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CHIMES OF FREEDOM

The Power of Music for the Promotion of Human Rights and Democracy as Inspired by the Social Movements of the 1960s in the USA

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Dedicated to all those beautiful souls who have dared

to share their visions, dreams and experiences

with the rest of humanity...through music.

Far between sundown's finish and midnight's broken toll
We ducked inside the doorway, thunder crashing
As majestic bells of bolts struck shadows in the sounds
Seeming to be the chimes of freedom flashing

Flashing for the warriors whose strength is not to fight
Flashing for the refugees on the unarmed road of flight
And for each and every underdog soldier in the night
And we gazed upon the chimes of freedom flashing

[…]

Tolling for the rebel, tolling for the rake
Tolling for the luckless, the abandoned and forsaked
Tolling for the outcast, burnin' constantly at stake
And we gazed upon the chimes of freedom flashing

[…]

Tolling for the aching ones whose wounds cannot be nursed
For the countless confused, accused, misused, strung-out ones and worse
And for every hung-up person in the whole wide universe
And we gazed upon the chimes of freedom flashing

– Bob Dylan, *Chimes of Freedom* (1964)

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… and most of all, to the Creator of music, of song and harmony, of the ears to hear it and the heart to express it; to the Source of passion and hope in this world of shadows ... for this beautiful means of connecting.

Abstract

With the aim of exploring the way in which music can contribute to the promotion of human rights and democratic values globally, this thesis offers an in-depth study of the social movements of the 1960s in the USA. This time period has been a model for the generations to come after it, of what can be achieved through music in terms of awareness-raising of human rights, empowerment of the oppressed, and mobilization for social movement. This thesis explores the emotional value of music both on an individual and a collective level, and the crucial role music can play in movements leading to social change. By taking a close look at the fundamentals of human rights education, this thesis offers substantial evidence for the effectiveness of using music as a tool of awareness-raising. The link between music and human rights education is made visible by illustrating the human rights content in the lyrics of a sample of songs from the 60s. Finally, recommendations are made for how to use the information gathered in this thesis as an inspiration to incorporate music into human rights activism today.

List of Abbreviations

LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual and Transgender
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION 1
2. HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION, DEMOCRACY AND MUSIC 3
2.1. Formal, Informal and Non-Formal Education 6
2.2. International Guidelines on Human Rights Education 7
3. THE EMOTIONAL VALUE OF MUSIC 12
3.1. Music → Emotion 13
3.2. Emotion → Social Action 18
4. MUSIC IN THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OF THE 1960s 23
4.1. Social Movements – An Overview 23
4.2. The Marriage of Culture and Politics 25
4.3. Context and Roots of the 1960s Social Movements 26
4.4. The Music of the 1960s 28
4.5. The Role of Music in the 1960s Social Movements 29
5. HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION IN THE MUSIC OF THE 1960s 39
5.1. Research Question 39
5.2. Methodology 40
5.3. Research Results: A Thematic Analysis of Lyrics 42
5.4. Final remarks: 71
6. MUSIC AND HUMAN RIGHTS TODAY 74
6.1. Targeting Freedom of Expression 75
6.2. Song-writing as Reconciliation 76
6.3. Encouraging Musical Activism 78
7. CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND MEGAPHONES 81
7.1. Recommendations 81
7.2. Music as a Megaphone 81
BIBLIOGRAPHY 84
APPENDIX: List of Songs 90

1. INTRODUCTION

How can music contribute to the awareness and protection of human rights, to the promotion of democratic values and to the prevalence of freedom for all human-kind? How can music facilitate the empowerment of the oppressed as well as appeal to the consciousness and empathy of the general public? This thesis attempts to answer these questions from a multi-disciplinary perspective, looking to sociology, psychology and history to examine what present research and cultural heritage can tell us about the potential and power of music.

After providing an overview of the state of human rights education globally, the state of research on the effect of music on people's minds, emotions and willingness to take social action will be inspected. The potential of music to bring about social change will then be examined, through an in-depth study of the social movements of a significant time period: the 1960s in the United States. The social movements of this decade, including the civil rights movement, are seen as a source of inspiration for the realization of music's potential today, while analysing the uniting and empowering effect that music has on people.

After looking at the role of music in general in the social movements, I will study the content of the music by carrying out a thematic analysis of the lyrics of a sample of significant songs from the time period. The results of this analysis will be linked to the current discourse on human rights education and international guidelines for its implementation.

The underlying assertion of this thesis is that the protection of human rights is incomplete if they are not made known to civil society. The necessity of human rights education for the promotion of human rights has been emphasized both in the sources of human rights law and in academic literature. The psychological effect of music on human emotions and cognition has also been widely researched. But the use of music specifically as a method of human rights education has been less commonly addressed. In practice, however, this field is developing rapidly. This research will focus on music

as a creative and practical strategy for awareness-raising, meaningful due to its universality: it is a positive and active approach, applicable in every part of the world and independent of the human rights at stake in a particular situation.

2. HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION, DEMOCRACY AND MUSIC

Askin' why I'm rappin'
You really want the answer?
My mind is full of cancer
The relief is in this stanza
Advance the cause
For all the people who will never
Have a chance to pause

– Wab Kinew, "Last Word"

"Revolution is coming. Revolution has started."[1] – the words of Frank Waln, a young Native American of the Sicangu Lakota, who makes his voice and that of his people heard through hip-hop music. He uses his music to raise awareness of issues concerning indigenous people of America, such as colonialism, police violence and the protection of the environment from harmful manipulation. Along with countless other Native American artists[2], Waln sees music as a "powerful tool to express [the] humanity[3]" of a people who have been dehumanized, repressed, and ignored. A people who, forming less than 1% of the US population, have the highest suicide rate and are most likely to be killed by police.[4] Many artists like Waln see it as their duty to raise awareness for the concerns of indigenous communities and to build the self-respect of young people[5]. "'Traditionally, in the Native American community, music was healing, music was positivity, music was medicinal. […] So that's what I really try to do with music – focus on the positive; focus on uplifting people.'"[6]

"Music is a language that reaches a lot of hearts"[7], says DJ Yirvin of Venezuela. In

1 Frank Waln, in MTV's "Rebel Music: Native America"
2 Among many Native American activist artists and groups are: A Tribe Called Red, Supaman, Wab Kinew, Nataanii Means, Mike "Cliff" a.k.a. "Witko", Scatter Their Own, Inez Jasper
3 Frank Waln, in MTV's "Rebel Music: Native America"
4 MTV "Rebel Music: Native America"
5 *Ibid.*
6 Wab Kinew in Moya-Smith: Native Noise: Resilience, pride and making a scene
7 DJ Yirvin, in MTV's: "Changa Tuki: Venezuela's Homegrown Dance Music"

Caracas, crime rates, violence and gang rivalry are high. With the motive of breaking these cycles, many artists see music and dance as a way out of violence and as a form of communication between people of different political loyalties. DJ Yirvin and others have initiated a movement called *Don't Shoot*, which encourages young people to "change bullets for rhymes, for microphones, for music, […] to generate a change in their lives through music"[8]. Tiuna El Fuerte is a cultural initiative in Caracas which aims to socialize the tools of art, knowledge, and education in place of the use of drugs and weapons. It makes use of the liberating potential of the arts by offering a space for concerts and workshops in fine arts and dance, along with professionals and art students. Speaking of this initiative, Piki Figueroa, singer and composer of the band Bituaya, says, "we support the revolution, but we are critical. And how do we show our criticism? We propose solutions. This is our proposal. This is our criticism. We make things happen!"[9]

"If I don't know freedom, how can I sing?[10]" Anegga, dubbed the "father of Burmese hip-hop", speaks of government oppression in Myanmar and the fear it instils in the population. Politically active artists suffer especially under the tightly-controlled exercise of freedom of expression. During this transitional period of transformation in Myanmar, Anegga and many other hip-hop, rock and punk artists[11] are speaking out against authoritarianism and fighting for their rights – under threat of prosecution. Commercial music is extremely limited in content, as censorship allows only non-critical topics to be sung about. But young people are craving music with lyrics that address real life and reflect society. For this reason, Skum of the punk band Kultureshock proclaims, "'people are still afraid to express what they truly believe. […] I can understand their fear, but I'm not going to sit here and wait for the safe time to express my ideas.'"[12]

The above country examples are presented in MTV's documentary series *Rebel Music*,

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8 *Ibid.*
9 Piki Figueroa, in MTV's "Beats, Not Bullets: Caracas' Home For The Arts"
10 Anegga in MTV's "Rebel Music: Myanmar"
11 These include the groups Acid, Kultureshock, Side Effect and Y.A.K., one of the only female hip-hop groups in Myanmar.
12 Skum in Long: Punks & Pagodas: Myanmar's Music Underground and the Fight for True Democracy

which illuminates the stories of young activists around the world who are combating oppression and injustice and demanding their rights through the use of music. Each new episode since its launching in 2013 calls to the viewer's attention a striking example of the boundless potential of music and art to reconcile, empower and ignite action13.

The examples of this inspiring power of music are endless. In one of Kosovo's political hot-spots, the Mitrovica Rock School paves a path for peace-building by uniting Albanian and Serbian youth to form mixed rock bands.[14] The project Stone Flowers brings refugees in the UK who have survived torture together to write and perform their own music as a method of healing and rehabilitation.[15] In South Africa and many East African countries, music and concerts are a strategic form of raising both awareness of and funds for HIV/AIDS campaigns, targeted especially at youth[16].

What do these diverse musical cultures, musical projects, and similar initiatives around the world have to do with human rights education? Can a link be drawn between such projects and enhancing the values of democracy? Moreover, what do these examples have in common with the social movements of the 60s in the United States?

Before going about answering these questions, it is essential to point out the crucial role that education plays in the promotion of human rights. As long as people are not aware of them, human rights remain merely concepts: sometimes respected and practised, sometimes abused, or simply written about on paper. "The single most critical source of human rights is the consciousness of peoples of the world"[17]. A man cannot "get up, stand up[18]" for rights he doesn't know about. A woman will not fight for the "R-E-S-P-E-C-T[19]" of her rights if she is not aware that she possesses them.

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[13] See www.rebelmusic.com for more information on the series.
[14] https://www.musicianswithoutborders.org/2013/11/mitrovica-rock-school-successfully-launches-new-program-for-mixed-bands/
[15] https://www.musicianswithoutborders.org/2013/10/stone-flowers-performance-on-international-peace-day/
[16] Letts 2006, p. 68
[17] Baxi 1994, p.1
[18] "Get up, stand up" - Bob Marley (1973)
[19] "Respect" - Aretha Franklin (1967)

2.1. Formal, Informal and Non-Formal Education

To search for the origin of the concept of human rights education, one need not even read far in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is the cornerstone document of international human rights law. Reference to education is made already in the preamble of the Declaration, which states that “every individual and every organ of society […] shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for [the] rights and freedoms [laid out in the Declaration]”[20].

Connecting this statement to the general right to education stated in Article 26 of the UDHR, one must conclude that every human being also has the right to human rights education, which *inter alia* “shall be directed […] to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms”[21]. The right to be educated on human rights is therefore an inherent right in itself. Article 1 of the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training states that “Everyone has the right to know, seek and receive information about all human rights and fundamental freedoms and should have access to human rights education and training”[22].

One definition offered by the Council of Europe describes human rights education as:

> “education, training, awareness raising, information, practices and activities which aim, by equipping learners with knowledge, skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behaviour, to empower learners to contribute to the building and defence of a universal culture of human rights in society, with a view to the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.”[23]

When speaking of human rights education, perhaps the first image that comes to mind is one of a classroom of children being educated on their rights. Although teaching children from a young age about their and others' rights is undoubtedly crucial, human

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[20] UDHR 1948, preamble
[21] UDHR 1948, Article 26
[22] UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training 2011, article 1
[23] The Council of Europe Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education (2010) as in Compass p. 17

rights education comprises much more than formal education, or learning in a school environment. In fact, most human rights education takes place in an informal or non-formal setting[24]. Whether through the media, word of mouth, targeted projects or any other form of activity, human rights education is essentially everything that promotes the knowledge and the protection of human rights. This can range from a human rights training program for police forces to a punk rock song informing about police violence being played on the radio.

One distinguishes between different "formats" employed in human rights education. In addition to *formal* education (primary, secondary and higher education), teaching human rights can be *non-formal*, meaning specialized training for groups of society outside of the educational system, such as programs for the military or health officials. The third format is *informal* human rights education, which refers to information on human rights that reaches the public in every-day life and includes the media, cultural symbols and other unsystematic educational forms.[25]

The type of human rights education which interests us for the sake of this study is informal education. "Informal sources of information are possibly the most pervasive means of education and communication"[26]. Music and song belong to this category. The goal of this paper is to prove how human rights education, according to its definition, includes the use of music as a means of awareness-raising for human rights. For the process of human rights education "is not limited to any specific activities", but rather "implies the entire process of social life by means of which individuals and social groups learn to develop consciously […] the whole of their personal capacities, attitudes, aptitudes and knowledge"[27].

2.2. International Guidelines on Human Rights Education

Over the past decades, there have been various manifestations and declarations issued by the United Nations concerning human rights education, each one broadening the

[24] cf. Meintjes 1997, p. 76
[25] *Ibid.* p. 75
[26] *Ibid.* p. 76
[27] UNESCO 1974 Recommendation concerning human rights education, art. 1(a)

scope of the notion and offering suggestions to states for its implementation[28]. Of special importance to the implementation of human rights education is UNESCO. The *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization* was founded in 1945, after WWII, on the basis of the belief that in order to ensure peace in the world, nations must be connected through moral and intellectual ties, and not only politically and economically. Sometimes called the "intellectual" agency of the United Nations, UNESCO works on building these ties *inter alia* through networks of education mobilization, inter-cultural understanding, and guaranteeing freedom of expression, "for it is in the minds of men and women that the defences of peace […] must be built"[29].

UNESCO claims the building of a *Culture of Peace* as one of its overarching objectives. One of the main areas of action of the *Culture of Peace* program is the promotion of access to formal and non-formal, equal and quality education for all, which includes education on human rights[30]. UNESCO has chosen to lay special focus on education, seeing it as a catalyst for world development as a whole, and recognizes that in education lies the potential to achieve global development, the protection of human rights, democracy and social justice[31].

One of the central documents concerning human rights education is the UNESCO *Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* of 1974, which aims to "encourage and support in Member States any activity designed to ensure the education of all for the advancement of justice, freedom, human rights and peace"[32]. The recommendation emphasizes that education should promote both the "intellectual and emotional development of the individual", which includes a "sense of responsibility and solidarity with less privileged groups" and a "critical understanding of problems at the national and the international level"[33], as well as "inter-cultural

[28] See Baxi 1994
[29] http://en.unesco.org/about-us/introducing-unesco
[30] http://en.unesco.org/cultureofpeace/main-areas-action
[31] http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/education-for-all/education-and-the-mdgs/
[32] UNESCO 1974 Recommendation concerning human rights education, preamble
[33] UNESCO 1974 Recommendation concerning human rights education, article 5

understanding”[34].

Building on the 1974 Recommendation, UNESCO issued the *World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy* in 1993, also known as the *Montreal Declaration on Human Rights Education*. One of the points emphasized in this declaration is that human rights education should be “participatory and operational, creative, innovative and empowering at all levels of civil society”; another paragraph focuses on the importance of “enhancing the universality of human rights by rooting these rights in different cultural traditions”[35]. The declaration also points out the foundation of human rights education on democracy, stating that it should “aim to nurture democratic values, sustain impulses for democratization and promote societal transformation based upon human rights and democracy”[36].

Moreover, the UNESCO 1995 *Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy* emphasizes informal education on human rights in its recommendation to include the use of the arts, such as folklore and popular theatre, and “all culturally suitable media”[37].

The year 1995 also marked the beginning of a new strategy for the furthering of human rights education globally: the *United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education* (1995-2004). This was established in response to the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, 1993, which stressed the importance of human rights education for the “achievement of stable and harmonious relations among communities and for fostering mutual understanding, tolerance and peace” and recommended that States orientate education around the goal of developing the human personality fully and strengthening respect for human rights[38].

Upon completion of the decade, and building on its achievements, the *United Nations' World Programme for Human Rights Education* was launched. This programme is structured in consecutive 5-year phases, in order to focus each phase on a specific issue.

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[34] *Ibid.* article 17
[35] World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy, Montreal, Canada, March 1993
[36] *Ibid.*
[37] UNESCO Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy, 1995
[38] Plan of Action for the UN Decade of Human Rights Education, 1996

The emphasis of the first phase (2005-2009) was on the school system, whereas that of the second phase (2010-2014) was on institutions of higher education, educators, law enforcement officials and the military. The focus of the third phase (2015-2019) is on the training of media personnel and journalists, as well as the implementation of the first two phases[39].

The Plans of Action for each of the three phases stress the fact that human rights education encompasses acquiring *knowledge* of rights and the *skills* needed to apply them; the *values and attitudes* needed to uphold them; as well as taking *action* to protect them[40]. These three points are important in understanding the role of music in human rights education and I will refer back to them in chapter 5.

In the description of these international documents and guidelines concerning human rights education, I have focused on the content which I find relevant to the argument I am making. I argue that the points on which I have chosen to elaborate justify the use of music as an effective tool for human rights education, in a form that speaks to people at all levels of society, using their own cultural traditions.

I have mentioned above the close link between educating in human rights and promoting democracy, as stated in international declarations. So my proposition that music is a practical method of human rights education includes the argument that music can be a tool for furthering the principles of democracy.

Rather than being an end in itself, the ultimate goal of human rights education is to build a "culture of peace based on democracy, development, tolerance and mutual respect"[41]. Article 13 of the International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states that education should, *inter alia*, "enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society"[42]. One precondition for a functional democracy is the participation of free people in the social and political discourses that affect their lives.

[39] Plan of Action for the third phase (2015–2019) of the World Programme for Human Rights Education, 2014

[40] *Ibid.* article 5

[41] World plan of action on education for human rights and democracy, Montreal, Canada, March 1993. For a comparative view, see also Baxi 1994, pp. 11-12, in which it is argued that human rights education should be viewed as an end in itself.

[42] ICESCR 1966, art. 13

The arts in general and music in particular can be one form of participation for civil society by giving people a voice to share their opinions, be they frustrations or desires.

I will elaborate more on this point in the following chapters, which will consist of an articulation of *how* music both informs people of their own rights and those of others, and gives them a voice of democratic participation.

3. THE EMOTIONAL VALUE OF MUSIC

"Human powers, physical or spiritual,
need to be exercised if they are not to decline, and it may
be that one of the uses of music is to exercise the soul in its power
of emotional reaction so that it may keep athletic and true to the
way it was created."[43]

Whether speaking of social change, educating people on their rights, raising awareness, or encouraging democratic participation, *emotions* are an essential element. For this reason I find it important to look at the emotional value of music as a key issue in itself. Simply put, social change is brought about by collective action[44;] collective action is induced – among other things – by emotions[45;] and emotions can be awakened by music[46]. Following this equation, emotions are the medium by which music can induce social change.

Listening to music or song texts can open our eyes to unknown views and experiences of the world we know. A song has the power to inspire change by penetrating our hearts and minds and challenging us to rethink our views and opinions. Most of us have experienced being moved by music, sometimes to the point of tears, in a way that words can't explain. Music can bring someone else's experiences, which might otherwise be no more than a news headline, alive to the listener

So what exactly is the link between music, emotion, and taking action that leads to social change? Looking at the "equation" below, I will attempt an answer to this question by dealing first with the relationship between music and emotion, then between emotion and taking social action, which leads to social change.

Music → Emotion → Social action

[43] Bennett 1942, p. 412
[44] See Klandermans & van Stekelnburg 2013; Van Zomeren & Spears 2009
[45] See Jasper 2011
[46] See Lundqvist, Carlsson, Hilmersson & Juslin 2009; Carr 2004; Zangwill 2007; Bennett 1942; DeNora 2000

3.1. Music → Emotion

Extensive research has been and is being carried out on the way in which music affects the emotions of the listener, including which emotions are influenced and the mechanisms by which this takes place[47]. To go in depth into the psychology of music would go beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is helpful for our understanding of music and emotion to mention some key points from this field of expertise. P. N. Juslin, one of the leading scholars of music psychology who has published much literature on music and emotion, defines emotions as “relatively brief, intense, and rapidly changing reactions to potentially important events (subjective challenges or opportunities) in the external or internal environment - often of a social nature - which involve a number of subcomponents (cognitive changes, subjective feelings, expressive behavior, and action tendencies) that are more or less ‘synchronized’ during an emotional episode.[48]” These emotions can be subjective feelings of the listener, or can be observed as physiological or behavioural responses to the music, and can even be traced in studies of brain activity[49].

“Humans are unparalleled in their ability to make sense out of sound – including music”[50]. But what exactly takes place between the sound and the emotions our brain produces is a complex process, explanations for which have been attempted through various approaches. One approach is to explain our reactions according to “causal factors” which depend on the individual, the music itself and the context in which it is heard – such as the location and the social context. Other approaches offer theories on the psychological and physiological mechanisms which mediate between a musical object and emotions[51].

Musicologist and music therapist E. Ruud suggests that the affective, cognitive and physiological influence of music can be better understood through studying affect consciousness (AC), which is “the mutual relationship between activation of basic

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[47] See Juslin & Sloboda 2010
[48] Juslin 2011, p. 114
[49] *ibid.* p. 115
[50] Patel 2008 cited in *ibid.* p. 121
[51] See Juslin & Västfjäll 2008, Lundqvist *et al.* 2009

affects and the individual's capacity to consciously perceive, reflect on and express these affect experiences"[52]. Another comprehensive theory is the "BREVCEM model", which analyses the brain's process of converting acquired information into emotion according to brain stem reflexes, rhythmic entrainment, evaluative conditioning, contagion, visual imagery, episodic memory, and musical expectancy[53].

The debate is a vast one among musicologists, psychologists and neuro-psychologists as to the explanation of the link between music and emotion, with clashing approaches like the "emotivist" vs. "cognitivist" positions[54]. However, leaving the "how" aside, what is agreed upon from all fronts is that the relationship between music and feelings – the ability of music to awaken or speak to our emotions – undeniably exists[55].

DeNora describes music as a "re-configuring agency", which helps to regulate people's feelings, desires, actions and how they engage with the world. Music can be used as "representations of where they wish to be or go, emotionally, physically, and so on"[56]. Especially in view of people as social beings and members of groups, there is much evidence of the implications of our emotional responses to music for our life goals, convictions and actions[57]. Much of the music of the 60s, which I will later bring into focus, addresses strongly the listeners' dreams, convictions and hopes, encouraging them to pursue life goals such as contributing to a better society and change in the world.

In looking at the connection between music and emotion, many musical elements are involved, such as melody, harmony, timbre, dynamics, interpretation, lyrics and the instruments used. Moreover, the social context, surroundings and listening situation, as well as the listener's mood, musical taste and personality have an impact on how and which, if any, emotions are aroused. It is also important to note that the emotion perceived by the listener is not always the same as the emotion the music represents, or

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52 Ruud 2008, p. 52
53 Juslin & Västfjäll 2008
54 Lundqvist *et al.* 2009; see also Bennett 1942
55 See Carr 2004; Zangwill 2007; Bennett 1942; Chong *et al.* 2013
56 DeNora 2000, p. 53
57 Alcorta, Sosis & Finkel 2008, p. 577

which the composer, writer or artist intended to express through the music[58]. For this reason, in my analysis of a sample of songs from the 60s in chapter 5, the emotions I look for are those that are overtly expressed or promoted by the writer/artist, which does not guarantee that they are thus perceived by the listener.

As stated above, emotions aroused by listening to music are affected by many elements found in the music. But certainly one of the strongest is the song text.[59] Research has shown that songs with similar musical elements, such as melodies, have different emotional effects on listeners, depending on their lyrical content.[60] And it is not only the lyrics which influence the way our emotions respond to music; a further result of research shows the effect of music on the transfer of the meaning of lyrics. In comparing the effect on the listener of sung lyrics with that of spoken text or written poetry, experiments revealed that music often attributed both emotion (positive or negative) and meaning to the song text[61]. It can be extracted from this study that conveying an emotion or a specific meaning through music and sung lyrics can have a stronger effect on the listener than speaking of that emotion or writing that same meaning, since music and song text are interrelated and reciprocative[62].

In light of this, my analysis of the music of the 60s will focus on the lyrics of songs and their effect on people, with the view that music is the medium, or mode of transport, which carries the actual message of the lyrics to the cognition and emotions of the listener. It is within the framework of music that lyrics can have increased power to transfer meaning and to reach the listener's emotions. Or, in more metaphorical terms, "music is accordingly a sort of germ-carrier, and emotion an infection which passes from one to another"[63].

I would back this argument with reference to the "emotional contagion" process, by which a listener reproduces internally a perceived emotion expressed in the music. The

[58] cf. Bennett 1942
[59] cf. Kim *et al.* 2010
[60] cf. Kwon 2011
[61] Thompson & Russo 2004
[62] See also Peretz *et al.* for research on the bidirectional connections between text and tune in song memory.
[63] Bennett 1942, p. 411

theory implies that the human voice and sounds similar to it are among the strongest transmitters of emotion in music, due to a "mirror-neuron system" which allows us to empathetically respond to others' feelings[64].

A broad range of emotions frequently occurring in response to music have been identified in music psychology studies[65]. Many of these are of interest to us in seeking to explain how people are encouraged through music to take action in social movements, including feelings of elation, sadness, excitement, pride, longing or hope. But for the sake of this study, I will focus primarily on two powerful emotions: empathy and anger. Both are significant examples of how emotion is the inner force that drives us to action[66].

As both anger and empathy are words commonly used in natural language, they can be interpreted to represent quite different feelings. I refer here to anger in the sense of "elaborated indignation"[67] over something one perceives as unjust, along with the desire to witness some form of change. Contrary to the view of anger as an irrational, uncontrolled and destructive emotion, anger can be an organized and rational response that leads to collective action, with the potential to alter injustice and bring about social change[68]. Van Zomeren *et al.* especially emphasize group-based anger, as opposed to interpersonal feelings of deprivation, as a powerful resource in relation to coping with collective disadvantage[69].

In addition to anger, music has the ability to facilitate empathy as an emotional response in the listener. Empathy has been shown to be especially crucial in the process of peace-building[70]. Research has shown that listening to songs with "prosocial" lyrics can have a positive effect on the listener's thoughts, behaviour and elicit interpersonal empathy[71]. Empathy has been positively correlated with the initiation of "mirror neuron activation" by congruent motor and autonomic reactions to music, showing that music undeniably

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[64] Juslin 2011, p. 123
[65] *ibid.* p. 116
[66] See Grant *et al.* 2010; Van Zomeren *et al.* 2012
[67] Jasper 2011, p. 14.2
[68] cf. Van Zomeren *et al.* 2012, p. 180
[69] *ibid.* p. 182
[70] Grant et. al. 2010, p. 190
[71] Greitemeyer 2008

has the ability to "engender and entrain autonomic responses, evoke emotions, engage reward circuitry, elicit empathy, and associate motivational responses"[72]. For example, experiments among immigrant communities in schools have shown that performances of immigrant children's traditional music can contribute to decreasing interracial rivalry and encourage empathy among students[73].

I would argue that a person is likely to take action against injustice mainly in one of two cases: either if he/she has been affected directly by that injustice, thus generating resentment or *anger*, or if he/she has indirectly experienced that injustice through the *empathy* awakened by learning of another's experience.

Simply informing a person about the violation of another's rights will most likely transfer the cognitive knowledge of the case or situation, but will not necessarily generate feelings in the listener. However, a musical piece or song has the ability to create in the listener empathy with the person whose rights have been violated, if it can carry not only the facts of the violation but the actual feelings and experience of the victim of the violation. For "music, being of an audible character, its tendency is to call to mind such movements and stresses of the inner life as have no visual images existing in the imagination"[74].

Music has the power of doing just that: transporting emotion from one person to the next. Even if one is on the opposite side of the globe from the other. In this way, music can add to the knowledge factor of human rights education the dimension of emotion, which can stir the listener to action and movement. Through music and song writing, victims of human rights violations can share the *feeling* of an experience with complete strangers, rather than merely informing them of that experience. As Ruud puts it, "song writing gives opportunities to deal with traumas and conflicts, to give poetic form to life experiences and thus create something which it is possible to accept and share with others"[75].

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[72] Alcorta, Sosis & Finkel 2008, p. 577
[73] Grant *et al.* 2010, p. 191
[74] Bennett 1942, p. 410
[75] Ruud 2008, p. 57

3.2. Emotion → Social Action

> *"Emotion […] is in its nature a movement, it establishes a state of tension, and these two –emotion and tension – are focussed by a magnetic pole which in this case is the soul's contented state."*[76]

The study of music and emotions is not limited to the realms of music psychology, but is also an interest of music sociology. In the last decade interest has grown in the emotional element of social action, especially in the study of political and social movements. One can observe an increasing focus on the "affective character of identification with a movement […] and 'structures of feeling' as these are entered into, adopted and adapted in the course of identity politics and movement activity"[77].

So far, we have looked at how music can awaken certain emotions in the listener. But how can the listener be propelled to action, to *movement*? Juslin noted music's ability to influence people's "action tendencies", be they the action of helping others or physical movement[78]. The clearest way in which music moves us is its undeniable effect of stirring people to movement on a purely physical level. As Patel has observed, "humans are the only species to simultaneously synchronize to the beat of music"[79]. DeNora has also studied the way in which music incites action – not just movement in our bodies, but also how it carries us from one emotional state to another[80]. She notes that "music is not merely a 'meaningful' or 'communicative' medium. It does much more than convey signification through non-verbal means. At the level of daily life, music has power. […] Music may influence how people compose their bodies, how they conduct themselves, […] how they feel – in terms of energy and emotion – about themselves, about others, and about situations. In this respect, music may imply and, in some cases, elicit associated modes of conduct"[81].

Bernice Johnson Reagon, a central figure in the music of the civil rights movement,

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[76] Bennett 1942, p. 409
[77] DeNora 2011, p. 161
[78] Juslin 2011, p. 115
[79] Patel 2008, p. 100 cited by *ibid.*
[80] DeNora 2000
[81] DeNora 2000, pp. 16-17

says of the act of singing that “this process of 'running sound through their bodies' changes people; it creates a sense of vocal, emotional, spiritual, and physical power. […] Whether the audience is civil rights workers, the police force, or concert-goers, if they can hear more than the lyrics, then they are quite literally 'moved' by their sounds.”[82]

I would argue that using mechanisms that speak to a person's emotions, such as music, might in many cases be an effective way of raising awareness of human rights issues. By “effective” I mean more likely to result in action on the part of the listener. Both cognition and emotions are involved in the way our brains process a received message, but emotions often operate faster than the conscious mind in information processing[83]. Studies on the social psychology of emotions and collective action have shown that among the most likely emotions to motivate people to action are “justice-related emotions”, such as anger and resentment, of individual or group-based deprivation.[84]

Nussbaum, from a more cognitive approach, states that “emotions always involve thought of an object combined with thought of the object's salience or importance; in that sense, they always involve appraisal or evaluation”[85]. In light of this fact, attempting to bring across a piece of information (e.g. news of human rights violations) in a way that will evoke emotions will likely have the effect of encouraging the listener to evaluate the situation as well as appraise possible actions he/she can take in response. Jasper dubs this effect *moral shock*, or “the vertiginous feeling that results when an event or information shows that the world is not what one had expected, which can sometimes lead to articulation or rethinking of moral principles”[86]. This is the kind of effect that can be achieved through music as a mechanism of awareness-raising – inspiring change by reaching people's minds and hearts and causing them to rethink and readjust their opinions and life-styles.

As DeNora puts it, “if music on occasion provides a device of social ordering, if – in

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[82] Love 2006, p. 96
[83] Jasper 2011, p. 14.5
[84] Klandermans & Van Stekelenburg 2007, p. 176
[85] Nussbaum 2011, p. 23 cited in Jasper 2011, p. 14.5
[86] Jasper 2011, p. 14.5

and through its manner of appropriation – it is a potential resource against which holding forms, templates, and parameters of action and experience are forged, if it can be seen to have 'effects' upon bodies, hearts, and minds, *then* the matter of music in the social space is […] an aesthetic-political matter"[87].

We can derive from this statement that music can also be effective in encouraging people to act politically, or make use of their right to democratic participation. Political decisions affect the real lives of people in everyday life. If democracy in the real world is "in the streets"[88], those whose lives are affected by politics should be the ones who move politics. Protest as a form of democratic participation arises out of emotion. A citizen will not take to the streets to protest perceived injustice or fight for his/her rights unless compelled to do so by a strong emotion connected to the desire to achieve a specific goal through that action. In many, if not most cases, this emotion is anger. Much research has been carried out on the role of anger in collective action, emphasizing "*anger* as stimulating individuals' willingness to act against the collective disadvantage caused by prejudice, discrimination, or structural inequality"[89]. Needless to say, music can also be used as a method to incite to violent behaviour, not only to non-violent action, as multiple examples in history have proven.[90] For this reason, activists in social movements need to make the target clear against which the anger felt by people should be vented, by weaving together "a moral, cognitive, and emotional package of attitudes".[91]

The type of action that interests us in the context of this paper is one that leads to social change. This action can take many forms and be rather subtle or more radical. On a more moderate level, social change can result from an on-going process of constantly re-adjusting my own attitude and behaviour, with the knowledge that how I live affects the rest of the world, directly or indirectly. An awareness of the connectedness of so many issues in the world will inevitably result in changes in my lifestyle: what and how

[87] DeNora 2011 p. 178
[88] See Miller 1994
[89] Van Zomeren *et al.* 2012, p. 180
[90] cf. Grant *et al.* 2010
[91] Klandermans & van Stekelenburg 2007, p. 172

I consume, what impact I leave on the environment, nature and people around me. This awareness is closely interlinked with what Durkheim termed “collective consciousness”, or a shared understanding of values and beliefs, and can be a powerful driving force for societal change in the long run[92].

Social change can also be the result of more direct collective action, such as protests, demonstrations, and activities of social movements aiming at a distinct goal, such as equal rights for women, homosexuals, or black people. Jasper makes a strong argument for how emotions play an important role in every stage and aspect of protest and social change (he uses these two terms interchangeably). Emotions are essential for motivating individuals and groups and for expressing the goals and strategies of a movement. He argues for the need to focus on the role of both emotion and cognition in social movements, as “parallel, interacting processes of evaluating and interacting with our worlds”[93].

DeNora describes the role of music in the structuring of emotion in social movement activity as a “pre-scriptive device of agency. Within music's structures, its perceived connotations, its sensual parameters (dynamics, sound envelopes, harmonies, textures, colours, etc.), actors may 'find' or compose themselves as agents with particular capacities for social action”. According to DeNora, music provides a 'container' for emotions, which might otherwise be only momentary feelings, urges to act, or identifications. It can thus be seen as a 'holding form': “a set of motifs that proceed, and serve as a reference point for, lines of feeling and lines of conduct over time.[94]”

Jasper presents a rough categorization of feelings as bodily urges, reflex emotions, moods, affective loyalties (such as love/hate, respect/contempt, etc.) and moral emotions (based on principles). The latter two types of emotion are more stable and long-term[95]. They might therefore be of greater significance in social movements, as they form a more permanent part of a person's convictions. Trust in or mistrust of a

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[92] cf. Allan 2013, p. 119
[93] Jasper 2011, p. 14.2
[94] DeNora 2011, p.177
[95] Jasper 2011, p. 14.3

political party or indignation over what one considers to be wrong would be examples of affective loyalties and moral emotions, respectively. One also speaks of an "emotional energy generated in collective rituals", or what Durkheim termed "collective effervescence", which moves people to collective action, such as shared enthusiasm and a sense of solidarity[96]. An example of such collective rituals stirring an emotional energy could be the collective singing in the civil rights movement (see chapter 4).

Of further interest to a study of emotions and social movements is Jasper's contribution concerning people's personal goals, which are closely connected to and brought to light by emotions. Among the categories of human goals he offers, those especially involved in social movements are *reputation* (which can be a motive for fighting for human dignity), *connection* (collective identity and the sense of belonging to a group are central to the success of a social movement), and having an *impact* on the world. As Jasper puts it, "hopeful anticipation of an impact is perhaps the greatest spur to action".[97]

The collective identity mentioned above, along with collective solidarity, are concepts that were central to the civil rights movement and other social movements of the 60s, and will be discussed in the following chapter.

[96] *ibid.*
[97] *ibid.*

4. MUSIC IN THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OF THE 1960s

"Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world."
-Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Preamble

In order for the "freedom, justice and peace in the world" referred to in the UDHR to be fully realized, a common understanding of our rights is necessary. This understanding is achieved progressively through teaching and education[98]. So the ultimate goal of human rights education is *social change* towards a society based on justice, respect and democracy, or the strengthening of such values[99]. Throughout history, social movements have contributed to bringing about this social change[100]. The twentieth century especially, has been so characterized by social movements promoting human rights that, despite massive violations, ours can arguably be called an "Age of Rights"[101].

4.1. Social Movements – An Overview

Baxi argues that human rights education must begin by looking back at the history of human rights struggles and social movements in order to understand today's human rights issues. He points out that the practice of human rights, which we know today, has been "formed by an ever increasing, and persistent, human striving to make state more ethical, governance more just, and power more accountable"[102]. This human striving for justice is what formed the heart and soul of the civil rights movement of the 60s in the United States, which I have chosen as a vantage point for my analysis of the role music can play in social movements, in light of human rights education.

Social movements can be defined as "contentious politics" which make collective claims against a specific target (usually governments or organizations), use a shared

[98] UDHR, Preamble
[99] cf. World plan of action on education for human rights and democracy, Montreal, Canada, March 1993
[100] cf. Snow et. al. 2004
[101] Baxi 1994, p. 1
[102] *ibid.*

repertoire of actions and protest forms, and publicly represent their commitment and goals[103]. Social movements are one of the main ways for citizens to voice their grievances, interests and concerns for their rights while demanding change, usually involving some form of active protest[104].

Among the features common to all tactical repertoires of protests is *collective identity*[105]: "Acting collectively requires the development of solidarity and an oppositional consciousness that allows a challenging group to identify common injustices, to oppose those injustices, and to define a shared interest in opposing the dominant group or resisting the system of authority responsible for those injustices."[106] Creating and maintaining a collective identity is one of the major tasks of any movement. This can be contributed to by making possible and encouraging forms of participation that facilitate new forms of solidarity. In this way, the tactical repertoire of a movement's protest forms is not simply aimed towards outsiders, or to gain attention, but is important for building the movement *internally*.[107]

Active and collective protest forms a fundamental part of social movements, as it is what distinguishes social movements from mere political action. Protest can be defined as "the collective use of unconventional methods of political participation to try to persuade or coerce authorities to support a challenging group's aims"[108]. These methods can take numerous different forms, ranging from conventional to more confrontational and even violent tactics, and can include cultural expressions of political views such as art and music[109].

The protest form I focus on here is the use of music as a tactic for political expression. The movements of the 60s in the US offer a fertile ground for studying this form of protest, as music was an essential part of their mobilization process. Historians, sociologists and musicologists alike have looked to this time period for insight and

[103] Roy 2010, p. 4
[104] cf. Snow et. al. 2004
[105] cf. *ibid.* p. 264
[106] *ibid.* p. 270
[107] cf. *ibid.*
[108] *ibid.* p. 263
[109] *ibid.*

inspiration as to how music can be used to mobilize and organize social movements, as well as to increase group solidarity, strengthen collective identity and empower the individual[110].

4.2. The Marriage of Culture and Politics

> *"Social movements mobilize around culture. Culture is not just something that movements have; it is something they do."*[111]

The civil rights movement and other social movements of the 60s not only changed the course of American history, but were a model for and greatly influenced the following social movements of the twentieth century, to a large extent through their culture of music and legacy of “freedom songs”[112]. Building on African American culture and religion, music was the “heart and soul”[113] of the civil rights movement and the “key force in shaping, spreading, and sustaining the movement's culture and through culture its politics”[114].

Much of the music of the 60s was political, with “movement artists” (central musical figures who were also role-models for the followers of the movement or “movement intellectuals”)[115] such as Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs, Pete Seeger, and Joan Baez – to name just a few – becoming symbols of the movements of the time and representing those movements' core values and political campaigns. A new “political consciousness” was being created in the 60s, aided by the music, which was often performed at political demonstrations and festivals[116]. This intricate relationship between culture and politics meant both that the music gained a wider social and political context and that the political struggles were able to add musical expression to their action repertoires[117].

The combining of the cultural and political also came to greatly influence today's global

[110] e.g. Cantwell 1996, Roy 2010, Reed 2005, Eyerman & Jamison 1998, Fischlin 2003
[111] Roy 2010, p. 6
[112] cf. Reed 2005
[113] *ibid.* p. 14
[114] *ibid.* p. 13
[115] Eyerman & Jamison 1998, p. 22
[116] *ibid.* p. 106
[117] cf. *ibid.* p. 7

youth culture. The music of the 60s carries “truth-bearing significance” for young people around the world – in understanding the world they live in as well as finding their place in it. For “more effectively than any other form of expression, music […] recalls a meaning that lies outside and beyond the self”[118].

The music and the social movements of the 1960s were interdependent, the one enhancing and promoting the other. For this reason, the significance of the music must be regarded in the context of the social and political situation of the time as well as the underlying historical and cultural traditions. It is out of these that social movements emerge.

4.3. Context and Roots of the 1960s Social Movements

Countless scholars and researchers over the past decades have tried to explain, or at least delineate, the spirit of the 60s, its manifoldness and the elusive climate of the time. But, as Miller has put it, it is “all but impossible to convey adequately the era's carnivalesque atmosphere of confusion – an air of chaos that was, depending on one's aspirations, either fearful or liberating”[119].

One might say that “movements are most likely to mobilize extensively when they are least likely to get what they want”[120]. Perhaps one reason for the successful mobilization of the movements of the 60s was the intensity and desperation of the circumstances surrounding them: deeply-engrained racism and inequality, political insecurity, social tensions, a widening gap between the generations and a general dissatisfaction and unrest among young people[121].

Frustration among the black community was growing; racial segregation continued to prevent effective equal rights and violence due to racial hatred was widespread. The industrial development of the time and the solidarity among black workers led,

[118] *ibid.*
[119] Miller 1994, p. 5
[120] Snow et. al. 2004, p. 642
[121] cf. Miller 1994

however, to the formation of labour unions, which turned out to be strategic organizing centres for the civil rights movement[122]. Furthermore, the political pressure of the cold war brought civil rights more into the focus of the nation, as apartheid became an "international embarrassment" to the US government[123].

One of the main contextual factors of the movements of the 60s was the development of a new oppositional youth culture. Young people of different races and classes (and on a larger scale, globally) were searching for an alternative to the old social order, for values different from those they saw as central to the previous generation, and for increased awareness and consciousness. The appeal of both the culture and the politics of the movements to the younger generation – massive in size, power and innovation – was one of their strongest assets and a reason for the rapid spreading of their ideas[124]. As one of the leading folk singer/songwriters of the time, Phil Ochs, said of the music of the era:

> *"We're trying to crystallize the thoughts of young people who have stopped accepting things the way they are. Young people are disillusioned; we want to reinforce their disillusionment so they'll get more involved and do something – not out of a general sense of rebellion, but out of a real concern for what's happening – or not happening"*[125].

By the mid-1960s, the most central issue of the decade's social movements was the opposition to the American intervention in Vietnam, with mostly young people demanding an end to the war and protesting against the military-industrial complex in general. This was closely linked with student protests, sit-ins, demonstrations and the like.[126]

As we can see, there were different social movements taking place in the 60s, with different human rights in focus. The civil rights movement, political campaigns to end the Vietnam War, student mobilizations, LGBT rights and feminism movements, and the

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[122] Reed 2005, p. 7
[123] *ibid.* p. 9
[124] cf. Eyerman & Jamison 1998, p. 109
[125] Phil Ochs, in an interview with Vogue (1.9.1964), quoted in Eyerman & Jamison 1998, p. 106
[126] *ibid.* p. 114

"counterculture" of young (white) people were all interlinked and ran to some extent parallel to each other. The music of the time was one factor that bridged these various movements and connected the interests of their actors[127].

> *"Popular music was one of the main mediating forces, forms of translation, between the movement's more obvious expressions, mass demonstrations, organizations and the wider population. Through the media of popular culture, the ideas, values and attitudes expressed in the movement reached a broader segment of people – with more long-lasting effect."*[128]

4.4. The Music of the 1960s

Not only did the music bridge the different movements, but it also very much bridged the barriers between the individuals inside a movement. The success of a movement depends to a large degree on its internal relationships. And as W. G. Roy points out, "the social form of music – specifically the relationship between those who sing and those who listen – reflects and shapes the social relationship between social movement leaders and participants, conditioning the effect that music can have on movement outcomes".[129]

This was especially visible in the civil rights movement, whose freedom songs were inspired by gospel blues and a long tradition of call-and-response Spiritual songs, in which all members of a congregation would participate. The church was, after all, a most central institution for the black community. These freedom songs and the participatory singing they involved became an effective part of the movement's action repertoire and its strategy of non-violent direct action, contributing to a "transformation of consciousness" in those who took part in the movement[130]. Reed summarizes the origins of the freedom songs as follows:

> *"Even when not used in this directly political effort to achieve freedom, the songs and sermons became a kind of liberation theology that kept alive*

[127] cf. Eyerman & Jamison 1998
[128] Eyerman & Jamison 1995, p. 458
[129] Roy 2010, p. 2
[130] Reed 2005, p. 14

alternative visions of the world that would, under movement conditions, be turned again to more earthly, political ends."[131]

Just as the freedom songs formed the front line of demonstrations and other actions of the civil rights movement[132], so the music of the later years was central to the later movements. The student movement emerged subsequently and directly related to the civil rights movement and was connected to a renewed interest in folk music. This "folk music revival" formed a large part of the mobilization of the movement, taking place on campuses, at folk festivals, on the streets. Its emergence and development paralleled, in a gradual manner, that of soul music in the civil rights movement.[133] Soul music was related to the Black Pride movement of the later 60s, in which the focus was more on the transformation of black identity and consciousness than on merely gaining civil rights. The emergence of soul music offered a new form of expression of the longing and suffering felt by many blacks.[134]

The different genres of the 60s music – soul, blues, jazz, rock, folk and others – were closely connected to each other and to the movements they accompanied. In speaking of the evolution of rock, Eyerman and Jamison sum up this interrelatedness: "The mobilization of blues and its transformation into rock complemented, but also built upon, the mobilization of the black spiritual music tradition that characterized the civil rights movement and the mobilization of the topical folk song tradition that was so central to the 'folk revival'".[135]

4.5. The Role of Music in the 1960s Social Movements

In the following I will look in more depth at the precise function filled by the music of the 60's in the movements of the time. I divide the elements of this function into three categories: music as a tool (1) for the organisation of the movement, (2) for its internal relations, and (3) for providing a form of individual expression.

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131 *ibid.* p. 11
132 cf. Sanger 1997
133 cf. Eyerman & Jamison 1998, p. 118
134 cf. *ibid.* p. 77
135 *Ibid.* p. 108

Part of understanding why a social movement arises and attracts participants when and where it does, in addition to looking at its organisational structures and use of resources, is to examine what the movement does with culture. And one of the principle determining factors of the culture of a movement is the social relations within it[136]. According to Roy (2010), culture in social movements can be used in two ways: either for recruitment and persuasion, in which the emphasis is on the political, or for building solidarity, in which emphasis is on the social relations. This comparison is reflected in other studies as the division of social movements' use of culture in "evangelical" vs. "relational"[137] or as Denisoff's categories of "magnetic" vs. "rhetorical"[138]. Whichever terminology one chooses to use, the essence of this division is the different focus of attention on the organisation vs. relations of a movement.

So understanding a social movement requires understanding its culture; and understanding this culture demands an understanding of the music through which it expresses itself, according to DeNora.[139] For this reason, I attempt here an explanation of the role of music as part of the culture of the 60s social movements. To the above-mentioned categories of organisational and relational uses of music, I add that of the individual expression made possible through music.

4.5.1. Music as an Organisational Tool

Music has been referred to as the "organisational glue"[140] of the 1960s movements; as the driving force, the heart and soul of their action and growth. In the following I will explore what is meant by such statements.

Awareness-raising and recruitment:

Much of the awareness-raising carried out for the promotion of the movements' goals was made possible through music. Participants were often informed, persuaded and "recruited" into the movements through songs. Young people were in rebellion against

[136] cf. Roy 2010
[137] Roy 2013
[138] Denisoff 1966
[139] DeNora 2000, p. 5
[140] cf. Reed 2005, Love 2006

so much at once, against society as a whole, and this revolutionary spirit was in need of a sense of direction and clear goals. The music offered a shared experience of "consciousness-raising", of naming the other and uniting against a common enemy – like racism and war and injustice – and choosing instead community and new values.[141] Since "music becomes more deeply ingrained in memory than mere talk", capturing these values in song led to music being one of the main organising tools of the movements. Music was also used in promotion and fund-raising, and often catered for increased attention from the press.[142]

The civil rights movement especially stands out for its reliance on music for its existence and growth. Songs formed the communication network of the movement. The "freedom songs" that were later to go down in history were central both to organizing and mobilizing the movement. They brought the message of anti-segregation to ordinary people, which was particularly significant for African-American communities with roots in oral cultural traditions. Often people would join in meetings or rallies just for the music, and then be drawn into the movement.[143]

Many of the songs of the 60s, from different genres, draw attention to a certain problem or discontent in society or politics. They also tend to be easy to reconstruct and pass on, some bordering on simplistic, and encourage participation through their familiarity and repetitiveness. According to Denisoff, these characteristics are structural prerequisites for "songs of persuasion" to meet their functions.[144]

Public relations:

In addition to recruiting new participants into a movement, another of these functions is gaining support and sympathy from those outside the movement. Music is a universal language, capable of speaking to the broadest audience. Due to the "mediability" of much of the music of the 60s, the widest segment of the population was able to be reached – youth, with its massive size, creative and economic power. It was an age of

[141] cf. Eyerman & Jamison 1995, p. 459
[142] Reed 2005, p. 28
[143] cf. *ibid.*
[144] Denisoff 1966, p. 582

musical innovation and experimentation, recombining high and low culture: acoustic folk, rock, blues, gospel, jazz and traditional hymns. This cultural pluralism, plus increased mass distribution, resulted in the engagement of many people who were originally not directly affected by (or possibly not aware of) the concerns of a specific movement; for example white middle-class youth in the North caring about equal rights for blacks in the South.[145]

> *"Popular music was one of the main mediating forces, forms of translation, between the movement's more obvious expressions, mass demonstrations, organizations and the wider population. Through the media of popular culture, the ideas, values and attitudes expressed in the movement reached a broader segment of people, and (perhaps) to more long-lasting effect."*[146]

But also outside the mainstream media, much of the 60s music found its way to be distributed and produced through alternative means. Much of the new folk music especially was easy to play for anyone anywhere, needing simply a guitar and a voice. This accessibility was attractive to young people and invited participation, creating a form of collective expression that spread into society. The sense of collectivity the music gave was magnified in form in the contexts of festivals or demonstrations.[147]

Repertoire of actions:

The act of singing played a large role in the actual repertoire of actions of the movements, and provided a form of participation and engagement for the participants. In the civil rights movement in particular, singing was part of the collective action itself and was less about persuasion or recruitment; some of the freedom songs were in fact politically quite vague.[148] But participatory singing was at the centre of demonstrations, marches and sit-ins. Meetings were opened and closed with singing. Some activists would even take up songs like weapons of self-defence against beatings. At times, resorting to singing as a strategic element of non-violence would protect against the

[145] cf. Eyerman & Jamison 1995
[146] *Ibid.* p. 458
[147] cf. *ibid.*
[148] cf. Roy 2013

violence of mobs or police. But even when it failed to halt the violence, it often sustained and strengthened the activists themselves as well as created bonds between them and onlookers. As Martin Luther King observed, singing allowed the peaceful activists to “meet physical force with soul force”.[149]

Communication:

Many songs served distinctly the “relationship between the social movement and mind of the activist”[150] as knowledge-producers among the participants, making the political ideas of the movement understandable for all. This combination of political with musical entailed challenging people to rethink their views of themselves and society and to recognize social problems and oppression; as well as offering solutions and providing a feeling of identification with the ideologies of the movements.[151]

Of course there is a clear connection between the goals to be spread by the movements and the type of music to be chosen for a certain message. Since the “intellectualizing” content was in the song lyrics, the quiet simple sounds of folk music, for example, gave room for the voice and text to be the primary object of attention. This content often consisted of cultural and political criticism, but at other times of politically neutral and universal themes such as peace, tolerance, racial equality, respect.[152]

Music was a form of transmitting the values, feelings, principles and goals of a movement between its participants. It also communicated the tactics and strategies from the initiators to the activists. In the civil rights movement, the core public strategy was based on non-violent direct action, so the principle of non-violence was often transmitted through the songs. The line of communication drawn by music was also between the participants and the opponents to the movement. Singing (and often praying) became a way to convey to outsiders that this was a peaceful movement and served to dismantle the view of activists as a threat.[153] As Roy observes, “the social

[149] Love 2006, p. 95
[150] Roy 2010, p. 7
[151] cf. Eyerman & Jamison 1995
[152] cf. Eyerman & Jamison 1995, pp. 458-459
[153] cf. Reed 2005, p. 29

form of music – specifically the relationship between those who sing and those who listen – reflects and shapes the social relationship between social movement leaders and participants, conditioning the effect that music can have on movement outcomes."[154]

4.5.2. Music as a Relational Tool:

Music and singing were not only a crucial element in the strategies, organisation and mobilization of the social movements of the 60s. They were also at the heart and soul of the sense of solidarity among participants, the feeling of belonging and the collective identity without which no social movement can survive.

Collective identity:

The importance of collective identity for a movement has been discussed above. The challenge often exists in maintaining the relationship between the personal identity of participants and the group's collective identity. The music in these movements helped to handle this balance by strengthening and transforming both. It contributed to a discovery of self, to a sense of belonging and of "somebodiness" and to retaining the commitment of the individual, while encouraging collective action at the same time.[155]

A tangible example for how collective and individual identity building can go hand-in-hand is the "identity reclamation project"[156] of African Americans in the later 60s. The songs of the civil rights movement earlier in the decade laid the foundation for the Black Pride movement later on, as these songs were mostly transformed traditional spirituals, a token of their heritage. "For many movement participants, reclaiming freedom songs was part of claiming an identity as self-defined black people proud of their ancestry, rather than as white-defined 'Negroes'".[157] This example also shows how effective it can be to rely on existing or past cultural traditions to support the new ideologies and goals of a movement. In the case of the civil rights movement, music was a symbol of the culture and heritage of those involved. Freedom songs were a

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[154] Roy 2010, p. 2
[155] Reed 2005, p. 33
[156] *ibid.* p. 34
[157] *ibid.*

reminder of the religious foundations of black people, as well as their history of struggle against slavery and white oppression.[158]

Solidarity:

Solidarity and cohesion among participants in the different movements were magnified through music, especially through the act of collective music-making. Singing or "musicking"[159] together, whether at a festival, concert or in a hippy commune, whether in mass demonstrations, at picket lines or in a black Southern church, served to deepen people's sense of unity, courage and commitment to the cause or values of the movement. The act of group singing was itself a form of engagement in the movement. Reed states that "in singing you take on a deeper level of commitment to an idea than if you only hear it spoken of"[160].

Music is a "micro-social experience" which contributes to a strengthened concept of "us-ness", both by creating bridges between participants and boundaries between groups.[161] A member of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, which was central to the organisation of the civil rights movement, describes the experience of collective singing as follows:

> *"When you sing, you can reach deep into yourself and communicate some of what you've got to other people, and you get them to reach inside of themselves. You release your soul force, and they release theirs, until you can all feel like you are part of one great soul."*[162]

In attempting to understand this kind of almost meta-physical experience, the effect that joining voices and coordinating the movement of muscles in rhythm can have on a group's solidarity, we can look to Roy's description of the function of music in sociological terms: "The social impact of music happens not only through a common understanding of it or the discourse around it but also through the experience of

[158] cf. Love 2006
[159] Grant *et al.* 2010
[160] Reed 2005, p. 28
[161] Roy 2013
[162] Seeger & Reiser 1989, p. 180

simultaneity. The mutual synchronizing of sonic and bodily experience creates a bond that is *precommunicative* [something felt, not talked about] and perhaps deeper than shared conscious meaning”.[163] One can only attempt to explain the wonder of music.

Legacy:

Remarkably, much of the civil rights movement ended in violence with the beginning of the 70s. But the “spirit of the 60s” lived on, inspiring other important movements of the century such as the feminist movement, LGBT rights, animal and environment protection etc. In the following decades, this “spirit” has been symbolized by the “unique combination of the political and cultural”, which has influenced movements of social and democratic change across America, China, Eastern Europe and South Africa.[164] As Miller states, “for better or worse, something of the spirit of that time lives on, not least in the world of rock. Provoking a genuine cultural revolution, the movements of the 60s were instrumental in producing the extraordinary freedom of mores that now characterises most Western societies.”[165]

This spirit is most felt in the music of the time. The inspirational elements of the civil rights, student and antiwar movements – the collective participation, personalized politics, the values of respect, freedom and equality and direct democracy – have been immortalized in the songs of these movements: “After the movements fade away as political forces, the music remains as a memory and as a potential way to inspire new waves of mobilization”.[166]

During the movements of the 60s, the music had a unique way of addressing the movements' history, creating its new history, forming a sense of continuity and leaving a legacy all at the same time. It reminded of the roots and history of those involved and celebrated and recorded the accomplishments being made in the present, thus creating its own sense of history in the songs – what Reed called “instant historicizing”[167].

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[163] Roy 2010, p. 16 (emphasis added)
[164] Eyerman & Jamison 1995, p. 465
[165] Miller 1994, p. 8
[166] Eyerman & Jamison 1998, p. 2
[167] Reed 2005, p. 15

4.5.3. Music as Individual Expression

"Culture is treated as a symbolic and discursive realm existing at the social level but operationally found in individual expression."[168] In the end, the culture of a movement boils down to how it is expressed by the individuals of whom the movement consists.

In this case the culture is the music. In the movements of the 1960s, music contributed to the empowerment of the individual, to building one's own identity, sense of personal power and believing in oneself. The power of a movement as a whole depended on the transformed power of the individual. In the civil rights movement, the act of singing itself helped the individual overcome his or her fear (even fear of death), gain courage and strength. This is what Reed calls "transcendence of self", or "a sense of power and satisfaction and personal reward felt in the moment, in the movement. […] The movement didn't just talk about freedom. It gave it. Being free was part of the experience of the movement."[169]

Singing not only provided the singers themselves with an outlet for their feelings, but encouraged those listening to tune in to their own feelings and participate in expressing them. Reagon describes the act of singing freedom songs: "By going inside ourselves and singing specifically out of our lives, our community, and our world, we try to help those listening, in the sound of our singing to create a celebration based on what they can embrace that is real to them at that time".[170]

The final, and perhaps most straight-forward, way in which music was important to the social movements of the 60s was simply as a form of pleasure and relaxation, as an outlet for the expression of personal feelings, from frustration to excitement.[171] Coordinating and participating in the movements often entailed hard work and perseverance, and people were in need of music also purely as an outlet. As another activist of the civil rights movements recalls:

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[168] Roy 2010, p. 6
[169] Reed 2005, p. 27
[170] Quoted in Love 2006, p. 96
[171] cf. Roy 2010, p. 36

> *"You sing to throw off weight, your burden. When you are weighted down and your spirit is low, your mental capacity is also low. But when you sing, and you let go of that weight, you rise up."*[172]

One might argue that the crucial link connecting the identity, cognitions and feelings of the individual with collective processes in order to create collective action is *consciousness*.[173] Consciousness brings together the meaning individuals give to situations, the feelings these situations provoke in them, and concepts arising from collective identity, to motivate people to act as a group. This understanding of consciousness, as well as the individual expression made possible through music, and the way music was used as an organisational and relational tool in social movements are some of the aspects that characterize the music of the 60s, as we shall see in the following chapter.

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[172] Seeger & Reiser 1989, p. 179
[173] cf. Klandermans & Van Stekelenburg 2007, p. 177

5. HUMAN RIGHTS EDUCATION IN THE MUSIC OF THE 1960s

If I had a song […]
I'd sing out danger,
I'd sing out a warning
I'd sing out love between
my brothers and my sisters,
All over this land[174]

5.1. Research Question

In this section I will present the results of a detailed thematic analysis of a selection of song lyrics from the 60s. So far, we have studied how music can be seen as a form of human rights education; we have considered the effect music can have on the listener's emotions and how this can motivate people to participate in the activities of social movements. We have also looked into the movements of the 60s as a case study for analysing the role music can play in social movements and the promotion of human rights. We have seen substantial evidence that music and song were an essential factor in the mobilization, organization and pervasiveness of the human rights movements of the 60s. But how exactly did the *content* of the song lyrics contribute to educating the masses on human rights?

I attempt to answer this question by way of a unique junction of a thematic analysis of lyrics and international human rights education guidelines. The United Nations' Plan of Action for the third phase (2015-2019) of the *World Programme for Human Rights Education* states that education in human rights encompasses the following three elements[175]:

(a) *Knowledge and skills* – learning about human rights and mechanisms, as well as acquiring skills to apply them in a practical way in daily life

(b) *Values, attitudes and behaviour* – developing values and reinforcing attitudes

[174] "If I had a hammer" - Pete Seeger (1949)/Peter, Paul and Mary (1962)
[175] Plan of Action for the third phase (2015–2019) of the World Programme for Human Rights Education 2014, article 5

and behaviour which uphold human rights

(c) *Action* – taking action to defend and promote human rights.

In my analysis I point out that much of the protest music of the 60s, by example of a sample of 50 songs, contained one or more of these elements in the lyrics, and thereby can be considered a form of human rights education according the above schema, when used the right way. This in-depth look at the content of the songs can help us understand why music was so meaningful for the process of social change in the 60s.

The 50 songs I chose for the analysis cover a variety of genres, ranging from traditional spiritual hymns to folk songs, from blues to jazz to psychedelic rock. Due to the fact that this thesis takes a look at the decade of the 60s as a whole, which implies various social movements among various age-groups, races and classes of society, the musical styles corresponding to these movements are naturally very different from each other. Furthermore, over the span of ten years, the US witnessed many drastic changes, and its music reflected those changes by introducing or reviving new styles.

For the sake of this analysis, however, the musical style is irrelevant. It is the lyrics of the songs (whether protest, topical, freedom songs or others) that are of analytical interest here, as it is the content or message of the song, which has the potential of being a tool for human rights education. The music itself acts as a vessel which transports the message of the lyrics to the ears and emotions of the listener.

5.2. Methodology

To attempt to answer the research question, I have relied on the method of thematic analysis as identified, among others, by Braun and Clarke[176]. Thematic analysis is the most widely-used method for qualitative analysis and foundational for qualitative research[177]. It is a flexible research tool, since it is not bound to a pre-existing theoretical framework. In thematic analysis, one searches across a range of data, rather than in individual data items, for repeated patterns of meaning. Thematic analysis is useful in providing a detailed account of data by identifying, analysing and reporting

[176] Braun & Clarke, 2006

[177] cf. Guest 2011, p. 11

patterns, or *themes*, within it[178]. These themes are then used as the categories for the analysis related to the research question. It is not only helpful in organizing and arranging a detailed description of the data, but also in interpreting various elements of the data that are relevant for the topic being researched[179].

This interpretative quality and the flexible implementation of thematic analysis made it the optimal method for the purposes of my research, as well as the fact that it provided me with a way to analyse a whole data set (50 songs as a sample of the 60s protest music), rather than only data items (individual songs).

Thematic analysis is carried out through the process of coding the data in order to identify repeated patterns. This process follows six phases: familiarization with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes among the codes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the final report[180].

In the "language" of thematic analysis, my *data corpus* consists of a number of socially conscious or protest songs from the 60s. My criteria for choosing these songs were: they must be written and performed between 1960 and 1970, or written earlier but "revived" and used in the 60s; they must have a specific meaning for the social movements of the time, such as addressing particular social or political issues, empowering oppressed people, encouraging participation in social movements, etc. It was also important for me to choose songs which were widely popular and listened to by large amounts of people, as far as this could be identified in the literature about the music of the time.

From this data corpus, I selected 50 songs to use for the analysis which would form my *data set*. These were songs whose message I found to be portrayed clearly in the lyrics and relevant for my analytical interest, and thus eligible for the coding procedure. The selection was the result of extended research in the literature and the internet, on which songs were particularly effective and meaningful for the different social movements.

The *data items* in my analysis are the individual songs which form the data set. Finally, the *data extracts* are the separate lines, or groups of lines, which I have coded and

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[178] Braun & Clarke, 2006

[179] *ibid.* p. 83

[180] *ibid.* p. 93

extracted from the lyrics of the data items.

The codes I generated for the individual lines and passages of the lyrics coincided with the overall message of the song and entailed objective descriptions of their content. This usually meant re-framing what was stated in an originally poetic or emotional way (for example, “criticism of the justice system” or “pride in personal identity”). Next, I identified patterns and common themes among the codes, and on the basis of these arranged the codes under themes and sub-themes. After refining my findings, I ended up with the three elements of human rights education (see above) as the themes, and issues relating to human rights or the different social movements of the 60s as the sub-themes. The extracts from the songs, corresponding to the coding, were arranged under these.

Since the three human rights education elements provided me with a kind of pre-existing coding frame, the themes were not altogether identified in an inductive or “bottom-up” way. This was, on the one hand, what Braun and Clarke would describe as having been driven by my own analytic interest and therefore a deductive or “theoretical” thematic analysis. On the other hand, my analysis is also inductive because the identified themes are derived from the data – the songs – themselves. It aims to pin-point qualities which describe the data set as a whole and thereby lead to a clearer overview of the music of the 60s, rather than focusing solely on one aspect of the data, even if these qualities wouldn't fit into the frame provided by the human rights education guidelines[181].

5.3. Research Results: a Thematic Analysis of Lyrics

In the following I present the findings of my analysis. By way of a thematic analysis of a sample of songs of the 60's, one may conclude that the lyrical content of much protest music of the decade contributed to the promotion and the awareness-raising of human rights, based on internationally acknowledged guidelines for human rights education. These guidelines state that human rights education encompasses the elements of (1) knowledge and skills (2) values, attitudes and behaviour and (3) action. The following gives an insight into the issues addressed by the songs, in correspondence with these

[181] cf. *ibid.* p. 89

elements:

5.3.1. Knowledge and Skills

The first stage in human rights education is informing people of their and others' rights and the violations thereof, magnifying their knowledge and skills (*skills* involve a deepened understanding of the circumstances surrounding us). This is the awareness-raising element of education through music.

General warning of the gravity of the times:

The decade of the 60's in the US was a period of social upheaval, as criticism of society and politics was on a rise and many people were thirsty for change. Often the motivation for change was backed by a feeling of urgency and an awareness of where things could lead to, if they were not turned around. Many of the songs of the time succeeded in transmitting this sense of urgency or even of danger, and warned of the seriousness of the country's social and political situation, an example being this well-known song:

Take a look around you, boy, it's bound to scare you, boy
But you tell me over and over and over again my friend
Ah, you don't believe we're on the eve of destruction[182]

One of the wide-spread concerns was of the growing militarization of the state[183], including the fear spread among citizens by the Cold War, the Vietnam War, and the threat of complete destruction through a nuclear war, as expressed in this song text:

There's something happening here
What it is ain't exactly clear
There's a man with a gun over there
Telling me I got to beware[184]

An awareness of the potential danger that could result from state policies and societal tendencies was one factor that brought people together with a common goal of bringing

[182] "Eve of destruction" - Barry McGuire (1965)
[183] Criticism was directed especially at the "military-industrial complex", or the political and financial interrelatedness between national armed forces, legislation and the arms industry.
[184] "For what it's worth" - Buffalo Springfield (1966)

about change:

Come gather 'round people wherever you roam
And admit that the waters around you have grown
And accept it that soon you'll be drenched to the bone.
If your time to you is worth savin'
Then you better start swimmin' or you'll sink like a stone
For the times they are a-changin'[185]

The excitement of the changing times was spreading, as the gap between politics and people's everyday lives was growing narrower. The political was increasingly regarded as personal, and the effects of political decisions were frighteningly close to the normal citizen's doorstep – most notably through the deepening involvement of the US in an unwanted war:

There's a battle outside and it is ragin'
It'll soon shake your windows and rattle your walls[186]

Oh, a storm is threatening my very life today
If I don't get some shelter
Oh yeah, I'm gonna fade away
War, children, it's just a shot away
It's just a shot away[187]

The growing excitement was on the one hand that of the possibility of positive social change. But the urgency expressed in many songs tended towards people's fear of a "war to end all wars". With the tension of the Cold War growing, the threat of nuclear war and complete destruction of the world through chemical warfare, or "*a great orange mushroom cloud*"[188], was coming closer to reality:

But now we got weapons of the chemical dust
If fire them we're forced to then fire them we must
One push of the button and a shot the world wide[189]

Don't you understand, what I'm trying to say?
Can't you see the fear that I'm feeling today?
If the button is pushed, there's no running away

[185] "The times they are a-changin'" - Bob Dylan (1964)
[186] "The times they are a-changin'" - Bob Dylan (1964)
[187] "Gimme shelter" - Rolling Stones (1969)
[188] "Universal soldier" - Buffy Sainte-Marie (1964)/Donovan (1965)
[189] "With God on our side" - Bob Dylan (1964)

There'll be none to save with the world in a grave[190]

Racial inequality:

Among the most severe social issues of the time in the US was the segregation that the African American population faced, especially in Southern states. Although slavery had been abolished a century earlier, social and economic inequality kept most blacks in a status of "second-class citizens", as expressed in this song:

We've been 'buked and we've been scorned
We've been treated bad, talked about
As just as sure as you're born [...]
I've worked on jobs with my feet and my hands
But all the work I did was for the other man[191]

Writing songs about the mistreatment of blacks both offered an outlet for those suffering to express their feelings and experiences and contributed to raising awareness of their plight among the rest of the population:

I go to the movie and I go downtown
Somebody keep tellin' me don't hang around [...]
Then I go to my brother and I say brother help me please
But he winds up knockin' me back down on my knees[192]

Many songwriters made an effort of depicting an explicit picture of the cruelty of racial violence, to make people aware of the reality of racial hatred. "Strange Fruit", for example, illustrates the inhuman practice of lynching black people.

Southern trees bear a strange fruit
Blood on the leaves and blood at the root
Black bodies swingin' in the Southern breeze
Strange fruit hangin' from the poplar trees[193]

Racism was especially concentrated in the Southern states, which had a system of *de jure* segregation (known as Jim Crow laws) and where acts of racial hatred were more common and tolerated than in Northern states. For this reason, the South was often targeted and condemned in pro-civil rights songs:

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[190] "Eve of destruction" - Barry McGuire (1965)
[191] "Say it loud: I'm black and I'm proud" - James Brown (1968)
[192] "A change is gonna come" - Sam Cooke (1964)
[193] "Strange fruit" - Billie Holiday (1939)/Nina Simone (1965)

I saw cotton and I saw black
Tall white mansions and little shacks
Southern man when will you pay them back?
I heard screamin' and bullwhips cracking
How long? How long?[194]

The frustration of civil rights activists with the slow progress in the South is captured in this famous song, which condemns three Southern states by name. These had been specific hotspots of protests against segregation and had recently witnessed bombings and other forms of racial violence:

Alabama's gotten me so upset
Tennessee made me lose my rest
And everybody knows about Mississippi Goddam![195]

Although the suffering of African-Americans had endured for centuries, this was a time period in which awareness of their situation was growing and reaching more Americans in the North. Many were appalled at the images and news of racial violence coming from the South.

Too many martyrs and too many dead,
Too many lies, too many empty words were said,
Too many times for too many angry men,
Oh, let it never be again[196]

Social injustice:

Awareness-raising in the songs was also focused on other issues of social injustice, like the vulnerability of people in the face of fate, and the unequal distribution of wealth and poverty:

Some folks are born, silver spoon in hand
Lord, don't they help themselves, y'all [...]
It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no millionaire's son, no
It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no fortunate one, no[197]

One touching and brilliantly human song speaks of three social issues – prisons, homelessness and alcoholism. It attempts to awaken empathy and break through

[194] "Southern man" - Neil Young (1970)
[195] "Mississippi Goddam" - Nina Simone (1964)
[196] "Ballad of Medgar Evers" - Phil Ochs (1963)
[197] "Fortunate son" - Creedence Clearwater Revival (1969)

stigmatization by pointing out how easy it can be for anyone to land in such a state:

Show me a prison, show me a jail
Show me a prisoner, man, whose face is growin' pale […]
Show me an alley, show me a train
Show me a hobo who sleeps out in the rain […]
Show me the whiskey stains on the floor
Show me a drunken man as he stumbles out the door
And I'll show you, young man, with so many reasons why
There but for fortune, may go you or I[198]

Vietnam War:

Especially towards the end of the decade, the themes of protest songs were centred mainly around the Vietnam War, as ending it had become the most defining issue of the movements of the 60's[199]. Young people were dying in a war which was undesired by a large part of the population, and most people didn't even know why:

What are we fighting for?
Don't ask me, I don't give a damn
Next stop is Vietnam[200]

Part of raising awareness of the brutality and injustice of the war in Vietnam was pointing out the despair of war in general, including looking back at the past and questioning the meaning of going to war in history:

Now look at all we've won with the saber and the gun
Tell me is it worth it all?[201]

He knows he shouldn't kill,
And he knows he always will,
Kill you for me my friend and me for you[202]

The meaninglessness of killing was sometimes expressed through the use of irony and satire, which have the potential of influencing how a message is received by the listener.

If you don't like the people or the way that they talk
If you don't like their manners or they way that they walk,

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[198] "There but for fortune" - Phil Ochs (1964)
[199] Eyerman & Jamison, 1995
[200] "I feel like I'm fixin' to die" - Country Joe McDonald and The Fish (1967)
[201] "I ain't marchin' anymore" - Phil Ochs (1965)
[202] "Universal soldier" - Buffy Sainte-Marie (1964)/Donovan (1965)

Kill, kill, kill for peace![203]

The growing sense of introspection and criticism, among young people especially, included questioning the reasons for the US's involvement in the Vietnam War in the first place, and whether its continuing involvement was justified or was achieving any good:

And the war drags on
They're just there to try and make the people free
But the way that they're doin' it, it don't seem like that to me
Just more blood-letting and misery and tears
That this poor country's known for the last twenty years[204]

Allegations were also made that the Vietnam War was being maintained for the personal gain of the few, as well as the profit made off it by the weapons industry:

There's plenty good money to be made
By supplying the Army with the tools of the trade[205]

Come you masters of war […]
You that hide behind walls, you that hide behind desks
I just want you to know I can see through your masks[206]

The despair and frustration felt concerning the war continued to deepen as the death count of soldiers rose, and as images of the bloodshed of the Vietnamese reached Americans.

How many times must the cannonballs fly
Before they are forever banned? […]
Yes, and how many deaths will it take 'til he knows
That too many people have died?[207]

How many dead men will it take
To build a dike that will not break?
How many children must we kill
Before we make the waves stand still?[208]

Many songs tended to depict the American soldiers who fought in Vietnam as victims of

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[203] "Kill for peace" - The Fugs (1966)
[204] "The war drags on" - Mick Softley (1965)/Donovan (1967)
[205] "I feel like I'm fixin' to die" - Country Joe McDonald and The Fish (1967)
[206] "Masters of war" - Bob Dylan (1963)
[207] "Blowin' in the wind" - Bob Dylan (1963)
[208] "Saigon bride" - Joan Baez (1967)

the war and not as heroes, as was the picture originally propagated at the beginning of the war:

Silent soldiers on a silver screen
Framed in fantasies and dragged in dream
Unpaid actors of the mystery[209]

Central to the resistance against the war was the criticism of the system of forced drafting, in which men of eligible age were conscripted against their will.

I got a letter from L. B. J.
It said this is your lucky day […]
We've got no jobs to give you here
So we are sending you to Viet Nam[210]

Resisting, known as "dodging", the draft was a crime and many young men fled the country during the 60s to avoid being drafted.

Don't forget the draft resisters and their silent, lonely plea
When they march them off to prison, they will go for you and me
Shame, disgrace and all dishonor, wrongly placed upon their heads
Will not rob them of the courage which betrays the innocent[211]

Part of raising awareness of the war was painting an explicit picture of what it really entailed, bringing its reality from so far away to the citizens who were untouched by it, but who possibly had the democratic power to influence decisions that supported the war.

I have seen war on the land and the sea
I have seen blood running in the street
I have seen small children starving
I have seen the agony of fellows and wives[212]

One of the criticisms was of the gaping distance, as in most wars, between the politicians who made the decisions concerning the war and those (mainly young men) who had to carry out their plans, primarily against their will:

It's always the old to lead us to the war

[209] "The war is over" - Phil Ochs (1968)
[210] "Lyndon Johnson told the nation" - Tom Paxton (1965)
[211] "Draft resister" - Steppenwolf (1969)
[212] "Suppose they give a war and no one comes" - West Coast Pop Art Experimental Band (1967)

It's always the young to fall[213]

You fasten all the triggers for the others to fire
Then you set back and watch when the death count gets higher
You hide in your mansion as young people's blood
Flows out of their bodies and is buried in the mud[214]

Criticism of the government:

Much of the finger-pointing in the protest songs was aimed at the state's politics, revealing the government's failure on different fronts – not only concerning the Vietnam War, but also its failure to pass laws that would end segregation and lead to racial equality:

Heed the threat and awesome power of the mighty Pentagon
Which is wasting precious millions on the toys of Washington[215]

Show those generals their fallacy [...]
They don't have the right weaponry [...]
For defense you need common sense[216]

Handful of Senators don't pass legislation
And marches alone can't bring integration[217]

A general distrust of politicians was found in many songs, depicting them as being a hindrance to progress, change and justice and as keeping themselves distant from the people and the reality “on the ground”:

Come senators, congressmen, please heed the call
Don't stand in the doorway, don't block up the hall[218]

The deputy sheriffs, the soldiers, the governors get paid
And the marshals and cops get the same
But the poor white man’s used in the hands of them all like a tool[219]

The implementation of the fundamental principle of democracy and participation in the US was put into question with the criticism of the fact that young men could be drafted to fight and die “for their country”, but weren't seen as mature enough to influence the

[213] “I ain't marchin' anymore” - Phil Ochs (1965)
[214] “Masters of war” - Bob Dylan (1963)
[215] “Draft resister” - Steppenwolf (1969)
[216] “Bring them home” - Pete Seeger (1966)
[217] “Eve of destruction” - Barry McGuire (1965)
[218] “The times they are a-changin'” - Bob Dylan (1964)
[219] “Only a pawn in their game” - Bob Dylan (1964)

politics of that country that would send them off to war[220]:

You're old enough to kill but not for votin'
You don't believe in war, what's that gun you're totin'?[221]

Song-writing was also used as a way to reveal the corruption and hypocrisy of the justice system. These were especially notorious in Southern states, which often failed to condemn or even try perpetrators of racial violence against blacks, as portrayed in the following:

In the state of Mississippi, many years ago,
A boy of 14 years got a taste of Southern law.
He saw his friend a-hangin', his color was his crime[222]

Hypocrisy was purported to exist in the education system as well, which was claimed to give a one-sided account of historical and current facts and propagate racist and nationalist thinking:

Oh the history books tell it, they tell it so well
The cavalries charged, the Indians fell […]
Oh the country was young with God on its side[223]

He's taught in his school from the start by the rule
That the laws are with him to protect his white skin
To keep up his hate so he never thinks straight[224]

A huge dysfunction of the education system was the policy of keeping white and black children separate in segregated schools, the result being that white youth were in general provided with better education and better prospects for the future than black youth, maintaining the social and economic racial divide. As one African-American singer puts it:

I want equal opportunity to live tomorrow
Give me schools and give me better books
So I can read about myself and gain my truly looks[225]

[220] The voting age was not lowered from 21 to 18 nation-wide until July 1971, with the passing of the Twenty-sixth Amendment to the Constitution.
[221] "Eve of destruction" - Barry McGuire (1965)
[222] "Ballad of Medgar Evers" - Phil Ochs (1963)
[223] "With God on our side" - Bob Dylan (1964)
[224] "Only a pawn in their game" - Bob Dylan (1964)
[225] "I don't want nobody to give me nothing" - James Brown (1969)

Specific information:

Although the content of most politically and socially conscious songs centred around more generalized topics, such as war and inequality, many songs in the 60s served as a source of information about specific events, people or places. This was often achieved through a kind of storytelling and narrative lyrics. The following are some examples of particular events, of which songwriters of the time found it important to raise awareness:

- A climactic point in the fight for civil rights in the US was the enrolment of James Meredith in the University of Mississippi on October 1, 1962. He was the first African-American to be accepted into the all-white university in Oxford, Mississippi, after he was rejected twice on the basis of his colour. But his acceptance was only achieved with the help of federal intervention: federal troops had to calm the rioting crowd outside the university before Meredith could enter[226].

He went down to Oxford Town
Guns and clubs followed him down […]
He come in to the door, he couldn't get in
All because of the color of his skin[227]

- Medgar Evers was a black civil rights activist, who was murdered by a white supremacist on June 12, 1963. Due to his role in the civil rights movement, Evers' death caused a nation-wide outcry. His murderer, however, was not convicted until more than 30 years later.[228]

His name was Medgar Evers, and he walked his road alone
Like Emmett Till and thousands more whose names we'll never know.
They tried to burn his home and they beat him to the ground
But deep inside they both knew what it took to bring him down[229]

- The following lines refer to the racial violence of "Bloody Sunday" in Selma,

[226] "1962: Mississippi race riots over first black student" *BBC News – On this day*. 01.10.1962. Retrieved 17.06.2015
[227] "Oxford Town" - Bob Dylan (1962)
[228] cf. Dufresne 1991
[229] "Ballad of Medgar Evers" - Phil Ochs (1963)

Alabama. On March 7, 1965, 600 civil rights activists began a march from Selma to Montgomery to protest the denial of voting right to blacks. The peaceful marchers were brutally attacked by the police, badly injuring many. News of the incident spread across America, resulting in massive support for the following marches.[230]

Think of all the hate there is in Red China
Then take a look around to Selma, Alabama
Ah, you may leave here for four days in space
But when you return it's the same old place[231]

As regards the element of *knowledge and skills* in human rights education, this section has shown that the central theme of the lyrics chosen is the awareness-raising and denunciation of various human rights violations taking place at the time through racial segregation, war, politics and social injustice.

5.3.2. Values, attitude and behaviour

Can't you see it?
Can't you feel it?
It's all in the air...[232]

In addition to raising awareness and increasing the listener's knowledge of injustice and human rights violations, many songs of the 60s seemed to be aimed directly at the listener, addressing their convictions and values and influencing their attitudes and behaviour. This involved to a certain degree also speaking to the listener's emotions.

Call to awareness and individual responsibility:

One way in which the songs of the 60s addressed the values and attitudes of society was their appeal to people to "wake up" and open their eyes to what was happening around them:

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[230] "Selma & the March to Montgomery-A Discussion November–June, 2004-2005". *Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement*. Retrieved June 17, 2015.
[231] "Eve of destruction" - Barry McGuire (1965)
[232] "Mississippi Goddam" - Nina Simone (1964)

It's time we stop, hey, what's that sound
Everybody look what's going down[233]

Many songs seemed to accuse people of being ignorant, condemning a fundamental and willing denial of reality:

How many times can a man turn his head
And pretend that he just doesn't see?[234]

In addition to the challenge to be aware of the reality around them, listeners were encouraged to think independently and make wise judgements of what they perceived:

I can't think for you
you'll have to decide...[235]

Seven hundred million are you listening?
Most of what you read is made of lies[236]

Much song content tended to condemn blind obedience among the American population, accusing them of simply believing what they were told and acting appropriately, as expected of them. Especially targeted were those who complied with the war without questioning it, as referred to in the following:

Prove your courage in the proud parade
Trust your leaders where mistakes are almost never made
So do your duty, boys, and join with pride
Serve your country in her suicide[237]

Compliance and lack of scrutiny were also what the existing structure of racism fed off of. This is portrayed in the following lines, which point out the accomplice's own guilt and at the same time the bigger picture behind it, to which his actions contribute.

So he never thinks straight
'Bout the shape that he's in
But it ain't him to blame
He's only a pawn in their game[238]

The individual responsibility of every citizen was also addressed in the anti-war movement, which was built on the claim that democratic participation means standing for what one believes is right. This song implies that participating in the war did not

[233] "For what it's worth" - Buffalo Springfield (1966)
[234] "Blowin in the wind" - Bob Dylan (1963)
[235] "With God on our side" - Bob Dylan (1964)
[236] "Simple song of freedom" - Bobby Darin (1969)
[237] "The war is over" - Phil Ochs (1968)
[238] "Only a pawn in their game" - Bob Dylan (1964)

only mean directly fighting in it, but also refraining from protesting against it. In this way everyone who simply waits for someone else to make the decisions is responsible for the status quo. This song was unique as an anti-war protest song because it blamed the war on the individual rather than only on governments and political leaders.

Without him all this killing can't go on.
He's the Universal Soldier and he really is to blame
His orders come from far away no more
They come from here and there and you and me
And brothers can't you see
This is not the way we put the end to war[239]

Many songs also emphasized the importance of individualism, autonomy and independent thinking, in place of nationalistic thinking and personal alienation:

Some folks are born, made to wave the flag […]
Some folks inherit star spangled eyes[240]

Questioning societal norms:

One thing most of the protest songs of the 60s, across the different movements, had in common was their challenging of the existing structures in society and its wide-spread values, norms and attitudes. These included structures of racial inequality, gender roles, patriotism, religious beliefs and many other issues.

Since those criticizing societal norms were predominantly of the younger generation, what ensued was a generation gap, expanded by conflicting views and morals and young people's demands for independence and autonomy.

Come mothers and fathers
Throughout the land
And don't criticize
What you can't understand
Your sons and your daughters
Are beyond your command
For the times they are a-changin'[241]

The conflict of values, however, did not only concern embedded norms of the older generation. Particularly towards the end of the decade, there was an increasing

[239] "Universal soldier" - Buffy Sainte-Marie (1964)/Donovan (1965)
[240] "Fortunate son" - Creedence Clearwater Revival (1969)
[241] "The times they are a-changin'" - Bob Dylan (1964)

frustration with the slow process of societal change. This led many people to challenge the idea of patience and the policy of non-violence, which were fundamental at the start of the civil rights movement. These lines illustrate this, through the words of a frustrated black woman:

Me and my people just about due
I've been there so I know
They keep on saying 'Go slow!'
But that's just the trouble[242]

Religion was also among the values put into question, especially when people's actions seemed not to comply with what they claimed to follow...

Hate your next door neighbor but don't forget to say grace[243]

…or when religion was used as a method of persuasion and contributed to propaganda supporting war and violence, as these lines portray with irony:

The reason for fighting I never got straight
But I learned to accept it
Accept it with pride
For you don't count the dead
When God's on your side[244]

Christian cannons have fired at my days
With the warning beneath the holy blaze
And bow to our authority
Say the cannons of Christianity[245]

Awakening empathy:

As discussed in a previous chapter, music and song-writing can be an excellent tool in arousing feelings of empathy for others and opening people's eyes to the suffering and hardships of those around them:

How many ears must one man have before he can hear people cry?[246]

Many songs had the potential of awakening empathy in the listener through giving a

[242] "Mississippi Goddam" - Nina Simone (1964)
[243] "Eve of destruction" - Barry McGuire (1965)
[244] "With God on our side" - Bob Dylan (1964)
[245] "Cannons of Christianity" - Phil Ochs (1966)
[246] "Blowin' in the wind" - Bob Dylan (1963)

face to what would otherwise be merely news, thus making it personal and tangible. Like giving a name to a soldier, who might not otherwise concern those not directly affected by the war:

Let me tell you the story of a soldier named Dan
Went out to fight the good fight in South Vietnam […]
Found himself involved in a sea of blood and bones
Millions without faces, without hope and without homes[247]

Collective identity:

As we have looked into previously, an essential element of any social movement is the collective identity that exists among its followers. The collective identity among them will affect whether people are willing to take part in protest or other activities that lead to social change[248].

Forming a collective identity means joining "I" with "you" to produce a "we" – retaining one's individual identity while discovering one's self, sense of belonging and role in the group. This relationship is portrayed in one of the civil rights movement's anthems, which states, "Deep in *my* heart, *I* do believe *we* shall overcome someday"[249]. Similarly, the lyrics of the song "Say it loud – I'm black and I'm proud" use all three cases (I, you and we) to encourage African-Americans to be proud of their colour and identity and to promote solidarity and unity.

Another aspect of the collective identity of a group consists in a knowledge of "who we are not", which creates a strengthened sense of *we*. Some songs achieved this through calling "the others" by name, or even pointing out who the "common enemy[250]" is, such as in these freedom songs:

Who's that yonder dressed in black, let My people go
Must be the hypocrites turnin' back, let My people go[251]

Ain't gonna let segregation […],
Jim Crow […],
racism […],

[247] "The war drags on" - Mick Softley (1965)/Donovan (1967)
[248] cf. Klandermans & Simon 2001
[249] cf. Reed 2005, pp. 32-33
[250] cf. Klandermans & Simon 2001
[251] "Tell it on the mountain" - Peter, Paul and Mary (1963)

hatred […],
injustice […],
no jail cell turn me around[252]

Especially during the student movement and onset of the counter-culture of the later 60's, rejection of materialism and of attachment to possessions, as well as of violence, was a central shared ideology. So the people or symbols which represented these priorities also came to symbolize the "other" that one didn't want to be:

It ain't me, it ain't me, I ain't no senator's son, […] no millionaire's son, […] no military son[253]

Part of forming a collective identity is developing a feeling of pride. The goal of many social movements is to convert people's shame and fear into pride, confidence and a knowledge of their individual and shared identity[254]. The civil rights movement aimed to do just that: to restore to black people their identity and strength, to remind them of their heritage and encourage them to refuse to be treated as slaves. Closely linked to this was the rise of the Black Pride movement towards the end of the decade.

Before I'd be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave[255]

Say it loud, I'm black and I'm proud![256]

Oh, but my joy of today
Is that we can all be proud to say
To be young, gifted and black
Is where it's at[257]

Shared Grievances:

A vital component in the process of creating collective political struggle out of collective identity is the awareness of shared grievances, or the common feeling of deprivation and suffering within a group[258]. A reoccurring theme in many of the songs of the 60s was this sense of shared grievances, serving as a reminder to the listeners of what their struggle was against. This song, for example, expresses the frustration felt by

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[252] "Ain't gonna let nobody turn me around" - African-American Spiritual
[253] "Fortunate son" - Creedence Clearwater Revival (1969)
[254] cf. Britt & Heise 2000
[255] "Oh freedom" - African-American Spiritual
[256] "Say it loud - I'm black and I'm proud" - James Brown (1968)
[257] "To be young, gifted and black" - Nina Simone (1970)
[258] cf. Klandermans & Simon 2001

one black man, representing the whole African-American population, with the oppression they endured over centuries:

Well they made me a slave and I worked in their fields
They made me fight in their war
They kept me down for four hundred years
But I ain't gonna take it anymore
No I ain't gonna take it any more[259]

And the following lines provide an example for how a single blow can be felt by a whole group (the group being, in this case, all sympathisers with the civil rights movement), contributing to a common feeling of shared grievances:

It struck the heart of every man when Evers fell and died [...]
While we waited for the future for freedom through the land
The country gained a killer, and the country lost a man[260]

Solidarity:

Just as social movements aim to replace shame with pride, so do they aim to replace loneliness, or feeling isolated in one's struggle, with solidarity[261]. Hence, the message of many songs of the time was one of solidarity; a reminder of the strength and security that can be experienced in unity:

We'll walk hand in hand
We'll walk hand in hand someday[262]

With you I'll sweat and blood
To put out any fire and block off every plug[263]

The only chain that a man can stand
Is the chain of hand in hand[264]

As shown in a previous chapter, the actual act of singing together was responsible to a large extent for creating this feeling of solidarity and thus of collective identity among the social movements of the 60's, and particularly among African-Americans in the civil rights movement. These lines, which in their simplicity appealed to the masses,

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[259] "Beau John" - Tom Paxton (1966)
[260] "Ballad of Medgar Evers"- Phil Ochs (1963)
[261] cf. Britt & Heise 2000
[262] "We shall overcome" - African-American Spiritual
[263] "I don't want nobody to give me nothing" - James Brown (1969)
[264] "Keep your eyes on the prize" - African-American Spiritual

illustrate the importance of collective singing at the time:

Come and sing a simple song of freedom
Sing it like you've never sung before...[265]

Collective consciousness:

One central value in the movements of the decade, and especially in the counter-culture of the later 60s, was the promotion of both an increased individual and a collective consciousness. This does not merely imply an expansion of consciousness[266] through experimenting with psychedelic drugs, although for many young people this was a central part of the movement. Rather, the consciousness being promoted was much more that of a search for deeper meaning and truth which transcend societal norms and attitudes, a sense of global unity...

Speaking one to one, ain't it everybody's sun
To wake to in the morning when we rise?[267]

...and an appreciation for the similarities between all people rather than a focus on their differences:

[He's] been a soldier for a thousand years
He's a Catholic, a Hindu, an Atheist, a Jain,
A Buddhist and a Baptist and a Jew[268]

An increased collective consciousness implies the knowledge of how society, and in a larger sense the world, is interconnected and interdependent. This song promotes collective consciousness through reminding the listener that if a nation is made up of the whole of its citizens, then the strength of the nation depends on how strong the individual citizens are:

[This land is] only as rich as the poorest of the poor
Only as free as the padlocked prison door
Only as strong as our love for this land
Only as tall as we stand[269]

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[265] "Simple song of freedom" - Bobby Darin (1969)
[266] cf. Metzner 2009
[267] "Simple song of freedom" - Bobby Darin (1969)
[268] "Universal soldier" - Buffy Sainte-Marie (1964)/Donovan (1965)
[269] "The power and the glory" - Phil Ochs (1963)

The plea for world peace contained in the following lines is framed in a universal call to consciousness of action (or non-action):

To everything, turn, turn, turn,
there is a season, turn, turn, turn
and a time for every purpose under heaven[270]

Living consciously includes an awareness of how all our actions have consequences, on ourselves or our environment and society. Perhaps one of the best illustrations of the interconnectedness of all things is the following poetic song, which ends on a note of desperation at how fate seems to repeat itself in humanity:

Where have all the flowers gone?
Young girls have picked them, every one […]
Where have all the young girls gone?
Gone for husbands, every one […]
Where have all the husbands gone?
Gone for soldiers, every one […]
Where have all the soldiers gone?
Gone to graveyards, every one […]
Where have all the graveyards gone?
Gone to flowers, every one.
Oh, when will they ever learn?[271]

Expression of emotions:

Informing the public about one's own personal feelings on a topic is also a part of educating them on that issue, since hearing of others' feelings or reactions to an issue can open the their eyes to its severity. Sharing one's felt experiences through music can awaken empathy in the listener, increasing awareness and developing a new consciousness. It can add to a feeling of collective identity by reminding the listener they are not isolated or alone in what they feel. It can also simply be a source of strength and an outlet for the feelings of the songwriter.

Coinciding with the many forms of injustice of the time, one of the dominant feelings expressed was anger and frustration, as in these lines:

[270] "Turn, turn, turn"- Pete Seeger (1962)/The Byrds (1965)
[271] "Where have all the flowers gone?" - Pete Seeger (1955)/Peter, Paul and Mary (1962)

Yeah, my blood's so mad, feels like coagulatin'[272]

So now as I'm leavin', I'm weary as Hell
The confusion I'm feelin' ain't no tongue can tell
The words fill my head and fall to the floor
If God's on our side, He'll stop the next war[273]

Often sadness was also expressed in songs, combined with fear of the future and exasperation at injustices, such as in these lines, which warn of destruction through nuclear war.

And there's no more war
For there's no, no more world
And the tears come streaming down
Yes, I lie crying on the ground[274]

Many songwriters expressed a need for a sense of direction and belonging, as well as a fear of the unknown. These lines portray a feeling of confusion about what to think or which way to head, related to frustrations with inequality and the slow progress of desegregation:

I don't belong here, I don't belong there
I've even stopped believing in prayer […]
Where am I going, what am I doing
I don't know, I don't know[275]

Sometimes I feel like a motherless child […]
Sometimes I feel like I'm almost gone
A long, long way from my home[276]

The above lines are an excerpt of a song famous for its spontaneous composition at the Woodstock festival, but what is less widely known is that they were taken from a song sung by slaves which addresses the separation of families at slave auctions.[277] In a similar way, the following song also expresses the sorrow and restlessness felt by many African-Americans, both during slavery and later during segregation:

I was born by the river in a little tent
Oh and just like the river I've been running ever since […]
It's been too hard living, but I'm afraid to die

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[272] "Eve of destruction" - Barry McGuire (1965)
[273] "With God on our side" - Bob Dylan (1964)
[274] "The war drags on" - Mick Softley (1965)/Donovan (1967)
[275] "Mississippi Goddam" - Nina Simone (1964)
[276] "Freedom" - Richie Havens (1969)
[277] cf. Love 2006, p. 93

'Cause I don't know what's up there, beyond the sky[278]

Empowerment of the oppressed:

This is one of the most important aspects of protest music, as the empowerment of oppressed people forms the heart and soul of social change. Oppression, and resistance to it, was easy to be found in the 60s: in the mistreatment and segregation of blacks, in a war forced on citizens against their will, in police brutality and unjust politicians, in the suppression of women's rights in comparison to men's. One of the effects of oppression is that it takes away the voice of the oppressed; empowerment is the process of helping them find it again.

Many protest and freedom songs of the 60s contributed to this process by encouraging people to claim their own rights and freedom from oppression of thought and action, as exemplified by one of the civil rights movement's most powerful songs:

Oh freedom, oh freedom, oh freedom over me
And before I'd be a slave I'll be buried in my grave
And go home to my Lord and be free[279]

Empowerment also entails encouraging people to face the fear that may keep them from moving in the direction they want to go. In many cases this means defying the fear of persecution, arrest, beatings, or even of death, as was often a sobering reality in protests for civil rights. Many of the songs of the movement gave people strength to carry on in the face of fear:

We are not afraid, we are not afraid today[280]

We'd rather die on our feet
Than keep living on our knees[281]

Encouragement to persevere

Part of the process of empowerment is restoring people's hope and belief that change is possible and that redemption *will* come, thereby reinforcing their will to persevere.

There have been times that I thought I couldn't last for long
But now I think I'm able to carry on

[278] "A change is gonna come" - Sam Cooke (1964)
[279] "Oh freedom" - African-American Spiritual
[280] "We shall overcome" - African-American Spiritual
[281] "Say it loud – I'm black and I'm proud" - James Brown (1968)

It's been a long time, a long time coming
But I know a change gonna come, oh yes it will[282]

Hold on, hold on
Keep your eyes on the prize, hold on[283]

Perseverance is crucial to any movement, and is deepened through the reassurance that the end is in sight. This was perhaps the reason the following song has been labelled the anthem of the civil rights movement (its meaning was incidentally so powerful that it was banned in South Africa under apartheid[284]):

We shall overcome someday
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe
We shall overcome someday[285]

Strengthening identity

Empowerment also implies strengthening people's sense of identity and confidence in themselves. This entails building their knowledge of their own individual capabilities, talents and strengths:

We got talents we can use on our side of town
Let's get our heads together and get it up from the ground
Got to get myself together
So many things I got to do[286]

In the case of racial oppression, the knowledge of one's identity is not only empowering for blacks themselves, but speaking out, or singing, about it can also affect the attitude of whites towards blacks, as did the following lines:

Young, gifted and black
We must begin to tell our young
There's a world waiting for you
This is a quest that's just begun[287]

Empowerment of women

One of the best-known songs to influence the feminist movement of the 60s had an

[282] "A change is gonna come" - Sam Cooke (1964)
[283] "Keep your eyes on the prize" - African-American Spiritual
[284] Love 2006, p. 97
[285] "We shall overcome" - African-American Spiritual
[286] "I don't want nobody to give me nothing" - James Brown (1969)
[287] "To be young, gifted and black" - Nina Simone (1970)

empowering effect on women for decades to come, showing how the personal is political: the actual request is for domestic respect from a woman's partner, but it contributed to the political movement of women's liberation. The song consisted almost solely of a woman's simple demand for respect:

All I'm askin'
Is for a little respect when you come home[288]

Another song with a feminist message challenged the attitude upheld by many in the era, though perhaps unexpressed, of a woman being an asset of a man and existing to support him. This song was also a step forward in the movement towards emancipation:

And don't tell me what to do
And don't tell me what to say [...]
You don't own me, don't try to change me in any way
You don't own me, don't tie me down 'cause I'd never stay[289]

Religious faith as empowerment

The Christian faith was by far not only a target of criticism in the protest songs of the 60s. On the contrary, it was often referred to and promoted in movement songs, especially in the freedom songs of the civil rights movement. The freedom songs formed an important part of the movement's action repertoire, as their participatory singing was one strategy of the fundamental principle of non-violent direct action. Among other things, these offered a source of strength for struggling members and an encouragement to persevere:

People get ready, there's a train comin'
You don't need no baggage, you just get on board
All you need is faith to hear the diesels hummin'
You don't need no ticket you just thank the lord[290]

The Lord will see us through some day[291]

The civil rights movement was deeply rooted in the Christian faith and on biblical values, the church being central to the mobilization and organization of the movement. One can see in the songs of the movement that it was common for the oppressed

[288] "Respect" - Aretha Franklin (1967)
[289] "You don't own me" - Lesley Gore (1964)
[290] "People get ready" - The Impressions (1965)
[291] "We shall overcome" - African-American Spiritual

African-American population to identify themselves with the Israelites of the Old Testament, who had also been enslaved.

Who's that yonder dressed in white?
Must be the children of the Israelite
Go tell it on the mountain, to let My people go[292]

Other biblical figures were also used as role models, reminding of the freedom that can come as a reward to those who persevere:

Paul and Silas, bound in jail
Had no money for to go their bail
[…] Paul and Silas began to shout
The jail door opened, and they walked on out[293]

Also in protest songs other than freedom songs, Christianity or the Bible were sometimes referred to as a higher authority to underline the statement being made, or as a way to claim the higher moral ground, as in these songs condemning racial violence and war, respectively:

Southern man better keep your head
Don't forget what your good book said[294]

There's one thing I know
Though I'm younger than you
That even Jesus would never
Forgive what you do[295]

Reference in songs to religion or faith was also sometimes made in speaking of what is to come – whether of the reward and freedom and home that the oppressed will find upon reaching heaven, or the punishment that the unjust will find in the next life.

For the loser now
Will be later to win […]
The order is
Rapidly fadin'
And the first one now
Will later be last[296]

There'll be glory, there'll be glory, there'll be glory over me

[292] "Tell it on the mountain" - Peter, Paul and Mary (1963)
[293] "Keep your eyes on the prize" - African-American Spiritual
[294] "Southern man" - Neil Young (1970)
[295] "Masters of war" - Bob Dylan (1963)
[296] "The times they are a-changin'" - Bob Dylan (1964)

I'll go home to my Lord and be free[297]

To sum up, this section has shown how the content of many songs of the 1960s contributed to a general transformation of consciousness among large parts of the population, through addressing wide-spread norms and attitudes and challenging people to rethink their beliefs. The songs had an empowering and strengthening quality for many oppressed people. They also reinforced the collective identity in movements by strengthening solidarity and unity. In addition to being a way to express one's feelings and experiences, many different values and ideals were promoted through the songs as an alternative to war and violence. Among the most common were freedom, equality, justice, truth, respect, peace, and – of course – love.

5.3.3. Action

The third category of human rights education found in song lyrics of the 60s is a call to action: an appeal to the listener, after hearing the information about injustices and readjusting their values and attitudes, to act accordingly.

Many of the freedom songs encouraged people to *take action* towards freedom, instead of remaining content with being held down. The line "*got my hand on the freedom plow*[298]", for example, was changed from "*keep your hand on the plow*", which was written in the context of slavery. The original song text calls to perseverance, while portraying a submissive acceptance of the fact that one is a slave. The civil rights movement sought to turn this attitude of submission around and replace it with action, as also found in these lines:

Ain't gonna let nobody turn me around
I'm gonna keep on a-walkin', keep on a-talkin'
Marchin' down to freedom land[299]

Call to reject passivity:

Part of the call to action was an appeal to reject passivity and take responsibility for the

[297] "Oh freedom" - African-American Spiritual
[298] "Keep your eyes on the prize" - African-American Spiritual
[299] "Ain't gonna let nobody turn me around" - African-American Spiritual

change that one desired to see take place. This had a special meaning for African-Americans of the 60s, who had been regarded and treated for so long as second-class citizens. These lines capture the feeling of emancipation among blacks of the time:

I don't want nobody
To give me nothing
Open up the door
I'll get it myself[300]

Rejecting passivity also means daring to take a stand for what one believes in, like the right to choose whether to support the war or not, and in this way practice one's right and duty of democratic participation. War, after all, is made up of individual people fighting for one side or the other. Simplistic though it may sound, then, if everyone refused to join in the war, it wouldn't exist: "*Hear the marching, hear the drums, suppose they give a war and no one comes*?"[301] These songs each call to the action of refusing to go to war, resisting the draft, or of fighting for an end to the war:

Now they want me back again
But I ain't marching anymore[302]

Here's to all the draft resisters who will fight for sanity
When they march them off to prison in this land of liberty[303]

Support our boys in Vietnam
Bring them home, bring them home[304]

Call to resist and speak out:

Resistance was unquestionably in the air during the decade of the 60s, and the cry to revolution was heard often in its songs – rebellion against oppression and the controlling of thought by society or the state. Arguably, this cry sometimes actually resulted in action, but often was simply a response to being caught up in the fervour of the times.

Look what's happening out in the streets […]
Pick up the cry
Hey now it's time for you and me

[300] "I don't want nobody to give me nothing" - James Brown (1969)
[301] "Suppose they give a war and no one comes" - The West Coast Pop Art Experimental Band (1967)
[302] "I ain't marching anymore" - Phil Ochs (1965)
[303] "Draft resister" - Steppenwolf (1969)
[304] "Bring them home" - Pete Seeger (1966)

Got a revolution, got to revolution[305]

You say you want a revolution
Well, you know we all want to change the world[306]

The songs encouraged people to protest and speak out against injustice, and especially directed this message at the nation's youth:

Young people speaking their minds
Getting so much resistance from behind[307]

How much do I know
To talk out of turn
You might say that I'm young
You might say I'm unlearned[308]

Call to demand one's rights:

Taking action must start with knowing one's own rights, claiming them when they have been violated, and then persevering until they have been restored.

Some say it's a lotta nerve
I say we won't quit moving
'Til we get what we deserve […]
Brother, we can't quit until we get our share[309]

One right that must be demanded in order to take action in protest of injustice is freedom of speech. These lines highlight the importance of making use of this inherent right in a time when people were beginning to raise their voices against oppression:

Come writers and critics
Who prophesize with your pen
And keep your eyes wide
The chance won't come again[310]

I may be right, I may be wrong […]
But I got a right to sing this song[311]

An emphasis was also laid on claiming the country and the world of which one is a citizen as one's own – as a place to be protected and respected, not manipulated and

[305] "Volunteers" - Jefferson Airplane (1969)
[306] "Revolution" - The Beatles (1968)
[307] "For what it's worth" - Buffalo Springfield (1966)
[308] "Masters of war" - Bob Dylan (1963)
[309] "Say it loud - I'm black and I'm proud" - James Brown (1968)
[310] "The times they are a-changin'" - Bob Dylan (1964)
[311] "Bring them home" - Pete Seeger (1966)

used for personal gain. This partly influenced the rise of the environmentalist movement of the 60s.

This land is your land, This land is my land
From California to the New York island
From the red wood forest to the Gulf Stream waters
This land was made for you and me[312]

You that never done nothin'
But build to destroy
You play with my world
Like it's your little toy[313]

Demanding the respect and equality due each human was a common element of protest songs. Hearing others demand these rights in song was no doubt a factor that moved many to take the same stand and demand their own:

All I want is equality
For my sister my brother my people and me[314]

And now we demands a chance
To do things for ourselves
we tired of beating our heads against the wall
And working for someone else[315]

Call to raise awareness:

Finally, part of the action in which the protest songs of the 60s called listeners to participate, was the act of awareness-raising. Listeners were called on to contribute through spreading the news of the movements, of people's rights and the violation thereof, and of the action that needed to be taken. That is, the songs would appeal to listeners to appeal to and inform others and so on, in order to spread the desired message most effectively. These lines are from a civil rights song, which calls people to raise awareness of the inequality faced by African-Americans:

Go tell it on the mountain, over the hill and everywhere
Go tell it on the mountain, to let My people go[316]

The same goes for the anti-war movement: so much was achieved and so many people reached by the fervour of ending the war through word of mouth, that massive numbers

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[312] "This land is your land" - Woody Guthrie (1944)/Peter, Paul and Mary (1962)
[313] "Masters of war" - Bob Dylan (1963)
[314] "Mississippi Goddam" - Nina Simone (1964)
[315] "Say it loud - I'm black and I'm proud" - James Brown (1968)
[316] "Tell it on the mountain" - Peter, Paul and Mary (1963)

came together to demonstrate against the war.

Let it fill the air, tell the people everywhere
We, the people here, don't want a war[317]

Racist and segregationist ways of thinking were so deeply engrained in the mindset of many Americans, that it was going to take much persuasion and consciousness-awakening to change them. In light of this, people were appealed to, to raise their voices and share the possibility of living in respect, equality and peace with each other.

Well I got a hammer
And I got a bell
And I got a song to sing, all over this land.
It's the hammer of Justice
It's the bell of Freedom
It's the song about Love between my brothers and my sisters,
All over this land[318]

Looking at the lyrics excerpts chosen for this section, it is clear that a common quality of the songs of the 60s is that they convey an appeal to action on the part of the listener. Many songs are not merely about a passive criticism of injustice, but aim to mobilize people to actively do something against it. For it is seldom that a person's rights will simply be fulfilled, without an active pursuance thereof.

5.4. Final remarks:

Although I have looked at the sample of songs from the 60s as one data corpus, it is important at this point to once again stress the diversity of the 50 songs chosen. The sheer magnitude of upheaval and change experienced by the US in the course of the decade makes it impossible to fit the music of the era into a single mould. These songs are very different from one another in style, form, genre and topic. They come from polarizing sectors of society, classes and races, from different social movements and time periods of the decade, and so represent different views and ideals. Exemplary of these differences is the fact that the music of the anti-war movement was predominantly white, whereas that of the civil rights movement was predominantly black. As

[317] "Simple song of freedom" - Bobby Darin (1969)
[318] "If I had a hammer" - Pete Seeger (1949)/Peter, Paul and Mary (1962)

mentioned earlier, the transformations and diversity of the 60s were reflected in its music.

What this analysis does depict, however, is a thread of shared values and aims which runs through the songs; tendencies of attitude and topic which can be found in songs that seem at first sight to have nothing to do with one another. These tendencies reflect the “spirit of the 60s” that lived on the music and influenced history. One can safely say that what most of the popular songs of the 60s had in common was an air of social criticism, protest and the desire to witness change, and an innovative form of self-expression. What this analysis also achieves is it reveals the opportunities encompassed in using music to address important social issues. In this sense, music's potential lies in mobilizing people for social movements, influencing their value systems and convictions, inspiring self-reflection and empowering the oppressed.

Of course the limitations of these songs must also be mentioned. Despite their overall empowering qualities, not all the content of the lyrics is up-building or positive in effect. Some also had the potential of reinforcing prejudices and widening already existing societal chasms, such as the so-called generation gap or the mistrust of politicians in general. Moreover, the authenticity of some songwriters and singers in their motives to bring about social change may also be questioned. In the political climate of the 60s, in addition to well intentioned interest it was also simply popular and in trend to be critical of the social system. One might ask whether it was even possible to “make it” in the music scene without a certain degree of critical content. The movements and spirit of the time definitely affected the content of popular music, not only vice-versa.

While these are interesting factors to consider, the underlying statement of this thesis remains upheld by the results of the analysis carried out. The conclusion shows that the lyrical content of much of the music of the 60s, across the genres and styles and movements, was used as an effective tool for human rights education. This entailed focussing on spreading knowledge of human rights issues, addressing people's values, attitudes and behaviour in regard to human rights and calling on people to take action to

promote and protect human rights. The songs of the 60s as a model can offer a structure which can be used as an orientation and guideline for songwriters, musicians or others interested in the potential of music in human rights education.

6. MUSIC AND HUMAN RIGHTS TODAY

"As an expression of profundity, the material/spiritual experience of music inhabits a space itself beyond good and evil. It is human beings who bear the moral responsibility to use its power to move the spirit for democratic ends."[319]

The question we are faced with now is: What about today? How can music contribute to the promotion of freedom, democratic values and human rights in the twenty-first century, and in *all* regions of the world? How can we profit from the knowledge gained from this research?

In light of this question, the analysis of the music of the 60s can be useful not just in understanding better what music has achieved in the past, but in finding inspiration for its potential today. Through looking back at history, we might be able to see the opportunities that lie before us and realise what is possible to achieve through music in current world issues. For our aim, as Karl Marx would say, is not only to *interpret* the world, but to *change* it.[320]

The previous chapters have shown how music can be used as a tool for awareness-raising by aiming the message of its lyrics at spreading truth and consciousness. It can reconstruct history through story-telling or disclosing facts, in order to avoid recurrence of the same rights violations. It can also benefit people on a personal level, by offering a way of sharing experiences, putting grievances to words and releasing emotions. Music can at the same time be a path to self-healing and a vehicle for reaching others through cognition and emotion.

In this section I would like to offer those interested in promoting human rights some inspiration for how to practically implement what the last chapters have disclosed about music's potential. As a means to this end, I will highlight a few different examples from around the world.

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[319] Love 2006, p. 106

[320] Karl Marx, *Thesis on Feuerbach* (1845): "The philosophers have only *interpreted* the world in various ways; the point is to *change* it."

6.1. Targeting Freedom of Expression

The USA is by no means the sole nor leading source of protest music in the world. In fact, its music industry has been criticized for being more about the production of celebrities than of social criticism.[321] "Rebel musics"[322] can be found all over the world; wherever there is repression, people will find a means of expressing their indignation, often in the face of persecution or even death – and this is often through music.

A sampling of rebel musics would include the political uses of rock and punk in the democracy protest movements of post-revolutionary China, which severely restricted any type of political or traditional music; in Australia, Aboriginal song-writers have used their music to raise awareness of the culture and rights of indigenous people and the outrageous policies that attempt to restrict them; in Zimbabwe, the revolutionary sounds of *chimurenga* (meaning "struggle") songs, which enabled community song and dance, were an important tool in the struggle for liberation of the 1970s; during the same time period, Cubans expressed their dissidence in the face of post-revolutionary Communism through the musical but intrinsically political movement of *nueva trova* and *canción*; in Serbia during the Communist regime, an underground radio station kept punk music alive and with it the resistant discourses of young people desiring liberation and justice; the crucial role of radio is seen also in spreading information of political resistance in Haiti and in Nicaragua in the 1970s.[323] Similarly, the Palestinian music ensemble "El Funoun" (meaning The Arts) was formed in the face of Israeli suppression of anything resembling nationalism, with the aim of preserving traditional Palestinian culture. It was met with much persecution, but the music was a part of the Intifada that arose from this suppression.[324]

The examples of protest music and its effectiveness in political change around the world are endless. Punk rock, for instance, is one genre found all over the world, known

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[321] cf. Fischlin & Heble 2003

[322] Fischlin & Heble use this term in reference to "some of the most trenchant critiques of global politics, colonialism, neoliberalism, and degrading democracy", *ibid.* p. 8

[323] cf. *ibid.* pp. 26-31

[324] cf. *ibid.* p. 35

especially for its political content and "major disruptive force"[325]. Since emerging in the 1970s, it has been a leading voice for human rights understanding, with its anti-establishment disposition, challenging of the status quo and call to resistance.[326] In most examples, as in those mentioned above, resistance blooms under state oppression of a specific culture and music, which aims to eradicate cultural memory and restrict freedom of expression. This is justified when the freedom of expression, combined with community mobilization, is a threat to state interests. Subsequently, "*music must be considered a potent political tool.* Over the centuries, governments have harassed, censored, banned, exiled, jailed, tortured, and killed composers and performers from widely different social classes, In addition to the religious repression of musical styles, political persecutions have occurred repeatedly".[327]

Since music is a "potent political tool" and as Frank Zappa has put it, a "prime cause of unwanted mass behavior"[328], and music is repressed by the restriction of freedom of expression, one must arrive at the conclusion of a necessity to lay special focus on freedom of expression in human rights advocacy and campaigning, if we are to facilitate social and political change. By giving increased attention to pushing for more freedom of expression under repressive states, one contributes to more opportunity for injustices to be revealed and changed, since as we have seen, music can be a tool by which to address any political issue in a society.

6.2. Song-writing as Reconciliation

One of the qualities which characterised the socially critical songs of the 60s was their "bottom-up approach": most of the songs were composed, performed and utilized to a large degree by people who were experiencing or had experienced directly the issues being addressed in the lyrics. They emerged from the participants in the social movements themselves; they weren't prescribed to them from "above".

This bottom-up approach is an important aspect of any initiative to incorporate music

[325] Dunn 2011, p. 27
[326] cf. Dunn 2011
[327] Anthony Seeger cited in Fischlin & Heble 2003, p. 31 (emphasis added)
[328] Cited in *ibid.* p. 34

into processes of empowerment, mobilization, healing, or peace and reconciliation. One inspiring example of grassroots initiatives for change is that of victims of human rights violations in Colombia who have embraced song-writing as a tool for reconciliation and for dealing with their experiences of the conflict.[329] In this country torn by internal conflict for more than 30 years, civilians have been the main target of violence, including massacres and forced displacements of entire communities. What stands out is that the regions most affected by the violence are the most notable for the amount of conflict-related music which has emerged from their inhabitants. Countless songs in traditional musical styles have been written by victims of the violence in a story-telling form (much like the folk songs of the 60s in the US), disclosing facts of atrocities and spreading truth in a context of misunderstandings and half-truths. Victims have desired to communicate the facts of what is happening in the conflict, which have not been reported in the media. Writing songs has offered them the opportunity to achieve this, since music is a form of communication accessible for all types of public. As one victim-composer has stated, "music transforms the message so that it can reach any kind of audience".[330]

In addition to shaping a more reality-based historical memory of the conflict, these song-writers have aimed at reaching people in both a rational and emotional way through their lyrics. The songs have reportedly stirred emotions of sympathy, trust and understanding in the listeners. They have even led to acknowledgements of guilt by some ex-combatants, after hearing songs composed by victims of the violence. Of course, writing these songs also offered the victims a way to express their own emotions, grievances and traumas, and contributed to the redefining of identities. "I feel that it is an outlet to release my feelings, I take a load off […] I do not know what I would do if I could not tell, if I could not write these lyrics, if I could not sing."[331]

These accounts can be seen as a motivation for human rights workers to encourage grassroots-level initiatives in conflict-affected communities, instead of top-down interventions, which seem to be the tendency in the use of music for reconciliation.

[329] García 2014
[330] *Ibid.* p. 36
[331] *Ibid.*

Rather than introducing projects conducted by outsiders, which use foreign music, one could aim at developing and strengthening local music cultures and the musical abilities of the victims of conflicts themselves, to communicate the message they want others to hear. For music "constitutes a type of art that is present in their daily life and that enables them to stir emotions through their *own* rhythms, metaphors, and words."[332] Song-writing in one's own musical context offers a special opportunity to create art out of life experiences, making them tangible and accessible to others and in so doing dealing with the trauma of human rights violations and conflict.[333]

This approach is closely related to the field of *applied ethnomusicology*, which deserves in fact a thesis of its own. Applied ethnomusicology is an approach which considers that ethnomusicological knowledge (the philosophical understanding of music in culture) should be guided by principles of social responsibility and social justice and contribute to change in society, by focussing on the empowerment of people in their own local music cultures. This can be especially relevant for human rights-related work with refugees, immigrants, minorities and ethnic groups.[334]

6.3. Encouraging Musical Activism

Another focus-point of human rights work could be encouraging musicians, artists, song-writers and performers to use their talents for the purpose of raising awareness of human rights. This involves creating and deepening a consciousness among artists of the potential and power their music could possess to reach the masses with truth-bearing messages.

Furthermore, practice has shown many cases of collaboration between NGOs or other civil society initiatives and music artists, which have proven effective in raising awareness of human rights and the work of the different organizations and projects. Amnesty International is one such NGO which has incorporated music into its awareness-raising campaigns over the years. An example thereof is the album "Chimes

[332] *Ibid.* p. 39 (emphasis added)
[333] cf. Ruud 2008
[334] cf. Pettan 2008, Loughran 2008

of Freedom” released in 2012. In honour of the 50th anniversary of both the international human rights organization and Bob Dylan's musical career – a symbolic coincidence – Amnesty International released a compilation of CDs featuring Bob Dylan's songs covered by 80 popular artists of various genres. This was both a fund-raising success for the work of Amnesty International (the proceeds of sales went to the NGO), and contributed to spreading awareness of and encouraging people to take action for unjustly imprisoned human rights defenders around the world.[335]

The power of music and the media in awareness-raising of human rights was also seen on a massive scale in the music tours organized by Amnesty International in the 1980s, the *Conspiracy of Hope* and the *Human Rights Now!* tours. These brought together multiple popular artists to perform around the world and inform millions about basic human rights protection, as well as celebrate the achievements of the human rights movement. Hundreds of thousands of people were reached, millions of dollars were raised and membership in Amnesty International was tripled.[336] There may be much to question or criticize concerning such mega-events of awareness-raising, such as their top-down approach or their actual impact on the implementation of human rights.[337] But what is undeniable is that they do have an influence on the consciousness and knowledge of their audiences and participants, even on those who are not interested in human rights protection and participate for other reasons.

Still, participating in mega-events and awareness-raising concerts is not the only way for artists to direct their music at promoting human rights. The first and foremost strategy to fulfil this aim would be to incorporate content relevant to human rights and social change into their lyrics, as countless artists and musical groups over the past decades have in fact been doing. What matters is the content and the purpose of creating songs. As expressed in a 1937 labour union song:

History's making, nations are quaking
Why sing of stars above?
For while we are waiting father time's creating

[335] Visit this site to learn more about Chimes of Freedom: http://music.amnestyusa.org/pages/about-us
[336] See Human Rights Action Center – Past Projects: http://www.humanrightsactioncenter.org/human-rights-now-1988
[337] cf. Fischlin & Heble 2003

New things to be singing of […]
Sing me a song with social significance
There's nothing else that will do[338]

[338] "Sing me a song of social significance" - Harold Rome, *Pins and Needles* (1937)

7. CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND MEGAPHONES

In attempting to explain the role music can play in social change and the promotion of human rights, my focus in this thesis has been on the decade of the 60s in the USA. But I am well aware of the fact that this country and these movements represent just one example of something that has always been and is moving in the whole world: humanity's desire to evolve, to change, to make better, and most importantly: to be free. In truth, similar studies on social change, culture and music could be carried out on almost every country on earth. In my case, personal interests and musical tastes as well as heritage prompted me to choose this time period and this continent.

7.1. Recommendations

The topic of this thesis opens up many opportunities for further research. It has only touched on multiple fields of research, each of which could be its own study topic, such as the emotional aspects of performing or listening to socially and politically critical music, which affect participation in protest and activism; the study of the relationship between sound and lyrical content of music; deeper research on music and empowerment of the individual. An area that could be explored further is the effect of music in the sense of pure rhythms and beats, without lyrics or melody, on individuals and group dynamics such as solidarity and collective identity.

What is also needed are more concrete and practical methods for incorporating music into the practice of human rights defence. This is an area which limited time and space have permitted me to only begin to explore in this paper. Furthermore, as already mentioned, it would be enriching and inspiring for the field of human rights, to have more studies carried out on the role of music in specific social movements, time periods, and regions of the world other than those addressed in this paper.

7.2. Music as a Megaphone

The concluding argument I would like to make is for a metaphorical view of music as a

megaphone. In the past chapters, I have looked in depth at how music can contribute to education on human rights through increasing people's knowledge about human rights issues, addressing their values, attitudes and behaviours in order to transform them into a life-style which protects human rights, and encouraging them to take the necessary and responsible action coinciding with the knowledge they have gained.

I have looked at the emotional value that music carries: the significance of emotions for how people receive the message of a song; whether it prompts them to act or not and the role empathy and anger can play in this reaction. I have looked at how music, with the involvement of emotion, can be a catalyst for the message of a song to result in movement and social action.

I have presented the results of an in-depth research into the role music played in the mobilization and organisation of the 60s social movements, along with its role in the formation of collective identity and the significance it had for the individuals involved in the movements. This includes the empowering qualities of music and the self-expression and democratic participation it facilitates.

In light of this research, and in view of answering the question of what potential music possesses today in the realm of human rights, I would summarize the power of music as two-fold: a megaphone *to* the people and a megaphone *for* the people:

7.2.1. Megaphone to the people

This represents the quality of music which can create collective consciousness in humanity, through informing the masses of human rights issues and violations and of what they can do to influence these. It represents the “wake-up effect” that music can have: appealing to people to open their eyes to the reality around them and the consequences of everyone's actions. This awareness-raising can be introverted or extroverted: i.e. focused on issues within one's own near surrounding or outside one's community or country. This is the knowledge-producing potential of music which can evoke empathy in the listener for fellow-humans and issues outside of their own personal sphere, bringing to life what might otherwise stay on the TV screen or remain

altogether unheard.

7.2.2. Megaphone for the people

The other potential of music is that of empowerment and of giving a voice to the voiceless, or more correctly, the unheard. This is the voice of democratic participation and involves educating the masses on their *own* rights; encouraging people to use music as an exercise of their freedom of speech and of expression, in the mobilization of groups and the creation of solidarity and collective identity among these groups. For "the voices of democratic citizens […] are heard not only in debates, elections, and opinions, but also through their music."339 Democratic participation through music can be either direct, through the expression of one's own experiences or opinions; or indirect, by which other people's music or experiences lead to action. This is bottom-up activism in its rawest form: when civil society uses its own voice to protest or take action against injustice. Music can be a powerful tool in the empowerment of the oppressed and a catalyst in the process of individual healing as well as self-expression.

To conclude, I would like to emphasize what Fischlin has stated, that "the meaning of rebel musics is not confined to their contexts".[340] The content, the messages, the values and truths spoken through the songs of the 60s are still alive today and apply to the current issues the world is facing now, 50 years later. What was possible then is possible now and *is happening today*. The previous chapter has shown us examples of this fact.

The people of this world, the normal citizens, the victims of violations, the oppressed, the silenced – they possess the power to influence the future and their fate by rising up empowered, enabled to raise their voices loud, and speak out against injustice and call on others to do the same. Music can be that "megaphone" *for* them, and *to* others who need to hear their message. For as Bertolt Brecht has said:

"Art [including music] is not a mirror held up to reality but a hammer with which to shape it."

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[339] Love 2006, p. 106
[340] Fischlin & Heble 2003, p. 37

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APPENDIX: List of Songs

Song Title	Artist	Year
Oh freedom	African-American Spiritual	-
Keep your eyes on the prize (Hold on)	African-American Spiritual	-
Ain't gonna let nobody turn me around	African-American Spiritual	-
We shall overcome	African-American Spiritual	-
Respect	Aretha Franklin	1967
Eve of destruction	Barry McGuire	1965
Blowin in the wind	Bob Dylan	1963
Oxford Town	Bob Dylan	1962
The times they are a-changin'	Bob Dylan	1964
Masters of war	Bob Dylan	1963
With God on our side	Bob Dylan	1964
Only a pawn in their game	Bob Dylan	1964
Simple song of freedom	Bobby Darin	1969
For what it's worth	Buffalo Springfield	1966
I feel like I'm fixin to die	Country Joe McDonald and The Fish	1967
Fortunate son	Creedence Clearwater Revival	1969
Universal soldier	Donovan (Buffy Sainte-Marie 1964)	1965
The war drags on	Donovan (Mick Softley 1965)	1967
Say it loud: I'm black and I'm proud	James Brown	1968
I don't want nobody to give me nothing	James Brown	1969
Volunteers	Jefferson Airplane	1969
Saigon bride	Joan Baez	1967
You don't own me	Lesley Gore	1964
Southern man	Neil Young	1970
Mississipi Goddamn	Nina Simone	1964
To be young, gifted and black	Nina Simone	1970
Strange fruit	Nina Simone (Billie Holiday 1939)	1965
Bring them home	Pete Seeger	1966
If I had a hammer	Peter Paul and Mary (Pete Seeger 1949)	1962
Where have all the flowers gone	Peter Paul and Mary (Pete Seeger 1955)	1962
Tell it on the mountain	Peter, Paul and Mary	1963
This land is your land	Peter, Paul and Mary (Woody Guthrie 1944)	1962
I ain't marchin' any more	Phil Ochs	1965
Power and the glory	Phil Ochs	1963
There but for fortune	Phil Ochs	1964
The war is over	Phil Ochs	1968
Ballad of Medgar Evers	Phil Ochs	1963
Cannons of Christianity	Phil Ochs	1966
Freedom	Richie Havens	1969
Gimme shelter	Rolling Stones	1969
A change is gonna come	Sam Cooke	1964
Draft resister	Steppenwolf	1969

Revolution	The Beatles	1968
Turn, turn, turn	The Byrds (Pete Seeger 1962)	1965
Kill for peace	The Fugs	1966
People get ready	The Impressions	1965
Suppose they give a war and nobody comes	The West Coast Pop Art Experimental Band	1967
Lyndon Johnson told the nation	Tom Paxton	1965
Beau John	Tom Paxton	1966