Sensitive Scholarship: A Review of Rastafari Literature(S)

by

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Introduction

The understanding of Rastafari presented to the world through scholarly interpretation has been coloured by the early interest of North Atlantic scholars or their institutions. George Simpson, Susan Kitzinger, Carole Yawney and Klaus Albuquerque are among the earliest with such interest. Noticeable in the class of work is often an attempt to emphasise the Movement's 'lackings' especially through the lenses of religious evolution. Such a compartment if immediately imposed on the Movement immediately misses its religious, social and political subversive intention. Kitzinger provides us with an example. In updating field-work done in 1965, in 1969 she writes:

> "Yet with all this, Rastafari faith does nothing directly to reconcile the worshipper to the world he knows and lives in. If one function of religion is to aid in adjustment to the inevitable, then Rasta faith is sorely lacking in this respect. For instead of aiding assimilation in Jamaican society, it serves to pull away those who are already marginal to that society. Salvation is catapulted far into the future. It performs the major psychological function of reducing hopelessness in an otherwise hopeless life situation... It has become an inturned self-generating and self-justifying system of belief and action." (Sheila Kitzinger, p.262, 1969, Oxford University).

This interpretation essentially rejects the foundation logic of the Movement's critic and like Leonard Barrett in the first PhD on the Movement, picks up on the Movement's dysfunction (hinged on the miraculous migration from their land), and laments it injurious effect on the population's economic availability and the potential damage it would do to the tourist market (1968, pp.176-177 & 189). Both these assessments miss the alternative logic of the Rastafari consciousness. They take as given the prevailing 'scholarly logic' and consensus within the current global system about the expression of 'hope', and rational socio-political approaches. Rex Nettleford is among the earliest Jamaican Scholars to have worked with the Movement, in updating his reading of the Movement places a more cognitive spin after years of study, he comments:

> "[T]he entire Rastafarian Movement, has to be one of the most dynamic movers and shakers of modern development, in the Caribbean." (Nettleford, 1998, University of the West Indies).

Chevannes brings likewise understanding and has expounded much in this direction and through anthropological techniques he has been able to establish claims for the Rastafari Movement as constituting the most advanced African Caribbean worldview.

My objective in this review is to highlight the Rastafari Movement not in the religious sense but in the pedagogical sense, the "inturned" self-generating and self-justifying system of faith and action or what Clinton Hutton refers to as the "sovereign learner", providing a poignant critique of conventional systems of leading and learning. In this sense the Movement may be understood as a religio-pedagogy, by which is meant a system to link the knowledge of self-empowerment.

The "Rasta", "Rastafari" or the "Rastafarian Movement" has grown to near universal proportions. There is no paucity of literature(s) documenting the witness of Rastafari. Researchers have come from all the continents seeking knowledge of the Movement and have accounted and documented Rastafari phenomena in all the major languages. There are three main categories of writings related to the Rastafari Movement in general. These are journalistic accounts, which developed early in the 1930s (and still continues today), usually thriving on the sensational[1] or condemnatory reactions to the Movement. An example of this type of Journalism is Billy Hall's "12 types of Rastas!" or "Should Rastas, too, repent". In both these articles Hall embarks on what seems to be a life time devoted to critiquing the absurdity which he perceives the Rastafari Movement to represent while defending the pristine Christian religion - in respect to which in his view sees Rastafari committing blasphemy. Journalist Ian Boyne has held similar positions but in recent years (especially since 1998) he has show an increased degree of 'tolerance' towards the Rastafari movement, now more focussed on the hermeneutical and cultrual significance which the Movement has brought.

There are academic expositions, which effectively begin in the 1950s and cover a range of readings in a spectrum reflecting outsider North Atlantic impressions to the local sensitivity; and finally there are the testimonial/ autobiographical[2] from the Movement itself (not usually viewed as academic) which one could identify as commencing with Howell's publication of the "Promised Key" (1935) and is sustained in various expressions right up to the contemporary. Some of the better known testimonials have come from Jah Lloyd (1975); Planno (1996); Ras Dizzy (through ongoing written contributions); Barbara Makeda Blake Hannah (1997,[1981]); Donald Davis (1994); and Douglas Mack (1999). Lewis Gordon (2000) argues that this, the autobiographical mode of writing is common, if not preferred, by Black writers even the very young, in a way which would suggest that "it is as if living blackness by itself counts as experience...black voices

already locked in the biographical and autobiographical moment transform the biographical status of those moment from the contingent to the necessary. He also notes that quite a number of biblical texts are autobiographical but these writings are interpreted by believers as moments of divine intervention). These are critical insights as they speak to the nature of the Rastafari autobiographical impulse which fuels the range of writers that the Movement attracts.

This review highlights the academic works, not to negate the importance of the other two categories of writings (subsequently engaged in the thesis), but to illustrate the strength and weaknesses in the conventional academic scholarship.

By far the most of the consistent academic study of Rastafari in Jamaica has come from North Atlantic scholars or their institutions. The North Atlantic scholars/scholarship is here recognised as providing great contribution especially to the development of frameworks which help to place Nativist, Millenarian or Chiliastic readings on the Movement, placing the Rastafari experience in a global context of indigenous oppressed peoples (re)constructing their identities and notions of freedom. But global comparative frames brought from such scholarship can also be a limitation especially because also implicit in these sociological readings are built-in biases towards representation of the "other" and there is a taken-for-granted reading of a "pathological", "escapist", "dysfunctional", "epiphenomenon" or state of "false consciousness" on the part of these "others"[3]. These characterisations were largely based on a 'deprivation theory', applied to explain the Rastafari emergence. Such readings are presented for the formative years (1950s-1960s) of the research on Rastafari[4] . Noteworthy is the fact that Yawney (1979), and Pulis (1990), however both explicitly seek to challenge views suggesting Rastafari as false consciousness. Yawney in fact argues that it is the rest of the society that is "mad" for not seeing eye to eye with the Rastafarian.

Perhaps with the development of Rastafarian communities outside of Jamaica researchers have been forced to pay attention to the apparent infectiousness of the Movement and its aesthetics. This has produced accounts from around the world of the spread of the faith in these regions. Rastafari now exist on all continents. As early as 1969, Kitzinger recognized the global potential of the Movement seeing it as "capable of great political force, operating outside of Jamaica and becoming an integral part of the whole Black militant movement"[5] .

There are three Jamaican bibliographical compilations which treat the writings of/about the Rastafari and other off shoots, namely Marcus Garvey, reggae music and Bob Marley[6] . Indeed Bob Marley has been responsible for much of the Movement's global appeal. Internet searches indicate that between 130,000 and 210,000 references are listed mentioning "Rastafari", whereas there are more than 2,250,000 references to Bob Marley. The use of the term "Rasta" within online references is more popular than Rastafari, with such references being in the region of 900,000. Categories of writing in which the Rastafari Movement is place include: - Literature; History; Africa; Antigua; Canada; Caribbean;

England; Ethiopia[7]. Noteworthy is that there are no categories highlighting Rastafari in a pedagogical sense (though I would like to acknowledge Cathy Stanley's thesis "Expanding Small Spaces: Rastafari as Knowledge Producers" which views the Movement as having potential contribution for adult education theory), which I argue as being the Movement's chief contribution, an exemplar teacher-leader in an environment devoid of positive role models especially for African males[8] . Indeed the opposite understanding is increasingly possible as Makeda Hannah (1997) rightfully points out that the Movement is often taken merely as a male street aesthetic).

The most significant scrutiny of the Movement has come through social anthropology starting with G.E. Simpson (1953). These researchers have dutifully performed the role of eyewitnesses and scribes to history over the several decades of their work. Key accounts have been contributed by Sheila Kitzinger, (1965, 1969); Leonard Barrett, (1965, 1987); Klaus de Albuquerque, (1977); Barry Chevannes (1971, 1977 & 1994); Ruben and Comitas, (1975); Carole Yawney (1979); Yoshiko Shibati, (1984); Jake Homiak (1987); to name a few of the most impacting. Campbell (1987) and Van Dijk (1994) are also outstanding contributions to the corpus of literature. Roger Mais' (1954) artistic portrayal of Rastafari in the novel "Brother Man" as well as Orlando Patterson's (1964) "Children of Sisyphus are also significant contributions as is Owens' (1976) "Dread". All these writers in their treatment of Rastafari are being classified as utilising a type of 'thick description' method, with Patterson and Mais (native Jamaicans, as are Chevannes and Barrett) doing so within the framework of the creative imagination. There have also been feminist and gender specific contributions examining the experience and reality of gender interpretation within the Rastafari experience. These contributions include Rowe (1998), Tafari Ama (1998), Yawney (1987) as well as Lake (1998). Lastly there has been the 'pre-Cultural Studies' cultural studies of Smith, Augier, Nettleford (1960) and Nettleford (1972). This review highlights what is being described as the sensitive scholarship. I define this "sensitive scholarship" as largely indigenous or local[9] in spirit (one sensitive to the struggle) as being rendered through the "creative imagination" with a kindred spirit congealed over time and cognition of the experience, in expressing and interpreting cultural reality. I am particularly interested in the "indigenous" not to reflect a paranoid xenophobia but instead to discern what the Movement means to those for whom it emerged. This is often eclectic with multidisciplinary and seemingly decanonizing engagement textually, articulating nuanced emotion and spirit, a type of Cultural Studies representation / articulation project. Erna Brodber visions this creative need and its potential and argues for the "new historian having to decide whether he will settle for 'icily detached' accounts or find a way to incorporate emotion in his analysis"[10] . The so-called detached accounts in many instances admittedly, informed from racist points of view and speak to a different emotion and premise.

Works focussed on Rastafari in Kingston are of particular importance as it is in the urban environs that much of the congregational polity has been synthesised, that African folk leadership is most advanced on a day to day basis[11]. Some are critical (Mutabaruka[12] in particular) of the tendency to use Kingston Rastafari to make generalizations of the Movement. I would argue that the de facto hub of the Movement was operational in West Kingston especially between the years 1954-1974. It is fair to say that the Movement from the 1950s showed early cleavage between the rural Rastafari (autonomous groups from Howell's activism in the island, east and south central Jamaica) and those who developed in the urban, West Kingston space.

There are three clear generations of sensitive indigenous Rastafari scholarship. Of such Mais, 1950s; Smith et al, Patterson, Brathwaite, Nettleford, Chevannes 1960s/72; and 1990s to present, represent the outstanding contribution of the respective periods[13]. It should also be noted that a new category of Rastafari/Reggae literatures also came into being after 1974, largely due to the rise of Bob Marley as an international superstar advancing the Movement's image. This category is often merged into popular journalism however there are known scholars who have made substantial contributions for example Bilby (1977; 1985); Cooper (1986); Dawes (1999) to name a few.

I now draw from the Caribbean's creative imagination rather than the "creative sensation" reflected by the popular press. After the discussion of "creative imagination", there is a focus on the Cultural Studies genesis up to the contemporary expressions of Cultural Studies as an expressed agenda of the University of the West Indies.

The Creative Imagination

The placement of the "creative imagination" in this review is critical as the Caribbean earliest expression of Cultural Studies scholarship comes from this tradition. Louis Bennett, Claude McKay, Vic Reid, George Lamming, and Peter Abrahams all are serious academics creatively engaged in "action research". Mais is no different as indeed he belongs to this school and is one of the first Jamaican scholars to engage in a thick narrativising of the Rastafari in the Jamaican society[14] . Roger Mais' 'Brother Man', is now more than fifty years old this year 2004. It is an important novel and stands as an early study of the Movement before its routinization or its popular appearance within society, with attempts at a coherent doctrine. At the time of 'the book' itself the Rastafarian Movement was just settling within the urban locus of West Kingston.

Mais achieves the convincing portrayal of the Rastafarian's sense of tranquillity, self-leadership and intense power in producing social harmony, despite being viewed as an anomaly by the community in which he lives. The protagonist is a vital teacher - leader in the community, loved and respected by the women and children in particular (as well as some of the men, especially those not

jealous of his personal charm). The God-in-man concept through the protagonist Brother Man, as the archetype of the Rastafari being, is also well represented[15] . Mais' work came almost as that of an apologist and he is paralleled as somewhat of a Biblical Saul who upon being blinded by the 'light' of Rastafari, becomes moved to render this sympathetic version of the Movement, which at that time had little sympathy from those in the upper classes or the intelligentsia.

Mais succeeds in some ways, where the conventional academic treatise cannot[16]. His success is the thick description he is able to provide about the people from whom the Rastafarian movement emerges. He tells their life styles, thought patterns, their worries and concerns, their day to day existence - features which today would be counted as the ideas pertaining to the Rastafari experience and 'livity'. Mais' lane brings a sense of the times and place, the contrasting personalities within it enables a dramatic portrayal of environmental obstacles and the situations of menace through the afflictions of crime, poverty, sexual desire, as well as the influence of ignorance and lack of education, the experience of the people with the law and their total needs, and their desire for survival. I pause to note that Patterson's (1964) *"Children of Sisyphus"* perhaps more than any other provides us with a visual sketch and literal theory of the environmental conditions and social reality encountered by the 'Rastafarian flock'. His use of the Greek myth to draw analogy between the Sisyphean problematic and an apparent hopelessness in the Dungle is questioned by some particularly those familiar with the tragedy of Sisyphus. The appropriateness of the metaphor is a moot point (among some of the brethren) especially given the internal tension of this Greek reference to a sect which sees itself as being a critique of Greek interpretation of its reality.

Brother Man transcends the typical glance that the outsider may be tempted to hold. Brother Man is a character portraying great dignity. He stands in their midst as an anomaly, in the way that Mortimo Planno typecasts the Rastafarian as "The Earth Most Strangest Man", as indeed he is the object of gossip by his neighbours who think him strange. The story's backdrop is sensuous; conveying the intuitive connections climatic parallel, mores,and even the smells important to Caribbean personality expression. He mentions the tension internal in the environment due to struggle, which is very much a part of the terrain. One of the characters portrayed by Mais, Papacita, contemporary Jamaica's 'rude boy' or 'bad man' or even a 'hustler'[17] , helps us to understand what one might describe as an alternative to the Rastafari experience. Papacita (perhaps) vocalises the cry of many males: "A man come home, an no little happiness in the house. Nutt'n but naggin, naggin' all de time". In the Caribbean the home environment is often perceived as a female space. The tension especially in the Ghetto created by spatial constraints and small dwellings added to by the seriousness of the survival game created a perfect environment for conflicts to emerge. However Brother Man's home is the safe haven within this community. This is the space inhabited by Brother Man, the Rastafarian.

Mais Jamaicanizes the Christ story and gets to the heart of the message of the Rastafari teacher-leader, almost as though to bring fulfilment to Christ's charge to his disciples that they too could do the things he did. In a way the demystification of leadership as exemplified by the Christ is well achieved and rendered as a pragmatic human condition. We, the readers are compelled to make an association with 'Christ', rendered as human, in real every day conditions (the other characters in the book are also forced to make this assessment). This leader is one who is motivated by a genuine spirit of concern to care for his community. In spite of all his situational 'stress', Brother Man is presented as serene character. He is self-employed as a cobbler through which he is able to earn a keep which he shares with the community, even without them asking. He is the classic "justice of the peace" and a Holy man.

Outside of contextualizing the situation of the Rastafari, Mais is able to also speak to something which is often unrepresented in the movement's accounts, that being the 'autogenesis' out of which the Movement emerges. What I mean by this is the fact that Brother Man reflects the self-transition, and self-confidence which the "Ras Tafarite" brethren developed from very early. But perhaps even more significant is Brother Man's aloneness, through which he achieves his self-imposed 'urban social marginalisation', while centrally located like a heart-beat in the midst of his neighbours. He seemingly has no real acquaintances not even the woman who resides with him has he completely embraced. There is what can be described as a fleeting treatment of the gender dynamics in Mais, where we are shown Minette as an equal without subservience. This is the reverse of the expected patriarchy usually rendered as subjugating for women (see Lake, 1998). His countenance is remarkable and only the child (encountered while instructing on the virtue of kindness) is able to really look into his face. To an audience with a Western literary consciousness, there are clear parallels with the stories of Christ, but from a more grounded and accessible perspective. Mais continues the play upon the scholarly practice and it is with the aid of "His Testament" (p. 109) (we are told Brother Man spent time writing) that we are provided with an intimate understanding of his experience. This inclusion by Mais of "John Power's" [Brother Man's] "will and testament" is a potential tension in the reading, which we have come to understand of the Rastafarian thinking and practice[18]. The notion of a 'will' seems to defy the celebration of life in rejecting death shown by the Movement's exponents, many of whom refuse to make wills[19]. (Chevannes posits that the rejection of death could have come after Mais' work or that Mais himself could have not fully understood the issues surrounding death). Brother Man to some extent reflects this rejection of 'death' (and in support for life), (p.85) where he is seen in a routine argument in opposition to Bro Ambo's necromaney. He, Brother Man, however presents us with a challenge because the 'will' he develops is more of a history, a 'documentation' of his life than it is instructions for his after life (pp.109-113). Through this effort to document "his story", though presented in the language of 'will and testament', Mais identifies a writing tradi-

tion which still exists today as demonstrated by many elders and even more contemporary initiates. Mortimo Planno, Sam Brown, Keith Berry, Jah Lloyd, and Ras Dizzy among others demonstrate this characteristic). The purpose of such writings when pursued is usually that of providing "truth", a record of a perspective, which is often unknown, marginalised and in many cases not understood. This is the character of Brother Man's expressed intention.

There is a connection between the aura surrounding Brother Man and that which is discernable of the earliest patriarchs, in particular, Howell. Mais relates the allure that surrounded his protagonist: "they [the crowd] called him "Master", and asked him diligently what things they should do to become his followers, swearing that they would follow him, even unto death" (p.106). Howell's followers behaved in a similar way. He, Mais, also helps us to understand the void operating in the society with relation to education, health, employment, belief etc., and how it is that persons turned to the various beliefs and expedience in order to find solace. Brother Man's character is not developed like that of a political (official) leader; however the novel does allow us to examine the issues of leadership afflicting the populace. Mais renders these issues and episodes in a similar way in which we see the tales of Christ told: People wanting to cleave unto him for healing and protection, to talk about his works, to question his sanity and in the case of Minnette, she wants to reward him with herself. Minnette's story is almost like that of the biblical Mary Magdalene, as she too is reformed from a life of prostitution through Brother Man's influence. The backdrop on which Mais' story of "Brother Man" is told is seemingly overtly biblical. However this parallel, which might be discernible, should not prevent our ability to see the genuine parallels between the revolutionary force which Jesus Christ is said to have brought and that developed in this time by the Rastafarian who is viewed through Brother Man. This is essentially the sensitivity which Mais is able to present in his interpretation of the "cult of Ras Tafarites". Noticeably absent is a consciousness of or a regard for the existence of a food taboo. This is a clear doctrinal tension apparent in Brother Man, who is seen in one scene having a meal served to him by Minnette, which includes the now considered taboo meat on top (p. 41). One is not sure if this is not a deliberate tension introduced by Mais within his poetic license to tell his own story (perhaps even to create a degree of ambiguity). Perhaps even to portray Minette as the proverbial Eve temptress. However it should be observed that the notion of Rastafari and patriarchy are seriously critiqued by the Mais through Brother Man's rejecting of Minnette as the servile female. Also, in the discussion presented by Mais, the phenomena of the dreadlocks and the presentation of a discussion of Repatriation Back to Africa are missing.

Whereas Mais' creative imagination attempts to completely nuance the early Rastafari this is subsequently updated and more fully explored in poetry by Kamau Brathwaite who writes some twelve years later, (and perhaps in an entirely different politico-historical context[20]). Brathwaite, as an historian trained at

Mona, has the double portfolio of artist and academic. He has been able to look into and conceptualise the formation of a new world, what is 'Creole' society, and still for himself construct an additional path and expression which is uniquely Brathwaite and still equally befitting that of a Caribbean iconography. Much of the journey taken by Brathwaite is expressive of the core of the Rastafari liberation journey and ideals. His work is significant in placing an early diagnosis on the issue of emergent new world identities as constructions of peoples under a common pressure.

It is in the freedom of his poetry, that Brathwaite's Caribbean identity-theorising and understanding of Rastafari issues are demonstrated. He grapples with the Caribbean genesis, the defining of the space geo-politically; the experiences of transplantation from the African source and the looming omnipresence of a limbo state of being[21] as the state of nature of the Caribbean man, a Creole (what Nettleford describes as being within an aesthetic reflecting the melody of Europe with the rhythm of Africa). He re-links himself first to his ancestral homeland and it is from this vantage point that he seeks to build a trilogy of the making of the Caribbean. The comprehensiveness of Brathwaite's engagement with the experience of the Caribbean, and his embracing of native African expressions within his work, allow us to see similarities between Brathwaite and a Rastafari scholar such as Tosh. This comparison can be further extended if both men are seen as language creators in the way they both deconstruct and reconstruct their expressions. Within the Cultural Studies project Brathwaite's ideas constitute the beginning of a discourse for viewing, writing and recording our history, and his work as a genre of 'artistic testimony' [22] constitutes the maturity and full acceptance of Caribbean voice. Brathwaite as a traditional scholar and traveller constitutes a personage of credible witnesses, but his work is more than witnessing; it is forward and retrospective visioning.

Though there is no expressed Rastafari leadership documentation agenda invoked by Brathwaite that I am aware of, "The Arrivants" (1973, [1967]) has two poems which tersely captures a 'sensitivity to' and an interpretation of the Movement in critical ways. The ethos of the Rastafarian search for upliftment as well as the desire to return home to Africa are elaborated in the poem "Wings of a Dove". This title also appears in early Jamaican musical recordings, which at a glance suggest a desire to 'escape' one's circumstances through 'fleeing / flight'. However Brathwaite would not so simplistically render a complex logic such as that of Rastafari. This poem constitutes a study, even a potent historical contribution brought in by this scholar. The Rastafari persona protagonist is identified in the same way that Mais (1954) does, which is through the use of the name Brother Man throughout the poem. Brathwaite provides a type of definition or delimitation of Brother Man the Rasta:

> "Brother Man the Rast
> man, beard full of lichen

brain full of lice
watch the mice..."
And I
Rastafar-I
In Babylon's boom
Town, crazed by the moo
...

I
Prophet and singer, scourg
Of the gutter, guardian
Town, rise and walk through the now silent
Streets of affliction...and hear my people cry...

There is almost a blurring between the Rasta man and Brathwaite. As is noticeable, the persona also takes on the point of view of the 'I'. These narrative techniques have the effect of conveying the author's sensitivity which positions him in a familiar (and familial) way and therefore renders a different type of objectivity to his critical scholarship. The poem is entertaining without being patronising, factual and deeply insightful; it defines Brathwaite at a cultural zenith (a sort of "mediator intellect") as far as trained scholar meeting the folk scholastic tradition as there seems to be deep internalisation by him of the experience about which he is writing. He seems to represent an inherent suspiciousness that the Movement holds for Babylon very effectively, and perhaps even hints at the 'political deception' that was directed at the Movement, perhaps concerning the development of a Mission to explore the Back to Africa idea. Babylon is not only described visually but it is not to be trusted and he thus frames its intension to misguide is captured:

Them doan mean it, yuh know,
them cahn help it
but them clean-face browns in
Babylon town is who I most fear
an' who fears most I.

Pathos is the quality being emphasised without over glorifying even allowing Brathwaite himself to be the harbinger of a prophetic hope. This hope is a musical one:

So beat dem drums
dem, spread
dem wings dem
watch dem fly
dem, soar dem
high dem
clear in the glory of the Lord.

More critically even in this terse treatment of the Rastafari context, Brathwaite is able to engage with the critical issue of Repatriation. This is generally underrepresented by most scholars looking at the movement[23] .

However more exceptionally imaginative (if one might so say) is his poem given the Amharic title "Negus" (King), in which he embraces the divine Majesty's title, and becomes likened unto the mouth piece (and scribe) for the Negus Negast (King of Kings), Emperor Haile Selassie, in his potent pronouncements on the phenomenon of colonialism and the psychological landscape left in its wake. Whereas this poem is often thought to be rendered in the preacher aesthetic (see Rohlehr, pp.262-3, 1992 [1981]), I suggest that there is a different mood brought by Brathwaite as though operating from a consciousness, a medium for the transmission of omniscience, a source for ventriloquism, as though possessed by the Imperial Majesty (some could argue it is this aesthetic that the preacher motif engenders). This in my opinion is borne out by Brathwaite's recording of the poem[24] . His use of the familiar Rastafari linguistic iconography is consistent as with the earlier poem demonstrated in the way in which he applies the term "principalities and powers". But his authority is that of the Negus Negast and the tone of his authority is that of a judgement:

> "...it is not
> it is not
> it is not enough
> it is not enough to be free
> of the whips, principalities and powers..."

The crucial line of judgement, perhaps (intuitively) offered through Brathwaite by the Negus Negast on his visit to Jamaica in 1966, he intones: "where is your kingdom of the Word?" This question is poignant and speaks at many levels to the new visions brought by the Rastafari, and perhaps could be said to offer a critique on the state of readiness of the brethren in general. At the time of the visit of Haile Selassie to Jamaica, in 1966, it was commonly rumoured that with Him would have come the ability to repatriate the brethren who so desired. But it is the sensitivity of Brathwaite and his representation of the 'unheard' "scourge of the gutter", which is particularly remarkable. Brathwaite refers to the victimization of the poor at the time of his writing the poem seen in the bulldozing of the Dungle[25](1966). This would have been fresh in the consciousness of the society. He writes:

> it is not enough to be fr
> to bulldoze god's squatters
> from their tunes, from their relic
> from their tombs of drums...

The concept of "god's squatters" is potent, even oxymoronic, but it communicates clearly the essential irony of the urban folk in particular. Brath-

waite's contribution to the scholarship is that of a Historical poeticism, which is very much like that of the creative artistic tradition rendered in songs by the Rastafari themselves. He brings two crucial contributions. These relate to his identification of 'Brother Man' the Rasta man, invoking a kinship connection maintained in the poem's tone; he is also able to construct his protagonist in a mystic light, where he identifies him as a sort of John the Baptist (prophet figure heard but not appreciated) as well as he uses the aesthetics of confrontation / word sound to represent the Movement's leadership. But perhaps most importantly through this construction Brathwaite condenses all the emotion of the visit of His Imperial Majesty to the Caribbean region in a poem. Brathwaite and Mais have theses providing sensitivity in the representations concerning Rastafari contribution to the community. In both works there is evidence of attempting objectivity about real life creatively; Brathwaite acts as poetic memory of Haile Selassie's message to his Children, Ethiopians in the West just after the birth of these nations. On the other hand Mais captures an earlier moment of the Movement, through a study of a first generation initiate of the new "Ras tafarite Cult". Brathwaite gives us a sense of the use of the 'ganja peace pipe', playing with images of the 'flight and height' (even escape) while helping to experience the persona Rastafari as well as to learn of the arguments criticising the Movement. "Ganga", as it is spelt in Mais' (1954) is treated with less sensitivity and it is juxtaposed with crazed behaviour as opposed to a more meditative connection made by Brathwaite[26] . Brother Man the Rastafarian is not seen to be a consumer of Brathwaite's 'peace pipe'. The omissions of certain other iconographic representations of Rastafari such as the dreadlocks, the central agitation for repatriation and what emerges as the unitary affiliation realised in the various mansions, in addition to food and other doctrinal taboo help us to discern what might be described as the 'original ethos' and impulse observed by writers. There is no mention in Mais of the drumming tradition, which is observed by Simpson (1954) and the hope viewed in Brathwaite's reading. Mais' Brother Man reflects the important nature of self-employment through his cobbler trade, which places Brother Man in a practical (and non-marginal) model[27]. And Mais' character is undoubtedly a leader in the community. These are valuable insights as the 'media' and the 'law', the institutions through which the 'Powers' had historically tried to discredit the movement as constituting an antisocial and undesirable cult[28] . Kwame Dawes (2004) articulates it very well. He recognises that Brother Man is a thesis on the "sufferahs" strategies to self-direct in the bid to survive in the midst of adversity and intense pressures. Dawes identifies Mais as having preserved,

> "the purer version of Rasta - Rasta as a devotional force, Rasta as the voice of peace and love, Rasta as the force that makes Jamaicans see Africa with hope, Rasta as Christ-like, Rasta as something deeply rooted in the Jamaican capacity for survival." (p. 10)

Dawes' view of Mais' "purer version of Rasta", could be seen as a type of "novelized sociology"[29], or what I would connect as the genesis of Caribbean cognition reflected by Louise Bennett, George Lamming, Mais, Brathwaite, and others. These constitute a pioneering group of Caribbean cultural scholars, the legacy of which is still seeking to establish itself today[30] .

The Genesis of Caribbean Cultural Studies

The first significant indigenous scholarship, having cultural studies resonance, by which is meant, intellectual practice utilising multi-disciplinary methods, comprising trans-national intellectual movements,[31] and undertaken to negotiate social power, has been the study of the Rastafari Movement in Kingston Jamaica, by M.G. Smith, Augier, Nettleford and, (1960). This study done in the form of a rapid survey combined with some historical sociology was able to attract enough public attention to have its recommendations partly accepted by the government of the day, by way of their exploring the possibility of developing ties with Africa and dispatching a mission to achieve said objective.

The Report allows this thesis an entry point into the thinking of the Rastafari leaders at the time and how their ideas contributed to the development of this bridge between a misunderstood and mistreated Movement and the Jamaican society, as well as with Africa and its Diaspora. Mortimo Planno and other Rastafarian brethren visited the University to engage its higher quality of resources to publicize the truth of the Movement. It was believed that the University, though still young, had the authority to develop a cooperative dialogue between the Rastafarian Brethren and a society, which was extremely critical and brutal to the Rastafari. The then principal of the University College Sir Arthur Lewis recommended to the Premier Norman Manley that there was urgent need to consider the plight of the Rastafari movement and to respond to their legitimate demands, key among which was the call for Repatriation to Africa. This advanced approach of the early 1960s has not seen a similar thrust on the part of the scholarly involvement in the movement since. Augier (1999) describes the Report as a good example of *"action research"*, as we are able to see the linkages between, community, government and researchers in very clear terms. Outside of the achievement of a Fact Finding Mission to Africa [32], the Report was serialised in the Daily Gleaner which allowed for a significant public debate[33] . All those who were involved in the production of this work admit to having been in some way permanently affected, Don Mills credits it to having been responsible for the "opening of the minds of us", and experiencing "a transformation", and also that the issue of repatriation presented "us" with questions about Jamaica.[34]

How the Report interpreted the aspiration of the brethren, especially given the specific invitation for help which produced it, is not the subject of this investigation. Suffice it to say it created a spirit of hope, some would even say false-hope, but there are those who argue that the Report delivered little 'real' benefit to the Rastafari brethren, that quite the opposite occurred. The Movement

has provided a fruitful ground for academic work, without much interest in the outcome of the 'lives' in the community of Rastafari generally that avail themselves for scrutiny. The profile brought to the Movement had been significantly heightened and it is believed by some established the framework for "deprogramming" the Back-to-Africa initiative. Specifically Ras Sam Brown became interested in political office and this is thought to have generated a splintering of the urban brethren into a number of different sub groups and in some cases different political affiliations.

In a sense the Report served a social function unlike any other work related to the Movement. And it might also be perceived as a major contributor to the routinisation of the Rastafari which was to occur within a decade of its publication. It had required that the brethren engage with the government in a way that was unprecedented, as N.W. Manley embarked on dialogue with the leadership of the Movement in the construction of a Mission to Africa. To approach the Government's discussion table required that a level of coordination be achieved, and individuals elected who could convincingly seek to represent the Rastafari Movement. It is as a result of this process the Mortimo Planno emerges to go on the Mission which develops. The Report is however a landmark document in that it brought a necessary dialogue into place. This dialogue produced a ripple effect and assisted in the global awareness of the Rastafari. But of what value was this to the situation of Rastafari in Jamaica and their determination of 'repatriational freedom'?

The Report it is believed undertook a partial representation to explain the need to tackling a perennial problem of belonging and long term distributive justice. The Report, as it were represented one of the oldest repatriation cries of the Modern experience. But one might also say that Lewis, the University Principal, who submits the Report to the Government of the day, did as much as an academic could have done (i.e. research and publish with recommended action). The bigger issue some may argue related to the change of local government as well as the granting of political Independence in 1962, when, as Nettleford (1999) reports, "the Report was shelved" with NW Manley leaving office. One might say that "Folk Philosophy" was the renewal of this link that the Report conceived almost forty years earlier. Chevannes' initiative of availing up-to-date research resources to folk scholars affords the further deepening of the sensitive engagement of the Rastafari Movement.

Engaging Folk Philosophy

As a social anthropologist Barry Chevannes' work is critical and his inauguration of Folk Philosophy demonstrates in part his importance as a relevant contributor to the expansion of scholarship especially through the embrace of local knowledge systems. Chevannes has been the principal Jamaican scholar whose work deliberately focuses on the study of Rastafari in general. He has been the most prolific indigenous scholar looking at the Rastafari.[35] His work which spans

almost forty years has been useful in establishing ethnographic and historical data concerning the Rastafari existence and suggesting that the Movement's core ideas are a fundamental source through which a sociology of liberation, even a theory of the Caribbean identity can be examined, as a trajectory of folk resistance practice illustrating 'continuities' and a primacy of cultural 'ideas'.[36] He views the Movement as constituting a worldview, which speaks to the totality and interconnected logic of the doctrine and philosophy. Chevannes' (1971) is useful in connecting the folk ideas concerning 'leadership' and he provides an elaborate engagement of the phenomenon / concept of leadership, and the Africanisation of Religion and by extension its leadership pattern and aesthetic. He cites Revivalism and Rastafarianism as two forms of lower class Jamaican religions, which have partially or entirely rejected white European culture and political power extended to a rejection of the entire philosophical system of Governance. Chevannes looks at a possible explanation for the newly emerging character of leadership and postulates a location in the notion of 'charisma' as sociologically debated in the relevant literature[37] . He highlights shepherding and ingredients for its success. He mentions: a) a mission identified; b) a message; c) notion of a gift; d) recognizable authority; e) receiving a gift. Further, he notes that if greater importance is attached to the message than the person of the prophet, the "movement" could see its leadership dispersing. This importance of the message and not its harbinger is the significant feature of the Rastafari movement and the resultant spreading of the message is the net effect. A latter work on gangs in the western fringes of Kingston (Chevannes, 1981) provides us insights on the command of the Rastafari in the communities and how it is that the presence of the Movement contributed positive systems for leadership training and re-acculturation. In particular this work highlights how it is that the Movement through Emmanuel Edwards' camp and other visible Rastafari brethren were able to impact the consciousness of more than forty percent of the Youth[38]

In more recent years Chevannes has shifted his focus from "microscoping" the Movement's features through ethnographic study to more macroscopic hermeneutically driven reading of the Movement. His work on Caribbean family has led him increasingly into a scrutiny of the situation confronting males in the society. This is to some extent a logical development as the focus of the Rastafari movement has largely been most directed at the Afro-Jamaican male. The recent scholarship (using Folk Philosophy, 1998, as the demarcating line) by Chevannes has particular importance to this thesis and is here reviewed in some detail.

After some thirty odd years of teaching and research at the University Barry Chevannes (2001) inaugurating his professorial chair in Caribbean Anthropology engaged the method of storytelling to distinguish the scholarly tradition of Jamaicans and other Caribbean peoples. In this way Chevannes widens the scope within which we normally perceive our teachers especially those who have operated at the highest seats of learning in the land. Stories Chevannes indicates:

"were extensions...of teachings and attitudes taught and formed during the day...Anansi was for us not only a little devil we encountered after the sun went down [through the Anansi Story], but he actually lived in the ceilings and nooks of the house, and there we would see him in the days." (p.5, 2002)

The ubiquitousness of the teaching / learning tradition is highlighted by Chevannes as we are left to appreciate the domestic, familial environment as a central space within the expansion of social consciousness, and education of individuals. Further insights which Chevannes brings through this engagement with the pedagogic Caribbean tradition highlight the importance of symbolism within the art of the Caribbean oratorical tradition. He relates the idea of "travel" as well as the "crossroads" as important symbols in defining "who we are", and engages Nettleford who he identifies as one of the most devoted (but difficult to read) political scientists to the question of who we are. The synthesis of Chevannes' search of Nettleford's argument is that "ambiguity" describes who we are. Chevannes concludes that we in the Caribbean represent something else, different from the nations from which we have been derived. When this is examined within the conventions of the Greco-Roman scholastic tradition it becomes insightful about who we really are at any point in time. Chevannes (2003) expresses 'ambiguity' as well as 'paradox', the latter being his specific application of this reading toward analysing the Rastafari. In looking at Rastafari and the Jamaican society as far as it relates to a sense of Jamaican-ness, Chevannes laments the great paradox which Jamaica is for him:

> "Remarkably this paradox of creative and destructive energy not only emerging from and co-existing together in the same space, but in fact also mutually feeding on and reinforcing each other may not seem so strange at all when considered against the background of Rastafari, a symbol of and source of inspiration for the creativity but at the same time itself a powerful embodiment of disorder. (Chevannes, 2003)

To that extent Chevannes locates the Rastafari Movement as an important contributor to what Meeks describes as "hegemonic dissolution" (Meeks, 2000). In looking at the Rastafari Movement Chevannes identifies it as a focal point of disorder in the post-colonial "non-revolutionary order". He further states that through its embrace of disorder the movement is able to expand the limits of traditional conventions and mores and often succeeds in subverting such existing canons / conventions. He connects the Movement to the long standing West African trickster deity Anansi, suggesting that the Movement may have supplanted the spider or maybe is the modern personification of that character manifested in the movement as liminal (Chevannes, 2003, p.2). Indeed his 1971 connecting the Rastafari to a tradition of leadership observable among what he then described as "lower class religions"[39]. The more contemporary Chevannes scholarship moves the analysis and assessment of the Movement to another level

of scrutiny his "Rastafari and other African Caribbean World Views", seek to inscribe more up-to-date and experienced readings of the contribution of the movement to Jamaican society especially as they relate to the (re)issueing of identity. To some extent it is this quality of identify which Chevannes seems to be most concerned about generally, that being what we can become, in particular the Jamaican male.

In 2003 Chevannes identified Planno as "one of the leading Elders of Rastafari..." He goes further to indicate that "in the decade of the 1960s into the decade of the 1970s, Planno was easily by far the most influential Rastafari Elder". This prominence of Planno was especially in connection to young initiates of the Movement who drew close to his yard to gain inspiration and knowledge from Planno's clear vision and de facto leadership of the seemingly leaderless Movement.

But what is the nature of this leadership that the Movement has offered? In 1999, Chevannes posited that the witness of the Rastafari "has been tried and stood up for memory; where Babylon and the oppressors erased memory, tried to obliterate memory; Rastafari stood up for memory". Since that time Chevannes has advanced that argument by inserting the reading of the Rastafari within the expression of folk philosopher and thus belonging to a 'critical tradition'. Chevannes (2001b) frames Rastafari as Caribbean intellectuals, naming the Movement as one of folk philosophy within a schema presented by Lamming ("Coming, Coming Home"). Chevannes as does Nettleford (1999) argues that of the Rastafari contribution could be credited as being "the most central, to the critical quest, the critical question." Rastafari in the view of Chevannes becomes a central source for production and consumption of intellectual ideas[40] . These ideas are central to the consciousness of self and central to critical elaboration. But he hastens to add the crucial and consistent argument that the Rastafari were not the first folk intellectuals in Jamaica:

> Those Africans who spun ...the wit and web of the Spider God, those bricoleurs who recreated a culture of word power and signification out of a lexicon drawn from the oppressor himself...debated on the meaning of Africa and redemption - all these were intellectuals a remarkable [achievement] that a group of unlettered farmers and fishermen could out of the yards and street corner of the Dungle and slums of Kingston have developed a coherent body of thought about the world. (2001b)

Rastafari's contribution according to Chevannes is that of "rejecting the ambiguity of the self". He asserts that "of such compelling power" is the engagement brought by the Movement that wittingly and unwittingly it sees the "forging [of] mediating links with teachers and lawyers and professionals, and consumers of ideas, in a remarkable reverse of the expected flow of influence." No doubt this

ambiguity of which Chevannes speaks would also be featured in what Nettleford identifies as "a fear of blackness" and the other social contradictions which also work against the progress of the Africans. He identifies that part of the erudition employed by the Movement is through its approach to the question of self from a radically new direction, that being "from within" (Kitzinger's "inturned self"), alluding to the development of iconographic dreadlock aesthetics as a part of the radical turn "from within" methodology. The Movement's contribution is understood to be that of a mediating force, a bridge for the society, keeping the population in touch with its memory, its reality and its imperial legacy[41]. Chevannes identifies Walter Rodney[42] as having understood this function of the intellectual in the way that the Rastafari does understand and perform its role as mediator-intellectual. (Chevannes, 1999, 2001b, 1984)

What does this Selected Literature tell us?

A cloud of smoke surrounds the Rastafari and the value of their contribution to the larger Jamaican society. "Researcher biases' are among the most significant issues transporting certain key features, experiences and thinking of the Movement into public scrutiny. This is understandable especially in light of the fact that the major awareness of the Movement has come through popular media, the works of journalists and academics that have been fascinated by the anomaly that Rastafari's critique of the society presents. Intimate knowledge of the Movement has tended not to dwell on the contribution that the Movement brings to a society seeking its own solutions to problems but rather there is great scrutiny of the perceived dysfunctions, of the superficial aesthetics of the Movement sometimes at the expense of discernment of the inner logic it holds. This can be understood for example in the way in which all interest and attention on the Movement seek to focus on ganja as a potential problem. Mais deals with the "ganga" problem in a way which supports its conventional victimisation. Brathwaite's poetic treatment of the same substance does however offer a potentially more insightful reading of its role and place in the society (albeit however) communicated within the feeling of escape. Rastafari authors have an entirely different reading of the Herb. This can be illustrated by Rastafari author, lawyer and sociologist, Dennis Forsythe (1983) who transports the philosophy of herb / ganja as the "healing of the nation", and goes further to demonstrate how it is that the society is healed by the plant.

There is an element of restriction in interpreting of the Movement within socio-religious representations which emphasize its conduct as expedient process emerging out of dysfunctional behaviours[43] rather than informed through broad based research which includes self-study. This is supported by the fact that it has been consistently suggested that the sacramental use of ganja mimics Christian communion while making very little attempt to establish the connections which demonstrate the ritual use of "ganja" and the pipe tradition among many traditional peoples in Africa and Ethiopia in particular[44] . Essentially the 'ritual'

application of the substance is not enough appreciated or emphasised within the long established tradition of smoking as well as incenses being burnt during worship and even exists in Ethiopia where some of the earliest water pipes have been found[45]. It is my belief that the ritual use of ganja could not have been solely adapted from Hindu tradition (See Mansingh & Mansingh), though there is cause to argue that its wide spread resurrection may have been as a consequence of the Indian arrival after 1847. There is also the arrival of Central Africans in Jamaica about the same time as the Indians. Ganja referred to also as "dagga" in the Central and Southern African region is widely smoked. Ganja has been the name popularised by the scholarship but by no means is it the exclusive designation (other folk references are "tampi"[46] and "wakkie tobacco", [believed to be African]). Recent work by Chevannes has somewhat revised this position in recent years by demonstrating the ubiquitous application of ganja within the everyday health and lifestyle practices of Jamaicans since its alleged introduction by the East Indians in the nineteenth century[47]. Similar arguments could be identified in relationto the notion of "dreadlocks" and how its origin has been established by researchers[48]. Mais' portrayal of Brother Man is that of a bearded man. At this time it was the beard that was the common identity of the brethren in a society with an English colonial aesthetic of the clean-shaven. Brathwaite approximately a decade after Mais brings yet another social perception, this time as it surrounded the emerging aesthetic of 'dreadlocks'. We are given the view of poor hygiene, lichen and lice and generally the appearance of a derelict and an outcast.

Outside of the biases with which ganja and dreadlocks are presented the same attempt is often made in presenting the Rastafari exclusively as destitute and socially marginal[49]. Where as these readings of marginality are also true of the conditions of many Rastafarians it has never constituted the totality. There is therefore little attempt to demonstrate the progressive economics of the Movement (mostly visible through music and ganja production it could be argued). To this extent Mais' Brother Man is unique and quite early renders a more successful Rastafarian archetype as a man of means. Part of the important Rastafari critique of society from the time of Howell has been the ability to demonstrate a credible degree of self-sufficiency. Howell is reported to have been an extremely athletic and 'flashy' character in the way we would perceive the 'Don man' of today[50]. Essentially music became to the urban locus what agriculture was to those like Howell. The unmolested Rastafarian proved to be successful at all of his economic undertakings. Marley was to later demonstrate this quality musically.

The engagement of the creative imagination has been perhaps capable of the most eclectic reading of the Movement. Brathwaite for example alludes to a number of issues in his poems including the political ethos and the racial nuances operating within the Movement and the society. His arguments are provocative rather than conclusive, visionary rather than prescriptive. His poetry arrives at a type of sensibility which concentrates on that of greatest importance to the author. His concern seems to be the social problems that the Rastafari emergence seems

focussed on tackling. As an historian Brathwaite's sense of the stasis in Caribbean society would have been acute and the poem "Negus" stands in this regard as a classic. The sensitivity which authors are likely to bring to their research on the Movement is further complicated by the colour and ethnicity of those who are often viewing the phenomena. This is demonstrated by Chevannes in reviewing "Dread". He is able to point to the issue surrounding Owens' accounting the issue of 'race' within that text as one of the weaknesses of the production and more generally Owens' positioning to the Movement by way of his outsider / insider tensions. These issues are hardly resolvable in totality but are more indices through which we seek to argue issues of difference or bias.

Perhaps however the most crucial problematic (or bias) the literature brings is the representation (or lack of it) of the position surrounding the issue of repatriation to Africa as a design from the leaders. Most researchers are anxious to label the return to Africa as mostly a symbolic / spiritual gesture. In recent years, researchers from mostly outside Jamaica have started to pay attention to the historical development of the vision of repatriation to Africa in particular Ghana and Shashamanie in Ethiopia. The poetic version of the argument for returning to Africa is often highlighted as concerning the lost tribes of Israel. What is under-emphasised is the logic, historically founded, of the claims to Africa. This logic is usually ignored based on the Ethiopian centeredness of the Movement, an argument which most conventional academics (those unwilling to challenge the existing frameworks they have inherited) refute as being historically inaccurate as they assert that West Indians came from West Africa. In addition to this, beyond the Report (Smith *et al*) repatriation has not been the focal point of many studies[51] of the Rastafari Movement and one can say this has been among the Movement's foremost desires. The intellectuals who have hitherto translated the Rastafari movement to the society might have more generally helped to cement the feeling that there is an 'escapist logic' entrenched in the Movement's desire rather than a 'distributive justice' in the argument surrounding Africa. For the scholarship to arrive at this point the acceptance of Africa as source of the Caribbean experience it would have to achieve a revalorization of understanding of self in the way in which Blackness has been (and is still being) negotiated through the engagement of the Movement with the society and especially among our theorising. It is this that Nettleford regards as a quantum leap in the consciousness of the people, a people seriously enhanced spiritually by a history of oppression (Nettleford, 1976; 1999).

In particular the development of Folk Philosophy marks an important potential and maturity of the research environment. Folk Philosophy in seeking to invent a space for critical engagement between the University and the producers of knowledge from the folk traditions marks the type of development that demonstrates the genuine contribution of the Movement (as well as other tradition) to the scholastic traditions. The pedagogical value of the Movement is hinted at by Brathwaite and Mais, this is in my view can only be appropriately explicated

through an eclectic approach to researching the Movement. Nettleford's comments that when the Rastafarians came on to the University of the West Indies' campus it suddenly dawned on him what was meant by those who viewed the university as a type of "mediaeval sanctuary".

Predating Folk Philosophy has been an attempt to honour Rastafari in a significant way through the production of a text "Chanting Down Babylon: The Rastafari Reader", by Murrell, Spencer and McFarlene. This compilation of some twenty-two articles includes an appendix detailing the "Who is who in the Rasta Academy", (an 'academy' largely constituted of baldhead scholars). Despite the fact that one might say that such a text provides significant evidence of the pedagogical contribution of the Movement, the Rastafari Reader does not have any significant treatment of the issue of Repatriation especially as practiced by the Movement.

In viewing Folk Philosophy through an African diasporic Movement such as Rastafari one is able to engage one of the most highly elaborated systems of understanding to have emerged in the experience of the African Diaspora. Put another way, Rastafari is to the African Diaspora an equation to reverse the backwardness of the society experienced through African slavery; it therefore stands, I argue, as one of the most essential worldviews for the further development of especially those people it was designed to legitimate. This engagement with the ideas of Mortimo Planno as a study of one of the Movement's most celebrated Elder Teacher-Leaders will help in stemming a gap in the scholarship which has hitherto preferenced the testimony of various outside voices. Brother Mortimo Planno, Elder Teacher-Leader of the Rastafari Faith in my assessment is the quintessential Patriarch of the complex corpus of understanding the Movement holds. He has operated for the longest time at the highest level of society in holding a fullness of the reality that the Movement continuously demonstrates. Mortimo Planno in his year as Folk Philosopher conducted a number of lectures and seminars, his tenure culminating in a conference which brought together Folk Philosophers of the Rastafari movement along with members of the academy for recording and discussing the Movement's future[52]

It is important to note that this is not the first time that the Movement has organised itself to take stock of itself and its directions. That tradition had been established by Prince Edward, Planno, Sam Brown and others from the first 'grounation' in 1958 at Back-o-wall in Kingston. More recently in 1991, Ras Everton McPherson organised a conference on the UWI campus examining "Rastafari and Politics" (and there have been many conferences to have occurred all over the world since). Like this conference chaired by Planno there was also contribution from members of the academy and the Rastafari movement. No doubt however the most successful to have occurred was in 2003 under the name "Rastafari Global Reasoning 2003", with a steering committee consisting of members drawn largely from members of the Nyabinghi but also representatives

of all Rastafari Mansions as well as the University. Planno has played some part in all the above-mentioned events.

Of significance is the fact that Planno has written extensively about his experience with the Movement. His book "The Earth Most Strangest Man: the Rastafarian" is extensively engaged and its review constitutes a chapter of this study, as are other concepts such as Planno's "New Faculty of Interpretation"; and "Polite Violence", which highlight select Rastafari Leadership history in the framework of Polite Violence. With this emphasis I have undertaken it is hoped that the scrutiny of the Rastafari movement will expand beyond the restricted boundaries of the socio-religious readings to attain a view of the Movement as scholarly, with a seminal contribution to Caribbean pedagogy.

Notes and References

1. In the *Sunday Gleaner,* March 17, 2002, pp.G1&2. In the *Gleaner* August 12, 2003, p.C3... See Boyne "Muta, Garvey..." in the *Sunday Gleaner,* May 24, 1998, p.8a.
2. Lewis, pp.24-26.
3. Fredrick Hickling's psychohistoriography as cultural therapy holds the argument that traditional culture was proven to be a remedy in treating inmates at the mental asylum. His strategies were almost identical to those used by Rastafari teachers such as Planno in confronting and engaging the society.
4. See Edmonds, E. (2003, pp.127-130) for a critique of G. Simpson, L. Barrett, O. Patterson and Kitzinger in particular along the line of Millennial Escapism.
5. See Carole Yawney (1999), for focus on Rastafari in the Global sense. See Kitzinger (1969).
6. See Tereza Reid'...
7. The University West Indies Mona, Main Library uses these as some of its categories.
8. Kitzinger identifies how it is that the Movement "usurps" the traditional female / mother centric African Caribbean family in favour of the bearded father Haile Selassie. (Kitzinger, p. 260, 1969). I argue that in the focus on male role modeling the movement sought to mend the society aflicted by a history of male marginalisation and absence Niaah (2003). There is recognition of Yawney and Homiack, who have viewed components of the leadership method of one elder and eldership respectively.
9. Chevannes (1977), makes a case for "local" versus "international" scholarship. This distinction of the "sensitive indigenous" work is in marked distinction to that which deliberate seeks to be prejudicial and callous. Also see C. Stanley (2002, p.113).
10. In *Jamaica Journal,* Vol. 16 (4) pp.4-7.
11. See Simpson (1956), Kitzinger (1969), Owens (1976) and Yawney (1979) for accounts of the various congregational centres in West Kingston.
12. Mutabaruka is a Rastafari orator / poet, and Folk Philosopher also, who for more than 10 years has operated a radio programme called the "Cutting Edge". He constitutes one of the contemporary leaders of the Movement and is listened to by a wide cross-section of the Jamaican society (both Rastafarian and non-Rastafarian).
13. From about 1968 - 1984 the significant ethnography of the Rastafari Movement in Kingston was pursued primarily through the researchers Carole Yawney who developed a personal connection with Mortimo Planno, and Barrington Chevannes who studied various communities including some of the most detailed work on Claudius Henry.

14. Eric William's PhD thesis (1938), later published in 1944 as "Capitalism and Slavery" would have constituted the vocalisation of a Caribbean sensibility coming into being about our history and economic past.
15. Mais is thought to have drawn on the infamous sketch of the bearded villain "Wappie King" who excited the attention of the society by the murder of a society woman's spouse in Kingston in the early 1950s.
16. What is described by Chinua Achebe (1965) as the "Novelist as Teacher" is achieved and in other places such works have been described as the "thesis novel".
17. The urban youth male has seen several transitions in their names and indentity. The most recent dispensation has seen the original youth male gangsters now being identified as "Shottas".
18. The doctrine of the Movement is now largely accepted as one that rejects the notions of death. This was especially assisted by Bob Marley's refusal to write a will which placed his estate in the hands of the courts to resolve its awarding among his family and kin.
19. Bob Marley the most famous case of dying intestate brought the philosophical stance to death to the forefront, (see BBC, 2003). Chevannes has written about this especially in the context of the Movement's members facing this question increasingly. See Chevannes 1998 in John Pulis.
20. Jamaica since Mais' writing has undergone a succession of Political changes which culminated in the award of Political Independence in 1962.
21. Chevannes later identifies a "liminal" place within which Rastafari exists and ascribes it as the source of the Movement's creative endurance (Chevannes, 2003).
22. See Brathwaite (1984) try to identify the elements, ethos and aesthetics of a Caribbean oral tradition.
23. The fascination of studying Rastafari in a global context should not be confused with the Return of Rastafari to Africa. The former has been studied increasingly by North Atlantic based researchers since the centenary of Haile Selassie's birth (1992) see Yawney, 1999. Yawney (2001) has actually started to engage the Rastafari / Repatriation experience from the point of view of the experience of the Return to Africa by those in particular in Ethiopia.
24. See Audio recording, *"the Arrivant"*, Kamau Brathwaite, Disc 4.
25. See Rupert Lewis, (1998, p. 92), for discussion of the bulldozing of the Dungle shortly after the visit of Emperor Haile Selassie
26. Chevannes (2001, p.33), indicates that Rastafari leaders prohibited the possession or use of ganja in their assemblies to deny the police any pretext for harassment and imprisonment. Further he note that the "Dreadlocks, however, changed all that".
27. This is in contrast to the paucity of skills training noticeable among the individuals viewed by Kitzinger.
28. See Frank van dijk (1994), for extensive accounting of the media's engagement and promulgation of negative stereotypes of Rastafari brethren in Kingston.
29. See G. R. Coulthard (1964), who describes Patterson's *"The Children of Sisyphus"*. Achebe (1965) identifies his own work as being a type of "applied art" as opposed to a "pure art", this is a related idea to the novelised sociology, cited in "Empire Writes Back..."
30. Such tensions pertaining to the academy's acceptance had once surrounded the creative works of scholars such as Brathwaite and Brodber.
31. Mato, 2000 & Pereira, 2000
32. See Government of Jamaica (1961).
33. See *Daily Gleaner*....????
34. See Augier, Roy; Mills, Don; Alvaranga, P; Planno,M *et al,* (1999), Library of Spoken Word, Radio Education Unit
35. Chevannes' PhD. was awarded by Columbia University, 1989. His contribution has been brought through his eclectic engagement, rural folk upbringing, Jesuit and Classic schooling, anthropology and a life devoted to teaching and researching Caribbean Culture. It should also

be noted that although Rupert Lewis (1998) thesis is catalogued under Rastafari its subject matter intersects Rastafari at points along its intended trajectory focussed on looking at Walter Rodney's intellectual contribution.

36. Chevannes (1994) p.xi.

37. See Hobsbawn (1959), Weber (1963), Worsley (1968) and Cohn for extended discussions of Charismatic leadership in the sociological sense.

38. See Chevanne (1994) and also Newland, Arthur, for extended view of Bobo dread.

39. Subsequently Chevannes (2002) has shown a preference for the term "folk religion", this might be as a result of less class driven paradigms to that of culture centered frameworks.

40. Daniel Mato sees Cultural Studies as a "transnational movement whose membership is made [up] of intellectuals". Mato's use of the category "intellectual" is rendered to include "those who are in diverse ways committed to the critique of current forms of hegemony, committed to delegitimze established relations of power, and to advancing the construction of more just forms of social life..." (Mato, 2000). This reading of Cultural Studies is in and of itself a part of the Caribbean folk philosophy tradition especially visible in the Rastafari movement. I argue elsewhere that Rastafari emergence in Jamaica constitutes the genesis of a Cultural Studies project. See Niaah, Jalani (2003)

41. Sylvia Wynter (1977) supports this view.

42 To borrow an application of concepts from Bratwaite (2002), I would say Walter Rodney represents a "Gula Quatti, or a half way point between exile and freedom, and seemly the limit of the conventional intellectual's potential.

43. See Horace Campbell, E. Cashmore and Billy Hall for example to find discussions of the Movement in this regard. One attempt at greater object research as it relates to Ganja can be noted in Rubin and Comitas (1975)

44. See R. E. Schultes and A. Hofmann (1992).

45. Maureen Warner-Lewis (2003) has tried to establish connections between the Caribbean and central Africa in particular to demonstrate the evidence of such connections between these two region. For a discussion of the use of water pipes in Africa from the 14th and 15th centuries see John Philips (1983).

46. Cassidy (1962), identifies the word as being of unknown origin coming into usage about 1952.

47. See Chevannes 2001. Also see National Commission on Ganja 2001. Also V. Rubin and L. Comitas (1975)

48. See Chevannes (1998).

49. Chevannes theorises about the margin from which the Rastafari operates which makes or gives Rastafari its characteristic power.

50. Interview, Helen Lee (2000) St. Andrew.

51. In recent years Carole Yawney and Julia Bonacci, have both taken interest in the recent development in the process of Repatriation, Yawney having published, 2001 "Exodus..."

52. The Conference called "From the Cross to the Throne: Rastafari in the New Millennium", took place at the Undercroft at the University of the West Indies, August 15-17, 1999, See Radio Education Unit, UWI, Mona.