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“A Gentle, Angry People”

Music in a Quaker Nonviolent Direct-Action Campaign to Power Local Green Jobs

Benjamin Safran

Shortly into Exelon’s annual shareholders’ meeting in 2019, the energy conglomerate’s CEO admonished a group of seven protestors for yelling and disrupting. We were from Earth Quaker Action Team (EQAT), whose Power Local Green Jobs campaign targets the Philadelphia-based utility company PECO, one of Exelon’s subsidiaries. A protestor calmly responded that we were not in fact yelling, and—somewhat surprisingly—one of the shareholders agreed. Though our group continued to interject, sometimes out of turn, the CEO soon stopped referring to us as “yelling.” At the end of the meeting, we broke into singing activist-singer-songwriter Pat Humphries’ 1984 *Never Turning Back* as we got up to leave. This action did not go as planned—we had anticipated being kicked out by security fairly early in the meeting. Instead, we stayed and ended up engaging in significant dialogue with Exelon executives. However, singing while making our exit was always our expectation, as it often is in EQAT’s actions.

Music is intertwined not only with a social movement’s identity, but also with its campaign strategy. Although an increasing body of work addresses the use of music in environmental justice movements, including monographs by Mark Pedelty on environmental activism around the Salish Sea and by Noriko Manabe on the Japanese antinuclear movement, such work most often focuses on movements that include large-scale marches, rallies, concerts, or festivals designed to effect cultural change across society.¹ Yet smaller-scale direct actions that are part of strategic, sustained campaigns

such as Power Local Green Jobs can also contribute substantially to measurable social change, even in political moments when change feels hopeless. Such campaigns need music just as much as mass movements.

As discussed below, EQAT’s particular musical culture, which emphasizes whole-group participation, spontaneity, and promotion of a “peaceful” appearance, is rooted in historical Quaker views on music. I argue that this musical culture is particularly effective in achieving highly disruptive, effective direct action with small groups of people. Music and sound serve many of the same roles within EQAT as within large social movements. Additionally, music allows the organization to fulfill its “rebel” identity while simultaneously reinforcing its dutiful, respectful outward appearance. As a self-described “rebel group” employing nonviolent direct action for environmental and economic justice, EQAT uses participatory music within a carefully planned framework to summon courage and build a sense of unity within actions that feel scary to many participants. At the same time, the “gentle” Quaker aesthetic may partially mask and even cap the movement’s rebelliousness. Quaker-influenced music and sound in the Power Local Green Jobs campaign serve the movement’s “edgy” energy while also tapping into reverence and high moral standing indexed by religious music.

I approach this analysis as a white, Jewish, male-appearing, and nonbinary-identifying musicologist, activist, and composer who was raised in a professional-

class, predominantly white family and graduated from a historically Quaker liberal arts college. I also have close connections to Earth Quaker Action Team. Within EQAT, I have participated in actions, action planning groups, general meetings, strategy sessions, and occasional fundraising work since 2012. I have served as “action lead” for specific actions and taken part in ad hoc working groups, or “core teams,” that plan specific actions or implement specific tasks. In connection with my dissertation, I organized the premiere of a portion of a protest piece I composed for a Power Local Green Jobs action inside the PECO building in spring 2018. In late spring 2019, after the initial submission of this article, I was asked to join the organization’s unpaid board of directors.

EQAT itself is majority white, middle-class, and college-educated, and these demographics privilege the group with substantial benefit of the doubt from authorities. Nevertheless, EQAT’s presentation of itself through music also deserves some of the credit for its being read by power holders as respectable, legitimate, and peaceful. Although the organization I have chosen to discuss here is predominantly white, the majority of successful “peaceful-appearing” modern nonviolent direct-action campaigns across the world have been led by people of color;² in this article I invoke the United States civil rights movement that culminated in the 1960s because it is one particularly well known example. On the other hand, I have observed and participated in actions of mostly white groups that adopted more outwardly aggressive-appearing stances and attracted a hostile reaction from police and the public.

My analysis risks buying into respectability politics, a concern raised by

several music scholars with whom I have shared various stages of this work. Music scholars may be especially attuned to this risk because historically our field has been primarily concerned with music’s ability to act at the level of cultural, as opposed to policy, change. Thinking at the cultural level alerts us to the danger that acting in accordance with hegemonic cultural norms reproduces hegemony. However, at the policy level, quantitative evidence suggests that acting “peaceful” is more likely to achieve measurable success.³ Since measurable institutional changes are essential for a just, livable world, and sustained, nonviolent direct-action campaigns are an effective way of changing institutions, it is important to examine the strategic role music can play in such campaigns. While “peaceful” campaigns may indeed reinforce cultural norms across society, I see this as less of a concern for an effective but tiny, little-known organization like EQAT. At the same time, in arguing for the utility of EQAT’s culture, I emphatically do not intend to tone-police or suggest that appearing “civil” is in the interest of every social movement or campaign.

“Quaker Music”

At first glance, there is nothing specifically “Quaker” about most of the songs EQAT uses in its Power Local Green Jobs campaign. Most are contrafacta of black spirituals, American folk revival music, or popular music. Nevertheless, EQAT’s Quaker grounding is not incidental to the fact that it is an environmental group that takes its music seriously. Even though Quakerism lacks the well-known repertoire of music found in many religions, the uses of music within this campaign reflect ideals that date back to early Quakerism.

EQAT's Quaker roots support both its organizational and musical goals as they shape its soundscape.

Faith-based action groups in the United States have long used religious music to claim moral standing. In the twentieth-century civil rights movement, the use of religious music indexed bravery, patience, unity, virtue, and reconciliation.⁴ Thomas Turino notes that songs can condense complex meaning and "become associated with various social movements through time and so index earlier aspirations and struggles."⁵ The use of traditional Christian spiritual music, with lyrics altered for civil rights messaging, effectively situated the civil rights movement within a history of spiritually based struggles for justice. Similar strategies are employed in several contemporary social movements in Philadelphia, where Power Local Green Jobs is focused. For example, participants in the New Sanctuary Movement sing spirituals to promote a peaceful sonic environment when protesting arrests by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officials. Singing familiar spirituals in both English and Spanish helps draw a connection between religious virtue and the Latinx communities ICE is targeting, thus promoting their moral superiority over the agency. During action debriefs that I have attended, participants have noted that the use of song can deescalate tension between protestors and ICE employees.⁶

Despite the plethora of religious music in activist movements, one might not expect to see music play such a central role for EQAT given the historical reluctance among the leaders of the Religious Society of Friends to embrace any music whatsoever. Quaker worship is based on following the Spirit, with an aversion to

"form without power." In early Quakerism, this meant an emphasis on spontaneity, to which precomposed, metrical hymns were seen as opposed. Although both Thomas F. Taylor and Kenneth Carroll have found that early Quakers did not completely avoid music, Bertha May Nicholson writes that children in early Friends schools were often disciplined for making music.⁷ Conforming to metrical and rhyme structures might make one express something differently from the way it would most purely be expressed in accordance with the Spirit and scripture.⁸ The rare cases in which early Quakers saw singing as potentially acceptable were when it arose directly from divine inspiration. An important facet of early Quaker singing was the requirement that it represent a state of "truth" and honest expression rather than an imitation.⁹ Singing might be permissible if seen as original, authentic, and spontaneous.

Aversion to music was not unique to Quakerism; at the time of the religion's rise in England in the seventeenth century, the leaders of other Protestant separatist sects in the region had already questioned the appropriateness and power of religious music.¹⁰ Concern about the spiritual significance of music was hardly new in Protestant religious thought. Taylor compares Quakers' opposition to music to that found in Plato's *Republic*.¹¹ Still, he notes that "the vigor with which Friends spoke and wrote against music, and the rage their attitude created among churchmen, helped to establish a special connection between anti-musical attitudes and Quakers in the popular mind."¹² For centuries Quakers were known for their aversion to both sacred and secular music. As a result, "Quaker music" seems almost oxymoronic and has received relatively little

scholarly attention apart from a few works about music in Quaker-related publications from the mid-1980s and a 1993 work in *Choral Journal*.¹³

Quakerism's emphasis on nonviolence should not be misconstrued as promoting passivity. Quaker culture, including musical culture, is historically aligned with rebelliousness. Carroll found substantial evidence of early Quakers singing during whippings or imprisonment when they were facing religious persecution.¹⁴ It appears that singing and rejoicing while being whipped were seen as a source of power while facing oppressors.

The practice of singing appeared to decline after 1675, with the exception of a group of "Singing Quakers" who disturbed meetings throughout New England at the turn of the eighteenth century.¹⁵ Richard Farnworth, a prominent seventeenth-century Quaker thinker, makes one reference to music in his writing in 1653, in which he argues that singing hymns could be part of worship, while emphasizing the need to avoid "living in pleasures."¹⁶ In that same year, Thomas Atkinson wrote the first known Quaker tract directly attacking music.¹⁷ Through the mid-nineteenth century, the Society of Friends placed increasing emphasis on restricting outward creative behavior. "You did not need to learn about something someone else had created—in music, painting or fiction—because it was not your own experience," writes Nicholson.¹⁸ An 1869 article by the Quaker John Collins indicates that the ban on music was less consistently enforced than bans on other forms of "intemperance," such as drinking or gambling.¹⁹ "While a consistent 'Friend' could not either indulge his natural fondness for it by practicing upon any instrument or recommending

others to spend time in it, either professionally or for recreation, the practice of members varies considerably," writes Collins. "Some (destitute of Tune?) will not allow the simplest whistling or humming around the house, while others, with an ear for harmony, may occasionally allow [music]."²⁰ Even as Collins acknowledges the existence of music within segments of the Quaker community, he firmly identifies it as transgressive.

In her 1987 pamphlet, published by the Quaker study center Pendle Hill, Nicholson explored the possibility of a relationship between music and Quaker spiritual life, writing that "we see the creative side of our nature as positive and endeavor to identify and develop our individual gifts, whatever they may be."²¹ A violin teacher and Friend,²² Nicholson considers that music may represent a "truth" leading to knowledge about God, but she also remarks that Quakers are "understandably concerned about the use of form without inspiration."²³

While Quakerism has reopened itself to music and art, it is still not stereotypically known as a musical religion. Writing in 1993, Dan Graves, choir director at Earlham College, a Quaker institution, observed that even though choral music was no longer explicitly banned on the basis of being "destructive to worship," "many Friends continue[d] to hold onto these attitudes."²⁴ Graves noted that there was still no place for organized choirs within "meetings for worship," the unprogrammed worship services that remain the norm among Quakers in the Philadelphia area. In the United Kingdom, the birthplace of Quakerism, only a few meetinghouses had a piano and only one had an organ as of the early 1990s.²⁵ Still, Graves saw

an “explosion” of new musical activity emerging among Quakers in the form of choral music. This “explosion” does not appear to have received further scholarly attention since his article appeared, and it does not represent the music used by EQAT.

The 1988 songbook *Rising Up Singing*, edited by Quakers Annie Patterson and Peter Blood, offers 1,200 songs for group singing, and is used across the world by various secular and sacred groups from different religions, including in protest contexts.²⁶ The songs in the collection are mostly unnotated, and few if any are by Quakers. Many members of EQAT are familiar with the songbook, which has contributed to their appreciation for group singing.

Graves argued that the Quaker virtues of simplicity, peacefulness, and egalitarianism shape the religion’s musical aesthetics.²⁷ In a letter to Graves, composer Gwyneth Walker, who comes from the silent worship tradition that predominates in the northeastern United States, writes that her philosophy of composition is strongly tied to her Quaker identity.²⁸ Walker emphasizes peace, “the spirit within,” avoids setting “vulgar or violent words” and “words that praise *famous* people over ordinary people,” and prefers “lyrical, life-affirming, egalitarian ‘themes.’”²⁹ Her musical preferences reflect the peaceful, gentle nature for which Quakers are known. To the extent that they are shared by members of EQAT, this creates a potential contradiction with the religion’s self-professed rebel identity, as discussed further below.

Quakerism is not as devoid of musical history as one might imagine. That said, the songs used by contemporary Quaker organizations have nothing to do with the seventeenth-century repertoire documented

by Taylor and Carroll. Nor are any of the songs sung by EQAT in Power Local Green Jobs actions written by the “new generation” of Quaker choral composers that Graves describes. Nevertheless, EQAT’s uses of music reflect many of the Quaker values and practices discussed above.

Power Local Green Jobs

EQAT’s Power Local Green Jobs campaign demands that utility company PECO—formerly the Philadelphia Electric Company, but now a subsidiary of Exelon, which also owns such facilities as the Three Mile Island nuclear plant—invest heavily in solar energy and create sustainable local jobs in marginalized communities in the Philadelphia area. The identity of Power Local Green Jobs, marked by its demographics and its commitment to nonviolent direct action, results in a distinctive musical culture. Conversely, this musical culture shapes and reaffirms the identity of Power Local Green Jobs and of EQAT, potentially reinforcing its demographics along with its choices of campaign strategy and tactics. Music is in a symbiotic relationship with the structure, make-up, and tactics of the movement, and is also shaped by Quaker ideology concerning music.

A joint campaign of EQAT and Philadelphians Organized to Witness, Empower and Rebuild (POWER), Power Local Green Jobs began in 2015. On its website, EQAT introduces the campaign as follows:

The Power Local Green Jobs Campaign uses nonviolent, direct action to challenge PECO, a utility company, to take responsibility for creating jobs and benefiting poor communities by making a major shift to locally generated solar power for electricity. The campaign has

been joined by POWER, a broad multi-faith network of 60 congregations.

The campaign is calling on PECO to support the local economy by purchasing solar energy from Philadelphia rooftops, which will create jobs for local workers; lower electricity bills for families, schools, and churches; and make a more resilient electrical grid. This campaign proposes solutions to three critical issues: underemployment, crumbling infrastructure, and mitigating the impacts of climate change.³⁰

EQAT started Power Local Green Jobs following a successful campaign called Bank Like Appalachia Matters (*BLAM!*), which resulted in PNC Financial Services ending its investments in mountaintop-removal coal mining. POWER joined Power Local Green Jobs within its first year and continues to work on other campaigns simultaneously. EQAT, however, works exclusively on Power Local Green Jobs, a strategic decision intended to maximize sustained pressure on a single target.

Power Local Green Jobs is a fairly small campaign in terms of number of participants. Perhaps 50 people regularly show up for organizational meetings and take on planning roles within the campaign, though many more subscribe to the mailing lists of EQAT and POWER and occasionally attend an action or donate money. At any given time EQAT has employed two to four staff members. Major actions have averaged perhaps 100 people and have occurred every few months, though smaller EQAT actions, such as accosting a corporate executive or disrupting a meeting, have taken place with as few as two participants. Given the success of the *BLAM!* campaign targeting PNC, EQAT's power should not be underestimated. In response to our movement, PECO has

started to take such token steps as hosting vaguely defined "solar collaboratives" in an attempt to assuage activists' concerns without meeting their direct demands.

A notable feature of EQAT is the multiple generations of participants. About half of the core group of individuals within the organization appear to be over age 50, while many participants are in their twenties and early thirties. The paid staff of EQAT have mostly slanted younger. POWER seems to have a somewhat older membership. Several individuals over 75 have served on the EQAT board or have regularly been involved in action planning, and children have participated in or even run many actions. One *BLAM!* action inside a bank branch was planned and carried out entirely by a group of inspired middle school students, including the role of police liaison. Most of the older participants identify as Quakers, while the majority of the younger participants do not. Many of the non-Quakers are, like me, alumni of Quaker liberal arts colleges, and others may be attracted to the group due to its emphasis on sustained targeting of a single corporate target, which feels strategic in the current political climate. There is a relatively even gender balance, with more female and nonbinary participants among the younger members.

Although both of EQAT's full-time paid campaign directors so far have been people of color, as noted above the organization is predominantly white and middle-class. This demographic has caused discomfort both within and outside of EQAT, given that one of the goals of its current campaign is to create jobs for low-income people of color. A desire among many leaders in the group to engage in a campaign at the intersection of racial, economic, and

environmental justice played a role in the decision to pressure PECO to create green jobs in marginalized communities. EQAT's leaders have sometimes expressed concern that the group's culture marginalizes people of color, and have occasionally held workshops on race and privilege with outside facilitators to address this topic. POWER is more multiracial and includes member congregations from most Philadelphia neighborhoods. It should also be emphasized that the goal of Power Local Green Jobs is not to organize marginalized communities in Philadelphia. Instead, the goal is to support existing community organizations within those neighborhoods by demanding that PECO solve environmental and economic problems around which the communities are already organized.

EQAT's owes its self-identification as a rebel group to the "four roles of social change" articulated by Bill Moyer, an activist, author, and cofounder of Philadelphia's Movement for New Society in the 1970s. Moyer defined "rebel groups" as those who focus on dramatic actions that primarily take a strongly oppositional stance toward institutions and structures, as distinct from groups that seek to advance their causes by lobbying, community organizing, or changing lifestyles.³¹ Just as EQAT's demographics have implications for the campaign's use of music as it takes nonviolent direct action, so does its rebellious identity.

Nonviolent Direct Action

Like other academics,³² sociologist and EQAT cofounder George Lakey defines nonviolent direct action as "a technique of struggle that goes beyond institutionalized conflict procedures like law courts and voting. . . . [Instead, it includes] methods of protest, noncooperation, and intervention

that typically heighten a conflict—and the use of these methods without the threat or use of injurious force to others."³³ Following Gene Sharp, I consider nonviolent direct action to consist of action that includes some element of noncooperation or direct intervention with an oppressive institution or power structure, as opposed to persuasion from afar. Sharp argues that noncooperation is essential to resisting oppression:

A firmly established regime need not take serious note of a minor opposition which is restricted to verbal dissent, while continuing a passive submission and cooperation with the regime. If even a majority dissents only in words, while refraining from any action which the regime would have to take seriously, there is nothing that *requires* the regime even to consider the advisability of a change.³⁴

Strategic calculation requires social movements to foresee conflict, since goals are attained at the expense of opponents who are calculating their own strategy.³⁵ Direct action also always involves imbalances of power, with the challengers at a lower social position than those they are challenging.³⁶ Thus, staging nonviolent struggle has the potential to "bring parity to the unbalanced relationship" between the opposing parties in a social conflict.³⁷ Strategic use of music that indexes a higher power can be one tactic for such empowerment of protestors.

In most circumstances, this definition means that an outdoor march with a permit, a picket line, a benefit concert, a festival, or a petition drive would not count as direct action within contemporary American society. Such tactics may still be useful for environmentalism when undertaken with large numbers of people, especially if they are part of a larger, ongoing strategic campaign. Kate Galloway notes that while

such events do not guarantee measurable change, their soundscapes may unite listeners while connecting them to the environment.³⁸ Still, action without an element of noncooperation tends to feel institutionalized in contemporary American society and thus may not meet the general definition of direct action. Action taken in typical protest spaces, such as public squares and sidewalks, can easily become, as John Parkinson puts it, “ritualized and regularized to the point where it no longer matters very much.”³⁹ In contrast, occupations of a less typical protest space, such as a corporate lobby, may cause significant disruption even with a small number of people.

At a recent Power Local Green Jobs strategy retreat, a member of POWER who is black raised the concern that the EQAT and academic definition of direct action betrays the group’s privilege, noting that what goes beyond the bounds of normal political activity is dependent on identity. For a black person without a college degree to lobby a politician may be a radical act, she argued. I do not dispute that lobbying could be seen as radical and as a legitimate strategy to effect change. Yet it is also true that people of color throughout history and around the world have led social movements that have made use of highly disruptive forms of noncooperation—indeed, often much more so than EQAT.⁴⁰

So far, Power Local Green Jobs’ direct actions have most often occurred at the PECO building in Center City Philadelphia. The earliest actions took place outside, on PECO’s privately owned but publicly accessible front plaza, while many recent actions have taken place inside the lobby. Moving inside was an attempt by action organizers at “escalation.” PECO initially

responded cautiously; while civil-affairs police who respond to protests have been present at most actions, for the first two years of the campaign PECO never asked them to remove protestors from its property. Although EQAT’s majority-white racial identity undoubtedly plays a large role in the caution shown by PECO and the police, the campaign also makes tactical choices that communicate a “peaceful” identity, including around uses of music.

The Musical Culture of Power Local Green Jobs

Power Local Green Jobs maintains a robust musical culture in which there is no divide between musicians and audience. Most major actions have a designated song leader who is chosen in advance; along with police liaison, action leader, spiritual anchor, and a few others, this is among the few action roles that are rarely omitted. The song leader ensures that actions will be grounded in music as well as spirit and, with the spiritual anchor, builds a sense of cohesion and confidence among the group in actions that might be frightening or uncomfortable. In rare actions that have not featured group singing, musicians—or in one case prerecorded music—have been accompanied by participatory dance. EQAT has also held songwriting workshops. The idea that music should be sung by everyone who is moved to do so, rather than performed for an audience, can be situated within Quakerism and contrasts with the musical traditions normatively associated with predominantly white, middle-class groups.

In spring 2016 there was an attempt to start a chorus for Power Local Green Jobs that would anchor the music for major actions. The intent was to have a core group

of singers who knew the music well and whose confidence would embolden others to join them. In April 2016, an EQAT board member sent an email to a group of Power Local Green Jobs participants who were musically inclined or interested, inviting them to join the chorus. It said, in part:

I've talked with some of you recently about how lovely it would be for some core [members of the campaign] to practice harmonies and work on really polishing some songs together. I think this could make our singing in actions more powerful, and . . . I for one would love to do more technically-minded singing (which I've been missing).

The email's underlying assumption was that technically polished singing would make the group's actions more powerful. This desire for polish is consistent with EQAT's demographics: many members have participated in ensembles that perform European classical music and subscribe to the values and social traditions associated with that genre. A chorus could indeed support a social movement in some scenarios, such as by performing a benefit concert. However, as Turino notes, polish and technical proficiency reflect the goals of presentational music, not those of participatory music.⁴¹ Although rehearsal may have been intended to encourage participation, the group's current level of musical ability is more than sufficient for all action attendees to be able to join in song easily.

In Power Local Green Jobs, impulses for polish are usually moderated by Quaker values emphasizing spontaneity instead of technical proficiency. The Power Local Green Jobs chorus held one rehearsal at the home of an EQAT leader who had a piano. About a dozen people attended, with several of us coaching, leading, and suggesting

harmonies for existing songs within our repertoire. Much of the folk revival and spiritual music used in the campaign sounds fantastic in a choir setting. However, the same fear of "form without power" that originally caused consternation among Friends about music may also be helpful in moving Power Local Green Jobs beyond the presentational music values with which some members were raised.

Regardless of individuals' relationship to EQAT's musical culture, music can help the campaign articulate the values of honesty and forthrightness while performing disruptive action. In addition to the use of participatory singing, EQAT's identity is performed by a careful choice of songs whose genres—in particular, folk songs and spirituals that were used during the civil rights movement—index such values. These song choices often contain the "lyrical, life-affirming, egalitarian 'themes'" that Walker associated with Quakerism. Even when songs and song leaders are carefully chosen in advance, music in which everyone is invited to participate can promote the image of an egalitarian, consensus-driven culture. Spontaneously breaking into *This Little Light of Mine* as a mode of disrupting a corporate board meeting can be highly disorienting to onlookers and cause them to consider who has higher moral standing, those who are running the meeting or those who are disrupting it.

Song and Sound Choices

Not unexpectedly, the songs chosen for the campaign broadly reflect EQAT's demographics. Some songs are used for just one particular action—for example, covers of Christmas songs were intended for a holiday-themed action—while others are staples of the campaign. The bulk of the

songs consist of contrafacta of spirituals and folk revival songs that have a long history in U.S. social movements. The campaign builds a cohesive musical culture using songs that are stylistically similar.⁴² Of the few newly composed songs, most have melodic contours, rhythms, and tonalities similar to those of spirituals and folk revival music.

For Power Local Green Jobs, the use of folk songs and spirituals indexes the civil rights movement's values of peace, love, bravery, and sacrifice. It is true that the degree to which EQAT's campaign fits within that lineage is debatable. The second decade of the twenty-first century has featured environmental justice campaigns that take place in politically conservative regions, are led by people of color, and have faced extreme police brutality, such as the Standing Rock mobilization against the Dakota Access Pipeline. As discussed further below, those factors do not apply to Power Local Green Jobs.

Folk music might be expected to appeal to a group that values original expression over imitation. Thomas Grunning argues that personal emotional response is especially encouraged and indexed to authenticity within folk music.⁴³ Barry Shank sees the desire for "authenticity" within the American folk revival as connected to "the desire for a premodern way of life, outside the mechanisms of the modern market society."⁴⁴ The association of folk music with genuine emotion and rejection of market society would help promote the campaign's identity. Although performances of "authenticity" have often in reality meant the mastery of a set of conventions such that musicians become "master performers of feelings that they did not share,"⁴⁵ in my experience participants

really do share the feelings expressed by the music they are singing.

The next-largest category of music used by the campaign is parodies of popular music with lyrics rewritten to support the campaign. In parody covers, a well-known song is reset with different lyrics whose meaning has little or nothing to do with the original, like songs by "Weird Al" Yankovic.⁴⁶ The Power Local Green Jobs parody songs tend to be used in low-key actions that are less confrontational and more "invitational" in tone. These parodies are intended to be fun and often silly, while no particular effort is made to connect the values of the original song with those of the campaign. Kurt Mosser suggests that such covers simply exploit the base song for "comic effect."⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the songs that are chosen to be parodied still broadly index the movement's identity. Ranging from show tunes to pop songs, the parodies used in Power Local Green Jobs actions represent those that participants would listen to apart from their activism. Based on the song titles I have collected for my research, with the exception of a cover of Taylor Swift's *Bad Blood* called *Band-aids Don't Fix Climate Change*, all of the parodies' base songs are over 25 years old. It also appears that all of the contrafacta sung in the current campaign, apart from the spirituals, are of songs by white artists. The previous campaign targeting PNC to stop investing in mountaintop removal included one popular-music contrafactum from nonwhite artists, a parody cover of *Stop! In the Name of Love* used in a Valentine's Day action. Also, a member of EQAT who is black composed the majority of its original songs. Overall, the song choices still indicate a racialized—and age-specific—identity of those choosing the music within the social movement. This

music builds group cohesion around a sense of fun, while also validating the concern that the group's culture marginalizes people of color.

In addition to reflecting a demographic identity, the texts in the parody covers are strikingly upbeat. The refrain of *Band-aids Don't Fix Climate Change* tells PECO that we know "they can do better," continuing

Philly's got problems
And we think you can solve 'em
If you make a really big push.
PECO, it's time to go solar (Hey!).

Band-aids Don't Fix Climate Change becomes somewhat more confrontational as it progresses, later stating: "Your small efforts just for show / If you don't do more, you gotta go!" Still, the refrain returns at the end, maintaining the song's positive framing. This tone reflects the fact that these covers were designed for the less confrontational actions that dominated the campaign until 2018. In one of these actions, participants danced to *Electric Slide* on PECO's plaza and invited PECO to "join the dance" by committing to local solar electricity. However, this upbeat quality is also present in the spirituals and folk songs that have dominated the song choices of more oppositional actions. Additionally, both invitational and oppositional actions have often featured a theatrical element and provided a sense of spectacle. This upbeatness could be compared to Pedelty's description of Dana Lyons's tour as responding to a serious threat, but also "really fun."⁴⁸ He observes that "successful musical activists tend to celebrate the carnivalesque nature of public performance rather than struggle against it."⁴⁹ Another apt comparison is to the musical examples described by Manabe in the Japanese antinuclear movement, such as *Eejanaika Ondo*, in which an antinuclear

message is communicated through a cheerful communal dance.⁵⁰ Majken Jul Sørensen argues that humor in political activism can be subversive and more than just a vent for frustration when it directly confronts power or mobilizes resistance.⁵¹ Manabe notes that such a sense of fun is not for everyone, quoting an activist who argues that "if people look like they're having too much fun and getting too excited, it gives the impression that the fun is shared only by an inner circle. It loses its openness to new participants."⁵² EQAT's emphasis on fun contrasts with the sonic choices made by some other Philadelphia activist groups, such as the Coalition for REAL Justice, which cultivates an enraged, often profanity-laced soundscape in its actions for racial and economic justice. Inviting to many, EQAT's almost carnivalesque actions amid social injustice do risk appearing irreverent or unwelcoming to some. This silly and theatrical aesthetic may seem indulgent and therefore un-Quakerly. Yet the overall positive, good-natured approach contributes to a sense of gentleness and friendliness even in the midst of relatively rebellious action that feels decisively Quaker-inflected.

Song choices in Power Local Green Jobs range from serious to tongue-in-cheek, sometimes within the same event. In keeping with the Quaker tradition of silent worship, silence, music, and a combination of the two are used interchangeably to punctuate especially poignant moments. These sonic choices enable participants to digest and reflect on the preceding discussion. Meetings often end with a song, for which participants often stand in a circle and hold hands, as if in silent prayer. A six-hour strategy session in early 2018 began by singing Pat Humphries's *Never*

Turning Back—the same song that would be used in the 2019 Exelon shareholder meeting action—as a group. This was followed by a moment of silence, a poem, and a solemn welcome into the space. Later in the meeting, after a snack break, the facilitator led a lighthearted contrafactum of the same song with the verse “gonna find my seat for justice / we’re coming back, to have a snack.” Although this contrafactum changes a sincere, justice-oriented song into something trifling, such covers can still be seen as sincere since they reflect the sentiment of the group at the time they are sung. In fact, the overt transformation could be seen as less fraught than singing the original, since it avoids any attempt to imitate the sentiment of the base song, thereby better observing the values of Quaker honesty and forthrightness.

No single musical style appeals to everyone. Power Local Green Jobs’ parodies of popular music in particular are notable in that the group to which they appeal does not likely correspond to the demographics of those most impacted by the economic and environmental injustice that the campaign seeks to address. Although this might be a problem in a large social movement that aimed to create broad cultural change, a group whose participants mostly come from privileged backgrounds can still be effective at creating social change assuming they develop consciousness around privilege and develop alliances with other groups.⁵³ A small direct-action campaign does not necessarily need to appeal to everyone to be successful, and it is arguably more effective to use the musical language of the oppressor. Pedelty notes that environmental organizations sometimes preach to themselves rather than reaching

the wider community, but that music that is mostly for the activists themselves is still important to build solidarity and morale.⁵⁴ This may be especially true for a small group like Power Local Green Jobs, where changing minds across society is less of a goal than disrupting PECO.

Causing a disruption to a corporate space’s normal soundscape can be powerful in direct action. When considering specific music and other sonic choices, the actual words and melodies of contrafacta are mostly important for energizing and entertaining the protestors themselves. The goal of these songs is not to communicate a specific message to the public, but rather to set an overall tone for the action while keeping participants energized and engaged. When EQAT won the *BLAM!* campaign targeting PNC, few had ever heard of the organization. It won not by building a mass movement but rather by pressuring the PNC board of directors through tactics such as disrupting shareholder meetings, or showing up at non-PNC-related private events attended by board members. When a PNC board member won an award from the Swarthmore College arboretum for her work in horticulture, EQAT was there to disrupt her award ceremony. The specific song choice for such an action does not necessarily matter; even silently holding a banner can make the audience quite angry. In other cases, a song that was familiar to the audience and indexed good virtue could be beneficial.

In a recent Power Local Green Jobs action, EQAT held silent worship in the lobby of the PECO building. Silence is another important Quaker value that shapes the campaign’s sonic choices; this tactic had been used before in the lobby of PNC banks during the *BLAM!* campaign.

Though impractical for a large outdoor rally, holding silence and speaking out of the silence within a corporate lobby are easy tactics to implement and make the group appear more commanding. When the group holds silence, even the police and security officers tend to talk in hushed tones, such that one hears the echo of every footstep of a PECO employee. The silence conveys a sense of holiness, encouraging authority figures to respond with respect, as if in a religious service. Sometimes a PECO publicity video plays quietly in one corner of the lobby, the commercial sound in juxtaposition with the worshipful silence. In a quiet indoor setting, when a person finally speaks up, their words are far easier to hear than in a large outdoor rally. Similar to our singing, silent worship is a seemingly unthreatening way of posing a threat to PECO's ability to conduct business as usual.

In this particular silent-worship action, an older Quaker man unexpectedly began to sing *Simple Gifts*. At other times, action participants—typically older men—have broken from an action design to recite a poem that strikes them in the moment. This can be powerful, and such practice embraces the Quaker tradition of acting as moved by the Spirit in the moment, even if it can sometimes be problematic for the messaging or flow of a carefully planned action. Such spontaneity creates a sonic unpredictability that could be disarming to police and PECO officials in conjunction with the sense of spirituality. Perhaps more important, the privileging of spontaneity can make for easily adaptable, flexible actions that work in unpredictable settings, a strong asset to nonviolent direct action. EQAT values its nimbleness and is able to pull off a higher rate of actions with

less planning than other similarly sized organizations I have witnessed. The sense of “acting as the Spirit moves you” enables this. Some larger actions have substantial props that require planning, but entering a space and holding a silent occupation can happen on a moment's notice.

In spring 2018 I led a performance of my above-mentioned protest piece in the PECO lobby as a Power Local Green Jobs action, featuring a mix of musically inclined members of EQAT and music students at my university. The participants' background in presentational music and their comfort with going through a rehearsal process made EQAT the perfect group to try out the piece. The protest was a success—thoroughly enjoyed by EQAT members and music students, and confounding and unwelcome to PECO. That said, the need for rehearsal and for things to work out precisely as planned can be a hindrance to nonviolent direct action; it also goes against the values of spontaneity that Carroll and Taylor associate with early Quaker music. Our recent experience underscored the importance of “moving with the Spirit” in nonviolent direct action. By luck we were able to enter the lobby unimpeded to perform the piece inside, which was important both for acoustics and for the musicians' instruments. However, in a typical Power Local Green Jobs action, the lead would simply have accepted that the doors were locked, adapted the action design to work outside, and claimed it as a win. Typical actions are flexible in terms of length; in this case we decided to perform the music twice to take up more time in the PECO lobby. For a stronger finish once the piece was over, EQAT members broke into *This Little Light of Mine* as we exited. Although my piece already made several accommodations in

consideration of direct-action logistics, such as flexible instrumentation and adaptable text, these additional changes to the musical action design were driven by the openness and spontaneity of the Power Local Green Jobs campaign.

“Day of Mourning” Action

Before Easter and Passover in 2018, EQAT planned a series of actions tied to Holy Week. One, which we called a “Day of Mourning” action, was the first action of Power Local Green Jobs in which some participants would risk arrest. It was followed the next day by a “Day of Vision” action led by children, and the following day by a “Day of Reckoning” planned to include a larger number of people risking arrest. The “Day of Mourning” action, which I attended, consisted of a wake-like silent march to the PECO building while carrying a “coffin” made of painted cardboard, followed by a rally with speakers that ideally would have been held inside the corporate lobby. As we expected, PECO knew we were coming and prevented us from entering. Instead, we held our rally on the company’s plaza, while those risking arrest occupied the customer service center. This action showcased much of the musical culture of the campaign, the utility of that culture, and some of its relationship with racial identity.

At an action preparation meeting I had attended two days earlier, participants expressed a desire to convey a sincere sense of mourning for the lives and opportunities lost in the Philadelphia region due to such challenges as disinvestment and pollution. Quaker values were on display when considering the soundscape and music of the action. “Silence can be really powerful,” observed a participant when we were planning the march. When part

of the action design involved an individual singing a mourning song with a dance as presentational music, one individual asked, “Is this a performance? Because with Quakers if you don’t say anything some of them are going to join in.”

The action featured a mix of choreographed and improvised elements. Our rally on the PECO plaza was moderated by an emcee chosen in advance who introduced the speakers and announced what would happen next. The action featured the Judaic Mourner’s Kaddish, led by rabbis from POWER, along with the Zulu song *Senzeni Na?*, which has a history as both a funeral song and a protest song. The action also used songs from Christian traditions, though, as usual, there were no songs that were specifically Quaker. These songs were borrowed from other traditions and their use may raise issues of appropriation, though they were led by people with ties to those religions. At the same time, their religiosity indexed an air of sincerity and respectability. The props for the mourning action, including a giant hourglass made of plastic and the cardboard coffin, had an obvious not-realness to them; our “funeral procession” to the PECO building felt theatrical in nature. Such fakeness can be effective in a humorous, mocking action, but this action was quite serious, and the seriousness was primarily conveyed through sound. The procession to the PECO building was undertaken in silence, apart from the steady, slow beat of a bass drum. Once at the PECO building, the soundscape included the songs, moments of silence, and speeches by those impacted by Philadelphia’s pollution and economic disinvestment. We heard from a North Philadelphia teenager who could not afford her bail and spent months in prison after

being falsely accused of a crime. We also heard from a North Philadelphia reverend about challenges facing his community, and from a member of another environmental activist group who spoke about the health problems faced by those living near the South Philadelphia oil refinery. Such speeches were deeply moving to both the EQAT and POWER crowds, even if the connection to the campaign was not always made explicit. Other participants' interactions with PECO employees, including security guards, suggested that many of them were also supportive. Despite the group's predominant whiteness, several participants observed that support for the action appeared to be higher among PECO employees whom they took to be people of color.

Inside the customer service center, the attendees who were risking arrest tried "preaching" about PECO to customers. The security guards, who initially seemed prepared to ignore the protestors' presence, were sufficiently alarmed by the preaching to bring in police quickly to carry out their arrests. Evidently we had touched a raw nerve, participants noted. The arrestees also reported that some customers—who were not the primary target of the action—seemed genuinely engaged by the preaching.

Lee Smithey and Lester Kurtz suggest that successful political performances "coordinate narratives and codes to condense meaning into symbols and narratives that are agonistic, pitting good against evil."⁵⁵ They observe that performances can signal shared values between challengers and the regime in order to make oppression less likely.⁵⁶ For example, during the U.S. civil rights movement, protestors choreographed their actions to appear as upstanding citizens, wearing their "Sunday

best" for sit-ins or marches to portray the respectability that was being violated by "white local ruffians."⁵⁷

When authorities are seen as attacking or disrespecting widely shared symbols, they may mobilize people in defense of shared collective identities. Thus, tactics that symbolically invoke events or principles that are deeply embedded in collective memory and identity can take on an almost sacred quality and present a dilemma to authorities who want to repress a movement but would do so at the risk of offending a much larger population.⁵⁸

In the case of Power Local Green Jobs, this is accomplished by sonic choices around music and silence, which ensure that the movement indexes good virtue at potentially risky moments.

In alignment with Quaker values, a sense of honesty and forthrightness marked our sonic choices. At the "Day of Mourning" action, the emcee declared over a microphone beforehand that seven people would be entering the PECO customer service center with the intention of risking arrest. Amazingly, they were still permitted to enter. Upon being arrested, they were issued citations and released on the spot. The one arrestee who was black, a reverend from a POWER congregation, told us during a debrief that his arresting officer told him that he really did not want to make the arrest. He noted that this was not the typical arrest experience for a black man, and that he had been afraid that the police would find an excuse to separate him from the other arrestees, all of whom were white. Another of the arrestees, who was also a clergy member, said that her arresting officer told her that he believed she was exercising a constitutional right, while still another arrestee said that her officer allowed her to

tell him about the vision of 20 percent solar by 2025 while her arrest was taking place. The group's sonic choices as well as its overall demographics enable such interactions with police across racial lines.

Singing occurred throughout the action, including as the arrests took place. An older white male member of EQAT who had not risked arrest recalled during the debrief how the action reminded him of his experience participating in 1960s civil rights marches, where protestors "sang with heart, sang with soul, and sang with spirit." Arrestees reported that they could hear the rest of us singing *This Little Light of Mine* outside and tried to join in from the customer service center, but that the acoustics prevented them from accurately synching up. The emphasis on singing with heart, soul, and spirit, an authentic and honest expression, evokes the desire for music to reflect an earnest "truth" rather than an imitation, a desire rooted in early Quaker thought. *This Little Light of Mine*, especially with the addition of verses like "All over PECO, I'm gonna let it shine," is an appropriation of a song not originally written for that purpose, which we might expect to be frowned upon in a religion that values original expression over imitation. But the discourse in Power Local Green Jobs presents such contrafacta as authentic, original, and directly originating from the heart, soul, and spirit.

Props such as a fake coffin are by definition imitations of an original, which may seem contrary to Quaker ideology. The campaign's use of songs that are largely borrowed from other traditions might also seem to contradict the original expression promoted by Quakerism. Yet the emotion was genuine. The music, while different from the songs' original meaning, was essential—along with the speeches—to the

creation of a space in which participants were not just acting as if in mourning but were in fact earnestly in mourning. In this sense, the borrowed music was what allowed for true original expression.

Music and Strategy Formation in Power Local Green Jobs

The use of contrafacta to reinforce the appearance of peacefulness is convincing to participants and the general public and strengthens the group's already fairly privileged standing with police. Relatively safe nonviolent direct action is also made possible by the Philadelphia Police Department's policies toward protestors, which as of 2018 can be regarded as relatively permissive thanks to past legal settlements and the philosophy of the current district attorney. The campaign's financial resources are another factor. In actions during which protestors intend to risk arrest, EQAT has ensured that arrangements are made in advance for bail and legal support so that activists can expect to spend little or no time in jail. In the one instance in Pittsburgh during the *BLAM!* campaign where bail was higher than expected, EQAT was able to fundraise the difference very quickly. This contrasts sharply with the experience of some 1960s civil rights movement protestors, who adopted a "jail-not-bail" strategy in order to put a strain on the white-supremacist institution of incarceration. This does not mean that Power Local Green Jobs faces no risks at all in its interactions with police. Philadelphia has had its share of police brutality, and some actions have occurred outside the city limits. Still, the performed identity of the group gives it privilege in encounters with police in any locale;

participants in EQAT's direct actions face a far lower risk than the civil rights activists whose music the campaign borrows. As with those activists, the campaign's song choices help it seem nonthreatening to law enforcement.

Even though the "persecution" EQAT faces is mild compared to that of either the early Quakers or other contemporary activists, direct action can still feel scary. Actions like occupying a corporate lobby or interrupting a private event go beyond what is generally considered acceptable in everyday life. EQAT members have observed that our middle-class upbringings teach us to be polite and avoid causing disruption, especially for those raised as female. Singing emboldens us by connecting singers to a lineage of activists. The combination of taking a moment of silence before actions, in the Quaker tradition, and singing has helped me and other participants feel grounded, reassured, and empowered during frightening actions. Singing together builds a sense of solidarity, and by conveying love, joy, and faith even in the midst of arrests, song can make people feel more comfortable with riskier actions. In both of its campaigns, EQAT actions have consistently included singing by nonarrestees as arrestees are being taken into police custody. In *BLAM!* actions, the singing was typically upbeat and accompanied by cheering. Such behavior runs contrary to societal expectations for behavior when one's friends are being arrested and is empowering for the arrestees. Singing joyfully in such a scenario can also be compared with the singing in the face of persecution that Carroll discovered among early Quakers. In the "Day of Mourning" action, there was a somewhat less upbeat attitude to the singing, in keeping with the nature and messaging of the action.

However, a few participants noted later that they still would have preferred upbeat music for the arrests. Videos from the *BLAM!* campaign show smiling arrestees being handcuffed while others look on, cheering and singing spirituals. Watching the scenes, one is struck by the thankfulness of all involved and is led to interpret the arrests as a triumph for the campaign, not PNC bank. The gratitude imparted by these spirituals is tied to their religious origin, and EQAT can claim a place in a lineage of loving, faithful, grateful activists. The act of joyful singing when performing scary actions that run counter to societal expectations can serve the dual function of invoking righteousness and calming nerves. We sing to each other to embolden ourselves, and we also sing to the public to present our bold identity.

Although cultivating legitimacy can be useful in nonviolent direct action, activists must ensure that a desire for respectability does not prevent them from being disruptive. There can still be a tendency among some – myself included – to feel bad about making people upset, even though upsetting people is part of being a "rebel" group. On one hand, music can embolden us to feel comfortable making people upset. On the other hand, our Quaker values limit *how* upset we will feel comfortable making them. So can musical choices. As the social meaning of the civil rights movement has changed and become less controversial in contemporary collective memory, its music retains its historical meaning of peace, love, and gratitude, but does not necessarily index radical action. This could create the potential for trouble when used by activists who, like us, are naturally inclined to be conflict-averse due to their own backgrounds. While this is music that can potentially embolden a movement,

it is by no means guaranteed to do so. In fact, depending on the way the music is interpreted by those making it, it could have the opposite effect, turning participants toward passivism instead of nonviolent disruption—a Quaker stereotype instead of the historical reality.

A minority of participants have occasionally expressed concern over EQAT's tactic of crashing private events, seeing any sneakiness as irreconcilable with Quaker honesty. Some degree of stealth and secrecy is often necessary to implement direct action, and has sometimes been essential within the campaign to disrupt powerholders. That said, there is much less emphasis on secrecy within Power Local Green Jobs than in other nonviolent direct-action campaigns I have witnessed that are otherwise comparably confrontational. EQAT leaders describe this as a conscious decision, and it appears to make it easier for newer members to more quickly take on different action and planning roles.

It seems conceivable that our choices in music may have contributed to the collective sense of wanting to be for rather than against something, which in turn led us to pick our current campaign targeting PECO. As sociologist Lee Smithey—another EQAT participant—notes, a social movement's tactical choices are shaped by its identity.⁵⁹ Music forms part of the positive, uplifting “culture of feeling”⁶⁰ that has always permeated EQAT. This stands in stark opposition to the predominantly negative cultures of feeling that shape contemporary society. In deliberating on which campaigns we want to undertake, the culture of feeling within our movement governs what campaign choices are seen as appropriate. Just as the composer Gwyneth Walker prefers “lyrical,

life-affirming, egalitarian ‘themes’” in her music for religious reasons, EQAT can be seen as preferring positive, uplifting song choices, even though none of them are explicitly “Quaker.” Whereas most nonviolent direct-action campaigns protest *against* something, after our previous campaign against mountaintop removal there was a desire that we campaign *for* something positive instead, which is why we chose the somewhat complex demand around local solar and jobs. In this way, PECO may owe its status as the target of Power Local Green Jobs in part to choices of music.

Power Local Green Jobs' use of music places activists within a history of civil rights activism; conveys the group's identity to targeted corporations, the police, the public, and one another; and emboldens, grounds, energizes, and entertains activists both before and during actions. Despite the religion being known for its historical animosity toward music, Quakerism's historic values have in fact fostered the musical culture within Power Local Green Jobs and shaped its ability to function effectively as a “rebel” nonviolent direct-action group.

The goal of nonviolent direct action is not to convince powerholders that they are morally wrong, but rather to create a problem that becomes impossible for them to ignore.⁶¹ The ability to claim moral standing contributes to that end, and together music and spirituality can help to construct this moral standing. Pedelty observes that although some environmental musicians explicitly transgress identity expectations in their performances, in general a musician's identity must be seen as legitimate by the audience.⁶² Smithey

and Kurtz argue that it can be effective for social movements to appropriate hegemonic symbols to build legitimacy, even symbolic ideas such as patriotism that are often used to justify oppression.⁶³ EQAT's use of cultural symbols within the Power Local Green Jobs campaign supports it well as it acts as a small, unorthodox group on the fringes of the mainstream environmentalist movement.

One could argue that the result of the spiritual influence is the opposite of Quaker forthrightness and honesty: the movement's use of music and sound poses a threat to PECO's operations while simultaneously affirming an identity for itself that can be perceived as nonthreatening. One song that I have yet to hear in a Power Local Green Jobs

action, but was frequently used in *BLAM!*, is Holly Near's 1978 *Singing for Our Lives*. This song epitomizes EQAT's identity, beginning with the lyrics: "we are a gentle, angry people, and we are singing, singing for our lives." When the campaign picks such songs, it may risk being perceived as "gentle" but not particularly "angry." By the standards of self-identified rebel groups doing direct action, that perception might be about right.

Hopefully, awareness of their music's indexicality along with campaign strategy can allow campaigns to control their musical culture such that it displays both gentleness and righteous anger. In that case, participatory music will continue to strengthen nonviolent direction campaigns for both the people and the planet.

NOTES

1 Mark Pedelty, *A Song to Save the Salish Sea: Musical Performance as Environmental Activism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016); Noriko Manabe, *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised: Protest Music after Fukushima* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

2 Global Nonviolent Action Database, <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/> (accessed June 5, 2019). This is the stance of Global Nonviolent Action Database founder, EQAT cofounder, and sociologist George Lakey, and it appears to be supported by the database based on my skimming of the hundreds of campaigns added by dozens of contributors contained therein.

3 Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan, *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011); Gene Sharp, *Social Power and Political Freedom* (Boston: Extending Horizons Books / Porter Sargent Publisher, 1980).

4 Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 215–19; William G. Roy, *Reds, Whites, and Blues: Social Movements, Folk Music, and Race in the United States* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 3.

5 Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 218.

6 While Christianity might index virtue to authority figures within American society, the use of religious music for this purpose in American activism is not limited to Christian faiths. The Philadelphia chapter of Jewish Voice for Peace makes frequent use of traditional Jewish music in its actions and meetings, often sung in Hebrew. Although the organization denounces what it sees as the cultural litmus tests on valid Jewish identity used by other Jewish-led organizations, the indexicality of traditional Jewish music along with the Hebrew language links the movement to a notion of spiritual “authenticity.” Denounced by prominent Jewish organizations due to its support for the BDS movement targeting Israel, Jewish Voice for Peace’s use of traditional Jewish music may allow it implicitly to assert its legitimacy by emphasizing its Judaism.

7 Thomas F. Taylor, “Richard Farnworth and Thomas Atkinson: The Earliest Quaker Writers on Sacred Music,” *Quaker History* 75/2 (Fall 1986): 83–101; Kenneth Carroll, “Singing in the Spirit in Early Quakerism,” *Quaker History* 73/1 (Spring 1984): 1–13; Bertha May Nicholson, *Meditations on a D Major Scale* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill, 1987), 10.

8 Carroll, “Singing in the Spirit,” 5.

9 Dan Graves. “Singing out of the Silence: A Survey of Quaker Choral Music,” *Choral Journal* 34/5 (December 1993): 15–24; Taylor, “Richard Farnworth and Thomas Atkinson.”

10 Taylor, “Richard Farnworth and Thomas Atkinson.”

11 Ibid., 83.

12 Ibid.

13 Taylor, “Richard Farnworth and Thomas Atkinson”; Carroll, “Singing in the Spirit”; Nicholson, *Meditations*; Graves, “Quaker Choral Music.”

14 Carroll, “Singing in the Spirit,” 6.

15 Ibid., 12.

16 Taylor, “Richard Farnworth and Thomas Atkinson,” 87.

17 Ibid., 91.

18 Nicholson, *Meditations*, 10.

19 Collins, “Quaker Music” *American Phrenological Journal* 49/6 (June 1869): 242.

20 Ibid.

21 Nicholson, *Meditations*, 11.

22 Ibid., 2.

23 Ibid., 6.

24 Graves, “Quaker Choral Music,” 15. My undergraduate music professor at Haverford College blamed the college’s historical Quaker affiliation for the department’s low stature within the college.

25 Graves, “Quaker Choral Music,” 18.

26 Rise Up and Sing, <https://www.riseupandsing.org/songbooks/rise-up-singing> (accessed June 13, 2019).

27 Graves, “Quaker Choral Music,” 17.

28 In contrast, Graves notes that Ned Rorem, perhaps the most well known Quaker-born composer, saw his identity as a composer as inconsistent with Quakerism, and mostly used non-Quaker inspirations and texts within his music.

29 Graves, “Quaker Choral Music,” 22.

30 “Campaign,” Earth Quaker Action Team, <http://www.eqat.org/campaign> (accessed March 29, 2018).

31 Bill Moyer, with JoAnn McAllister, Mary Lou Finley, and Steve Soifer, *Doing Democracy: The MAP Model for Organizing Social Movements* (Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers, 2001), 24.

32 April Carter, *Direct Action and Democracy Today* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2005), 3; Chenoweth and Stephan, *Civil Resistance*, 12.

33 George Lakey, “Non-Violent Action Defined,” Global Nonviolent Action Database, August 18, 2011, <http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/nonviolent-action-defined>.

- 34 Sharp, *Power Freedom*, 120.
- 35 Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler, *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), 7; Marc Pilisuk, JoAnn McAllister, and Jack Rothman, "Coming Together for Action: The Challenge of Contemporary Grassroots Community Organizing," *Journal of Social Issues* 52/1 (Spring 1996): 16.
- 36 Kurt Schock, "The Practice and Study of Civil Disobedience," *Journal of Peace Research* 50/3 (2013): 277–90.
- 37 Mary King, *A Quiet Revolution: The First Palestinian Intifada and Nonviolent Resistance* (New York: Nation Books, 2007), 11.
- 38 Kate Galloway, "Ecotopian Spaces: Soundscapes of Environmental Advocacy and Awareness," *Social Alternatives* 33/3 (2014): 71–79.
- 39 John Parkinson, *Democracy and Public Space: The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 146.
- 40 Nonviolent Action Database; King, *Quiet Revolution*.
- 41 Turino, *Music as Social Life*, 28.
- 42 For example, these songs tend to avoid the leading tone, and may therefore have a modal or pentatonic feel. Even *Work Well*—the movement's first original song to enter regular usage—reflects the musical aesthetic of these traditional protest songs. The melodic contour of the refrain of *Work Well* roughly parallels that of *What Will PECO Choose?*, which is a contrafactum of the traditional protest song *Which Side Are You On?* Two of the most commonly used songs, *This Little Light of Mine* and *Woke Up This Morning with My Mind (on Freedom)*, share a contour, much of the same melodic line, and even certain vowel sounds. EQAT members sometimes add an upper neighbor tone within the last word in *This Little Light of Mine*, which makes the songs even more similar. Similar songs create a familiar aesthetic, and—importantly for successful participatory music—may also be easier to learn. It should be emphasized that these are not "easy songs" per se; in particular, many of them are quite wordy. Handouts with lyrics to specific songs are printed for some actions.
- 43 Thomas R. Grunning, *Millennium Folk: American Folk Music since the Sixties* (Athens: University Press of Georgia, 2006), 32.
- 44 Barry Shank, *The Political Force of Musical Beauty* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 148.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Kurt Mosser, "Cover Songs: Ambiguity, Multivalence, Polysemy," *Popular Musicology Online* (2008), <http://www.popular-musicology-online.com/issues/02/mosser.html>.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Pedelty, *Salish Sea*, 36.
- 49 Ibid., 156.
- 50 Manabe, *Protest Music*, 316.
- 51 Majken Jul Sørensen, *Humour in Political Activism: Creative Nonviolent Resistance* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).
- 52 Manabe, *Protest Music*, 194.
- 53 Paul Kivel, *Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Social Justice* (Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers, [1998] 2011); Andrew Cornell, *Oppose and Propose: Lessons from Movement for a New Society* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2011); Linda Alcoff, "The Problem of Speaking for Others," *Cultural Critique* 2 (Winter 1991): 5–32.
- 54 Pedelty, *Salish Sea*, 239.
- 55 Lee A. Smithey and Lester R. Kurtz, "Culture and Repression Management," in *The Paradox of Repression and Nonviolent Movements*, ed. Lee A. Smithey and Lester R. Kurtz (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2018), 167.
- 56 Ibid., 178.
- 57 Ibid., 180.
- 58 Ibid., 176.
- 59 Lee A. Smithey, "Social Movement Strategy, Tactics, and Collective Identity," *Sociology Compass* 3 (2009): 658–71.
- 60 Ben Anderson, *Encountering Affect: Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2014), 109.
- 61 Pilisuk et al., "Coming Together"; Sharp, *Social Power*.
- 62 Pedelty, *Salish Sea*, 245.
- 63 Smithey and Kurtz, "Culture Repression Management," 172.