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Music and Conflict: Interdisciplinary Perspectives

M J Grant, Rebecca Möllemann, Ingvill Morlandstö, Simone Christine Münz and Cornelia Nuxoll

Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Germany

This article offers a brief review of literature which demonstrates how interdisciplinary collaboration could help understand the role music plays in conflict situations. Research into the anthropology of armed conflict and into propaganda are two areas where the focus has only rarely covered music and musical activity. A number of concrete examples demonstrate how the use of music in conflict situations has implications for the justice system and policing. Recent studies into the potential of music to promote non-violent resolution of conflict are also reviewed, and in conclusion the authors note a number of other scientific disciplines — including music psychology and evolutionary musicology — that could provide further input into the issue of music and conflict research.

KEYWORDS Music and propaganda, Music and conflict, Music and war, Human rights, Music and conflict transformation, Anthropology, Sociology of music, Music and incitement

'What passions cannot music raise and quell?' This famous, rhetorical question was posed by John Dryden in 'A Song For St Cecilia's Day' (1687). Dryden proceeded to give several examples illustrating music's effects, including the following:

> The trumpet's loud clangor
> Excites us to arms,
> With shrill notes of anger
> And mortal alarms.
> The double double double beat
> Of the thundering drum
> Cries, Hark, the foes come!
> Charge, charge, 't is too late to retreat!

Dryden gives voice here to the most obvious image of music in conflict situations:[1] the trumpets and drums of a military attack, spurring the troops

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onward and, possibly, into the valley of death. However, just as the moment of attack is only the outcome of a longer political, social and historical process, so music may also play a role at other crucial stages in the dynamic of conflict. As one of the most important media for the transmission and expression of histories, news, beliefs, and identities, and not least because of the celebrity and kudos attached to musicians in many cultures, music is a powerful tool for propaganda and a strong motivator for group action in all aspects of human life. Nevertheless, though reflections on music's ability to stir the emotions, including in wartime, count among the oldest documents in the philosophy of music and music theory,[2] the study of music in conflict situations is only beginning to take shape. Most existing studies on this topic have focused on the twentieth century onwards, with a particularly significant body of work — too significant to summarize adequately here — covering music in the Third Reich. More recent conflicts have also been considered, including those in the former Yugoslavia (Pettan 1998) and the so-called 'war on terror' (Helms and Phleps 2004; Cusick 2006; Ritter and Daughtry 2007). A growing number of researchers are exploring the role of music in European wars of the seventeenth century (van Orden 2005; Houck 2005). Further relevant work has been done on broader issues relating to music and protest (Eyerman and Jamison 1998; Peddie 2006), music and dictatorship (Grochulski *et al*. 2006; Illiano and Sala 2010), and music and nationalism (Bohlman 2004; Curtis 2008). There are surprisingly few studies dealing with the history of music in the military (e.g. Höfele 1999).

In this contribution, we will suggest some areas of scientific research, particularly in the social sciences, that could prove useful for understanding the role of music in conflict situations. In the first section, we look at the anthropology of violent conflict as a potentially fruitful area for research from a musical perspective. The second section discusses research into propaganda, while the third looks at musical incitement to hatred and violence. The final two sections raise pragmatic issues regarding the prevention of hatred and violence: The fourth section discusses legal and policing measures, while the fifth section introduces recent literature on music and conflict transformation.

Before proceeding, it may help to outline just what we mean by 'music'. In common with much recent work in the anthropology and sociology of music, we take the term 'music' to potentially refer to all types of music, all forms of musical activity, and all expressions of this activity. We understand music to be an implicitly social phenomenon, and one that may be as basic to human social life as language. How any one person reacts to and interprets music is a personal process relative to a larger social and cultural context (Turino 2008), and this may be influenced by any element made relevant by the person experiencing the music (Feld 1994). Music — whether heard, played, composed, or talked and written about — is an activity (Small 1998) which may be related to or influence simultaneous or related activities and social exchanges (Heimann 1982). Music is thus a specific but rarely isolated form of human communication and interaction. For this reason, we do not per se distinguish between music with a text and music without a text in the following discussion. Lyrics — whether in songs or in poetry — generally differ in their structure, performance and impact from other forms of language, just as rhetoric and oratory also lay claims to being understood 'musically'. Furthermore, the understanding of music as a primarily auditory

form of communication (and the subsequent distinction between 'absolute' and 'non-absolute' music), is itself a culturally specific rather than universal attribute of 'music'.

The anthropology of armed conflict and the role of music

Conflict studies as a distinct field of scholarly activity developed in the later twentieth century, and may draw on a number of disciplines including political science, psychology, sociology and anthropology. Individual disciplines have also developed refined approaches to the study of conflict and violence, including an increasing number of studies into the anthropology of armed conflict. Of particular benefit in anthropological studies is the qualitative method of long term fieldwork in a specific local setting. Where extensive fieldwork in the middle of an armed conflict is difficult or even impossible (Daniel 1996), anthropologists may also rely on secondary accounts and retrospective oral histories (Schmidt and Schröder 2001).

An anthropological approach to conflict research provides a grassroots perspective that can help move beyond ethnocentric assumptions, as well as deconstructing local concepts (Eller 1999). During the civil war in Zimbabwe in the 1970s, David Lan conducted extensive fieldwork among peasants and guerrillas in the Zambezi valley, and revealed intriguing aspects of interaction and ideology between these groups (Lan 1985). His study shows how the religious system of the Dande people and cooperation between spirit mediums and guerrillas had a profound impact on guerrilla support during the course of the war. Zimbabwe also provides a well documented example of how music can play a significant role in conflict situations — here, as an efficient tool in political mobilization processes (Turino 2000). Paul Richards' (1996) analysis of the insurgency in Sierra Leone from 1991 is a brilliant example of how anthropological analysis can reveal a very complex picture of a conflict, contradicting a traditional Clausewitzian view on war as 'state policy' or 'business competition' (Clausewitz in Richards 1996, xiv) and the more simplistic logic of war sometimes presented in popular theories of new wars (such as Kaplan 1994). The need for understanding conflict on a cultural, local micro-level is recognized by scholars but may also be exploited in strategic planning by different actors in conflict situations (Kilcullen 2006; Gonzalez 2007).

In the discourses of wars after the Cold War, ethnicity (Barth 1969) is often viewed as the primary cause of conflict. However, it is clear that ethnicity is not an objective category based on specific elements, but rather as diverse, constructed and 'imagined' (Anderson 1983) as most other group delimitations, including nationalism. Rather than treating ethnicity as the cause of conflict, we can say that it lends itself particularly well to use as a tool for manipulation in a conflict situation (Richards 2008) and analysing these processes provides valuable insight into the elements and power relations that influence and create a conflict situation (Hinton 1996). The term ethnicity is now part of popular discourse in all kinds of societies around the world, and in the construction or 'revival' of ethnic identity markers, we paradoxically often find that anthropological research and ethnographic accounts are actively used to legitimize these processes (Keesing 1992). In this 'imagining

of place', music often plays a prominent role due to its particularly strong ability to create associations to place and to cause emotional effect (Stokes 1994). More generally, the potential of music to influence the emotions and to positively express the sense of belonging to a specific group may of course be used to communicate antagonistic attitudes towards other groups. Yet although anthropologists have successfully dealt with conflict and music respectively for a very long time, the role of music in armed conflict is still largely unexplored from this perspective, and what work has been done tends to focus on therapeutic possibilities in reconciliation and peace processes.

Music and the study of propaganda

The word 'propaganda' has been traced to 1622 and Pope Gregory XV's 'Congregatio de Propaganda Fide', which proclaimed the necessity of converting heathens and *propagating* the Catholic religion throughout the world (Daniel and Siemann 1994, 12). The use of propaganda for this purpose is older, however, with musical propaganda playing a key role in the Reformation and Counterreformation (Oettinger 2001). Nevertheless, very little research has been done into the history of musical propaganda, not least because historical musicologists have tended to neglect the kind of repertoire which is most often implicated (in particular, popular song).

The term 'propaganda' has been used to cover everything from modern advertising to military strategy (see e.g. Lasswell *et al*. 1979; 1980a; 1980b; Jowett and O'Donnell 1992; Jackall 1995; Cole 1996; Thomson 1999). The following recent definition provides a useful summary of different approaches: 'Propaganda is any systematic attempt to influence opinion on a wide scale. It is a form of communication that seeks to promote or discourage attitudes as a means of advancing or injuring an organization, an individual, or a cause. Propaganda proceeds by deliberate plan for calculated effects. It usually addresses a mass audience through mass media or is targeted at special audiences and media that provide access to mass opinion' (Vichcales 1998, 606).

Propaganda as a field of scholarly interest emerged in the twentieth century. This development was closely linked to a growing awareness of the potential of state propaganda, particularly in relation to the century's major armed conflicts and the Cold War, which itself was mostly waged in terms of propaganda (Lerner 1972; Cole 1998; Thomson 1999). Much research to date on musical propaganda systems has addressed major twentieth-century examples, particularly the Third Reich and the Soviet Union. These studies often favour one of two major approaches: the first examines single composers or works and their relationship to the ruling regime (Krebs 1970; Kater 1997; 2003; Overy 2004, 349–391) while the second centres on the media and other institutional systems that used music to influence people (Olkhovsky 1955; Schwarz 1972; Steinweis 1993; Currid 2006; Turino 2008, especially 190–210).[3] Although such studies discuss the link between music and propaganda in particular contexts, there is little research on the general connection between music and propaganda, an exception being Arnold Perris's general survey (Perris 1985) which extends from musical nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe to protest music from the 1960s. His definition

of propaganda is broad, and he states that 'songs of protest, satire, praise or scorn from all times fall into the category of music as propaganda' (5). Nevertheless, despite his detailed descriptions and relatively broad range of examples, Perris does not draw overall conclusions or attempt to find characteristics which all these propaganda systems and social movements have in common.

To understand how music can promote attitudes and influence action, we need to understand both how music affects our emotions and behaviour and the impact of the specific methods by which this music is mediated and communicated. Here, some inspiration may be drawn from the significant body of research into the use of music in advertising, including piped music in retail outlets. In this context, music is used to evoke positive emotions and memories in connection with particular products and retailers, and to promote identification with a particular retailer (Walewski 2000; DeNora 2000; 2003; Bullerjahn 2006; North and Hargreaves 2006). Most research in this field focuses on aspects such as loudness, mood, music preference, time and variation of music and the concluding impact of these variables on the consumer (Allan (2008) gives an overview of studies published from 1966 to 2006). Since existing historical evidence suggests that musical propaganda is most successful when it affirms and makes use of positive associations, such as local traditions or very popular musical styles, research into the use of music in retail and advertising contexts could prove enlightening for attempts to 'sell' ideology and war as well.

Music and incitement to hatred and violence

Music is generally viewed as having a positive influence on humankind, but there have always been challenges to this, as the debate on music censorship shows (Korpe 2004; Korpe *et al.* 2006). Recently, attention has been drawn to supposedly misogynist, homophobic or right-wing extremist music, music which cannot be viewed as purely positive since it celebrates the oppression and persecution of others; it may even constitute incitement to hatred and violence against them.[4] As Cloonan and Johnson state, 'Incitement may be explicit encouragement, or latent in the peer-group validation of violence as a social option, an example of how one may behave' (Cloonan and Johnson 2008, 95). Nevertheless, it is a common perception that incitement to hatred and violence is connected with the literal expression of hatred in the lyrics of a song, though clearly not every expression of hatred amounts to incitement to violent behaviour (Kahn-Harris 2003). Many experimental studies have claimed that repeated exposure to violent lyrics contributes to the development of an aggressive personality, that violent songs increase feelings of hostility (e.g. Anderson *et al.* 2003), or that men become aggressive towards women after listening to misogynous songs (e.g. Fischer and Greitemeyer 2006). The overall conclusion is often to call for censorship of 'dangerous' music. Several campaigning organizations have supported such conclusions, such as the US-based Parents' Music Resource Centre, which campaigned for the introduction of 'Parental Advisory' stickers on albums (Chastanger 1999). Other researchers, however, have argued that the impact of such music on a particular listener is dependent on that listener, and is never as predictable

as some experimental studies have suggested (Leming 1987). This also contradicts the view that particular musical styles, structures or genres may influence personal behaviour and morals, quite apart from any intent on the part of musician. This view has a tradition stretching back at least as far as Plato, with the neo-platonic tradition echoing through both Christian and Muslim views on music (see footnote 2, above). Music, however, does not occur in a vacuum but forms part of a broader cultural context, and this must be taken into account in any analysis. A well known example is the burgeoning right-wing extremist/white supremacist music scene (Barber-Kosovan 2002; Brown 2004). According to Brown, the danger of right-wing extremist rock is that 'popular music has been the site at which ideas of subcultural cool and authenticity, notions of race and ethnicity, and an increasingly radical politics come together and overlap' (Brown 2004, 18). He argues that music plays an important role in the creation of a skinhead/neo-Nazi subculture which is often characterized by an uninhibited use of violence. The creation of this subculture not only emphasizes a common value system but also, via right-wing concerts, helps recruit new members and reinforce ties between existing members. In addition, recordings earn money for neo-Nazi organizations, money which is mainly used to produce further propaganda material. Though Brown concentrates on a particular group within the right-wing movement, right-wing extremist music is by no means confined to the skinhead rock and Viking metal often associated with this term (a particularly blatant example being the American teenage duo Prussian Blue).[5]

Legislation and policy

The preceding two sections have shown that music may indeed help promote violent conflict. Recent developments in human rights theory and practice, international criminal law and post-conflict and transitional justice, while only rarely touching directly on musical practice, offer a number of perspectives on how legal and policing measures may respond to propaganda for war (Kearney 2007), the advocacy of hatred and violence, or symbolic practices which may provoke or exacerbate conflict in an already tense situation.

International human rights law has long recognized the dual needs of protecting the right to freedom of expression and information and protecting individuals from the promotion of discrimination and violence against them. The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide (1949), for example, criminalizes direct and public incitement to genocide. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) guarantees a number of rights that are directly relevant to musical practice in different social contexts, including the right to freedom of expression and information, and the right to freedom of assembly and freedom of association. It also requires state parties to prohibit by law both propaganda for war (war here generally accepted to mean wars contrary to the UN Charter, in other words, inter-state wars of aggression) and also 'any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence'. State parties to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (1966) undertake to 'condemn all propaganda and all

organizations which are based on ideas or theories of superiority of one race or group of persons of one colour or ethnic origin, or which attempt to justify or promote racial hatred and discrimination in any form' (these and previous citations taken directly from the documents in question).

As the previous sections have indicated, however, difficulties and differences arise when it comes to defining what constitutes propaganda and incitement. The United States, for example, takes a much more lenient approach than several European countries, with the result that material (including music) that may be banned under race hate laws in some countries may be freely available via Internet service providers based there. Furthermore, debate on these issues tends to focus on the concept of 'hate speech' and therefore to preclude from the outset consideration of other forms of cultural practice and expression. Nevertheless, there is evidence of a move away from a clear, cause-and-effect understanding of incitement towards what some members of the UN Human Rights Committee have called 'patterns of incitement' which may not meet the normal legal criteria for incitement, but may be even more dangerous because of this (cited in Timmermann (2005, 265), amongst others).

A recent landmark case at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda saw the musician Simon Bikindi tried for direct and public incitement to genocide, including in connection with his music.[6] The prosecution held that Bikindi used his songs to promote hatred against the Tutsi ethnic group immediately before and during the genocide. While the judges presiding did not find sufficient evidence for Bikindi's complicity, they nevertheless found that several of his songs had been written with intent to increase ethnic hatred, and that their use by the radio station RTLM had an 'amplifying effect' on the genocide (see §16 of the judgement, for source see footnote 6). The role of RTLM and before it the state broadcaster Radio Rwanda in the genocide is widely recognized, and the decision of the US administration under Bill Clinton not to jam the transmitters has been widely condemned in the intervening period. Subsequently, the Clinton administration chose to intervene in this way when a similar situation threatened to develop in the neighbouring country of Burundi, but the question of when it may be necessary or even legally imperative to jam radio transmissions remains controversial (Dale 2005; Straus 2007).

Music's impact in a conflict situation also includes its ability to provoke, particularly in extremely entrenched conflicts or in transitional societies. Here, debates on the construction and reconstruction of public space in post-conflict situations are also of great relevance. A prime example comes from Northern Ireland. Music — typically provided by flute bands and the massive *Lambeg* drums which are one of the most important symbols of Ulster Unionist culture — is an integral part of the marches staged across the province by the Protestant Orange Order, particularly around the anniversary of the 1690 Battle of the Boyne (when William of Orange defeated the Catholic King James VII and II). In the mid 1990s, these marches, ostensibly a celebration of Protestant heritage, tradition and community, again became a flashpoint for violence when some members of the Order insisted on their right to march through predominantly Catholic areas. The tensions were initially increased rather than decreased by the security forces' attempt to restrict the marches. An independent enquiry and other initiatives proceeded to address the

question of how best to police the parades while respecting and promoting the rights of both communities (e.g. Hamilton *et al.* 2001; various essays in Fraser 2000). In one case, and underlining the particular emotive power of music in such situations, a march was allowed to take place as planned on condition that, in the Catholic areas, it be conducted in silence.[7]

Incitement to hatred and violence, and the particular problems that may arise in post-conflict societies, are not the only legal issues that arise with regard to music in conflict situations. Recent revelations regarding the use of music by US military forces as an 'acceptable' method of torture (see particularly Cusick 2006; Pieslak 2009) are by no means exceptional: forced singing, for example, has been used in many contexts as a means of humiliating and degrading prisoners, including in Germany during the Third Reich (Gilbert 2005) and more recently in Uzbekistan (Amnesty International 2002) and Zimbabwe (Human Rights Watch 2008) amongst others. Legal measures in this area, in particular, in connection with upholding the international prohibition of torture and other forms of cruel, inhumane and degrading punishment, would seem to require more research into the long term psychological damage wielded by this type of punishment.

Music and conflict transformation

The last three sections have focused on how music may be employed to promote conflict and extreme violence within that context. Following Urbain and others, however, music is neither inherently peaceful nor inherently hostile; rather, its impact depends on the way and with what intent it is utilized (Urbain *et al.* 2008).

Although the potential contribution of the arts and in particular music to conflict transformation — in other words, prevention or resolution of conflict by non-violent means — has only recently been recognized, extensive literature recounts how music can aid the healing and rehabilitation processes of individuals suffering from physical, emotional or mental illnesses. In the case of trauma and post-traumatic stress disorders amongst victims of war, maltreatment, and sexual abuse, music therapy, mostly in clinical settings, predominantly focuses on individual healing (Austin 2002; Bonny 1986), but music has also been used as an aid to healing societies. Promoters of this approach argue that music is a spiritual, virtual and creative place of comfort, consolidation and refuge and that music provides a sense of purpose and a source of power (Urbain 2008). Empathy has been identified as one of the key elements of peace-building (Galtung 2008); musicking, it has been argued, facilitates empathizing, and its capacity to enable, trigger and strengthen empathic responses, abilities and relationships may prove to be a core capacity within peace-building (Laurence 2008).

Though some aspects of musicality may approach the level of human universals, musical traditions are context-related and tend to be more dissimilar than similar, especially when distinct cultural meanings, sacred dimensions and the borrowing of musical elements from foreign cultures for therapeutic purposes are taken into account (Cohen 2008). This can have major consequences for the effectiveness of therapy (Orth 2005), and thus the cross-cultural acceptance and accessibility of the music used, as well as the

setting, socialization and education of participants have to be addressed if music is to be an effective tool in conflict transformation. Music and peace projects can be crafted to respond to and deal with the after-effects of violence and trauma — for example, by experiencing and then learning to appreciate and respect the musical tradition of an 'adverse' group. An awareness of different value systems, and an understanding of and respect for the narrative of the Other, can help understand which 'musics' will lead to positive and which to negative effects (Slachmuijlder 2004; Boyce-Tillman 2008; Cohen 2008).

Since it reflects and influences the social, historical and cultural contexts and dimensions in which it is situated, music may be used in conflict transformation processes as a bridge between a shared past and reconciliation. It allows a society to understand itself in terms of its own interpretation of reality, but also to conceptualize the experiences of adverse groups by emphasizing common ground and by communicating in both directions (Gray 2008). The integrative, intrinsic and restorative qualities of music can help connect human beings in a safe and neutral space, creating unifying and cathartic group dynamics. Music thus enables the dissipation of disruptive emotional tensions, and can contribute to a flowing, positive atmosphere that allows for creative collaborative work and dialogue. Vegar Jordanger, who is a trained practitioner of the Guided Imagery with Music (GIM) approach developed by music therapist Helen Bonny around 1970, has used this method to transform group emotional tensions into what has been called 'collective vulnerability' (Neimeyer and Tschudi 2003), stimulating newly shared consciousness and identities beyond ethnic affiliation. Referring to certain fundamental properties of music and to the mind and body's musical faculties, Jordanger suggests that music's sound patterns may resonate directly with and trigger basic human affects (Jordanger 2008).

Several other examples demonstrate how these principles have been put into practice. In an educational project in Norwegian schools, performances of the musical traditions of immigrant communities helped create inter-ethnic musical communities. The project directly contributed to reducing ethnic conflicts and interracial tension among pupils, fostering empathy, improving social relationships and strengthening the self-image of immigrant pupils (Skyllstad 1997; 2008). Burundian and South African drum ensembles have also been used in a similar way to transcend enemy images and to promote group cohesion and dialogue (Slachmuijlder 2004).

Another approach to this issue comes from the field of applied ethnomusicology. This is an ethical and philosophical approach to the study of music in culture where the ethnomusicologist not only functions as an academic researcher but is proactively and responsibly engaged as a mediator between musical cultures and the general public, and as a facilitator and advocate for local communities wishing to better preserve and present their cultural heritage (Graves 1992; Sheehy 1992; Titon 1992; Loughran 2008). Ethnomusicologists can thus contribute to developing new 'frames' for musical performance, feeding back musical models to the communities that created them and providing community members with access to strategic models and conservation techniques (Sheehy 1992, 330–331). By placing local research and research priorities firmly at the centre of the agenda, by creating space and time for the development of a local research culture, and by

encouraging community-based organizations and institutions, local music cultures can be considerably strengthened (Turner 1999; Araújo 2008). Applied ethnomusicology may thus help pave the way for self-determination, empowerment and self-representation, particularly for minority groups, refugees, diasporas, ethnic groups and immigrants (Newsome 2008; Pettan 2008).

Music projects in Malaysia (Tan 2008) and Norway (Pettan 2008) are examples of successfully implementing (inter)cultural exchange, social interaction and defining identities. The Norwegian *Azra* project, for instance, established a Norwegian-Bosnian music ensemble, offering Bosnian refugees in Norway an opportunity to be heard and to interact socially, as opposed to their more usual experience of powerlessness and exclusion. The community-based Southeast Asian heritage conservation programme Anak-Anak Kota ARTS-ED aimed at revitalizing traditional music among young people of different ethnic origins, who experienced the music project as a platform for multiculturalism, cross-cultural understanding and interaction which transcended cultural barriers in a tense multi-ethnic and multi-religious society. Despite such success stories, a common criticism passed on the implementation of music therapy approaches in conflict transformation is the lack of substantial and systematic research to account for its effectiveness and sustainable outcome (Bunt 1994, 12).

Conclusion

In this article, we have discussed just some of the different disciplinary approaches which may illuminate the many roles that music plays in conflict situations. Our focus has been on the social sciences, though it is clear that other fields, including those dealing with cognitive and biological aspects of human musicality, also offer important perspectives. Many researchers working in the field of evolutionary musicology, for example, have suggested that if music is an evolutionary adaptation, the advantage it offers for the human species may be linked to the importance of social relations in promoting survival. The key to this may lie in music's ability to mediate social relations in a quite different manner than language, in particular, in situations of social uncertainty and transition (Cross 2009). Music represents a powerful form of coordinated action (Clayton *et al.* 2004; Overy and Molar-Szakas 2009);[8] in addition, however, it is also less semantically specific than language and may allow for a less fraught exploration and expression of feelings and desires in a larger group. This means that music can strengthen group affiliation in a way that language cannot, and may therefore have the potential to mitigate underlying conflicts. On the other hand, however, if the survival of a group depends on its defending itself from other groups, music can potentially exacerbate conflict as well — what Paul Richards, drawing inspiration from Ian Cross's research, has called the 'dark side of musicality'. In an interesting example of interdisciplinary exchange, he has adapted some aspects of Cross's idea to explain the performative dynamics of the recent civil war in Sierra Leone (Richards 2006).

In line with the focus of this journal edition, we have not touched on the pressing necessity of further historical work on music and conflict in earlier

centuries, and related issues such as music and colonialism. The examples given above themselves make clear, however, that music's facility in spreading ideas and beliefs systems, in promoting group affiliations but also antagonism vis-à-vis other groups, can be and have been used both positively and negatively, consciously (particularly in the case of propaganda) and unconsciously. Research into this subject must take into account the full historical and cultural context and not be content with simplistic, unidirectional explanations of music's impact. For this reason as well, it will require that researchers outside the discipline of music research become more fully aware of music's potential, and that musicologists themselves are more prepared to address this serious topic in an interdisciplinary context.

Notes

[1] For the purpose of this discussion, 'conflict' and 'conflict situations' refer in particular to violent or armed conflict between larger social groups (including nation states) rather than between individuals, except where this itself is the product of underlying social tensions (for example, racially motivated violence). It also covers conflicts which have not (yet) escalated into violence, and post-conflict situations.

[2] Most famously, as discussed by Plato in various texts including *Republic* and *The Laws*. See Strunk (1965) for a selection of readings from the ancient world and early Christianity. For an introduction to Islamic debates on the same issues, see Nasr (1997).

[3] Literature on both these topics is extensive: the examples here are a selection of some of the most important English-language studies.

[4] See here especially the extensive material collated on www.freemuse.org, the website of the Freemuse campaign against music censorship.

[5] Prussian Blue is the stage name of twins Lynn Vaughan and Lamb Lennon Gaede, whose musical career began in 2003 when they were just eleven. The lyrics of many of their acoustic pop songs are unequivocal statements of white supremacist belief. Publicity material for Prussian Blue underlines this: in one photo, for example, they are shown wearing T-shirts featuring a 'smiley' face adapted to look like Hitler.

[6] The indictment, court transcripts and judgement can be found at http://www.ictr.org/ENGLISH/cases/Bikindi/.

[7] See the news report 'Clashes over Orange Order west Belfast march' at http://news.bbc.co.uk/olmedia/800000/video/_804373_springfield_vi.ram, accessed December 2008.

[8] For a discussion of the link to the human capacity for entrainment, see Clayton *et al.* (2004).

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Notes on contributors

M. J. Grant is Junior Professor of Musicology at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, where she leads the research group 'Music, Conflict and the State'. Correspondence to: mcs-info@uni-goettingen.de

Rebecca Möllemann is currently finalizing her studies in musicology and history at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. She is a student assistant in the research group 'Music, Conflict and the State'. Her master's thesis will focus on the role of music in right-wing extremist groups.

Ingvill Morlandstö is a former member of the research group 'Music, Conflict and the State' where her main focus was the anthropology of music and conflict in an African context. Correspondence to: ingvill@ingvill.net

Simone Christine Münz is a doctoral student at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen and member of the research group 'Music, Conflict and the State'. Her main research interests are music in the Cuban diaspora, music and dance in the Caribbean and current popular music.

Cornelia Nuxoll is a doctoral student at the Georg-August-Universität Göttingen and member of the research group 'Music, Conflict and the State'. As a social anthropologist with a focus on ethnomusicology in sub-Saharan Africa, her PhD thesis will deal with the role of music in the life and deployment of child soldiers in Sierra Leone and Liberia.