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A Comparative Analysis on Social Movements: The Afro-American Civil Rights Movement and The Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa

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Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

For a long time now, society represents an important aspect that must be thoroughly studied and analyzed. Society is an organization of people that come together to cooperate in order to achieve a common purpose. Indeed, society is not something fixed, static, or identical to itself, but rather, it is something vital, dynamic, and constantly changing. Therefore, society might be regarded as an ever-growing entity. Change in society is one of the privileged fields of interest in the study of sociology and of political sociology. The term social change refers to all those transformations that affect the structure of society and its patterns of social organization in a given context. Consequently, conflicts and mobility drives are processes that fuel societal transformation. Hence, the analysis of social movements is a crucial aspect that must be considered.

Social movements are unconventional organizations represented by a group of people who, through actions of protests, aim at changing or preventing a particular aspect of society. They are a place for networking where people participate raising awareness on different issues that profoundly hit them, as well as giving the opportunity to individuals who are marginalized by society to make their voice be heard. Over the course of the centuries, social movements have shaped the world through phases of transformation and expansion, playing a significant role in human history. Since the time of the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement and of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, social movements have played a fundamental role in transforming society in a more equal and just one struggling against injustice, the widespread of slavery, and of racial segregation. It is important to understand the reasons behind why social movements rose in the United States and in South Africa during the XX century. The Afro-American Civil Rights Movement which mainly developed in the '50 and '60, sought to fight racial segregation and discrimination, two primary issues that, regrettably, disrupted the lives of many African Americans during those hard years. Racial segregation was evident in the everyday lives of each Afro-American citizen leading to the diffusion of inequality and discrimination; suffice it to say that Black students were not allowed to attend the same schools as White children, and they were even segregated on public transportations. Tired of being treated unequally, the Civil Rights Movement have taken its roots overcoming

such issues advocating for equal human and civil rights. Through actions of nonviolent protests, such as, sit-ins, boycotts, civil disobediences, marches, and demonstrations, the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement sought to pose an end to the continuous discriminations and repressions Black citizens faced by the police brutality. Nonviolence was one of the main strategy the movement have used in order to combat for their own rights and beliefs. The strategy of nonviolence was adopted by the leader Martin Luther King Jr. inspired by Gandhi theory use of nonviolence. Martin Luther King Jr. was one of the most important leaders that inspired the movement and thanks to whom many goals were achieved through his courage and motivation. He was the key figure role during the March of Washington where he delivered his famous speech "I Have a Dream", inspiring many people and spreading national attention over the issues Black citizens were facing in the hope that one day they would have got equal rights. As a result, the march led to the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and later on to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, ending racial discrimination and guarantying civil and political rights to the African American population.

On the other hand, the Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa which also developed during the twentieth century, mainly aimed ending the system of apartheid. Apartheid was a policy of racial segregation practiced since the rose of the South African State, 1910, which structure was tremendously repressing most of the Black citizens in South Africa. This new system was theorized from the 1930s, but increasingly developed with the came into power of the National Party in 1948. To overcome, and in response to such institution, the Anti-Apartheid Movement emerged and mostly led by its main leader: Nelson Mandela. As in the case of the Civil Rights Movement, protests of actions were organized in this context as well, leading the movement to expand globally while strengthening the idea that each citizen has the right to have the same rights, and the right of being treated equally under the law. The movement ended with the proclamation of Nelson Mandela as the first Black South African President and, therefore, with the overcome of the apartheid system.

The main objective of this thesis is to give a comparative analysis between the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movement through an in-depth study regarding the strategies and tactics both movements have used in order to achieve their claims, figuring out whether there are any similarities or differences between them. As a result of the comparative analysis, the importance of the role social movements has played and still play in society is stressed out. Furthermore, while analyzing the comparative analysis, it will be emphasized how crucial the role of the traditional mass media was in the development of both movements. Therefore, a second main goal in this thesis, is to give a comparative study between the role traditional mass media have played in the past in support for the development of social movements, in our case the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and the role social media play now within social movements. To emphasize the point, one of the best-known social movements today in the US and worldwide, which developed in support of the fight against racial discrimination and police abuses towards citizens belonging to the African American community will be studied: the Black Lives Matter Movement.

To conclude, the thesis will follow this structure. The first chapter will cover a theoretical study on the social movements. In this way social movements will be defined and explored in their entirety to lay down and better understand what in theory they are, why they emerge, how they work, and their importance in society. The second chapter will include an historical background on the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movement giving an explanation on the reasons why they have emerged, their evolution throughout the years, finally to the goals they have achieved. The third and final chapter will present a comparative analysis between them. In this chapter there will be explored the many boycotts, sit-ins, and civil disobediences that have took place during their development. In addition, the role of the traditional mass media will be studied and compared to the role social media play today within social movements. Therefore, the BLM movement will be further explored. Lastly, a final conclusion to the thesis will be provided, including a brief summary of the work answering to the main goals of the thesis.

CHAPTER 1 --- Theoretical Framework: An Introduction to Social Movements

1.0 Introduction to the Chapter

Social movements are unconventional organizations represented by a group of people whose roles are undefined and where social relations are mostly cooperative and emotionally charged. Their goal is mainly either the promotion or prevention of change in rules, values, or structure within the society. Historically, social movements placed a major emphasis on labor and national issues concerns; but, with the advent of new social movements, themes like women's liberation and environmental preservation emerged and began to be analyzed. The study of social movements has developed so quickly that it became an important field of research particularly around the end of the 1980s. Indeed, while in the 1940s there was a lack in understanding social movements, the 1980s saw an explosion of theoretical works on the phenomenon of social movements. This is precisely why, today, we know pretty much about social movements.

In this chapter social movements will be studied and analyzed, therefore, in the first section a definition of social movements will be provided. Then, a differentiation between the old social movements and the new social movements will be presented. In the following section, an introduction to collective action, collective identity, and the role of values will be made, as three key crucial aspect concerning the issue of social movements. Finally, in the last section, the strategies and effects of social movements will be examined.

1.1 Definition to Social Movements

Social movements are a fundamental component of contemporary society, as they serve as an outlet for the worries, aspirations, and demands of those groups of individuals seeking to promote social and political change. From the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s to the Climate Change Movement of recent decades, social movements have played a crucial role in shaping public policy. Society is not something fixed, static, and identical to itself, but rather a vital, dynamic, and ever changing entity. In this sense, conflicts and mobility are two processes that particularly encourage societal changes. As society reserves us of constant and continuous changes driven by many factors, it's necessary in this context to introduce and define social movements.

A social movement is a group of people who are politically active and highly committed but may not belong to a formal organization. They are notable for their capacity to attract the young, as well as for their post-material mindset, which allow them the opportunity to participate more actively in social and political life, as well as their commitment to modern political activism. In order to study social movements, scholars frequently focus their attention on researching particular people, groups, or events. The interconnectedness that occurs between people, organizations, and events within social movements is the goal of the most thorough studies. Therefore, investigating the numerous elements that affect social movements' dynamic is part of the study of social movements. In addition, analyzing how concepts, people, events, and organizations interact and relate to one another within more general processes of collective action falls under this category. Thus, researchers learn more about the underlying processes and connections that influence social movements by examining these factors.

In 2003, Rucht, a German scholar, in his examination of how to investigate social movements, suggested the idea that we should separate the variables into four categories, namely organization, interaction, symbolic narrative, and ideological narrative. First, there is organization, in which movements are classified on their organization and capacity for mobilization. Second, we have interaction in which the movement's uniqueness is represented by how effectively and efficiently its procedures are run and as

a result, by its capacity 'to challenge power'. Third, symbolic narrative which deals in understanding whether a social movement has a collective identity or how it presents itself as a collective identity. Finally, the ideological narrative which is about a given political topic the single social movement propose to the society. However, it's impossible to study them in a single dimension. Indeed, to conclude, social movements are a group of people that share a system for beliefs, as a repertory of action, to create new collective identities, using protests as a tool of action with the aim of transforming the society or one aspect of it, or even resist such change. Thus, they are regarded as unplanned, unorganized, and spontaneous events.

1.1.2 Development of Social Movements: The Old and New Social Movements

The late 1960s were a pivotal time in world history, marked by enormous and momentous developments. Significant occurrences like the American Civil Rights Movement, the German and British Student Uprisings, and the growing Women's Environmental Movement all gave convincing proof of the significant cultural changes that were occurring.[1] These numerous and connected occurrences marked the start of a new era characterized by elevated social consciousness and a passionate pursuit of social justice and equality. It became more and more obvious that the world was undergoing a paradigm change and that these movements were having a substantial impact on the course of history as they sparked widespread action, questioned existing conventions, and posed questions to established power structures. Indeed, a distinction should be made between the old social movements and the new social movements from an historical standpoint.[2]

The traditional social movements developed mainly in the 19th and 20th centuries. They were often organized around specific themes such as the Labor Movement, the Civil Rights Movement, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and so on. These movements usually

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[1] Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements An Introduction*, Blackwell Publishing, 2006, pg.1 https://voidnetwork.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Social-movements.An-introduction-by-Della-Porta-and-Mario-Diani.pdf

[2] Ibid.

focused on issues of equality, civil rights, labor, and redistribution of wealth. They relied on formal organizations, such as trade unions and political parties to advance their demands and pursue their goals. Mobilization was often based on collective actions such as strikes, mass protests and demonstrations. On the other side, the new social movements are a group of individuals whose organization is based on the development of new identities, the emergence of new cultures, and the social necessity for the centrality of civil rights. These new social movements are historically placed in the 1980s and linked to the insurgence of Gender Movements, Environmental Movements, Pacifism and so on. The new social movements are often characterized by a less hierarchical organizational structure, with decisions taken in a more participatory manner. Moreover, they are characterized by their ability to mobilize broader social groups, involving different sectors of society, and exploiting new forms of communication and coordination such as: informal networks, media outreach strategies, and the use of social media. While old social movements achieved significant results in promoting human and civil rights, new social movements have helped to bring emerging issue through their ability to create social consensus and generate cultural change. However, it's important to grasp the idea that the distinction between the two is not rigid, in fact, there are often overlaps and continuities between them.

To conclude, understanding that social movements are intricate sociopolitical processes that take place in specific and political circumstances is crucial. Acceptance, real success, changes in institutions, cultural shifts, and the introduction of new policies are some of the many manifestations of social movements. The world has changed as a result of these movements in many ways, including the overthrow of monarchies and dictatorship, the establishment of democratic institutions, and the alteration of social attitudes and beliefs in numerous domains. Accordingly, depending on the current state system structure, they have the potential to cause considerable changes or adaptions in both the state and society. Furthermore, it's vital to remember that social movements don't necessarily dissolve once they achieve their goals. As dynamic products of society, they continue to be subject to

change and evolution. Therefore, the outcomes produced by social movements may differ depending on their nature.[3]

1.1.3 Collective Action, Collective Identity, and the Role of Values

This section will provide an overview of the terminology of collective action, collective identity, and the role of values. Collective action, collective identity, and the role of values are three key aspects that explain and help us better understand how social movements work. Moreover, they greatly contribute to the cohesiveness, mobilization, and efficacy of social movements.

Collective action refers to a spontaneous event in which multiple people, sometimes in huge numbers, do an unusual action. Collective action occurs when people spontaneously take to the streets in response to important events or when social movements become aware of social injustices and initiate the activity of a more or less organized groups that seek to effect or prevent social change. Clearly this happens as social movements seek to transform their cause into mobilization, making their voice heard. According to Della Porta and Diani, we can distinguish between consensual and conflictual collective action.[4] Consensual collective action can be identified into those organization who mobilize for issues such the development of human rights, solidarity, and social exclusion. Since they share same values and promote cooperation among themselves in order to identify common goals, they foster a sense of unity and peaceful relations avoiding any conflictual interests.[5] On the other hand, conflictual collective action, involves a contentious approach to social change. They emerge when power relations and institutions are not able and not willing to hear problematics brought on by the marginalized groups, thus

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[3] Hosna J. Shewly and Eva Gerharz, "Activism, Social Movements, and Social Change: An Incessant Societal Process", Palgrave Macmillan Cham, Research Gate, 2023, pg. 2 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/361275854_Activism_Social_Movements_and_Social_Change_An_Incessant_Societal_Process/citations

[4] Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements An Introduction*, Blackwell Publishing, 2006, pg. 20-21 https://voidnetwork.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Social-movements.An-introduction-by-Della-Porta-and-Mario-Diani.pdf

[5] Ibid.

leading to protests, and civil disobediences to raise awareness to social injustices.[6] To conclude, collective action may be seen as well as a form of political protest, in which individuals are politically aware and disappointed by the system. This form of collective behavior takes its origins by social conditions rather than psychological factors.[7]

The concept of collective identity emerged in the 1960s thanks to sociological and historical studies on ethnicity and social movements. Social movements may occur when collective identities are formed. However, collective identity is not a persistent action. Nonetheless, is through the action that feelings may be strengthen or weakened. Therefore, collective identities are continuously formed thanks of the evolution of collective actions.[8] Collective identity is crucial in generating a sense of belonging, solidarity and cooperation among individuals or organizations working towards a common goal. It allows people to see themselves as part of a broader totality, which increases their commitment to collective mobilization. Social movements in fact, are not the result of protests, but rather, they take place when collective identities generate.[9] Individuals and groups can benefit from collective identity by developing a shared sense of their aims, giving them a feeling of direction and purpose, allowing them to collaborate on a single goal. The creation of collective identity during a social initiative or movement can have long-term consequences even after it has ended.[10] This may lead to two consequences: first, it will be easier individuals who have shared a common experience and feel part of a group to be more inclined to remobilize to pursue the same goals or face similar challenges. Actually, this is possible because people who took part in that social movement shared same feelings, solidarity, thoughts, towards that cause. Second, the creation of social movements and collective identity may facilitate the born of new movements and new collective identities.[11] To conclude, collective identity is formed

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid. pg. 22-23

[8] Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements An Introduction*, Blackwell Publishing, 2006, pg. 93 https://voidnetwork.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Social-movements.An-introduction-by-Della-Porta-and-Mario-Diani.pdf

[9] Ibid. pg.24

[10] Ibid. pg.24

[11] Ibid. pg.24

when people feel part of the same community sharing the experiences, values, and beliefs. People's past experiences might inspire and motivate individuals to join others who share similar ideas or work for comparable causes. Collective identity is essential to the formation of individual identities, playing a crucial role in building relationships and communities within society.

Finally, the role of values plays a fundamental role in this context as well. Values serve as guiding principles and moral compasses for individuals and groups involved in these movements, inform their views, aims, methods, and actions.[12] A social movement's aims and ethics are defined by its values. Values serve as a moral foundation for collective action and can be utilized to urge others to join the movement. Shared values, indeed, can serve as a point of reference for movements' choices and strategies. In this regard, we can mention the Value-Added Theory proposed by Neil Smelser in 1962, a functionalist theory, according to which for collective behavior to occur numerous conditions must be met first.[13] There are six conditions, the first one is called the structural conduciveness condition, in which people get to know the issue and reunite to discuss about it. Second, the so-called structural strain, which regards people expectancies over the issue. Third, growth and spread of the belief, where the problem is identified and attributed to a person or group. Fourth, the precipitating factors which influence collective behavior as more about the appearance of a dramatic event. Fifth condition, mobilization for action, that occurs when leaders emerge to take over the actions of a crowd. The sixth and final condition concern the actions of social control agents, which is considered the only method to halt the collective behavior. To better grasp the idea, the Value-Added Theory concerns the complexity of the collective behavior attempting to establish a comprehensive framework of explanations for the emergence and development of the collective behavior. Smelser sees collective behavior as an attempt to influence a social condition based on what he refers to as generalized belief. The final outcome of the sixth

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[12] Ibid, pg. 67.

[13] Adam J. Saffer, "Value-Added Theory", University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, USA, 2018. Pg. 1
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327877299_Value-Added_Theory

condition depends on how each determinant combines with the previous ones, and each determinant sets the limits within which the next one can operate.[14]

1.1.4 Social Movements Strategies and their Effects

Social movements are a collective behavior that adopt different strategies to advance their causes and achieve changes in society. They start their activities protesting against something, generally the society. In this setting, communication is crucial and essential to a social movement's success. Communicate is to bring something together, to share and even to take part. It's a social participatory process. For social movements, communication is a means of organization, a way through which they plan their activities and define their presence in the world. Social movements are places for networking where people participate and take on leading toles. Communication makes it possible for movement participants to share information, organize their objectives, and broadcast their messages to a larger audience, improving public awareness of their demands. To better grasp the idea on how important communication is for them, Mario Diani defined social movements as "*networks of information between a plurality of individuals, groups or associations, engaged in a political conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity.*" (Diani 1992:13).[15] By this quotation, Diani wanted to highlight that social movements can be defined as distinctive social process with a number of defining key components. These elements include the actors' responsibility to engage in collective action in conflictual relationships with clearly identifiable adversaries, their participation in informal matches, and the development of a collective identity.[16] The first component, 'conflictual collective actions', refers to social movement actors getting involved in political and cultural disputes that are intended to support or oppose societal change. The

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[14] Ibid, pg. 4-7

[15] "Social Movement Analysis: The Network Perspective", Oxford University Press, 2002, pg. 4
https://users.ssc.wisc.edu/~oliver/PROTESTS/NetworkPapers/DianiCh.13.pdf

[16] Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements An Introduction*, Blackwell Publishing, 2018, pg. 21-22
https://voidnetwork.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Social-movements.An-introduction-by-Della-Porta-and-Mario-Diani.pdf

mobilizations and acts conducted by social movement actors are motivated by these tensions.[17] The second component, 'dense informal networks', refers to the volume of continuous resource exchanges between organized actors and individual activists in the service of shared goals. These networks let social movement participants communicate, coordinate their efforts, and pool their resources.[18] Finally, the process of a social movement depends on the development of a 'collective identity'. When individuals and groups within the movement come to share a common goal and a shared commitment to a cause, collective identity begins to emerge, by fostering a sense of interconnectedness among activists and groups. This collective identity enables them to see themselves as a part of a larger collective mobilization.[19] Other strategies adopted by social movements as repertoire of actions are: marches, boycotts, occupations, awareness campaigns, demonstrations, protests and mass media. Those repertoires of actions are used by social movements to draw public attention raising public awareness. They may educate the audience through the use of media, social media and other forms of communications, such as broadcasts and televisions to transmit as much information as possible, resulting in a greater understanding and awareness of the concerns presented by the movements. In some cases, social movements may organize boycotts, sit-ins, or civil disobedience actions to highlight the issue and challenge the system. These actions aim at hitting the government drawing attention to their demands. They may or may not be successful, depending on how effective their strategies are and whether the government allows them to carry out such actions. However, such movements are essential in society and for individuals who believe and hope in a radical change in a specific subject, such as the acknowledgment of equal civil rights and political rights in the case of the Afro American Civil Rights Movement. In this regard, social movements have played a fundamental role in the history of the Black community in the United States, mobilizing as many people as possible, making the issue one of international and global concern, attempting to obtain the freedom of many African Americans by erasing all the social and political injustices they were going through day by day. Their cause was not an easy one; they faced numerous obstacles (government oppositions, protestors deaths, police brutalities, and so

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[17] Ibid. pg. 21

[18] Ibid. pg.21

[19] Ibid. pg.21

on), but their strength and sense of belonging enabled them to achieve one the biggest goal in the history of the United States: the end of racial segregation.

The effects of social movements are many and can vary depending on the circumstances and the social and political context in which they operate. First, social movements effect may be measured through the area of policy, in which social movements frequently demand changes as dissatisfied with the given policy.[20] They aim at changing public opinion as well as obtaining support in order to implement new public policy through the change in the implementation of legislations. However, this is not enough for them. Indeed, they need to ensure that they garner sufficient support to avoid and discourage the implementation of the old laws that they have effectively amended. Second, as social movements modify political culture, political decision-making processes have grown more diversified.[21] Lastly, as a result of these developments, people have been able to construct a new understanding of democracy. In fact, giving people direct responsibility and role in the political decision-making process is a core premise of the social movements. The purpose of social movements is to focus and emphasize on equal and inclusive participation, which helped democratize authoritarian governments, thus leading to more participatory approaches in representative democracies.[22]

1.2 Final remarks

In conclusion to the chapter, social movements have always represented and still represent today an important aspect in society. They emerge in response to problems such as inequalities and injustices, playing an important role in promoting social and political change. Social movements to make their voice heard uses different from of protests, such as, peaceful demonstrations, civil disobediences, sit-ins, and even boycotts. Through these strategies they try to mobilize public opinion in order to change reality and achieve

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[20] Ibid. pg. 227

[21] Ibid. pg. 233

[22] Ibid. pg. 239

their goals. Essential in this context is the role collective identity and collective action play. They are two correlated concepts, but which play two different roles towards social movements. Collective identity is fundamental because is through it that individuals feel part of the same community, they create a sense of belonging and solidarity based on same values and goals. Collective action, on the other hand, is crucial for social movements to take place. It's through collective action that individuals try to reach their goals, through demonstrations, protests, activism and so on. Sometimes social movements may success or they even may fail in reaching their aims because of the continuous repression by the government or because of the inefficacy of their strategies. Nevertheless, they have been and still today are an important aspect in society, giving people hope in changing the world for the best, promoting values, equality, human and civil rights.

CHAPTER 2 --- Historical background:
The Afro-American Civil Rights Movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa

2.0 Overview

In this chapter will be presented an historical background on the history of the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement and on the Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa. They are two important movements that have fought for similar issues, such as human rights, equality, justice, racial segregation, and discrimination, but in different historical and geographical context.

On the one hand, the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement mainly took place in the '50s and '60s, and which aim was to end racial segregation against African Americans in the United States. Racial segregation at the time was present in the everyday social life for African Americans as for instance in public transportations, school, and public places leading to inequality and oppression, but at the same time increasing the desire to change their destiny. Tired of a racist America, African Americans organized nonviolent protests: boycotts, sit-ins, and demonstrations, to overcome racial discrimination promoting the right to have same civil rights.

On the other hand, the Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa mainly developed during the XX century, with the principal goal of fighting the apartheid system. The beginning of the apartheid regime occurred when in 1948, the National Party won the elections in South Africa implementing this new institutional system founded on racism. This event marked a dramatic era, which however was not a sudden break in South African history, but the continuation of the previous phase. In fact, a continuum can be seen between apartheid and racial segregation; nevertheless, the doctrine of racial inequality and the economic exploitation of Black people were elements that united both periods. The main goal of the anti-apartheid system was to obtain equality, and human rights by erasing all racial and social inequalities between Black citizens and White

citizens. Also in this context, boycotts, sit-ins, civil disobediences, and demonstrations were organized by the movement trying to fight the apartheid regime.

To conclude, both movements marked a fundamental moment in the history for the fight of equal human rights. The Afro-American Civil Rights Movement ended with an important change in legislation with the introduction of the Civil Rights Act 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, while the Anti-Apartheid Movement posed an end to the apartheid system leading to the creation of a more democratic and multiracial South Africa.

The Afro-American Civil Rights Movement

2.1 An Introduction to the History of the Afro-American Civil Right Movement

The Afro-American Civil Rights Movement has been an important chapter in the country's history, characterized by the struggle for civil rights, equality, and social justice for people of African community. The Afro-American Civil Rights Movement, also known as the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, which mainly took place during the '50s and '60s, consists of social movements in the United States whose goals were to and segregation and discrimination against African Americans by granting them legal recognition of the citizenship rights listed in the Constitution. The Civil War occurred in the United States abolished slavery, however, it didn't and discrimination against the African Americans who still were subject to racism especially in the South. By the mid-twentieth century, Black Americans, along with many other Americans, had mobilized and launched a groundbreaking two-decade campaign for equality. Since this moment, the well-known Afro-American Civil Rights Movement era began. The most prominent figures that contributed to the leading of the movement were Martin Luther King Jr, Rosa Parks, and Thurgood Marshall.

Martin Luther King Jr. was born in Atlanta, Georgia in 1929, and he was considered one of the most important promoters for social change in the history of the United States. He became well-known thanks to his ideal regarding the use of nonviolence during the campaigns in the 20th century. Indeed, in 1955, when he was arrested during the Montgomery Boycott, he immediately attracted public attention because of his courage in leading such a battle in a such peaceful manner. Martin Luther King Jr. must also be remembered for his speeches made during the demonstrations demanding civil rights legislation in protection for the rights of African Americans, and thanks to which he drew national attention to the issues of racial segregation and discrimination. He has been a key leader in 1963 during the Birmingham Campaign, in Alabama, where he led peaceful mass demonstrations that, however, were repressed by White police creating controversy around the world. In 1964 he was conferred the Nobel Peace Prize. However, in 1968 in Memphis, Tennessee, he was shot and killed. As a result, he became the most important icon for the Civil Rights Movement, symbolizing the promoter figure for equality and nondiscrimination, influencing still today many battles in promotion of human rights. Rosa Parks was another prominent figure in leading the Civil Rights Movement. She was born in 1913 in Tuskegee, Alabama. She mainly was remembered for having denied giving up her seat while going back home in 1955. Such denial symbolized a simple gesture that has changed the destiny of African Americans. After the boycott, she continued in fighting for racial equality, working with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, NAACP, participating in campaigns supporting the civil rights. She finally became a heroine in the United Sates inspiring many people around the world. Thurgood Marshall, born on July 2, 1908, was considered a civil rights activist and the first African American member in the U.S Supreme Court.[23] He worked in the NAACP and because of his great abilities in such field he took care of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka case, in which the U.S Supreme Court declared unconstitutional racial segregation in public schools.[24] In 1967 he was finally nominated associate member of the U.S. Supreme Court. Nonetheless, he represented a key figure

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[23] Smentkowski, Brian P. "Thurgood Marshall". Encyclopedia Britannica, 18 Aug. 2023, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thurgood-Marshall

[24] Ibid.

of great importance in the Civil Rights Movement battle, contributing to promoting racial equality, human rights, and justice.[25]

Many where the key events which profoundly signed the Civil Rights Movement. First, the 1954 'Brown v. Board of Education' case, in which the US Supreme Court ruled that laws segregation on public schools on the basis of race were unconstitutional.[26] This decision marked the end of racial segregation in school system and paved the way for the fight against discrimination in other areas of society. Another highlight of the movement was the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963, during which the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. made his famous "I Have a Dream" address. This march drew international and national attention to the cause of civil rights and led to the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which ended legal discrimination based on race guarantying the right to vote for African Americans. The Afro-American Civil Rights Movement has seen many peaceful protests, marches, strikes and demonstrations such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Little Rock Nine, Greensboro Sit-in and so on. Unfortunately, it has also faced incidents of violence and repression by law enforcement and by the White supremacist groups. Indeed, among the tragic events that marked the movement, we can mention the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968, which aroused the indignation of many people and led to further protests throughout the country. Nevertheless, in the following years, the civil movement continued to fight for equality and against racial injustice. The struggle for civil rights went hand in hand with the spread of African American culture and the promotion of racial pride. Music, art, literature, and sports have helped to give voice to the experiences and perspectives of African Americans, helping to change the way society perceived them. To conclude, the Civil Rights Movement of African Americans has been a key catalyst for change and inspired many other communities to fight for their own rights and dignity. Indeed, the legacy of this movement continues to be still today an important and integral part of the national dialogue on social justice, building a more equitable and inclusive society.

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Brian Duignan, "Brown v. Board of Education", Encyclopedia Britannica, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/event/Brown-v-Board-of-Education-of-Topeka

2.1.1 Before the Civil Rights Movement

Until the American War of Secession, African Americans in the United States numbered over four million and for the most part lived in slavery, distributed mainly in the cotton and tobacco plantations of the southern states, with no right to freedom, much less to vote. Indeed, until then, only White men with a certain wealth could vote, and with the introduction of the 1790 Naturalization Act citizenship the right to take part of the political life was limited only to White men. Following the Civil War, three constitutional amendments were passed in the mid 19th century, including the XIII Amendment of 1865, which officially ended slavery, after pressure from President Abraham Lincoln, who was later assassinated for his actions. The XIV Amendment of 1868 gave citizenship to African Americans and several proposals were introduced to reform Congress to include people of the South. One of the clauses that formed part of the XIV Amendment was the equal protection of the law clause: where all American citizens were to be protected equally by the law, without any distinction of race or skin color. Finally, the XV Amendment of the 1870, gave African American males the right to vote, bearing in mind that at that time Black and White women could not vote. In the United States, the turbulent Reconstruction era lasted from 1865 until 1877, where the US federal government worked to protect the civil rights of the South's freedmen after the abolition of slavery. Many White people resented the social changes, giving rise to revolutionary groups like the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) that attacked Black and White Republicans in an effort to uphold white supremacy. Soon after the elections of 1876 which lead to the end of the Reconstruction period, White people from the South gained the political control of the region. As a result, the majority of the Southern states approved laws which prevented Afro Americans from the voting rolls, therefore, Black citizens in the South were unable to choose candidates in the local and federal government for more than sixty years. In addition, segregation laws were added, and with it the well-known Jim Crow laws were formed, leading to an increase in violence and discrimination against the African community in the United States. The Jim Crow laws, were laws enacted in the Southern States from 1876, which helped to systematize racial segregation for Black members of ethnic groups other than Whites. The segregation was physical (i.e., in schools, public places, public transport, restaurants) and had the goal to hinder Black people from exercising their right to vote.

Important to remember is that in 1896 the Plessy v. Ferguson ruling entered into force with the Supreme Court ruling that the doctrine "separate but equal" was admissible and did not interfere with the XIV Amendment. The Plessy v. Ferguson marked an important period for the history of the Afro American Civil Rights Movement, especially going on through the years. According to the Plessy v. Ferguson sentence, railways companies operating within the state were to provide separate carriages for White citizens and Black citizens, or at least separate seats according to skin color. No person was to sit in a seat that was not assigned to the race to which he or she belonged. The breach of such law would have resulted in a fine or even the arrest. Consequently, White supremacy started to grow more and more gaining power day by day, exploiting and colonizing African Americans and other nonwhite populations, preventing them any civil rights. As a response of the neglected promises of liberation established in the Amendments, African Americans decided to try change the way things were going, thus, the Civil Rights Movement rose with thousands of African Americans fighting for obtaining justice, social and political rights.

2.1.2 Brown v. Board of Education Ruling

Brown v. Board of Education, or Oliver Brown, et al. v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kanas, represents one of the historic decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, published on 17 May 1954, in which the justices unanimously ruled that racial segregation of children in public schools was unconstitutional. This decision stretches all the way back to the 1896 Supreme Court decision of Plessy v. Ferguson where the Supreme Court upheld a segregation law stabilizing that racially segregated public facilities were legal, to the condition that the facilities for Black and White people were equal. In addition, the ruling constitutionally established laws prohibiting African Americans from sharing the same buses, schools, and other public facilities attended by White people.

Brown v. Board of Education's ruling began when in the autumn of 1951 Oliver Brown went with his nine-year old daughter, Linda, to the Sumner Elementary School of Topeka in Kanas, a school intended for White students but close to their home, in order to apply

for his child's enrolment. However, the application was immediately rejected. This episode represented a common problem at the time present not only in Kanas, but as well as in many other states of America, where the lives of Black people were clearly undervalued and enslaved.[27] This segregation was accused of depriving the plaintiffs of the equal protection under the laws, as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. Actually, Kansas law authorized cities with populations greater than 15,000 to establish separate schools. As a matter of fact, the legal basis for the separation was based, as previously mentioned, on the ruling of the Supreme Court in the case Plessy v. Ferguson of 1896, with which, expressing itself on the subject of segregation in the railways, the Court had sanctioned the principle 'separate but equal', that is, where equal treatment conditions are ensured for Colored people and White people in a certain sector, the states have the faculty to practice segregation in that sector. The rejection of the child application represented only one of the many injustices Black people had to face and fight through all these years. It pictured a big issue not only for Linda Brown, but as well as for many other Black families, as the schools for them were very far away from their habitations and the children had to walk every day more than one and a half kilometers through a railway yard to reach their schools. Following this episode, Oliver Brown with other African American parents from Topeka, embittered by the rejection from the Sumner Elementary School, turned to other schools close to their homes. Despite this new attempt, they were likewise rejected and directed to other distant schools for Black children.

At the beginning of the fifties the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, NAACP, was considered the leading civil rights organization. The NAACP was an organization created in 1909, which primary aim was to end discrimination and racial

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[27] There were five lawsuits for sending Black students to legally segregated schools, in the states of Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, and in the District of Columbia. The cases were different in each States, however all of them were based on a common legal issue. In Delaware, for example, the Court had ordered the admission of Black students to White schools but not ruling the possibility that the question could be re-examined after the study conditions in Black schools are brought to the same level as those in White schools. In South Caroline, on the other hand, the unequal conditions were recognized and ordered to be remedied immediately but refusing to admit Black applicants to White schools.

segregation towards African Americans.[28] In 1951, the NAACP, began to intensify the use of anti-discrimination and segregation lawsuits, thus helping parents to file a class action lawsuit. The sentence of the second rejection made jurisprudence and produced very significant consequences precisely on the legitimacy of segregation in schools. Naturally, the equal conditions of treatment in the following decades were entirely theoretical in many sectors. Thurgood Marshall was the NAACP's lead attorney at the time. In 1967, he became the first Black judge appointed to the Supreme Court, and the one who argued the case. Once the case started, NAACP attorneys argued immediately that the Black' and White' schools in Topeka did not indeed reflect Plessy v. Ferguson ruling, arguing that they were anything but 'separate but equal'. Indeed, the lawsuit was filed not by complaining that schools for Colored students in Topeka were not provided with equal opportunities to those in schools for White students, but on the contrary by directly arguing that segregation infringes on a right and in itself has negative effects on Black children. In addition, because racial separation policy is commonly viewed as a manifestation of Black inferiority, the impact is greatest when it is established in legislation.[29] For this reason, the appeal Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka can be considered a special and exemplary case. At this time, the president of the United States was Harry Truman, who once initiated the Brown v. Board of Education ruling, ordered the desegregation of the armed forces by speaking out against the constitutionality of racial segregation, stating that segregation damages the image of the United States and goes against their interests. The situation in 1952 was divided between those who thought segregation was illegal and those who though it was rights. Among them we have: four judges that thought segregation was illegal. President Fred Vinson together with another judge wanted to reconfirm the Plessy v. Ferguson jurisprudence, while three who were undecided. For this very reason, the decision was postponed until the following year. In 1952 the Republican Eisenhower, already commander-in-chief of the Allied forces during the WWII, succeeded Truman. In the meantime, Fred Vinson died, and Eisenhower appointed Earl Warren (great opponent of the ruling 'separate but equal') as Vinson'

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[28] Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." Encyclopedia Britannica, August 31, 2023. https://www.britannica.com/topic/National-Association-for-the-Advancement-of-Colored-People.

[29] Earl Warren, "The American Soul in Story, Speech, and Song. Brown v. Board of Education", What so Proudly we Hail, https://www.whatsoproudlywehail.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/Warren_Brown-v-Board-of-Education.pdf

replacement, indicating then his desire to cancel segregation, bringing the number of opponents to five. Finally, on May 17, 1954, in the final ruling the Supreme Court of the United States declared segregation in schools unconstitutional ordering that the 'separate but equal' doctrine adopted in the Plessy v. Ferguson ruling be ended, sentencing that racial segregation in public school robbed minority students of equal educational opportunity in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment about equal protection of the laws.

To conclude Brown v. Education of Topeka represented a great success in the history of the African Americans as a first step towards the achievement of rights, civil and political. Thanks to this final ruling, the Civil Rights Movement continued with determination in overcoming discrimination and racial segregation present also in many other areas of Black citizens life.

2.1.3 Civil Rights Act of 1957

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the first civil rights bill enacted by the U.S. Congress on Civil Rights since Reconstruction. The law was proposed to Congress by the Republican president Dwight Eisenhower on September 9, 1957. The aim of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was to ensure that all African Americans could exercise their right to vote, as before 1957, the percentage of Black Americans that could take part on voting was very low. The passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was extremely important as it gave an end to the eighty-two-year period in which no federal civil rights legislation was enacted. Indeed, the previous law was composed of five statutes (1866-1875) approved by the Post-Civil War Reconstruction Congress, which were designed to provide equal status to African American whose emancipation from slavery was guaranteed by the 13th Amendment.[30] Nevertheless, the main goal of those five acts was a catastrophic failure.[31]

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[30] Thomas R. Winquist, *Civil Rights: Legislation: The Civil Rights Act of 1957*, Michigan Law Review, 1959, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1286055

[31] Thomas R. Winquist, *Civil Rights: Legislation: The Civil Rights Act of 1957*, Michigan Law Review, p. 620. 1959, https://www.jstor.org/stable/1286055

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 encompasses four provisions: the establishment of a civil rights Commission; the appointment of an assistant Attorney General; expansion of voting rights protection; and the abolition of the eligibility requirement for federal judges in accordance with state law. The two main goals of the Civil Rights Act were to investigate claims that citizens' right to vote has been violated because of their race, color, religion, and other characteristics, and to examine how federal government policies and laws have evolved in relation to ensuring an equal level of legal protection as stipulated by the Constitution. Additionally, the Congress granted the General Prosecutor the authority to bring a civil lawsuit to stop an act that would deprive someone of their rights since it was determined that such a declaration would be ineffective in the absence of a remedy for such interference.[32]

To summarize, the law in question had made three significant changes to the previous legislation: it has expanded the scope of the effective protection against voting-rights interference to cover actions taken by individuals, groups, and those acting in accordance with the law; it has given the Attorney General a more flexible remedy by allowing injunction actions in the event of minor voting-rights interference; and it has eliminated the requirement that federal judges competent under state law be present. The previous law's goal was to protect citizens' right to vote from discrimination of any type, however it was unsuccessful in ensuring that voters would be protected from unlawful activity. Contrarily, these issues have been corrected in the new act, which forbids anyone from interfering with the right to vote for federal employees based on the law or in any other way and gives the General Attorney the authority to seek civil remedies on behalf of the United States of America for a minimal interference with that right.[33]

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[32] Ibid. p.625-627

[33] Ibid. p.627-630

2.1.4 Civil Rights Act of 1964

"The heart of the question is---whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities. Whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated. If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public, if he cannot send his children to the best public school available, if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him, if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place? Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay?"[34]

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 represents a culminant moment in the history of the United States of America. The act was approved and signed by President Lyndon Johnson on July 2, 1964, a federal legislation which prohibits discrimination based on race, color, gender, religion, and nationality. It also forbids segregation in schools, employment, and public facilities. The Civil Rights Act has been determinant and full of significance as it changed the future of the American society especially of the Afro American citizens. The law had been proposed by President John Fitzgerald Kennedy in June 1963 after the numerous demonstrations by African Americans, however, it had met with obstruction by the Senate. After Kennedy's assassination on 22 November 1963, the new President Lyndon Byron Johnson moved the bill forward. At the beginning, when the Civil Right Act was first introduced to the House of Representatives, only racial equality-related clauses were included. On February 8, the provisions for gender equality protections were included after the proposal made by Howard Smith, a critic of the act. Since then, disagreement broke out between the members of the House. Nevertheless, the gender amendment remained in place as the Act was approved by the House. The House of Representatives passed the Civil Rights Act on February 22, 1964, while the Senate approved it after a 54-day filibuster on June 19, 1964, where the initial bill was replaced and sent to the Senate. The new law featured Title VII, which safeguards the rights of women and racial minorities in the workplace. On July 2, 1964, Johnson signed the Act

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[34] The Kennedys, "John F. Kennedy's Address on Civil Rights", American Experience
https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/president-kennedy-civil-rights/

sending it out of the Senate and into law after spending 57 days of debating the measure.[35] Changes in the American society were quite evident after the passing of the Act: indeed, the Afro-American middle class continuously grew up. However, soon after, new violence against afro American electors' outbreak, disrupting once again the climate created and leading some Black activists to protest against the continuous violations. In fact, on March 7, 1965, 600 activists marched from Selma to Montgomery, protesting for the rights they expected. This event took the name of "Bloody Sunday", transmitting it nationwide through television and radio, leading President Johnson to an additional civil rights legislation: the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

2.1.5 Voting Rights Act of 1965

The Voting Rights Act was a U.S. legislation signed on August 6, 1965, by President Lyndon Johnson in order to remove legal obstacles at the state and municipal levels that impeded African Americans from exercising their right to vote under the Fifteenth Amendment. 95 years after the Fifteenth Amendment was approved, the act has been made into law, in order to attempt to respect the 15th Amendment. At the time, the South's African Americans have had to contend with significant obstacles to their right to vote throughout the years, including electoral thresholds, alphabetization tests, and other governmental restrictions that prevented them from casting a ballot. Furthermore, when attempting to register or cast a ballot, participants ran the risk of harassment, coercion, economic reprisals, and physical violence. As a result, the political power and voter registration of African American have been restricted.[36]

Before the Voting Right Act passed, the right to vote was protected by the Fifteenth Amendment, which was adopted soon after the American Civil War 1861-1865 and stated that it could not be subject to denial on the basis of race, color, or condition of servitude. Soon after, the U.S. Congress passed a law forbidding disenfranchisement and defending

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[35] Aiken J.R., Salmon E.D., and Hanges P.J, "The Origins and Legacy of the Civil Rights Act of 1964", Journal of Business and Psychology 28, 2013. https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10869-013-9291-z
[36] National Archives, "Voting Rights Act 1965", Milestone Documents. https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/voting-rights-act

the rights granted to former slaves by the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Despite this, there was a lot of hostility in giving African Americans the ability to vote. After Reconstruction came to an end in 1877, the U.S. Supreme Court reduced the voting rights protection guaranteed by federal law, and White leaders utilized fraud and intimidation to lower African Americans' registration and turnout. Due to a variety of reasons, such as poll fees, literacy requirements, nearly all African Americans were denied voting rights in the early 1900s. In the 1950s and the beginning of 1960s, the U.S. Congress passed rules to preserve African Americans' ability to vote, but these regulations had little impact. Following the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, which through the ratification of the 24th Amendment eliminated voting taxes for federal offices, President B. Johnson called for comprehensive federal legislation to safeguard the right to vote the following year. As a result, the US Attorney General was instructed to challenge the use of poll taxes for state and local elections, the Voting Rights Act was passed, and literacy tests were suspended. Is also permitted federal approval of proposals to change voting laws or procedures ("preclearance") in jurisdictions that had previously used tests to determine voter eligibility (covered by sections 4 and 5 of the legislation).[37]

To conclude, the Voting Right Act has had a great impact and went into force right away. A quarter of a million Black people began voting as electors at the end of 1965; among them, a third were federal examiners. Only four of the thirteen Southern States had registered Afro Americans who were eligible to vote by the end of 1966. A revision and expansion of the 1965 Voting Right Act took place and was updated in 1970, 1975, and 1982.[38]

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[37] The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Voting Rights Act 1965", Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/event/Voting-Rights-Act

[38] National Archives, "Voting Rights Act 1965", Milestone Documents. https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/voting-rights-act

The Anti-Apartheid Movement

2.2. South Africa in the 1900s: the discovery of the country, the Dutch colonization, and the Boer Wars

The colonization in South Africa took place in the late 15th century, when, the Portuguese leaders, Bartolomeu Dias and Vasco de Gama tried to open trade routes to other countries by charging large customs taxes on the products they shipped. Thanks to this, the westernmost point of the African continent was discovered.[39] In 1488, the Portuguese sailor Bartolomeu Dias once arrived in Southern Africa gave it the name of "Cape of Good Hope". Even though the Portuguese explorers were the first in Europe to find South Africa, they chose not to conquer it because they sought to fortify the continent's coast to safeguard their trading routes to India, indeed the first to colonize South Africa were the Dutch. On March 25, 1648, a Dutch vessel, the Harlem, was shipwrecked in Southern Africa, in Bloubergstrand, forcing the crew to remain in the area for about a year, laying down the foundations of the future Cape Town. The history of South Africa began on April 6, 1652, when, the sailors starting to explore the nearby lands, realized the great fertility of the region and the great economic possibilities the land could offer. Indeed, the Dutch were the first to establish a settlement in South Africa. Thus, it was that the Dutch India Company sent hundreds of men under the leadership of Jan Van Riebeeck to colonize the African continent. The Kohekohens, local Africans, supplied the port's primary goods, including fresh meat, vegetables, and water, being Cape's port city supposed to supply passing commerce ships. Regrettably, there was a dispute in 1657 between Riebeeck and the Kohekohens. In fact, the Dutch East India Company's huge development caused the Koekhoens to refuse to trade with them, which resulted in the annulment of their agreement to sell sheep and cattle. Furthermore, a portion of the Koekhoen region was occupied by the Dutch.[40] In 1670, to prevent the British from

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[39] Doganay Suveren, "The Colonization of South Africa and the British Impact on Development", ResearchGate, 2019,https://www.researchgate.net/publication/343557990_THE_COLONIZATION_OF_SOUTH_AFRICA_AND_THE_BRITISH_IMPACTS_ON_DEVELOPMENT/citations

[40] Ibid.

controlling the maritime route to India, the Dutch East Company established at the Cape, which provided the Dutch with a strategically important opportunity to take the lead in the eastern maritime trade route. In 1679, Simon Van Der Stel was named commander after Riebeeck, implementing an expansionist program throughout his tenure, bringing the colony to the nearby lands. He established the settlement of Stellenbosch in order to enhance the colony's farming regions. His policy was so successful that in 1691 was elected the first governor of Cape. In 1795, the first issues with Cape started to rose, when the British attempted to occupy the Cape Colony militarily.[41] In 1797 during the fourth Anglo-Dutch war, the UK occupied the colony of the Cape, then formally annexed in 1806. Thanks to the British, Cape flourished economically especially in the late 18th century with the importation of iron. Even though these many improvements, local Africans were unhappy of their ruling at Cape, and rebelled against the Chief. With the end of the French Revolutionary Wars, a treaty was signed between France and England, which established Cape should be given back to the Dutch. In 1803 Cape was again under the Dutch regime. However, during the Napoleonic Wars, British planned to conquer the Cape once again. In 1806, the British troops arrived at the land defeating the Dutch troops, making up an agreement which established Cape was under the British power. From this moment on until the founding of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the Cape remained wholly British colony.[42]

The history of English colonialism in Africa is studded with wars with the local populations, but two remained particularly imprinted in the European memory of the decades between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, namely the two Boer Wars. The Bohemians were the descendants of the first Dutch settlers who settled in the Cape of Good Hope. Over time, French and Germans joined them, mostly protestants. During the wars against revolutionary France, England decided to invade the colony in retaliation against Holland which had sided with Paris. At the end of the Napoleonic wars the territories were definitively ceded. Intolerant of English rule, many Boers began to move inland. Here they founded autonomous states that went down in history and the Boer Republics: among the most important were the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

State. However, tensions continued to rise due to the constant and growing presence of British troops in the region, who moved for military operations against indigenous peoples such as the Zulus. Nonetheless, it was the conflict with the Zulus that let tension between Boers of the Transvaal, accusing the British of having violated their sovereignty by not respecting the international agreements signed. The first Boer War began. The Boer War, also known as the First Anglo-Boer War or Transvaal War, was a conflict fought between 1880 and 1881 between the British Empire and South African settlers of Dutch origin. Within a few days groups of armed Boers attacked the British at Potchefstroom. Following the defeat at the Battle of Majuba Hill in February 1881 by a British force commanded by George Pomeroy-Collery, the British Government signed on 3 August 1881 a treaty in Pretoria, called the Convention of Pretoria. The Convention of Pretoria was then replaced in 1884 by the Convention of London, with which the complete independence of the Transvaal Republic was recognized. Within two years British imperialism was awakened by the discovery of gold minerals in the region, and this was the main cause of the second Boer War.

The Second Bohemian War, also called the Great Boer War, was a military conflict fought between 11 October 1899 and 31 May 1902 by the British Empire against the two independent Boer Republics: the Transvaal Republic, and the Orange free State, which denied political rights to non-Dutch whites. The latter, mostly English, also called Uitlander (foreigners), were led by Cecil Rhodes, rebelled with the aim of making South Africa a British colony. According to many, the underlying reason for the conflict was mostly due to the dispute over the very rich gold mines in the region. There are three distinct eras representing the war. During the first phase, when the British were militarily weak, the Boers attacked on two fronts: the British Colony of Natal, and in the Northern Cape Colony. In the late 1899 and the early 1900, the Boers defeated the British in a series of major engagements besieging the key towns of Ladysmith, Mafeking, and Kimberley. However, in the second phase, the British, under Lords Kitchener and Roberts, liberated the besieged towns, defeated the Boer armies in the field and advanced rapidly along the railroad lines. In 1900 the British occupied Bloemfontein, the capital of Orange and towards the end of 1900 we arrive at the third phase of the Boer war, which is the most destructive one. Indeed, the Boers were utterly defeated in the field, the farms of the Boers

and Africans were destroyed, and the rural dwellers were rounded up and held in segregated concentration camps. In 1901, the British made a peace offer to the Boers, which they refused because they didn't want to recognize the British annexation of their Republics. The fighting continued and the Boers lost more and more men in the field, until they weakened completely. Therefore, in 1902 they decided to end the war by accepting the peace treaty, the Vereeniging Peace. The Vereeniging Peace between Holland and Great Britain established British supremacy in South Africa, while the Boers remained a socially and culturally separate group. The Vereeniging Treaty, in addition, ended the existence of the Transvaal and the Orange free State as Boer Republics, making them part of the British Empire.

2.2.1 South Africa: the Apartheid System and the rise of the Anti-Apartheid Movement

The doctrine of apartheid was elaborated in 1948 when the National Party was elected to power. The National Party represented Afrikaaners, White people descended from Dutch settlers who arrived in the land in the XVII century. Apartheid, which means separation, is a policy of racial discrimination adopted in South Africa by the White population to the detriment of Black people, in the period from 1948 to 1994. After centuries of colonization by various European powers, in 1900s South Africa was an independent country, inhabited by different ethnic groups: 80% of the population was made up by numerous ethnic groups of indigenous Blacks, and the 10% was made up by the White European descent, who even though they represented the minority, held the power; while the rest of the population was made up by the 'colored', individuals of mixed blood. Apartheid political theory, holds that, the races that cohabit a territory should live apart from each other, allowing each ethnic group to live in autonomy and harmony with its own traditions. However, it legitimizes racial discrimination. Nonetheless, at the beginning of the 1960s, the 'Big Apartheid' strategy was established, stressing territorial separation and police oppression. In addition, Black discrimination continued to persist

till the end of the twentieth century.[43] Systematic racial discrimination in South Africa is a complex issue that has its roots in pre-industrial times, as it was in Europe, Asia, and the United States. It is reminiscent of the time when the Dutch initially colonized South Africa and established a fort at Table Bay in 1652, where the locals of the regions started living in poverty. In reaction to the British invasion and the prospect of Black people rejecting subjection, African nationalism emerged. African nationalism is an ideology which helped pave the way for apartheid being a legal system of racial discrimination. From that moment on, Black citizens could not use the same public transportation as White citizens nor attending the same schools. They received much lower wages and were disenfranchised. Bantustans, territories in which Black ethnic groups were forced to live, started to rise. They were territories, self-administered states from South Africa, in which people lost South African citizenship. The lands were arid and poor, and Black citizens were obliged to go to work in territories controlled by the whites where they basically had no rights. In order to carry out its divide and rule strategy, the Nationalist Party has approved a number of legislations: the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Reserve of Separate Services Act of 1953, which required segregation in the use of public facilities like transportations and restaurants, the Immortality Act of 1950, which promoted the forced separation of Black individuals and White people in residential areas, and finally the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which established educational policy separation on the basis of race. Through the Bantu Education Act, the Afrikaans language was introduced as the mother language to be talked by students. However, this brought many issues, as the Afrikaans language represented an obstacle to South African students who didn't know it, as never learned before. This led to many protests and resistances by the South African community and in particular by the students challenging the apartheid system. In response and tired of this form of government, the African National Congress (ANC) was formed in 1912 in order to defend the rights of the Black majority, and with it the Anti-Apartheid Movement took place. From 1947 the ANC began collaborating with the Natal Indian Congress, an Indian Party founded by Gandhi in the Natal region, allowing him to directly oppose the racist government of the country. On June 1955, ANC worked together with the Congress of Democrats, South African Colored People's Party, and

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[43] Azi Ayubi. "Apartheid Policy in South Africa". International Journal of Science and Society, 2023. http://ijsoc.goacademica.com/index.php/ijsoc

drafted the Freedom Charter which was a collection of demands in order to abolish all the laws hindering their social and political rights, erasing all the injustices South Africans were going through. In response to this, the Nationalist Party strengthened its power, approving the General Law Amendment Act of 1963, which gave police more power. Indeed, this was evident in the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, and in the Soweto Uprising, where the brutality of the police was at the extreme. Despite this, towards the beginning of the 1970s, a new wave of young people who were active in protesting against Bantu Policy started to emerge. The government reacted by arresting the protestors, and in 1964 ANC leader Nelson Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment. Nelson Mandela was born on July 18, 1918, he was a lawyer and soon after became the president of the ANC. His main goal was to overcome racial inequality and the system of apartheid by promoting equal rights.[44] In 1961, Mandela demanded a change in government through the creation of anti-discrimination laws. However, his demands were refused and since then Mandela decided to respond with strikes. Indeed, he immediately organized movements of boycotts, demonstration, in which they acted violently (i.e., burning the pass books). Soon after he founded the Umkhonto, a military wing of the ANC.[45] As he was thought to be dangerous from the government, he was arrested. In the 1980s, apartheid became increasingly oppressive, therefore, the United Nations General Assembly called on States to sever relations with the apartheid regime of multinational companies, banks, and other institutions, and a Special Committee Against Apartheid was established within the UN. In 1985 and 1986, the European Community passed an embargo on the arms trade, the cessation of oil exports, and cultural and sporting exchanges, and, later, an embargo on new investments. In the 1990 President Frederik de Klerk, leader of the African National Party, was forced to start the process of abolishing the racial laws. On February 11, after 27 years of life imprisonment, Mandela was released and returned to being the protagonist of South African politics. In the 1993, Mandela was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, and at the 1994 election, South Africans were readmitted to vote, with the victory of the ANC. Mandela won the elections against de Klerk, becoming finally the first Black President of South Africa.[46]

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[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

CHAPTER 3 --- A Comparative Analysis on the Strategies and Tactics used by both Movements: Boycotts, Sit-ins, and Civil Disobediences

3.0 Research Design

This chapter will be focused on a comparative analysis between the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa. As already said in the previous chapter, both movements aimed at the achievement of equality and human rights. On the one hand, the Civil Rights Movement aimed at ending racial segregation and discrimination against African Americans, while the Anti-Apartheid Movement goal was to end the apartheid system which led to many injustices towards South Africans. The idea of this chapter is to present and analyze the strategies and tactics used by both movements (boycotts, sit-ins, civil disobediences) in order to compare and contrast how they reacted differently or similarly in order to follow and achieve their claims.

A section on social media will also be introduced. In this section the importance of social media will be discussed and presented as well. In the past, traditional media such as journals, televisions, and radios were the only means used by social movements in order to spread their goals and raise awareness towards the public. Today, with the rise of social media, social movements mobilization is much more facilitated. Indeed, social media allows social movements to reach a wider public thanks to the use of digital platforms like Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, and TikTok, through a rapid and effective diffusion in real time of images, videos, and news. Social media has become in short time a fundamental mean of communication and sensibilization for social movements thanks to which everyone is able to keep in touch with issues surrounding the society and the globe. They have allowed individuals who support and share same thoughts and feelings to participate even in distant causes erasing any barrier. To conclude, to further explain and

support this thesis, a case study on the Black Lives Matter (BLM) will be analyzed. Through the analysis of the BLM a comparison on the efficacy of the role of social media rather than the one of the traditional media will be made. Furthermore, it will be highlighted how successful social media are for social movements to combat for their beliefs.

Strategies and Tactics adopted in the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement

3.1 The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955

The Montgomery Bus Boycott was a civil and political protest that began in 1955 in Montgomery which symbolized peaceful resistance against racial segregation.[47] It's important to bear in mind that racial segregation was present at the time because as a result of the Jim Crow laws that were applicated to the Afro-American community. The segregation prevented Black people on driving bus and ride the bus on the front, and in addition they were forced to give up their seats to White people if no seats were available.

The boycott began when, in 1955, at the end of a normal working day, Rosa Parks, an African American seamstress, boarded a bus to return home. In those days, Montgomery's buses were divided inside into three sectors: a Whites-only sector which were the first 10 seats in the front, a sector dedicated only to African Americans which were the last 10 seats in the back, and a sixteen-seat sector that was shared: it could be used by both, but if there were no seats available any seated African American passengers was obliged to give up his/her seat to the white passengers left standing. On her return home, as there were no free seats in the sector reserved for African Americans, Rosa Parks sat in a seat in the common sector. After few stops, a White passenger boarded the bus, and with no seats available, therefore, the driver approached Rosa Parks asking her to

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[47] History.com Editors, "Montgomery Bus Boycott", Black History, 2010, Updated in 2023, https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/montgomery-bus-boycott

give up her seat. Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat and remained seated. Following this response, the driver decided to stop the ride and called two police officers, who boarded and arrested Rosa Parks. This was not the first case in which such an episode occurred, in fact, a few months earlier on March 2, in Montgomery, Claudette Colvin, a 16-year-old student, was the protagonist of a very similar episode, with the only difference that she did not have the same repercussion, but still arrested and handcuffed for having refused to give up her seat to a White passenger. Claudette Colvin in that year was a member of the NAACP Youth Council while Rosa Parks the advisor. On the same day Rosa Parks was arrested, the first riots began. However, under the leadership of E.D. Nixon, some anti-segregation actions had been planned time before to Parks' incarceration. Nixon, through Rosa Parks arrest wanted to prove Black citizens of Montgomery they could challenge segregation on the public buses. Indeed, right after Rosa Parks arrest, E.D. Nixon together with other leaders planned a meeting at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in order to form the "Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)" and nominated Martin Luther King Jr. as the leader to guide the boycott. Martin Luther King Jr. approach was to organize protest actions by leading the movement through principles of non-violence, demonstrating that peaceful activism could also be considered a powerful tool for social change. Initially, the MIA requested African Americans could seat in the front seats of the buses and hire them as drivers of the buses as well. However, such request was immediately rejected. Despite that, the boycott continued to take place and this time a new strategy was implemented and consisted of Black citizens refusing to board public transportations. This collective action lasted for over a year, precisely 382 days, and was interrupted by the repeal of the Segregation Act. In 1956, indeed, following the two cases of Rosa Parks and Claudette Colvin, the Supreme Court with the Browder v. Gayle, ruled that segregation on public transportation was unconstitutional, upholding the decision after the State of Alabama and the municipality of Montgomery. Clearly, right after the decision of the Supreme Court, threats, protests, demonstrations, and violent acts against Black citizens of Montgomery were not long in coming from the white population (members of the Ku Klux Klan) who disagreed with the final ruling. Indeed, two days later after declaring unconstitutional segregation on public transport, a shotgun was discharged in Martin Luther King's house. In addition, four Black churches were bombed, activists were violented while walking on the street,

Black teenagers were threated while getting off the bus and so on. Nevertheless, activism by the Afro-Americans never stopped but, on the contrary, went on with determination lighting on racial injustice and by showing up the many inequities they had to face, pushing for true and permanent change.

To conclude, the Montgomery Bus Boycott represented an important and crucial moment in the civil rights struggle of African Americans in the United States as it demonstrated the potential of non-violent mass protest to successfully challenge racial segregation, serving as an example for many other campaigns that followed. This event certainly had a significant impact on the national consciousness leading to a vast growth of the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement. Indeed, the boycott attracted not only broad participation form the African American community in Montgomery but as well as from supporters of all ethnicities, demonstrating that the fight against injustices had a great impact, even on a universal level. The boycott also attracted national and international media attention. Nonetheless, traditional media attention was a crucial aspect that contributed significantly to the success and visibility of the Civil Rights Movement. The images of African Americans walking instead of taking buses while facing the brutality of segregation elicited support from many people around different countries towards the African American community. This resulted in pressure on political and government leaders, forcing the authorities to address the issue more seriously and directly.

3.1.1 Little Rock Nine, 1957

The Little Rock Nine event represents an extremely important moment in the history of racial segregation in the United States of America. In 1957, in Arkansas, Southern United States, nine scholars (six girls and three boys: Melba Pattillo, Ernst Green, Elizabeth Eckford, Minnijean Brown, Terrence Roberts, Carlotta Walls, Jefferson Thomas, Gloria Ray, and Thelma Mothershed) were allowed to enroll at the public Little Rock Central High School in Little Rock due to their excellent academic performance. This clearly caused problems not only in the daily lives of the teenagers and their families, but also

many public order problems. As discussed in the previous chapter, in 1954 following the decision in Brown v. Board of Education the U.S. Supreme Court decided to end racial segregation in schools by making it unconstitutional. In fact, as we recall, prior to 1954, Black children had to attend different schools from White children, travelling in most of the cases miles away from their homes to their schools. However, right after the ruling declared in 1954, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, attempted to enroll Black students in Southern schools, which were previously reserved only for Whites. In order to encourage the action, a new integration plan was therefore planned, unanimously approved, and integrated since September 1957. From this point onwards, the nine scholars were admitted to the school and recruited by Daisy Bates, president of the NAACP. However, despite the 1954 ordinance and the integration plan, there was much opposition from the citizens of Little Rock as well as many other Southern States who strongly objected to this change, not respecting the decision made.

The boycott began when on 4 September 1957 in Little Rock, Arkansas, on the first day of school, the nine Black scholars selected to attend the public school reserved by their white peers went towards the school entrance. The news was not taken in the best ways, in fact, as soon as they entered the school hallway, a White mob protested and gathered in front of them shouting, intimidating, and threatening them. The news was not taken badly only by the classmates, but as well from the Governor Orval Eugene Faubus, who mobilized the troops of the Arkansas National Guard to prevent and block the nine scholars from entering and attending the school. Governor Faubus, indeed, was opposed to the decision to accept the nine children inside the school, demanding and expressing his opposition to their integration in defiance of the racial desegregation ordinance. The case was immediately reported to President Eisenhower who, on 24 September 1957, issued a federal executive order placing the Arkansas National Guard under the command of federal forces and authorizing the use of federal troops to enforce the right of African American students to attend the school.

"In accordance with that responsibility, I have today issued an Executive Order directing the use of troops under Federal authority to aid in the execution of Federal

law at Little Rock, Arkansas. This become necessary when my Proclamation of yesterday was not observed, and the obstruction of justice continues".[48]

This quotation is about a speech made by the President Eisenhower on 24 September 1957, following the violent opposition made by the citizens of Little Rock against the nine Afro-American students, affirming that since attacks persist, he was forced to apply troops to guarantee protection towards the nine scholars. Indeed, right after his speech, the next day, the little rock nine were finally able to enter Little Rock Central High School under the protection of federal troops, the so-called Army's 101st Airborne Division. Despite the presence of the troops, the nine students were continually subjected to violence, threats, and acts of discrimination by their peers, who outraged at the idea that they were allowed to be part of their schools, made their integration quite complicated, even in front of their teachers. An example of violence used against them was the case of Melba Pattillo, a girl who was victim of an act of extremely violence, i.e., she was thrown acid in her eyes. Surprisingly, in spite of the continuous physical and verbal violence they had to endure over the course of several days, the little rock nine did not let it get down and continued to go to school, showing their determination and courage in wanting to integrate, learn, and obtain equal rights as rightly established in the final ruling of 1954. This behavior meant and symbolized a sign of resistance and change for the Civil Rights Movement of Afro-American people, inciting and giving hope to the Afro-American community to continue and fight for their rights never losing hope that one day things would change for the better. Nevertheless, from the moment the situation had become unmanageable in the classrooms and not only, the Governor of Arkansas, in order to postpone the gradual elimination of segregation, decided to interrupt the school year on the pretext of avoiding further clashes, and intimidation by the peers, suspending classes and keeping schools closed. The decision was confirmed and accepted following a referendum. Despite this, the families of the nine students were persecuted more as they were held guilty and responsible by the families of the White students for the loss of their children's school year. The school was reopened in 1959 following the Supreme Court ruling, stating that Black children were allowed and had the right to attend the Little Rock

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[48] Michael E. Eidenmuller. "Address to the Nation on Desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas". American Rhetoric, 2022, https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/dwighteisenhowerlittlerock.htm

schools, confirming the process of desegregation in public schools, thus increasing security to handle further tensions and clashes. The school year ended with an incredible news of Ernst Green, who became the first African American to graduate from Central High School, showing his skills and school commitment during the year leaving aside any intimidation.

To conclude, the 'Little Rock Nine' event got extensive and intense national and worldwide media coverage. The media's attention was crucial in bringing to light the injustices of racial segregation and driving societal change. The photographs of the Little Rock Nine attempting to enter the school while encircled by federal forces were widely circulated, symbolizing the strength and power of the Civil Rights Movement. Furthermore, these pictures sparked empathy and outrage around the world, influencing public opinion on the problem of racial segregation, making people understand that it was not an issue of little importance, but on the contrary an issue that involved many people, children, and adults, discriminated, and abused because of different skin color. Thanks to media attention, broadcast, television, images, and radio regarding the 'Little Rock Nine' notice, people were invited to reflect on racial injustices leading many of them in supporting the Civil Rights Movement.

3.1.2 Greensboro Sit-In, 1960

The Greensboro sit-in held in 1960, represents one of the best-known protests today for the African American Civil Rights Movement. The sit-in occurred when young African American students organized a sit-in at a segregated Woolworth's counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, refusing to leave the lunch counter after being denied service. The movement spread throughout the city with many protesters, some of whom were arrested for spreading disorder in the city. However, the sit-in had a significant impact as it led Woolworth and other establishments to change their segregation policies.[49] The

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[49] History.com Editors, "Greensboro Sit-in", A&E Television Networks, 2010, https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/the-greensboro-sit-in

Greensboro sit-in took place and was organized by four young Afro-American men, hence the name Greensboro Four: Ezell Blair Jr., David Richmond, Franklin McCain, and Joseph McNeil, students from North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College. They were members of the NAACP Youth Council, whose leader was McKissick. The Greensboro sit-in was not the first one, in fact, in the late fifties sit-ins in Durham were presents first. Effectively, it's not a case that the Greensboro Four took inspiration from the Durham sit-ins.[50]

The sit-in began when, on 1 February 1960, the four students sat at the lunch counter at Woolworth in Greensboro. The policy at that time was to refuse service to anyone but White people. Therefore, as they were African American students, they were denied service, but nevertheless the four students refused to get up and leave their seats, waiting until the store closed. The next day, other twenty-five students joined the sit-in. The following day they became sixty-three students. The fourth day, three White women joined the sit-in, and the fifth day, more than three-hundred students took part of the sit-in. By a week of the Greensboro protest, sit-ins took over across the South, with the Southern Regional Council reporting that massive sit-in demonstrations and related activity were held in at least 69 Southern towns between February 1 and March 31, 1960.[51] In April 1960, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was founded in Raleigh, North Carolina, at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), becoming one of the main forces of the Civil Rights Movement. The SNCC immediately received much support, as differentiated by many others organization, believing instead on the group decision-making process, and composed by Black and White college students, who followed Mahatma Gandhi theories of non-violent actions. The SNCC was mainly based on the promotion of nonviolence, and it was the key component of the sit-in, direct action, and youth activism for racial equality and end to segregation. However, as the years went by, and due to the constant violence the members had to face, the SNCC organization became increasingly militant, loosing at the beginning of the 70' much of the support and leading to internal divisions.

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[50] Aldon Morris, *Black Southern Student Sit-in Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization*. American Sociological Review, 1981, p.755 https://doi.org/10.2307/2095077

[51] Ibid.

The national media coverage played a fundamental role in describing such protests drawing increasing attention to the Civil Rights Movement. In fact, the news of the emergence of the sit-in quickly spread via TV to various university towns in the South and North. As already mentioned before, nonviolence was the key determinant in the Greensboro sit-in, nonetheless many protestors did not receive peaceful replies from the White citizens. Despite that, demonstrators remained unwavering. Such behaviors were immediately caught in images, newspapers, leading the public by the side of the protestors, gaining day by day support and attention. Just think that by the end of March 1960, the movement had spread in 13 states and hundreds of cities. Thanks to the pictures representing the four students who fought peacefully racial segregation outbreak indignation and solidarity from public opinion, spreading the message that racial injustice was not only a local problem, but a national issue that needed a serious radical change.

To conclude, at the end of July, the Greensboro Woolworth integrated the lunch counter, and four Black employees were the first to be served. The movement represented a major turning point in Black history by bringing the struggle for civil rights onto the national stage. Its use of non-violence was an inspiration for many other campaigns, leading to the promotion of the cause of equal rights in the United States.

3.1.3 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, 1963

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was a large political demonstration in support of civil and economic rights for African Americans, which took place on 28 August 1963 in Washington during the presidency of John Fitzgerald Kennedy. It was on this occasion that the African American leader Martin Luther King Jr., delivered his "I have a dream" speech, calling for an end to racism and peace between Black and White citizens. The march was organized by A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, who formed a coalition in support of civil and labor rights along with religious organizations, who were united under the theme of work and freedom. The march was the largest one in the history of the United States, and it counted around 250,000 people participating to it

demanding for civil and economic rights for the African American community. According to scholars, the 75-80% of the demonstrators were Black citizens, while the rest were White citizens or other minority groups, all coming by bus, train, and car, to take part all together in the biggest protest ever made. In addition, the March on Washington has been important because the decisive point moment for the approval of the Civil Rights Act 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.[52]

The March on Washington was planned in less than three months by Bayard Rustin (an African American leader in social movements for civil rights, socialism, and nonviolence), and his partner Randolph (an American labor unionist and civil rights activist, leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters). In June 1963, the Council for United Civil Rights Leadership (CUCRL) was formed by several leaders, which then came to be known as the "Big Six", included: Randolph, James Farmer (president of the Congress of racial Equality), John Lewis (president of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), Martin Luther King Jr, Roy Wilkins (president of the NAACP) and Whitney Young (president of the National Urban League). The March surprised expectations in numerous ways, i.e., the number of persons that came surpassed the organizers' initial projections: Rustin had initially predicted that more than 100,000 people would come to the march, however, the ultimate estimate was of 250,000 including 190,000 Black people and 60,000 White people. Because of such numbers of demonstrators, 5.900 agents were mobilized together with 6.000 soldiers and national guards as a plus for protection. Such move was made because there was the fear the march would result in violence; however, demonstrators were peacefully, and the march was quite calm. In fact, the goal of the march was to be decisive and touching through nonviolent direct actions.[53] The main focus of the march was to call for public work programs that would employ Black people (i.e., minimum wage of $2-an-hour, job

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[52] Susan Pitts Santoli and Paige Vitulli, *Examining the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom through Primary Sources*, pg.7, Black History bulletin 75, 2012, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24759670

[53] "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom", National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior, 2023 https://www.nps.gov/articles/march-on-washington.htm

training), equal civil rights (no more school segregation, enforcement of the 14th Amendment, law prohibiting discrimination in private and public hiring) as well as freedom, justice, and equal opportunities. The march was planned as many of the goals written in the Emancipation proclamation were not realized yet, indeed, Black unemployment was still large, there was no work, and minimum wage was given, leading high and strong racial segregation in the South.[54] In occasion of the March on Washington several leaders have talked in front of the 250,000 demonstrators, however, the discourse which remained in the history and more impressed in people's mind was the Martin Luther King speech "I have a dream". King gathered his speech in front of the Lincoln Memorial to demonstrate against the unequal treatment of Black people in the United States. Slavery had been abolished in 1863, but the separation in everyday life between White citizens and Black citizens was legal and in the Southern States it was the rule. 'I have a dream' speech is a powerful message to the African American community to stand strong and persevere during a time of great inequality in the United States. In his speech, King tells the audience that is the time to fight for democracy and brotherhood. He reminds that the fight must be carried out with dignity and nonviolence, therefore, people should not react trough violent actions, but remain disciplined and keep going with the end goal in mind. In point of fact, during his career as a civil rights activist, King always upheld the principles of nonviolence in promoting protests, which, however, were often harshly repressed by the police. At the end of his speech, King shared his vision of a racially harmonious future and reminded all his fellow citizens of the principle of the Declaration of Independence: all men are created equal.

"And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal"[55].

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[54] "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom", Stanford University
https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/march-washington-jobs-and-freedom

[55] "I have a Dream", The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, 2014, https://www.gilderlehrman.org/sites/default/files/inline-pdfs/king.dreamspeech.excerpts.pdf

"I have a dream" has been and is still today one of the most important speeches made during the Civil Rights Movement, which marked the history of the United States and the life of many Afro-American citizens, indeed, the greatness of the speech lies in the greatness of one man and his fight against racism and racial segregation. [56]

To conclude, media have played a fundamental role in the March on Washington, especially during the Martin Luther King speech. Thanks to media attention, people that could not participate in the march had the opportunity to follow it through radio and television, bringing consciousness to the issue of racism and social inequality around the world. Martin Luther King Jr address was extensively televised in the media, allowing his message to be heard by a large number of people. His plea for equality, the abolition of racism, and the realization of the hope of a brighter future has touched many people's hearts and spurred action and change. Finally, media has helped to raise public awareness about racial injustices and discrimination against the African American community. This was possible thanks the diffusion of images, broadcasts, and pictures shared and diffused through television and newspapers, giving a real picture of the situation Afro-Americans people had to face day by day, therefore, increasing pressure for a change and a better future.

Strategies and Tactics used in the Anti-Apartheid Movement

3.2 Defiance Campaign, 1952

The Defiance Campaign, the first nonviolent movement ever carried out in South Africa, took place on June 26, 1952, in order to revoke six unjust laws. The campaign was led by the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), and

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[56] Ibid.

the Franchise Action Council (FrAC), a group which was formed to oppose the elimination of the Colored vote.[57] The aim of the campaign was to plan one of the biggest mass organizations which encouraged a civil disobedience in order to fight against the apartheid regime which came to power in 1948 and rebel against the racial laws enacted from the government.

The Defiance Campaign started when 8,500 volunteers, including Nelson Mandela and Albertina Sisulu, the two prominent figures, ran the prospect of going to jail for breaking curfew rules and pass restrictions publicly burning pass books in the symbolic act of defiance and other repressive policies including segregation in train stations and post offices because tired of being denied of freedom and basic rights. The protest was attended by some White people: Patrick Duncan (son a former Governor-general), Miss Bettie du Toit (Afrikaner trade union leader), Albie Sachs (professor of law in Mozambique). Soon, members of the ANC soon increased from 7,000 to 100,000 during the campaign and it became a truly national organization of the people. The campaign led to the formation of the Colored People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats, with the adoption of the Freedom Charter.[58] The charter laid out the vision for a nonracial and democratic South Africa and the abolition of racial laws which only led to the repression of South Africans limiting their human rights. Nevertheless, the South African government responded to the Defiance Campaign with repression and arrests. Thousands of activists were arrested, including Nelson Mandela, who was sentenced nine months of hard labor. The campaign didn't end apartheid, but it certainly represented a significant step in the struggle against the regime, demonstrating how powerful are the nonviolent mass mobilizations.

The role of media has been crucial for the development of the Defiance Campaign. They had been tools of information, nonetheless, journals and radio were useful in the spread of the happenings to the public. They had been useful in denouncing the apartheid system which was diving society and leading more and more to discrimination and isolation

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[57] Baruch Hirson, *The Defiance Campaign, 1952: Social Struggle or Party Stratagem*? Searchlight South Africa, 1988, p. 70. https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/slsep88.7.pdf

[58] African National Congress, "The Defiance Campaign in South Africa", Asian Times, 1987. https://www.anc1912.org.za/defiance-campaign-1952-the-defiance-campaign-in-south-africa-recalled/

towards South Africans. In addition, they played a fundamental role in helping protestors to mobilize their campaign and their action of civil disobedience.

3.2.1 Bantu Education Boycott, 1955

The Bantu Education Boycott, 1955, took place after a general discontent provoked right after the approval of the Bantu education Act, 1953. The Bantu Education Act, 1953, later renamed the Black Education Act, 1953, was a segregationist South African regulation which main aim was to give everyone an education, however, resulting in having legalized different aspects of the apartheid system, therefore reinforcing the racial segregation of educational facilities.[59] During the 1948s, Black people in South Africa run a crucial period with the advancement of the Nationalist Government of Malan into power. He believed in the ideals of apartheid and segregation, therefore dividing Black people and White people into different areas of the country. A new ideology was then introduced, the Bantu Education Act. The ideological fight between apartheid and its associated ideals of dominance on one side, and the liberal goal of integration on the other, was seen as the conflict that drove the Bantu Education Act.[60] With the passage of the Bantu Education Act, which transferred jurisdiction over Black education from churches to the state, and elevated Black education to a national concern, the state was able to impose apartheid on every facet of South Africa society.[61] Nonetheless, such act brought parents, teachers, and members of the African National Congress to protest against this ruling asking for different educational methods, resulting in the Bantu Education boycott of 1955.[62]

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[59] Sarah Gonzales, "Black South Africans Boycott Bantu Education System, 1954-1955", Global Nonviolent Action Database, 2013. https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/black-south-africans-boycott-bantu-education-system-1954-1955

[60] Pam Christie, Colin Collins, *Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology or Labor Reproduction?* Comparative Education, 1982, pg. 59. https://www.jstor.org/stable/3098501

[61] Timothy Reagan, *People's Education in South Africa Schooling for Liberation*, Journal of Thought, 1989, pg. 6-7 https://www.jstor.org/stable/42589282

[62] Sarah Gonzales, "Black South Africans Boycott Bantu Education System, 1954-1955", Global Nonviolent Action Database, 2013. https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/black-south-africans-boycott-bantu-education-system-1954-1955

November 1953, ANC members being contrary to the Act, decided to organize protests against it, leading to a boycott, the Bantu Education Boycott. In December 1954, during a Conference, it was agreed that parents should have removed their children from schools. The campaign took place on April 23, when, ANC members together with other campaigners reunited in the morning and marched to ten schools to enact the boycott. Soon after, schools were closed as around 6.000 to 7.000 students participated in the boycott. However, the boycott didn't have a great success. Indeed, an anti-boycott movement was organized, denouncing it to the police, which arrested many of the campaigners including the parents of the students. Additionally, the campaign couldn't go ahead as a threat was issued on 15 April 1955 when campaigners were warned that if they had continued the demonstrations and if children would not have returned to school within 10 days, they would not have been given the chance of being readmitted to schools.[63]

To conclude, the campaign ended in 1955 when campaigners decided to stop the boycott as opposition was too hard to fight. Parents, even though against the Bantu Education Act, didn't want to risk their children from being prevented of education, therefore giving up to the system.[64] Finally, media attention has been fundamental in documenting the educational disparities imposed to South African students as a result of the apartheid system. Media have helped the boycott to draw public attention, spreading each detail of the demonstration. Students, parents, activists were all interviewed raising more awareness towards that unconscious of what really was happening in South Africa showing how destructive was for them the apartheid system at any level: civil, educational, political, and mostly important humanly.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

3.2.2 Sharpeville Massacre, 1960

The Sharpeville massacre took place in South Africa on March 21, 1960, in the period of maximum intensity of popular protests against the apartheid policy implemented by the National Party. During a peaceful demonstration in Sharpeville, where 7,000 Black protestors went to the police station, the South African Police opened fire on crowds of demonstrators, killing 69 people. The Sharpeville demonstration was organized by the Pan African Congress (PAC) to protest the government's Urban Areas Act, informally called pass law. This law stipulated that Black South African citizens had to produce a special permit if they were stopped by the police in an area reserved for whites. To qualify for the pass, Black citizens had to have a regular employment in the area in question.

The Sharpeville as said before, occurred in the period in which South Africa was hit by apartheid. During these years, White people made the minority of the population, more or less, around the 15%, while on the other side the Black citizens made up the 80% of population, however the latter ones were marginalized and always under constant violence and repression. Tired of the situation it was occurring in South Africa, many people decided to protest peacefully against the regime and against the pass law system, which was repressing South Africans. In order to fight against the apartheid regime and try to overcome the disparity present in South Africa, in March 1960, the Pan African Congress organized a demonstration in the Black township of Sharpeville. The protest goal was to abolish the pass law, therefore, thousands of protestors marched to Sharpeville police station without their pass books. During the protest, police arrived with numerous vehicles, and suddenly opened fire on the crowd. Many people were injured, around 180, while 69 people were killed.[65]

The protest which initially was conceived as a peaceful one resulted in a tragedy. In many countries, in order to show support and solidarity towards the South Africans, citizens started to burn their own pass books. On April 1, the UN Security Council condemned

[65] Matthew McRae. "The Sharpeville Massacre." Canadian Museum for Human Rights. Published March 19, 2019. Updated: August 8, 2023. https://humanrights.ca/story/sharpeville-massacre

the deaths and demanded that the South African government end its use of apartheid. The UN General Assembly declared that apartheid was a violation of the UN Charter and, six years after the Sharpeville Massacre, the UN declared March 21 to be the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Finally, in December 1996, South Africa ratified a new Constitution, whose Bill of Rights protected the principles of everyone's freedom, equality, and dignity, and where the Human Rights Day is currently observed on March 21 in South Africa.[66]

3.2.3 Soweto Uprising, 1976

On June 16, 1976, in Soweto, a neighborhood in the extreme suburbs of Johannesburg, hundreds of people died, with the uprising spreading throughout the country, completely changing South African society. The Soweto Uprising represented one of the worst apartheid episodes in South Africa, with many students who had decided to protest against the government, not knowing that they would have faced the massacre by the police. Through the growth of the Black Consciousness Movement, and the founding of the South African Students Organization, many students have increased their political awareness, while others have embraced the anti-apartheid sentiment in the student community. As soon as Afrikaans and English became required in schools in 1974, Black students started to protest, as those two languages represented an educational barrier for African students as never thought them before. On June 16, 1976, between 3,000 and 10,000 students mobilized and marched in a peaceful demonstration at Orlando Stadium. However, demonstrators were stopped by armed police who had thrown teargas and fired bullets on students, leading to the Soweto Uprising, organized in order to protest against the government.[67]

On the morning of June 16, students reunited and marched in the streets of Soweto, protesting against the educational system imposed to them. When students, around

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[66] Ibid.
[67] "The June 16 Soweto Youth Uprising", South African History Online, 2013. Updated: 23 June 2023
https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/june-16-soweto-youth-uprising

10.000, reached Vilakazi Street, near the Orlando West Junior Secondary School, police agents started to attack them, throwing tear gas among the crowd, nonetheless, students answered by launching stones at the agents. The revolt began, and two students were killed when the officers fired bullets hitting a 15-year-old student, and a 13-year-old student. Suddenly, the peaceful protest, transformed into a violent one. Soweto became very dangerous with many students firing buildings and government vehicles. In response to Soweto demonstration, other students' countries mobilized showing solidarity towards the many students injured and killed by police officers.[68]

In order to analyze what happened during the Soweto Uprising, a Commission, the Cillié Commission, was nominated, stating that 575 people died and 3.907 were injured. Soweto Uprising led to many damages to the apartheid regime leading to the crise of the government. Police officers were accused of misusing their power and for failing to save the city and the people involved in the protest. Thanks to the uprising, indeed, the apartheid regime was deconstructed, and a new constitution took place in 1993, giving the right to vote to all citizens, regarding the skin color. In conclusion, June 16 is now a memorable day in South Africa, a day of festivity called Youth Day, where students fought for their freedom and rights fighting a government that gave them any values but only suppressed them.[69]

3.3 Results

The Civil Rights Movement led in the United States and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in South Africa are two important movements which marked years of history for the achieving of human rights, equality, end of racial segregation and apartheid regime. Once having described the strategies and tactics used by both movements it is clear that they share some similarities and differences in carrying forward their ideals.

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[68] Rebecca M. Kulik. "Soweto Uprising", The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2023, https://www.britannica.com/event/Soweto-uprising

[69] Ibid.

First of all, both movements have reacted towards the government authority through the organization of boycotts, civil disobediences, and sit-ins as a mean of protest. Second, both movements have used the strategy of nonviolence (i.e., Greensboro Sit-in and the Montgomery Bus Boycott), which has played a key role in the development of both social movements. Both the Civil Rights Movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movement were inspired by the Gandhi philosophy of nonviolence. They recurred to nonviolence for several reasons: 1) it was the right mean through which achieve justice trying to avoid repercussions like violence and repression, 2) through the tactic of nonviolence they gained more support among the country and among people around the world, 3) the use of violence would have resulted in repression leading to higher use of violence losing the real aim of the demonstrations: end of violence against Black citizens, discrimination, and racial segregation. Third, they both aimed at ending social, political, and economic disparities which were present in the daily life of Black citizens while promoting equality. In addition, educational disparities were present in the Civil Rights Movement and in the Anti-Apartheid Movement as well. Indeed, they aimed at ending discrimination inside the schools as in the case of the Little Rock Nine, Soweto Uprising, and Bantu Education boycott. To conclude, most of these boycotts, sit-ins, and civil disobediences have achieved great results in the political field (i.e., the Montgomery Bus Boycott ended racial segregation on public transportation, the Soweto Uprising ended apartheid regime giving all citizens the right to vote, and the Sharpeville Massacre led to the approval of a new Constitution in which basic human rights were protected by the Bill of Rights). Finally, the fight for civil rights, the overcome of discrimination (social, political, and economical) the abolition of racial segregation, and the achievement of equality and freedom were all key crucial aspects which the Civil Rights Movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movement tried to achieve while organizing their strategies and tactics, showing how important they are in order to obtain social justice.

The differences related to the movements are first, the historical context. The Anti-Apartheid movement developed in South Africa during the apartheid regime, while the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement developed in America in the years '50 and '60 of the XX century. The Afro-American Civil Rights Movement aimed to end racial segregation and discrimination against Afro-Americans, while the Anti-Apartheid

Movement aimed at ending the apartheid system, a system based on discrimination against South Africans. Second, each boycott, sit-in, and civil disobedience of both social movements have differences related in their aims and therefore gaining different results for each campaign. Furthermore, sometimes the repression by authority differed in each campaign, leading to different reactions by the movements (i.e., during the Montgomery Bus Boycott and Greensboro Sit-in, repression by the police was quite peaceful, while in other cases such as the Sharpeville Massacre and Soweto Uprising, the police reacted through violence leading to many injuries and deaths). In addition, some of the demonstrations have achieved great results such as the March on Washington which led to the development of the Civil Rights Act 1964 and of the Voting Rights Act 1965, or the Montgomery Bus Boycott, while others have achieved less results such as the Bantu Education Boycott which didn't ended discrimination in school as opposition was too hard, but, however, it was still helpful in aware people on the injustices brought by the apartheid regime. To conclude some differences are present between the two social movements which mainly reside in their final goals and in the way campaigns ended, therefore, residing in the way they have changed their history.

Traditional media have played a fundamental role in the development of both movements. Thanks to radio, TVs and newspapers, their battle came to be known by many through the spread of images and videos denouncing the many injustices both Afro-Americans and South Africans were facing. Media attention has been helpful in raising awareness and solidarity not only among individuals who directly were involved in the demonstrations, but as well as among people around the world. Even though, traditional media has been an integral component for social movements during those years, I strongly agree if social media would have been existed at the time, then social movements could have reached their goals in a shorter time. As a matter of fact, social movements today use social media as one of the principal tools to get attention and mostly of the times successfully succeeding in reaching their objectives.

3.4 Introduction to Social Media

In the digital age the awareness of social and environmental injustices occurring in various parts of the world has become increasingly widespread. The growth of Internet and of social media, though frequently viewed as sources of manipulation and disinformation, have contributed to the democratization of information access. Indeed, social media platforms have enabled citizens to engage in social, political, and environmental concerns throughout the world.

Social media can be defined as a mean of communication and socialization that allow multiple individuals to interact on a variety of issues through the exchange of information. They are not only platforms through which share posts, but also communities for discussions and virtual meeting places between people who share same values, beliefs, and interests. Today, social media play a crucial role in our society. The introduction of social media has resulted in significant changes in social, cultural, economic, and political dynamics, profoundly impacting our modern society. Social media are a virtual reality that have changed the way we connect and interact with one another. They have transformed communication by allowing individuals all over the world to connect, share materials and information in real time leading to the creation of virtual communities. Over the years, social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, LinkedIn, YouTube, and many others have grown in popularity and user base. They have emerged as a key tool where not only youths, but even individuals of older generations may freely express their opinions and ideas on a variety of topics, mostly on social and political issues, claiming their rights in the effort to generate a change or prevent such change. In this regard, we can mention Henry Jenkins, one of the most well-known proponents of techno-optimism. Techno-optimism is a philosophy that emphasizes the optimistic conviction that innovation and technology growth may benefit human civilization and the future of mankind. According to this viewpoint, new technology can lead to considerable advances in people's quality of life, the settlement of global challenges, and their overall well-being. To better grasp this idea, according to Jenkins, the Internet is a place for democracy where people have more power than they do in the traditional mass communication system. Clearly, many are the critiques brought up against techno-

optimism, as an inappropriate use of technology may result in negative consequences; however, Jenkins idea was to create contents and the Web 2.0 as a tool to increase democracy.

To conclude, Internet and social media, have been important tools for the new social movements being able to advance their causes to a broader public introducing individuals to a reality perhaps unknown to them. Consider the LGBTQ+, Gender, and Black Lives Matter movements. All these movements were facilitated thanks to the usage of social media platforms (Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, and TikTok) which allowed them to make their voices heard globally while also documenting and sharing everything that happened during the protests on the platforms online; thus, playing a key role in fostering a sense of community, inclusivity, and support for such battles by anyone around the world.

3.4.1 The Importance of Mass Media in Society: Traditional Media and Social Media

Nowadays, media and communication are the two most important aspects of our everyday social lives. Communication is crucial since it is the mean through which social relationships may take place, and the media has made it simpler to form such networks between individuals. Media have a very important role in defining mythologies and ideologies, or the so-called shared values. They are ideological tools in the sense that they not only provide ideologies, but they are ideology. At the same time, media are responsible for our representation of the world, indeed, they may lay an important role in society as mediator generating social discourses. In some cases, our representation of the world is based solely on what media says about it; therefore, our understanding of the world is based only on the media information. Clearly, this may be positive if media are transparent; otherwise, if manipulative, just a partial view is given on a specific aspect. Media can be divided into different categories such as: traditional media (journals, radio, television), digital media (web, blog, podcast), and social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Facebook).

Aspects concerning media studies and in particular the relationship between media and society; society and communication, are focused on two different approaches. The first approach is the so-called functionalism. The key proponent of functionalism in media studies was Lasswell. He was a political sociologist and a media scholar who developed one of the earliest models of communication, the Lasswell's model. In general, a model is a sort of standardization of reality that aims to reflect and simplify it. This model developed after WWII and quickly became well-known. According to it, there are five elements composing every communication process: 1) subject: who says who, 2) message (says what), 3) tools, particularly technological tools (in what channel), 4) receiver (to whom), and finally 5) effect (every message can provoke some effects on the receiver, implying that messages can have manipulatory action on some subjects that are the receivers, but it also means that the senders can play a role in this manipulation process realized through a message or a channel). According to Lasswell, socialization is crucial in the new forms of broadcasting communication. This represents a significant shift in sociological theory, since historically, socialization was a process based on the rules of family, the school, and the overlapping of the two. Today instead we have the media. However, by the end of the 1940s, another model, known as the Shannon and Weaver linear model of communication, was theorized. This model takes into account the presence of an information source, a transmitter, channel, receiver, and the destination. This model is significant because it emphasizes the ability of the information source to distinguish between different forms of transmission, which introduces a new notion known as decoding. The process of encoding and decoding allows all messages to be translated or encoded in a variety of ways, and they may also be decoded as well as in other many ways. In 1944 and 1955, two books were published introducing a new perspective in media functionalism. The first publication, in 1944, refers to an electoral campaign in which the authors released the research explaining that there are three broad methods through which people perceive elections and decide their goals. It is determined by the role of the media as agents or by the selection of the news. In the second published in 1955, the authors defined a general model of social communication: the two-step flow of communication model. In this model there are two important topics: the concept of social group and the concept of opinion leader. People have the possibility to create forms

of resistance even through the existence of opinion leaders. Nonetheless, there is a higher level of freedom compared to other models.

On the one hand, for many decades traditional media have played a crucial role in society. Especially at the end of WWII, which sought people living in extreme poverty and suffer, the development of mass media has played a central role in the life of every citizen. From this moment on, journals, cinema, radio, music, television, have been a fundamental part in human being lives. Through the use of radio, television and newspapers, people could keep in touch with the outside world by staying updated on the various news of the day. Traditional mass media have played a fundamental role in the life of social movements giving them the opportunity to obtain more visibility. Indeed, thanks to TVs, and the radio, news could circulate to a wide audience even at international level. However, with the advent of the digital revolution, media have dramatically developed. Indeed, within the last twenty years communication has changed radically with the introduction of the new mass media. In few years the use of digital media has increasingly widespread in people's daily life, and with it the introduction of social media has taken its root.

Social media have achieved great success and interesting evolution over the last decades, being still nowadays a growing phenomenon. In order to fully understand this new way of communicating, which has overturned the standard dynamics, not only the practical and technological aspects must be considered, but also and above all the social one. Indeed, in recent times, social media have played a fundamental role within the society. It must be said that social media may have a dark side, creating disorder and misinformation manipulating public opinion. Manipulation can take different forms, like filter bubbles which promote or support a centrifugal process in which there is a sort of isolation of the bubble with other bubbles; echo-chambers, which are psychological effects and are determined by people that accept to participate in a determined space. It's about the creation of homophilic community in which people have the same feelings. Lastly, information disorder which takes place when information is perceived as false, harmful or both. Despite all, social media has had a big impact on society and changed the way individuals interact with one another, share content, and exchange ideas. The changed brought about by these platforms are complex as they fully involve the social

life of those who use them, by raising their voices and make a difference on issues that are important to them. All social media are based on networks of relationships, based on people's ability and willingness to interact with other people, who may belong to the same online community, sharing interests and goals. They are a powerful tool for highlighting underrepresented issues and elevating minority voices. Therefore, although social media may have negative sides, it must be said that they also had an enormous positive impact on society as well as on people lives. Social media have played a crucial role as well in the expansion of social movements for a variety of reasons. First of all, they allowed social movements to expand globally, reaching a vast public, making their issues not just a local matter but one of global importance. News and information could spread quicker allowing social movements to have a bigger impact on an international scale. Secondly, as already said previously, they represent a virtual meeting place where young people may have access to more information interested in current social and political issues. This allowed social movements to make themselves known even to younger generations who may not listen to the radio or read various news items on newspapers, but on the contrary through social media platforms such as Instagram, Twitter, Facebook where contents, such as pictures, videos, writings regarding determined protest of the movement are shared, everyone may be kept in touch and campaign become viral in a second.

To conclude, mass media are important tools for our society. If at the beginning traditional mass media represented one of the most powerful tools for the spreading of information, with the advent of Web 2.0 the reality has completely changed. Social media platforms are a fundamental tool for the mobilization and awareness of social movements. They allow them to overcome any geographical and communication barrier, and access large audience adopting a more participatory and interactive approach to promote their causes.

3.4.2 Evolution of Social Media

The evolution of social media has had a huge impact on our society in recent decades, affecting the way people connect, communicate, and exchange information. Personal relationships, journalism, marketing, and even politics have all been transformed by

social media. But how social media took place and have developed throughout the years. Jan Van Dijk, a Dutch sociologist, invented the term "network society". Network society is a critical aspect which concerns some dialogical aspects and some regarding the integration of social network and face to face communication. It regards a situation in which digital tools constitute a new way for society to express itself, where the public private spheres overlap more than a traditional mass society, and where social media is part of this new network society perspective.

Social media history can be divided into six phases. The first phase, auroral phase, began in 1997 with the rising of various social media, such as, Asian Avenues, Mi Gente, and Black Planet. This phase is important because the first social media platforms are found, that tended to create bubbles where people recognized the others as members of the same community and in which people had the opportunity to share contents on their cultures and languages. The second phase, known as the transition phase, started in 2002, focused on increasing connection opportunities from a broad, non-ethnic perspective. The first wave of expansion, which saw an explosion of new platforms like LinkedIn and Myspace, occurred between 2003 and 2005. The second wave of expansion went from 2006 to 2009, with the creation of Twitter, Facebook, and WhatsApp platforms. From 2010 to 2017, took place the so-called consolidation and co-evolution phase, during which social media took on a new dimension with the predominance of images (Instagram, Snapchat, Pinterest, and TikTok). The sixth and final wave, which took place in 2018 is the best example of a gloomy trend in social media analysis and it is characterized by disinformation and manipulation.

To conclude, the influence of social media on culture and the economy has expanded tremendously in line with the evolution of platforms. Finally, the emergence of social media has been an enthralling adventure that has altered the way we interact, communicate, and express ourselves. Social media platforms have become an indispensable aspect of our everyday lives, with far-reaching implications for our personal connections, social dynamics, and global information.

3.4.3 A study on the Black Lives Matter Case

The expression Black Lives Matter resonates in every corner of the world as a real battle cry which has become the official motto of the American activist movement that fights in defense of the African American population, object of discrimination and abuse by the police forces and of the United States judicial system. Such movement was created because based on the idea that all incidents of police brutality against black people are not isolated incidents, but rather are part of a larger ongoing problem in America which is often ignored.

July 2013, Florida, George Zimmerman was acquitted of the murder charge of 17-years-old African American Trayvon Martin, who was shot and killed. Zimmerman's action was recognized as self-defense. Following this event, three African American women, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors, and Opal Tometi, launched the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter or #BLM on Twitter in response to Zimmerman's acquittal. Trayvon Martin's death led to the birth of the movement, initially developed exclusively online, whose intent was to highlight the unequal treatment that members of the Black community suffered every day not only with regard to racist violence, but in the entirety of American social and economic dynamics. In the summer of 2014, the Black Lives Matter movement broke through online boundaries and hit the streets, when murders by police officers, of Eric Garner in New York and Michael Brown in Ferguson, sparked protests in African American communities. The global expansion of the sense of Black Lives Matter that made it one of the greatest movements in American history occurred on May 25, 2020, when George Floyd was killed. George Floyd was an African American unarmed man, brutally killed by police officer Derek Chauvin. Floyd, that day, was stopped by a police patrol, when a store owner accused him of using a fake $20 cash to purchase a pack of cigarettes. Officer Chauvin kneeled on Floyd's neck as he was lying face down and gasping after the officers shoved him to the ground in order to halt and handcuff him. This brutal murder took place over 8 minutes and was caught on video, as Floyd shouted "I can't breathe" several times, while the other three officers present, impassively, witnessed the arrest and watched as Floyd did not react until his death.

It's crucial to state that social media platforms, which have long been centers of political and social activism, played a key role both in documenting what was happening, fostering a sense of community, inclusivity, and support for the victims and in general for the African American society. May 25 was a very important day as it led the BLM movement to initiate a series of prolonged protests, peaceful and not, to draw attention to the misuse of power by a racist and corrupt system because of yet another instance of self-legitimized police violence. Parallel to the street riots, social media was flooded with content about the BLM movement, and such sharing of what was happening on the various social platforms made the movement international in scope. It wasn't an extraordinary event, rather, it was an ordinary one, that led a large number of people to take to the streets with raised fists and join the BLM movement. The murder was captured on camera by passerby, and the news quickly spread around the world, igniting anger and horror in the USA. Many social media sites launched anti-racist campaigns in support of the BLM movement, among them we count Instagram, Twitter, TikTok, Facebook, YouTube, and many others.

Instagram became the main channel for spreading images, videos, and information along with the hashtags #BlackLivesMatter or #BLM useful for staying updated on the latest events, trying to actively give, albeit small, contribution. Subsequently, Instagram feed became populated with pictures of black squares, the so-called Blackout Tuesday. The Blackout Tuesday, a campaign supported by the music and arts sectors, initially consisted of an appeal that supported a silent digital protest to not publish content for an entire day, thus focusing attention on the claims of ongoing protests in so many U.S. cities. Several companies in the music industry have decided not to post anything on their social accounts and not to post new music releases as a sign of respect and a way to reconnect with the community. Among the companies that have decided to join the initiative we count Spotify, Apple Music, Amazon Music, and YouTube. Spotify, for instance, has added 8 minutes and 46 seconds (the exact length of time for which police officer Chauvin kneeled on Floyd's neck) of silence to some popular playlists and podcasts. Users were undoubtedly affected emotionally by this, and people from all over the world showed a strong sense of empathy and support for the protests. The movement gained huge and quick awareness thanks to its Instagram growth. Finally, it's accurate to say that

Instagram activism has a lot of potential, including the chance for meaningful engagement with social concerns and the chance to say young people to become aware of current issues.

Twitter, as Instagram, played a fundamental role in getting to know better the BLM movement, the disorder and riots that were setting U.S. cities ablaze. With the hashtags #BlackOutTuesday and #BlackLivesMatter o #BLM, influencers, activists, business, and ordinary people started sharing black pictures, videos, and images regarding the protests. Twitter has been used to get close both with the movement's ideas and with the protest's supporters.

YouTube demonstrated support by committing $1mln in funding to support organizations seeking to address injustice. TikTok, a Chinese platform created in 2017, is currently the subject of a significant debate, even on a political level. TikTok is one of the most widely downloaded and used apps worldwide, especially among young people and kids.

 TikTok has been crucial in assisting the BLM movement. In fact, the hashtag #BLM, which allowed users to show their affinity for the African American community, depopulated on the numerous TikTok profiles. Many young people have started sharing short videos in which they discuss the origins of the movement and express solidarity to those taking part in the protests. The platform has collected a large number of user videos in favor of racial equality, equal human rights, and justice.

A symbolic gesture came also from Facebook, which as the other social platforms, decided to dye the logo black.

In conclusion, the transformation of Black Lives Matter into a global movement was triggered by the use of social media and users' need for urgent changes, in this case fed up with hearing news and seeing pictures and videos how a minority is not protected by the system bur on the contrary trampled upon. Although hashtags such as #BlackLivesMatter and #BlackOutTuesday have been used to spread awareness of the BLM movement and show support for it, they have also been used to connect people with resources to learn more about systematic racism and BLM movement related demonstrations and petitions. They had a great and vital impact on the BLM movement in that they have not only served as a mean to bring George Floyd's killer to justice, but also as a platform for people who have been left voiceless and unheard by the criminal

justice system. Finally, social media has been an important tool not only for the African American population but for all citizens in the rest of the world, who together have joined in helping the movement to grow and achieve justice. Therefore, if on the one side is true that social media can have downsides it is equally true that in many cases, as it is showed up with BLM movement, they have been of great help and support.

3.5 Final Analysis: Are Social Media more Impactful rather than the Traditional Media?

In conclusion to this chapter a brief analysis on the different impact traditional media and social media had on social movements must be made.

Traditional media have played a key role in the diffusion and awareness regarding the campaigns brought on by the Civil Rights Movement and the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Indeed, thanks to the use of radio and the spread of images and video by TVs channels and journals, individuals were sensitized on the issue regarding discrimination, racial segregation, and in general all injustices Black people had to face. However, traditional media didn't have the same impact social media has on social movements today. Nonetheless, traditional media only showed a partial part on the issues brough by social movements, as they couldn't transmit news in real time, therefore, sometimes resulting in hiding the reality. However, since social media were not present at the time, traditional media anyway have been a helpful tool to spread awareness on extremely fundamental issues surrounding the world.

If on the one hand traditional media have been a useful tool for social movements in leading on their causes in the hope of some changes, on the other hand, with the rise of social media the world has completely changed and with it the way social movements approached to their aims. I strongly believe if social media would have been existed during the Civil Rights Movement and Anti-Apartheid Movement era, they could have impact society quicker and differently. Not surprisingly, social media give the chance of a rapid diffusion of information allowing social movements to expand globally. Social

media changed the way communication worked before. Indeed, communication has become more open and direct thanks to the usage of social platforms, which allow users to access a vast and varied audience in real time to share messages, ideas, thoughts, and events. This unprecedented level of accessibility and interaction has thus had a significant impact on public communication by fostering greater user participation. With the advent of social media, the diffusion of images, videos on social platforms resulted in an increase in public awareness and sensibilization in an immediate and more impactful manner. Social media has expanded access to and dissemination of information, overcoming the traditional restrictions imposed by centralized communication channels. In the past, these traditional channels were controlled by a small number of actors, restricting citizens' active participation. Social media, on the other hand, appears to have revolutionized this scenario removing these boundaries and allowing everyone to share and receive information in real time. Thus, the dissemination of different opinions has allowed groups and individuals who would otherwise have gone unheard to be given a voice, fostering a more open and participatory model of democracy. As in the case of the BLM but also of many actual social movements, they were able to take advantage of the free connection and communication between the various social networks, blogs, and satellite television to raise awareness of what was happening in a specific location, thanks to social media. During these years, it was demonstrated for the first time the importance of social media in social revolutions. As a result, even individuals who had not physically experienced such social problems in their countries were able to empathies and express gestures of solidarity with such events, being active and feeling part of the same community.

To conclude, I personally believe social media role might be more effective than the traditional media one. The evolution of social media communication had a significant impact on activism in social movements, regardless of class, gender, and ethnicity. They allowed people to communicate with each other in real time regardless of where they are physically located. The development of social media has enabled the creation of a more democratized environment, giving voice to those who felt unrepresented, and has led to the development of an atmosphere in which everyone has a voice to express their opinions and beliefs, allowing individuals the choose whether or not to support global issues, leading to the development of new perspectives.

CONCLUSION

The Afro-American Civil Rights Movement, a groundbreaking two-decade campaign, has been defined by the battle for civil rights, equality, and social justice towards the people of the African American community. Prior to the movement, most African Americans in the United States lived in poverty and slavery, with no rights to freedom nor to vote. Notwithstanding, their living conditions deteriorated further with the passage of the Jim Crow laws, enacted in 1876. The Jim Crow laws aimed at systematizing racial segregation, preventing Black citizens of America of any civil rights. In this regard, is important to mention the Plessy v. Ferguson sentence, which made years of history for the lives of African Americans worsening their daily lives. However, after the US Supreme Court final declaration in the Brown v. Board of Education, in which it was recognized that the doctrine "separate but equal" was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, in 1896 the Plessy v. Ferguson ruling was finally abolished. Martin Luther King Jr., together with Thurgood Marshall and Rosa Parks represented three main figures for the development of the Civil Rights Movement. Furthermore, Martin Luther King Jr., has been particularly influential during the famous 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. The March on Washington was considered one of the most significant demonstrations in the United States history, as well as a milestone in the fight for racial justice. The protest served to pressure the U.S. Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act in 1964, which prohibited racial discrimination and segregation, as well as the Voting Rights Act in 1965 to ban barriers to voting for African Americans. In order to achieve such results, Martin Luther King Jr., during the march, delivered the famous speech "I Have a Dream", to broadcast his message throughout the world, showing courage, determination, and hope to all his fellow citizens.

On the other hand, the Anti-Apartheid Movement arose in response to the new country doctrine which ruled it for many years: the apartheid regime. Apartheid was implemented when the National Party was elected to power in 1948. Apartheid was a system which implied racial discrimination against Black citizens of South Africa. As a response to such institution, in 1912 the ANC was formed. Nelson Mandela represented the key leader of the movement, as well he was the president of the ANC. His aim was to abolish the apartheid system, guiding the country towards a more equal and just one. In 1993,

Mandela once released from prison, won the Nobel Peace Prize, and in 1994 won the elections against president de Klerk, becoming the first Black President of South Africa.

The first primary purpose of this thesis was to investigate the strategies and tactics employed by the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement and by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in achieving their goals. Various boycotts, civil-disobediences, and sit-ins regarding the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement have been studied, including, the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955, the Little Rock Nine of 1957, the Greensboro Sit-in of 1960, and the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963. On the other side, the demonstrations that have been studied for the Anti-Apartheid Movement are the Defiance Campaign of 1952, the Bantu Education Boycott of 1955, the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, and the Soweto Uprising of 1976. By analyzing the protests of actions that they have used, it was clear that there were some similarities and differences in the way they have approached towards them. First point in common is the fact that both movements have reacted to government power by organizing boycotts, civil disobediences, sit-ins, and marches as a form of protest. Second, they have utilized the strategy of nonviolence, which as a result, led in the growth of the two movements. Nonviolence was used for a variety of reasons, first, it was the proper way to accomplish justice; second, through nonviolence, they would have acquired more support within the country and among people worldwide; third, acting through violence would have resulted in repression losing the real meaning behind the aim of such demonstrations, i.e., the end of racial segregation and discrimination. Third similarity is the fact that they both attempted to overcome social, political, and economic inequities (i.e., during the Greensboro Sit-in young students tried to gain their civil rights by refusing to leave the lunch counter; while during the Sharpeville Massacre people by burning their pass books tried to overcome any disparity and division among South African citizens and White citizens). Fourth, educational disparities were present in both movements, i.e., the Soweto Uprising (for the abolishment of Afrikaans as the main language), Little Rock Nine (encouraging the integration of nine Black students, trying to overcome racial segregation inside schools, and which aim was to integrate Black children and White children in the same schools), and the Bantu Education Boycott (led to overcome the ideals of apartheid and of segregation established inside the schools). Fifth, both the Civil Rights Movement

in America and the Anti-Apartheid Movement achieved great results at a political level, indeed after the Marth on Washington the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 were enacted; while at the end of the Soweto Uprising, a new Constitution took place in 1993, giving the right to all citizens to vote regardless the color of the skin, thus, leading to the end of the apartheid regime. In addition, the Sharpeville Massacre led in 1996 to the ratification of a new Constitution in which the Bill of Rights protected the freedom, equality, and justice of each citizen, Black and White.

Although there are many similarities between both movements, there are also differences that lie within them. The first distinction between the two movements is of course their historical background. Second, repression by police authority differed from campaign to campaign, resulting in different reactions by movements. In this regard, during the Montgomery Bus Boycott and Greensboro Sit-in, repression by the police was relatively peaceful; while in the case of the Sharpeville Massacre, Defiance Campaign, and the Soweto Uprising, the police reacted violently, resulting in many injuries and deaths. Third, some demonstrations had a great success, just think about the March on Washington which led to the development of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, or the Montgomery Bus Boycott which ended racial segregation on public facilities. However, at the same time, some demonstrations had less success like the Bantu Education Boycott, 1955, which did not ended discrimination in schools as the opposition was too difficult to fight, or the Defiance Campaign, in which police responded through violence and repression with the imprisonment of Mandela. Finally, it can be stated that the differences related to the movements reside in the protests' final outcome; therefore, in the way they have changed history.

The second and final aim of the thesis was to compare the usefulness played by the traditional media and social media for social movements in the achievement of their goals. First, the influence of traditional mass media in the growth of the Afro-American Civil Rights Movement and of the Anti-Apartheid Movement has been crucial. Individuals became aware of the struggle Black citizens were going through as a result of the distribution of pictures and videos denouncing the various injustices African Americans and South Africans were facing. The media's attention has been beneficial in spreading awareness and solidarity. However, with the rise and evolution of social media, the use

of traditional mass media has been far surpassed. Indeed, the role social media play today within social movements is more effective than the traditional mass media were in the past. As in the case of the BLM movement, social media have helped it in a rapid diffusion of information allowing it to expand globally. Communication has increased faster as a result of the usage of social platforms (i.e., Instagram, TikTok, Twitter, etc.), which allow users to access a vast audience in real time, sharing pictures, imagines, messages, and videos. For instance, Instagram has played a major role during the BLM movement in the diffusion of images, and videos together with the spread of the hashtags #BlackLivesMatter or #BLM to stay updated on the events, and inciting individuals to actively participate. Twitter, Facebook, and TikTok had played a fundamental role as well in raising awareness, empathy, and support from the people all over the world. Therefore, it can be stated that social media has increased access and information transmission. On the contrary, in the past, centralized communication channels put constraints on individuals' participation. Social media have revolutionized this scenario by eradicating any barrier and allowing everyone to actively participate. To conclude, both traditional mass media and social media represented certainly a fundamental role for social movements, contributing to their development and fulfilment of their goals. However, social media play a major role than traditional mass media. Regardless of class, gender, or race, the emergence of social media communication has had a profound influence on activism in social movements. Indeed, the rise of social media has allowed the formation of a more democratized environment, granting everyone the opportunity to express themselves.

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