

Musical processes as a metaphor for conflict transformation processes

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ABSTRACT

Music is part of every society, but it is not aesthetically isolated, being forever associated with a myriad of extra-musical parameters such as gesture, customs, settings and power relations. It has thus far been difficult for scholars to ascertain just what music accomplishes in the social world, since any analysis ends up being like analyses of other social activities. Despite this, the belief in the special status and power of music proliferates both within the professional musician classes, those who consume music and those with the means to organise social music programmes. Music strongly interacts with memory, identity, emotion and belief (Robertson, 2017), which goes some way to demonstrate how music is believed to have such power regardless of any evidence shown, and this is supported by recent neurological research (Patel, 2010). Conflict transformation, if it is to be successful, requires an understanding of the identity formation processes, since ideally a new shared identity evolving from those involved would emerge. How this process works requires an understanding of how identity belief is related to emotions and memory, and how all these affect behaviour, past, present and future. It has been suggested by a number of international mediators that music and the arts provides a metaphor or amalgam for conflict transformation, albeit in a safer environment (Lederach and Lederach, 2010, p. 206). This paper shows how two choirs, one in Sarajevo and one in London, have approached music as a metaphor for the conflict transformation process.

KEYWORDS

Music and conflict transformation; metaphor; choir; memory; identity; emotion; belief

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INTRODUCTION

Music is part of every society, but it is not aesthetically isolated, being forever associated with a myriad of extra-musical parameters such as gesture, customs, settings and power relations. It has thus far been difficult for scholars to ascertain just what music accomplishes in the social world, since any analysis ends up being like analyses of other social activities. Bergh (2010) has raised the point: what makes music as a social activity any different from knitting? Despite this, the belief in the special status and power of music proliferates both within the professional musician classes, those who consume music and those with the means to organise social music programmes. I have noted elsewhere how music strongly interacts with memory, identity, emotion and belief (Robertson, 2017), so it should be no surprise that music is believed to have such power regardless of any evidence shown. This is further supported within recent neuroscience research which has shown how musical activity affects more areas of the brain than any other activity, or what Aniruddh Patel refers to as a "...biologically powerful human invention, or transformative technology of the mind." (Patel, 2010, p.92).

Conflict transformation, if it is to be successful, requires an understanding of the identity formation processes, since ideally a new shared identity evolving from those involved would emerge. How this process works requires an understanding of how identity belief is related to emotions and memory, and how all of these affect behaviour, past, present and future. It has been suggested by a number of international mediators that music and the arts provides a metaphor or amalgam for conflict transformation, albeit in a safer environment (Lederach and Lederach, 2010, p.206). This relates to Tia DeNora's work where music in everyday life provides a workspace for people to work through issues pertaining to these same categories of emotional and memory regulation and identity construction, reconstruction and/or reinforcement (DeNora, 2000, p.40).

While it is true that music has been a part of every society ever known, so has language, art, and, inevitably, conflict. It is the current consensus in the conflict transformation community that conflict should not be eradicated, even if this was possible. Conflict gives rise to new ideas and creates a dynamic prone to innovation and forward thinking. It may not be pleasant, but it is necessary. What conflict transformation attempts to do is reduce the level of violent conflict to manageable non-violent conflict. Violent conflict that ends in violence always has a loser and a winner, whereas non-violent conflict can be managed, in theory, to a level where both sides benefit relatively equally, or at least within some parameter of acceptability. Music by its very nature constantly deals with manageable levels of conflict, otherwise the sound worlds created would express little of interest (Meyer, 1961). Music has been used to bring people together for conflict and violence as much as for peaceful purposes, which is important to remember as well (Kent, 2008). Even in experimental musical pieces, such as John Cage's 4'33" which contains no overt musical material whatsoever, created levels of tension by focussing the ear on aspects other than what is considered the norm in that performance context. Much of the literature on music and society deals with many of the social aspects that the literature on conflict transformation attempts to address. It follows, therefore, that music could be useful in conflict transformation situations, especially within smaller-scale 'communities of practice', as imagined by Etienne Wenger (Wenger, 1999), even if direct evidence to support this is currently relatively thin. This paper will attempt to address this gap in the literature on music and conflict transformation.

If all societies throughout history have always had music and conflict at their heart and both processes are essentially very similar, requiring the same prerequisites and having similar outcomes, it does indeed seem like they can be seen to be metaphors for one another. In a standard conflict transformation setting, one of the primary tasks of a mediator is to enable the conflicting sides to imagine the other's position(s). This is often hampered by extremely strong emotions, memories of past atrocities or wrongdoings, and so on. If a similar but safe environment can be presented to them where they jointly work through a procedurally similar conflict but this time in a musical space, it seems like it would be possible to enable them to imagine the type of interaction, structure and process that would be needed in order to move the actual conflict to a more acceptable level for all sides. What will follow is an examination of my participant-observation research into how two very different choirs, Pontanima and Songlines, have used music as a metaphor for conflict transformation, although it was never in either case an explicit or even conscious use.

CHOIRS, METAPHORS AND CONFLICT

Within Songlines, a community world music choir from London, there is very little overt conflict with most members getting along well and many of whom are close friends outside of the choir. The choir was led by Theresa who had a very strong vision for the purpose and repertoire of the choir. The repertoire included folk songs from around the world, especially from regions that are oft neglected or ignored by Western audiences. The purpose of the choir, according to Theresa, is to celebrate the diversity and beauty of humanity through singing together. Songlines was chosen as a site of research as a foil to Pontanima, which will be discussed later. Pontanima have a direct and specific conflict transformation remit, whereas Songlines does not. I had known about Songlines already and had access to the members. One of the members had in the past been a member of Pontanima, and it was he who first introduced me to Pontanima, thus acting as a gatekeeper. The final and more important reason for choosing Songlines was to determine which aspects of my research results were due to the participation in a choir and which were more specific to a choir with an explicit conflict transformation remit. In both cases, I embedded myself as a fully participating member of the choirs. I participated in rehearsals and performances and social occasions as a bass singer. I interviewed members in both choirs to elicit a richer understanding of how they felt music worked in the choir for them and their audiences. These interviews were conducted in English, which was the native language of most of the members of Songlines, but obviously not so for Pontanima. For the latter, most interviewees had enough English competence to be interviewed without a translator. In some cases, other members of Pontanima acted as translators for me.

Most of the conflict within Songlines, when it does occur is quiet in nature and is generally in form of complaints about Theresa's methods of leadership. One of the most common complaints was regarding the frequent changes of terminology without adequate explanation. For example, Theresa referred to 'the basses' (by which she meant the group who sang the bottom harmonic note in a particular harmonic setting, rather than the lowness of the pitches) early on in one rehearsal only to refer to the same group minutes later as 'the tunes' (if the main melody happened also to be the lowest harmonic line being song at that moment). Those choristers who have belonged to Songlines since its inception have learned to understand and respond to these rapid changes, but many newer members, myself

included, struggled to know from minute to minute just what was happening. “So, am I a bass or a tune?” I whispered to Liza, who seemed to be singing the same part as me during this same rehearsal. “It depends.” was the shrugged reply. If a general confusion ensued, something else was gained that was noted by many members and, again, by myself. When presented with a musical interaction where your position is no longer knowable, the music continues without you. If you wish to continue to have a say and take part in this musical experience, you must do something. In this case, that was an improvisation that sounded to the best of our ability, understanding and perception like it ‘might’ be correct or, at the very least, it fitted in somehow with what was happening in an appropriate manner. In Songlines, we quickly learned to ‘busk’ our parts since it was often impossible to tell just what our parts were supposed to be. This in turn led to an increased confidence in our ability to deal with the unexpected; in fact, we learned to expect the unexpected.

That’s half the fun, really, not really knowing what’s going to happen next. What does Theresa really mean by that? Sometimes we just don’t know but as we got to know each other really well over the years, we have a reasonable idea of how to work in Theresa’s way. (Emma).

Pontanima is an inter-religious choir based in Sarajevo, formed in the immediate aftermath of the Bosnian war in 1996 by Fra Jadranko, a Franciscan monk and theologian. Originally, Pontanima was formed as a Catholic choir to reassemble a sense of normality for Jadranko after the horrors of the Bosnian war. He quickly understood that there were not enough Catholic singers left alive and present in Sarajevo to even establish such a choir and he began to develop his idea for Pontanima. The primary mission of Pontanima is to present liturgical music from the three previously warring cultures (Catholic/Croat, Orthodox/Serb and Bosniak/Muslim) together along with songs from the Jewish liturgy, in homage to the Jewish community that had been so strong in the region prior to World War II. The purpose of this mission was to demonstrate how music and culture is not the enemy and that hearing and performing these musics together normalises acceptance between the cultures. As such, they have an explicit remit for conflict transformation, and this presents an easier situation in which to track how music has acted as a metaphor for conflict transformation. Successful conflict transformation first requires the desire to do so from all involved and to do so with a win-win outcome as opposed to a win-lose outcome, even if that means if at least one side does not get all that they want or think they could if they followed the win-lose route. Secondly, all sides need to understand the other points of view as close as possible to the depth of how they understand their own. Musicking (Small, 1998) in Pontanima firstly requires a common understanding of the tools, procedures and technical knowledge required of singing written music in a classical style.

Anybody can audition for Pontanima as long as they are a good singer and can sing properly in the choral tradition. (Kreso).

This is important to the collective memory and belief of how a normal society expresses itself culturally, i.e., through a public performance culture as modelled on the central European society prevalent in Bosnia during the Austrian-Hungarian days.

Before the war there were dozens of world-class choirs in Sarajevo. It had been that way for around a hundred years and this was normal in Europe. We felt European. (Cecilija).

Historic precedent and collective memory and belief have therefore set the stage for the music itself. The musical act is felt physically as air is controlled and pumped out through the larynx and mouth and lips of the dozens of singers all following the stringent conducting of the musical director. This embodies the memories already mentioned and these memories are temporarily reconstructed in the moment but not as they were, only fragments, depending on what any one singer might be thinking or feeling presently. This combination creates a new memory and belief about the music.

When I first heard music from the Orthodox liturgy, I was like, woah! I'd never really experienced anything like that, so complicated. Singing it at first felt a bit alien and difficult but now, since we do it a the time, it's my favourite type of music to sing together in Pontanima. (Anita).

Unlike Songlines or many other choirs, the memories involved in singing the liturgical music of all the cultures in the Balkans in areas of great trauma, or at least areas with strong feelings one way or the other, are common, even if they are not historically accurate. They a 'remember' the Tito era with fondness "Tito was like an uncle to us." (Entoni). This of course was mainly down to the social engineering of a Communist state which attempted to devalue religion in general and discourage religious discourse in public. Furthermore, Yugoslavs were encouraged to move around Yugoslavia away from traditional religious geographical strongholds and to inter-marry. According to the interview data, many did move and inter-marry during this period, and the lineage of many of those within Pontanima reflects this.

My mother was Catholic and my father was Orthodox and they moved to a very mixed part of Sarajevo. This was normal. So common. (Neno).

The fact that this same mixing up created the future problem of joining up all Serbs into a Greater Serbia during the Balkans War was never mentioned once during any field work. So, singing in Pontanima has brought together people from all sides of the conflict into a temporary space that contains the positive elements from the Tito era, without any of the corruption or dangerous politics, through embodied enactments of a collective memory and belief. This feeling of togetherness lasts outside of the choir as well, in as much as they often claim that music should be taught everywhere so that everyone in Bosnia-Herzegovina could sing in a choir like Pontanima.

Singing in Pontanima is so great. I wish everyone could have the chance to sing in a choir like this and feel this same way. (Ruža).

Most within Pontanima were educated to at least degree-level and most were employed, whereas unemployment in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the time of the research was around 40% for young adults, so this perhaps does not reflect the opinions of the wider Bosnian society, but within Pontanima it remains a strong belief. It is this belief in the power of music that appears time and time again and therein lays its true power.

In September 2009, both Songlines and Pontanima participated in a joint collaborative project in Sarajevo. During this event, members of Pontanima increasingly became split in opinion on whether or not to maintain the inter-religious mission.

Kreso and some others want Pontanima to do secular songs and compete like normal choirs in international choir competitions. Others want to stay true to the original mission of the choir. (Draga).

Likewise, Songlines, which had up until then been strictly open to all regardless of ability or experience, began to audition for specialised roles within the choir and stopped accepting new members unless they demonstrated a certain level of skill and commitment as determined by Theresa.

I want Songlines to be as good as it can be, which means I need to have a separate section with only the best singers in it. (Theresa).

In Pontanima, for at least one instance, it elevated stress levels to such a degree as to be health- and life-threatening: On a tour of Germany in October 2009, a public argument over the mission and Fra Jadranko's lack of organisational skills erupted, which resulted in Kreso having a heart-related breakdown. The fact that Fra Jadranko encouraged the choir to continue with their booked performances to fulfil mission-related commitments, while Kreso was in the hospital without consulting him, further drove the choir apart. In the end, a few choristers quit, including longstanding member and professional singer Emil, who was also part of the first set of interviews I conducted when Emil and Kreso first visited London. Interestingly, the desire to continue with what is deemed to be the best choir in Sarajevo despite such internal problems overrode the desire to do different forms of music. "We have managed to stay together as Pontanima, for now." (Ruža). Nevertheless, many felt that it was only a matter of time before these desires became too strong to ignore. This led to added pressure of favouritism within the group, as Kreso began to use his powerful position within the choir to elevate his favourite singers within the group, effectively creating a two-tier choir within Pontanima.

It is annoying that Kreso gives the solos to some professional singers from the opera that have only just joined even though there are some who have been part of Pontanima since the beginning and are perfectly good singers. He even has given positions to his girlfriend who has not even properly joined Pontanima or even auditioned. (Anita).

While this form of internal conflict is heart-felt and passionate and even possibly life-threatening to one member, it is a far healthier way of expressing displeasure and conflict than inter-ethnic and cultural conflict. It could even be seen to further demonstrate how the choir has become a metaphor for normal and manageable social conflict. It is worth mentioning here that clearly Kreso and Fra Jadranko have had some form of conflict between them prior to this tour and internal conflict as well, as evidenced by Kreso's ill-health. How these have influenced any wider social conflict is interesting, but not within the scope of this paper.

Similarly, the new stance in Songlines has alienated some longstanding and highly skilled members, who believed strongly in the former egalitarian ideals of the choir. Some have expressed concerns of favouritism of newer less proven and less committed members, purely based on whatever Theresa fancies on any moment.

These changes (to Songlines) are against everything I thought Songlines was about: inclusion and community. (Charlotte).

While the situations surrounding Songlines have never been anywhere as serious as those experienced by Pontanima members, this change of conflict type is more destructive since it is not a group grassroots debate about music and through music, but rather a move away from a perceived togetherness found within the choir, increasing the gap in power relations between director and chorister. Most Western directed music groups have an element of dictatorship, but Songlines used to openly pride itself on its egalitarian credentials which were by now eroding away. The increased conflict in Pontanima is not necessarily a completely negative situation.

Music always has an ending, after all, regardless of how positive the experience was. The conflict growing within Songlines, however, will probably not destroy Songlines because Theresa has already begun to change the structure of the choir to better suit her ambitions.

This example illustrates Ramsbotham's (and Simmel's) observation that conflict is not necessarily always a negative process, since no change (Ramsbotham et al., 2011, p.5) is possible without some form of conflict. Music itself contains a constant flux of different conflicts, wherein lies the aesthetic interest (Meyer, 1961). What both research sites show is that internal project conflict can affect the members just as much as the external conflicts they have attempted to address. This type of internal conflict is manageable to a degree since no violence is likely to erupt from it and this is the same for music itself, which can simultaneously contain conflict and a representation of the relationships between those involved.

Simmel's concept that outside pressure strengthens the identity boundaries (1903) is called into question somewhat in both field sites. For Pontanima there is not so much pressure from the outside but from the inside, as already mentioned. Furthermore, this internal pressure has the potential to affect how Pontanima exerts its externalising pressure on audiences. Interestingly, and perhaps paradoxically, if Pontanima either split into two choirs or completely abandoned the mission as such, it might become more effective at spreading the mission. Those within Pontanima that wish to secularise it and move away from the mission do so because they feel that the choir's potential is not met because of the restrictions of repertoire and they look to other world-class choirs around the world but especially within central Europe as models which do not have such restrictions. In other words, if normalisation is a key process in demonstrating a culture at peace with itself, then the removal of mission would actually be a necessary step, however counterintuitive it may seem. 'Normal' choirs do not need to have a peace mission to demonstrate difference and/or quality. Likewise, Songlines is not being challenged by outside pressures but rather by the ambitions of its leader. It could be argued that Songlines always was a personal project of Theresa's, but it has increasingly become overt and the pressure to change into a more professional and less socially-driven choir is evident. The changes within Pontanima are for the most part bottom-up pressures, although they are to a large extent fostered and sponsored by Kreso. This is not exclusive, however, and many are deeply unhappy with Kreso's cronyism, as well as Fra Jadranko's mission. Despite all of this, there is no shortage of respect for either man, just displeasure about what is happening within the choir and the direction it is taking. The changes within Songlines are not bottom-up, and this is the core of the problem as far as any social change potential found within that choir.

Whatever the potential of a musical performance or activity, it is limited to those that participate and those that witness or consume it. It seems that active participation in a musical event is much more likely to produce a lasting effect on those involved than during musical consumption alone (Small, 1998). Despite this, Pontanima does seem to have had some effect on its audiences, but the evidence is limited and what little there is shows the effects to be small. Only a tiny proportion of Bosnians ever attend Pontanima concerts, for example. Many would have presumably heard them perform the national anthem on the national outlets but were not familiar with their name. I spent a couple of days wandering around different parts of Sarajevo asking random passers-by if they had heard of Pontanima, and after dozens of people not one had said that they had. Some informants told me that they were not surprised by this:

Most people who come see us just go to every church event no matter what it is. They are really religious people who support their church or mosque or whatever. Those people who don't do religious things so much probably will never have heard of us except when we do the national anthem for television. (Drećko).

In other words, Pontanima have a small core captive audience who often have not chosen to attend their concerts because of their music or their mission, but because it was an event organised by their church or religious school and they attended to support that. Despite this, the measurable effect is that when they started doing this kind of performance schedule, they would get reactions of shock, anger and would sometimes receive death threats from the audience. Now, in these same places, they are welcomed, if not warmly, at least with a degree of acceptance and hospitality. More recently, other non-sectarian choirs have been initiated in Republika Srpska and within Serbia itself, which further illustrates the spread of the ideals and oeuvre behind Pontanima.

When we first performed in Republika Srpska, I was really scared. But now I enjoy going there and we even have a partner choir there who do similar work to us. (Anita).

REFLEXIVE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MUSIC, BELIEF, IDENTITY, EMOTION, MEMORY AND BEHAVIOUR

The idea that music has this relationship with belief, identity, emotion, memory and behaviour is not completely without precedent. The founder of modern music sociology Theodor Adorno mentioned how music interacts with belief, emotion and behaviour in his book *Quasi una Fantasia* in his own inimitable way:

Because the musical material is intelligent in itself, it inspires the belief that mind must be at work, where in reality only the abdication of mind is being celebrated. (Adorno, 2002, p.270).

There is music from the nineteenth century which is so unbearably solemn that it can only be used to introduce waltzes. If it were left as it is, people listening to it would fall into a despair beside which every other musical emotion would pale. (ibid, p.59).

Like jazz, Stravinsky's imitation of the compulsion to repeat has its origins in the mechanisation of the labour process. Through the adaptation to machines and the jerky reflexes they produce, Stravinsky's music tended to prescribe modes of behaviour rather than to crystallise out an intrinsically coherent compositional manner. (Ibid, p.158).

This was never fully explored by him, however, nor any of his dedicated followers and detractors. As I have traced elsewhere, there is much evidence to suggest that the relationships between music, identity, memory, emotion and belief do indeed exist (Robertson, 2017). It is now time to explore if and how these have manifested themselves within Pontanima and Songlines.

Within Pontanima there is a common belief that choral music singing helps them to feel normal while they are doing it while simultaneously helping them to remember a time when there was less conflict. Because of the memories associated with singing, the memories associated with oppression and relative lack of freedoms were not retrieved in the same way. These selected memories were brought to the foreground with fondness and then afterwards, while the memory of the musical

experience lingered, there was a feeling and belief that this state of harmony could be achieved if for no other reason than it is now conceivable. Due to this ongoing reflexive process, beliefs were altered and strengthened, memories were selected and fore-grounded over others, past emotions influence this selection process, and current emotions strengthen the selections and beliefs. Finally, those in Pontanima continue to sing the mission, even though an ongoing reflexive relationship between these aspects continues to threaten the very existence of Pontanima.

Within Songlines there was a common belief that choral singing would help them to feel connected in some sort of community that they otherwise felt was lacking in their lives. This belief influenced their behaviour towards the choir, their motivations for joining and continuing to sing in it. They tended to feel more relaxed, connected and happy while singing together and for a little while afterwards. Once that emotion subsided there remained the memory of the musical activity and the emotions associated with it, which was then reinforced the next time the choir meets. Memories of negative experiences tended to be forgotten, while the musicking occurred and only emerged after many unresolved issues piled up. In this manner Songlines provided a space for these reflexive relationships to unfold.

Music not only mediates this set of reflexive relationships within the group, but it also mediates reflexive relationships between groups. Prior to the joint project in September 2009, Songliners shared a common belief that Pontanima were spectacularly good at what they did while they, Songlines, were possibly more fun but less technically brilliant. Many were excited about this new venture but many more were frightened by the prospect. Some Songliners were comfortable reading music and those that could not, including Theresa, were apprehensive about singing with a choir that sang purely from the written scores. There was rather an over-reliance on me as a music-reading/piano-playing resource in the months preceding the visit, and I was requested on many occasions to sing or play various parts to Songliners. In effect this was not really reading music and learning music in the same way that Pontanima does, which is what had been agreed, since those that could not read music were not much closer to being able to read music by the time of the meeting in Sarajevo. They had learned their parts through repetition and listening to someone doing it for them, just as Theresa had been doing with them all along. A memory that had stuck in many Songliners heads is when Kreso and Emil came to London for a visit to determine if this joint project was feasible. Cynics within the choir claimed that perhaps the Bosnians were only humouring Songlines to get a free trip to perform in London, and as it turns out there was some truth to this, but as far as anyone could tell at the time, there had been a genuine interest in working together.

Many of those in Pontanima knew very little about Songlines, and Kreso and Fra Jadranko did not explain much to them. Theresa had made a visit in early 2009 and tried to demonstrate her methods to them in the form of workshops. Some recounted enjoying her unconventional methods of choral directing, but many reported that they felt it was childish and amateur, and in their eyes, not worth doing. Even worse, some felt it was insulting to encourage a world class choir to behave in such a manner. Because of this belief many within Pontanima refused to participate in the joint project, claiming it was a waste of their time and they did not believe that Songlines had anything to teach them for the most part. The few who did believe they could learn something from Songlines had invariably spent considerable amounts of time in the UK or the US, so they perhaps had a greater understanding of the benefits of trying things for the sake of it, rather than as a way to demonstrate

skill or even normality. There was also a suspicion that Songlines were coming to Sarajevo to offer pity and then leave having made their own consciences feel better without actually having helped in any way shape or form in their daily lives. By the time of the joint project, only about twenty from Pontanima were present and most of them at first did not seem to be very enthusiastic, or at least that was what perceived by Songlines. The primary difference here is that Songliners tend to be outwardly enthusiastic and tactile, whereas Pontanima and Bosnians in general, appear more distant and less willing to show anyone what they are thinking or feeling.

One of the key points of the project was for each choir to attempt to learn two songs from the other choir's repertoire in the way they would normally learn themselves. Songlines was given sheet music from some of Pontanima's repertoire and were expected to learn them by reading. Pontanima, conversely, was expected to learn some of Songlines' songs by ear and they were sent recordings of them. The morning after the arrival of Songlines, Kreso arrived at Songlines' hotel asking to have the scores for the Songlines songs so that he could distribute them to the choir. Those Songliners who were present were rather incredulous at this, as this meant that Pontanima had no intention of learning the Songlines songs in the way Songlines learned them, and it also meant that they had done absolutely no preparation for this project. As it later turned out this had little to do with the members of Pontanima, as Kreso and Fra Jadranko had not prepared Pontanima for the visit. Theresa was offended by this, and many within the choir felt that this showed little respect for the visiting choir, their motivations or the fact that they spent considerable amounts of time and money getting to Sarajevo in the first place. I expected Theresa to say something along these lines to Kreso but she did not and the Songlines composer/arranger Maura was called upon to sketch out the notation for the songs that morning to give to Kreso. To make matters worse, when the choirs finally got together, Kreso handed out Pontanima's sheet music that had previously been sent to Songlines, and no-one within Pontanima had seen these arrangements before. They were familiar with the pieces but these arrangements were new to them. I later discovered that Kreso had his brother, Danko (Pontanima's resident composer/arranger), rearrange these pieces more simply for Songlines, since Kreso believed that Songlines would not have been capable of singing their normal arrangements. This solved a riddle for many within Songlines, who had wondered about the poor quality of the arrangements. Furthermore, Theresa had expected a full day's workshop to be arranged for both choirs to work together, but Kreso had not arranged it. It later transpired that he did not want to have an embarrassing situation where Pontanima were clearly so superior to Songlines, and he did not want to insult those within Pontanima with such a demeaning task.

If Bourdieu's claims about cultural capital (1986) are to be considered in these cases, how has cultural capital changed for those involved in the choirs and does the increase of cultural capital increase the likelihood of a mutually positive conflict transformation outcome? There is an enormous amount of embodied and institutional cultural capital embedded within a choir like Pontanima. The skill level is very high and many were professionally educated singers and musicians. To attain such a skill level, many years of training and focus would have been required, and this time spent honing their craft is not spent producing economic capital. The ability to have the time to invest in developing this embodied cultural capital came, not from a greater access to economic capital, but from the communist system in pre-war times or due to high unemployment in more recent times. Performances therefore are public culturally constructed displays of an enormous collective

wealth of cultural capital. In a sense, those within Pontanima are conscious of this amount of collective wealth they possess, since they are proud of what they do and compare themselves to choirs from other nations that have much greater economic, cultural and social capital. Thus by demonstrating their cultural capital, Pontanima have strived for normality in the absence of both economic capital and to a certain extent, social capital, since they are prevented from joining the ultimate social network in their eyes, the European Union. This embodiment and display of cultural capital has been a main source of emotional, memory and identity regulation for those within Pontanima. Knowledge and belief in this cultural capital has enabled them to feel pride and happiness, and it continues to create memories that reinforce these emotions and beliefs. Finally, it strengthens the sense of who they are, whether it is a singer, a member of Pontanima, a Bosnian, or, as many informants have said, a human being.

Within Songlines, there is also a wealth of embodied cultural capital but it has less institutional cultural capital, in terms of music, since the skill level is for the most part nowhere near as high. There is, however, a greater level of familiarity with, and thus cultural capital in relation to, theatre, movement and creativity amongst all the choristers. This form of capital contributes in other ways to Songlines' institutional cultural capital. For example, Songlines hosts large concerts, sometimes for charity, sometimes to raise funds for their own projects, and these events are often held in large venues such as the Union Chapel in London, which are often sold-out events. The amount of people exposed to their music either through participating or being part of the audience is perhaps as large if not larger than Pontanima, although they generally are London-based and Songlines have not performed anywhere internationally except with Pontanima in Sarajevo and a short tour of Bosnia including a stop at Mostar and Srebrenica. In other words, depending on your measuring tool, Songlines might be considered to have as much cultural capital as Pontanima as far as input/output is concerned, although it could also be considered to have less specifically musical capital (understood in the traditional sense of familiarity with 'high' musical culture) since their collective skill level is less and their international exposure is considerably less. Like Pontanima, cultural capital has aided Songlines in exactly the same way: the accumulation and display of cultural capital has strengthened group identity and regulated emotions and memories. In both cases, in other words, the groups have enhanced their social capital through their respective performance identities.

The traditional notion of cultural domination as set out by Bourdieu (1984) and discussed by Dubois and Méon (2013) and Dubois, Méon and Pierru (2013) assumes an agreed set of cultural hierarchies, yet this research demonstrates that the two choirs deal with separate musical currencies. In the traditional sense, Pontanima can be seen to dominate Songlines since Pontanima are more institutionally legitimate yet the markers of distinction within Songlines include open-mindedness, freer body movement and fun. Examined through the lens of Peterson and Kern's (1996) theory of the omnivore, where groups with a higher social status consume a variety of cultural products and those from a lower status consume very few different forms, Songlines would be considered the dominant cultural group. As a result, Songlines cannot be considered a sub-field of European classical liturgical choirs any more than Pontanima can be considered a sub-field of British world music choirs.

On the one hand, Pontanima have also accumulated a large amount of social capital in as much as they are part of many international networks, have been the subject of many documentaries within Bosnia as well as elsewhere, not to mention the

subject of many international art projects and academic enquiries such as my own. They have also competed in international choir competitions and represented the Interreligious network of Bosnia-Herzegovina at world inter-religious meetings, they have been awarded the Beyond Intractability Award, and have performed for the Clintons at the White House in the United States. In fact, Pontanima are probably better known throughout the rest of the world than they are within Bosnia, which is a perverse situation given their mission statement. On the other hand, Songlines have much social capital within London, but very little outside of it. In this light, Songlines is the exact opposite to Pontanima, having local social networks but very few national or international ones.

The joint choir project can be seen as an attempt to increase the cultural and social capital for both choirs since shared cultural and social capital is doubled rather than diminished, unlike economic capital. Cultural capital was definitely shared and accumulated from and by both choirs, since Pontanima realised, too late, that Songlines were a group of dedicated singers with a very different approach that could be valuable or at least interesting to Pontanima. Songlines gained a deeper understanding of Pontanima's ways of expressing themselves. Both realised that there was more to the other than what appeared on the surface and it was impossible to judge a different art form using the same criteria that one would use for one's own art. Social capital, on the other hand, was more skewed towards Songlines' benefit since through the Pontanima connections Theresa was able to network with those working in music therapy and community music in Mostar and Srebreniça and these connections have proved to be more open, friendly and lasting than those with Pontanima itself. Pontanima have gained no new connections that I am aware of through this project, although the potential was there to meet the film makers that followed the project around, and various other London-based connections that Theresa had offered them.

Both choirs have displayed their cultural capital in events that were as large as they could muster, through their growth of social capital and earn a certain amount of economic capital for their troubles. No one in Pontanima earns any money for their efforts and all earnings go into running the choir and paying for tours and so on. The same applies to Songlines, except Theresa charges all members a small termly fee for her efforts and this is in effect her salary. This is an interesting distinction since on the surface, due to the cultural trappings involved with a classical-style central European choir, Pontanima appears to be a more authoritarian dictatorship and Songlines appears to be a more open and equal partnership or collective, yet the power relationships created by economic capital exchanges are strikingly different: where Pontanima are actually equal in terms of economic capital, Songlines has one member, who is also the leader, who takes all of the economic capital earned by the labour and production of the rest of the choir. Bourdieu has suggested that there is a polarisation between orthodox and heresy in cultural capital; between the dominant definition of reality that imposes itself on less dominant forms (Bourdieu, 1980, p.284). Pontanima and Songlines represent two forms of separate realities with their own sets of orthodoxies; one is not dominant over the other. Some within Pontanima believe themselves to be part of the dominant orthodoxy, especially compared to Songlines, but this is based on an illusory misunderstanding of the purpose of Songlines. Songlines felt at times intimidated by Pontanima due to the institutionalised cultural capital they possess as markers of expertise but the orthodoxy within world music choirs is very different and separate from Pontanima. Bourdieu also believed that there is a dichotomy between continuity of cultural hegemony and revolution (Ibid, p.289),

but the two choirs do not fit into this model as they both desire continuity of the traditions within they work but these traditions would appear as revolutionary to the other choir.

This hierarchy, in the Bourdieusian-sense, does not exist between the two choirs. Hierarchy in art requires a belief in its inevitability to function (Bourdieu, 1983, p.317), which has resulted in a form dissonance between the choirs because they believed in different hierarchies. Art is only valued based on a belief of its value (Ibid).

The imposition of legitimate cultural production as inseparable from the struggle within the dominant class, as described by Bourdieu (Ibid, p.322) applies within the individual choirs themselves, but it does not apply to the relationship between the two choirs. The choirs maintain separate independent levels of capital that are verified independently by their wider socio-geographic variables. This is verified by DiMaggio and Useem (1978) who noted that, while taste in classical music in America correlated positively to upper class professions, taste in folk music was equally spread over the classes. Perception of hierarchy between the choirs was, therefore, illusory. Furthermore, DiMaggio and Useem's theory that a new group can separate itself from the hierarchy thereby displacing those further up the old hierarchy (Ibid, p.340) does not seem to apply to the relationships between the choirs since the position either choir is in does not affect the other's position in their respective hierarchies. The prejudices felt and experienced between the choirs was not a competition for cultural capital but a degree of ignorance about the field of the 'other' choir. The symbolic hierarchies between the choirs are simply separate.

CONCLUSION

Musical meaning cannot exist without memory, as Meyer (1961) pointed out, since musical material as it exists on the temporal plane is a series of aural events that either confirm or confound expectation, and expectation is impossible without some memory of previous musical material. Music has also been shown to highlight, emphasise and retrieve memories through both listening and reproduction, or even a mode of attention akin to reliving the past for the duration of a musical experience. Furthermore, a present musical experience can alter how a memory is perceived by this process of emphasis. Music is strongly linked to emotions, although there is no direct correlation between certain musical elements and corresponding emotional reactions, despite much research conducted by music psychologists. There are two levels of emotional response to sounds, and therefore music, with the first being a universal human evolutionary reaction to sound that is immediately interpreted into basic emotions such as fear. The second level is cognitive, which requires mental processing of meaning through associations with memories and identity. Music has long been seen both to represent the identity of the person(s) who create the music and increasingly those who consume it. More recently there have been discussions about how musicking itself helps to define and strengthen identity, especially for those creating the music and over time with numerous repetitions until it has been normalised into a social group's collective belief system. Collective belief systems share common memories, emotional responses and senses of identity, and are therefore influenced by these three aspects. Finally, collective belief leads to collective behaviour or action. Therefore, music indirectly affects behaviour through this reflexive matrix of meaning-making. This theoretical process has been confirmed by the field work conducted for this paper, but also in the work of Bergh who had been sceptical about the power of music, since musical conflict

transformation projects have been less successful than reported. The reason why these projects are only marginally successful at best is due to a weakness at some stage of the behaviour change model just described.

For example, members of Pontanima collectively remembered a pre-war time in Sarajevo when Catholics, Orthodox and Muslims co-existed not only peacefully but as an integrated society with inter-marriage being commonplace. This was the case even for those members too young to remember the Tito era with any clarity. The atrocities that occurred during this time against any dissenters were not generally a remembered topic nor were Tito's economic disasters. These memories brought up feelings of yearning to live in such a time again, combined with a sadness that this situation no longer existed after the Dayton Accord forced the cessation of military conflict. This was followed by a determination to make it happen again in the future. This highlighted a collective sense of identity as Bosnians first, followed by cultural and religious identities that were considered less important. By performing liturgical music from the faiths involved in the war side by side in a mixed cultural choir, they reinforced this matrix of meaning, which only became stronger with each experience, to the point where a new primary identity emerged, that of being a member of Pontanima, who were 'normal' people who did not believe that cultural or religious differences should encourage uncivil behaviour towards each other. By performing in public, Pontanima served as a reminder to other Bosnians who had suffered greatly that their suffering had not always existed so divisively and to spread a feeling of hope that peaceful co-existence and better, even friendly, interaction was possible in the future. The strong sense of a new shared identity that Pontanima members feel with each other regardless of cultural background was not reported as evident to the choristers nearly as well with audiences, and this is perhaps due to the difference Small identified in how music production creates stronger social bonds than reception (Small, 1998). Audiences also experience these musical events much less frequently than those within the choir which also lessens the impact on memory. In other cases, however, musicking has been shown to be much less positive.

The recent tension experienced within Pontanima regarding the desire of some to abolish the 'mission' of the choir illustrates how this reflexive process originally inspired a conscious peacebuilding agenda yet at a later point its abolition. The memory and associated emotions of choral singing in a Tito-era Yugoslavia originally brought Pontanima and its mission together but new memories of performing to a high international standard began to emerge over time. As this occurred the shared memories of what was a normal public display of culture and tolerance began to be supplanted by what they perceived as normal cultural displays in other countries; 'normal' countries were not believed to need highly skilled choirs with explicit peacebuilding missions and perhaps Bosnia, Sarajevo and Pontanima would never be considered truly 'normal' until the peacebuilding agenda is completely replaced by this musical metaphor for peacebuilding.

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