

Understanding Music and Nonviolence Through Understanding Music and Violence

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Abstract

NGOs and other benefactors have long used musical activity as part of a peacebuilding or development strategy, believing that music brings people together, heals traumas and promotes peace, yet there is scant empirical evidence to support this notion. At the very least, musical activity is usually considered to be a nonviolent endeavour yet there is evidence that contradicts even this. Drawing on a synthesis of sociological, musicological and conflict theory, this paper attempts to explain how the same physical phenomenon can produce such wildly different results, beliefs and behaviours through the musical interaction with personal and social belief systems, identities, memories and emotions.

Keywords: Music Sociology, Conflict, South East Asia, Peacebuilding

The Universality and Specificity of Music and Social Change: Considering the Possibility of Music and Nonviolent Peacebuilding

NGOs and other benefactors have long used musical activity as part of a peacebuilding or development strategy, believing that music brings people together, heals traumas and promotes peace, yet there is scant empirical evidence to support this notion. At the very least, musical activity is usually considered to be a nonviolent endeavour yet there is evidence that contradicts even this, from the use of music in torture in Iraq and Guantanamo Bay to the Serbian paramilitary use of Turbofolk prior to their invasions of the villages and towns of the former Yugoslavia. An understanding of the processes involved with music as an ever-shifting meaning-laden phenomenon is required in order to employ it as a tool for nonviolent social change or non-change. Successful dictators tend to have an innate understanding of this as music is often one of the first modes of expression that are tightly controlled by such states. Even in democracies, music is

controlled by the market, which can limit the social power of music to motivate change or challenges to the status quo. Furthermore, music can provide a platform for critical discourse by representing, demonstrating and reinforcing ideologies including the civil rights movement in the United States, the Thai student-led democracy movement in the 1970s and Aguilar's nationalistic music in 1980s Philippines. Drawing on a synthesis of sociological, musicological and conflict theory, this paper attempts to explain how the same physical phenomenon can produce such wildly different results, beliefs and behaviours through the musical interaction with personal and social belief systems, identities, memories and emotions. This interdisciplinary theoretical approach will then be applied to the three examples in order to better understand the relative success or failure of those projects in social change.

Music and Peace

Music has long been associated with peace in some form, often to the point that many assume that it is obvious that music can play some positive role in the peace process. Considering how widespread this belief is, there is a remarkable lack of evidence to support this claim. In order to address this question, I will first identify how organisations with some form of peace agenda tend to utilise music in their work. The three primary music approaches used by peace organisations are:

- Peacebuilding
- Solidarity
- Healing traumas

Womad, for example, is an internationally renowned brand and music festival, co-founded by the pop musician Peter Gabriel. Its explicit aim is to showcase music from around the world to celebrate diversity, educate audiences about other cultures and increase trust across cultural boundaries. According to their website: "The central aim of the WOMAD festival is to celebrate the world's many forms of music, arts and dance... we aim to excite, to inform, and to create awareness of the worth and potential of a multicultural society." (Womad 2014). What tends to happen in concerts and festivals of this kind, however, is a form of music as representation. Music as representation is a phrase coined by sociologist Arild Bergh (2007, 2010) and further developed in my own work (2010, 2014). Borrowing Christopher Small's concept of musicking as active social music-making (Small 1998), Bergh defines music as representation as an attempt "... to let (a usually dominant) group A see something else than their current (stereotypical) view of group B, 'the other', through musicking." The other' is represented by music which somehow links it to group B, which may be defined in terms of geography, age, ethnicity, religion, etc." (Bergh 2010, p.42). Bergh points out that this approach is problematic since

it is difficult to accurately portray identity since it is a fluid concept and not a fixed label (Ibid). Elsewhere, I have pointed out that this approach runs the danger of strengthening identity boundaries rather than helping to cross them (Robertson 2014). This is supported by Intergroup Contact Theory as devised by Allport (1954) and Pettigrew (1998), who claimed that prejudice reduction between groups requires certain conditions to be met (which will be discussed later) and that superficial intergroup contact is likely to result in further prejudice rather than a reduction. What was conceived as a music as peacebuilding project through a greater understanding and tolerance of different cultures, resulted in music as solidarity. This solidarity does not include the entirety of the festival, however, it includes only the musical groups themselves and any audience members who directly identify with that type of music. The reason being is that music demonstrations represent a culture that is further defined and confirmed through performance and reception rather than engaging other cultures in a creative, collaborative and identity-forming manner. In the global age of technology, this identification is no longer necessarily attached to a geographical location or ethnicity; identification can occur between groups in similar situations. This is evidenced by the worldwide spread of hip hop as an identifier of disaffected urban youth, regardless of location and culture. As such, Womad is a series of musical representations that has little chance of affording any lasting positive social change in the world, although exposure to other cultures is a positive step in understanding and tolerance, it does not go any further.

There are several NGOs operational around the world in conflict zones that have a peacebuilding remit, and many of them have music policies (2). Their overt agenda is to affect positive social change, increase trust across conflict actors, reduce or end cultural violence and educate the actors about each other. Other NGOs state that peacebuilding is best done through building solidarity by unifying disparate groups, affecting democratic advocacy and acting as a voice for under-represented groups. Many NGOs and government aid programmes concentrate solely on economic and political reform as a means for peacebuilding, but as is pointed out by researchers at the Post-conflict, Reconstruction and Development Unit at the University of York, any peacebuilding project that ignores the cultural element is likely doomed to repeat the same problems at a later date (Barakat, Zyck and Hunt 2009). As such, these organisations are not within the scope of this paper. Finally, there are some NGOs, such as War Child, that use music therapy in areas of great trauma in order to reduce the suffering felt by victims of war and cultural violence. While all of these approaches appear noble and even sensible, none of them have been based on empirically grounded research. Why is that important? One cannot design an effective project without evidence to support the plan. Also, how can it be properly assessed without a solid basis on which to design? If these projects are not based on empirical evidence, what are they based on? Unpicking the process of how these projects have been developed, it becomes apparent that the motivations have less to do with effective peacebuilding and more to do with providing jobs for musicians with a conscience, funding

the music industry separately from the open market or raising awareness and fundraising for other non-musical aspects of peacebuilding. This is an issue in other art intervention and NGO work, such as theatre (Jennings and Baldwin 2010). In other words, despite the common belief that music affects positive social change in itself, music has been used for other purposes to date. One exception is music therapy, for which there is evidence that it can affect positive change but this is usually personal rather than social in nature, despite often being reported as a social improvement. Community music therapy, as devised by Nordoff Robbins, has been demonstrated to make a difference but it is not widely engaged with by music therapists at the moment, due to prevalent culture, structure and funding streams (Pavlicevic and Ansdell 2004).

I will now further unpack some of the peacebuilding, solidarity and trauma healing strategies employed by NGOs involved with peace processes. Peacebuilding music strategies have included music as a space for self-expression; awareness; fundraising; research in the form of publishing and conferences; education; and advocacy (Lederach 1995, 2005; Francis 2004; Gelleman 2007; Urbain 2008). One very good example of a music and peacebuilding organisation is Musicians Without Borders.

Music and solidarity strategies include unification, democratic participation and lobbying. Music and trauma strategies focus on the therapeutic applications of musical interaction and exposure. One of the most prominent examples of this is in the Pavarotti Centre in Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, set up by the War Child organisation. Music therapy of this kind tends to focus on individual traumas and therefore has a small social impact. Community music therapy, as devised by the Nordoff Robbins music therapy centres, has a much greater potential but this has not as yet been applied in conflict settings. War Child's approach was to bring in British-trained music therapists to Mostar to start a therapeutic practice, largely for traumatised children, the results of which were reported to be mostly successful (Lang and McNerny 2002). Unfortunately, the funding for music therapy from War Child ceased in 2004 and another donor was not found. As such, the music therapy centre shut down. Since 2011, however, the centre has been offering music therapy workshops, mainly to traumatised children or those with special needs, but these are not run by accredited music therapists.⁽²⁾ This is due to Warchild's early decision not to train locals in music therapy before some time and reconstruction had occurred:

"In recognition of the global effects of trauma upon the general population of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it was generally considered not appropriate to train local workers in music therapy during the early post-war years. A time of healing and re-building was clearly and evidently necessary. Using music as a therapeutic tool, on a differing level to the trained music therapist, was a successful concept that was introduced by Professor Nigel Osbourne from the University

of Edinburgh in conjunction with the War Child 'Schools Team' based at the Pavarotti Centre." (Watts 2004).

In my own research on music and conflict transformation in Bosnia (Robertson 2010, 2014), many of my informants mentioned their participation in the Osbourne project, but they were ambivalent about its impact, which is at odds with how the success of the project was reported. Some of those who were invited to participate refused because they believed it was beneath them to be involved in children's education work, and those that did participate, enjoyed the activity but did not believe that it had much impact beyond the event itself.

Most NGOs that engage with music intervention projects provide little or no evidence to support their activities, with the exception of Musicians Without Borders(3), which attempt to engage with music interventions at the grassroots level, and the Peace Boat (4), which engages with active peace research to further develop their activities. The researchers from the Sociology of the Arts group at the University of Exeter are one of the only evidence-based arts research groups in the world, and they have produced some research that demonstrates the affect of music and social change (8).

Music and Violence

It is important to note that music is not inherently a positive social force and there are many examples of how music has been used as a form of violence. Music was used in systematic torture programmes in Guantanamo Bay (Cusick 2006; Smith 2008) and Iraq (Pieslak 2009). Christopher Cerf, the composer of the Sesame Street theme tune, discovered that his music had been used for torture in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo, where they also used Metallica, AC/DC, Eminem and the Barney the Purple Dinosaur theme tune (Zagorin and Duffy 2005; Neal 2012). This usage of music was based on the idea that loud repetitive music creates fear, disorientation and state of shock. The detainees would effectively be driven mad. Music that would be culturally offensive music was chosen, which highlights the specificity of musical application. The US military referred to the biblical town of Jericho whose walls were brought down by the sounds of amassed trumpets as first usage of music in psychological warfare. Some other examples of cultural offensive music used in Iraq were death metal band Deicide's "Fuck Your God", rock band Queen's "We are the Champions" and Rage Against the Machine's "Killing in the Name of."

Aggressive hip hop and rock music was also utilised by soldiers in Iraq to inspire and motivate them before they entered the battlefield (Soundtrack to War 2005). Serbian paramilitaries blasted a hyper-nationalistic blend of Serbian folk and electronic pop-dance, called Turbofolk, towards Bosnian and Croat villages just prior to invading; they occupied the aural

landscape before occupying the physical one (Jovanovic 2004). In another example, the FBI blasted loud music, including Mitch Miller Christmas carols, an Andy Williams album and "These Boots Are Made for Walking" by Nancy Sinatra, at the Koresh compound in Waco, Texas as a form of psychological terror that was a precursor to the tactics utilised in Iraq and Guantanamo (Ammerman 1995).

Recently, there has been a debate about Turbofolk and whether or not the musical style and its fans were unfairly associated with violence (Archer 2012). There really can be no doubt, however, since the form was supported by the Milović-controlled media of the time when other musical forms were not. One of the most popular Turbofolk singers, Ceca Ražnatović, was the wife of Arkan the Tiger, the Serbian paramilitary leader. Arkan was a known criminal, armed robber and football hooligan. Once he became leader of a paramilitary group, he named them Arkan's Tigers. In a lack of subtlety, Ražnatović would often perform with a live caged tiger to literally verify this connection.

Despite the plethora of negative examples of music uses, there are still useful aspects to be learned from the above examples. What these examples demonstrate is that music is a meaning-making process. In these cases, the meaning was overtly negative, but understanding the processes involved in this meaning-making can help to plan positive musical interventions. Researchers from the fields of psychology, sociology and communications have suggested that there are three aspects to consider when examining music as a meaning-making process. Psychologists Johnson-Laird and Oatley (2008) have observed that music is processed both pre- and post-lingually; basic emotions are evoked before conscious and lingual thought can process the sound. What this means is that there is a common human reaction to certain sounds that evoke simple emotions such as fear or calm. Any more complex thoughts and emotions are more specific to the listener's context, including personal experience but also shared cultural experiences. For this reason, music is considered universal yet successful applications for positive social change are elusive due to the specificity required for complex meaning-making to occur. Negative applications have been more successful since negative emotions and experiences are more readily processed and remembered than positive ones (Sloboda 2005, 2010).

Sociologist Tia DeNora (2000) has observed that people engage with music and meaning-making at both the personal and the social levels. One may choose to play a certain song in order to affect a certain state of mind at a particular time and place, but it is the social context that that person exists in that helped to create the situation in which that person would make that sort of choice. DeNora (2011), along with Negus and Velazquez (2002) have also noted that these choices and actions are both conscious and unconscious; one may consciously choose to play

a certain song, but music is ubiquitous and meaning-making occurs every time one is exposed to music.

Since negative applications of music are easier to affect emotions and memories and there is a greater history of these applications, it is not surprising that dictators are often more effective at using music for social purposes than peacebuilders. In the North African uprisings in 2011-2012, music was used by dictators in order to maintain the status quo while protesters used music to challenge it (Barakat et al 2013). In some cases, the same music was used by both sides, illustrating the amoral nature of the musical material itself that is dependent on context for meaning-making. In both Egypt and Tunisia, for example, the former dictatorships controlled the media and music industries and promoted either nationalistic music or banal, inoffensive pop music. In both cases, it promoted a sense of belonging and a feeling that everything was fine, and, by proxy, that the leadership must be benign as a result. Music that was overtly critical or contained easily understood subversive meaning was either outright banned or not permitted to be broadcast and was never given public funding. Interestingly, in Egypt, this resulted in old nationalistic music from the colonial days to be appropriated by the protesters, such as the case with El Tanbura. El Tanbura began performing songs that were originally ant-British but the sentiment was that they were Egyptian and the dictatorship was not in the interest of Egyptians. Likewise, songs from the Egyptian nationalist poet Sayed Darwish were appropriated for the same purpose. One such song, "Bilady, Bilday, Bilday" (My Country, My Country, My Country) was originally anti-colonial in nature, but it was first appropriated by the Mubarak regime to align his rule with one of national pride, but it was re-appropriated again by the protesters to show that they believed that their country did not want to be run by Mubarak. Similarly in Tunisia, the national anthem was originally an anti-colonial song appropriated by the regime online to be re-appropriated again by the protesters.

The market as a form of social control through music does not need the heavy hand of a dictatorship in order to be effective, and exists in all modern western countries to some extent. Theodor Adorno (1988) and Jacques Attali (1985) are two thinkers who discussed at great length just how they believed that the market and music had a symbiotic relationship that favoured the production of easily consumed, unchallenging music. People tend to choose what they already know, and know they like, so subversive and controversial music tends to be marginal at best. At worst, those groups that prefer their art to be a little confrontational or subversive are simply sold music that signifies these traits, and, once sated, they tend to have little desire to enact actual social change. This latter scenario is one reason why Morocco has not had a coordinated and effective uprising like many other North African countries.

Adorno believed that habitualising music consumption objectivised music and commodified it. DeNora has pointed out that Adorno viewed this objectification as preventing challenging cognitions and was easily subjected to external controls. In other words, by consuming music for pleasure habitually (the fetishisation of music (DeNora 2003: 17), the public was reinforcing the social status quo and was less able to engage dialectically with music in an effort to affect change within society; they would avoid challenging music that might raise their consciousness, through negative dialectics (Thomas 1989: 161). New structures in music would be meaningless to them unless value was placed on challenging the structure of society. If the current social structure provided commodified music that was habitually consumed for pleasure, there is little or no incentive to engage in any other manner with music.

Attali believed that social cohesion was created through active music-making, but even if it is based on hatred of another. Western democratic states lack the explicit powers available to dictators and despots but they at least attempt to control music's power through the encouragement of the commodification of music in the capitalist system. Music that embodies a challenge to the state once commodified can satisfy the desire to challenge by those that consume music as a product without actually challenging the state; commodification of music can effectively neuter the change potential of musical experience. This is a form of conflict management but not of a mutually beneficial variety since one or more sides to the actual and potential conflict are circumvented, suppressed, diverted or otherwise prevented from equalities

The King of Morocco, Mohamed VI, has opted for soft control after he noticed the link between the burgeoning Moroccan Hip hop scene and the increase of terrorism. He encouraged and funded unchallenging music, like other North African rulers, such as traditional or easy popular music. Hip hop was originally banned, but he began to fund festivals and venues for them, which acted as a vent to prevent trouble. Now there is no concerted revolutionary effort. The Feb20 movement is not cohesive and many artists and musicians condemn the group in any case as they are fearful that their livelihoods will be affected badly if they are seen to support anything against the king.

In 2003, heavy metal bands in Morocco were accused of Satanism and arrested which sparked protests. Reflecting the growing power of urban, youth activism and culture, the Boulevard des jeunes musicians festival, the country's only major grassroots music festival, saw a surge in the attendance of tens of thousands of people after the victory against the government in the Satanic metal affair. Such an institutionalisation of the country's alternative youth music scene could only occur with the blessing of the government. Folk musicians, who in other countries

have been at the forefront of protests, have only protested for more services, water and preservation of heritage but have not confronted the government.

Whether or not the outcome of a musical intervention is considered to be positive or negative, music and ideology are intrinsically linked. Ideology in itself is a system of beliefs. Music, therefore, affects belief and belief affects behaviour. This is the reason why dictators are interested in the control of music since they have understood that music affects belief and therefore society as a whole, unless something successfully challenges it. It is not all pessimistic, however, and the American Civil Rights movement, the Thai student democracy movement and the Pinoy music and Indonesian democratic movement all enjoyed some success in using music to challenge dominant belief systems, create new ones, and affect positive social change, at least at the time. In the latter two, in particular, the same music and people involved in the movements have more recently been involved in less positive activities. This will be discussed in detail later. What these three examples demonstrate is that music can affect belief systems, including prejudice. In the case of dictatorships or other vested interests, prejudice can provide a mandate for state control, but if we are to look at conflict reduction as a goal, then we need to understand how prejudice reduction occurs and how music might be involved. Pettigrew's model of prejudice reduction will be examined now.

Pettigrew's theory of prejudice reduction was part of his wider theory of intergroup contact (1998). He suggested that in order for prejudice reduction to occur, there needed to exist five conditions and, to some extent, up to four processes begun. The conditions required are equal status, having common goals, intergroup cooperation, support from authorities, the law and/or some custom and the potential for developing friendship. The processes engaged with are learning about the out-group, changing behaviour, generating affective ties and in-group reappraisal.

Music cannot affect equality directly, but it can create a space for common goals, cooperation and create the potential for developing friendship. The support in conflict cases is unlikely to come from the state or the law, but it could be found within shared customs, which is why contextual research is so vital. This means that the parties involved in a musical intervention intended to reduce prejudice need to have reasonably equal status, but otherwise, music meets all of the other conditions according to Pettigrew. All of the processes, however, can be covered by musical experience. A joint music project demands a certain understanding of those involved, changing beliefs ultimately changes behaviour, music generates emotions in participants, and where they are shared, they have created affective ties. As a result of understanding the out-group more, a reappraisal of just what the in-group is comprised of comes into question. I will now examine a few cases where music has affected social behavioural change.

Case Studies

Music and the American Civil Rights Movements

According to Eyerman and Jamison (1998), moments of cultural shift occur where habitual behaviour is challenged and new collective identities formed. Traditions are reformed and remembered and mobilised. Collective identity change is vital for changes in values, ideas and ways of life. Music is a collective learning process, and this cognitive praxis provides a context for the politicization of knowledge. The civil rights movements as such has had a long-term effect on the wider American culture today, affecting the social behaviour of the society as a whole, which has been noted by Reed (2005). Simon Frith claimed that the power of music to ultimately affect such large-scale social behaviour was down to the belief in the power of music to change society (1989). Frith was concerned with ritualistic and anthropological aspects of music and social change, but he was also referring to the psychological and social, and therefore the current and future contexts as much as the past. This is now further complicated since conventions are now constantly challenged due to the globalising effects of the internet, migration and urbanisation. Social groups rarely live in isolation from each other, and are forced to respond to outside influence through absorption or defiance.

Music and the Thai Student Democracy Movement

It is worth taking a quick look at modern Thai history since the pattern found there is similar to many other situations around the world. The military coup of 1932 forced the King to accept a constitutional monarchy, and a nationalist project was developed by the military leader Phibun and the civic leader Pridi. Soon, however, Phibun began to develop fascist characteristics, using Hitler and Mussolini as models for leadership. Between 1939 and 1942, freedoms were severely curtailed and the arts strictly controlled. In World War II, Phibun allied with Japan and declared war on France, Britain and the U.S., although the ambassador to the U.S., Seni Pramoj, chose exile in Washington while he established a resistance Seri Thai Movement. The Seri Thai Movement managed to oust Phibun in 1944 and Seni became Prime Minister in 1945. although Pridi was elected in the first democratic elections in 1946. In 1947, Pridi was forced into exile, having been accused of some involvement in the assassination of the king. The civilian government floundered without a leader until the military took control the following year, bringing Phibun back to power the year after that. Despite being a known fascist tyrant, the west supported Phibun as a non-communist ally in the region serving as a buffer against communist Vietnam. Phibun restarted his ruthless campaign against political opponents. Another military coup placed Sarit Thanarat in the Prime Minister's position, followed

by Thanom Kittikachorn after Sarit's death in 1963. During this time, the monarchy was restored and relations with the U.S continued to be positive since they assisted with the Vietnam War. This led to exposure to the western ideas, values and standards for the first time, including music. Peasants began to realise just how poor they were, and anti-government sentiment grew. Farmers and villagers began to suffer at the hand of military and police harassment and political corruption. Student activists led a protest movement in support of the farmers and demanded democratic reforms.

This alliance between student activists and farmers was made possible largely through the songs and musical efforts of the band Caravan. Caravan sang songs that combined western rock and folk music with traditional Thai music with Thai lyrics. This new style, coined 'pleng puea chiwit' (Songs for Life), praised the work of the farmers, highlighted their plight and actively encouraged revolution. The regime responded by slaughtering student protesters in 1976, banning all music associated with dissent and Caravan fled into exile. Songs for Life continued to be popular in the prisons and the sound alone began to represent the movement; the lyrics were no longer needed to demonstrate association with a certain ideology and group membership.

Lockard noted that the musicians were connected to the events as participants and observers which gave structure and coherence to the intangible (1998). This challenges Adorno's idea that popular music is only a mass-mediated diversion and reinforces power structures. In this case, popular music sometimes served as an opiate, but sometimes to forge new identities. Other observable function of popular music in this case included reinforcing identity boundaries, stimulation of debate, education, pacification, inculcation, or all the above. In the end, in a familiar-sounding scenario, the Thai authorities exploited Caravan for their own nationalistic purposes.

Songs for Life continues today as a style, and the band Carabao were perhaps the best known band in this style after Caravan. The musicians of 'song for life' tend to come from well-educated backgrounds and middle class families but they had close relationships and empathy for the working class. Most of them were born in other provinces and have a university or college education background. They tend to be interested in politics and social situations and resistant to dominant ideology. The musicians of this musical style are able to compose music for their own bands although they now work for the music companies. Many songs of pleng puea chiwit such as songs of Carabao and Pongsit Kampi remain popular today.

The Songs for Life movement is significant because it demonstrates how, despite expressive political discontent and opposition to the conservative tradition, a musical genre can spill over into popular culture. It challenges many widely held views in the field of Thai popular music. Although there are fewer songs in the genre than in other styles, its lyrics have been very influential. While most other Thai popular songs deal with love and the positive side of Thai people's lives, this musical style portrays the opposite side of life, featuring the troubled lives of oppressed people and other social problems. This musical genre is an alternative music for people who need to escape from the circular love themes and bland enjoyment of the mainstream such as pleng lukthung, pleng lukgrung and pleng string.

Songs for Life artists remain political and support the poor and the oppressed in Thai society, but it has since become very unclear how this ties into current politics and unrest in Thailand, with both dominant political sides using this style of music in order to garner support for the respective causes. All sides of the political spectrum have learned that this music is associated with the populous poor whose numbers would be needed for either electoral or revolutionary victory.

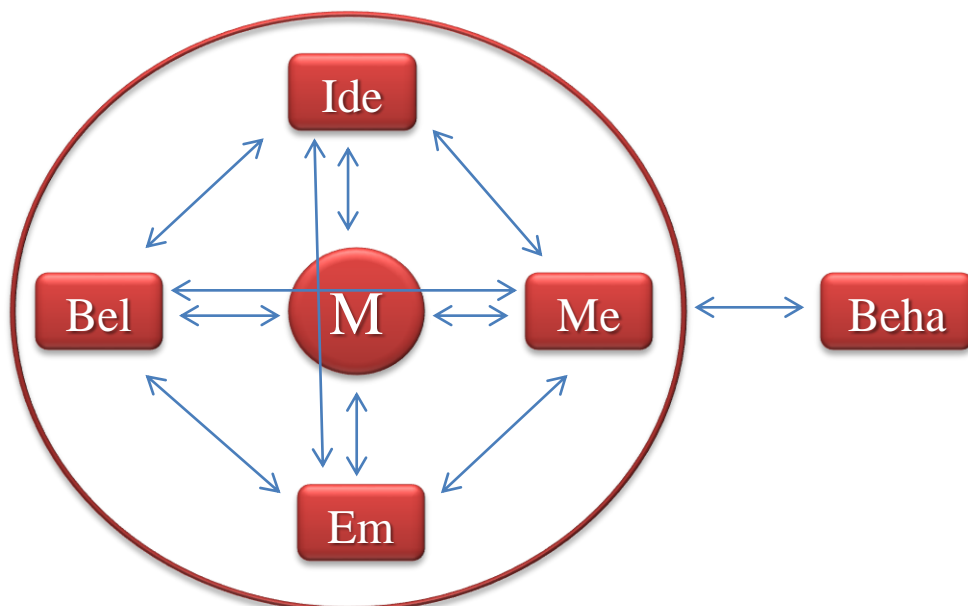
Philippines - Pinoy Pop and Rock

In the Philippines, Pinoy music mixed Filipino folk with western rock music and ballad forms. The songs were sung in the Tagalog language. Marcos used the songs to foster national unity. The music was therefore state sponsored, patriotic and non-threatening. It could be said that the songs were culturally reaffirming. Marcos ordered radio stations to play one to three of these songs every hour. Like other dictators, Marcos was quick to make the connection between music and martial law. Now, however, this music is considered just one of many available styles of music, which is very similar to the Songs for Life in Thailand.

Marcos had imposed Martial law in 1972 and freedom of expression was reduced. Protest songs began to emerge from artists such as Jess Santiago, Heber Bartolome, Lolita Carbon and Paul Galang, as well as the folk bands Asin and Inang Laya. Their songs echoed the plaintive cries of victims of exploitation, torture, corruption, and poverty. An exiled opposition leader returned after three years in USA to sing the song "Tie a Ribbon Around the Old Oak Tree." He was assassinated shortly thereafter. Freddie Aguilar sang a haunting rendition of a 1920s' poem, "Bayan Ko (My Country)," which would later become the anthem of the first People Power Revolution. In 1986, the Marcos regime was deposed by a peoples' revolt. The rallying song of this movement was a version of "Bayan Ko" by Freddie Aguilar. This is a parallel situation where an anti-colonial, in this case, anti-American, song from the 1920s had been appropriated by a dictatorship and now re-appropriated by the people.

Music as a Dynamic, Reflexive Social Process

In all of these cases, it can be seen that music has affected behaviour through a contextualised affect on shared beliefs. Based on previous research in Bosnia-Herzegovina and North Africa, I have developed a process model for how music simultaneously influences and is influenced by personal and social senses of identity, memory, emotion, belief and ultimately behaviour, as can be seen in the following diagram:



Application

What follows is a very brief illustration of how my model of music behavioural change can be applied to the three examples discussed in this article in order to help clarify the relationship between music and social change. It is not within the scope of this article to empirically investigate these cases within this theoretical framework, although this is exactly what is needed in future research. I hope that these illustrations will help to provide a platform on which to launch such future research. Within the American civil rights movement, the activists felt anger towards the status quo and desired social change. There was a sense of solidarity amongst those who want change, regardless of ethnicity. Memories of atrocities committed by authorities against protestors further bonded those involved. The shared belief that protest songs represented their ideology and social movement further bolstered the sense of shared identity and shared memories.

Further experiences of these protest songs reinforced the above emotions, identities and beliefs as well as creating new shared memories.

For the example of the Thai farmer songs, or Pleng Peua Chiwit, there was anger of the oppressed and those who support the oppressed supported by memories of the atrocities committed by the authorities. Music was used to create trust and understanding between the students and the farmers and it educated and mobilised protesters which in turn created memories of unification and new shared identity between the farmers and the students. Further iterations of the music came to represent the movement.

With Pinoy Music, there was an initial shared dissatisfaction with the dictatorship amongst the people. Pinoy music was appropriated by Marcos to deflect problems and increase the spread of his version of patriotism. The assassination of Aquino inspired mass anger towards Marcos. "Banyan Ko," the old anti-colonial song, triggered collective memories of old nationalism that predated Marcos and spurred a memory of an identity was not mediated by Marcos. Memories and anger and a new sense of shared identity and purpose began to emerge. Finally, a shared belief that the music represented their situation and their future was established.

Conclusion

Musical meaning is context-driven. Any one piece of music, or musical style, has no intrinsic social meaning contained within the musical material itself. While it has been shown that musical material affects a basic emotional response in humans regardless of cultural context, the meaning of these emotions requires a more complex processing that is heavily dependent on personal and social contexts of identity, memory, emotion and belief. Musical meaning production is a social process that can affect behaviour, both negatively as well as positively and this is evidenced by the sheer number of examples of music used as torture, coercion and social control by authority figures, dictators and other parties with a vested interest in maintaining unequal power relationships. As such, the same music can have multiple and simultaneous meanings, and therefore, different and even opposing influences on behaviour. This is demonstrated in the many examples of how popular anti-colonial protest songs had been appropriated by dictators and then re-appropriated by protesters against those dictators.

Thus far, there has been little empirical research conducted in order to support this theory of music and social change, although I have conducted some in Bosnia-Herzegovina and North Africa (Robertson 2010, 2014; Barakat et al. 2013). The above analysis is based on secondary sources. It would be very useful for further, in-depth research to be conducted in Thailand and Indonesia to test and improve the theory and to work with NGOs and other social

music practitioners in the region to improve the practices to enable the best and most positive possible impact of music and social change.

One of the primary reasons why music and peace projects have been less than successful has been the lack of understanding of context and the perceived meaning of musical material believed by those involved. As such, I suggest that any research in this area should be co-produced with the subjects using an action research approach. This would ensure the relevance of the research to the subjects and enable the subjects to maintain a sense of ownership of the results. The research itself would be investigating the perceived meaning of musical material over time and the change in dynamics between identity, emotions, memories and beliefs. In order to do this, the research would need to be interdisciplinary, taking in musicology, to analyse the musical commonalities discovered in different and similar social situations; social research methods, in order to determine the reasons for group behaviour and conflict theory, in order to best frame the results. The ultimate aim of such research should be, first and foremost, a context-specific understanding of how musical meaning changes over time and the resultant effect on social behaviour. Secondly, the research should add to the knowledge of the processes involved so that a more universal toolkit for music in conflict can begin to be developed. It is important to note that many such projects would need to be developed in many different contexts in order to confidently propose anything approaching a universal application. Finally, it is important to challenge the popular misconceptions about what music does or does not do, and to highlight its potential as a grassroots, participatory activity that can, over time, develop strong peaceful social bonds.

Endnotes

- (2) For lists and discussions about these NGOs and their activities, two blogs are of note: <http://musicintervention.wordpress.com/> and <http://mus-con-tran.blogspot.co.uk/>.
- (2) For more information, please visit Pavarotti Music Centre's website at <http://www.mcpavarotti.com>
- (3) For more information, please visit Musicians without borders's website at <http://www.musicianswithoutborders.org/>
- (4) For more information, please visit Peace Boat's website at <http://www.peaceboat.org/english/>

- (8) For more information about the Sociology of the Arts Group at the University of Exeter (SocArts) please visit
<http://socialsciences.exeter.ac.uk/sociology/research/culture/socarts/>

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