Music in peacebuilding: a critical literature review

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ABSTRACT

The critical literature review summarizes and appraises studies that have been pursued by music scholars examining the contributions of music to peacebuilding as well as the role of music in violence. These two bodies of literature are rarely brought into dialogue, but I juxtapose them in order to confront the idea of music's exceptionalism as inherently good or neutral. I further highlight the specific issues and questions that arise from considering the findings on music's role in peace and violence together. The goal of this piece is to help situate the other JPE special issue articles within the existing efforts in music and peacebuilding, to indicate fruitful areas for future research, and to raise ideas and concerns for praxial interventions that might be developed to use music in peacebuilding.

Introduction

The scholarly and activist interest in the role of music in peacebuilding continues despite the perhaps even more rapidly developing body of research describing the complicit roles of music in violence. In order to bring some clarity to this seeming tension, this review article examines the current state of scholarly publications on music in peacebuilding and in violence. While it is not my aim to reconcile these two bodies of work, I believe that juxtaposing them elicits important areas for consideration and directives that support future work. I admit to not being an entirely neutral party in this endeavor. While I acknowledge the many ways in which music can be (and has been) employed as a tool of violence, the aim here is to strengthen the foundation for applied projects, or interventions[1] that might employ musical activity deliberately toward the goal of peacebuilding.[2] Thus, this literature review should be understood as a praxial[3] endeavor, wherein the goal is to provide and promote reflection and theorizing with the intention of supporting action. In reviewing the literature on music in peacebuilding and violence, I organize the works based on the varying definitions and aspects of peace, violence, and conflict invoked by each author. As these terms – as well as the concept of music – vary widely in definition based on local contexts, I let their specific meanings emerge in the short summaries of each piece. Highlighting the ways in which peace, violence, and music are defined by each author also clarifies many of the theoretical assumptions and underlying premises that underlie the work on these subjects, and is a

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crucial step toward conceptualizing practical interventions. In particular, carefully parsing out the premises of work that has been done is necessary to developing music-based interventions that do not uncritically reproduce romanticized ideals and discourses that tend to circulate around music. Ultimately, examining the definitions utilized in the various works highlighted here clarifies that usages of music are always culturally constructed and contextualized. As this article represents an effort to produce a literature review of the field rather than produce a distinct new argument, I leave open-ended inquiries throughout the review. It is my hope to invite others to participate in engaging and thinking through these concerns as well, from a variety of contexts and standpoints, and as variously applied to developing improved interventions.

The review begins with the body of work that discusses the usages of music in peacebuilding, looking at the various components of peacebuilding that have been approached through music-making interventions. I then juxtapose and re-assess these studies with the recently expanding work that considers music's role in violent conflict. I will show that in some cases, the conceptual premises used to uphold models of music in peacebuilding are actually similar to the findings of music's usages in violence. While these examples of music in violence should not be taken as necessarily negating the potential that music has for peacebuilding, this critical juxtaposition raises important concerns that need to be grappled with in further work on music in peace. Aligned with the fundamental intention of this review article to contribute to praxial initiatives, considering the mechanisms through which music has been and can be used in violence raises important issues for developing music in peacebuilding interventions.

Again due to the interest in praxis, the studies reviewed in this article are limited to those in which the communities of people involved actively participate in musicking. Thus, I omit publications that discuss music only as discrete works, such as, for example, musical analyses that look at violence programmatically within compositions, or studies of lyrics that might promote peace but are studied without a contextual discussion of usage. I further acknowledge that unfortunately there is a great deal of work around music in peacebuilding that goes unpublished and is thus absent from this review, given the restrictive industry of academic publishing, the perhaps less attention given to written reflection and publication when working within contexts of violent conflict, and the fact that a significant amount of this work is pursued primarily in a language other than English (see e.g. Araújo 2006 for an overview of the immense amount of work happening in Brazil that often goes unrecognized in Euro-American academia). Furthermore, I acknowledge that the categories I have organized the following studies in, and the specific lenses used in reading each study, necessarily but regrettably remove a great deal of important nuance, in particular from the complex ethnographic works reviewed.

Within this literature review, ideas of music and peacebuilding are delineated as emerging primarily between the disciplines of music studies (by ethnomusicologists, primarily, as well as by scholars who identify professionally as musicologists or music theorists) and peace studies. Both the scholarship and interventions bridging music and peace have grown dramatically over the past decade; the several volumes of collected essays discussed below particularly demonstrate this (e.g. Urbain 2008; O'Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010; Pettan and Titon 2015). Two important review articles from 2010 also analyzed literature on music and conflict (see Bergh and Sloboda 2010; Grant et al.

2010); this review extends these to incorporate the prevalence of projects published in the intervening years since. While the following demonstrates the even more recent expansion of literature on this subject, I also see the impetus for this project reflected in a variety of additional recent scholarly initiatives. For example, in fall of 2015 the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) and the Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM), the two largest ethnomusicological societies, held their first-ever joint forum, and chose 'Transforming Ethnomusicological Praxis through Activism and Community Engagement' as a theme. In many ways, this continues from the several years of work within SEM's Music and Violence Special Interest Group and ICTM's Applied Ethnomusicology Study Group, both of which have maintained an interest in conflict- and peace-related projects (see e.g. Harrison, Mackinlay, and Pettan 2010). Just previously, in summer of 2014, the International Peace Research Association conference featured a substantial program from the special interest group called the Art & Peace Commission (established in 2002), in which a majority of the presentations focused on music.

Music and peace

In this first section, I look at the studies of musical activity being used to contribute to non-violent conflict transformation and peacebuilding. These studies include musical interventions aimed at working post-conflict, during conflict, as well as to prevent future conflict. This section is organized by the modes of engagements with peacebuilding modeled in each intervention.

Music Dealing with the aftermath of conflict

If we focus our attention on the various ideas of peace that are both implicitly and explicitly centralized in work discussing music's usages in peacebuilding, it becomes apparent that the majority of these are focused on using music in terms of its potential recovery or therapeutic effects, to be used in the aftermath of violent conflicts. Indeed, previous literature review articles or overviews that seek to ascertain snapshots of the field have spoken primarily about music in terms of its role post-conflict. For example, in an introductory review article prefacing the 2010 *Music and Arts in Action* special issue on 'Music and Conflict,' John Sloboda and Arild Bergh argue that in comparison to any of the other dimensions of conflict, musical activities have greater potential to mitigate conflict's psycho-social effects, which they describe as the 'traumas and other invisible effects of war' (2010, 4). Focusing on the effects of conflict leads to their discussion of musical (and to a lesser extent, other arts-based) activities mainly comprising of reconciliation efforts, dialogs, and therapy. In another review, Timothy Rice examines ethnomusicological studies in 'times and places of trouble,' specifically including a section on 'war zones, post-war zones, and other places of violence, conflict, and profound loss' (2014, 195). Rice states that the potential role of ethnomusicologists falls under pursuing work to 'heal the wounds of loss and separation' (2014), again illustrating an emphasis on post-conflict renewal. John Morgan O'Connell also provides important reflections in a 2011 review article. While he offers many tentative suggestions, it is notable that one of the realms in which he more confidently states that music can contribute to

conflict resolution is in the pursuit of intra-cultural healing (2011), which would also occur in a post-conflict phase.

Several ethnographic studies look at communities striving to use *musical practice to heal trauma and provide therapy* as part of the post-conflict renewal phase. While recent related developments have also been made in the fields of music therapy and medical ethnomusicology, and such work provides extensive insight into the general potential for music in healing, a full appraisal is beyond the scope of this review, and I instead highlight some of the examples of music used as therapy specifically following discrete situations of violent conflict. For example, Joshua Pilzer's work examines the singing practices of a group of Korean women who were taken as comfort women by the Japanese army during World War II. The songs Pilzer presents and discusses are employed by the women to deal with both the trauma as well as subsequent social stigmatization and marginalization related to their personal histories as comfort women (2014). Jim Sykes also provides an example of music's use in postwar trauma. His ethnographic work on the Batticaloa region of Sri Lanka presents a case study of a music school for former female child soldiers who learn *mridangam* dance and drumming as a method of overcoming the trauma of abduction and participating in the war (Sykes 2013). Margaret Kartomi also writes of music's usages in the psychological healing of those affected by the 2004 tsunami in Aceh, Indonesia which further compounded effects of the conflict in the region that had been ongoing since 1976 (2010). Her interlocutors directly described their intervention of teaching traditional arts to children and women as a way to provide them the post-conflict strength 'so that they could face the world again' (Kartomi 2010, 205). Healing processes can also be understood through the civil society rebuilding on the part of NGOs and other relief efforts that are involved in communities post-conflict; Erica Haskell details examples of such work in Bosnia-Herzegovina, where aid agencies support folklore projects in local villages (2015). (Other studies of music therapy in post-conflict healing include: Kanyako 2015; Vinader and Lopez 2008; Ragan and Jal 2015; Satkunaratnam 2013).

Post-conflict renewal also includes efforts to mobilize *music in reconciliation* efforts. Angela Impey's work with Dinka communities in Sudan encourages the use of song and singing practices as a technique for giving testimonial and as part of the restorative justice process following the civil war there (2013). Maria Elisa Pinto Garcia also examines the use of music-based interventions in promoting reconciliation in Colombia. She makes note of mixed effects, which include the increased expression through the act of music composition, but also the potential for such compositions to reproduce and incite new conflicts (2014). Pinto Garcia's later work looks specifically at the *escopetarra* invention (conjoined shotgun and guitar) of musician César López, who used it to promote reconciliation through his performances (2016). Jonathan Ritter also provides an important analysis of how musical practices intersect with formal reconciliation committees, specifically in the case of the Truth and Reconciliation Committee organized in Peru following conflict in the 1980s-90s. He compares the more informal forms of narrative and of truth in local testimonial song practice in the Ayacucho region with the formal testifying that later emerged, demonstrating that these modes can be understood as 'complementary resources … for collective remembrance' (2012). Ritter's other work focuses on the specific genre of *pumpin* in Fajardo, Peru, and the previous associations of this genre with politics. He argues that prior historical developments in *pumpin* allowed musicians in the 1980s to promote the genre as a space for testimony and recognition throughout the period of conflict, and also mediated the experiences of

the conflict for highland migrants residing in urban Lima (Ritter 2014, 232). (Other studies of music in reconciliation include: Gray 2008; Jordanger 2008; Skyllstad 2008).

Song specifically is often used post-conflict as a form of *protest for reparations*. Jessica Schwartz's work on women's singing practices on the Marshall Islands highlights their collective, music-based actions to claim World War II and related nuclear testing reparations (2012). Importantly, these protest songs do not only convey requests through lyrics. Schwartz describes the complex ways in which protest music *practice* fosters new forms of women's social participation, which also draws on and strengthens traditional ideas around women's music-making practices as they were historically employed to wage both battles and armistices. While covering the full gamut of protest music – a musical practice often very intertwined with peacebuilding – goes beyond the scope of this article, I include Schwartz's example because it demonstrates not just the idea of using songs, but also the example of forging and renewing civil society through protest song participation. Joshua Pilzer's work similarly describes the uses of song amongst former Korean comfort women and their supporters in protesting for recognition and reparations as well as increasing the visibility of their cause (2012).

Music toward ending violent conflict

Other examples of protest music I include here are those discussed in David McDonald's study of *musical performance that resists the ongoing conflicts* between Palestinians and the state of Israel. McDonald discusses at length the life trajectories and music-making experiences of major artists Kamal Khalil, Ibrahim Nasrallah, as well as Tamer Nafar of the rap group DAM (2013). However, similar to Schwartz's study, these examples of protest music go beyond the practices of professional musicians. As McDonald demonstrates, the practice of such music-based resistance activity affects how other quotidian musical activities within civil society are also repositioned as acts of resistance; even wedding music or traditional dances like the *dabke* take on resistance meanings for Palestinians living in an ongoing context of conflict. Another particularly compelling example of evolving individual music practices working in relation to war is Lisa Gilman's study of United States soldiers involved in the recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (2016). While music is an important part of soldier's experiences in combat (see also the below section on 'Music and Violence'), Gilman also demonstrates that some of these soldiers in fact turn to music as they become anti-war activists, drawing on music to deal with careers that are paradoxical to their personal commitments, as well as to foster anti-war communities and resistant efforts upon completion of active duty. Lindsay Opiyo's recent work illustrates the ways Acholi communities in northern Uganda credit music with contributing to the end of decades of armed conflict through *songs as forms of education*, including promoting the anti-stigmatization of former combatants (2015, 49). (Other studies of protest music practice directed at peacebuilding and conflict transformation include: Abi-Ezzi 2008; Bouzouita 2016; Brooks 2010; Palieri 2008; several of the studies in Ritter and Martin Daughtry 2007; Robertson 2016; Small 2011; Toksoz 2016; Whitehead 2008).

Further significant studies of musical efforts to end ongoing conflict also arise out of the Israeli/Palestinian context. Benjamin Brinner draws on ethnography to discuss collaborations between Jewish and Palestinian musicians in an effort to *promote peacebuilding by making music together*. He argues that the unique medium of ensemble-based musical interactions

allows for respectful alliance building, drawing on work with the groups Bustan Abraham and Alei Hazayit, as well as artist Yair Dalal's various musical collaborations (2009). Yair Dalal's work to end violence between Palestinians and Israelis is also discussed in the edited volume *Music and Conflict Transformation* (Urbain 2008). Another initiative involving professional musicians in the Middle East that has received much attention is the West Eastern Divan Orchestra (WEDO). Originally highlighting specifically the Israeli/Palestinian conflict as demonstrated by its founding by prominent public intellectuals Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said, the orchestra now seeks to promote peace in the Middle East and North Africa region more generally, by bringing together young adult musicians to represent a variety of nations, religions, and ethnicities in the orchestral community. Rachel Beckles Willson has more recently provided significant critiques of the WEDO, raising issues that extend beyond the scope of this article but also deserve consideration in the future development of music-based interventions (2011 and 2013). Of foremost importance is the concern that WEDO musicians function as symbols only. Solveig Riiser also discusses the complexities of negotiating national identities within the orchestra even when the WEDO discourages identification as a political project (2010).

Music in preventing violent conflict

While the aforementioned works have been mostly descriptive, using ethnography and other methods to convey how various communities use musical practices to contribute to peacebuilding, there is also a good deal of work that reflects on applied ethnomusicology[4] initiatives or other peacebuilding initiatives. Much of this work specifically looks to the possibility of preventing violent conflict through music. For example, Michael Shank and Lisa Schirch offer a helpful review not of literature, but of arts-based initiatives that they label as involved in peacebuilding activities (2008). They argue that music in particular has contributed to peacebuilding through interventions that teach and advocate about social issues, that heal trauma, that support cross-cultural dialog, and that help youth cultivate self-esteem. Each of these interventions are charted in terms of the author's (Schirch's) previously developed model of the peacebuilding cycle, which includes phases of 'waging conflict nonviolently, reducing direct violence, building capacity, transforming relationships,' showing that they are primarily concerned with the pre-violence phase of conflict. The interesting idea of using *music to wage conflict nonviolently* is also the focus of Evans Pim's presentation of the use of song duels to channel potentially violent recriminations in a nonviolent way (2016).

Applied ethnomusicology examples sometimes work to prevent conflict through music in communities of diverse demographic composition by *promoting musical multiculturalism*.[5] In referring to multiculturalism, I refer to efforts that emphasize the value of cultural diversity as a way to build peace. These inherently build from the idea that the capacity for cross-cultural understanding can be built through exposure to and experience with cultural otherness, and are especially emphasized in communities grappling with minority cultural groups. For example, Ursula Hemetek, citing her work with minority communities in Europe, writes, 'Everywhere in the world – as far as I know – the existence of minorities in itself involves conflict …' (2010, 182). She goes on to describe her work with Styrian Slovenians as well as Turkish immigrants in Vienna. Both groups use music to affirm their own identities within the context of more hegemonic cultures, and are implicitly seen as partaking in efforts for conflict

prevention. The resultant public performances of Turkish music specifically are understood as helping to combat Islamophobic attitudes in the community where they live (2010). Similarly, Britta Sweers discusses a project to create a CD of music showcasing the diverse music cultures within the city of Rostock in eastern Germany. The project emerges specifically in the wake of a Neo-Nazi arson attack, and the CD is designed overtly as an anti-extremism pedagogical tool with the hopes that it will help prevent future conflict (2010). Kjell Skyllstad's famous work in the Resonant Community program was based on a similar model of sharing music of diverse local cultures to preclude violent conflict following an influx of emigration to Norway (2008). Yet a different form of this idea is expressed in Olivier Urbain's article on the Min-On Concert Association, which includes an interview with an elderly Japanese man who changed his post-World War II attitudes about Russia after the opportunity to watch a performance of Russian music and dance (2011). Lesley Pruitt's sociological study of community music projects in Northern Ireland also asserts that such efforts allow youth to foster diversity awareness and contribute to anti-racist efforts (2011). These examples often inherently draw on the idea that *musical interventions can cultivate empathy*, a concept that has been explored in depth by Felicity Laurence (2008). Laurence and Urbain's edited volume (2011) also makes a parallel argument for music's uses in building solidarity.

Music and violence

In his reflective and often personal review article from 2011, John Morgan O'Connell discusses the process of bringing together his 2010 volume *Music and Conflict,* co-edited with Salwa El-Shawan Castelo Branco. Significantly, he acknowledges that the impetus for the book originally began with a 2004 symposium with the theme of 'identifying and *resolving conflict* through music (my emphasis)' (2011). The symposium led to his 'unexpected' discovery that most of the scholars (mainly ethnomusicologists) involved felt that the relationship between music and conflict was often one of ambiguity or ambivalence (O'Connell 2011, 117); ultimately, the published volume which it turned into took a less idealistic title. In the form of the edited volume, he overtly states, 'this publication deals in principle with the role of music in conflict and to a lesser extent with the role of music in conflict resolution' (O'Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010, viii).

In this section I discuss works that examine the various ways in which music plays a complicit role in violence. Due to the overarching interest in developing interventions, I organize this by the various mechanisms by which music is made into a tool of violence. However, I acknowledge that M.J. Grant has also developed a useful set of categories for theorizing music and violence that runs parallel to the temporal categories used in the above section on Music and Peace. Her categories include 'music in the reporting of violence,' 'music in the preparation of violence,' and 'music at the moment of violence' (Grant 2015, 3).

One of the first ways in which music can be used for violence is when *songs are employed or reinterpreted to promote violence*. While Pilzer's work on former comfort women was discussed earlier to describe music in the context of postwar action, another article of his emphasizes how specific songs, when performed during the war by comfort women, actually 'helped to naturalize, legitimize, and otherwise support colonial domination, sexual violence, and war' (2014, 5). Christopher Small also discusses the usages of Pete Seeger's songs in both leftist and conservative movements (2011). Indeed, specific songs or pieces of music can often be re-signified in varying social contexts and then used to represent or promote

dramatically different ends than originally may have been intended.[6] As Bruce Johnson and Martin Cloonan point out in their extensive study of violence and popular music, studies of music should begin from a place of considering its potentially 'radical ambiguity' (Johnson and Cloonan 2008, 1).

Violence is also promoted at times through *the ways specific types or pieces of music are controlled by the media*. Jane Sugarman looks at music (including text, images, and video) produced by the Albanian community both at home and in the diaspora for the purpose of promoting the war in the late 1990s. This pro-war sentiment was also encouraged by the music industry itself, as it participated both through recruiting fighters and fundraising. Due to the contexts, symbols, and ideas of ethnic identity used in the music, Sugarman argues that 'in the short term at least, music would seem to have been far more effective in promoting the war in Kosova than it has been in promoting postwar peace' (Sugarman 2010, 40). Jason McCoy's work, tellingly entitled 'Making Violence Ordinary,' also examines music in the 1994 Rwandan genocide, and further demonstrates music's role in promoting violence (2009). He analyzes a Rwandan radio station's promotion of three songs by artist Simon Bikindi, who was later tried as a war criminal due to the ways his music was used to endorse the war. These examples give weight to Bergh and Sloboda's acknowledgment from their own review that 'music as a social activity and distribution mechanism of ideology is often used to foment conflicts' (2010, 4). (Other studies of music's contributions to violence stemming from its governmental or media control include: Aydoun 2016; Feki 2016; Hakima 2016; Lynch 2012).

Suzanne Cusick's recent studies of music's usages in US-run detention camps throughout the War on Terror contribute to presenting the ways in which *music itself can be used as a weapon*. Her research points to two related ways that music is used as torture to elicit response during interrogation. First, music is used in its loudness, in a way that disorients subjectivity by assaulting the senses to ultimately 'produce psychological disintegration' (2006). Beyond assault on the senses, she also points out in her later work that because of the 'somatic effect of sympathetic vibration,' music can actually enact direct violence to the body (2013, 276). Second, underlying discourses of how music is defined or what specific genres represent ideologically allow certain types of music to be weaponized. For example, she shares a case in which Christina Aguilera's songs, representing what would be considered *haram* (forbidden) to some Islamic beliefs, are forced upon a prisoner to weaken his self-identification as a Muslim. Alternatively, testimonies she collects refer to the music used generally as Western (which seems to include genres of rap, country, and heavy metal), with such music being overtly employed to exert Euro-American hegemony in the interrogation space. She refers to these usages of music as causing 'psychic pain,' or 'the exploding of one's inner world and sense of oneself in it' (2008, 17). In fact, Cusick reports her findings from Internet discussion forums around what genres of music to use in interrogation. These discussions show how United States soldiers theorize which genres of music are the most torturous: 'These folk seem readily to imagine themselves moving from tortured to torturer, and imagine music torturing by either a racial/cultural affront or, more often, by feminizing and/or queerifying Muslim men …' (2008, 7). These findings resonate with Svanibor Pettan's work examining music's use in torture and humiliation in the 1990s contexts of the dissolving of Yugoslavia (1998). Music can also be made into a weapon in the midst of violent conflict itself, prior to the taking of prisoners. Cornelia Nuxoll's recent work with juvenile combatants in the Sierra Leone Civil War demonstrates how the recordings of *Bubu* music as well as live

traditional drumming ensembles were used to cause panic amongst, lure out, and otherwise deceive civilians prior to invasion or capture (2015).

Martin Daughtry extends theories of the violence of sound itself through his studies of sound and music in the violence of the Iraq War (2015). His theorizing of 'thanatosonics,' or 'the extreme fusion of violence and sound' (2014, 28), particularly demonstrates how acoustic events associated with wartime have long-term effects on sound-based experiences with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Daughtry argues, drawing as Cusick does on sound's effects of sympathetic vibration, that any theory of sound has to account for its most destructive capacities: 'When *listening* ends and raw *exposure* begins, when sounds no longer *herald* death and destruction through their indexicality but *create* death and psychological destruction through their sheer materiality, when sound no longer behaves like sound and hermeneuts become passive bodies, pure victims of vibration – this is the terminal point against which we must calibrate the relationship between sound and violence' (2014, 39, emphases in original).

Daughtry also looks at the musical practices and listening habits of soldiers (2015), a project explored as well in Jonathan Pieslak's *Sound Targets* (2009) and Lisa Gillman's *My Music, My War* (2016); these works chart the relationships between music, affect, and combat-related practices. Pieslak's 2015 project *Radicalism and Music* continues the question of *how music becomes associated with violent action and/or beliefs*. Through ethnographic work with the different groups of white supremacists, ecological activists, and Islamic radical groups, he demonstrates that while the ideologies of each community are radically different, they each use music in strikingly similar ways. In particular, he finds that the lyrics and political messages of music are actually usually only of secondary importance to the community that that music brings together.

Particularly in fields such as ethnomusicology that emphasize ethnographic methods, studies of music and violence become difficult because of the limitations to participant observation in active conflict situations as well as the ethics of involvement in projects in which music is employed for negative ends. For these as well as other reasons, there is prevalence of work using *historical methodologies to understand music and violence*. For example, M.J. Grant organized a productive research group on 'Music, Conflict, and the State' at the University of Gottingen from 2008–2014, in which several researchers worked toward theorizing a social musicology of war (see Grant 2015 for an overview of the study group as well as full list of presentations and publications). Several historical case studies are also presented in the 2013 special issue of *the world of music (new series)* on 'Music and Torture|Music and Punishment,' which range from the eighteenth–nineteenth century British army to Chilean detention centers under Pinochet. Relatedly, Lisa Gilman discusses the unique methodological challenges of working with memory through interviews with United States soldiers following their previous deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan (2016). Muriel Swijghuisen Reigersberg also draws upon historical material in her applied ethnomusicological work. While she uses her experience leading a community choir in Hopevale, Australia to demonstrate that Christian choral singing *does* positively impact the construction of Australian Aboriginal identities, she contextualizes this with archival materials that also demonstrate the ways in which choral singing within the churches has also *historically* been used as a form of violence to undermine Aboriginal identities (2011). (Other important studies that examine music's roles in violence include: Fast and Pegley 2012; Goodman 2010; Kent 2008; Okada 2016).

Critically juxtaposing music's roles in violence and peace

While such studies of music's roles in violence are powerful and cautionary, I reiterate that I do not include them in this review as a way of precluding music's potential roles in peacebuilding. Rather, critically comparing these findings with models of music in peacebuilding opens up important considerations for developing praxis. Furthermore, scholars such as Cusick, Daughtry, and Gilman (among others) demonstrate the important scholarly effort to approach music and sound with a neutral stance free from expectation; I believe this intellectual practice is important to pointing out the blind spots that are easy to maintain or create when only thinking about music's roles in terms of peace. Thus, while it might be tempting to treat these bodies of work on peace and violence separately from each other, reading them in juxtaposition in fact forces us to appraise each body of works in ways that might have gone unrecognized on their own.

Here, then, I tease out some of the questions and new directions for inquiry that emerge from re-reading the previously elucidated models of music in peacebuilding alongside the literature on violence and with a more critical eye. For example, the idea of music's use in healing trauma and providing therapy is problematized by Daughtry's idea of thanatosonics. We are forced to question: At what point does sound move from being healing to being violent? Is this affected only by loudness or pitch or type, or by what other characteristics? And when sound or music is the source or related to the source of trauma in the first place, can it in fact be used also as a therapy (e.g. in the case of PTSD)? Furthermore, what constitutes therapeutic practice, and at what point does music just generally not make people feel better? There are clear ethical barriers to pursuing empirical studies of music's weaponization at the biological and psychological levels. However, these questions indicate the need to seek further insights offered by the fields of music therapy – especially culture-centered efforts in music therapy (e.g. Stige 2002) – and medical ethnomusicology (see e.g. the 2015 special issue of *Voices*; Koen 2011).

Efforts to use music in reconciliation should also be reconsidered. In the study by Maria Elisa Pinto Garcia discussed earlier (see 6), she finds that even within a single situation, music can be dually employed for reconciliation as well as maintaining discriminatory beliefs. Pieslak's work indeed shows that communities of people and relationships maintain significance even beyond the ideological meanings being conveyed in music. It is worth thinking about the ways in which musical practices are always socially grounded and constructed. For example, Impey's work on reconciliation in Dinka communities clearly draws on the traditional ways in which songs are already typically employed for such efforts, Ritter emphasizes the specific genre of *pumpin* as historically qualified to participate in testifying, and Opiyo bases her work on local Acholi definitions of music as educational. The interventions offered by music in these specific communities might not necessarily work in other contexts, such as those which value music more as discrete commodities than for its pedagogical or political value.

The ability of songs to protest for reparations or to promote the end of conflict is similarly problematized by studies of music in violence. As Sugarman's, McCoy's, and others' works demonstrate, songs are just as easily manipulated as propaganda through state and media control. This forces us to be more cognizant of the conditions under which songs are produced and performed. Sugarman's study also asks us to consider songs within multimedia contexts, which have received less attention in studies of music and peacebuilding. The need

for additional work on the roles of multimedia materials in the contributions of music is further demonstrated in Edgard Garcia's description of the Zebrock project he runs in France. While he describes the use of music to transcend forms of alienation, he also acknowledges that '[t]he packaging of the music is often more important than its musical construction, particularly because of the widespread use of music videos' (2016, 19–20). While this comment is unfortunately not further explored, it demonstrates the importance of considering the roles of different forms of music-related production in building music's capacity for peace and violence. Here, Matt Sumera's work on the way music soundtracks intersect with images of the US armed forces in viral Internet videos to produce 'potency, pleasures, and affects' provides interesting points of departure (2013, 311).

The idea of collective music-making as a process of peacebuilding is also problematized by Cusick's work. For example, she demonstrates that the collective experience of music between interrogator and prisoner does not necessarily foster a positive or empathic relationship between them, but instead makes each party more antagonistic and violent. While this example of course is an especially extreme case, it forces us to consider with more depth the precisely different natures of making music and listening to music (which are sometimes elided under Christopher Small's idea of 'musicking'), or other work that sometimes neutralizes the sharing of sonic space as one of bonding and positive relationship forming. The juxtaposition of Cusick's work with the idea of collective musical participation also requires us to think about the distinctly pedagogical elements of collective music-making for peace; it is not enough to just experience music together, but this is a process and experience that must somehow be facilitated. It further highlights the idea of music-based empathy as contributing to peacebuilding. Despite being subjected to a shared sonic assault, the interrogators examined by Cusick did not become more sympathetic to the detainees; in fact, they often became more violent. Moreover, Cusick discusses online discussion forum conversations amongst soldiers about what music is most torturous; these demonstrate a remarkable degree of imaginative empathy, but such empathy does not actually extend into mitigating the use of such music in violence. This resonates with Felicity Laurence's discussion of musicking and empathy, in which she points out the need for specifically defining the acts of 'cognitively grasping' the experiences of others as well as the certain kinds of musicking which enable such grasping (2011, 134). Examples of music in violence indicate that studies of music and empathy require still further clarity and precision. Indeed, while empathy is often ascribed positive value, Laurence, drawing on the theories of Edith Stein, points out that empathy as 'comprehension of another's feeling and inner state,' has the potential for *negative* empathy, wherein 'empathic understanding of the other is employed as a tool of exploitation and manipulation' (Laurence 2008, 18). Laurence specifically argues that looking to the relational practices in musicking calls our attention to the role of empathic relationships, not just empathy. Looking also to studies of music and affect and emotion might contribute greatly to a more nuanced view of the diverse ways music can be employed empathically both in violence and peacebuilding.

Finally, the idea of exposure to the music of 'others' as a way to improve cross-cultural relationships between the people 'represented' by those musics is also problematized by Cusick's findings. For detainees, the music of the 'other' (in this case, representing Westerners, or specifically Americans) was in itself a weapon because of what it represented. Moreover, where ideas of how music is defined do not align, being forced to listen to music itself can become a tool for humiliation. We can return to the earlier example of a Japanese man

improving his attitude toward Russia by watching a performance of Russian music (Urbain 2011); was participating in this performance actually taking a risk? What made this experience one of increased understanding rather than one of deepened animosity? This again requires us to look more to the pedagogical practices of presenting 'other' musics as well as to the cross-cultural issues of always defining music from an Anglophone or Euro-American-centric point of view. It encourages us to grapple with the value systems and histories underlying different musical activities and music cultures (see e.g. Boyce-Tillman 2008; Swijghuisen Reigersberg 2011). These cases serve as reminders that presentations of music must always include historicity and be understood as socially and politically constructed, specifically when used in the contexts of interventions.

Concluding thoughts

Ultimately, these findings, inquiries, and suggestions lead to questions about how we individually conceive of our professional lives as music scholars, and the concerns of disciplinarity that this also entails. Suzanne Cusick describes the accusations from her colleagues that her work should actually not be considered 'musicology,' and speaks to the awkwardness of acknowledging that pursuing work on music's role in violent conflict often requires that music scholars 'shatter the fantasies about 'music' on which our musicologies have been based' (Cusick 2008). Indeed, many of us involved in this work as musicians, music scholars, and other music-based practitioners may have been trained and raised within a milieu of certain 'fantasies' about music, fantasies that can often be productive and socially contributive. My concluding thoughts here are not meant to devalue the professional practices of others, but rather to point out that maintaining a modest or even skeptical or uncomfortable attitude toward the extent to which we actually understand how music contributes to peace-building can set the ground for more rigorous and improved practice in the future.

One aspect of such critical work involves confronting the ideas of music as a universal language or of music as universally neutral. While the examples discussed already are probably sufficient for problematizing these concepts, I also point to two recent studies that have unpacked the construction of these discourses directly: that of Nomi Dave, who provides a compelling historical dissection of this idea, particularly as it has been taken up in music-based interventions (2015), and of Lily Hirsch, who approaches this in her analysis of the project Playing for Change (2010).

A second aspect of reconsidering our disciplinary understandings of music is to question the ideal of 'resistance music.' There is still much work to be done on this issue, but the aforementioned studies conducted by Pilzer and McDonald argue for changes in the perception of this idea. Pilzer argues that 'It is our task to turn away from this dyad [of music in resistance and music in complicity] and toward a messier process by which people perform in pursuit of day-to-day survival, normalcy, escape, selfhood, and each other. Pushing through easy assumptions about these performing arts' redemptive or totalizing potentials, one finds a more vital account of music's social power – and thus of the roles music and dance can play in suffering and survival, in harm and human flourishing, and in the often intermingled nature of these categories of human experience' (2014, 22). Similarly, McDonald promotes that we understand resistance, especially within an immediate context of conflict, as a 'diffuse notion' (2013, 5 and 26). While scholars usually see resistance music as a static, delineated

genre, McDonald hopes to see the concept understood instead as a performative process, and to widen the variety of possible performance spaces.

I also admire Cusick's openness to asking hard, reflexive questions. She uses her findings to force music scholars specifically working in the United States to introspect on our ethical responsibilities given the fact that our own government has made use of music as a weapon to the great extent that it has, asking: 'How has the weaponization of sound and music affected the apparently civilian musical and acoustical practices we think we know? How have apparently civilian musical and acoustical practices affected music's and sound's weaponization?' (2008, 4). As scholars, we also need to re-examine our own musical practices and how they relate to situations of conflict that we too are involved in. Furthermore, these tough questions highlight the fact that understanding detailed, specific local contexts of violent conflict is crucial to thinking through music's potential role in such situations, and whether it can be one of peacebuilding or further violence. Moreover, even in cases where music is easily weaponized, good training in evaluation, pedagogy, methodology, and ethics appropriate to local contexts makes space for improved, informed practice and moving beyond the potentially violent and detrimental repercussions of music-based interventions.

Cusick's inquiries in turn compel us to think about the structural and cultural violences[7] that underpin the directly violent conflicts discussed in this review article, and furthermore, how music might intersect at such underlying levels. At a 2010 symposium on applied ethnomusicology, the convening report concludes that '[i]t turned out that many conflicts that we researched were influenced by economic resources and ownership systems, often and currently within the pressures of neoliberalism, but also within pressures or graces of nationalisms, especially in historical terms. In our ethnomusicological studies, aggravating factors for current types of conflict included the oppression of certain groups by others. We identified relevant single, multiple, and intersecting types of oppression with economic, raced, gendered, classed and educational components' (Harrison, Mackinlay, and Pettan 2010, 10). We should ask the extent to which music can contribute to peace when it ignores or even obscures these underlying systems and power relations,[8] and furthermore, what our role is as scholars in directly grappling with such social injustices and historical conditions.

Ultimately, as Johnson and Cloonan write, 'We are all detainees of the soundscape … It is in everyday social intercourse that the connection between music and violence is most pervasively damaging' (2008, 163–164). While they invoke the idea of soundscape to refer primarily to issues of noise pollution and the role of noise in infrastructural policy and organization, they are right to point out that music's potential in violence is ubiquitous beyond the extra-ordinary contexts of war and active violent conflict. While the above review of work on music and peace demonstrates that interventions are aimed primarily at distinct moments of transformation within delineated conflicts, perhaps it is truly at the level of structural violence that the role of music interventions should also start to be pursued. This brings us to the exciting work being done more recently in applied ethnomusicology (e.g. Pettan and Titon 2015) and especially in collaborative ethnomusicology (e.g. Lassiter 2005; Barney 2014). These models offer still further reconsiderations of both the roles of scholars as well as the types of projects we pursue. It entails working in collaboration not only with communities but also other local forms of peacebuilding and socially transformative intervention, emphasizing personal relationships as the center of any research or intervention work, and contextualizing conflict both within historical trajectories and resulting ongoing material and structural inequities. As such, I offer the additional suggestion that

studies of music and violence not only elicit new ideas for interventions of music in peace-building, they might also indicate and illuminate the underlying causes of violent conflicts that continue to emerge. Reviewing the bodies of literature on music and peace and violence thus encourages us to think beyond the development of interventions in response to situations of violent conflict. More importantly, it requires us to pursue a more expansive view of peacebuilding and focus on the role of music less as in relation to discrete conflicts, and more as within a broader global project of peacebuilding.

Notes

1. The word 'intervention' is used throughout this review in the sense it has as a technical term in peace studies. I use it in this article to refer to an activity aiming at adding a musical dimension for the purpose of influencing change in a social situation. While the term might connote such activity as a top-down or aggressive imposition, this meaning is not intended in the article and I intend usage of the term in as neutral a sense as possible.
2. I acknowledge both the financial support and encouragement for pursuing the project of this literature review on the part of the Min-On Concert Association, an organization that for several decades has sought to promote peacebuilding through making performance arts from around the world accessible to the Japanese public. However, Min-On did not set any parameters for the review, was not given a draft of prior to the completed peer-review process, and their feedback has had no impact on this publication; this article reflects only the readings and views of its author.
3. In the terms of Paulo Freire (1970), praxis refers to the dual simultaneous processes of action and critical reflection (i.e. theory and practice) that cycle into continuing action and critical reflection.
4. While the idea of applied ethnomusicology has a long and complex history, I refer here to the ideas of theory and practice outlined by Pettan and Titon in their 2015 *Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology*. They define applied ethnomusicology as work that draws on ethnomusicological scholarship to develop 'a music-centered intervention in a particular community, whose purpose is to benefit that community …' (2015, 4).
5. See Sandoval's article in this issue for additional discussion and critique of this concept.
6. Further discussion of music's variable roles in politics is helpfully provided in Turino 2008.
7. To employ Galtung's terms; see Urbain's article in this issue for further definition.
8. See also Sandoval's article in this issue for a exploration of this issue in terms of music education.

Disclosure statement

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