Violence

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ABSTRACT

The article provides a critical review of a wide cross-section of ethnomusicological research into violence, conflict, and music, leading to proposal of a new model for field researchers. The article begins with a contextualization of selected analytical positions, as offered by theorists of violence and conflict. The main body of the essay then assesses notable contributions from the already substantive ethnomusicological literature on music and violence. Music is not inherently peaceful: instead, it frames and commemorates conflict, making its impacts resound. Music is put to contrasting, and even conflicting, usages by those in, or recovering from, situations of hurt, hostility, or overt conflict. The article provides examples from research carried out in many parts of the world and in the shadow of numerous types of violence, from the re-imagining of a heroic individual to the systemic antagonisms of colonization or poverty, and from the recruitment of extremists to the self-regulation of inmates. Finally, a new model for applied ethnomusicological involvement in the area is briefly presented. Its component parts – naming, witnessing, intervention, and survival – are briefly explained and discussed, showing how an ethnomusicologically trained researcher can contribute to peacebuilding via musical research, listening, and participation.

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VIOLENCE

INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL MODELS OF VIOLENCE

> [Violence is] the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation. (World Health Organization, 2002, p. 4)

Music is not inherently peaceful. It resounds to, is impacted by, and feeds violence, even as, in myriad ways, it articulates cries of injustice and depictions of the human consequences of pain. Hostile activities offer patterns of sound that are taken up directly or figuratively in musical representations, inspiring a complex of sentiments including rage and grief but also aggression and celebration – heightened emotional and expressive registers transferred to, or recalled in, song and instrumental repertories. Music frames violent events, and it commemorates, normalizes, or explores our responses to these occurrences, which may be deeply personal as well as collective, and which extend from songs of triumph, healing, or despair to musically framed fictional and stylized representations of violence, for instance in play, certain forms of competitive sport, or multimedia. On the larger scale, systemic and cyclic violence shape – and threaten – the histories and identities that people generate, project, contemplate, and reference through musical activity, as well as their own very lives and livelihoods. Understanding the multi-layered relationships that inhere between violence and music, then, is fundamental to any effort to employ music within peacebuilding, and necessarily rests on understanding violence itself.

In approaching the manifold ways that human beings hurt themselves and one another, researchers have developed several models of violence that help explain both direct conflict and the sometime less-visible actions of blocking access to opportunity, resources, or respect. Ideas that have been developed include the notions of structural violence (Galtung, 1969), symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), systemic violence (Žižek, 2008), invisible violence (Bourgois, 2009), and slow violence (Nixon, 2011), to name some of the more prominent. While none of these specifically theorizes the relationship between music and violence, individually and collectively, they offer potent ways of thinking about the various impacts of violence on our musical lives and vice versa. Furthermore, they provide a framework for understanding existing research on the ways that we turn to music to further our aims in situations of violent competition or of peacebuilding.

This essay takes the following shape. In the present introductory section, I draw out key theoretical concepts from the literature on violence. I do not offer a full history of these various definitional models or a detailed account of their respective authors' critical interactions or disciplinary divergences. Instead, the aim is more simply to orient new readers to foundational terminology and emphases within the study of violence (and to start-points in the literature underpinning these). In order to keep this introductory section brief, I withhold reference to specific music ethnographies here, but I will point illustratively to selected music-related topics to help show how each term or model's specific emphases open potential pathways into that subject matter. Then, as the main body of the essay, I discuss notable contributions from (or inspirations for) the ethnomusicological literature on music and violence, illustrating thereby the breadth of the subject area and its associated literature, and suggesting themes that offer entry points into this large, diverse field. Among these, I contrast music made to commemorate former acts of violence

versus that made for and during periods of violence. I explore the relationships that emerge when music is deployed as a tool for civil order at home and overseas, and I consider research on the act of performance in particular contexts – combatting racism and as an intended surrogate for physical violence. This leads to a discussion of the materialities of musical sounds themselves, a rising topic in recent ethnomusicological research. Finally, I conclude the essay by proposing a new model for peacebuilding via music and sound founded upon the themes of naming, witnessing, intervention, and survival. In discussing these themes, my hope is to help activists in this area consider how they might generate sonically infused spaces that generate and explore a sense of peace.

The first terminological contribution to be considered here comes from work by Johan Galtung. In a series of studies undertaken over several decades, Galtung outlined a series of dichotomies in situations of violence, making an important distinction between personal violence and structural violence: the former term could be applied when one individual directly harmed or threatened another; the latter was for broader situations of social injustice. Noting the contrasting character of each, Galtung wrote:

> Personal violence shows [...]. Personal violence represents change and dynamism – not only ripples on waves, but waves on otherwise tranquil waters. Structural violence is silent, it does not show – it is essentially static, it is the tranquil waters. (1969, p. 173, original emphasis).

In later publications, Galtung has suggested a more layered typology, separating out structural and cultural violence: "Direct violence can be divided into verbal and physical, and violence harming the body, mind or spirit [...]. Structural violence divides into political, repressive and economic, exploitative [...]. Cultural violence divides by content: religion, law and ideology, language, art, empirical/formal science, cosmology (deep culture) and by carriers: schools, universities, media" (1996, p. 31). Although I don't wish to separate the cultural sphere from that of political or economic life, I do want to pay heed to Galtung's call for more research that recognizes and dissects structural violence and its characteristic injustices, especially when the latter are presented as taken-for-normal workings of everyday social (cultural) interrelationships. Music has been celebrated by some researchers as a tool that awakens our wider consciousnesses to the existence of "tranquil" violence and the harm it inflicts on groups and individuals, but we have somewhat less work that looks at moments when it has been deployed by the powerful to project an aura of inevitability or normalcy over deeply entrenched structural injustices.

The cultural outcomes of structural imbalances of power formed a topic approached in some depth by Pierre Bourdieu. Specifically, Bourdieu's concept of "symbolic violence" (discussed in Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, pp. 162-74) derives from the Marxist idea of the false consciousness and refers to the ways that subaltern members of society become complicit in sustaining the values of those who wield power over them. Bourdieu's own examples of such violence relate primarily to gender, but he also talks of linguistic usages between settlers and natives in colonial and postcolonial contexts. Here, the dominant deploys a "strategy of condescension [...] by temporarily and ostentatiously abdicating his dominant position" through taking up the language of the dominated, or, more commonly, the dominated utters a "broken" vernacular lacking in social capital (ibid., p. 143). In fact, music researchers have often reported finding not complicity but covert resistance in song

and dance, where natives have taken up the colonizers' own vernacular models, remaking ("breaking") them to suit their own expectations.

Further emphases have been presented by a subsequent generation of theorists. One such is the author Slavoj Žižek who put forward a 'triumvirate' of types of violence (2008): subjective, symbolic, and systematic. Subjective violence maps onto Galtung's category above of highly visible, personal violence. Žižek presents his second and third types as primarily objective in nature, with the distinction between them turning on how each is understood: those at whom symbolic violence is directed recognize it as standing in for a greater threat; meanwhile, systemic violence is "the often catastrophic consequences of the smooth functioning of our economic and political systems" (ibid., p. 3). According to this viewpoint, systemic violence aspires to remain invisible, but when its consequences gain public attention they may be presented as deliberately mystifying, as subjective acts without precedent or rational explanation, a process intended to veil the formative role of our political and economic systems in creating a social environment in which such acts can occur. Music's use in sonic forms of torture directly exemplify Žižek's subjective violence, and its power in endowing representations with moral force make it a key device in articulating symbolic violence. The workings of the copyright system, insofar as they police a global market for those producing Western popular music offer an example of the third type, systemic violence.

Philippe Bourgois too writes about the power distributions that act to hide certain deployments of violence in contemporaneous neoliberal societies. But rather than separating them, he describes an overlapping continuum of violent forms that become gradually less visible (or audible). Direct political violence and terror includes such actions as "military repression, police torture and armed resistance"; structural violence is "chronic, historically-entrenched political-economic oppression and social inequality"; symbolic violence includes the "internalized humiliations and legitimations of inequality and hierarchy ranging from sexism and racism to intimate expressions of class power"; and everyday violence refers to the

> daily [...] expressions of violence on a microinteractional level: interpersonal, domestic and delinquent [...] that [normalize] petty brutalities and terror at the community level and [create] a common-sense or ethos of violence. (2001, p. 8; see also 2002, p. 229).

Following several of the theorists already mentioned, Bourgois is sensitive to the matter of visibility in relation to these different forms of violence. He notes how the highly visible aspect of direct physical violence

> distracts us from being able to see the less clearly visible forms of coercion, fear, and subjectification through which violence deceptively and perniciously morphs over time and through history. These deceptive forms of violence are largely invisible to or "mis-recognized" by both protagonists and victims – who are often one and the same. Misrecognition legitimizes to the general public the policies and institutions that politically impose suffering on the socially vulnerable (2009, p. 17).

Music researchers will wish to supplement Bourgois's emphasis on the visual with our own thoughts on the role of audibility in situations of violence. We can readily bring to mind instances where music is enlisted to naturalize the performative display of direct violence but have fewer examples of moments where music is deployed to mask hurt or distract attention from injustice.

Finally, let's turn to Rob Nixon's concept, slow violence (2011). Nixon too is interested in the workings of the same shroud of invisibility already noted by Galtung and others, but he develops that concept further by looking at how it unfolds over time. He notes that this form of violence is not spectacular, but "incremental and accretive"; examples include the unequal impacts on the global poor of climate change, the lethal residues of warfare, and the toxicity discharged into third-world sites by foreign-run chemical plants, or by the exporting of first-world waste (ibid., p. 2). In the cultural sphere, slow violence captures well the long-term, cultural brutalities of colonialist states as they forced indigenous peoples to take schooling in the new national language, punishing those who lapsed into their mother tongues, and seizing indigenous children for placement in residential schools or for resettlement with settler families. The familial, linguistic, and cultural ruptures caused by such practices are significant. Many musical traditions have been lost because of such processes, and researchers have noted how music was often part of the educational infrastructure forcibly arrayed to overwrite indigenous cultural heritage.

RESEARCH ON MUSIC AND VIOLENCE

A striking early example of research into the musical framing that can spring up around real-world acts of violence is offered by Américo Paredes's study of the *corrido* (narrative song) of Gregorio Cortez, a Border-Mexican who shot a Texan sheriff in self-defense in 1901 (Paredes, 1958).[1] The *corrido* recounted Cortez's escape and subsequent capture, trial, imprisonment, and pardon, and became widely known among Border-Mexicans. Rather than celebrating Cortez's skills with a gun, the song treatment allowed his community to sustain memory of the unjust sentiments that led the sheriff to open fire, Cortez's heroic escape across the harshest terrain, and the emotional significance his example offered subsequent generations of listeners. Paredes himself doesn't suggest direct practical steps toward peacebuilding, but it is clear from the way he contextualises the ballad and the events that inspired it that he believed that recognition by members of wider Texan society of the profound historical depths of Anglo-Texan racism could contribute to the building of an environment that valued the notion of social justice for all.[2] In the sense of the theoretical writings above, the musical commemoration of Cortez's history provides insights that do not allow the mystification of his (violent) act of self-defense, thereby making audible a hitherto unmarked, systemic racism that forced death, flight, or humiliation upon so many Border-Mexicans.

In fact, the impacts of violence as represented through expressive musical performance need not be real, merely credible. Music's contribution to building the

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[1] Readers may be familiar with research into much more recent *corridos* that celebrate intentionally violent men, namely the *narcocorridos* of the US-Mexican border regions (see, for example, Edberg, 2004). Selecting this as a starting point, I'm setting aside numerous studies of musical repertories associated with violence but where the analysis is primarily focused on the musical artefacts as opposed to their relationship with violence. I am also overlooking research where violence or the threat of violence may have acted to facilitate the research process, as, for instance, in many colonial settings; consider, for instance, the World War I prisoner-of-war recordings returned to by Ross, 2012. There is also a small but growing set of writings – also set aside here – that discuss how human violence crosses species boundaries (for example, Guy, 2009), and a body of research on musical aspects of the martial arts, where combatants' consensual contesting is opposed to the non-consensual violation of the other characteristic of violence much more generally (see, for instance, McGuire, 2015).

[2] I do not fully equate peacebuilding and social justice, although they are sometimes deployed alternately in this essay. Briefly, I take peacebuilding to refer to efforts intended to facilitate peoples and communities in seeking ways to co-exist post-conflict. The actualization of values such as respect, tolerance, equality, inclusion, and social justice are necessary characteristics in creating or sustaining any such peace.

emotional impact of a *huju*, or Shanghai-dialect traditional opera, offers a case in point. The drama *The Luohan Coin* (*Luohan qian*, created in 1952) compares the stories of village woman Xiao Fei'e and her daughter Zhang Aiai. While the action of the opera follows the efforts of the Aiai to marry the man of her choice, significant musical set pieces are inserted where Fei'e reflects on her suffering after being forced into an arranged marriage with a violent husband. These scenes carry much of the emotional weight of the drama, entraining listeners (offstage) as sympathetic to Fei'e's plight and therefore to her daughter's struggle (Stock, 2003, pp. 179-98).

Musical commemoration or evocation of the consequences of violence, then, has future potential for making a case for social justice, although we can readily imagine that there will be many examples that more simply glorify an act of physical violence, and so offer less to subsequent peace initiatives. Certain other usages characterize music made at the moment of violence itself. Writing with regard to music at times of war, Svanibor Pettan identifies three such functions, "encouragement – of those fighting on the front lines and those hiding in shelters alike; provocation and sometimes humiliation directed towards those seen as enemies; and call for the involvement of those not directly endangered." In addition to these, "music was a medium in which individuals and groups could express their perceptions of the war" (1998, p. 13). Yet, while music was useful to members of a society undergoing a violent struggle, it was not universally so. Pettan traces the economic impacts of wartime on musicians across various genres: for some, not least those in large, art music ensembles, the ongoing violence led to the closing down of their everyday livelihoods; meanwhile, for others in popular music genres, it was potentially profitable, assuming they were willing to perform patriotic, war-related material (ibid., p. 15).[3]

This does not mean there is a hard link between patriotic singing and the generation or reinforcement of violent sentiments. In an analysis of music at the 1989 protests in Beijing's Tian'anmen Square, Valerie Samson details how singing allowed the protestors to present themselves as patriotic while simultaneously projecting their non-violent intent to the surrounding soldiers. It meanwhile also helped the demonstrators maintain order among themselves, strengthen their internal bonds, distinguish insiders from outsiders, maintain morale, and experience feelings of empowerment (1991). This singing did not, of course, protect them whatsoever once government leaders gave the order for the protesters to be cleared away by force. Suzanne Cusick offers a second case of musicians surrounded by state security personnel (2017).[4] In her account, nine New York University students singing an unamplified, a cappella Led Zeppelin arrangement in a city park found themselves almost immediately surrounded by riot police and ordered to leave. Here, singing appeared to call up for the police the sound practices of the Occupy Wall Street movement demonstrators, and the students' objections to being moved on fell on deaf, and indeed angry, ears (ibid., pp. 31-41).

Many states, and the commercial and ideological interests they protect, have sought to exercise power in overseas vistas, as well as at home. Here is Kofi Agawu reflecting on how European colonization brought to Africa hymns embodying

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[3] Musicians are not the only ones who can build careers by recounting violent acts; as researchers, we too may contribute – knowingly or unwittingly – through deep imbrication in fieldwork settings among groups that celebrate one side or another of oppositional social histories or current realities.

[4] Cusick, 2006, meanwhile, provides a pathbreaking account of music as an implement of torture.

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unprecedented musical characteristics such as the SATB[5] texture, patterns of prosody and rhyme, and a disregard for indigenous speech tone:

> All of this amounts to musical violence of a very high order [...]. For the colonizer, they were a means of exerting power and control over native populations by making them speak a tonal language that they had no chance of mastering [...]. Limited and limiting, the language of hymns, with its reassuring cadences and refusal of tonal adventure, would prove alluring, have a sedative effect, and keep Africans trapped in a prisonhouse of diatonic tonality. For the colonized, on the other hand, hymn singing was [...] a way of "speaking" a new language, one that was moreover introduced by self-announced enlightened Europeans; it promised access to some precious accoutrements of modernity and eventually a place in heaven (2016, pp. 337-38).

State violence, whether at home or abroad takes manifold forms, not least in neoliberal nations like the US and UK, which have adopted increasingly punitive social policies since the 1980s, such as the exclusion from medical care for the impoverished, disabled, or uninsured, and the incarceration or non-legalization of minority populations, foreign residents, refugees, and asylum seekers. Ethnomusicologists have provided a growing number of studies of such situations. Representing a point on the spectrum where the threat of state coercive power is clear (and probably widely envisaged as acceptable among the population at large) is Benjamin Harbert's ethnography of music making at the Louisiana Correctional Institute for Women (2013). Among other findings, Harbert observes that musical participation allows women to retain some sense of agency over themselves and over the relationships they form with others (ibid., p. 209). In fact, the same outcome can result when one prisoner acts violently toward another, but the latter carries unknown risks, both from the victim and their supporters and from observing warders. From this perspective, music is not simply a sanctuary into which a woman might retreat but a "forum in which singers can engage in skilled yet tacit boundary work critical to addressing the problem of trust" (ibid., p. 216).

If the state's force is actively and visibly deployed to restrict the behavior of convicted inmates, governmental agencies in many nation-states invest energy and resourcing into the maintenance of what we can describe as programs of systemic violence, following Žižek. Beverley Diamond (2015) offers an example where church and state claims to be intervening to support public well-being veiled the violence that occurred as Canadian aboriginal children were forced to enroll in residential schools for a century from the 1880s onward. If musical performance sometimes offered a site for personal agency, church hymns and school bands can also be interpreted as a soundtrack for the prevailing culture of oppression. Exemplifying a further such case, Geoffrey Baker details the Venezuelan music education program *El Sistema*, showing how its claims to champion democracy and social mobility disguise deeply unjust distributions of patronage, sponsorship, and musical opportunity (2014). As Žižek, Bourgois, and others predicted, Baker finds considerable effort input to render invisible any evidence of harm to those who question *El Sistema*'s music-educational assumptions, methods, or results, or who perhaps fell out with its principal architects.

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[5] Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass. Standard western choral structure.

These instances reveal how the nation-state remains a profound enabler of actual as well as institutional, invisible, structural, and systemic violence in the modern world. Yet, its institutions may also act as sponsors of programs intended to reduce conflict, and music plays a role in many such instances. Britta Sweers analyses an example, studying a set of initiatives put forward by city authorities and private groups in Rostock, Germany, with the intention of combatting neo-Nazi attacks on locally housed asylum seekers and others who appeared visibly distinct from the majority population (2010). Although some musical usages were directly oppositional to the fascist demonstrators, music also contributed to activities that explicitly celebrated cultural diversity, so showing local inhabitants, neo-Nazis, migrants, and the world's media alike that many of Rostock's people welcomed active, positive engagement with those of diverse cultural origins (ibid., p. 200).

Again, research in this wider area reminds us that music is not always in itself a positive force, even where its performance is specifically intended to defuse the potential for direct violence between members of competing groups. Daniel Avorgbedor's account of the Anlo-Ewe genre of *haló* in Ghana offers a striking case in point (1994). *Haló* combined poetry, music, drama, and biting humour to heap ridicule on its targets. Each side (typically wards in a town) had a chance to perform their evaluation of their opponents, normally in relation to an emergent issue, and a team of judges selected a winner, after which the repertory was formally buried. The genre was intended to provide release and closure for communal feelings of injury but was officially banned in 1960 insofar as its performance seemed to instigate more violence than it ever solved. In a wide-ranging and distinctive study of radical groups – from al-Qa'ida to U.S. skinheads, and from animal rights activists to members of the Westboro Baptist Church – Jonathan Pieslak notes their common uses of music as they seek to cultivate hatred and violence. He writes: "music is exploited to its fullest potential within [radical groups'] 'sound' strategies: as a tool for recruiting, member retention, social bonding, motivation for action, cultural persuasion, and many others" (2015, pp. 12-13).

If music plays a role in the fueling of new cycles of violence, it is also true that the ongoing cycles of violence reduce the musical resources available to those impacted. Stefan Fiol's research of musical poverty in hill areas of Uttarakhand, northern India, now subject to significant environmental degradation from mining, hydro-electric power, and logging, proposes a potentially widely useful distinction in understanding the discourses that can emerge around the dynamics of such a process (2013). Fiol applies the term *lack* to refer to the notion that "certain expected cultural forms and practices are not present", whereas *loss* labels situations in which "certain cultural forms and practices were once present but have since disappeared" (ibid., pp. 85, 86). The former discourse was used primarily by outmigrants and cosmopolitan Uttarakhandis, who lamented the non-emergence of a regional cultural industry offering commodities and professionalized services; the latter was articulated by activists and scholars of indigenous forms, bemoaning the decline in local heritage.

Research like Pieslak's or Fiol's explicitly theorizes the specific relationships between music and violence in particular ethnographic settings. Additionally, we have access to a small number of accounts that provide primarily theoretical frameworks, among them writing by Ana Maria Ochoa (2006) and O'Connell (2010). Taking the former as an example of the keenness of insight that is already to hand, Ochoa notes a tendency among those representing elite global institutions to value music insofar as it appears to offer a solution to societal problems, a stance

that may hide the responsibility of such institutions in creating or tolerating those problems in the first place. Meanwhile, though, many authorities also seek to prohibit music that they feel incites or celebrates violence, as if prohibiting such music could deny "the existence of the histories of exclusion, aesthetic and social restructuring, and socio-political demands to which it gave voice" (Ochoa 2006; my translation). Ochoa's analysis also makes clear how local and personal turns to music making are impacted by both national and transnational assumptions about both music and violence: which music can be heard and how it contributes to "temporal plots of fear and hope"; which violence can be witnessed or spoken of, and how enforced silences conceal other forms of violence.[6] Furthermore, she draws crucial attention to the materiality of music itself, asking, "how are these stories of personal, social and political adversities anchored in musical practices, in the ways of imagining the musical and in the very materiality of music?" Music researchers need to pose such questions to probe beyond the analysis of lyrics or song titles: certainly, we know that manner and tone of performance can underpin a set of lyrics with irony, regret, redundancy, and a host of other emotional affects.

If music deploys its own materialities, so too does violence, and Ochoa proposes that "one of the characteristics of violence is the redefinition of the acoustic space" (ibid..).[7] This is a subject taken up in significant ways in a recent study of listening to war, written by J. Martin Daughtry (2015). In his book, Daughtry maps out zones of audition, connecting each not only to a set of characteristic sonic events but also to a listening stance that comes with associated ethical properties. Writing about US soldiers' experiences, Daughtry outlines an audible inaudible zone, represented by distant gunfire, which experienced troops learn to ignore, and so consign to an ethical vacuum. A little closer to the auditor is the narrational zone, and here soldiers listen carefully, piecing together accounts of unseen or only semi-visible conflict from the audible traces that reach them. Their narratives reach out to those directly involved, for instance projecting guilt that as listeners in the middle distance they remain safe while others are facing potentially deadly assault. In the tactical zone, a constrained focus on the sounds of nearby combat precludes narration but still leaves some space for concern for others nearby, and finally in the closest trauma zone, the sounds of war may overwhelm the listener altogether, preventing them from being able to think despite their training (ibid., pp. 76-95). As this model shows, Daughtry's work conceives of music as just one element in a wider spectrum of "sonorous phenomena and situated auditory practices" that interlock with ideologies of violence (ibid., p. 11). This step, which Daughtry presents as emerging from the specific context of his research, is worthy of emphasis here insofar as it epitomizes a rising turn within ethnomusicology (and sister disciplines) toward the study of the qualities, affordances, and social imperatives of sound much more generally. If once we focused on the relationships

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[6] In a well-known example, British colonists in Jamaica (and elsewhere across their New World holdings) banned their slaves from using drums, both to weaken their sustaining of African cultural inheritances and in dread that drumming disseminated messages that coordinated anti-colonial protest (see further, Chang and Chen, 1998, p. 13). The musical history of violence connects in such moments of fearful silencing to that of music censorship.

[7] Such redefinitions of acoustic space can equally be fictive, and self-inscribed: in work on music in Turkish-speaking Cypriot communities in Western Europe, Michalis Poupazis traces the transformation of the ululation from celebratory Arab-world women's act to 1960s' Hollywood orientalist Arab battle-cry, the (falsely) menacing sounds of which are then adopted by migrants as an exotic signifier of their own Eastern Mediterranean origins (2017, pp. 153-64).

between violence and music, we now attend equally to the sound of violence and to the violence of sound.

CONCLUSION: TOWARD PEACEBUILDING VIA MUSIC AND SOUND

Violence takes many forms, and so has been approached by experts through a series of terminological emphases, distinctions, and analytical frameworks. So too, manifold musical soundtracks contribute to the aurality of violence: some music-making directly celebrates violent passions, a little offers itself as surrogate for physical violence, other music again aestheticizes the suffering of victims, for good or for ill, and some music seeks to render nonconfrontational our pleas for justice. Music underpins, phases into, competes with other forms of sound at many of these moments; its sonic qualities, and title, lyrics, or accompanying patterns of bodily movement offering to those listening the subject positions they might take up with regard to the violent acts in question.

Since we face a plurality of (anti)social and sonic practices, and of connections and ruptures between them, researchers have put forward numerous contrasting approaches to the building of peace through programs that focus on or incorporate music.[8] Critical surveys of such work occur in Grant et al. (2010) and Sandoval (2016). Rather than provide a further literature review here, I wish to address some words in this article directly to colleagues who are seeking to draw on music's potential in building durable peace. I do so by proposing and briefly developing a model with four components – naming, witnessing, intervention, and survival. In contrast to some existing models, which identify the qualities or relationships needed by members of communities actively involved in peacebuilding (agency, resilience or justice, for example), this model focuses on the researcher's subject position and potential contribution. It is thus intended to be complementary to existing approaches.

The practice of *naming* violence involves more than applying a descriptive label. Instead, we undertake research to uncover the true identity and characteristics of the violence impacting an individual or group. Resonating with folkloric power, naming allows what was hidden to be revealed, what was silenced to be heard. As we gain a better recognition of the actual form of the violence that besets us or others and the patterns of rhetoric – or silence – that occur in tandem with it, we recognize those whose interests may be served by its continuation, and so become better positioned to seek ways to limit their power to cause harm. While this knowledge may itself be a valuable contribution to situations of peacebuilding, we should not forget that music itself allows the collaborative and experiential exploration of such situations, for instance when a group collaborates to create new musical utterances fine-tuned to their here-and-now: as Ochoa states, "the materiality of music and sound allow us to build ways of knowing and being in the world" (Ochoa, 2006).

If naming requires us to speak out to acknowledge the hitherto invisible power plays of violence, *witnessing* rests upon the strategic deployment of listening and on our openness to creating spaces within which the alienated victims of violence can reposition themselves as subjects of their own narrative. Witnessing is, as philosopher Kelly Oliver puts it, an "adventure of otherness" (2001, p. 20), and so

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[8] Holistic approaches reaching beyond a single discipline are significant in peace studies generally; see for example, Olivier Urbain's discussion of Galtung and Daisaku Ikeda's proposals for *preventive peacebuilding* (2016, pp. 11-12).

can be likened to the exploratory research that underpins naming, but it is also deeply ethical in intent. Making spaces available for the musical utterances of others is only part of a process of witnessing. Witnessing thus behooves us to be there, be silent, listen well, and allow those who now hold the microphone to structure the event. It regularly leads to cooperative action, as we take up the ethical imperatives put forward by the performances in question (see further, Freire, 1970, pp. 149-50).

With the practice of *intervention*, we approach a consideration of the ways through which we can become actively involved in mitigating the spread or continuance of violence, and in aiding recovery from its effects.[9] Music researchers can engage with individuals, community groups, and governmental and non-governmental agencies in numerous ways that draw on the researcher's particular musical and social resources. Rebecca Dirksen provides case studies from Haiti, including that of a hip-hop collective that assists US deportees integrate themselves into Haitian society (2013). In other instances, ethnomusicologists have helped shape and share transformative practices by acting as critical interlocutor or advocate for those effecting a program of social change. A striking precedent for musically infused interventions occurs in a collaborative model developed by Samuel Araújo, his colleagues, and members of a youth community group in Maré, Rio de Janeiro (2006), which builds on principles developed by educationalist Paulo Freire. The young people working with Araújo are exactly those regularly targeted in externally directed schemes intended to combat violence and crime in the favelas, but which turn out to impose systemic violence upon them by denying them agency over their musical engagements (and so training them to be no more than executants in the social initiatives of the better-off). In Araújo's dialogic model of intervention, by contrast, symbolic violence is combatted by placing youth researchers in a situation where they formulate the research agenda and take on the primary research roles. Academics act only as facilitators in group debate, raising questions or presenting potential conceptual models for the youth researchers' consideration. Let us note too how readily music itself intervenes: its vibrations strike the bodies of all within earshot, and it is a medium rich in potential at putting forward its creators' values and experiences of the world. Our social understandings, our sensitivity to context, and our practice at working with people making music equip ethnomusicologists well for facilitative roles with performative outcomes, as well as those aimed at generating educational empowerment.

Finally, we reach the necessary practice of *surviving*. Survival merits the music researcher's attention. Joshua Pilzer, in a study of three Koreans forced to act as "comfort women" for the Japanese military in World War II, focuses not on the women's wartime suffering but on "their ongoing postwar work of survival, self-making, and performances of selfhood and sociality in song" (2012, p. xi). His writing points not only to the courage that these survivors deploy, but also to their creativity with song materials – each singer takes tunes and words as a resource, thoughtfully reshaping each singers' relations with those around her. Such acts of musical self-recreation may not refer overtly to the violent histories that preceded them, and so might be set aside by researchers interested in the sonic imprints of violence itself. Nevertheless, music making offers those who have undergone

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[9] Haskell (2015) notes significant similarities in how NGOs react to post-conflict and post-disaster contexts, such as those stemming from volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, and tidal waves, suggesting a unified field based on commonalities of response rather than perceived differences of cause. The larger optics of such an approach make space too for situations such as climate change, where human consumption and competition provoke natural catastrophe.

traumatic experiences a means of gradually coming to terms with their suffering and with lingering feelings of injustice, hurt, anxiety, or guilt. Like Pilzer, ethnomusicologists can bring their own musical skill, sensitivity, and enthusiasm to join such survivors in their personal search for peace, for instance by musicking together (Small, 1998, p. 13) or by recording and then listening back to music together: as Bernard Lortat-Jacob notes,

> if there is a delight that the ethnomusicologist can (and should) contribute, it is in sustaining the play of close reciprocities that are born in the act of singing, and in listening 'after the deed' to his recordings in the company of the singers. (1993, p. 80).

Naming, witnessing, intervention, and survival, then, are four junctures where knowledge and musical practice can combine to provide pathways toward a more peaceful world. Inevitably, a researcher would need to allocate substantive time to any such engagement (see further, Robertson, 2016, pp. 262-63), but this is a commitment to which the ethnomusicologist comes potentially well prepared, with habitual disciplinary expectations that include in-depth language acquisition and extended onsite fieldwork based on both careful observation and participatory learning through music making. In such work we will find ourselves alongside, and able to learn much from, other researchers and activists (for practicalities, see Swijghuisen Reigersberg, 2017). In return, we can offer them access to specific, grounded understandings of musical and social practice among communities with variegated situations or histories of violence, and nuanced, culturally sensitive guidance as to how music-based interventions might resonate productively toward the building of peace.

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