

Trust

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ABSTRACT

The task of increasing trust is central to restorative peacebuilding. Between confidence and faith, trust bridges actions, beliefs and feelings of the past, present and future. Musical interaction can help build trust between participants. This is one of the reasons musical projects can be an effective part of conflict transformation. In this contribution I consider answers to key questions about trust offered by competing universalizing theories and culturally distinct groups of people, before suggesting a broad processual definition. I also show some of the ways music making relates to trust through a consideration of musicological literature and my own research in Colombia.

KEYWORDS

Trusting; music-making; peacebuilding; social life; Colombia; *tambora*; *gaita*

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TRUST

INTRODUCTION

"When we first got here, they called us guerrilla insurgents, loons, even organ traffickers! But now we're family." I was listening to Fauner Salas, a young musician I had followed from his hometown to the city of Villanueva in North East Colombia. He was coordinating a government-funded project aimed at involving youth in creative community practices, reducing violence and promoting *convivencia* (peaceful living together).¹ Fauner and his ever-expanding team of young people, some of whom had previously been protagonists in gang-related violent crime, were building solid trusting relationships with residents of *las casitas*, the new neighbourhood of social housing on the margin of the city, and the rural hamlets they visited nearby. Most residents of *las casitas* were victims of internal displacement caused by Colombia's ongoing civil conflict. Rural hamlet residents were isolated and threatened by environmental violence associated with agro-business. Everyone involved in the project had at one time or another been the target of threats or attacks by far-right neo-paramilitaries. In this tense atmosphere, Fauner's team managed to build trust, in no small measure through music-making.

I came to study trust through a desire to understand the dynamics of music-making and peacebuilding I experienced in Colombia and support musicians like Fauner working to reduce violence there. Anthropologist Michael Taussig (2003) writes about upwards and outwards spirals of violence, fear and suspicion emanating from a para-state war machine's attempts to establish hegemony, the violent theatrics of guerrilla insurgency, and the art of confusion practiced by competing criminal gangs, which together drive the country's dirty civil conflict. Nearly all my musician friends there have, like Fauner, worked on musical projects linked to peacebuilding, mostly independent of direct state efforts (Bouvier, 2009). Over time I became convinced that if music was genuinely contributing to peacebuilding efforts in this context it was likely in large part through building trust.

In this article I consider why trust is important to peacebuilding around the world, show some of the main ways trust has been conceptualised by scholars from a range of disciplines and offer my own broad definition. I reach this point via five key questions that I believe any universalizing theory or culturally specific account should consider.² Along the way I show how music relates to trust through cases from (ethno)musicological literature and my own research. I focus on active music-making (which I take to include dance) rather than the whole range of activities included in what Christopher Small (1998) calls "musicking," because my research suggests that is where music's greatest potential for influencing trust lies. My definition of trust is processual, and three-part. I argue that music-making can

¹ Allison Hayes-Conroy and Alexis Saenz Montoya (Hayes-Conroy and Saenz Montoya, 2017) argue that this translation is better than "peaceful coexistence" as it captures the imbricated nature of involvement in each other's lives. Coexistence can happen in parallel but living together requires interaction. This sense of *convivencia* may be likened to Paul Gilroy's use of "conviviality" as a "the process of cohabitation and interaction which have made multicultural an ordinary feature of social life in Britain's urban areas and in postcolonial cities elsewhere" (Gilroy, 2005). As part of peacebuilding many organisations in Colombia are (at least on paper) attempting to build such forms of non-violent interactional living. The organisation Fauner worked for, *La Legión del Afecto* (The Legion of Affect/Affection/Love), was funded by the state Department for Social Prosperity (DPS), but actively avoided identifying with the government and institutionality. The *Legión* documents its own work extensively, see for example: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NPtassn85o8>.

² I came to see these questions as vital through a broad (though by no means exhaustive) survey of the varied and often disjointed literature on trust. Some come directly from the work of other academics, while others are my formulations of salient concerns.

indeed help build trust among participants and in their broader social groups, which can in turn be integral to peacebuilding, but that outcomes will depend very much on the aims and social interaction involved in the specific musical practices in which participants are engaged. I recognise that music-making can never be a complete response to the multiple violences of contexts like Colombia, that it can sometime replace one kind of violence with another, or even be used to incite (further) violence. Furthermore, trust is only one aspect of peacebuilding, which itself brings similar potential pitfalls. However, in line with a recent turn in heritage and peacebuilding studies away from approaches that merely problematise the issues (Walters, Laven and Davis, 2017), I choose to focus on how music can best contribute to peacebuilding. By so doing I hope my analysis will be of use to my interlocutors and others who are already working to reduce violence.

WHY TRUST IS IMPORTANT

Trust is vital for enabling social collaboration and limiting violence between individuals and social groups of all kinds and sizes. It tends to be eroded by sustained violent conflict, putting peacebuilders in somewhat of a catch 22 situation: those who most need trust may find it hardest to attain. Writing about peacebuilding in general, and focusing on post-apartheid South Africa, political scientist Nevin T. Aiken argues that building trust between social groups previously involved in violent conflict is central to effective restorative reconciliation (Aiken, 2008). His account rests heavily on the work of sociologist Robert D. Putnam, who argues that trust is essential for civic engagement and the peaceful functioning of democratic societies (Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti, 1993). Putnam considers trust to be part of a group's social capital, which he defines as: "features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam, 1993, p. 36). For Putnam and his followers, where trust is limited, people miss out on opportunities that require some form of collaboration (Harriss, 2003).³ Thus in areas of violent conflict, people not only suffer from the various forms of violence, but also the missed opportunities that come from a resultant lack of trust.

Literature on music and conflict transformation notes the importance of trust in peacebuilding. Coexistence and reconciliation researcher Cynthia Cohen (2008) writes: "Reconciliation can be understood [...] as a set of deep processes designed to transform relationships of hatred and mistrust into relationships of trust and trustworthiness" (p. 30). The definition of peace adopted by Olivier Urbain from Johan Galtung in the same edited collection implies the necessity of trust: "the capacity to transform conflicts with empathy, creativity and nonviolence" (Urbain, 2008, p. 4). If peacebuilding is to get off the ground and progress, the parties involved must harness and build what little trust they have to collaborate in conflict transformation.

Working more at the level of the individual, and outside contexts of war, psychologist Erik Erikson posits a particular kind of trust as a fundamental building block of psychological development. According to Erikson, all individuals negotiate, with varying degrees of success, eight "psychological crises" (Erikson, 1962, pp. 118-120), developing central dispositions as a result. 'Basic trust' or

³ Some such scholars may be criticised for a narrow, or neoliberal view of wellbeing. For Harriss, "missing out" is primarily missing out on opportunities for business deals. Putnam nuances this to a degree, emphasizing happiness in his discussions of what it is to "prosper," but his view of well-being remains universalizing and largely a priori.

'original optimism' is a disposition of security, or the absence of anxiety, in basic biological and social functions primarily developed in early childhood (Erikson, 1963 [1950], p. 247). Importantly, this disposition is what permits further psychological development of a sense of self or identity, it is necessary for participation in broader life, and its absence is often the root of pathological conditions. On this account, effective individual engagement in social life requires us to develop trust.

In his early work on urban blues musicians, ethnomusicologist Charles Keil applied Erikson's theory to explain what he saw as "The Identity Problem" among African Americans in 1960s USA, and to project a potential transformation of long-standing racialised violence through an emergent musical movement:

[...] the problem of self-hatred, the lack of self-esteem – the lack of self, for that matter; these form the pervasive and frightening theme, and the variation on it is a deep-seated distrust of others – black as well as white (Keil, 1967, p. 165).

Keil recognised this problem was clearly caused by the centuries of racialised violences and relative state abandonment that African Americans have faced. He saw a burgeoning soul movement, manifested in what he called the 'sacrificial rituals' of 'committed' urban blues concerts, as providing a third way between integrationism and militant separatism, towards pluralist harmony in the USA, providing African Americans could develop greater trust amongst themselves and in other Americans. He even suggested such an African-American identity could be a model for all people in the USA in future.⁴ Keil's case suggests that while all music making requires some kind of initial trusting (in his case, 'commitment' to the events), some forms can help build trust in places where it is most needed.

CONCEPTUALISING TRUST

Trust is not only an issue of racialised dynamics within highly segregated countries. Issues of trust are humanly universal insofar as all cultural groups do something we can, with a reasonable degree of accuracy, describe as trusting or distrusting, though culturally local conceptions and forms of trusting differ. The dynamics of trusting reach from the hyper-local to the global and cut across all categories of identification, places and times of human interaction. Academics from a variety of disciplines have understood trust in myriad conflicting ways, which do not constitute a unified field of study. In this section I do not attempt an exhaustive survey, but rather consider the answers that different scholars and cultural groups would offer to five central questions.

WHAT IS TRUST NOT?

In his work on modernity the sociologist Anthony Giddens (1990) contributes to a clearer understanding of trust by distinguishing it from related phenomena of faith, confidence and knowledge. He posits a spectrum at the extremes of which are (completely blind) faith and (highly informed) confidence, with trust between, or

⁴ Alarming, sociologist Sandra Smith's ethnographic monograph on race and trust shows the future Keil plotted for African Americans is still far from being realised, and that a central factor in the social disadvantages correlated with being African American, is still pervasive distrust (Smith, 2007; see also Keil, 1991 [1967] foreword). Furthermore, recent political developments suggest black people in the USA often have good reason to be highly distrusting of much of the non-black population. Elsewhere in the Americas, Katherine Hagedorn in Cuba and Christopher Dennis in Colombia report deep-seated, pervasive, and enduring distrust of black or Afro-Latin Americans by non-blacks (Hagedorn, 2001; Dennis, 2012).

somehow linking, the two (pp. 29, 34). Trust necessarily involves contingency and having insufficient grounds to say we know, or are confident of, how the trustee will act. Modernity is characterised in part by a shift in the typical objects of trust from known people towards abstract expert systems (which involves faith in the correctness of the system and confidence in the experts who form our points of contact with it). Importantly, Giddens also contends that the polar opposite of trust is not simply distrust or suspicion of a particular person, group, or system,⁵ but rather, a profound anxiety or dread inhering in an inability to trust anyone or anything (pp. 36, 99-100).

Anthropologist and dance scholar Julie Taylor (1998) offers an immersive evocation of such profound anxiety in relation to the aftermath of Argentine state terror, her own personal trauma, and the tango dance scene of Buenos Aires. Adopting an elegant concept of violence as exclusion, also employed to great effect by Louise Meintjes (2003), Taylor portrays terror as absolute exclusion, with no recourse to expert systems, networks, or individual relationships of support.⁶ Tango provides some degree of respite from residual anxiety, but its dynamics of vulnerability and relying remain taxing, especially given their highly gendered nature. The dancing couple is generally male-bodied, female-bodied and men perform absolute control (Taylor, 1998, pp. 10-11, 39), whereas women are expected to *entregarse* (give themselves over to the lead of their dance partner).⁷ Taylor, who grew up in the USA and suffered traumatic childhood abuse, found this particularly difficult. Women retain some independence, however, maintaining their *eje* (centre of balance and turning point), and adorning steps with subtle foot movements. Good dancing involves somatic or embodied knowledge, and not thinking about the steps as they are executed and varied. However, it can also provide mental space for restorative or troubling reflection beyond the present moment.

In dance and writing, Taylor's most disconcerting reflections involve the common attribution of guilt to victims of state disappearances, which 'disappears' the violence itself: "*Algo habrán hecho*. They must have done something. They must have been mixed up in something" (p. 94, my italics). By implying the victim was untrustworthy, survivors attempted to impose some logic on the rather arbitrary disappearances, superstitiously building faith that not being 'mixed up in something' might guarantee their safety. Many of my interlocutors in Colombia negotiate a similar existential terror or deep anxiety on a daily basis because of historic and ongoing violence committed with impunity. One family I work with has been particularly active in promoting *tambora* – a musical practice involving a non-contact couple dance, responsorial song and cyclical, non-virtuosic percussion (Carbó, 2003a; 2003b; 2005) – in part to combat these phenomena.⁸ A family member summarised their situation succinctly while commenting on the attempted murder of her husband and the event's later denial by police and local legal officials:

There was never any justice. I still see the man [who did it] in town sometimes. He passes right by the house. When I see him it gives me (she

⁵ Sociologist Carol A. Heimer (2001) would agree and shows how strategies that involve distrusting (such as insisting on a contract over less formal agreements) can be the beginnings of trusting relationships (p. 78).

⁶ Despite its elegance I do not believe this definition is sufficient. Including people in activities that do them harm can also constitute violence.

⁷ For further analysis see Savigliano (1995).

⁸ Martina Camargo is the best known proponent of presentational and recorded forms of *tambora*: <https://www.facebook.com/martina.camargo/videos/10214887494516029/>.

paused) all sorts of emotions. So who can one trust? Only oneself (personal communication 2015).



Figure 1: Fauner (centre) and other celebrants (including author) dancing and playing tambora during Christmas celebrations in San Martín de Loba, Bolívar, Colombia, 2014 (photo by Lina Zambrano).

Besides faith, confidence, knowledge and existential anxiety, another thing trust is not, according to many scholars, is interaction in which the would-be trustee's behaviour is determined, especially when the would-be truster is in control. Political scientist Russell Hardin (2001) offers an extreme example where it strikes him as illogical to talk of trust: "I am confident that you will do what I want only because a gun is pointed at your head" (p. 4). However, no human coercion can ever be completely deterministic, and analysis of culturally different concepts of trust show that some social groups are willing to include high degrees of coercion within acts or relationships they count as trusting (Ensminger, 2001; Ianni, 1974). In northern Colombia I noticed a split between those people who sided with Hardin and those who accepted coercion as part of trust. This has implications for scholars and activists working to understand and support peacebuilding processes. While trust may typically be a contributor to peace, we must surely keep an eye on coercion, even within some forms of trusting.

HOW ACTIVE IS TRUST(ING)?

When I was carrying out fieldwork with Fauner Salas, I would often jump on the back of his motorbike to accompany him on his regular visits to people living in las casitas. He was typically greeted with a warm embrace and an invitation to join residents for a while: "*Adela-a-ante. Sientate, con confianza!*" Difficult to translate, "*con confianza*" here comprises a declaration of trust, including the sentiment that the speaker trusts the listener (so you have no need to be shy or concerned), and that the listener should have confidence in their trusting relationship (because we are friends). The residents of las casitas had come to trust Fauner and his companions not to do them any harm, and to enter their homes without taking any of their possessions (or organs!). But did this trust inhere in the act of inviting Fauner in, or did it remain between visits? More generally, is trust something we do, an act (like

riding a bike), or something that just is, a state (like being happy)? Scholars closely aligned with Erikson and Giddens generally tend towards stative conceptions. For instance, Heimer (2001) frames trust as a willingness to accept vulnerability (pp. 43-45),⁹ and sociologists J. D. Lewis and A. J. Weigart (1985) call trust "a deep assumption underlying social order" (p. 455). Politics scholar Russell Hardin (2001) goes so far as to say that it is a mistake to think "trust is a matter of acting" (p. 11).

Economists, business scholars, and laboratory psychologists generally focus more on people's acts of trust. Management scholars Robert Gibbons, David M. Messick and Roderick M. Kramer treat trusting as choosing (Gibbons, 2001), or "making the decision [to act] as if the other person or persons will abide by ordinary ethical rules that are involved in the situation" (Messick and Kramer, 2001, p. 91, *italics in original*).¹⁰ This allows analysts to apply rational choice theory, or game theory to test or model social behaviour in relation to supposedly rational individual decision taking processes.¹¹ I am sceptical about the sweeping conclusions scholars often draw from laboratory experiments as they seem to show less about genuine everyday practices of trusting among diverse populations than they do about the particular research subjects – often predominantly white, male, cosmopolitan, middle-class, students of business, psychology, or sociology, who are sometimes even motivated by cash prizes (Kollock, 1994) – and how they play games.

I think it may be impossible to resolve the dilemma. While inviting someone into your home is an act of trust, it also makes sense to say that your trust in them may endure between visits. We need analyses that go beyond the simple binary. Social psychologist Toshio Yamagishi (2001) considers trusting a form of 'social intelligence' and writes of 'practices' of trusting (pp. 121, 124), arguing that there is a mutually reinforcing connection between the ability to predict correctly other people's actions and practice in actually placing your trust in others.¹² Economist and sociologist respectively, Michael Bacharach and Diego Gambetta emphasise active aspects of trusting, as a choice, within a nuanced framework (Bacharach and Gambetta, 2001; Gambetta, 2009).¹³ They also stress that one generally trusts another to carry out 'future' actions. Ethnographic accounts, such as that of UK gangs by criminal justice scholar James Densley (2012), tend to recognise more clearly the processual nature of trusting beyond the laboratory, namely that "encounters involving trust are typically embedded in a series of interactions and based upon expectancies of individual behaviour rooted in the past" (p. 17). Thus, following the work of scholars like Stuart Hall (1996) and Zygmund Bauman

⁹ Although she states that "trust is dynamic" (p. 43), she maintains that it is possible to employ actions comprising "trusting strategies" and entrust a thing or task to someone, while simultaneously not trusting that person (p. 45). She thereby maintains a basically stative view of trust per se.

¹⁰ Importantly, on this definition, trusting a person does not necessarily involve 'acting' in a way that shows that you trust her, but simply making the decision to act (something might stop you before you act).

¹¹ In this form, game theory involves modelling complex human interaction as a set of games (potentially repeated) where players make yes or no decisions to maximise their own benefit. The 'decisions' at each point in the game is whether to 'trust' another player, and whether to 'honour' that 'decision.' The 'rational' thing to do can be calculated at each stage by induction backwards from potential outcomes. The prisoner dilemma game is a classic example.

¹² However, he seems most concerned to promote a neoliberal 'emancipation' theory whereby generalised trust of others allows people to do without strong social relationships (p. 140). Furthermore, some of his conclusions stretch normal understandings of what 'trust' means, e.g., that it is impossible to trust your mother if you are sure of her motives (p.144). This puzzle dissolves if we keep trusting relative to particular tasks and consider both motives and capabilities of trustees. While there is a plethora of tasks that I am confident my mum would be both willing and able to achieve (and hence 'trust' would not apply), whether or not I would trust her to sing lead vocals in an important concert is a genuine question. While she may be willing to carry out this task, she would be the first to admit she is not highly capable.

¹³ Compare 'strategic' trust in Smith (2007, p. 464).

(2001) on 'identity' (van Meijl, 2008), and Small (1998) on 'musicking,' I suggest we avoid positing a thing called 'trust' and instead focus on acts, processes, relationships and tendencies of trusting.¹⁴ This also mirrors recent processual accounts of 'empathy' and 'violence' in musicology (Laurence, 2008; McDonald, 2014),

One process that ethnomusicologists often highlight is that of building their own trusting relationships with interlocutors. Jane Sugarman (1997) focuses on gendered and gendering dynamics of power and identification in wedding song within highly insular social groups of Prespa Albanians. Reflexive ethnography allows her more fully to characterise Prespa tendencies of trusting:

As *anglezë* ("English people") our presence at any such event was thus highly unusual, and we were only permitted to attend events hosted by families who felt they could trust us. Ultimately this trust required months of cultivation on our part (p. 15, italics in original).

Michael Bakan (1999) describes the long process through which he trained in virtuosic devotional Balinese *belenganjur* drumming, resulting in "[...] the precious achievement of a trusting partnership realised and represented in that playing" (p. 228). He concludes this was likely what his teacher aimed to communicate and cultivate all along. Because of the widespread and deep dedication among ethnomusicologists to participation in the musical practices we study, and the importance to our interlocutors of those musical practices, we are well positioned to understand the processes through which specific people come to be trusted, or not, with important tasks.

HOW RATIONAL OR CALCULATING IS TRUSTING?

There is a strong tendency among economists, and increasingly in fields such as sociology, political science and experimental psychology, to assume that any processes involved in people trusting one another are rational and involve the calculation of risk, or a judgement about how likely a potential trustee is to reciprocate aid in future. Many then adopt game theory to model, test or explain human behaviour. Gibbons (2001) suggests this "[...] allows them to think like economists when price theory [to calculate economic value] does not apply" (p. 334). Psychologist Tom R. Tyler (2001) argues such assumptions are "[...] rooted in a particular conception of what people want from other people" (p. 287), namely that we are primarily motivated to engage with others socially only insofar as they can maximise our individual resources through exchange. This description may be largely true of some people some of the time, especially in highly neo-liberal late capitalist economic contexts, but fortunately it does not accurately describe all human interaction, and certainly not all forms of trusting.¹⁵ It may be difficult to convince neoliberals that the world order they take to be necessary is merely one of many possible alternatives (Santos, 2008). However, reflecting on the ways people actually trust one another, it strikes me as patently obvious that alternatives to the

¹⁴ María Elisa Pinto García argues for the importance of considering process in her account of musical reconciliation projects involving ex-combatants from Colombia's civil conflict (Pinto García, 2011). Somewhat paradoxically, she focuses mostly on product in the form of the song lyrics they composed. I believe this exposes both the difficulty and importance of extended ethnographic research in this field of study.

¹⁵ Some calculative theories recognise their own limitations (Gibbons 2001) or nuance their claims by suggesting that trusting involves "shallow processing" based in heuristic thinking and acting, which requires far less calculation (Messick and Kramer, 2001). However, to consider a broad range of genuine human behaviour we need a more rounded account.

purely calculative mode that neoliberals assume to be 'natural' are not only possible, but actual and normal in a great many people's everyday lives, even within late capitalist cultural formations.

I agree with scholars who argue trusting is never fully rational or calculative. For Anthropologist John Aguilar (1984), this is because: "all humans [...] are both rational and non-rational. The question is not whether we should explain behaviour either in terms of rationality or nonrationality, but how to do it in terms of both" (p. 6). This echoes the drive of many ethnomusicologists to move beyond a Cartesian duality of mind and body when analysing musical experience (Kapchan, 2007; Taylor, 1998; Turino, 2008). Writing within social psychology, Alan Fine and Lori Holyfield (1996) argue against rationalist accounts of trusting based on information exchange:

One not only thinks trust, but feels trust. Although [in our case study] trust depends at first on information judged to be protective, in time it involves valuing the relationship in which trust is embedded as well as the information that is acquired (p. 26, *italics in original*).

For Fine and Holyfield, trusting is never "fully determined or calculating" (p. 26). Rather, it necessarily involves uncertainty and the impossibility of complete calculation (Lewis and Weigart, 1985; Yamagishi and Yamagishi, 1994). Again, ethnographic engagement tends to provide nuance. Anthropologist Jean Ensminger (2001) argues that not all trusting is rational, but that the trusting practices and tendencies of the Orma cattle owners with whom she works in North East Kenya happen to be highly strategic, rational and calculating.

WHO TRUSTS WHOM FOR WHAT?

Who or what, and how many of those 'whos' and 'whats', are involved in trusting? I assume humans are the agents, and humans or systems the primary objects of trusting, but how are they related? An example will help illustrate. My fieldwork involved spending a lot of time with Joche Álvarez, a renowned player and maker of *gaitas*, the long duct flutes played mostly in northern Colombia (List, 1983; Quintana Martínez, 2009; Rojas E., 2009; Ochoa Escobar, 2013). When I asked him to sign a consent form for my university he did so without reading it, despite my protests that he should take time to understand it: "There's no problem Ian, I trust you!" His statement sounded complete: he simply trusts me. Sociological theories of 'generalised trust' often draw broad conclusions from such statements (Luhmann, 1979; Yamagishi, 2001), but that is never the whole story. For instance, when Joche and I make music together informally he trusts me to play most instruments in the format, but for important presentational performances he would prefer more virtuosic musicians with whom he has developed a close relationship over many years of playing together.¹⁶ He does not trust me unconditionally.

¹⁶ For an example of Joche playing *gaita*, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tAB3BdPpSwI>.



Figure 2: Joche Álvarez building *gaitas* in Cartagena, Bolívar, Colombia 2008 (photo by author).

Hardin (2001), whose example of coercion is mentioned above, poses the question in terms of relations: is trust a two-part or three-part relation? His answer, while dogmatic, is borne out by examples. While we may informally talk in absolutes like Joche, in analysis we ought to recognise that trusting always connects at least two people and a particular (range of) task(s). Hardin therefore dismisses ‘generalised trust’ as at best: “a matter of relatively positive expectations of others’ trustworthiness, cooperativeness or helpfulness” (p. 14). To be more specific about my example then, my friend trusts me in particular to carry out my research and not to defraud him through use of his signature, and also to play accompanying instruments in informal contexts, but not to play lead instruments in performances where there is more at stake.

Many musicologists focus on sonic musical tasks. In her analysis of interaction in jazz rhythm sections Ingrid Monson (1996) writes about ‘musical trust,’ which we can now understand as the ways in which musicians trust each other to carry out musical tasks, in this case sonic, but potentially also choreographic, or broader activities of musicking. One central task for Monson’s jazzers is maintaining a solid groove against which soloists can play fluidly (p. 28). She pays particular attention to how musicians resolve mistakes in the act of playing and criticise each other after performances for their lack of ability or willingness to groove (pp. 157-169). For a jazz rhythm section there is no external expert system to regulate behaviour, so musicians must improvise resolutions to any problems that arise (p. 176). In such situations, co-operation is more important than a pre-ordained structure. These processes of working together to resolve potential problems can provide musical interest, elation and (with their iteration) build trust between musicians through interdependence (pp. 180-1, 184).

(HOW) CAN WE QUANTIFY TRUSTING?

So far, I have spoken freely about levels of trust being built up, or diminishing, without explaining how we might go about quantifying such complex human phenomena. This is an important question if we accept that increasing trust can be beneficial to peacebuilding. Some attempts at quantitative analysis of trust use surveys or laboratory experiments, while others attempt to 'operationalise' trust by measuring related factors taken to be indicators. I suggest it is more effective to document ethnographically the increases or decreases as experienced by our interlocutors.

Perhaps the least reliable quantitative data comes from surveys involving direct questioning about one's tendencies of trusting (Bahry, Kosolapov, Kozyreva, and Wilson, 2005; Stolle, 2001; Yamagishi, 2001). Researchers have little hope of guaranteeing what participants understand by 'trust,' or that their answers reflect genuine behaviour. Following the thesis of Putnam, the political scientist Dietling Stolle provides some *prima facie* impressive evidence about the relative effectiveness of different kinds of voluntary associations at building trust in the USA, Germany and Sweden (Stolle, 2001). It would appear to suggest church choirs are better than bowling clubs for generating in- and out-group trust, and civic engagement. However, his quantitative data is based on self-reporting in response to surveys in which some of the questions are highly problematic.¹⁷

Surveys based on reported responses to thought experiments fare little better because they mainly show what people suppose their actions would be in hackneyed hypothetical situations (Jensen and Petersen, 2011; Purzycki and Arakchaa, 2013; Wilson and O'Gorman, 2003). As argued above, I am similarly sceptical about quantitative data extrapolated from 'trust game' experiments. All these methods are especially lacking in rigour when they are applied without detailed consideration of cultural difference. The best surveys aim to measure factors that are thought to be indicators of trust and are more easily quantifiable. For example, Tyler (2001) combines survey data about employees' genuine experiences, their level of identification with the company and feelings of procedural justice. This kind of 'operationalization' of trust, is notable in broader sociological theses such as those of Putnam (1993), Fukuyama (1996), and Seligman (1997).

Quantification is difficult at best and distortive at worst. However, there are at least three axes along which people may experience increases or decreases in trusting, and these may be comprehended through ethnographic engagement: the range of tasks one trusts another with (Hardin, 2001); the 'radius' or number of people one generally trusts with a range of tasks, which can be as basic as not harming or humiliating you (Aguilar, 1984; Fukuyama, 1996; Harriss, 2003); and the 'thickness' of a trusting relationship as members come to know each other over time (Messick and Kramer, 2001). Thick relations (typical among close friends) are not necessarily better than thin (as between well-wishing acquaintances) as the former can sometimes lead to grouping and out-group enmity, which prevents the building of broader, peaceful networks of trusting (Putnam, 2002).

Cultural anthropologist Craig T. Palmer (2005) offers a comparative account of shifting levels of trust amongst Canadian communities in relation to musical

¹⁷ For instance, "How much do you trust another fellow citizen?" (p. 237). Such questions are open to the point of vacuous, and in no way control for prejudices about who counts as 'another citizen,' which, given the extent of xenophobia and racism in the US and Europe, is precisely the problem in many instances of pernicious distrust, suspicion, exclusion and violence.

practices, which we can consider in terms of thickness and radii of trust. Interestingly, both cases involve apparently violent musical activities experienced as a parody of violence or controlled play. Palmer presents mumming in Newfoundland town celebrations and moshing at metal, punk or rock gigs in Canada (and the rest of the world) as ritual acts that both require some trust, but also serve to build in-group trusting relations. In the past, mumming involved a disguised visit to a neighbour's house during the twelve days of Christmas, wherein the visitor behaved in a risqué manner, dancing and roughhousing with the hosts to the rhythmic accompaniment of spoons. The hosts were expected to remain calm and guess the mummer's identity (pp. 152-153). This displayed and augmented the thickness of trusting relationships between community members through the detection of the visitor and the mutual understanding that such outlandish behaviour was limited to the play of the celebration. An increase in strangers in Newfoundland villages led to reduced trust in the disguised mummers, and even fear, as people's radius of trust decreased relative to the local population. In response, villagers modified the practices by performing them in public with less ribaldry, or abandoned the tradition altogether (pp. 159-60, 163), thereby limiting or losing mumming's capacity for building trust.

Palmer presents moshing, thrashing, or slam dancing as vigorous dancing and bumping into others at electric guitar band gigs, which may appear to be uncontrolled violence, but is actually, in most cases, regulated internally by participants following (normally implicit) rules and a general ethos of solidarity. Moshers cite this aspect as one of the reasons they enjoy it. Any moshers who knocks another down, for example, is expected to help them up again.¹⁸ As in mumming, "[...] what separates ritual from actual violence [...] is trust" (p. 158). Palmer reports a decline in moshing etiquette in Canada since the 1990s that parallels the social shift in mumming. With increasing numbers of new attendees at gigs, rules were less consistently followed, and rule-breakers were not effectively ostracised. The risk of real violence and injury became too great for some people, who no longer enjoyed the experience, or even stopped participating. Unfortunately, Palmer does not offer suggestions for reversing such declines in trusting and trust-building practices.

A DEFINITION OF TRUSTING

With the above questions in mind I propose the following definition of trusting. It is most closely based on those of James Densley (2012), and Michael Bacharach and Diego Gambetta (2001):

A person (or group of people) A trusts a person (or group) B to perform a task (or set of tasks) x if and only if A believes or feels B would do x, at some point A actually relies on B to do x, and three further conditions hold:

1. x is important to A.
2. A has some indication of B's capacity and willingness to do x, but not enough to know or be entirely confident B will do it.
3. Not doing x would (at least initially) benefit B in some way (if only by not having to go to the effort of doing x).

¹⁸ I remember the Muse lead singer and guitarist Matt Bellamy making this expectation explicit at a particularly muddy Leeds festival in 2002.

I intend this definition to be sufficiently broad to capture most if not all phenomena we would normally call ‘trusting’ in English, without being so culturally specific as to leave out practices that are conceptualised by some cultural groups as trusting (or a close translation or cognate) even though many English speakers might pre-reflexively exclude them. The clause about believing, feeling and actually relying is meant to capture the sense that trusting is both rational and non-rational, dispositional and agential, counterfactual and actual. I contend that we can best observe and come to understand the acts, processes, relationships and tendencies of trusting in a particular social group through deep, extended, ethnographic engagement.

HARNESSING THE POWER OF MUSIC MAKING TO BUILD TRUST

If we are to employ understandings of trust in scholarship and peacebuilding there remain questions of a more practical nature. For instance; what kinds of musical activity are most useful for building forms of trusting conducive to peaceful living together? What are the mechanisms behind building trust through musical practices? And, is music-making any better than other activities? In this final section I briefly suggest some tentative answers from the cases considered above.

Palmer's account seems to show that music involving ritualised, apparently violent, play can be useful for building trust, but it only seems to work in contexts where the threat of real violence is minimal, and all participants know each other well. For Taylor it is the elements of exclusion and domination in tango that recapitulate anxieties. Small (1998) emphasises the power of musicking to represent ideal social relations metaphorically, and we might consider how ideals of trusting can be represented through music.¹⁹ In contrast, Thomas Turino (2008), while recognising the power of music to represent the possible, places greater importance on the actual socialising that occurs as we participate in musical activities, and its role in building habits. I suggest the cases above demonstrate that it is in the mechanisms of genuine social interaction that we will discover musical activities' greatest power to build trust.

To understand a given musical activity's impact on trust we can ask how many people it requires a given participant to interact with, whether these are people s/he knows well, strangers, or representatives of expert systems. We should consider how far behaviour is governed by rules or expectations, so as to affect his/her sense that others are willing and able to perform certain tasks. We should also take into account how the musical rules and expectations relate to those of broader social life (through a carnivalesque inversion of norms as in mumming, or a powerful reinforcement of expectations, as in Prespa singing). Rather than presuming music involves a special kind of trust, we must consider what tasks participants are in fact trusted with in a given form of music-making (maintaining a groove in jazz, or realising a ritual of death through *belenganjur*), what the aims of the musical activities are, and what their significance is to those taking part and their broader social groups. Turino's Peircean framework and four fields of music making are a good start for determining these factors. Finally, we must take into account the levels, degrees and forms of repetition, or ‘periodicity’ through which participants

¹⁹ Laurence applies Small's framework to music and empathy in much this way (2008).

can build trusting relationships and mould their tendencies of trusting (Diaz, 2017; Solis, 2014; Tenzer, 2006).²⁰

In my own research I develop Turino's approach in conjunction with Wittgensteinian understandings of rules (Wittgenstein, 2001 [1953]) and Sherry Ortner's (1996, 2006) concept of 'serious games' to analyse two musical styles from northern Colombia (*tambora* and *gaita*) and various social projects that have developed around them (Middleton, 2018). Though often lumped together as 'folk' music, and both frequently taking participatory forms, the different levels of value placed on virtuosic improvisatory interaction in *tambora* and *gaita* encourage quite different tendencies of trusting regarding thickness. Through detailed case studies I show ways in which these different tendencies can both help and hinder peacebuilding efforts. The organisation Fauner and friends worked with used presentational and participatory forms of *tambora* and *gaita* among many other musical and broader creative and ludic practices. It was exemplary in building a variety of critical forms of trust, while simultaneously challenging multiple forms of violence, to promote *convivencia*. Not all projects were so successful.

CONCLUSION

In sum, literature on peacebuilding, psychology, sociology and (ethno)musicology indicate that trusting is important for peaceful interaction on individual and group bases and that music-making both involves and can help build acts, processes, relationships and positive tendencies of trusting. I have suggested that accounts of trusting ought to consider answers (from the analyst and her interlocutors) to at least the five conceptual questions I pose. On my account, trusting is never entirely rational. It involves perduring beliefs or feelings about the trustee, but also genuine acts of relying on them for tasks one values, thus making oneself vulnerable to the relative free will and particular capacities of the trustee(s) while also benefiting from their cooperation. Existential terror at not being able to trust others often accompanies experiences of violent conflict. The cases I consider show that music can be an effective part of peacebuilding insofar as it helps build both trusting relationships that sustain processes of trusting in the rest of social life and tendencies of trusting that are conducive to habits of peaceful living together. Clearly not all music-making will achieve this, but I offer some models of positive impact.

Far more remains to be done to show how different kinds of music-making involve and affect trusting. In order to demonstrate clearly the relative merits of different musical practices for particular applications the categories used to differentiate kinds of music must be based on participants' aims and genuine social interaction, rather than outdated divisions or 'genre' terms such as 'folk,' 'popular,' 'classical,' or 'metal.' Apparently disparate acts like moshing to metal bands and mumming to the accompaniment of the spoons can turn out to be very similar, at least with regard to the mechanics of social interaction and their impacts on local tendencies of trusting, if participants in both cases share aims such as playful community building. Equally, kinds of music typically classified under the same category can

²⁰ Discussing the mechanisms involved in developing trusting relations in her case studies, Monson (1996) compares jazz to the playing of face-to-face verbal games based in repetition, variation and inversion (pp. 86-90). Turino (2008) makes a similar analogical between participatory music and a 'pick-up' game of softball (p. 35), Palmer (2005) frames mumming as a game. These ways of understanding music open up useful avenues of comparison between musical activities and games, sports and other activities that are to some degree autotelic (performed for their own sake) for understanding trust (Csikszentmihaly, 2008; Fine and Holyfield, 1996; Rabinowitz, 1992).

be almost diametrically opposed in their aims and impacts on trusting. Ethnomusicologists are well placed to contribute in this area as actively engaged participants in, and analysts of, music, trusting and peacebuilding, especially when equipped with effective theoretical tools for understanding musical experience and helping to apply it to the benefit of the musicians and peacebuilders with whom we work.

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