for review. The Amendment must be approved by the IRB before being implemented.
6. **Consent Forms:** When using a consent form or information sheet, the IRB stamped approved version must be used. Please log into iRIS to download the stamped approved version of the consenting instruments. If you are unable to locate the stamped version in iRIS, please contact the iRIS Support Team at 979.845.4969 or the IRB liaison assigned to your area. Human participants are to receive a copy of the consent document, if appropriate.
7. **Post Approval Monitoring:** Expedited and full board studies may be subject to post approval monitoring. During the life of the study, please review and document study progress using the PI self-assessment found on the RCB website as a method of preparation for the potential review. Investigators are responsible for maintaining complete and accurate study records and making them available for post approval monitoring. Investigators are encouraged to request a pre-initiation site visit with the Post Approval Monitor. These visits are designed to help ensure that all necessary documents are approved and in order prior to initiating the study and to help investigators maintain compliance.
8. **Recruitment**: All approved recruitment materials will be stamped electronically by the HRPP staff and available for download from iRIS. These IRB-stamped approved documents from iRIS must be used for recruitment. For materials that are distributed to potential participants electronically and for which you can only feasibly use the approved text rather than the stamped document, the study's IRB Study Number, approval date, and expiration dates must be included in the following format: TAMU IRB#20XX-XXXX Approved: XX/XX/XXXX Expiration Date: XX/XX/XXXX.
9. **FERPA and PPRA:** Investigators conducting research with students must have appropriate approvals from the FERPA administrator at the institution where the research will be conducted in accordance with the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA). The Protection of Pupil Rights Amendment (PPRA) protects the rights of parents in students ensuring that written parental consent is required for participation in surveys, analysis, or evaluation that ask questions falling into categories of protected information.
10. **Food:** Any use of food in the conduct of human research must follow Texas A&M University Standard Administrative Procedure 24.01.01.M4.02.
11. **Payments:** Any use of payments to human research participants must follow Texas A&M University Standard Administrative Procedure 21.01.99.M0.03.
12. **Records Retention**: Federal Regulations require records be retained for at least 3 years. Records of a study that collects protected health information are required to be retained for at least 6 years. Some sponsors require extended records retention. Texas A&M University rule 15.99.03.M1.03 Responsible Stewardship of Research Data requires that research records be retained on Texas A&M property.

This electronic document provides notification of the review results by the Institutional Review Board.

APPENDIX D

LETTER TO PROFESSOR

Influence of Jamaican Music as a Medium for Adult Education

Interview Questions – Resident of Garrison Community

Participant Background, Educational History, & Employment Status

1. Where were you born? Raised?

2. Where do you live now and how long have you been living there?

3. What is your age range? □□18-25 □□26-30 □□31-35 □□36-40

□□41-45 □□46-50 □□51- 55 □□over 55

4. Gender:

□□Male □□Female

5. How would you describe your Ethnicity?

□□Black □□Afro-Jamaican □□Jamaican

□□Indian □□Asian □□White

6. Marital Status:

□□Married □□Common-Law □□Single □□Divorced □□Separated

7. What is your educational background?

□□Less than High School □□Some High School □□Graduated High School □□Some College

□□Graduated College □□HEART □□JFLL □□Apprenticeship

□□Other, please describe

8. What is your spouse‘s (if applicable) educational background?

□□Less than High School □□Some High School □□Graduated High School □□Some College □□Graduated College □□Other, please describe

9. What is your mother‘s educational background?

□□Less than High School □□Some High School □□Graduated High School □□Some College □□Graduated College □□Other, please describe

10. What is your father‘s educational background? □□Less than High School □□Some High School □□Graduated High School □□Some College □□Graduated College □□Other, please describe

11. What is your employment status?

□□Employed □□Self-Employed □□Unemployed

12. What is your occupation?

Religious belief/Spirituality

13. What is your religious background? □□Revivalist □□Penticostal □□Church of God □□Anglican □□Catholic □□BoBo Shanti □□ Nyahbinghi □□Twelve Tribes□□Seventh day Adventist □□Seventh day Church of God □□Obeah □□Other, please describe

Music and its influence

14. Describe the type of music you listen? Why?

15. How would you describe good music? Explain.

16. How do you think listening to music may help you?

17. What role does music play in your political life?

18. What role does music play in your social life?

19. What role does music play in your educational life?

20. What role does music play in your economic life?

21. What role does music play in your spiritual life?

22. How does music contribute positively to your community?

23. How does music contribute negatively to your community?

24. What are the common messages in the music?

25. How the history of slavery helps to shapes the content of the music?

26. Does the kind of music you listen to reflect your lifestyle? If so, explain?

27. Are there any community programs that utilize music as part of their activity?

28. What are the different types of music in Jamaica?

29. Are there uptown and downtown music/rich people/poor people music? Explain

30. Do you regard music as being an important part of the community?

31. Who are your favorite Jamaican music artists? Why?

32. How long do you listen to music each day?

33. How do you feel when you listen to the music?

APPENDIX E

CURRICULUM VITA

DONALD G. STODDART PhD
Department of Educational Administration and Human Resource Development
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EDUCATION
PhD Adult Education and Human Resource Management, 2020
Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas

M.Sc. Animal Science, 2007
Prairie View A&M University, Texas

BSc. Agriculture, 2002
University of the West Indies, Trinidad

EXPERIENCE
2019 Texas A&M University
Teaching Assistant

2016 Summer Research Assistant
Texas A& M University, Texas

2015- 2016 Teaching Assistant
Texas A& M University, Texas

2011-2015 Graduate Research Assistant
Texas A& M University, Texas

PROFESSIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND PUBLICATIONS
Stoddart, D., Robinson, P.A., & Alfred, M. (2014). Exploring the Influence of Indigenous Caribbean Music in Shaping the Anglophone Caribbean Identity. National Journal of Urban Education and Practice, (7)3, 281-297

Robinson P.A., Rice, D., Stoddart, D. & Alfred, M. (2013,). Lifelong Learning in Jamaica: coherent Pathways to Higher Education. International journal of Scholarly Academic Intellectual Diversity 15, 1

Stoddart, D. (2012). Coaching Women to Lead: Essential Coaching skills and Knowledge, European Journal of Training and Development, 36(7), pp.764-765 (Book review)