The Psychological Healing and Unifying Aspects of Struggle Songs: Perspectives of ex-members of uMkhonto weSizwe based in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu Natal

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DECLARATION

This is to declare that the work is the author's original work and that all the sources have been accurately reported and acknowledged, and that this document has not in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university in order to obtain an academic qualification.

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Abstract

This qualitative study sought to investigate the perspectives of former members of uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) on aspects of struggle songs that were psychologically healing and unifying. The study used the Afrocentric theoretical framework, the constructivist research paradigm, and it is premised on Africa(n)-psychology. Further, the study employed a purposive sampling method to recruit participants who reside in the city of Pietermaritzburg in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews. The thematic data analysis method was utilizing in analysing the study results. Consequently, the study results demonstrated that struggle songs have various origins, such as the anti-colonial struggles and frontier wars, churches, cultural activities and ceremonies, and popular anti-apartheid protests. It was illustrated that struggle songs played emotional, psychological, and political roles in the lives of former MK combatants. Importantly, struggle songs were proven to have unifying and healing potential. This was found in their lyrical and rhythmic properties, which inspired imagination, reminiscence, solidarity, and collective identity. Lastly, struggle songs have been reported to have varying impacts on the former MK combatants today. Some reported that struggle songs have a positive impact, while others reported that they have a negative effect due to the songs being used for sinister purposes in the post-apartheid South African politics.

Keywords

Struggle songs, Afrocentrism, Africa(n)-centred psychology, Umkhonto we Sizwe

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"*To the oppressed, and to those who suffer with them and fight at their side*" – Freire, 1970.

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Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
APLA	Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
CPC	Coloured Peoples' Congress
MK	uMkhonto we Sizwe
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
SANNC	South African Natives National Congress
SACP	South African Community Party
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
UDF	United Democratic Front
UM	Umbrella Movement
WHO	World Health Organisation

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the background, the importance of the study and the problem statement, which provided the underpinnings and motivations to conduct the study. In addition, the objectives and research questions that guided the study are presented. The methodology includes the study population and sample; the data collection tools and processes, and the data analysis method are discussed. Lastly, the dissertation structure, which encompasses a brief description of the dissertation chapters, is presented.

1.1. Background of the study

Since 1652, with Jan van Riebeeck's arrival, South African history has been that of colonialism and apartheid (Benson, 1966; Mellet, 2020; Terreblanche, 2002). The establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 signified a partial end to colonialism, as it meant that the union could function as a state, independent of British rule, at least theoretically.

This study is focused on the period of apartheid, which began with the National Party's election in 1948 (Benson, 1966). The struggle against apartheid remains one of the most significant popular struggles of the 20th century, not only in South Africa but also in the world (Thörn, 2006). Through the anti-apartheid struggle, South Africa's people formed new identities, mostly not of their own accord, but forced by the material conditions of the time and the agency to resist oppression (Hirsch, 2002; Gilbert, 2007). Part of the process of identity construction was facilitated by the use of struggle songs (Hirsch, 2002). The formation of struggle songs was a dynamic process that could be traced to various contexts such as townships, the mines, the industrial factories, churches and other places of worship, political gatherings and marches, and in the camps of uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the Spear of the Nation, as it was also known (Kivnick, 1990; Gray, 1999; Groenewald, 2005; Nkoala, 2013).

The current study is focused on the latter – the camps of MK. This study sought to investigate the psychological healing and unifying aspects of struggle songs as sung by former MK combatants. Formed in 1961, MK was the armed wing of the Congress Alliance which was comprised of the South African Natives National Congress (SANNC) - later the African National Congress (ANC), the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) - later the South African Communist Party (SACP), the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured Peoples' Congress and the Congress of the Democrats (South African History Online, 2020).

According to Gray (2004), the psychological, sociological and political history of South Africa cannot be understood fully without an understanding of the role of music, both politically motivated music and struggle songs. For this study, it is essential to note the difference between struggle songs and politically motivated music. The two genres (struggle songs and politically motivated music) are sometimes viewed as similar. In that they are both premised on political, psychological and socio-economic economic conditions. However, there exists a distinction between them.

Politically motivated music

Politically motivated music is a genre that is usually sung by an individual or a group and mostly produced for commercial and entertainment purposes. For example, the music of Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba, Dorothy Masuku, Jonas Gwangwa, Lucky Dube, and many other South African anti-apartheid artists and musicians was politically motivated as it was informed by the existing psychological, socio-economical and political conditions under which Black people lived during apartheid (Kvinick, 1990; Roux-Kemp (2004; Street, Hague and Savigny, 2007). Further, politically motivated music is mainly recorded in a studio, and it is not formed spontaneously. Jones (2017) demonstrates the relationship between politically motivated music and political events and states that politically motivated music ought to be understood as a means of protest and conscientization used by politically inclined artists. She further refers to politically motivated music as counter-culture music, in that it seeks to criticize the dominant, usually oppressive and disenfranchising, culture or status quo.

Struggle songs

On the other hand, Struggle songs are sung by a collective, mostly by activists and social movements, and are used as tools of resistance, mobilization, persuasion, and communication (Gray, 1999; Allen, 2004; Groenewald, 2005; Gilbert, 2007). Further, struggle songs are used to send a message to the oppressor of that time and as a rallying call for the people towards a cause. Nkoala (2013) refers to them as songs of hope and struggle, and states that beyond being songs of resistance to oppression, they are about demonstrating hope and resilience for freedom that ought to result from the struggle. This hope and resilience resonate with the unifying and healing aspects of struggles songs, which were investigated in this study.

Problem statement and the importance of the study

The psychological healing and unifying power of songs and music is widely recorded in South Africa (Pavlicevic, Dos Santos, Oosthuizen, 2010; Edwards, 2011; Pavlicevic & Impey, 2013; Umenziwa, 2013; Martin, 2013; Pavlicevic, O'neill, Powell, Jones, & Sampathianaki, 2014; Umezinwa & Esimone, 2020). However, there are very few empirical studies looking at these music properties in relation to struggle songs within the South African context (Pasiali, 2012; Nyowe, 2018).

In addition, the success of the liberation struggle in South Africa has been widely attributed to the use of struggle songs (Gray, 1999, Hirsch, 2002; Allen, 2004; Groenewald, 2005; Gilbert, 2007; Nkoala, 2013). Many of these songs continue to be sung during mass demonstrations, such as students and services delivery protests (Gunner, 2008; Jolaosho, 2019; Langa 2018). This indicates the enduring value and role that struggle songs hold as means of and during protests in the South African society. The lack of studies exploring the unifying and psychological healing aspects of struggle songs from the perspective of those who composed many of them deny us the opportunity to deepen our understanding of them, their contribution to the liberation struggle and the transition to a democratic South Africa.

It is for the above reasons that the current study was undertaken as a means of investigating the psychological healing and unifying aspects of struggle songs, with a focus on former-MK

members. The study population was chosen for two reasons, (1) because the ANC, which MK was the armed wing of, was the first liberation movement to be formed in South Africa in 1912 (Benson, 1966; Mellet, 2020), and (2) former MK members are a neglected population in terms of research, yet as a collective, they have a lot to contribute to the conceptualisation of the psychological, socioeconomic and political impact of apartheid and the liberation struggle.

1.2. Objectives

The objectives of this study are the following:

1. To explore the composition and role of struggle songs in the lives of former MK combatants.
2. To explore the perspectives of former MK members on aspects of struggle songs that were unifying and healing.
3. To explore the effect(s) of struggle songs on former MK members today.

1.3.Research questions:

1. How were struggle songs composed in the MK camps?
2. What role did they play in the lives of MK combatants during the liberation struggle?
3. Which aspects of struggle songs, according to former members of MK, were unifying and healing?
4. What effect(s) does the singing of struggle songs have on former MK members today?

1.4. Description of the methodology of the study

This was a qualitative study that employed the purposive and snowball sampling methods to recruit ex-members of MK who reside in Pietermaritzburg. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews (ref). Furthermore, the data were analysed using thematic data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

1.5. Delimitation and scope of the study

The study was conducted in Pietermaritzburg, uMgungundlovu region. Pietermaritzburg is the capital city of the province of KwaZulu-Natal and is in the midlands of the province. This study's findings are limited to the ex-combatants of MK residing in Pietermaritzburg who were part of the MK detachments between 1970 until its' disbandment in the early 1990s.

1.6. Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is structured as follows:

Chapter 1: Introduction – This chapter discussed the problem statement and motivation, objectives and research questions, and a brief description of the methodology and delimitation and scope of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature review - In this chapter, a review of the relevant literature will be discussed. This includes the conceptrtualisation of what is, and what is not, African psychology; the understanding of music from and African perspective; the healing and unifying aspects of music in general, and struggle songs in particular.

Chapter 3: Methodology – This chapter discusses the study methodology, sampling technique, and data analysis.

Chapter 4: Study results – This chapter discuss the key findings of the study. The study results are presented in the form of thematic trees that emanated from the study results and data analysis.

Chapter 5: Discussion – This chapter discusses study results in relation to the available literature on the subject.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and recommendations – This chapter discusses the conclusion and recommendations for future studies will be presented.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the background of the study. This was followed by the problem statement and an elaboration on the importance of the study. Subsequently, the study objectives and research questions were discussed. In addition, the description of the methodology was presented. The delimitation and scope of the study were discussed. A brief description of the structure of the thesis concludes the chapter. The following chapter is the review of the relevant literature.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter reviews the literature on the psychological healing and unifying aspects of struggle songs. This study seeks to contribute to the generation and development of knowledge in decolonized and Africa(n)-centred or African psychology. Therefore, a discussion on what is, and what is not, African psychology begins the discussion of the available literature on this study's subject. Secondly, an understanding of music from an African perspective is presented. Thirdly, a discussion of the psychological healing and unifying aspects of struggle songs, which is the fundamental and central part of the study, is discussed. Lastly, the Afrocentric theoretical framework, used in this study, is discussed as a compass to the overall understanding of the literature presented.

2.1. Africa(n)-centred psychology: definitions and contestations

Bulhan (2004) in his critical and seminal work on decolonial psychology - through a Fanonian lense - traces the heritage of Eurocentric psychology and its' influence in Africa. He argues that, so long as Eurocentric psychology is utilized to understand the African population, it shall not result in liberation, nor shall it be a vehicle for Africans' healing. He observes:

"*That this Eurocentric psychology dominates contemporary studies of the human psyche is by no means an accident of history. The ascendancy and globalization of Euro-American psychology indeed correlates with the ascendancy and globalization of Euro-American military, economic, and political might. Viewed from this perspective, the organized discipline of psychology reveals itself as yet another form of alien intrusion and cultural imposition for the nonwhite majority of the world. It is strange but true that the human psyche, even in a remote African village, is today defined, studied, and mystified according to the techniques and styles of Europe and its diaspora. There is a remarkable irony here*" (Bulhan, 2004, p. 64).

Therefore, in agreement with Bulhan, the researcher in this study has made a deliberate and intentional decision to position the study within a decolonial and African lense of the psychology. However, the definition of what constitutes African and decolonial psychology remains a borne of contention amongst psychologists. This debate is necessary for the development of the field, for there is no progress without contradictions. In line with this debate, the author chooses to use Africa(n)-centred psychology instead of African psychology.

The concept of Africa(n)-centred psychology, instead of African psychology is used for specific reasons. The concept of African psychology is often used to define a speciality or branch of psychology (Mkhize, 2004; Nyowe, 2015). Unintentionally, this outlook positions African psychology as inferior to the purported universal (and superior) psychology. In contrast, (Ratele,2017a) in their seminal paper entitled *four Africa(n) psychologies*, argues for all-encompassing Africa(n)-centred psychology which refers to psychology in Africa, for Africans, and by Africans. Moreover, Ratele (2017b) proposes six theses on African psychology, namely, (1) all human psychology is African psychology; (2) the spirits of European philosophers and United States (US) philosophers in psychology in Africa; (3) the need exists for more interchanges and more openness to influence each other; (4) black psychology is linked to but not identical with African psychology; (5) a distinction is made between extraverted, Western European or American-centric psychology in Africa and

introverted, African-centred psychology; (6) critical African-centred psychology between African psychology and critical psychology.

Further, Ratele (2019) expanded on four properties of Africa(n)-centred psychology and argued that any psychology in Africa qualifies as African psychology. This understanding means that psychology is embedded in the spiritual, cultural, socio-economic and political environment. This notion demonstrates that Africa(n) psychology is not a matter of geographic location, but an amalgamation of decolonial theories and practices, that focus on the African people, in the continent and the diaspora (Pillay, 2017). In agreement with Pillay (2017), Ratele, Cornel, Dlamini, Helman, Malherbe and Titi (2018) call for a decolonial and Africa(n)-centred progressive psychology that conceptualises and intervenes on the multifaceted oppressive and repressive nature of neocolonial psychology in Africa. In so doing, the decolonial Africa(n)-centred psychology ought to take a significant position in society instead of being passive.

Although there are differences in definitions, it remains evident that African psychology and Africa(n)-centred psychology transcends the Westernized definition of psychotherapy and healing. It shows that, in the African context, healing does not necessarily occur within the therapy room, but is pervasive in all aspects of life. For this reason, healing modalities out of the normative Eurocentric paradigm have been included in this study.

The above section has provided a conceptualization of what is and what is not African psychology. Therefore, cognizant of this understanding, the sections below explores the available literature on the African understanding of music; the meaning of healing and psychotherapy; the unifying and healing aspects of music and struggle songs in relation to study.

2.2. An African perspective on music

In reporting on the available knowledge on African and Western understandings of music, Munyaradzi and Zimidzi (2012), argued that an authentic account of music from an African perspective was either unrecorded or distorted because of colonialism and imperialism. This distortion only changed with the emergence of decolonial, pan-Afrikan, and African nationalism ideologies that emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century (Munyaradzi & Zimidzi, 2012). According to Roberts (1972), the African understanding of music differs from that of many other cultures worldwide. The reason for this is that music serves a particular purpose and has certain meanings that are specific to each culture. Steve Biko (1978), an anti-apartheid activist and Black consciousness thinker, explained that music is an integral part of the African people's culture. It is through music that African people relate to each other and their environment. Collins (2004), in their book on the evolution of African music and its contribution to the world, stated that music is a microcosm of society in the African context. In that music is a reflection of culture, language, values, and folklores. Music permeates all aspects of life in the African context (Collins, 2004). Agawu (2003) depicted that music, from an African lens, is natural, humourous, functional, purposive and affective. Therefore, music is an essential and critical aspect of everyday life. In addition, Nkoala (2013) states that music gives meaning to life for African people, and they cannot be fully understood without understanding their music. This view was earlier noted by Kvinick (1990), who opined that

music is central to African people. For Kvinick (1990), music serves as a medium for Africans to communicate important messages with both the living and the departed beings.

Bebey (1999), characterised music as *the people's art* and posits that music, in the African context, is a collective property with shared spirituality and expression. Music carries far more profound meaning and function (Bebey, 1999; Collins, 2004; Umezinwa, 2013). From an African perspective, for every aspect of life, there is a song. There is a specific song from a child's birth to social and political upheavals (Mohr, 2011; Umezinwa, 2013). Makeba and Hall (1988) stated that music is essential to African people's lives, culture, and social well-being. The identity of Africans can be found in their music (Makeba & Hall,1988). By listening to their music, one may classify African people according to their cultures and sometimes even their tribe and village.

Fela Kuti, an anti-colonial activist and Nigerian musician, in Olaniyans' (2004) research states that music is spiritual; it should not be played with nor taken for granted. Spirituality is an essential principle of Africana/Afrocentric worldview (Graham, 1991). Amoros (2015) states that music is a means of preserving and promoting one's culture. Through music, people share critical messages and knowledge. For example, Amoros (2015) states that the indigenous Sahrawi people use music to promote their culture in the refugee camps. The Sahrawi people refer to this as *Azawan*, which they define as: "*the communication of nationalist sentiments and retention of their pre-colonial musical culture*" (Amoros, 2015, p.1).

The people of Western Sahara have lived in camps in Algeria since 1975 because of Morocco's invasion and colonisation of their country. Through their music, the Sahrawi people communicate their constant struggle for Western Sahara's decolonisation, which is currently underway. The communicative and group identity formation aspect of music is not peculiar to the Sarahwi people. This was also reported to be the case with MK members in their camps during the struggle against apartheid in South Africa (le Roux-Kemp, 2004).

The above authors have demonstrated that music is an integral part of African life. Manganyi (2019), the first Black clinical psychologist in South Africa, proposes that African societies and cultures are distinctly different from others, and should be studied as such. For this reason, the meaning of music to African people had to be elaborated as the point of departure.

2.3. **Music and healing: An Africa(n)-centred psychology perspective**

West and Moodley (2005) in their pivotal work on the consolidation of traditional healing and psychotherapy, delineate that psychology ought to be abreast with traditional modes of healing and strive for collaborative interventions which include spirituality, ubungoma, divinity, and shamanism, amongst others. Akbar (1985), a clinical psychologist at Florida University, in calling for *Africentric social sciences for human liberation*, stated that Western-orientated means of studying and understanding human development and behaviour have ill-equipped and under-prepared African social scientists in understanding the oppression of African people - psychologically, economically and socially. Nwoye (2010) stated that psychotherapy and healing in Africa are not limited to therapy rooms or focused on the ailing and aggrieved individual and their family, as purported in Western notions of psychotherapy and healing. On the contrary, therapy and healing take different shapes and include social, political, cultural

and spiritual ailments. Therefore, music, for the African people, qualifies as a means of collective psychotherapy and healing.

Further, and in line with the Afrocentric paradigm, Baloyi & Ramose (2016) – using the notion of "moya" - explained that psychological and spiritual healing includes the living, the departed and the supreme being. Kubik (1974), writing on African music's psychological healing aspects, stated that music has healing potents and referred to as "*psychic re-integration*". He reported that this healing property of music permeates all aspects of life and transcends normative psychological healing methods and tools. Kauffman (1976), in their observation of the psychological properties in African music, stated the following:

"*In non-Western societies, and particularly in Africa, the tendency towards abstractness is not so prevalent as in the West, and cultural understanding is not a part of our heritage. Hence, the human aspects of music making take on special significance. However, most of the studies on the human understanding of music making in Africa have concentrated on the social rather than the psychological aspects. We are frequently told about religious rituals, appropriate work activities, textual considerations of music making and the general social system, but we rarely hear about psychological considerations: the nature of perception, the relationship of ecstasy and music making, the learning processes in music, or musical personality studies*" (Kauffman, 1976, p. 8)

Jones, Baker, Day (2004), working with young Sudanese, elaborated on how musical, and its' properties, facilitated and enriched the client-therapist dyadic relationship. They argued that the lyrical, spiritual, collective and non-invasive aspects of music played a significant part in promoting healing and bridging the cultural differences. Also, Akrofi, Smit and Thorsén (2007) stated that music was an essential tool in the psychological healing, destigmatization, education, and identity formation amongst a sample of people living with HIV/AIDS in South Africa. The use of collective singing was reported to facilitate therapeutic interventions, medication adherence, and created a supportive environment (Akofi, Smit & Thorsén, 2007). Pavlicevic, Dos Santos and Oosthuizen (2010), in their work on South African music therapy, explained that music is a useful tool for healing individuals and communities. They referred to the Heideveld community in Cape Town, which was forcibly moved to the Cape Flats in the late 1950s and early 1960s due to the apartheid Group Areas Act of 1950. Since then, the community has fallen victim to drug abuse, gang violence, crime and other forms of trauma and violence. Music therapy is reported to have given members of the Heideveld community a way to engage their collective grief and share solutions to the scourges that confront them. Pasiali's (2012) study on music and psychological resilience with struggle veterans demonstrates that music could be used as a psychological healing tool with patients suffering from PTSD. Pasiali (2012) further states that music works as a communication bridge in therapy sessions. This musical intervention was particularly significant in their study as they initially struggled to build a therapeutic relationship with their patients, and later study participants. Their connection difficulties were reportedly due to the patients' mistrust, which was informed by their past experiences in the South African liberation struggle. Through a specific use of music, Pasiali (2012) and the patients built a connection that transcended the normative verbal and emotional connection necessary for the therapeutic space. Getz, Chamorro-Premuzic, Roy, Devrooop (2012), working with South African adolescents on the dynamic contribution of music on psychological wellbeing, found that music has positive

indicators on affective change, promotes coping strategies and interpersonal relationships amongst adolescents. Muriith (2020) in their research on the health-related benefits of music amongst African trauma survivors, stated that music worked as medicine for trauma in that it facilitated interaction through various means as opposed to normative Eurocentric and Westernized modes of healing. Muriith states that: "*Music produces healing through 1) like a painkiller, enabling them to forget problems that result in distress, 2) being their means to communicate a message of hope, and 3) enabling integration, thus reducing isolation and loneliness*" (Murrithi, 2020, p.1).

Roberts (1972) states that music, from an African perspective, is an integral part of the healing process. For example, the Yoruba people of Nigeria use musical rhythms and drums to call upon spirits in rituals and healing ceremonies. Without music, there would be no spirits, and without spirits, there would be no healing ritual(s). Dagan (1993) argues that music is sacred to African people - it is a means of recreation, entertainment and a communal aspect that is a part of healing and wellness. Dagan (1993) elaborated that music, referred to as *Ngoma*, allows people to act out their feelings and release psychic discomfort and distress. In the healing process, there is a special type of music that is usually accompanied by particular dances. For example, the Pangwe women healers of Cameroon and Gabon sing particular songs, accompanied by specific dances, before healing ceremonies to gain spiritual and healing powers (Jones, Baker, & Day, 2004). Buhrmann and Gqomfa (1981), in their discussion of songs sung in healing ceremonies in the Xhosa culture, state that songs are critical in traditional healing rituals. They focused on a couple who are both traditional healers. In an interview with one of the traditional healers, regarding music in healing rituals and the process of *ukuthwasa* (training to be a *sangoma*), They reported that:

"Even now I have a feeling that I should dance and sing. Thinking about it, this feeling comes on. It is when I have an izinyanya (an ancestor) in my blood. I feel inspired inside and I feel I must sing it and, having sung it, I feel healed… It helps me to see what I have to say clearly, as when doctors use a stethoscope – that song tells me what is wrong with the patient. The spirits tell me. During an intlombe, I ask the people to sing and clap with me until I start to sweat a lot and then I can start talking freely. The special song doesn't change and one can't change it… it comes from the family multitudes, those who have died" – (Buhrmann & Gqomfa, 1981, pp. 300).

The interviewee was referring to a particular song sung during her initiation process – *intlombe*.

In addition, Ansdell (2014) states that the relationship between music and healing is formulated according to time and place. In some cases, music works as navigation towards recovery, while in other cases, it works as a response to the healing process. This dynamic process means music and healing share an interchanging relationship; the one influences the other based on the time's material conditions and the healing procedures followed. Moreover, Umezinwa (2013) elaborated that music focuses on healing the person as a whole instead of most medication or forms of therapy that focus on a particular affected area. He states that music therapy seeks to understand the person as a whole - the spiritual, emotional, psychological, and, to a large extent, the physical. Pavlicevic and Impey (2013) further stated that South Sudan people understand music to have healing potential – individuals share their inner emotions with their

society through music. This was reported to have been therapeutic for people who have had traumatic experiences such as civil war.

Therefore, it is evident that music can be used for therapeutic purposes from Africa(n)-centred psychology perspective. This understanding also applies to the context of MK camps. It is further indicative that the form of music used for healing differs from one context to another. In the case of MK combatants, it can be argued that struggle songs, specifically, served that purpose as they were centered on collectivism, identity and shared experiences as a means of healing (Hirsch, 2002). The following section elucidates the healing potential of struggle songs.

2.4. Healing aspect of struggle songs

There is a paucity of empirical studies on the psychological healing potential of struggle songs in South Africa, except for Pasial (2012) and Nwoye (2018). This created difficulties in placing the study within the field. As a result, the following section looks at the healing properties of struggle songs from a broader perspective, in line with Ratele (2017a, 2017b, 2019) definitions of Africa(n)-centred psychology, elaborated above. This section on the healing aspects of struggle songs draws lessons from Akbar (1985), West and Moodley (2005), and Nwoye (2010) on their definitions of healing. The above descriptions are also in line with the Afrocentric paradigm (Mbiti, 1990; Asante, 1991; Nwoye, 2015). These definitions are of particular importance as they elucidate that psychology and healing are multidimensional across cultures and societies.

The healing aspect of struggle songs has been highlighted in various movements worldwide, such as the Umbrella Movement (UM) in Hong Kong, the Civil Rights movements in the United States of America (USA), liberation and anti-colonial movements and struggles in Africa. This section connects these healing aspects in different movements across the globe to the South African context. Healing takes several forms, dependent on the context and what it means for the individuals and groups concerned. This is elaborated more in the following section.

Umezinwa (2013) defines healing as:

"*the total well-being of the human person and so not limited to the narrow confines of examining degenerating cells in one part of the body. Healing the whole being assumes a thorough understanding of the human being as a system, not a mechanical fusion of independent parts*" (Umezinwa, 2013, p.1).

The World Health Organisation (WHO) defines health as "*a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity*" (WHO, 2014, p. 1).

The above definitions of healing and health are essential in this discussion to demonstrate that healing is all-encompassing and oughts to attend to all dynamic aspects of the individual's health system. However, this study mainly focuses on psychosocial healing in relation to struggle songs.

Edet (1976), elaborating on the one hundred years of protest music dating back to slavery, reported that protest music is as old as oppression and protest. They argued:

"*All men protest. It is part of their humanity. Deprived of the right to protest with impunity, the American black man sublimated his anger in song and story. Every confrontation with adversity was accompanied by songs reflecting and depicting his struggle. Words of protest have infiltrated and permeated his music just as the inimical conditions in which he has been compelled to live have constricted his life and threatened his existence*" (Edet, 1976, p. 38).

He further draws examples from spiritual and religious songs such as, "*No More Slavery Chains For Me," and "Momma, Is Massa Gonna to Sell Us Tomorrow?"* (Edet, 1976, p. 39). These spiritual songs are said to have been a source of consolation during severe distress and oppression.

Struggle songs, emotions and healing are interconnected. The emotional aspect of struggle songs makes them essential in group identity, solidarity and healing (Danaher, 2010). Danaher (2010) further illustrates that protest music's lyrics and rhythmic nature form an emotional attachment and collective meaning amongst protesters. In addition, Cort (2013) states that struggle songs, owing to their rhetorical and persuasive power, are a potent healing tool by promoting group synergy and identity amongst members of a social movement. They observe:

" *protest music in mass rallies can move a person out of the individual self to feel the strength of the group, empower an individual to feel his own strength, harmonize or smooth differences among diverse constituencies; inform internally, meaning to express or reinforce movement values, ideas, and tactics; inform externally, meaning to express movement values, ideas, and tactics to potential recruits, opponents, and undecided bystanders; transform and set a new emotional tone such as defusing anger or fear to calm or resolve a conflict*" (Cort, 2013, p. 6).

Eyerman (2002) discusses the significance of struggle songs in the Civil Rights Movement and states that music was a central part of the movement. Songs such as 'We Shall Overcome' and 'I'll/We'll Be All Right', sometimes referred to as the Civil Rights Movement anthems are said to have given hope to the enslaved and oppressed African people living in the USA. Additionally, music connects the past, the present and the future in symbiotic ways that encourage collective healing and the re-imagination of a society devoid of oppression and subjugation.

In the Hong Kong context, and in reference to the UM, which had approximately one million people, struggle songs were an integral part of the movement in terms of emotional expression (Wong, 2018). Rühlig (2016) argued that music's emotive element in general, and protest music in particular, inspires collective healing and identity. He further states that, through protest music, the UM members inspired humour and sarcasm, which are important aspects of healing (Rühlig, 2016). Finding humour in difficult circumstances was a great strength of protest for the UM, and music was a catalyst. This humour was helpful in mobilisation and keeping their spirits intact in the face of adversity. Wong (2018) crystalises the psychological significance of protest music in the UM by stating that protest music provided opportunities for individuals and groups to express their emotions during the UM, which signified insight into the protestors'

psychological needs alleviated tension and emotional and spiritual suffering. Wong (2018) further reported that some local artists performed during the UM protests, which addressed people's deep emotions and translated to self-healing and soul-soothing. Before and after protests, the musical sessions were a symbiotic part of the movement that motivated and stimulated the protesters. Some of the participants interviewed by Wong (2018) stated that music was calming and inspired solidarity and hope amongst the protestors.

In the African context, Vambe (2014) argued that music had been an essential part of the anti-colonial and neocolonial struggle in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Angola, Tunisia, Egypt and many others. Vambe (2014) elucidated that African people have used protest songs to heal during the most inhumane and oppressive conditions. Through protest music, African people have found communal healing and solidarity (Allen, 2004; Danaher, 2010; Vembe, 2014; LeVine, 2015). Additionally, struggle songs are understood as cathartic and facilitate intense emotions and frustrations (Mugo, 1983). Ngùgì wa Thiong'o documented struggle songs in the Kenyan context and the Mau Mau guerrilla movement in his play, '*I Will Marry When I Want'*, published in 1982. According to Makina (2014), Ngùgì demonstrates the healing and communicative power of protest songs in his writing and theatrical prowess. He (Ngùgì) elucidates the significance of protest songs in the Kenyan anti-colonial and neocolonial struggle by drawing the reader into the struggle's text and context. Moreover, it is demonstrated that through struggle songs, the people of Kenya and the Mau Mau guerilla movement communicated their deepest emotions, particularly in their vernacular - Gikuyu (Makina, 2014). In this, Ngùgì (1982) draws our attention to the healing and symbolic power of language and struggle songs. Makina (2014) evaluates the lyrics in the play's songs, and they include defiance, freedom, affirmation, pride and solidarity. These are all pivotal aspects of healing through struggle songs, for they demonstrate a collective element of healing, which is an integral part of African communalism (Wekesa, 2004).

In the Zimbabwean context, Kahari (1981), in reference to the Chimurenga songs – a Zimbabwean form of anti-colonial protest music – states that the songs were sung in war and at funerals of the Chimurenga guerrillas and they were instrumental in communicating the collective sorrow and healing. This demonstrates the double-bind aspect of the healing power of struggle songs in some contexts. Struggle songs convey collective grief and suffering, which facilitates the healing process. LeVine (2015) explores the healing aspect of struggle songs that were sung during the Arab Spring revolution in 2010 and 2011, and in the post-Arab revolution period in Tunisia. They (LeVine, 2015) report that the religious elements of the struggle songs sung at the time made them powerful in affective and emotional solidarity and healing.

Sifiso Ntuli; an artist, anti-apartheid activist and former member of MK, in Hirsch (2002), demonstrates the healing power of struggle songs in the South African context. He states that through struggle songs, they could communicate with each other as activists and members of MK and tell their story to the next person. He further says that the songs provided comfort during distressful times as they longed for their country's liberation. From this view, it is indicative that struggle songs were not just a means of communication and persuasion, but also played an essential role in healing anti-apartheid activists. Some of them were members of MK, like Ntuli.

Allen (2004) states that struggle songs can raise individual experiences and shared by the collective to bring about connectedness and solidarity in a space where the existing suffering and demobilisation deny it. South Africa under apartheid was such a state for the black majority. Consequently, the sharing of individual experiences brings about connectedness and is also a common strength and resistance source. Mbembe (as cited in Allen, 2004) argued that protest music provides space for the individual to exist outside of the anguish and terror they are going through and offers personal space for pleasure and enjoyment, which are integral parts of healing. The ability to feel pleasure and joy define a good state of emotional and psychological well-being. Therefore, this is a fundamental part of the healing power of struggle songs. Maisela (2005), in her therapeutic study with the demobilised ex-combatants of MK, states that many members of MK suffered PTSD as a result of their participation in MK operations and the life they lived in camps. This knowledge indicates the psychological impact the struggle against apartheid had on the ex-combatants at an individual and group scale. Kasrils (1993) reiterates this and states that many of his comrades suffered enormous psychological because of MK activities. He further says that some comrades developed paranoia and distrust for others due to the camps' excruciating experiences. Ntuli in Hirsch (2002) states that struggle songs served the purpose of soothing the souls of Amaqabane (guerrillas) during trying times.

2.5. Music and unity: An African perspective

An African perspective on the unifying aspects of music is discussed below to elaborate on music's unifying role amongst the African people. It has been demonstrated above that music and struggles songs have facilitated healing due to their emotive components. This lays a foundation for understanding the unifying aspects of struggles, as one of the current study's focuses.

Amoros (2015) states that music is significant because it nurtures national identity and instils cultural values. The lyrical property of music is intergenerational and embodied in societal aspirations. Music, therefore, plays a significant role in unity formation. O'Connell (2011) reported that music plays an essential unifying role in times of war and peace. She argued that, in times of war, music communicates the people's ideological posture, their living realities, and provides support and collective education. Conversely, music works as a harmonious tool for emotional soothing and reflection (O'Conell, 2011).

From an African perspective, music serves the purpose of uniting the people. According to Andsell (2014), music is a continuum that connects the people of a tribe or culture. Its music can quickly identify each tribe or culture. In discussing the drum's various roles, Dagan (1993) explains that the drum is used in war to mentally and physically prepare the regiment for the battle ahead. He observed:

"*During the battle, drumming played an enormous psychological role in supporting and encouraging the warriors, and particularly, in overcoming their fears*" (Dagan, 1993: 15).

Also, Ballantine (2012) argues that music has been a central part of the political life in South Africa in the sense that it served as a unifier and a rallying call for the people. Kivnick (1990) discusses the role of music in protest and organisation. He states that:

"*Singing allows a group to voice despair, and, at the same time, it begins to relieve that despair and replace it with the will to persevere*" (Kivnick, 1990, p. 273). This is in reference to the Taliban regime that imposed music sanctions as a form of suppression against dissent voices in that country. However, through music, the people were able to unite and communicate their dissatisfactions. Moreover, Mohr (2011) states that music has played a significant role in unity throughout South Africa's history. Music works to inspire personal and collective identities that mirror South African cultures' history and communal identities.

Furthermore, African musicians who sing such music assume the responsibility and character of "activist performers" entrusted with the responsibility of communicating the people's trials and tribulations in a language that is understood by all – music. Hugh Masekela (2014), a famous South African jazz musician and anti-apartheid activist, argues that music united the African people amid deep oppression and suppression. He refers to two particular events, (1) the forced removals of the African people from Sophiatown to Meadowlands, and (2) the aftermaths of the Sharpville Massacre. In his reference to these events, he demonstrates that music played a significant role in uniting the oppressed people. He further states that people would spontaneously break out in song for failure to voice their deep-seated pain and state of anguish in the tough times that followed the two events mentioned above. For example, the song *Sophiatown* was a resistance song against the forced removals. Drewett (2003) states that music's power as a mobilisation tool and a uniting factor can be seen through how the apartheid government invested resources and energy in censoring music using the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). The *Publications Act of 1974* was used as a means of censorship, stifling all anti-apartheid content and imprisoning those found in contravention of the act (Drewett, 2003; Drewett & Cloonon 2016). According to Mohr (2011), the SABC was used as a propaganda machine by the government, and any form of dissent was not tolerated. This was evident in the government-controlled information communicated through the SABC, including music played in the various channels of the SABC, both on radio and television (Hirsch, 2002; Drewett, 2003 Mohr, 2011). History of South African music has numerous cases of progressive South African musicians such as Mzwakhe Mbuli, Bheki Mseleku, Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Letta Mbuli, Jonas Gwangwa; Dorothy Masuku and many others who were either detained or banned for their music and the power it exerted on the people and the apartheid government alike.

Plato in *Republic* states that: "*When modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the state always change with them*" (Plato 1973, 281). This shows the enormous power of music in uniting people. Meanwhile, Averill (1997) illustrates the purpose of music in uniting Haiti's people against imperialism. He states that artists like Manno Charlemagne, popular known as Ti-Manno, use music to raise consciousness amongst the black people of that nation. Artists like Ti-Manno, therefore occupy the status of revolutionary artists or musicians. A particular focus is paid to his song 'Sort Tiers Monde', which means Out of the Third World. The song focuses on the impact of imperialism on third world countries and regions:

"*We abandon our own culture*

To adopt everything that came from overseas

We are living with an inferiority complex

Prejudice linked to lack of objectivity

A closed circle, a privileged club, 110 years of class distinction

Preventing unity, equality, fraternity

Everybody feels inferior, living a lie

Speaking French becomes a habit/trade

They confuse getting a degree with ability" (Averill, 1997, p. 16).

Additionally, Danaher (2010) states that music played a critical role in the formation and organisation of the American social movements. He says that each movement or course has a song that becomes central and makes an example with the song 'We Shall Not Be Moved', sung by American hospital workers during a strike in 1969. Danaher (2010) further states that music inspires collective identity and emotional connection amongst group members in the civil movement.

The unifying aspect of music is evident in all societies and cultures. This has been indicated in this section. It was also demonstrated that the unifying aspect of music cuts across all genres, which includes protest music or struggle songs, as a genre and performative art embedded in the liberation struggle. This will be discussed at length in the following section.

2.6. Unifying aspects of struggle songs

Similar to other forms of music, struggle songs have a unifying aspect. This unifying aspect lies in the struggle songs' rhythmic and lyrical power and them being sung during popular uprisings and mass demonstrations, almost in all parts of the globe.

Pfukwa (2008) illustrates the unifying aspect of struggle songs composed by Zimbabwean guerilla combatants in Mozambique's military camps during the Chimurenga war. They argue that the songs were instrumental in identity formation, ideological orientation and political training, and carried the people's aspirations for post-independence Zimbabwe. More recently, Dube and Ncube (2019), explored the unifying aspects of struggle songs amongst the Ndebele people who are reported to be marginalized and viewed as a minority in post-independence Zimbabwe, led by the Shona-dominated government. They reported that, due to repression, marginalization, and fragmentation, the Ndebele people have resorted to struggle songs as a means of unity and to promote collective identity. Their use of music is a powerful tool in asserting themselves as a minority group.

Kong (1995), reporting on the Singapore context, stated that struggle songs are critical in socialization and ideological cultivation of the younger generation and promote inter-generational learning and unity. Robertson (2015) explained that protest music was also an essential unifying factor in the Arab Spring revolution. He depicts a gathering where one of the protestors mobilised collective imagination and action through music. Significantly, Levesque (2012) looking at the role of struggle songs in the context of "*wars on terror*" and activism,

explains that struggle songs are critical in overcoming fear, mobilization and demonstration against injustices shared by all who strive for a peaceful and just world. They elaborated:

"*Resisting fear begins with the capacity to imagine that another world is possible. This capacity often involves conceiving of a conflict situation in a new light. Thinking differently about a conflict opens a space to consider solutions that may not have seemed plausible before. Thus, by using the power of their imagination, people can envision different realities. The capacity to imagine enables a divesting of the idea that the realities experienced are inevitable and the issues faced unchangeable*" (Levesque, 2012, p. 16).

Manabe (2015), in their seminal and erudite writing on activism and the aftermath of the March 11 Fukushima Daiichi nuclear disaster, entitled: *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised: Protest Music After Fukushima.* She extrapolates on the role of music in political events, civil rights demonstrations and anti-oppression protests. She draws lessons from various movements, including the gays and lesbians' movement, civil rights movement, academic boycotts and community uprising. What becomes evident is that music's power permeated all aspects of protests in Japan and continues to be a potent tool for unity and mobilisation. Owing to this, she states that music belongs to the masses and ought to be protected and defended by all, including artists, academics, and activists.

Epstein (2017), offer a feminist lens to the unifying power of protest music and political art in their work on confronting the social and psychological impact of state repression. He focuses on the Russian *Pussy Riot* feminist movement, formed in 2011. He stated that the movement used art, including protest music, to demonstrate against a chauvinist, patriarchal and repressive state. The use of artistic means of protest allowed the movement members and activists to unite and communicate their dissatisfaction with the status quo. Furthermore, protest songs were instrumental in the unity of other movements across the globe such as the UM in Hong Kong (Rühlig, 2016 and Wong, 2018), the Civil Rights Movement in the USA (Danher, 2010), the British Left movement (Jones, 2017), the Saharawi anti-decolonisation struggle (Amoros, 2015) and many others.

Averill (1997) pays particular focus to revolutionary music, an equivalent of struggle songs, in Haiti, which played an essential role in overthrowing the Jean-Claude Duvalier dictatorship regime in 1986. She stated that revolutionary music united Haiti's people who picketed the street during the Anti-Duvalier protest movement. Further, struggle songs and their lyrics were shared by the collective and communicated their innermost feelings. Struggle songs verbalised the people's wishes in a more succinct way than any other means of communication, and this was due to the fact that the message was passed on "*mouth-to-mouth*" (Averill, 1997). The passing down of the message from "mouth-to-mouth" refers to how information and the message of resistance were passed from one person to another within and beyond the protesting collective. Revolutionary music had the power to transfer that message and put it in a language understood by the local people, usually as a communication of their living conditions and demands to the day's oppressive system and government.

The following section will focus on literature that examines the unifying aspects of struggle songs in the South African anti-apartheid struggle and the liberation movement.

2.7. The unifying aspect of struggle songs in the anti-apartheid liberation struggle

Vuyisile Mini is reported to have been the first person to introduce music to the liberation struggle against apartheid (Hirsch, 2002). A unionist and member of MK, Mini is known for his proverbial song '*Basop/Pasop Verwoerd'*, which translates to [be aware, Verwoerd]. Gilbert (2007) states that music played a significant role in the ANC organisation in exile and worked as an upliftment tool for those far away from their loved ones and fighting for freedom. It was through music that the freedom fighters could communicate their emotional state.

Kivnick (1990) argues that music gave life to the liberation struggle of South Africa. Gray (2004) states that struggle songs were able to capture the state of the struggle as they (songs) were informed by the conditions of that particular time and were modified to suit that situation, from '*Mayibuye*', [Africa must return] and '*Senzeni na?*' [what have we done?]to "*Izakunyathel' I-Afrika*" and [Africa will step down on you]. Most of the songs were directed at the Apartheid state, sending a message that freedom would indeed come, and some were a demand for the release of political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela and others. Gilbert (2007) argues that the songs sung in exile were a uniting force for the combatants and eased their pain as they longed for home and liberation. Songs such as '*Sobadubala Ngobhabhayi*', [we will shoot them with a machine gun], were used to send a clear message to the government, but also showed the commitment and willingness exhibited by the combatants, who dedicated the best years of their lives to the liberation of their country, to die for freedom.

Furthermore, Groenewald (2005) states that struggle songs serve as a tool for widespread mobilisation and enhance oral memory. That is to say that through struggle songs, the intensity and history of the struggle are shared. This also deals with the unifying power of struggle songs. In addition, Gilbert (2007) states that a particular group of songs marked every epoch of the struggle. For example, during and after the 1976 Uprising, songs such as '*Thula Sizwe'* [peace upon the nation] emerged, a clear indication of the national cry following the killings and mass incarcerations of the 1976 Soweto uprising. Gilbert (2007) further states that the younger generation was comforting the nation and communicating their willingness to fight like previous generations through these songs.

According to Bottoman (2010), the late 1970s and 1980s marked a period during which MK conducted systematic attacks on state buildings and monumental sites from exile. South Africans were also mobilised under the banner of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in partnership with the various civic organisations, and that period was marked by its selection of songs that aptly captured the collective feeling of the oppressed people in relation to the apartheid regime. Kivnick (1990) states that music played an important role in the organisation of the UDF and its affiliates, especially during mass demonstrations and marches. Meanwhile, Mohr (2011) states that protest music is unifying, but it is also a mirror of society and a means of communicating the people's ideal future. Protest music was a part of the political life in many black townships, and songs were sung even during political trials. During these trials, masses of people gathered outside courthouses in solidarity with their incarcerated comrades and to raise their dissatisfaction with the government and its policies. Such songs were filled with the spirit of defiance and strong determination to die for freedom.

Le Roux-Kemp (2014) states that the power of struggle music is found to mobilise group synergy based on collective suffering, a common objective, and shared commitment. In addition, the capacity of struggle songs can be measured in their power to persuade. Mohr (2011) argues that struggle songs such as '*Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika'* united the African people in resistance against the oppressive system of apartheid. The song was composed by Enock Sontonga in 1897, further developed by poet SE Mqhayi in 1927 and was printed in various publishing houses such as Lovedale Press. 'Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika' became a uniting voice and an anthem of the oppressed people of South Africa and Africa as a whole, as it clearly communicated the shared and visible oppressive state under which black people existed. In addition, Pollard (1999) states that the national anthem, as the song is now known, provided unity amongst the African people irrespective of their differences such as tribe, ethnicity, chiefdom and the village of origin.

The national anthem is also a plea for God's protection against white domination brutality that came with colonialism and later apartheid. Van Schalkwyk (1994), uses the South African *toyi-toyi* as an example in demonstrating the uniting power of protest music. Further, Van Schalkwyk (1994) states that the *toyi-toyi* communicates the African people's shared feelings and sociopolitical conditions. The *toyi-toyi* additionally provides group power and identity for oppressed black people. In his address on Heritage Day in 2006, the then-president Thabo Mbeki also paid tribute to the role played by struggle music in the struggle against apartheid and said:

"*Then came the time when we heard the songs of resistance and protest, in which the oppressed masses of our people called for the restoration of their liberties and freedoms. Such cries and rhythms are evident in the musical performances of the artists of the time, as they persistently envisioned a new day of a democratic South Africa... The music of the time helped to sustain the momentum and impetus of the struggle for liberation and freedom"* (Mbeki, 2006).

As demonstrated above, struggle songs played a significant role in unifying the anti-apartheid struggle and the South African liberation movement. MK was an integral part of the anti-apartheid struggle. A historical account of MK and its' formation is discussed in the first chapter of the current thesis to give the reader a historical perspective of the organisation and its role in the liberation struggle. The literature cited in this section has demonstrated the psychological healing and unifying aspect of struggle songs amongst MK members, as narrated by various veterans who wrote and commented on the subject, such as Kasrils, Ntuli, Cronin and others. However, to date, there have been no empirical studies that have explored the unifying and psychological healing aspects of struggle songs for MK veterans. Many of the struggle songs sung today were composed and sung by former MK veterans fighting an oppressive regime. In this fight, these songs were reportedly used to raise the spirits and morale and heal and unify those who sang them. It remains unclear which aspects of these songs achieved these goals. Understanding these aspects from the perspectives of those who

composed and sang, many of them could help us to – in some way – know why they continue to be sung today.

2.8. Theoretical framework

This study used the Afrocentric theoretical framework. Asante (1991) states that the Afrocentric theoretical framework is premised on the need to view and understand phenomena related to Africans from an African perspective. In essence, the Afrocentric paradigm is the conceptualization of African experiences to understand their history, context and culture. Graham (1999) states that the Afrocentric paradigm is based on five principles, namely: (1) The interconnectedness of all things; (2) the spiritual nature of human beings; (3) collective/individual identity and the collective/inclusive nature of the family structure; (4) oneness of mind, body, and spirit, and (5) the value of interpersonal relationships. These principles are elaborated below:

The interconnectedness of all beings

According to Graham (1999), this principle refers to the interconnectedness of everything, which is essential in the African perspective. Further, Nyowe (2015, 2017) explains that the African worldview is all encompassing. In that, both the visible/physical and the invisible/spiritual aspects contribute to understanding personhood and how the African person navigates the world around them. The African people exist in unison with the environment around them (Schiele, 1996, 1997). The African people's lives are defined by the environment (including the spiritual) and the shared relationship. In expanding this understanding, Mbiti (1990) draws our attention to the interconnection between the living, spiritual and living-dead. This understanding of the interconnected of all things in sacrosanct in the knowledge of the African people.

In the context of the current study, music, and struggle songs, in particular, are a result of the material conditions under which people exist (le Roux-Kemp, 2004). The struggle songs sung by ex-members of MK were based on the political, psychological, and socioeconomic realities (Gilbert, 2007). Gray (2004) explains that struggle songs captured the state of the struggle as they (the songs) were informed by that particular time's conditions and were modified to suit that situation.

The above citations elaborate on the dialectical relationship between struggle songs and the oppressed people's living conditions and the struggle against apartheid.

The spiritual nature of human beings

This principle refers to human beings' spiritual nature and emphasizes a Supreme being or a Higher power. Also, this principle is based on the importance of spirituality. Schiele (1996) describes spirituality as a connection between humans, their environment and their creator – sometimes referred to as God, *uMvelinqangi* in Nguni languages. This connection is an integral part of Afrocentricity because it transcends human experiences and relationships. It escalates them to an in-depth and invisible Being whose superiority and omnipotence is understood only

with an appreciation of spiritual discernment. Baloyi and Ramose (2016) argued for an African understanding of human beings in psychology and psychotherapy, advocating for the inclusion of spiritual knowledge of African people in African psychology's teaching and training. They use the concept of "*moya"* (Baloyi & Ramose, 2016, p. 12), which has various meanings, all of which are important in understanding African people and various psychological, spiritual and emotional presentations. Afrocentricity's spiritual aspect is understood as a series of passages, from conception to the grave and beyond (Asante, 1991; Baloyi & Ramose, 2016; Mbiti, 1970).

Makeba and Hall (1998), in their discussion on the musical journey in Africa, argued that music connects the African people with their spirits and their God(s). Through music, the African people summon the powers of their God(s) and the living-dead (Mbiti, 1970). Umezinwa (2013) made an example of the significant spiritual role of music in healing rituals. Struggle music in South Africa, as mentioned above, emerged out of the people's material conditions. Many of the struggle songs in South Africa find their roots in religious hymns, which is indicative of the centrality of spirituality for Black Africans, as discussed by Graham (1999). This understanding of spirituality affects interpersonal interactions and the environment, both subtly and overtly.

Collective/individual identity and the collective/inclusive nature of the family structure

This principle emphasises collective identity, which is premised on the understanding that human beings are understood in relation to others from an African perspective. Therefore, the understanding of the family is beyond the nuclear family. Mkhize (2006) elaborates that individuals ought to not be understood in isolation, but as integral parts of a family, community, and society. The Nguni maxim "*umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu*" (Mkhize, 2006, p. 28) defines this. Kuzwayo (1990), elucidates this critical principle of collective identity and personhood in the African context by employing different languages:

"*Muthu ndi muthu nga munwe – Tshivenda*

Motho ke motho ka motho yo mungwe – Setswana

Umntu ngu mntu ngabanye – Xhosa

Motho ke motho ka batho babang' – Southern Sotho

Umuntfu ngumutfu ngalo munye muntfu – Swati" (Kuzwayo, 1990, p. 122)

John Mbiti (1990) provides an English definition of this principle by stating: "*I am because we are and since we are, therefore I am*" (Mbiti, 1990, p. 141). This principle signifies communalism and collectivism, which are an essential part of the lives of African people. From an African perspective, a person is understood as an individual and an extension of the collective, be it a family, community, or society. Consequently, pain and suffering are not understood as an individual or personal affair but a collective's (Mkhize, 2006; Nwoye, 2010).

Therefore, in the context of struggle songs, Andsell (2014) states that music works as a connection for the people and how they navigate their identity according to various cultural and ethnic groups. In the context of struggle songs, Allen (2004) states that struggle songs can

raise individual experiences to be shared by the collective to bring about connectedness in a space where the existing suffering and demobilisation deny such. Under apartheid, South Africa was such a state, at least for the black majority.

Oneness of mind, body and spirit

The oneness of the mind, body and spirit stresses the significance of understanding the African person(s) as one whole and not as distinct parts. The three aspects – body, mind and spirit – constitute a person. Philips (1990), argues for an African understanding of personhood, where the unity of mind, body and spirit is critical. He states that this understanding of personhood is a deviation from the Western and European version of what it means to be a person. As a result, he proposes the *Ntu* approach to psychotherapy and conceptualisation of wellness and illness (Philips, 1990). Therefore, health and illness are understood to be multifaceted, in that spiritual well-being connects to physical and psychological well-being, and vice versa. Therefore, African personhood is understood to be a balanced and harmonious interaction of these three aspects (Mbiti, 1990; King 1994). Hussein Abdilahi Bulhan (1980), a Somalian psychologist and decolonial scholar, warns against the duality of mind and body, propagated by Western psychology.

Roberts (1972) argued that while in European culture(s) music is understood as a form of entertainment that is sometimes recorded in a music studio and by an individual or a group directed to an audience, in African cultures, music is a speech or conversational form where there is a call (by the lead singer) and answer (by the audience). Furthermore, the music captures the feelings and emotions of that particular setting. For example, there are specific songs for grief in most African cultures (Dagan, 1993). '*Thula Sizwe'* is an example of such a song.

The value of interpersonal relationships

Linda Myers (1985), an African-American professor of psychology, argued that the absence of an Africocentric understanding of transpersonal psychology and relationships has contributed to the misconception of African people and their interpersonal relationships. She further stated that this misconception is premised on colonial thought and scholarly work that seeks to misrepresent African people, both in the continent and the diaspora. Therefore, a contextual and culturally-informed understanding of African people, without employing the Eurocentric lenses, is of utmost importance. Bell, Bouie and Baldwin (1990) agreeing with Myers (1985), argued against the distorted Eurocentric understanding of interpersonal relationships premised on the survival of the fittest notion of existence. They stated that interpersonal relationships are not seen as a means to an end from an Afrocentric perspective, but as a way of harmonious living and interaction. Mkhize (2006) elaborates that, due to interpersonal relationships' essentiality, the African person cannot be understood in isolation.

In terms of struggle songs, it is crucial to understand that struggle songs emanated from the African people's relations and how they understood the oppressive apartheid regime. Ntuli in Hirsch (2002) argues that through struggle songs, they could communicate with each other as activists and tell their story to the next person who would not have readily understood.

Therefore, as this study explores the perspectives of MK ex-members on aspects of struggle songs that were unifying and healing, it is essential to locate this study in the Afrocentric paradigm. This assisted the researcher in understanding the songs in their context. This framework allowed for a thorough understanding and exploration of struggle music and its' use for Africans, through a paradigm that encapsulates all aspects of the African way of making sense of themselves and their environments. Furthermore, this framework contextualised and located the study within the framework of understanding the African phenomenon from an African perspective, as experienced by Africans at that particular time and in that specific space.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the literature regarding the unifying and healing aspects of struggle songs for former members of MK. A discussion of what is, and what is not, African psychology began this The African perspective on music and struggle songs was discussed. Further, it was demonstrated that music plays a significant role in the African perspective and is an essential part of the African people. The role of music in healing and psychotherapy was discussed, highlighting various aspects of music's healing potential. This is embedded in the understanding of the healing and health proposed by Umezinwa (2013) and the WHO (2014). It became evident that music plays an essential role in the healing process, both in traditional healing ceremonies and in the therapeutic endeavour. The concept of music therapy was brought to the discussion and how music is used to facilitate treatment and healing. Additionally, the unifying and healing aspects of struggle music were discussed, drawing literary examples from different parts of the globe and social movements and organisations. It was seen that struggle music had healing and unifying.

The following chapter discusses the study's research design and methodology, data collection and analyses.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

In this chapter, the study's research design and methodology will be presented and discussed. This will be followed by a presentation and discussion of the sampling method that was used and a description of the study participants. A discussion on the chosen data collection method and how data was analysed will follow. A discussion on how the study's quality was enhanced and the ethical issues that were considered will conclude the chapter.

3.1. Research methodology

This is a qualitative research study. The qualitative research method employs narratives, words and other non-statistical methods of data collection. TerreBlanche, Kelly and Durrheim (2006) state that using words to express feelings and emotions in qualitative research provides a deeper understanding of the studied phenomena. Further, Willig (2013) states that qualitative researchers' primary objectives are to study and conceptualize events and experiences, led by participants, and within their living environment. For this reason, qualitative research utilizes open-ended questions to allow research participants to define their knowledge and experiences about the study's topic. Therefore, the qualitative research methodology was most suitable for this study. The reason for this is that this research methodology allowed for an in-depth exploration of subjective feelings, which in the case of this study, are the perspectives of former MK members on the unifying and healing aspects of struggle songs. Significantly, the qualitative research method is critical in this study in that it ties with the Afrocentric theoretical framework, which is premised on the conceptualization of African phenomenon from an African perspective (Asante, 1990; Nwoye, 2015).

3.2. Research paradigm

This study is positioned within the constructivist paradigm. The development and evolution of the constructivist paradigm can be traced from philosophy, sociology, psychology, and education, with various contributions from each field (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Burr, 2003; Lowenthal & Muth, 2008; Adom, Yeboah & Ankrah, 2016). Due to the consolidation of various schools of thought that led to the development of the social constructivist paradigm, it has been increasingly difficult to define what it is and what it is not: social constructivism. However, Burr (2003), one of the leading scholars of the paradigm, describes it as such:

"social constructionism can be thought of as a theoretical orientation which, to a greater or lesser degree, underpins all of these newer approaches, which are currently offering radical and critical alternatives in psychology and social psychology, as well as in other disciplines in the social sciences and humanities" (Burr, 2003, p.1)

The constructivist paradigm is premised on the understanding that individuals and groups make meaning of the world through previous and existing experiences and knowledge. Moreover, social constructivism argues that individuals are not 'blank pages', but are innate with existing

knowledge, which facilitates their understanding of new knowledge and information. Honebein and Kim (as cited in Adom, Yeboah and Ankrah, 2016) state that, from a constructivist paradigm, accommodation and assimilation are central processes in knowledge development. In that individuals make meaning of new knowledge (assimilate) by firstly accommodating it within their existing knowledge. Therefore, the current knowledge works as a safety net that facilitates the comprehension, production, and interpretation of recent experience.

Consequently, individuals conflate new and existing knowledge to develop, expand and fathom the world around them. Fundamentally, and more relevant to the current study, the constructivist paradigm is appropriate in that it is in line with Africa(n)-centred psychology, as defined by Ratele (2017), above. This is critical as Africa(n)-centred psychology is understood as an antithesis to the dominant Westernised understanding of psychology. Therefore, in all its manifestations, psychological knowledge and practice is understood from a broader spectrum and is influenced by the environment as opposed to the narrow, individualistic understanding propagated by the dominant and colonial psychology (Buhlan, 1980; Pillay, 2017). The constructivist paradigm is also harmonious with the thematic data analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), as demonstrated below.

Therefore, in the current study, the constructivist paradigm is applicable in how the former members of MK constructed the meaning of struggle songs in their individual and collective lives, particularly the psychological healing and unifying aspects of struggle songs as the central thesis of the study.

3.3. Research design

According to De Vaus (2001), a research design is a detailed structure that guides the researcher in deciding on the information required to respond to the research question(s). Research design informs data collection, measurement and analysis.

This study used a qualitative exploratory research design. According to Silverman (2010), the qualitative exploratory research design is interested in understanding the participants' perspective(s) on the research topic. What sets the qualitative exploratory research design apart from other research design forms is its' flexibility and focus on the participants' perspectives on a particular topic.

Silverman (2010) further states that the exploratory research design is commonly used in research whereby the researcher seeks to learn more about a phenomenon without specific knowledge or a set of boundaries that guide the research. This research design is primarily utilised in research areas that are still under development with insufficient information on the topic. This study used the exploratory research design because of the lack of research on the unifying and healing aspect of struggle songs in the South African context, in the psychology field and the Africa(n)-centred psychology, to be precise, as this study seeks to contribute to that field and the Afrocentric theoretical framework in South Africa. This study is, therefore, to a considerable extent, a novelty.

3.4. Sampling

Willig (2013) explains that the recruiting and sampling of the study population is guided by the research problem (what is known and unknown), objectives and questions (what the research seeks to achieve), and theoretical framework. In essence, recruitment ought to be intentional. Moreover, Robinson (2014) illustrates sampling in interview-based qualitative research. He states that sampling in interview-based qualitative research must be informed by, (1) a clear definition of the sample universe – in which the researcher decides on the study population by either including or excluding potential participants; (2) deciding on the study sample size – which is informed various factors, including saturation; (3) selecting a sampling strategy – which is guides the sampling procedures; and (4) sampling sourcing – which defines data collection.

In the current study, the researcher sought to study the psychological healing and unifying aspects of struggle songs, as sung by former MK member, residing in Pietermaritzburg. The researcher had an understanding that there are no existing psychological studies, especially in Africa(n)-centred psychology, that study the psychological impact of struggle songs in South Africa, more so in the defined population. However, there are studies conducted on the healing power of music and struggle songs, as evident in the literature review. Therefore, the conceptualization of struggle songs and their psychological healing and unifying aspects as sung by MK combatants were unknown.

3.5. Sampling procedure

The study used purposive and snowball sampling methods. The purposive sampling method refers to the intentional selection of study participants based on the data the researcher seeks to investigate (Silverman, 2010). The snowball sampling method is a non-probability referral sampling method where participants refer or recommend other participants that are known to them who share the same traits or knowledge that is required in the study (Robinson, 2014). These sampling methods are often used when members of the population of interest are difficult to recruit.

In this study, a former MK member is known to the researcher, and he was contacted and informed about the study. An information sheet and consent form (see appendix 1) detailing the study objectives was given to him to read and to ask questions about the study. Following this, he was requested to sign the informed consent form if he was happy to participate in the study, to which he agreed. Following the interview with this participant, he was asked to direct the researcher to other former members of MK who may be willing to participate in the study. Once these members were identified, they were contacted, and the procedure described above with the first participant was followed in the recruitment of the remaining four participants.

3.6. Data collection

Willig (2013) states that the foremost objective of data collection in qualitative research is to establish a clear representation of the participants' words and actions about the subject. Therefore, in this study, the primary objective was to investigate the psychological healing and unifying aspects of struggle songs.

The data in this study was collected through semi-structured interviews (see appendix 3) Each of the interviews was conducted in the participant's home. The participants preferred that arrangement. The interviews took place between September 2017 and May 2018. Participants were asked questions on their perception of the psychological healing and unifying aspects of struggle songs and their responses were recorded on a voice recorder, except for one who did not consent to voice recording.

3.6. Challenges experienced in recruiting participants and data collection

Initially, the researcher intended to interview 8 participants. However, due to trust difficulties between MK members and civilians (as they usually refer to non-members), it proved difficult to access intended numbers. Therefore, the total number of participants sampled in this study was five.

3.8. Credibility, consistency and transferability

The qualitative measure of qualitative research remains a debatable issue among qualitative researchers. There are no definitive explanations of the concepts, especially as they relate to qualitative research. This ongoing debate ought to be considered in the evaluation of the quality of qualitative research. According to Creswell and Miller (2000), reliability, validity and generalizability in a qualitative study differ from that of the quantitative study. As a result, they are referred to as credibility, consistency and transferability in qualitative research. Golafshani (2003) states that qualitative research's reliability and validity are correlated in qualitative research, instead of being differentiated in quantitative research. The former informs the latter (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Therefore, the three research quality factors and measures will be discussed below as they relate to the current study.

According to Golafshani (2003), validity in qualitative research refers to credibility, neutrality or confirmability. Credibility, neutrality or confirmability refers to how well the study reflects what it is supposed to represent and whether it responds to the research objectives and questions (Golafshani, 2003; Willig, 2013). The researcher in this study sought to ensure that the study's findings are credible by ensuring that the collected data was a true reflection of what was reported by the study participants and that each part was thoroughly checked. This was an ongoing and collaborative process, ensuring that the study is scientifically sound and representative of the study participants' views. Therefore, the findings in this study were discussed with the participants in order to check if the findings reflected what was reported by them.

According to Noble and Smith (2015), reliability in qualitative studies is referred to as consistency. Consistency refers to the replicability of the study findings, in the sense that the study protocol if replicated, ought to provide the same findings. This means that the methods of analysis in the study must consistently give the same results at a later stage. Therefore, in this study, the researcher continuously checked the study protocol by keeping the research methods the same. Further, the researcher actively kept the application of the research design,

methodology and sampling techniques intact. This activity enabled the researcher to identify any inconsistencies throughout the study.

Generalizability in quantitative research refers to transferability in qualitative research (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Transferability refers to the study's ability to be transferable to another with similar characteristics (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Furthermore, as provided by the study participants, the study findings must be transferable to the population they represent (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This ensures that the study findings represent the population and that the study is a credible and dependable source of knowledge for future studies. Therefore, in this study, transferability commenced at the recruitment of stage of data collection by ensuring that the study participants represent the population they belong to, including the internal intricacies such as belonging to various MK detachments. Moreover, the researcher ensured that the study results were well captured and that they were an honest reflection of the research and study findings. This was done by checking and correcting possible misrepresentations in the capturing of the data.

Reflexivity

Willig (2013) discusses an important aspect of qualitative research - reflexivity. He defines reflexivity as "*the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process, and an acknowledgement of the impossibility of remaining 'outside of' one's subject matter while conducting research*" (Willig, 2013, p. 55). He further states that reflexivity is twofold - personal and epistemological. The former refers to the researchers' critical evaluation of their contribution to the research, including their interests, biases, political ideologies, and beliefs. The latter refers to a critical reflection on the research study itself and the limitation in research objectives, questions, data collection, analysis and discussion. In this study's context, and more critically, one of the study participants is known to the participants and has contributed to the participants' socialisation. Therefore, whilst the researcher sought to keep the study as independent and integrous as possible, such a background may have – unintentionally - contributed to the research.

Further, and in terms of epistemological reflexivity, the researcher understood the role of struggle songs in activism, due to their involvement in student activism. However, the psychological healing and unifying aspects were unknown, as they have not been studied before. Therefore, this was the basis of conducting the study, which may have informed the objectives and research questions.

Significantly, a research study's quality is vital in ensuring that the study is respectable, scientific and contributes to the body of knowledge. In the process of collecting the findings, it is essential to adhere to sound ethical standards. Therefore, the following section discusses ethical considerations and how they were applied in the study.

3.9. Ethical considerations

Emanuel, Wendler and Grady (2000) state that scientific research involving human subjects has seven ethical requirements. Their seven-point guide to ethical research came as a result of a long history of unethical research practice. Their focus was on medical or biomedical

research; however, this study's researcher found their guidelines to apply to the current research. Due to this understanding, the study followed their guide. The seven-point guide and their interaction with the present study will be discussed below.

The first requirement is social value. This requirement refers to the importance of studies having social value. In other words, a researcher must demonstrate that there is social value in pursuing particular research. The social value of this study was two-fold: (1) To contribute the currently minimal study area that investigates the contribution of struggle songs in the South African liberation struggle, more especially in the psychology field and (2) to present historical and psychological account of the role of struggle songs in the lives of former members of MK. The first social value was informed by the minimal knowledge about the role of struggle songs in the struggle against apartheid.

The second ethical requirement is that the study must be scientific. This ethical requirement refers to the scientific requirements of research conduct. In this study, the researcher employed reputable scientific research methods for qualitative studies. A qualitative research methodology (Silverman, 2010; Willig, 2013) was chosen in this study. Purposive and snowball sampling (Robinson, 2014) methods were used in sampling and recruiting participants. Individual interviews (Robinson, 2014) were used to gather data, while all interviews were transcribed using the Jefferson (2004) transcription notation and analysed using thematic data analysis methods (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

The third ethical requirement is fair to subject selection. This requirement refers to the selection of study participants. It entails that the study participants must not be chosen based on vulnerability, privilege or any other factor that is not related to the research. In this study, the participants were recruited purely on the criteria of being former MK members and currently residing in Pietermaritzburg.

The fourth ethical requirement is the balance of the risk-benefit ratio. This requirement refers to the favourability of the risk-benefit ratio to ensure that the risks do not surpass the benefits of participating in the study, which means that the study cannot cause more risks than benefits. The study must seek to limit the risks by all possible means, and the researcher of the current study sought to do so by ensuring that the benefits are maximised as much as possible. This was done by ensuring that the participants were not exposed to any harm or risks and that if such happened, they were given psychological assistance through the Child and Family Centre at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg campus (see appendix 2).

The fifth ethical requirement is that the research must be subjected to a vigorous approval and examination by an external body. This requirement refers to the process of ensuring that the study undergoes intense scrutiny and interrogation prior to the commencement of data collection. This seeks to ensure that the study meets all the academic and scientific standards of the research protocol. In the case of the current study, this was done by subjecting the study proposal to vigorous scrutiny by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The committee granted approval of the study after it had been graded to meet ethical standards and scientific methods of research (see appendix 4).

The sixth ethical requirement is that the study participants must give informed consent to participate in the study. This requirement refers to the procedure of seeking informed consent from study participants prior to their participation. Informed consent entails that the study participants have been informed about all procedures of the study, including possible risks and consequences and their rights to withdraw from the study at any point. This was done through vigorous and honest conversations with the study participants and giving them opportunities to ask questions or raise their concerns about the study. In addition, the study participants were given an information sheet with all the study information prior to them giving their consent and signing the study informed consent form (see appendix 1).

The seventh ethical requirement is the protection of study participants. This ethical requirement refers to ensuring that the participants' identity is protected and that they are treated with utmost dignity and respect. In this study, the identity of the study participants was protected through pseudonyms and the protection of study material by placing it a safe and secure environment that is only accessible to the researcher. The digital content of the study was protected through password security.

3.10. Data analysis

In analysing data, this study used the thematic data analysis method. Braun and Clarke (2006) state that thematic analysis requires that the researcher searches for meaning, difference, similarities and sequences in the collected data. Within the thematic data analysis, the researcher employed the theoretical thematic analysis, which is researcher' driven, informed by existing literature, and is focused on the relationship between the collected data and the research objectives and questions. The latent thematic data analysis was used in conjunction with the constructivist research paradigm and the Afrocentric theoretical framework to extrapolate and interpret the collected data (Burr, 2003; Asante, 1991; Nwoye, 2015).

According to Braun and Clark (2006), the thematic analysis is done in six steps or phases.

This first phase in the thematic analysis is familiarizing oneself with the data. This phase refers to the critical and constant engagement with the collected data. The stage includes immense and repeated reading of the study data. Therefore, the stage requires that the researcher actively engages with the collected data to understand what the data contains. In this study, this was done in a way that the researcher read and re-read the collected data (transcripts) to ensure that no deeper understandings were missed. This stage included an active reading of the collected data and seeking clarity from participants where the researcher was not certain about the meaning of the content or phrases used.

The second stage is the coding of the data into different segments that make meaning to the researcher. This process refers to breaking down the information into small portions, based on the first stage's elicited information. Braun and Clarke (2006) state that this stage marks the beginning of data analysis because some themes emerge here. In this study, the data was into small portions which were then categorised according to the information that was gathered from the participants. In this stage, some similarities and differences were noted, and they informed the following stage.

After that, the researcher used the differences and similarities, referred to in the previous stage, to establish different themes within the collected data. In this study, the researcher searched for various themes that emanated from the data collected. These themes were informed by the participants' responses to the research questions. As a result, the research questions had different themes.

The fourth stage entails reviewing the themes found in stage three to ensure that the themes do exist and that they are grouped accordingly. In this study, the researcher re-checked the themes to check for repetition and omissions.

The fifth stage is the name and distinction of the themes. The themes were given names that separated them from the rest. This was to ensure that each theme is distinct from the other.

The sixth and last stage of thematic analysis is reporting on the data in a logical, coherent and understandable manner. The data that has been analysed sought to provide a concrete and sound understanding for any person who may engage in the study results. In this study, this was done by ensuring that the five processes were revisited and that the study findings were reported in a clear and logical manner that makes it easy for the reader to understand what was reported by the study participants.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the methodology and research design that was used in this study and provided an elaboration of their significance and utility in the current study. The sampling method, sampling procedure and data collection processes have been discussed. In this discussion, the challenges in recruiting the study participants were elucidated. Furthermore, the quality criterion of the study was discussed. This included the discussion of the credibility, consistency, transferability and reflexivity of the study. The ethical considerations and requirements, as spelled out by Emanuel, Wendler, and Grad (2000), were discussed in relation to the study. Lastly, the thematic data analysis procedure, as indicated by Braun and Clarke (2006), was discussed.

Having discussed the research design and methodology of the study, the following chapter will discuss the study findings.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Introduction

In this chapter, the results of the study will be presented. As stated above, the interpretation and exploration of the study results was premised on latent thematic analysis. Thematic trees have been presented in accordance with the study research questions. Table 1 below is a summary of the themes.

Table 1: Summary of themes that emerged from the study

Research question	Theme(s)
1. How were struggle songs composed by the members of MK?	• The dynamic history and composition of struggle songs. • The religious and cultural source of struggle songs. • Struggle songs as a reflection of the combatants' living conditions. • Struggle songs as a means of entertainment.
2. What role did struggle songs play in the lives of former MK members during the struggle years?	• Struggle songs were a source of motivation, hope and determination. • Struggle songs as a source of healing and moral support. • Struggle songs as source of pain and resentment. • Struggle songs as a source of discipline and commitment. • The unifying and communicative role of struggle songs.
3. According to former members of MK, which aspects of the struggle songs were unifying and healing?	• The imaginative and reminiscent lyrical power of struggle songs. • The multilingual and spiritual aspects of struggle songs united and healed the MK combatants. • The cathartic power of struggle songs
4. Do struggle songs have the same effect on former members of MK today as they did when they sang them?	• Struggle songs as a reminder of an incomplete revolution. • Struggle songs have been distorted to suit the current political landscape.

1. **How were struggle songs composed by the members of MK?**

The study participants stated that there is no single source of struggle songs and that their composition and development was multifaceted. They reported that the struggle songs were transferred from one generation to another, and some originated in the periods and events that preceded the formation of MK. They further illustrated that some of the songs were political from inception, particularly the ones that may be traced to the Frontier war battles against land dispositions and colonialism. Some emanated from protests in schools and surrounding townships. Others were religious songs from churches, while some were cultural and originated from various cultural events and activities.

Theme 1: The dynamic history and composition of struggle songs

This theme refers to the composition and origin of struggle songs in South Africa, as reported by the study participants.

The extracts below, from the study participants, illustrate the above points.

In demonstrating the intergenerational aspect of struggle songs, participant 2 stated the following:

"…*that song came with new recruits that were coming from inside the country. They were communicating to OR Tambo that our people are dying in South Africa (*Participant 2).

This extract demonstrates that struggle songs were shared from one generation to another, and from one context to the other. The new recruits participant 2 refers to were usually young men and women who fled the country to join MK in the exile camps. These groups of new recruits were known as detachments in the MK camps.

Participant 5 shared the following in illustrating the intergenerational lineage of struggle songs:

> *"There are many songs; some are also influenced by the detachments or ages in MK. There were different ages or detachments in MK. There was the Luthuli detachment…1976 detachment and the Youth Lions"* (Participant 5).

The 1976 detachment was comprised of young people who fled South Africa during and after the 1976 Soweto Uprising. The Young Lions were composed of UDF membership and the young people who left South Africa during the 1980s, particularly the period of the state of emergency declared by apartheid president PW Botha in 1985. Many of those young people joined MK in exile.

Participant 3 stated the following in reiterating the point raised by participant 5:

> "*Before I joined the MK, we used to sing the struggle songs while I was still a student before going to join the MK. I was used to hear struggle songs from growing up in the location and we used to sing them in our strikes at schools*" (Participant 3).

In agreement with participant 3, participant 4 stated the following:

> "*Ehh… ehh, I will start by telling you that most struggle songs came from schools and churches, mostly churches because that's where most secret meetings were held*

and they provided a good disguise as choir practices while intense political discussions were taking place. That is why most struggle songs have a religious element in them" (Participant 4).

Deducing what has been reported by the study participants, it is evident that schools, churches and communities played an essential role in the composition of struggle songs. This demonstrates that struggle songs were communal property shared by all who were engaged in the struggle against South Africa in various contexts.

Theme 2: The religious and cultural source of struggle songs

This theme refers to the religious and cultural lineage of struggle songs. It illustrates the cultural and spiritual origins of some struggle songs sung by MK combatants.

Participant 5 outlined that struggle songs had a cultural element. He stated that:

"*We had one that was composed by the Sesotho speaker, we also had gumboot dance that included everyone, we then had the freedom wagon which also performed traditional Zulu dance; all cultures were represented. We were also united by this music across a cultural difference"* (Participant 5).

The cultural and linguistic variety of struggle songs was not only limited to South African cultures and languages but included those of other countries. Participants 1 and 3 illustrated this by stating the following:

"*Years go by while there in the camps…you would hear one man there in the base, far…far in the depth of the jungle...and he cry singing: 'awe Ma wangiyala wangizala eAfrika. Ukube ngise Europe ngabe siyapupuruka. Ngabe siyapupuruka'. Ukupupuruka means eating well. Our language was influenced by the surrounding language, especially the guerrillas that were led by Joshua Nkomo, those of SWAPO and the Katangizi, those of Kabila*" (Participant 1).

(Awe Ma, you did an injustice on me by birthing me in Africa. If I were in Europe, we would be eating well. We would be eating well.)

"…we already grouped with SWAPO and we took a song that they sang, did some changes in it and translated it to isiZulu" (Participant 3).

The above extracts from participants 1, 3 and 5 demonstrate the significance of language and culture in the composition of struggle songs. This element of struggle songs was important because it demonstrated how versatile and rich struggle songs were.

Theme 3: Struggle songs as a reflection of the combatants' living conditions

This theme refers to what inspired the composition of struggle songs in the camps of MK.

The study participants reported that struggle songs were highly informed by their experiences and living conditions, both inside and outside the country, before joining MK. Things that happened in their lives inspired the composition of some of the songs. Through struggle songs, they were able to characterise and define their living conditions in times where the normative

elaborations used in words were difficult to surmount. The study participants illustrated that their experiences included the pervasive hostile political and social environment in South Africa, the kind of life they lived while in the countries that accommodated them at different times, and the battles MK fought against the apartheid military force.

The following extracts from the interviews demonstrate what has been said above:

Participant 4 had the following to say about struggle songs were composed.

"*So… songs were based on the situation of that time… that is why most of them have either people or places in their lyrics because they spoke about an event or a person or people that were involved in that situation or operation*" (Participant 4).

This extract from participant 4 indicates that the combatants' experiences informed struggle songs. This shows that struggle songs have deep meaning as they narrate some of the events that occurred at the time, some of which may not have been recorded by historians nor studied adequately.

Also, participant 2 stated that:

"*Ehhh… one thing you must know about struggle songs is that they are based on what you are going through at that time and also based on your surroundings*" (Participant 2).

In demonstrating the origin and spontaneity of struggle songs and in agreement with the views of participant 4 regarding the composition of struggle songs, participant 1 shared the following:

"*The ones that we composed ourselves were so strong and spoke to our conditions, you would feel as if your hair is moving and your head is shaking. Coming to think of them now, you would feel your blood boiling as if the sun is extra hot while it's also hot… in Angola, the sun is extra hot and it gets worse that when you listen to these songs*" (Participant 1).

The above comment by participant 1 suggests that struggle songs were highly emotive, in the sense that they evoke certain emotions and sensations from the MK combatants.

Theme 4: Some struggle songs as a means of entertainment

This theme refers to the organised composition of struggle songs.

Participant 4 reported that some of the songs were composed during the Jazz Hour. He elaborated by stating that:

"*There was also an entertainment side to them, where every Friday we had what was called the Jazz Hour. We would have an hour every Friday listening to music, every type of music, but mostly jazz. There would be people who had talents who would perform during the Jazz Hour. So, some songs came during the Jazz Hour. Groups like Amandla Group, which I was a part of, used to provide entertainment during the Jazz Hour…" (*Participant 4).

In agreement with participant 4, participant 1 also emphasised the role of the Amandla group in the composition of struggle songs, and stated the following:

"*There was a group called Amandla Group. They were responsible for composing MK songs. It's a group of MK guerrillas. They used to travel with OR [Tambo] when he was doing international political work"* (Participant 1).

In illustrating the entertainment aspect of struggle songs, participant 3 shared the following:

"*You must understand that the struggle songs were also a form of entertainment because we did not have a TV or radio. So, we came up with songs to pass the time; some came up with poems. One thing was common with the songs and the poems, they all spoke about the difficulties of our people*" (Participant 3).

The above extracts from participants 1, 3 and 4 suggest that struggle songs were a means of entertainment in times of difficulty. They also indicate the fun element in struggle songs.

In response to the first research question, the above themes illustrate the participants' understanding of struggle songs' composition as both spontaneous and organised. The participants demonstrated that their living conditions informed struggle songs. The languages and cultures they interacted with and were transgenerational. It is also evident that MK's recruits played a significant role in the composition of struggle songs. In the following section, the role of struggle songs in former MK combatants' lives will be discussed.

2. **What role did struggle songs play in the lives of former MK combatants?**

The study participants reported that struggle songs played various roles in their lives, both individually and collectively. Participants argued that some of the songs were a source of motivation and determination. Others were a source of unity and comfort, while some instilled commitment and discipline. The themes and illustrations below demonstrate this.

Theme 1: Struggle songs were a source of motivation, hope and determination

This theme refers to the motivational, hope and determination role of struggle songs in MK combatants' lives.

The following extracts illustrate this:

"*You see these songs… well, if I were to be honest with you, these songs were highly motivational. For example, if I remember correctly, our march and drill song was as follows:*

We shall not be moved… we shall not be moved… just like a tree standing in the water…

We shall not be moved….

Cubans are behind us… we shall not be moved.

Zambians are behind us… we shall not be moved.

Russians are behind us… we shall not be moved.

Just like a tree standing in the water… we shall not be moved" (Participant 3).

In his illustration of the song, he stated that, in his view, the song was telling them to stand firm in the face of adversity and that the song propelled them to continue with the struggle, knowing

they have support from other countries who are fighting a similar struggle, and who have pledged solidarity and support to the ANC and MK.

Participant 4 further stated:

"Music was giving us moral support and hope that one day we will return to South Africa and that we will take the land back. The songs told us that there was more support and that we will overcome all the difficulties we were faced with at that time" (Participant 4).

The above extracts from participants 3 and 4 demonstrate the solidarity elements of struggle songs. Through the singing of struggle songs, the MK combatants felt connected to other liberation movements and supporters of the anti-apartheid struggle. As a result, they were motivated to continue with the struggle.

In addition, struggle songs kept the combatants motivated, determined and hopeful that their sacrifices were not in vain and that one-day, South Africa will be free. This element of struggle songs was indicated by participant 1's response to this question. He stated:

"*It was a part of our life. Even when we were from ambush, these songs kept us going"* (Participant 1).

Participant 5 stated the following in relation to the role of struggle songs:

> "*The role that the struggle songs had… well, in actual fact, some of the songs gave us direction in the manner in which they were sung*" (Participant 5).

The above views shared by the study participants indicate the motivational, determination and hope-inspiring role of struggle songs. It has been elaborated that struggle songs, and the way they were sung, played a pivotal role in the lives of MK combatants. The following section demonstrates two more important roles of struggle songs – healing and moral support.

Theme 3: Struggle songs as a source of healing and moral support

This theme refers to the role of struggle songs as a source of healing and moral support amongst the combatants. It demonstrates that while struggle songs were a source of positive feelings and attitudes, such as motivation, determination, unity and connectedness – as illustrated above – they were also a source of healing and moral support in times of emotional distress and frustration.

Participant 1 reported on an experience he had during a deployment where struggle songs were useful in confronting timidity that engulfed them.

"*I remember in one of the operations whereby I was very lucky to be amongst the few that were sent inside the country for a military operation, where I knew very well that when I crossed inside the country I was no longer inside the camp with all the systems and support… where I knew that I have now entered the territory of the enemy with all the facilities and defence force. I heard one of the commanders we were deployed with who wanted to be held by Oliver Tambo's hand. He busted in song, singing:*

'Bamb'isandla sami we Tambo ukuze ngingayiki mina…bamb'isandla sami we Tambo…bamb'isandla sami we Tambo…Usibamb'ungasiyekeli" (Participant 1).

(Oliver Tambo, hold my hand so that I am not scared… Hold my hand, Tambo… hold my hand, Tambo… Hold my hand and do not let go).

Participant 2, concerning the anxiety and fear provoked by being in the MK and the role that was played by struggle songs in mediating these feelings, stated the following:

"*Struggle songs assisted me let go all fear and anxiety I was feeling at that time. MK as an organisation was highly linked to music… Through music, we would cry, mourn and celebrate*" (Participant 2).

The above extracts from participants 1 and 2 indicate that struggle songs were a great source of healing in difficult times. It becomes clear that through the singing of struggle songs, the MK combatants found some healing and comfort in dealing with emotional and psychological distress and turmoil.

In illustrating the moral support that was encouraged by struggle songs, participant 3 reported the following:

"*So as the song was sung… you were able to identify with it and see that here are other people who are in support of what you fighting for… their support and everything. So, these songs spoke to me personally… individually and in different ways"* (Participant 3).

Participants 4 and 5 referred to a particular song – "donsa mshayina" (pull machine) – that was associated with deployments and narrated that it gave them moral support because whenever it was sung, they knew they were to be deployed and had to take a mission to fight for their country.

"*That particular song was sung when it was time for the roll of names to be called out and we did not know who was going to be called…"* (Participant 4).

"*There was a particular song we used to sing when we were called for deployments. The song called donsa mshayina. We only left the MK camps through that song"* (Participant 5).

While being a source of healing and moral support, struggle songs were also a source of pain and resentment for the combatants, mostly in times when they missed home and their loved ones in South Africa. The following theme outlines this.

Theme 4: Struggle songs as a source of pain and resentment

This theme refers to the role of struggle songs as a source of pain and resentment. The study participants explained that struggle songs were also a source of pain in difficult times. The following extracts elaborate on this:

Participant 1, in narrating how he sometimes felt in the camps when he missed home and when some of the songs were sung, stated the following:

"I am not inside… I am not inside… You go until you even forget the direction of the passage to your bedroom… sometimes you that far till you remember nothing about home" (Participant 1).

Furthermore, participant 3, in reference to a song that made him miss home and his mother, stated:

"*In some cases, you would find that you are missing home. Well, for me, my father passed on in 1981 and we were left with our mother. There was a song which said:*

Zithulele mama… zithulele mama wami.

Noma sengifile mina… noma sengifile mina.

Ngifele lona. Ngifele lona… ngifele lona izwe lakithi… izwe le South Africa.

Sabashiya abazali ekhaya… savuma… sangena kwamanye amazwe.

Salani… salani ekhaya… sesingena kwamanye amazwe solwe la inkuleko.

Tambo… songena… songena Tambo… songena kwamanye amazwe lapho kungazi khona umama nobaba solwela inkululeko" (Participant 3).

(Don't cry mama…don't cry my mama.

Even when I'm dead… even when I'm dead.

Died for it… died for it… died for our land… our land South Africa.

We left our parents in our homes… we agreed… we entered foreign lands.

Goodbye… goodbye my family… we have entered the foreign lands to fight for our freedom).

Participant 4, in reference to a song sung during deployment roll call, stated the following:

"The song is 'awudonse mshayina' (pull machine). When that song is sung, you automatically know that there is leadership and there are trucks that have come to deliver food and other essential and you definitely know someone is going to leave the camp… this was our only way to leave the camps. I will tell you the truth, living in the camp was a painful event… you would find people who have been there for a long time" (Participant 4).

Participant 5 added:

"*Some of the songs gives pain when we sing them. Some remind us of the things we have been through, and others were about those who have sold us out*" (Participant 5).

The above extracts indicate that struggle songs were also a source of pain in the lives of MK combatants, mostly in times when they were under emotional distress, missing home or confronted with the frustrations of their living conditions. Struggle songs also narrated the combatants' experiences and served as a reminder of those experiences, some of which were not pleasant.

While struggle songs were a source of pain and resentment, they were also a source of discipline and commitment to the struggle for the liberation of black people in South Africa. The following theme elucidates this.

Theme 5: Struggle songs as a source of discipline and commitment

This theme refers to the role of struggle songs as a source of discipline. The combatants referred to struggle songs as a source of discipline which inspired their commitment to the struggle for a liberated and democratic South Africa. The following extracts elaborate on this.

Participant 1 stated:

"They taught me discipline. When I talk about discipline, I mean it as scientific phenomenon. I am talking about iron discipline of the ANC or specifically of MK or for anyone who is supposed to be a president or leader of our society. Two, they taught commitment to the National Democratic Revolution and eh, working-class struggle. It was a part of our life" (Participant 1).

Participant 1 demonstrates that struggle songs had a peculiar way of instilling discipline. He also elaborates on the kind of discipline the songs inspired. This indicates that the understanding of struggle songs and what they meant is a lot more intricate and sentimental to the MK combatants.

Participant 2, in reference to one of the struggle songs used for march and drill, stated the following about commitment:

"*Any time when I see a parade I freeze automatically and then it just reminds me of those moments. Well, there are many songs… but this one touched me… you know. And it reminds me of our commitment as MK soldiers"* (Participant 2).

In addition, participant 3 shared the following in relation to one struggle song that was dedicated to one of the MK commanders who died in battle:

"*You see this song I just sang of Barney Molokwane saying 'qhawe lamaqhawe'* (hero amongst heroes), *there is no soldier of MK who did not want to be a hero. But a hero during our time was not someone who was still alive, and the actions you did leading to your death determined whether you are a hero. So, we were taught to be heroes that should you die, there have been something you have done towards the struggle. People like Barney Molokwane and others inspired us to fight more and to never turn back*" (Participant 3).

Participant 3 indicates that the lyrics in struggle songs inspired them to be more disciplined and motivated as members of MK as they too might have their names in songs that may be sung by others, should they die in combat.

Moreover, participant 4 commented on the dynamism of struggle songs, stating the following:

"*Some were for anarchy. Some were for formal events and others for unity like the National Anthem. Some we for commitment. We knew the relevance of songs and when we sang them" (*Participant 4).

Participant 5 added:

"*Some reminded us of the things we have been through and others were about those who have sold us out. I remember there was a song about Hlongwane who was a former MK soldier and sold out to the Boers. So, when we sang this song, everyone knew that if they too were to sell out, they would be like Hlongwane*" (Participant 5).

The above extracts from the study participants are indicative of the dynamic role of struggle songs in the lives of MK combatants, both individually and collectively. They also demonstrate the moral support and commitment communicated through the singing of struggle songs. In the following theme, the unifying role of struggle songs will be explored.

Theme 6: The unifying and communicative role of struggle songs

This theme refers to the unifying role of struggle songs. In this theme, it will be demonstrated that struggle songs were a source of unity for combatants. The lyrics and the dance, jumbo or *toyi-toyi* that were integral parts of struggle songs have been reported to have a unifying impact, not only for the MK combatants as a group but with other organisations as well. Participant 1 explains the unifying aspect of struggle songs by stating the following:

"*That is why when someone just start a song because of something that has happened, we just join all of us. We join as if we did plan it a year before or weeks before... we were in the same rhythm… we were in the same rhythm. You see when I say:*

'Walk, killer man.'

Calling a slogan. That slogan means something to everyone. It runs in the veins of everyone. No matter who calls and from wherever they are, anyone would respond even if they were in the camp near Imbali. They would just say:

'walk, killer man…

Woooh nyamazane… awuzwe'

(Woooh buck… feel it)

Believe me, the step is always one. It was… it was unity. Music to us was unity. It unified us" (Participant 1).

In addition, participant 2 stated the following:

"*To tell you something, most of MK songs were there to unite us. They played the role of keeping us together in both flesh and spirit*" (Participant 2).

The above extracts from participants 1 and 2 suggest that struggle songs were instrumental in uniting the MK combatants. Furthermore, participant 3, in illustrating the unifying aspect of struggle songs that brought them together as different cultures and nations, stated the following:

"*In the lyrics of the songs… because you find that some were in IsiZulu, others in Sesotho and all the other languages. So, the songs brought us all together. We were a united nation.*

For example, Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika united us as comrades. It united all nations. This was in line with what was said by Dr Pixley ka Seme in 1912 when he said:

'The demons of tribalism must be buried and forgotten. We are but one people.'

So Nkosi Sikelela did that to us. The original version of the song. Eh eh eh… there were also other songs from other languages that united us as combatants. There were also groups that we joined. So, in song, we identified with one another and we were acceptive of one another and other tribes or races or nations" (Participant 3).

Participant 4 further added:

"*Well... at some point, we stayed with the guerrillas of the liberation movement of Namibia – SWAPO. There was a song in Chinewa that was very instrumental in uniting us as comrades from different countries. We ended up knowing different languages… well, now this reminds me of another song that they sang…it's a liberation song. It said:*

'Muyongo mnyanda wamtiringa… wajoyi pambo wa joy toing.'

*These songs united us a lot with other comrades and they were depicting the situation" (*Participant 4).

Lastly, participant 5 elaborates on the unifying and communicative role of struggle songs by stating the following:

"*I remember there was a song that we used to sing about the Cubans and Russians… the Angolans… in fact, all the countries we had been to. There was a song that we also use to sing as a message to Oliver Tambo too, asking him to thank those nations for us. For their support and solidarity"* (Participant 5).

The above extracts have demonstrated the unifying and communicative roles of struggle songs in the lives of MK combatants. The following section outlines the various themes that emanated from the third research question.

3. **According to former members of MK, which aspects of the struggle songs were unifying and healing?**

In response to the third research question, the study participants reported on the different aspects of struggle songs that were understood to be unifying and healing. As will be demonstrated below, some participants stated that the imaginative and reminiscent lyrical power of struggle songs were responsible for such effects, while others reported on the linguistic aspect as having those effects. The following themes were extracted from those reports.

Theme 1: The imaginative and reminiscent lyrical power of struggle songs

This theme refers to the imaginative and reminiscent lyrical power of struggle songs. It illustrates how struggle songs inspired imagination and reminiscing amongst the members of MK, and how that healed and united them.

Participant 1, in reference to one of the struggle songs, stated the following:

"*...As I was saying, when it says:*

Selizawubuya…

(it [land] is coming back)

That gave me hope. That made me believe that it's coming back… in fact, there was no stage where I ever doubted that what I went to exile for will materialise. At no stage I ever doubted it… can say it's just because of this music that became a part of my life" (Participant 1).

In the above extract, participant 1 demonstrates that struggle songs encouraged imagination of freedom and land expropriation being a reality, and that inspired hope in him. It was through that hope that he found healing in trying times.

Participant 2 demonstrates the power of the lyrics of struggle songs by narrating an emotional story about how his family was disposed of their ancestral land in one of the farms near Pietermaritzburg by the apartheid government. This land disposition was part of the first phases of the Group Areas Act that was officially passed in parliament in 1950. He states that his paternal grandfather owned a portion of land near Howick and his father and his siblings grew up there. However, in the late 1940s, they were forcefully moved to a township in Pietermaritzburg because the apartheid government had given their farm to a white farmer. In narrating this story and demonstrating the importance of the lyrics of struggle songs, he sang:

"*Sizabaleze ilizwe lokhokho bethu… sizabalazela ilizwa lobaba bethu… sizabalazela ilizwe Labantu abamnyama… Tambo… awu… Tambo… sizabalezela ilizwa Labantu abamnyama…"* (Participant 2).

(We are fighting for our forefather's land… we are fighting for our forefather's land… we are fighting for black people's land… Tambo… Tambo… we are fighting for black people's land).

He further stated the following:

"*When we sang this song, I could imagine my family being moved from their land and I made a promise to myself that our struggle should return back the land to our people. So yes, the song was healing me and uniting me with my comrades. Many of us had come from such backgrounds"* (Participant 2).

Participant 2, in the above extracts, highlights the imaginative aspects of struggle songs and how it fostered unity through shared experiences.

Participant 3 further demonstrates the imaginative power of struggle songs by referring to a song they sang when one of the combatants died. He states the following:

"Ehhh, you see in healing… when you are down… they had a big role. For example, when an MK soldier has passed away and we would sing the song 'hamba kahle mkhonto' (go well, spear)… *ehhh, you felt it inside and you were sending off your comrade and associate it with the Zulu proverb which say 'uyajabula wena osulapho'* (you are fortunate because you are there). *You have travelled your path and contributed to our struggle"* (Participant 3).

Participant 3's report indicated that struggle songs inspire imagination that is necessary for hope and healing. This imagination and healing are further elucidated by the proverb he used.

In agreement, participant 4 stated that:

"*Well, you see… these songs are touching. Especially the one of Matola by Magubane because we had lost many comrades in that encounter and every time when I hear that song, it reflects that situation of the time and all of us wanted to pay our revenge on the Boers"* (Participant 4).

Participant 4 succinctly demonstrates how the imaginative and reminiscent power of struggle songs inspired healing and unity. Through the singing of struggle songs, the MK combatants reflected on their experiences.

In addition, participant 5 stated:

"…some were about the battles we have been through. Some were comforting to us as MK guerrillas and some reminded us of home and our loved ones" (Participant 5).

The extract from participant 5 indicates that struggle songs were healing and unifying because of how they captured each moment of the struggle through imagination. The reminiscent element of struggle songs is also demonstrated by how, as reported by participant 5, struggle songs reminded them of their homes and loved ones.

The following theme demonstrates the multilingual and spiritual elements of struggle songs and how they inspired healing and unity amongst members of MK.

Theme 2: The multilingual and spiritual aspects of struggle songs united and healed the MK combatants

This theme refers to the multilingual and religious aspects of struggle songs as unifying and healing the MK combatants.

Struggle songs also sought to break the segregation of black people that was enforced by apartheid through Bantustans and separated black people through their cultural heritage. Therefore, when the combatants of MK joined the organisation, they became one and sang in one voice as black people of South Africa who are oppressed as a result of their race, not a tribal line. For example, participant 3 states that:

"*…of course there was the uniting part of the songs we sang. In the lyrics of the songs… because you find that some were in IsiZulu, others in Sesotho and all the other languages. So, the songs brought us all together… we were a united nation. For example, Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika united us as comrades… it united all the nations."*

Participant 4 indicates the collective nature of struggle songs by referring to a Chinewa song they sang in collaboration with the combatants of the Namibian liberation army (SWAPO). He stated that the liberation songs, as they rchineeferred them in Namibia, united the MK combatants with other liberation movements. He reported that this was important for their survival and unity with others. He stated:

"*Well… at some point, we stayed with the guerrillas of the liberation movement of Namibia – SWAPO. There was a song Chinewa that was very instrumental in uniting us as comrades from different countries. We ended up knowing their liberation song.*"

In addition, participant 2 demonstrates the spiritual aspects struggle songs that were instrumental in unifying and healing them. They stated the following:

"*Some of these songs we knew them as church songs, we recomposed them to meet our spiritual needs at that time. Songs are very spiritual."*

Participant 3, in reference to a song he reported to have counselled him, shared the following:

"*…So, these songs counselled you on their own. They healed you… ehhhh, they spoke to you… they healed you for what you have done because some of us had not asked for permission from our parents to go to exile."*

The above extracts elaborate on the collective healing and unifying power of the lyrics of struggle songs. The multilingual and spiritual aspect of struggle songs were reported to be a source of unity and healing as well.

In the following section, the present-day effects and meaning of struggle songs amongst ex-MK combatants will be discussed.

4. **Does the singing of struggle songs today have the same effect on former members of MK?**

Theme 1: Struggle songs as a reminder of an incomplete revolution

This theme refers to the present-day effects and meaning of struggle songs according to the former MK combatants. The study participants elaborated on the effects of struggle songs on their lives currently.

Participant 1 stated that for him, struggle songs evoke ambivalent emotions. He expressed that they give him hope of an authentically free South Africa, but at the same time, they remind him that the current 'enemy' is invincible. He stated that:

"*…So... so... when I hear these songs, I feel that spirit… I feel that magnet… the way the enemies of the revolution have divided our movement, it becomes dangerous… I know that we are in very serious danger and the enemy is faceless… It is unlike before where saw the 'mellow-yellow' of the apartheid regime. The new enemy cannot unite us. So, when I hear these songs… I get motivated and know that we will prevail… we will overcome."*

In contrast, participant 2 added the following:

"These songs tell us how far we are from the time we had hoped we will be in by this time. We cannot be crying about inkululeko (freedom) 20 years after democracy, but it's the reality. Our people live in shambles and have nothing. These songs bring umunyu (resentment) to us. I say us because this is a view I hold together with many other comrades."

Meanwhile, participant 3 stated:

"*No, they [struggle songs] do not have the same effect any more… for me personally, I do not see them as having the same impact on the people because to many people, the struggle is over… we are in power… there is one man, one vote… We are led by people we know and all that. So, that element of the struggle is gone. We now have the element of fashion… everything is the fashion now… Remember, in the past you'd be arrested just for singing a struggle song. Now you can sing it even inside the court or in front of the police… there is nothing wrong with that. So, that element is no longer there in these songs."*

Participant 4 stated that some struggle songs have an impact on him, but mostly when they are in their original version.

"If they are still sung in the original version… without a remix… it has an effect. The relevance always remains there. You see… there are songs that will always have the same effect on me. Some of the songs have been changed from their original meanings to suit whatever now, and sometimes this takes away the relevance of that particular song."

In addition, participant 5 suggested that struggle songs still carry the same meaning as they did in the previous days. He argued that struggle songs carry retrogressive feelings.

"*They remind me of the times and the things we have been through. They remind me of our fallen comrades. They remind me of those who were victims of apartheid. They also remind me of those who died of illnesses that came from the countries we were in. They remind me of the fathers and brothers who left their families in the struggle for the liberation of this country. They remind me of those who were victims of the Matola raid. They remind me of the comrades who died in the transit camps. Struggle songs are a part of our history. If you were to take struggle songs and a freedom fighter, they will both tell you about the struggle we have been through. So, for me, these sings are about the journey we have travelled to get where we are today."*

Theme 2: Struggle songs have been distorted to suit the current political landscape

This theme refers to the participants' views in relation to the current effect of struggle songs, and some reported that struggle songs had been distorted to suit the current political landscape and used for internal party politics.

Participant 1 stated the following in relation to the use of struggle songs in their current form:

"The first example is the one that is sung by Zuma, which says:

'Namhla sibuyayo kothula kuthi du.'

[When we return there will be silence]

We never said that. We said:

'Kophalala igazi'

[Blood will be spilt]

We see red at the time. But I am sure that now he is trying to adjust with the situation… but please, he must not be apologetic. Our songs were talking to us… some are now about factions."

In addition, participant 2 stated the following:

"Your generation has not only twisted our songs, but you have twisted our entire struggle to be that of personal wealth and opulence."

Meanwhile, participant 3 shared the following:

"*…When you look at the songs that are composed now, they are for fighting one another... They are around individuals now in terms of your likes and dislikes… they are factional… they are now about idolising certain individuals and creating an impression to other people that… ehhh, the struggle is now about them, not the whole… ehehehehehe, society."*

The above extracts indicate that the present-day effects and meanings of struggle songs differ amongst the MK combatants. For some, the songs still evoke the same feelings, while they do the opposite for others and remind them of the failures of the current government. In addition, some participants have highlighted that struggle songs are used for factional purposes in contemporary South African politics and to fight the ANC's internal battles.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter presented the results of the study on the unifying and healing aspects of struggle songs that were sung by former members of MK. In doing so, the study grouped the results according to the five research questions, each with several themes. In the following chapter, the study results will be discussed in relation to the literature.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

Introduction

In this chapter, the findings of the study will be discussed in relation to the relevant literature. This discussion will be structured according to the research questions and contextualised within the Afrocentric theoretical framework and Africa(n)-centred psychology. The history and composition of struggle songs are discussed, and this is followed by an exploration of the role of struggle songs in the lives of former MK combatants. The unifying and healing aspects of struggle songs are demonstrated. Finally, the chapter concludes with a reflection on the meaning and impact of struggle songs today.

The composition of struggle songs

In response to this research question, the study participants illustrated that struggle songs have religious, cultural and political origins. Therefore, the following section discusses the findings and what exists in literature in relation to the history and composition of struggle songs.

Literature and the study findings have demonstrated that struggle songs' history and composition was a dynamic, evolutionary and multifaceted process. Some of the struggle songs are reported to have emerged from the frontier wars against colonialism, while others originated from religious hymns and some from cultural activities and ceremonies. Furthermore, an association between struggle songs and the political environment is evident. Struggle songs and the political climate are closely linked and inform one another; therefore, struggle songs are an essential aspect of South African politics and the struggle against apartheid. The study participants stated that struggle songs were embedded in the country's politics and were a vital mobilisation tool in the advancement of the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles. Some study participants reported that struggle songs were transferred from one generation to another and were influenced by MK detachments. Beyond the MK detachments and South Africas' politics, struggle songs were affected by the countries that hosted MK in exile. Therefore, the composition and evolution of struggle songs are proven not to have a singular source.

According to the literature, struggle songs have been an important part of liberation struggles waged by black people in South Africa, from the anti-colonial struggle to the anti-apartheid struggle (Gray, 2004; Groenewald, 2005; Ramoupi, 2013). Gray (2004) traces the history of struggle songs from a genre referred to as *iMusic*, which was mostly influenced by the Christian religion, to *iRagtime*, which was influenced by the Afro-American ideology, and *isiZulu*, which was popularized by the dominance of the Zulu culture in Natal. The three genres contributed to the dynamic history and composition of struggle songs.

Mini is reported to be a great historical figure in relation to the introduction of struggle songs in the liberation movement as he composed many struggle songs (Hirsch 2002; Schumann, 2008; Ramoupi, 2013). Ramoupi (2013) narrates the story of Mini's solitary detention and persecution, which ultimately led to him being hanged by the apartheid police force. He states that when Mini was taken to solitary confinement, he walked down the corridors singing as an

act of defiance. As a result, he is known as the father of protest songs (Hirsch, 2002; Vershbow, 2010). Gilbert (2007) further demonstrated that the composition of struggle songs was not linear, but dynamic and evolutionary, across various liberation struggle stages. Additionally, Groenewald (2005) states that struggle songs were able to capture the state of the struggle as the songs were informed by that time's conditions and were modified to suit that situation, from 'Mayibuye' [Africa must return] and 'Senzeni na?' [What have we done?] to 'Izakunyathel' I-Afrika' [Africa will step down on you].

In discussing the composition of struggle music, Kivnick (1990) focuses on how struggle songs were composed in prisons by political prisoners of the time, mostly in the John Vorster and Sun City prisons. He stated that struggle songs were composed anywhere and at any time to communicate deep internal feelings and disdain towards the apartheid government and its' policies. Moreover, the same songs shaped society and influenced popular uprisings (Kivnick, 1990). Schumann (2008) argues that struggle songs were a product of the peoples' liberation struggle. To elaborate, he used a German idiom which states that "*art is not a mirror held up to reality, but a hammer with which to shape it*" (Schumann, 2008, p.18). In using this idiom, Schumann (2008) focused on how struggle songs became a mirror through which one can view society and a force that shapes society. It became evident that struggle songs transitioned with the political atmosphere, from being a mirror in the 1940s and 1950s to being a hammer in the 1980s and early 1990s, which ultimately led to the demise of the apartheid government. Meaning that during the period preceding the popular uprising such as the defiance campaign in 1952, the anti-pass march in 1956 and the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, music was used as a means of silent protest that reflected the non-violent protest nature employed at that time (Rotberg, 1971; Murray, 1987; Kurt, 2010). Malisa and Malange (as cited in Friedman, 2013) reported that struggle carries an ideological meaning and ought to be understood within the context and evolution of the liberation struggle's ideological development. From Pan-Africanism (Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika), to the armed struggle (dubul' ibhunu) to anti-racism and Black Consciousness (Senzeni na?) and to women's' marches (Wathin' abafaz' wathin' imbokodo). Further, Groenewald (2005) elaborates that struggle songs served to raise the popular voice and give direction to the struggle. Struggle songs were the essence of the struggle against apartheid and were very instrumental in the lives of MK's former combatants.

In contrast, Jolaosho (2019) reports that the changing nature of struggle songs was due to the deviation between the religion-based protests and the more radical. He further reports that the escalation of State repression and imprisonment of key political leaders led to the change in protest songs; hence, most of the songs began to have individual name sin their lyrics. Jolaosho (2019)' argument is also found in Kuperu's (199) investigation of the Dutch reform church's role in the struggle apartheid. He reports that the church, though it played a significant role in the spiritual realm, it was a pacifier instead of an agitator, and this permeates in their music, of which some was a politically correct version of the popular struggle songs.

The study participants reported that struggle songs were also composed as a means of entertainment in the camps of MK. Some participants referred to individual and groups songs that were formed for entertainment. Some of the study participants reported on groups such as Amandla Ensemble, which was instrumental in the international anti-apartheid mobilisation.

The study participants also reported entertainment events such as the Jazz Hour, which they organised as entertainment in the MK camps.

What has been reported by the study participants corresponds with what exists in the literature. The entertainment aspect of struggle songs cut across different generations, from Marabi to Mbube and Mbaqanga to Kwela (Kivnick, 1990; Ansell, 2004; Mohr, 2011; Ballentine, 2012; and). One such individual who was instrumental in the composition of struggle songs was Mini, known for the song "*nansi indod' emyama Verwoed*" [here comes the black man Verwoed]. The songs became anti-apartheid mobilisation songs. Organised groups such as Mayibuye and Amandla Ensemble, which were comprised of ANC volunteers and MK combatants, have played an important role in the mobilisation and organisation against apartheid (Hirsch 2002; Schumann, 2008; Ballentine, 2012).

Further, Masekela (2014) discussed how they, as anti-apartheid artists, used music for mobilization and entertainment. He reported how musicians such as Jonas Gwangwa, Miriam Makeba Caiphus Semenya, Bheki Mseleku and others, though some were not official members of the ANC, were tasked by the liberation movement to organize fundraising concerts to raise funds in support of the anti-apartheid struggle. In agreement with Masekela, Miriam Makeba (as cited in Makeba and Hall, 2018) reported how they used revolutionary music to connect with the Black Panther movement and another liberation movement, including those not necessarily affiliated to the ANC, but aligned with the international anti-apartheid struggle. What Makeba points out here is that the use of struggle songs was limited to the ANC and uMkhonto we Sizwe. It is important to note that the ANC and MK was not the only organization against apartheid, but there existed the Pan-Afrikanist Congress (PAC), led by Robert Sobukwe – formed in 1949, and its armed wing, the Azanian Peoples' Army (APLA) – formed in 1961 – the same year as MK (Murray, 1987).

As evident in the study findings and literature, the study participants – in their struggle for a liberated South Africa – were agitating for a new imagination, where colonial power sought not to dominate the Black majority. From an Afrocentric and Africa(n)-centred psychology this in line with what Buhlan (1980) and Pillay (2017) refer to as a decolonized psychology where the field is at the forefront of social change. Further, Nwoye (2018) calls for the use of revolutionary songs in therapy as a means of healing. In line with the Afrocentric theoretical framework (Asante, 1991; Graham, 1999), struggle songs are interconnected with MK combatants' lives and the conditions they lived under.

The role of struggle songs in the lives of former MK combatants

Struggle songs were reported to have played an important role in the lives of former MK combatants. This role stretches from being a means of communication, motivation and discipline to being a source of positive and negative emotions.

It has been found that there are common understandings and agreements between literature and the experiences of the former MK combatants regarding struggle songs serving as motivation, healing and determination. Gunner (2015) argues that struggle songs were a tool for moral consciousness, mobilisation and deeper connection within the oppressed group in South Africa. Groenewald (2005) makes an example with the song '*Thina Sizwe esiNsundu, Sikhalela izwe*

lethu elathathwa abamhlophe' [we the black nation are crying for our land that was taken by white people], Chief Albert Luthuli sang that then-president of the ANC, in 1953 at an ANC conference in King Williams Town, South Africa.

To symbolise the emotional aspect evoked by struggle songs, Gunner (2015) states that struggle songs played an important role during the 70s and 80s, a period that is said to be known for popular mass uprisings including the 1976 Soweto Uprising, which was most aligned to the Black Consciousness Movement, as led by Biko. In every uprising, there was a clarion voice of struggle songs. Importantly, they argue that struggle songs made their way to church services, to cultural gatherings such as *izimbizo* (gatherings) and to funerals. Nwoye (2018) in their investigation of struggle songs in family therapy, highlights the role of struggle songs in the Black Conscious Movement and how they were used as a healing tool. He further urges for their use within and appreciation within family therapy as a healing method. Gilbert (2007) also discusses the emotional aspect of struggle songs and asserts that political songs played an important role in keeping the emotional side of MK combatants' lives intact. To illustrate this, they use the song '*Sobashiya abazali emakhaya'*, [we have left our parents at home], a song well known in MK camps that narrated their stories of departing their homes to fight for freedom and going to the lands that their parents have never been to.

Reminiscing about the same song, one participant stated that when the song was sung, there was a combination of resentment and spiritual upliftment in everyone present, and some would even burst into tears as they remembered their families. Another participant argued that the same song made them realise that indeed they were in foreign lands and restored their hope for freedom and liberation of the African people, not only in South Africa but across the continent.

Frantz Fanon, a postcolonial theorist, in their seminal and prophetic decolonial text entitle: *The Wretched of the Earth,* argues that music is part and parcel of the revolutionary process. He states that songs connect those who are in the revolution. "*To take part in the African revolution, it is not enough to write a revolutionary song; you must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves, and of them themselves*" (Fanon, 1963, p. 166). Meaning that revolutionary songs are an integral part of the decolonial struggle, which is in line with the Africa(n)-centred psychology understanding of the African people, the unifying and healing aspects of struggles. In agreement with Fanon, Amilcar Cabral (1970), a Pan-Africanist, decolonial intellectual, revolutionary and culturalist, states that national liberation cannot be divorced from the national culture. He states that culture, of which it has been established earlier that music forms part of a culture, is a resistance tool against oppression and subjugation. He argued that oppression could only be sustained and defeated by the indigenous peoples' culture. Hence, the colonial masters sought to infiltrate and distort the culture of the African people.

Ramoupi (2013) wrote about the spiritual aspects of struggle songs and how they served the purpose of encouraging the Robben Island prisoners during the 1960s to early 1990s. Romoupi (2013) argues that struggle songs shaped the lives of the political prisoners and informed their struggle. In addition, Jolaosho (2014) states that struggle songs were emotionally embedded in the African people's political and everyday lives during apartheid. He uses the *Mandela* song as an example. The song was popular during the Rivonia trials of the early 1960s when Nelson

Mandela, Andrew Mlangeni, Ahmed Kathrada, Denis Golberg, Harold Wolpe and other *Rivonia trialists* - as they were known - appeared in court and were ultimately sentenced to life imprisonment in Robben Island. The song was a cry and hope by the people that they will release those incarcerated early in the morning. One of the study participants mentioned the song, but in the context of the MK camps, and stated that it was their wake-up song in the mornings as they prepared for training and daily activities. He said that one would hear the song early in the morning, and while sometimes you would not see the person singing, you would naturally know that the day has begun.

Literature in correspondence with the collected data has demonstrated that struggle songs played an important role in former MK combatants' lives. Gilbert (2007) states that struggle songs played a role in the organisation and mobilisation, while at other times were a means of communication and collective soothing. Gray (2004) states that struggle songs were able to capture the state of the struggle as they (songs) were informed by that time's conditions and were modified to suit that situation. Ntuli in Hirsch (2002) argues that they could communicate with each other as activists and tell their story to the next person via struggle songs. Groenewald (2005) states that struggle songs played a role in preserving the struggle years' memory and its sharing from one generation to another. Groenewald (2005) further argues that the different generations of MK combatants told their stories using struggling songs. Those who had been in the camps for a long time told the new ones, usually also younger in age, about life in the camps, while the new ones told the older ones about life in South Africa and the struggle's progress. Gilbert (2007) confirms this by stating that a specific group of songs marked every epoch of the South African struggle.

Furthermore, the study's findings demonstrate that struggle songs were an essential part of the lives of former members of MK, as they shared different - but equally important - meanings they individually and collectively attached to the songs. One of the participants stated that struggle songs moulded them as MK members, and their identity was linked to the songs. He stated that each group or battalion had a song they identified with, and together as MK, they also had songs they identified with. Also, a standard view amongst the participants is that struggle songs lifted their morale and enhanced their spiritual connection beyond barriers that may have existed at the time. To this effect, one participant states that struggle songs went above tribal lines and created a spirit of unity amongst MK soldiers.

The participants of the study confirmed that struggle songs were spontaneous and were a means of communication. Furthermore, the study participants agreed that struggle songs were influenced by the time's political atmosphere and were aligned to it. Political developments had an impact on the songs that were sung at a time. Therefore, an understanding of the political atmosphere of the time may be facilitated by understanding the songs composed during that time. This is also evident in the lyrics of the songs.

Modise in Hirsch (2002) narrates how the National Anthem, in its former version, ‘Nkos’ Sikelel’iAfrica’ became a rallying cry for freedom amongst the combatants of MK. She states that though Sontonga originally composed it in 1897, the song came spontaneously to them as a reflection of their conditions at the time and their hopes and aspirations for the future. She further states that struggle songs were formed on the spot by anyone who felt like singing at

that moment, and that is what made them original. Allen (2004) states that deep meanings were communicated through protest music. Music was an essential communication tool that carried poignant messages of the South African oppressed people, and those messages could only be understood by those who were intended to. When communicating amongst themselves, the African people used phrases that were born in their society and languages understood by them.

Aspects of struggle songs that were unifying and healing.

The imaginative and reminiscent aspects of struggle songs have been reported to have played a significant role in unifying and healing the former combatants of MK. In addition, struggle songs have been reported to transcend beyond individual identity and fostered collective identity. According to the study participants, this was due to the lyrical and rhythmic properties of the songs.

According to the literature, struggle songs have a unifying and healing power. Roux-Kemp (2014) argues that struggle songs have always been an essential part of the revolution. According to Allen (2004), struggle songs can raise individual experiences to be shared by the collective to bring about connectedness in a space where the existing suffering and demobilisation deny such, and South Africa under apartheid was such a state, at least for the black majority. Furthermore, Roux-Kemp (2014) argues that struggle songs are a tool for mobilisation of collective action. They unite people in a particular direction.

Kivnick (1990) states that music played an important role in the UDF's organisation and its affiliates, especially during mass demonstrations and marches. Pollard (1999) provides the example of the South African National Anthem that works to unite all African people, regardless of their tribe or race. This is through the lyrics of the song that combine different languages, allowing almost all tribes of South Africa to be represented. Mohr (2011) confirms this perspective, adding that struggle songs united the African people in resistance against the oppressive system of apartheid.

On the healing aspect of struggle songs, Mbembe (as cited in Allen,2004) argues that protest music provides space for the individual to exist outside of the anguish and terror they may be going through and also to have personal space for pleasure and enjoyment, which gives struggle songs their power of healing. Furthermore, Ntuli in Hirsch (2002) states that struggle songs served the purpose of soothing the souls of Amaqabane (guerrillas/comrades) during trying times. Moreover, Kivnick (1990) argued that struggle songs allow the individual to transcend personal and internal agony resulting from the struggle. They further argue that: "*Singing allows a group to voice despair, and, at the same time, it begins to relieve that despair and replace it with the will to persevere and soldier on."* (Kivnick, 1990, p. 273).

The meaning and impact of struggle songs today

While the context, target, and audience of most struggle songs have changed in the South African political landscape, they have not lost their meaning amongst the former MK members. However, some of the study participants communicated some dissatisfaction regarding the use of struggle songs today. They reported that struggle songs have been distorted for political

ambitions and are used for sinister purposes instead of what they were intended for in the struggle against apartheid.

There seems to be a paucity of literature on the meaning of struggle songs today as they relate to former MK combatants. Therefore, this area of study is yet to be developed, and further research is warranted. According to Msila (2011), liberation songs have always been a part of resistance for black people in South Africa, from the frontier wars against colonialism and land dispossession to the struggle against apartheid in the 1940s until 1994 when democratic South Africa was formed. Gray (2004), in their article on an interdisciplinary approach towards the documentation, teaching and presentation of the South African struggle history, argues that struggle songs have always been a part of the South Africa political activism across all generations. For this reason, to fully understand the history of the South African struggle, one also needs to understand and appreciate the influence of the role of struggle songs in shaping that history. Thandi Modise in Hirsch (2002) states that as a former MK member, she still feels emotionally moved whenever struggle songs are sung. She further says that struggle songs share a deep meaning to the life and times of MK.

Literature also shows that the role of struggle songs has changed, especially between before and after the dawn of democracy (Gunner, 2015; Gray, 2004). However, they remain an integral part of South Africa political life. In discussing the famous and controversial song sung by Julius Malema, the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters, a South African political party mostly dominated by young people, in 2014, Gunner (2015) states that struggle songs still carry the same meaning they had before, although there has been a significant change in the political atmosphere. The song entitled '*dubul' ibhunu*' was popular during the liberation struggle against apartheid. Gunner (2015) further states that the song served an important purpose of mobilisation against the apartheid government, which premised on racial supremacy. Additionally, in their analysis of the Fees Must Fall movement of 2015/16 across South African universities, the Centre for the Study on Violence and Reconciliation states that protest music played an important role in students' mobilisation during protests. It is argued that struggle songs were instrumental in voicing the students' grievances and demands who were a part of the movement. They further reported that struggle songs connected the student movement with those from previous generations. Most of the songs sung contained lyrics about the fallen heroes and heroines, so it can be deduced that it is a generational struggle.

The study also found that struggle songs preserved their meaning amongst the former members of MK. Moreover, the study participants stated that when they hear struggle songs today, they get emotional and reminisce about their time in the MK camps. They argue that struggle songs connect them to the struggle, and through the songs, they can transfer generational struggle and memory to other generations. Through the struggle songs, one can understand the struggle in-depth.

Recent literature has demonstrated that whilst the ANC used struggle songs in the struggle against apartheid, they have since been used against the ANC as means of demonstrating dissatisfaction and the shattered dream of a *better live for all* (Jolaosho, 2019; Naicker, 2016). Jolaosho (2019) looks at the FeesMustFall movement and how it employed the music in communicating the struggle for free and decolonized education. He further states that some of

the songs were newer versions of the songs previously used by ANC. Naicker (2016) looks at the evolution of struggle songs in post-1994 South African, from the 2012 Marikana massacre - where the South African police brutally murdered 144 mine workers and the FeesMustFall movement - where a significant number of student activists were tortured and arrested by the ANC government.

Further, and more like the MK, Sutton (2019) investigates the use of music and violence in the FeesMustFall. He reported that the FeesMustFall generation used struggle songs to elucidate the new dispensation's suffocation and oppression, which has resulted in blatant corruption, mass murder (Marikana) and unemployment. Sutton (2019) states that the young militants of 2016 used music to communicate anti-establishment messages, and those protest songs were a unifying tool during mass gatherings and protests.

What becomes evident is that the use of protest music is essential in South African liberation struggles. This represents what Paulo Freire, the revolutionary Brazilian writer and educator, refers to as the "*oppressor amongst the oppressed*" (Freire, 1970, p. 48), or what Frantz Fanon refers to as "*comprador bourgeoisie*" (Fanon, 1961, p. 120).

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter discussed the study findings in relation to the available literature on the subject. This discussion was structured in accordance with the study research questions. As a result, the composition of struggle songs was discussed, which was followed by the role of struggle songs in MK combatants' lives. An exploration of the unifying and healing aspects of songs was conducted. Lastly, the meaning and impact of struggle songs on MK combatants were discussed. The study findings were also contrasted with the available literature. It became evident that there are similarities between what was reported by the study participants and what is documented in the literature and other available sources. Therefore, the former MK combatants' views, who were interviewed in this study, corresponded with what is available in the literature and other sources. However, a paucity of resources about the meaning and impact of struggle songs today, mainly related to former MK combatants, was noted. Therefore, there a growing need for further research in this area of study.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This chapter outlines the conclusions, recommendations and limitations of the study. The chapter begins with conclusions, informed by research questions. Secondly, the theoretical recommendations are presented, followed by research and study recommendations. Finally, the study limitations are outlined. This chapter also engages with the gaps in the Afrocentric and Africa(n)-centred psychology concerning the use of struggle songs in South Africa. I argue that there is a critical need for the interrogations of struggle songs, not only as sung by MK combatants, by other movements and communities in South Africa, owing to their importance in the liberation struggle and the new dispensation.

Conclusions based on the research questions

This qualitative study employed purposive and snowball sampling methods to recruit ex-members of MK who reside in the city of Pietermaritzburg in KwaZulu Natal. The study sought to investigate the unifying and healing aspects of struggle songs as sung by former MK members. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews. The thematic data analysis was used to analyse the study results.

It was ascertained that struggle songs have a dynamic and evolutionary history that draws back to anti-colonial struggles. Furthermore, struggle songs were found to have various origins, such as churches, cultural activities and popular struggles. It was determined that struggle songs played emotional, psychological, and political roles in former MK combatants' lives. Struggle songs were also proven to have unifying and healing potential. This was found in their lyrical and rhythmic properties, which inspired imagination, reminiscence, solidarity and collective identity. Consequently, struggle songs have been reported to have varying impacts on the former MK combatants today. Some stated that struggle songs have a positive effect. In contrast, others said that they have a negative one due to them being used for sinister purposes in post-apartheid South African politics. However, the young generation of activists have been found to have appropriated struggle songs, used them positively, and communicated their frustrations, oppression, and marginalization. Importantly, struggle songs remain a potent tool in the political, social and psychological hybrid of South Africa. The unfortunate and shameful Marikana massacre, where the South African police brutally murdered 144 mine workers, shows that the former liberation has become an oppressor of the Black majority and shows that struggle songs remain a significant part of the South African society. The use of struggle songs by the FeeesMustFall movement is a painful reminder that the promised *better life for all* was only just a dream. The fact that students had to protest, be arrest, shot at and some expelled from university for fighting for free education is an indication of the proverbial saying that *the more things change, the more they stay the same*. Indeed, very little has changed for the Black majority. As a result, struggle songs shall continue to live in South African society and be a resounding reminder of the failed dreams. Let the people sing, fight and rejoice!

Study recommendations

Theoretical recommendations:

The study employed the Afrocentric theoretical framework to understand the impact of struggle songs within the African context, as they relate to the African study participants. It was noted that Afrocentric theoretical work, in relation to the understanding of music from an African perspective, is developing. However, there are still gaps in Afrocentric theoretical work on struggle songs. Further, there is a significant scarcity of psychology work studying the psychological impact of struggle songs. The understanding of healing from an Africa(n)-centred, though fast developing, remains an area for development. The current debate on what is, and what is not, African psychology is appreciated. Many psychologists ought to partake in it as efforts are undertaken to develop a context, socially responsive and decolonial psychology.

As the Chinese revolutionary and philosopher advise: "*Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend*."

Research recommendations:

Academic research on struggle songs remains minimal in South Africa. There is an appreciation of the growing research on politically motivated music. However, the genre remains different from struggle or liberation songs (le Roux-Kemp, 2004; Gray, 2004 & Nkoala, 2013). Further, there is a significant and worrying gap in psychological studies on the South African liberation movement, across formations, and not only the ANC. Apartheid as a system shaped the South African social psyche. It influenced all aspects of daily lives. Therefore, as behavioural and social scientists, psychologists should be at the forefront of this research. This is particularly important considering the professions' history during apartheid. Therefore, if the profession ought to position itself as progressive and accessible, it ought to rise to the occasion.

Intervention recommendations:

While the study was not aimed at psychological diagnoses and intervention(s), some study participants noted that due to the age they were when they joined the liberation struggle and the experiences they had, they may have experienced some trauma. Therefore, it is recommended that psychological interventions be provided for those who were part of the liberation struggle. This is primarily important as it relates to the reconciliation endeavours amongst South Africans. This may be done by providing confidential psychosocial services, which may include trauma counselling and other interventions. The South African government, particularly, the department of military veterans ought to invest in military veterans' wellbeing, and their psychological is of paramount importance.

Limitations

A psychological study in which a more extensive and diverse sample is recruited is warranted. Moreover, and significantly, the study was limited to former MK members living in Pietermaritzburg. It is known that other organisations in the liberation struggle against

apartheid and their views on the subject have not been investigated. Therefore, this is the critical limit of the study.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter outlined the study conclusions, recommendations and limitations. The conclusions were covered in relation to the research questions and findings, theoretical framework and the research perspective. Recommendations for future studies and interventions were also made. Lastly, the study limitations were outlined.

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Appendix 1

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL

For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: 4 April 2017

Greeting: Sir/Madam

My name is Siphelele Nguse. I am a Masters student at the University of KwaZulu-Natl, Pietermaritzburg camps in the School of Applied Human Science, Psychology department. Student number: 212541509. My contact details are as follows:

Cell: 084 672 7971

Email Address: smnguse@gmail.com

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research the unifying and healing power of struggle songs. The aim and purpose of this research is to explore the unifying and healing power of struggle songs sung by ex uMkhonto we Sizwe members. The study is expected to enroll 8 participants individually, and 5 to 8 in a focus group. In the study, the participants will be asked a set of questions as individuals and as a part of a focus group. The responses will be digitally recorded during the interviews. The duration of your participation if you choose to enroll and remain in the study is expected to be between 20 and 30 minutes.

The study may involve the risk and discomfort of responding to sensitive and unexpected questions that may make you feel uncomfortable. You are requested to alert the researcher if you re uncomfortable with any question and you have an option to choose whether to respond to a particular question or not. We hope that the study will create a space where the participants will get to reflect on their personal experiences in uMkhonto we Sizwe.

There may be stress and trauma that may come as a result of the study and the questions that will be asked. Because of this, the participants will be referred to the Child and Family Center in the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg camp, at the Psychology department. The Child and Family Centre can be contacted on 0332605370 or email: Naidoon2@ukzn.ac.za.

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher on 084 672 791 or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Participation in this research is voluntary basis and the participants can and may withdraw at any point and the participants will not incur any penalties as a result of that. The participant can inform the researcher of their intention to withdraw their participation on the study.

Each participant will be given a pseudonym and their identity will be protected at all costs. The data collected in the study will kept in a locked cardboard at the office of the supervisor at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg campus.

CONSENT

I…….
have been informed about the study
entitled……
by ……

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at
…….

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO

Video-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO

Use of my photographs for research purposes YES / NO

_____ _____

Signature of Participant **Date**

_____ _____

Signature of Witness **Date**

(Where applicable)

_____ _____

Signature of Translator **Date**

Appendix 2

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

12 April 2017

To whom it may concern

This letter serves to provide the assurance that should any participant interviewed by Mr Siphelele Nguse (Psychology Masters student) require psychological assistance as a result of any distress arising from the research project titled *"the unifying and healing power of struggle songs sung by Umkhonto we Sizwe members"*, the service will be provided by Masters one Psychology students and intern psychologists at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus Child and Family Centre – phone 033-2605166.

Yours sincerely,

Y. Chilimanzi
Director: Child and Family Centre
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Appendix 3

Interview Schedule for Individual Interviews

5. How were struggle songs composed by the members of Umkhonto weSizwe?

    - Were there people responsible for the composition of songs or was it a collective exercise? Elaborate
    - Were there particular incident(s) or event(s) that initiated the composition of a song? Elaborate by providing examples of those songs and events
    - Were there particular songs associated with certain event(s) or incident(s)? Please elaborate and provide examples where possible

6. What role did struggle songs play in your life?

    - Did struggle songs have a role in your life as a member of uMkhonto we Sizwe? Please elaborate
    - Are there particular struggle songs that you believe were significant in your life as an MK member? Please elaborate by providing examples of these songs and their significance
    - Were the struggle songs sung during your time as an MK member instrumental in how you identified yourself as an MK member and your role in the struggle? Please elaborate.

7. Which aspects of the struggle songs were unifying and healing?

    - Were/are there struggle songs that you know of or sang as an MK member that you would say were healing and unifying? Please provide examples where possible of these songs.
    - Were there aspects of the struggle songs that you found to be unifying and healing? Please elaborate by providing examples of these aspects and the particular songs.
    - What characteristic of the aspects above would you say was unifying and healing? Please provide examples where you can.

8. Does the singing of struggle songs today have the same effect on ex-Members of uMkhonto we Sizwe as they did in the past when they were sung by them?
    - How do you feel when struggle songs are sung today? Please elaborate
    - Do the struggle songs being sung today still have the same effect they had on you when you were an active member of the MK in the struggle? Please elaborate
    - Are there particular songs that have an effect on you emotionally that you sang and were sung in the past and are sung today? Please elaborate and provide examples where possible