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Musical Influence on Apartheid and the Civil Rights Movement

Abstract

Black South Africans and African Americans not only share similar identities, but also share similar historical struggles. Apartheid and the Civil Rights Movement were two movements on two separate continents in which black South Africans and African Americans resisted against deep injustice and defied oppression. This paper sets out to demonstrate the key role that music played, through factors of globalization, in influencing mass resistance and raising global awareness. As an elemental form of creative expression, music enables many of the vital tools needed to overcome hatred and violence. Jazz and Freedom songs were two of the most influential genres, and each was integral especially to building solidarity, expressing struggles, and protesting injustice. Local and international musicians, through the use of media, also played a vital role, as they helped to raise awareness and educate the public about the inequalities faced by black South Africans and African Americans. Through the development of each aspect introduced above, it is clear that music was fundamental in the dismantling of Apartheid in South Africa and Jim Crow laws in the United States.

Keywords

Music, Conflict Transformation, Apartheid, Civil Rights Movement, African Americans, South Africa, race, racism, inequality

Disciplines

African American Studies | African History | African Studies | Cultural History | Ethnic Studies | Ethnomusicology | History | International and Area Studies | Music | Peace and Conflict Studies | Race and Ethnicity | Race, Ethnicity and Post-Colonial Studies | United States History

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Globalization Studies Thesis

Musical Influence on Apartheid and the Civil Rights Movement

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Introduction

In order to understand a social conflict, it is first necessary to recognize the creative forms of expression that arise from that conflict. It is in these forms of creativity that the heart of struggle is expressed in its raw and truthful form. The ability to express oneself is a vital aspect of moving towards conflict transformation. Conflict transformation could be defined as the capacity for a place affected by conflict to transition towards a just and functioning society again. Music is one of many creative—and one of the most successful—forms used as a vehicle for expression, and has long been paramount to cultures all over the world. It is something that has been shared, and often understood globally. Furthermore, the oral traditions of music as a mode of communication, allow for control and anonymity, which make them powerful forms for cultural resistance (Schumann 18). With the purpose of examining the role of globalization in terms of musical influence on conflict, it is necessary to study specific examples. The two examples of focus in this paper, The Civil Rights Movement in the United States, and Apartheid in South Africa, provide a deeper look into *how* “world music” has played a crucial role in the understanding and transformation of social conflict.

The United States and South Africa share shockingly similar and deeply disturbing histories of racial segregation and oppression. Noticeably, these two countries also had movements of resistance against this oppression that overlapped at crucial times in their pasts. The Civil Rights Movement and Apartheid were two conflicts that were essentially based on the same principles: separating whites and blacks, and the white assertion of power over blacks. Furthermore, these two countries tried to accomplish their goal in comparable ways. The root of the problem in the United States began with slavery, when about ten million Africans were taken from their homes (Whitehead 80). It is this historical period that lies at the origin of American

racial repression and oppression. The country “progressed” for about one hundred years after the Civil War only to impose the Jim Crow laws beginning in 1664 and lasting through 1964 with the Civil Rights Act (Kousser 479). Resistance against these laws, which overtly enforced racial segregation, culminated in the Civil Rights Movement starting in the 1950s (480).

South Africa also has a long history of racial segregation, which began after the many colonial wars with the British and the Dutch (Ansell 7). In 1909, a Union government was put into place under which there were various policies contributing to racial segregation (Cornell 181). However, it was not until 1948 when the Nationalist Party (composed of white Afrikaners descended from the Dutch) came into power, that concrete draconian laws promoting “separate racial development” were implemented and strictly enforced (181). Examples of these laws include the 1957 Group Areas Consolidated Act No. 77 which forcefully removed black South Africans from their homes into various townships separating the races (Cornell 188), followed by the 1950 “Pass” laws which made it illegal for black South Africans to move about without a pass book of their legal documents (Amandla!). This system of laws is known as Apartheid (Cornell 181).

The Role of Music in Anti-Apartheid and Civil Rights Movement

What the United States and South Africa also share is the powerful and crucial role that music has played in their histories. For many black South Africans, music was also the most accessible form of communication, as poverty and illiteracy rates were high (Schumann 18). According to Paul Austerlitz, a professor of Ethnomusicology at Gettysburg College, music is a universal language (xiv). One could also say that music is a globalized language—it is hard to find music in today’s day and age that has not been influenced in some way, by music from other cultures and places. This hybridity of music is a direct result of globalization. According to

globalization theorist Eriksen, *hybridity* refers to “any obviously mixed cultural form” (Eriksen 113), and this is occurring with music at an increasingly fast and global level. World music, as a term itself, refers to an incrementing mobility of musicians, a more intricate and intense network of musicians from various origins, and acceleration of “musical impulses” around the world (114). The speed at which music can travel globally, and the growing relationships of musicians and musical genres displays many of the characteristics of globalization in one small-scale example (114).

In his book Jazz Consciousness, Austerlitz discusses music as culture (x), as well as something called music consciousness, which he describes as a form of consciousness that is unique because “musical experience makes us aware and mindful in ways that nonmusical experience does not” (xiii). He also believes that music is a form that can bring together things that are otherwise separate in a “nonmusical reality” (xiii). According to the article *The Beat that Beat Apartheid*, author Schumann describes the effects of songs at court trials and protests during Apartheid and says that music provided people with a way to endure and come together (Schumann 23). As a means of expression, music has functioned as a tool for conflict transformation by connecting and uniting groups of people, telling narratives, raising awareness about issues, discovering identities, fighting back against injustice, and influencing social movements.

In these ways specifically, music has aided the black Africans of South Africa and African Americans in their struggles against racism and oppression. Music also gave a voice, especially to protest, where politics would not (Gray 64). Songs provided the ability to address specific political issues and politicians directly, Schumann says, “The songs of the time reflected social reality and presented an effective way of acknowledging and protesting an unjust political

system” (Schumann 23). One example is a song by black South African jazz singer Miriam Makeba, “*Naants’indod’emnyama, Verwoerd bhasobha, naants’indod’emnyama*” which translates to ‘behold the advancing blacks, Verwoerd. Beware of the advancing blacks’” (Schumann 23). Steve Biko, a black South African activist who was murdered while in prison, believed song and rhythm are “responsible for restoration of our faith in ourselves and [offer] a hope in the direction we are taking from here” (Biko as cited in Gray 64).

Music, and especially the globalization of music, has played a key role in these conflicts, specifically in two major ways. The first is through genres of music. The genres of Jazz and Freedom songs have distinctly evolved in both conflicts, and are among the most popular to have significant roles, especially as protest music. They are also two genres that clearly demonstrate characteristics of globalization such as hybridity, acceleration, and interconnectedness. Furthermore, these genres also play a large role in identity formation as they gather influences on a global scale and often shape them to fit current conditions on a local scale. The second is through popular musicians and mass media as methods of educating and raising awareness internationally. Music as an international agent is an important concept—agent referring to musicians and their songs acting as promoters of justice. The acceleration of technology as a result of globalization has had a huge impact not only on the ability for media to capture and broadcast music globally, but also allowed the world to see the uncensored truth of these conflicts.

In order to understand the genres of music, as well as the role of musicians and media in their separate components, it is important to first describe how they are connected and the broader transnational flow of music—an overarching theme to which these two points fit under. It is through transnational flows, made possible through globalization, especially increasing

interconnectedness, that music was able to have a strong impact. Not only has African culture and music touched cultural practices in the America's and Europe, but it is also important to point out the influence of these cultures on Africa (Titlestad 212). Jazz, as one example, comes from an African American culture and had an influence on South African jazz music. The interconnectedness and hybridity of music promotes influence and generates awareness.

This paper sets out to portray 1) how jazz, as a musical hybridity has influenced both conflicts, 2) Freedom songs as constantly conforming songs to protest oppression, and 3) international musician's role in the conflicts with the aid of mass media. These points fit within the wider category of globalization, and specifically transnational flows that make acceleration, hybridity, and interconnectedness possible. I will first describe what is meant by transnational flows, followed by examples of how the genres jazz and Freedom songs have influenced these movements. Lastly, I will demonstrate how international musicians, through mass media have played a role in raising awareness, as well as protesting the conflicts and advocating for justice. Ultimately, I would like to demonstrate that musical expression is an essential element in conflict transformation, as it gives a voice and unifies those who are oppressed. Furthermore, I would like to show that processes of globalization such as hybridization, acceleration (of media specifically), and interconnectedness have been the force to aid music in becoming this vital and powerful tool to people in all places.

Transnational Flows

Transnational flows, in these two movements especially, are crucial points of connection not only of music, but of history as well. Slavery in America was the initial connection of Africa and America. Africans, as slaves, were brought to America during the 1500s, as was music from their various cultures (Whitehead 80). African music is considered to have a "holistic"

approach—it includes dancing, singing, and instruments (80). As slaves were forced to assimilate into American life and culture, their music also started to reflect American influence (80). Music was a powerful force during slavery. Author Sanger describes slave interaction as uncommon and forbidden, yet they were allowed and even encouraged to sing because slave owners thought it would help them to be more productive (22). The words of songs combined with singing, was a tool used by slaves as a loophole to restrictions of their interaction. Additionally, songs helped slaves overcome cultural differences and build community (22). Music also helped slaves to survive day to day through field or work songs. These songs were generally known by their strong rhythmic beat, different tempos, and their ability to be molded to current conditions (Whitehead 80). This idea of changing past songs to fit current conditions was an important one and was echoed often in Freedom songs during the Civil Rights Movement (Sanger 44) as well as in jazz. African American activist and writer W.E.B. Dubois believed that slave songs were more than music as a term on its own—they were songs rooted in agricultural tradition and could be identified with and shared by all African Americans (Eyerman and Jamison 75). Music helped slaves to endure the brutal treatment they constantly faced by helping them to cope and unifying them. Sanger says that slave spirituals are recognized as the main form of resistance against oppression (23).

America developed as a nation, enduring a Civil War that was fought to settle the issue of slavery once and for all, yet many continued to treat those of African descent like animals. By the mid 1950s, people had had enough. Not only was there a movement of massive resistance against the oppression African Americans were facing, but many were no longer ashamed of their shared identity. For a majority of African Americans, the shame was replaced with pride in African heritage (Monson 107). Sanger comments that the singing of Freedom songs by African

Americans permitted them to recognize their roots and furthermore, to take pride in their past (27). There was an association in the United States called the United Negro Improvement Association that encouraged people to migrate back to Africa, and a vision of “black global unity” (Monson 107). Moreover, African Americans were starting to relate their civil rights struggles to those of Africans fighting back against colonialism and believed that their fates were intertwined (107).

Music was key to Black South Africans also identifying with African American struggle. The music they heard, like jazz, came from America and was invented by African Americans—and black South Africans wanted to be and play like the musicians they heard (Ansell 159). For example, African American jazz musician Duke Ellington was hugely popular in South Africa and acted as a beacon of hope. People were attracted to musicians like Ellington because his music had rhythms similar to genres of their own, and many felt connected to the music (48). They saw Ellington as “their” black hero (48). There was a knowledge, by both African Americans and Black South Africans of each other—of comparable struggle and identity that inspired the movements—and music helped to realize this. Not only do African Americans and black Africans share similar struggles, but they also share similar identities. Furthermore, jazz is a hybridization of various forms of music, but with African origin. Freedom songs are inspired by struggle from slavery in America and Africa. Both are conformed to current conditions, which in many cases, made them extremely popular exceeding national boundaries (i.e. the Freedom song “We Shall Overcome”). The ability for each movement to know about the other and their interconnectedness is a direct result of transnational flows of globalization. In their similarities, it’s not difficult to understand how music in each country had a strong influence on the other’s movements.

Freedom Songs

Freedom songs, rooted from chorus songs and spiritual hymns, were an integral part of the Civil Rights and the anti-Apartheid movements. Spirituality through song was vital in the development of Freedom songs (Amandla!). It was a commonality of both movements that Freedom songs were grown out of traditionally religious songs (although often different religious songs specific to each locality) with changed lyrics to represent current struggles (Whitehead 81-82). One example is the originally African American religious song “I Shall Not Be Moved (Sanger 167)” which goes as follows:

*“I shall not, I shall not be moved,
I shall not, I shall not be moved,
Just like a tree that’s planted by the water,
I shall not be moved.
On my way to heaven...*

Fightin’ sinnin’ Satan...

Jesus is my captain...”

This song was transformed during the 1930s and 40s encouraging the unionization of black workers, and then it was transformed again during the Civil Rights Movement to “We Shall Not Be Moved (Sanger 169):”

*We shall not, we shall not be moved,
We shall not, we shall not be moved,
Just like a tree, planted by the water,
We shall not be moved.*

*We are fighting for our freedom,
We shall not be moved,
We are fighting for our freedom,
We shall not be moved,
Just like a tree, planted by the water,
We shall not be moved.*

*We are black and white together,
We shall not be moved...*

We still stand and fight together,

We shall not be moved...

*The government is behind us,
We shall not be moved...*

*Our parks are integrating,
We shall not be moved...*

*We're sunning on the beaches,
We shall not be moved...*

African American activist and singer Bernice Johnson Reagon discusses how powerful song was especially to communicate and reflect current conditions. To Reagon and many others, speech was insufficient, but song was powerful. Song was a tool and an outlet speech could often not be that helped others overcome hardship and oppression (Sanger 20). In South Africa, choral music began sending implicit and overt messages of protest (Ansell 116). Moving away from biblical language, choral songs became more overt and provided a means for solidarity, celebration, and mourning (116).

Freedom songs and spirituals in both America and South Africa contained codes and hidden meanings within their lyrics, and shared themes of struggle (Marable and Mullings 111). As author Allen of *Commerce, Politics, and Musical Hybridity* points out, the ability for lyrics to contain various meanings and interpretations can be extremely beneficial at times when there is heavy political repression (235). One example of a South African song that does this is from white South African artist Johnny Clegg and black South African artist Sipho Mchunu of Juluka from their album “Universal Men” (Schumann 26). This song was written in 1970 in response to the Soweto Uprisings, which were protests against schools teaching in *Afrikaans*, which was the white, Dutch language (Schumann 26). One of the songs describes two bulls that are fighting—one has big horns while the other has small horns. It becomes clear throughout the song that it will be small horned bull that will defeat the large horned bull, which is symbolism taken from a

Zulu proverb. This song symbolizes “the victory of the underdog over his oppressor” (Marre and Charlton as cited in Schumann 26).

The Freedom song that was the “unofficial” anthem of the Civil Rights Movement was “We Shall Overcome” (Whitehead 83). The lyrics began as “I will overcome someday” and instead of a melody, it was often shouted and clapped (83). This song in its present form was contributed to *both* African Americans and European Americans who used the song at one point during a strike (83). In 1945, tobacco workers went on strike in South Carolina and adapted “We Shall Overcome” using it as a protest song for the first time in its history (83). It was in 1946 that the strikers brought this song to the Highlander Folk School, which also acted as a labor organization training center, and it was again tailored for the Civil Rights Cause (83). One activist said that “We Shall Overcome,” “generates power that is indescribable” (Sanger 17). Another person said about the song, “When people sang it, you felt like folk music was doing its job. If you look at it historically, music has always been the accompaniment of social change” (Whitehead 84). Authors Eyerman and Jamison also relate social movements and popular culture (music in this case), saying they can interact with each other and be mutually reinforcing in aiding with difficult methods of cultural transformation (Eyerman and Jamison 138).

During the Civil Rights Movement, singing was especially powerful for activists because it united those fighting against oppression and was the source that gave them strength to overcome (Sanger 18). Various activists learned Freedom songs at the Highlander Folk School whose musical director Guy Carawan said, “Freedom songs today are sung in many kinds of situations...They are sung to bolster spirits, to gain new courage and to increase the sense of unity. The singing sometimes disarms jail guards, policemen, bystanders and mob participants of their hostilities” (Carawan as cited in Sanger 17). Singing Freedom songs were often less overt

methods of participation in the anti-racism movement, it allowed many more people to be involved who otherwise would or could not have participated in more direct ways (42).

Bernice Johnson Reagon made a powerful observation about the Civil Rights Movement and music, saying, “I began to sing a song and in the course of singing changed the song so that it made sense for that particular moment. Although I was not consciously aware of it, this was one of my earliest experiences with how my music was supposed to *function*” (Reagon 1). Reagon, like many activists during the Civil Rights Movement, experienced time in jail. While there, she discovered yet another layer of musical understanding—very different women all from contrasting backgrounds were there with her, yet when she would sing, the differences between them softened (1). She said, “Somehow, making a song required an expression of that which was common to us all. This music was like an instrument, like holding a tool in your hand” (1). The ability for African American Activists to use songs that were rooted in their heritage was important and signified positive change in how African American’s viewed themselves and their pasts. Reagon points out the connections between songs and “selfhood” of those singing them, and claimed the only way the movement would be successful was if people made this connection of identity and song, “such musical identification enabled singing activists to remake themselves into people who were living refutations of the white myths regarding blacks” (Sanger 9). Many of the songs that were so successful as protest and Freedom songs were those that were derived from black tradition and African American cultural roots, such as “We Shall Overcome” and “We Shall Not Be Moved” (Sanger 26). For many activists, the very fact that these songs were rooted in their culture—especially from black enslavement—was strongly embraced (27). Freedom songs were used as tools in both the Civil Rights and anti-Apartheid movements, and beyond that, they were tools of resistance and defiance. Like Freedom songs, jazz could be

improvised and manipulated and acted against injustice in similar ways as Freedom songs.

Unlike Freedom songs, jazz as a genre was grown out of African American experience alone (which was similar to black South African experience), and thus it provides a completely unique aspect to the ability of music, especially in identity formation. While the ability of Freedom songs is not to be underestimated, jazz was a popular genre that was quite unique to black people.

Jazz

The invention of jazz in the early 1900s is an event that significantly impacted the history of the Civil Rights and anti-Apartheid movements. Jazz is especially integral to these movements because it is a genre created solely by African Americans and informed by African American experience. Moreover, jazz was a widely popular musical form that could be claimed by African Americans in a time when they were not seen as equals. Jazz was first influenced by African music and then was re-introduced into Africa, and it is a perfect example of the hybridity and cultural mixing that Eriksen describes, he states “*hybridity* directs attention towards individuals or cultural forms that are reflexively—self-consciously—mixed, that is syntheses of cultural forms or fragments of diverse origins” (Eriksen 113). With its roots in African and European music, among others, Jazz truly is a synthesis of diverse origins. According to author Prouty, jazz as a musical form, represents globalization and can be seen as a metaphor of globalization “reflecting in sound America’s identity in the world” (151).

Austerlitz further compares jazz to globalization and talks about something called “Jazz Consciousness,” which is to situate jazz within the overlapping contexts it occurs—the United States, African Diaspora, and the rest of the world (x). He describes jazz as being closely tied to identity and cannot be separated from the African influence at its core (x). Furthermore, the

syntheses I have described above, and what Austerlitz calls global jazz, reflects universalism as well as a worldview rooted in history and experiences of African Americans (Prouty 151)

Author Ansell describes the significance of an incident of imported music in 1863 that helped to develop South African jazz, he says that an American war ship called the Alabama docked in the port of Cape Town to gather supplies, and the slaves who were on these ships gave musical recitals by the docks (13). This incident, and the songs inspired from it are still talked about today and reveal the ability and eagerness for Cape musicians to use music from other cultures (13-14). Ansell believes that this story claims significance around a certain discourse surrounding African American music, “as the music of African slaves taken to America who successfully won their freedom—for South Africans of colour struggling under their own form of bondage” (14). Again, transnational flows of globalization, even in the late 1800s, were key to musical hybridization that inspired the struggles of the black South African people.

One variation of jazz is South African jazz, which has its roots in *marabi* (the grandfather of South African jazz) (Ansell 29). *Marabi* is defined by African musician Jonas Gwangwa, as “an African music translated to Western instruments at the stokvels and the parties” in the “slumyards” of South Africa, it consisted of vocals, drums, and an organ—there were no horns, and it had a very specific three-chord progression that African jazz can be recognized by (29-30). Influenced by American jazz as well as *marabi*, South African jazz came to be a music integrated with many fragments of culture (29). South African jazz was a rhythm—but it was also an integration of sounds of local gatherings, which was always changing (32). Speaking about *marabi*, Ansell says, “On the one hand, *marabi* was an environment that provided comfort and helped its community make sense of brutal and bewildering new

circumstances. On the other, it existed within a social and legal discourse where simply to survive was defiance” (38).

South African jazz was not simply a continuation of American jazz in South Africa. Although it was originally influenced by American jazz—jazz cds were imported and popular among South Africans—South African jazz had another tone and feel, it reflected the local situations, people, and instruments. This globalization on a local scale is described as “glocal”—the various forms of jazz are coming from unique adaptations of the environment they are situated in (Prouty 151). Ansell says, “Almost as soon as jazz went on record in America, in the early decades of the twentieth century, those wax impressions arrived in South Africa. They landed on fertile ground, for South Africans had a rich and dynamic musical culture of their own, into which they had already drawn aspects of earlier and parallel African-American musics” (4). Jazz is a hybridized and modernized music, but at its core, it is derived from African culture. This fact could be seen as African American and black South Africans unconsciously fighting back against disintegration (Mphahlele as cited by Titlestad 211).

The vocal jive of black South African jazz was not only popular because it had a local identity, but the lyrics referring to current conditions and problems provided a shared experience that others could relate to (Allen 234). One specific example of songs reflecting current conditions was in the forced removal of Sophiatown Citizens. The Nationalist party in South Africa came to power in 1948, and implemented as well as enforced the Group Areas Act and Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act in the 1950s (Cornell 181). These acts segregated racial groups into separate areas and prevented ownership of property based on race alone (188). Sophiatown, a racially mixed city in South Africa, and the heart of jazz and *marabi* in South Africa at the time, was one of

these areas (Schumann 24). The government also forced the relocation of black South Africans to the Meadowlands in Soweto. These forceful removals greatly affected the music scene of the time—many songs came out in protest of these acts and policies such as “Meadowlands” by musician Strike Vilakazi (Schumann 24). This song quite literally translated into “We’re moving night and day to go to Meadowlands. We love Meadowlands,” which the government saw as a positive reaction to black South African removal of their homes (Coplan 165). However, it was sung as they watched their possessions taken from them, thus being an ironic tune that developed into a protest anthem for these events at Sophiatown (Allen 235). The acts of the 1950s were met with strong resistance and music, especially, prevailed (Coplan 164). Great achievements in music were made during this time—music was reaching those in different cities of Africa dealing with the same issues and people traveled to hear their favorite musicians perform; enthusiasm for music was at a high (164).

Titlestad describes jazz as a “black repertoire of possibility to express South African subaltern suffering,” (211) (subaltern suffering meaning suffering as a result of being treated as a lower status) and has the ability to form to its experience. Additionally, he describes jazz music as texts that portray history of black oppression but also have threads of resistance and resilience embedded within (212). According to Austerlitz, “jazz creates a virtual space where we can confront, learn from, and even heal the contradictions resulting from social rupture” (xvi). It is clear from these findings that jazz was a genre of music that was key to transforming conflict in both South Africa and the United States.

International Musicians and Mass Media

While Freedom songs and Jazz have clearly played an integral role in The Civil Rights Movement and in resisting Apartheid, international musicians through mass media provided further awareness, interconnectedness, and momentum for these movements, and helped to gain support for the end of racial oppression. The use of mass media is something that can only be attributed to globalization. Technology and media, especially at their current speed, have allowed for the music of one person to be shared globally, in an instant. This rapid speed of media, and especially television, are two factors without which, awareness of the Civil Rights Movement and Apartheid regime would have been minimized. It was due to the televised broadcasts of brutality and deep injustice that support for the movements began to grow, “the moral outrage at injustices committed by apartheid became part of Western pop culture through songs such as ‘Biko’ by Peter Gabriel, campaigns such as Sun City organised by Little Steven and the successive Mandela Concerts at Wembley Stadium in London” (Schumann 18). There have been individual songs, like “Blowin in the Wind” by Bob Dylan, which contained lyrics like “Yes, ‘n’ how many years can some people exist before they’re allowed to be free? Yes, ‘n’ how many times can a man turn his head pretending he just doesn’t see” (Bob Dylan), “Bring Back Nelson Mandela” by Hugh Masekela (Amandla!), and “Biko” by Peter Gabriel made about a South African activist who was murdered (Marsh 22), as well as entire records made like “Sun City,” that have impacted the knowledge of these movements and the ways they were viewed.

There were well-known American musicians like Duke Ellington, Miles Davis, Billy Holiday, Pete Seeger, and Bob Dylan, European musicians like Peter Gabriel, and

South African musicians like Johnny Clegg, Hugh Masekela, and Miriam Makeba whose music acted as a form of protest and was heard all over the world. Many of the songs these musicians wrote could be deemed as popular music because they reached large audiences and were enjoyed by many. In their book about music and social movements, Eyerman and Jamison talk about popular songs and essentially summarize what has already been discussed in the introduction. They say the best of these songs were able to identify current social problems as well as the convey feelings induced by those problems, such as alienation, and perhaps most of all, these songs provided a sense of belonging, and a shared collective goal to those they touched, “music could, for a brief period of time, provide a basis of common understanding and common experience for a generation in revolt” (Eyerman and Jamison 138). Furthermore, South African jazz musicians Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela were musicians in exile, and they continued to raise awareness. While abroad, Makeba would speak about South Africa often and passionately and Masekela believes that she played a large role in the creation solidarity campaigning in South Africa, he says

“I think that there is nobody in Africa who made the world more aware of what was happening in South African than Miriam Makeba. Unwittingly—when she went overseas she just went to sing, but because of the way she described those songs, and what they were about...People realised what she was talking about. The more interviews she did the more people found out about SA” (Masekela as cited in Ansell 226-227).

Raising awareness was the initial step in transformation, otherwise there would not be a point for international musicians to write songs—no one would understand what they were about. The 1963 civil rights March on Washington in America is another example of mass media that generated awareness. Media from this march pointed

national as well as international attention to the struggles African Americans were facing (Marable and Mulling 85). Furthermore, there were both black and white entertainers such as Marlon Brando and Sammy Davis Jr. who garnered international attention to the “anthem” of the Civil Rights Movement “We Shall Overcome,” as well as presenting a united and integrated front to the fight for freedom (85).

One hugely key actor that played a crucial role in raising awareness about Apartheid was the *Sun City* record by a group of artists called Artists United Against Apartheid. Artists United Against Apartheid was composed of international artists started by Steven Van Zandt (Little Steven) and included musicians such as Bono, Lou Reed, Bonnie Raitt, Peter Gabriel, Miles Davis, as well as South African artists Malopoets and Via Afrika (Marsh 16). Sun City was a resort in South Africa that can be compared to Las Vegas, there was a casino and popular international musicians often performed—yet the black South Africans who inhabited the land where Sun City was built could not afford to participate, further demonstrating segregation of the Apartheid regime (8). The record *Sun City* was a made by the collaborative effort of an extremely diverse group of global musicians, to boycott performing at Sun City and especially to raise awareness about racism (16). Little Steven says, “The song ‘Sun City’ was born out of outrage and the desire to educate. The thrust of this effort has been to stimulate awareness, to ask all people everywhere to get involved by singing along and informing themselves about South Africa. Our hope is also that, once informed, we all might take a closer look at our own conscience and the disease of racism in our own culture” (5). The goal of the song was not only produced to raise awareness and reach people’s conscience about apartheid, but it was to raise awareness about racism globally—especially in the very home of many

of the artists who sang on the record—the United States (16). As much as the song did raise awareness about the repressive and racist regime of Apartheid, Van Zandt also wanted to point out the United States role in promoting Apartheid and give people a reason to perhaps scrutinize and question actions of their own governments (22). A verse of the song goes,

*“Relocation to phoney homelands (David Ruffin)
Separation of families I can’t understand (Pat Benatar)
23 million can’t vote because they’re black (Eddie Kendrick)
We’re stabbing our brothers and sisters in the back (Bruce Springsteen)
I ain’t gonna play Sun City”*

The diversity of musicians, their musical backgrounds, and their collaborative efforts to make the record “Sun City” clearly demonstrates interconnectedness. This interconnectedness is further emphasized by the music video footage, in which some scenes parallel violence against black South Africans with police dogs attacking demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama (19). The actual video footage of these events further proves effects of globalization, such as acceleration (of technology especially), and makes a lasting impact when the brutality is visible for others to see. If nothing else, the record brought a group of artists together and made them acutely aware of what was happening in South Africa and in the United States, “Even if *Sun City* had only served the purpose of making a few popular musicians intensely aware of apartheid and the struggle to end it, or if all the project had done was plug the international community of popular musicians into the right side of that struggle, it could have been accounted a success” (76). But the record was a huge success, and to point to this, E.S. Reddy, a former director of UN Committee on Apartheid, said “It is one thing to boycott South Africa, but it is a tremendous thing to get these musicians and artists involved, because they reach people we never reach. The United Nations is symbolic but to help people directly can do

so much more” (Reddy as cited by Marsh 80). The record was also extremely effective as a political statement. It sold records and many pop stars made it publically clear they would never play Sun City, but it also forced people to take a closer look at racism not only in South Africa but on a global scale and particularly in the United States (77).

Nigerian musician Sonny Okosuns says, “The day American musicians will come to sing about apartheid in South Africa will be the day apartheid in South Africa will cease to exist” (Okosuns as cited by Marsh 82). Artists United Against Apartheid, and international musicians as a whole, through mass media and other processes of globalization, not only triumphed in raising awareness, but also demonstrated many of the ways music can be used as a tool in the transformation of conflict.

Conclusion

Through processes of globalization such as acceleration (of technology especially), hybridity, and interconnectedness, music has had the ability to resist against social injustices and transform conflict. Jazz and Freedom songs were two of the most influential genres, and each was integral especially to building solidarity, expressing struggles, and protesting injustice. Local and international musicians, through the use of media, also played a vital role, as they helped to raise awareness and educate the public about the inequalities faced by black South Africans and African Americans. Dr. Martin Luther King said, “The masses of people are rising up and wherever they are assembled to day, whether they are in Johannesburg, South Africa; Nairobi, Kenya, Ghana; New York City; Atlanta, Georgia; Jackson, Mississippi; or Memphis, Tennessee, the cry is always the same: We want to be free” (King as cited by Marsh 80). Music was fundamental in the dismantling of Apartheid in South Africa and Jim Crow laws in the United States—the barriers of segregation were being broken down through the solidarity of song.

As a means of expression, music has functioned as a tool for conflict transformation by connecting and uniting groups of people, telling narratives, raising awareness about issues, discovering identities, fighting back against injustice, and influencing social movements.

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