

## Sound Communities

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### **ABSTRACT**

What makes communities 'sound'? One key feature noted in this article is resilience, though a more extensive list of features of sound communities is also addressed. The term 'sound communities' is intentionally polysemous and perhaps especially for this reason demands an intensely interdisciplinary approach to its definition for use within ethnomusicology. The keyword 'sound communities' builds on the work of ethnomusicologist Jeff Todd Titon (2015) and puts the discussion in a much wider context of studies of community, communities of practice and performance, 'sound praxis' (Araujo, 2009), applied ethnomusicologies and peacebuilding. Case studies presented in this article are largely based on applied ethnomusicology approaches.

### **KEYWORDS**

communities of practice; collaborative research; participatory arts; applied ethnomusicology; action research

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## SOUND COMMUNITIES

This keyword comprises three core concepts: ‘community’ integrating a sense of plurality and ‘sound’ in two senses, (a) as a noun (sonic and acoustic phenomena such as music) as the basis of a community; or as an (b) adjective (valid, robust or good condition). The multiple inherent meanings of the term’s component parts, each of which is associated with its own substantial body of scholarship, result in many possible interpretations of the overarching term, ‘sound communities’. My focus on this term is intertwined with my role as the founding Director of the recently established Centre for Sound Communities<sup>1</sup> at Cape Breton University in Nova Scotia, Canada. As Director of this unique research hub, I am often asked questions like “what are sound communities?” and “sound communities? What do they sound like?” These questions were echoed in conversation with Olivier Urbain, in preliminary discussions about a contribution to this volume on music in peacebuilding. He asked, as do many of us in the field: could a more musical (sound in the first sense) way of being, thinking, speaking and acting be conducive to a more humane and effective (sound in the second sense) world?<sup>2</sup> In other words, how is the keyword ‘sound communities’ important for music in peacebuilding? I begin this article with a review of relevant literature and conclude after considering examples of work that illustrate the definition of the keyword and its utility for music in peacebuilding.

Given the dual focus of this volume, music and peacebuilding, my discussion of the term sound communities is grounded in contemporary sound and music studies, as well as community-engaged, praxis-based ethnomusicology. I discuss the term sound communities by drawing on seminal literature from the cognate disciplines of folklore, history and sociology, as well as recent works published by ethnomusicologists. The literature outlines a critical examination of the term ‘community’ - the type of examination that all sources agree is not carried out often enough. Kay Kaufman Shelemay’s extensive review of the term ‘musical communities’ is key among this literature for its close relation to the topic of this article, and for my comprehensive discussion of ‘community’ in music scholarship (2011). I also address ethnomusicologist/ecomusicologist Jeff Todd Titon’s treatment of the term he popularized in the literature, ‘sound community’ (2015), including an article on the topic he contributed as part of a collaborative project supported by the Centre for Sound Communities. However, the keyword identified for this chapter is ‘sound communities’, in the plural, establishing at the outset a sense of diversity and plurality of experiences, divergent points of view and interests internal to communities. For example, a single place can sustain several communities; communities can cut across several places (Walsh and High, 1999, p. 257); and communities are not monolithic entities.

### CRITICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF COMMUNITY

‘Community’ is an oft-referenced term in contemporary scholarship; discussions and debates from several fields help to shed light on its use in ethnomusicology, and potentially in the use of music in peacebuilding. To begin, folklorist Dorothy Noyes has written that ‘group’ - a broad conceptualization of community - is among

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<sup>1</sup> Various digital media detailing the activities, outcomes and other aspects of the Centre for Sound Communities and its affiliates can be found on the website, <http://www.soundcommunities.org>.

<sup>2</sup> Personal communication, 7 May 2018.

the most powerful and potentially dangerous of ideas in studies of culture and identity. This is due to the term's long relationship with the operationalization of politics (Noyes, 2003, p. 7), particularly in relation to dynamics between hegemonic and minority populations. Historians have also observed this to be the case (Walsh and High, 1999); and, while related terms like 'family' and 'nation' have received considerable critical attention, such critique has not typically been applied to 'community'. I would also argue, as others do, that the term 'society' may be equally problematic and is too often left unnuanced (Studdert and Walkerdine, 2016, p. 616). Yet all these terms are implicated at the foundation of such wide-ranging social processes as the creation of individual and group identities, economic production and the emergence of the modern nation-state (Walsh and High 1999, p. 256).

Noyes notes that, in contemporary contexts, 'community' as a concept has been employed "in efforts to redefine and organize stigmatized social categories" (2003, p. 7) and to avoid the essentialism intrinsic to such terms as 'ethnic group' or 'social class'. Despite the increasing frequency with which this kind of critical perspective is taken, Noyes observes that a group is still typically assumed to be constituted based on some shared aspect of culture, and/or tied to a specific location. She proposes instead to use the idea of network to describe the context in which an ethnographer might work and as an "organizing metaphor" for notions of group, which "lets us get rid of those boundaries, so theoretically troublesome, and gives us a structure for talking about long-distance and mediated relationships" (ibid., p. 26). With the idea of community or group as network, the multivocality, complexity and interrelationships of the many agents - each uniquely positioned - demands that the content and character of any of these relationships be given attention. This very thinking has prompted me to ask my students not to use the words 'society' or 'community' in their course-based dialogue and assignments, but to make it a habit to be more specific about whom they are talking with and about.

### **COMMUNITIES, CULTURES OF POWER**

Noyes's discussion of group highlights some of the critical issues related to culture and power that are woven into using community in scholarship. Much of my own research involves studies of Indigenous and diasporic communities. In these groups, critical issues exist in relation to power dynamics pertaining to multiple groups, simultaneously, such as minority and under-represented groups that are identified by ethnicity or risk factors. This has been the case in nation-states that are home to a great diversity of cultures and communities and predicated upon that diversity, such as Canada and the United States (Ostaszewski, 2001a; 2001b). This also applies to nation-states that aspire to acknowledge ethnocultural diversity within their borders, and to be more inclusive, like Poland in the years subsequent to its application to become a member of the European Union (Ostaszewski, 2003). Many of the individuals and groups with whom I work are typically identified as belonging to communities both from within and without, because they exhibit or are ascribed a shared ethnicity, an aspect of ethnocultural history or experience such as language, or a region of origin ('imagined' or otherwise, as in Anderson, 1983). These groups may include people (deceased or alive), institutions (such as churches) or cultural organizations (such as dance groups).

Within Canada, these communities have often been identified during efforts to empower minority ethnic groups, within a political landscape where multiculturalism and the inclusion of cultural diversity are officially foundational values (Fleras and Elliot, 1992). While this identification process may seem to be a

‘common sense’ approach to the use of community, and the underlying political thrust may be well-intentioned, it has also resulted in further essentialism (Walsh and High, 1999, p. 256). Neil Bissoondath, among others, has made the argument that Canadian multiculturalism policies have limited the rights and freedoms of the country’s minority groups by confining them to cultural and social enclaves, both literal and figurative (1994). Further, as Canadian music scholars have addressed, this dynamic directly impacts music (Diamond and Witmer, 1994; Hoefnagels, Klassen and Johnson, 2019; Hoefnagels and Smith, 2007) and its corollary, dance (Lindgren, Stolar and Sacchetti, 2020; Ostashewski, 2020). These expressive practices have special significance in Canada, where cultural practices are tied up with identity, cultural policy, distribution of funding, and community governance (Berland and Echard, 2001; Diamond and Witmer, 1994; Grenier, 2001). Shelemay points out that the response on the part of scholars who are mindful of these critical issues has often been to exchange or replace the terminology of ‘ethnic group’ or some other identification of collectivity with community (Shelemay, 2011). Unfortunately, as she notes, community rarely does more than to obscure the fact that the concept of group is still often left unexamined (2011).

Historians Walsh and High observed in their own review of community that a handful of scholars including Bender (1978), Macfarlane (1977) and Calhoun (1978) all attempted to use network theory as a means of theorizing community in the 1970s (Walsh and High, 1999, pp. 260-261). Walsh and High suggest that historical sociologist Calhoun was likely most successful, given his understanding of community as “socio-historical processes that changed over time and place and whose formation included and excluded sharing the same geographic space” (1999, p. 261). Communities cannot be taken as self-evident and need to be studied for how they work to tie people together (ibid.). Calhoun (1978) underscored the importance of activity, as well as location (both temporal and geographic). Walsh and High also point out that social network theory emphasizes that the boundaries of communities are social constructions, not immutable facts, that they are the process of social interactions. Thus, they argue, community must be understood “as an exercise in power, of authority, legitimacy and resistance” (1999, p. 262). They also point out the conceptual and methodological pitfalls of social network theory:

A person’s place in a social network is certainly tied to some role or function he or she plays within the larger social system, yet this participation is never static and fluctuates from relationship to relationship. (Walsh and High, 1999, pp. 262)

As Joy Parr has reminded historians writing about Canadian contexts (in which multicultural policies and perspectives shape analyses and understandings), people wear a number of identity hats through the practices of everyday life. This raises a key question: when thinking of people within the social network of community, how should historians decide which one function or role is important (Walsh and High, 1999, p. 262)? Walsh and High indicate that network theory can get stuck in its functionalist framework. People do not play monolithic roles in their lives and people are more than the roles they play (Walsh and High, 1999, p. 262-263). As historians, Walsh and High argue instead for the study of community as social and spatial process (after Lefebvre, 1991). They make the case for the investigation of historical processes and power relationships as well as the complexity of the lived experience of those who live (in the) community, including aspects of governance, production/reproduction and identity (1999, pp. 266-267, 273).

## PROCESS, PRACTICES, PERFORMANCE AND PERFORMATIVITY

Ethnomusicologists tend to study music as performance and practice<sup>3</sup> and as part of the acts of living and relating - in other words, process, activity - which predisposes my engagement with community in terms of process. I have found the concept of 'communities of practice' (Wenger, 1998) to be useful within this context. As Wenger explains, "Communities of practice are groups of people who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise in this area by interacting on an ongoing basis." (Wenger et al., 2002, p. 4). Foundational to community of practice theory is social participation; the idea that community is social process (Walsh and High 1999, p. 259). According to Wenger, by practicing together, both novice and experienced practitioners are continually re-shaping their communities' practices, "checking and negotiating the meaning of what they are doing together" (in Morley, 2016, p. 161). Together, community members continually re-create the identities of both the community and the individual practitioners.

This notion of collective activity (the practice through which community is created and maintained) may address the dearth of academic attention on "communing as an activity or communal being-ness as an action" (Studdert and Walkerdine, 2016, p. 615) evident in social science literature. Like Wenger, sociologists Studdert and Walkerdine see activity as a means of relating as key to the creation and existence of community. They write that "relationality and sociality [are] the primary building block of the meanings-in-common that create and sustain our being-ness," (2016, p. 617) which Wenger might call identity, as it results from practice. Like Wenger, Studdert and Walkerdine are not concerned with whether a community is 'good' or 'bad,' but how a community works (2016, p. 617). They write: "The 'who' we are, our being-ness, is the outcome of constant sociality enacted, created and sustained in common through the inter-relational linking of action, materiality, subjectivity, speech and the world of accepted meaning" (Studdert and Walkerdine, 2016, p. 618). In other words, meaning and identity (as a group or community) are created and maintained through collective, inter-relational practice of a shared repertoire.

The idea that activity is core to identity resonates with the importance that contemporary scholarship in the social sciences, humanities and arts places on identity as performative. As Butler describes, gender is one aspect of identity: it is a "continuous act" (Butler, 1988, pp. 531), "put on" (ibid.), a "performative accomplishment" instituted through a repetition of acts (Butler, 1988, pp. 520). The notion that identity may be constituted through the performance of acts is highlighted by Noyes in her discussion of group and identity (2003, p. 28). Still, community of practice theory has yet to be embraced in public discourse, and I am wary of privileging academic discourse in research that deliberately seeks to include other knowledge-making communities.

## SOUNDLY ORGANIZED HUMANITY

Pioneering ethnomusicologist and anthropologist John Blacking is often quoted for his definition of music as "humanly organized sound" (1973, p. 10). Less frequently referenced is a more expansive aspect of his definition, in which he describes music as "a synthesis of cognitive processes which are present in culture and in the human body: the forms it takes, and the effects it has on people, are generated by the social

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<sup>3</sup> A common definition for ethnomusicology focuses on how people make music and make it meaningful in their lives (Wade, 2004, p. xi).

experiences of bodies in different cultural environments” (ibid., p. 89). Blacking emphasizes the importance of how music is created, the work it is used for, and what it does; he focuses on music as action. Blacking was interested in the processes through which music is created (ibid., p. 115), and particularly in music as created through human activity and behaviour. Recognizing the power and capacity of music as a human resource (see also Turino, 2008), Blacking argues that understanding human musicality is vital to creating a better society (Blacking, 1995, p. 242).

Through an exploration of numerous musics from around the world, Blacking stimulated a conversation about the question: what is a “soundly organized humanity” (ibid., p. 101)? In other words, he might have asked along with us, what are sound communities?

## **KAY KAUFMAN SHELEMAY: ETHNOMUSICOLOGY AND COMMUNITY**

Observing many of the challenges, like the ones I have described, of the use of community in music scholarship, Shelemay carried out an extensive review of the term in her field. With a focus on musical collectivities, or musical communities, she observes that community is regularly used in music studies - but it is rarely critically considered or contextualized. Her critique echoes criticisms made by scholars in related fields writing around the same time. For example, a survey of community in the social sciences found that although community is regularly used by both researchers and government agencies, it is rarely conceptualized or defined (Studdert and Walkerdine, 2016). Sociologists Studdert and Walkerdine have observed that “most research took [the term community] for granted, often using basic assumptions about location or interest as a guide” (ibid., p. 614). They went on to write that community “operates as an empty stage upon which imposed abstraction can be played out, both theoretically and practically; as if sociality and communal being-ness had no other value than to serve as the forum of enactment of personal fantasies, state-driven programmes or funding applications” (ibid., p. 615). These abstractions might include anything from “personal agendas, philosophical projects, reductionist titles, [to] instrumental reasoning” (ibid.).

Based on my experience as a scholar working with academics and non-academics for at least 20 years, I would agree with the observations of these authors for the time of their writing and I am aware that in many contexts their observations may still hold true. However, my interactions with government agencies, at the federal level in Canada (especially since 2015), and the regional and provincial levels in Atlantic Canada and Nova Scotia (since 2013), tell a different story. I am in constant communication with government department heads, ministers, and funding program officers to discuss projects in development, and the concerns of our constituent and partner communities. Every single officer, at every level, is extremely well-informed about the diverse histories of each community’s members, the fast-changing cultural and political contexts in which they live and work and raise their families. These officers are aware of the historical trend to objectify and reify communities and groups in spheres of tourism marketing, public and academic press, public memory and heritage institutions, and government. Since they are continually communicating with and attentive to the people whom they serve, the officers are aware of the impact that essentialization has had in their constituents’ lives, ways in which it has often led their constituents to feel dismissed or at least forgotten.

I now turn to address Shelemay’s more specific focus on musical communities, in which she urges an examination of the role of music in the formation of community

(Shelemay, 2011). Like Noyes and Wenger, Shelemay argues for a reconsideration of the idea of community with a focus on process and practice (of music). Such a rethinking of community “opens opportunities first and foremost to explore musical transmission and performance not just as an expression or symbol of a given social grouping, but as an integral part of processes that can at different moments help generate, shape, and sustain new collectivities” (ibid., pp. 349-350). Instead of continuing to focus on music as an object of study, Shelemay draws attention to the social work that it performs.

In her exploration of how the term community has been employed in music scholarship, specifically, Shelemay considers past use and contemporary use relative to her article published in 2011 (slightly earlier than Studdert and Walkerdine’s publication in 2016). She celebrates Tom Turino’s discussion of cultural cohorts and cultural formations (see Turino, 2008). Though he does not focus on community in his discussion of collectivities, Turino observes that shared habits (activities) bind people in social groups (as discussed in Shelemay, 2011, p. 355). Shelemay’s survey of community in broader scholarship addresses theories that destabilize “the genesis, history, and structure of communities at all levels” that resulted in a reassessment of community in ethnomusicology and, in some cases, a marginalization of the term (2011, p. 359). These include the imagined nature of communities (Anderson, 1983); a proposition that community be understood as a mode of experience rather than as a structure (Cohen, 1985); and the “invented” nature of traditions (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). Shelemay also critiques the historical trend of describing musical communities according to a particular musical style. Examples include ‘subculture’ (Hebdige, 1979; Slobin, 1987); ‘art and musical worlds’ (Becker, 1982) and ‘pathways’ (Finnegan, 1989); as well as ‘music scene’ (Straw, 1991, 2001) (Shelemay, 2011, p. 362). Shelemay indicates that, while ‘music scene’ has been perhaps the most widely circulating of the alternative terms, an inherent lack of historicity may be a reason ethnomusicologists have not taken it up with gusto.

Shelemay finally sets out her own detailed definition of musical community, to reclaim the term community as a subject of music scholarship in a way that acknowledges music’s generative role in the social processes involved (2011, p. 350). A musical community is “constructed through and sustained by musical processes and/or performances... [it is] a social entity, an outcome of a combination of social and musical processes, rendering those who participate in making or listening to music aware of a connection among themselves” (2011, p. 364-365). Shelemay proposes a tripartite framework to “unite social and musical domains” (2011, p. 365) and describe processes through which musical collectivities are generated. The three pillars are descent, such as the familiar kinship, religious and ethnonational ties; dissent, which calls attention to the catalytic effect that opposition and resistance can have in the creation of community; and affinity, which emerges from individual preferences and desire for association with others.

## **CURRENT MUSIC SCHOLARSHIP AND COMMUNITY**

As an example of the strong music scholarship that has been carried out in this area since the time of Shelemay’s publication, ethnomusicologist Beverley Diamond has explored some of the ideas of and related to community. She has developed an idea somewhat related to affinity in her discussions of employing alliance studies as a means of examining musical connections (2007). Diamond’s exploration is more expansive, owing to her decades of work with Indigenous people. In her studies of alliance, she appreciates relations among people, between people and other sentient

beings, and between people and non-sentient, even intangible phenomena. Diamond foregrounds the ways in (actions and strategies) which musicians (act to) position themselves, rather than focusing on the position (or identity) of the musician. She urges ethnomusicologists to scrutinize the alliances that musicians effect through their music-making. Although Diamond does not explicitly focus on communities, her interest in alliance studies resonates with both the focus on affinity (suggesting a relationship, connection), and more generally on process (activity), both of which are also featured in Shelemay's work.

Where Shelemay's and others' ideas about musical communities are attentive to music as process, musical communities is a term decidedly narrower in scope than sound communities. Musical communities and sound communities both focus (at least partly) on acoustic phenomena as central or establishing aspects of the communities. While more narrowly defined, music is a category of sound that has historically functioned "as the most distinct object in studies of sound" (Novak and Sakakeeny 2015, p. 5); it has a special and distinct value. As sound studies scholars Novak and Sakakeeny (2015) have observed, music has historically been the focus of scholarship, rather than sound. They argue that this is "partly because [music] elicits a heightened attention to sound and a wide-spread recognition of its characteristics, and partly because it represents a robust and established literature about sound, touching on its creative organization and social valuation" (Novak and Sakakeeny, 2015, p. 5). Inherent in music studies then, and perhaps not in sound, is a hierarchy of value.

Novak and Sakakeeny (2015) consider the acoustic phenomenon of sound through a keywords-based model. Together with several other authors from different fields that are used to define sound, Novak and Sakakeeny explore the epistemology of sound and how sound is employed in scholarship. The editors' short definition of sound is the very first sentence in the volume's introduction; sound is "[v]ibration that is perceived and becomes known through its materiality" (2015, p. 1). Sound exists as an observable activity, vibration, and becomes known through the physical experience of it. Ethnomusicologist and ecomusicology pioneer Jeff Todd Titon draws attention to the fact that Thoreau found, and drew attention in his writing to, music in the sounds of nature (2015, p. 24) well over a century ago. However, Matt Sakakeeny (2015) argues that a sustained critique of the term 'music' in scholarship, in favour of sound, did not come until many decades later, "after relativism and multiculturalism, and popular music studies began to dismantle the canons and hierarchies that music studies helped to construct" (ibid., p. 2). Sakakeeny argues that a focus on sound, rather than music, disrupts the hierarchies and accompanying privilege inherent to music studies (ibid., p. 3) - in a similar fashion as community may disrupt ethnic group or class. Given the value that ethnomusicology typically places on egalitarianism as a desired characteristic for communities (see e.g., Frishkopf, 2017), a focus on sound seems a fitting approach for continued dialogue and development of methods and theories.

### **JEFF TODD TITON: SOUND COMMUNITY**

Jeff Todd Titon deals with both meanings of sound in his widely-known discussion of the term sound community. He posits sound community as intersubjective and relational with 'sound ecology' and 'sound economy' (2015), all of which are central issues in his well-known and oft-referenced *Sustainable Music* blog.<sup>4</sup> Titon

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<sup>4</sup> [sustainablemusic.blogspot.ca](http://sustainablemusic.blogspot.ca)



has recently delivered keynote addresses and published foundational pieces of scholarship on the topic. Among these publications is an academic journal article (based on a keynote) entitled “Exhibiting Music in a Sound Community” (Titon, 2015). Here, Titon describes sound communities as, at their root, “established and maintained by acoustic communication” (2015, p. 23). Titon places emphasis in his definition on the work that sound does to create and maintain community - it serves to communicate.

Titon’s definition of community potentially involves all life, including plants and animals. Like Diamond’s, Titon’s perspective on this recognizes the potential for understanding brought to a topic through Indigenous knowledge, which often involves relationships that encompass more than people. Titon’s inclusion of other-than-human beings in community results in large part from his own interdisciplinary intellectual history and his sensibilities as an ecomusicologist (Titon, 2014; Titon and Ostaszewski, 2014). He mentions burgeoning science research that is bringing to light information, such as the fact that plants communicate (Gagliano, 2012), as influencing his thinking in this area.

Focusing on communication among and between human and other-than-human beings, Titon describes communities as intersubjective and relational, enacted through co-presence (2015, p. 24). He builds on Goffman’s (1959) ideas that individuals must present themselves to each other to be in relationship (which resonates with the ideas of identity and performance, referenced earlier); and advocates for an understanding of the effort and activity, active engagement and participation, required to enact co-presence that may lead to community (2015, p. 28). Titon extends Goffman’s notion to argue that beings of both human and other-than-human worlds may be participants in the communities that make up ecologies; indeed, communities may not even include humans (2015, p. 35-36). Diversity is innate to this understanding of community, as is the complexity of power dynamics as part of community (2015, p. 36).

Titon envisions possibilities for communities, intertwined with economies and ecologies, all of which are “erected on sound principles” (2015, p. 26) and are “reliable, healthy and resilient” (ibid.). He proposes this idea “as a way of imagining and bringing about a world worth wanting, grounded in a way of being and knowing and doing that [he] suggest[s] we with a sensitivity to sound have a responsibility for sharing” (2015, p. 27). In this, Titon draws on Leff’s ideas of sound ways of being, knowing and doing (Leff in Titon, 2015, p. 25). Titon’s prescriptive recommendation for sound communities is that they should exemplify sound principles: they are just, participatory, characterized by free exchange, and focused on strengthening and sustaining individuals and groups. They are comprised of sound economies, or economies that are just, participatory, egalitarian, characterized by an even distribution of wealth and power which are shared, that value production as well as consumption, are driven by a general concern for public good, and manage their resources transparently and democratically. Sound communities, Titon goes on to say, are part of sound ecologies that are based on honesty, reciprocity and trust. In sound ecologies, individuals are cooperative, they work toward mutual benefit, and act in ways that are ecologically just (referring to interactions with the natural world as well as resources) (2015, p. 24-25).

The health and reliability of communities that Titon uses to describe sound communities ultimately lead to his third descriptor: resilience. Titon notes that reliability may be thought of as sustainability, a term that has recently enjoyed considerable academic interest. But sustainability is a goal not a process, suggesting

something static to be maintained; in this way it does not align with thinking about community as practice, as dynamic.<sup>5</sup> However, resilience is a concept that is receiving a great deal of attention in both academic and public spheres, in research across arts and social sciences, and health sciences, too. Titon argues for a concern to develop resilience as a strategy “to enable sustainability by means of continuity and integrity” (2015, p. 27). Importantly, this returns me to an earlier point that Wenger makes with communities of practice: that they support continuity and integrity (supported by a foundation of prior knowledge and capacity of the experienced) through the involvement and investment of both novices and experienced practitioners. Given the current focus on community and environment as evident in the recent growth of ecomusicology (Allen and Dawe, 2016) as well as increasing general widespread public and scholarly attention on climate change, it is remarkable that perhaps the most widely cited resilience studies scholar, Michael Ungar, has shifted the focus of the field from individual traits to interactions between people, their communities and environments.

Though Ungar’s research interests focus on youth, his description of resilience is more widely applicable. Resilience, Ungar argues, refers to the capacity of “informal and formal social networks to facilitate positive development under stress” (Ungar, 2013, p. 255). Building physical and social resources and making them available and accessible increases the likelihood that a person or group “will cope well with severe stressors such as those related to an environmental disaster...[or] economic challenge...” (Ungar, 2011, p. 1742). Ungar points specifically to environmental and economic stressors which are also the core aspects of Titon’s sound community concept (economy, ecology).

Titon’s lifetime of work and scholarship provides possibilities for sound ways of being, knowing and doing, and of sound community. This includes his own life in a rural community on Little Deer Island in Maine (Titon, 2015; Titon and Ostashewski, 2014), and mentorship, collaboration and care for others including emerging scholars like me. While grounded in descriptions of his encounters and experience, his work in this area is largely visionary and theoretical. Nonetheless, he is among a core group of ethnomusicologists who have inspired action in this direction, through recent ecomusicology (Allen and Dawe, 2016; Titon, 2013, 2016) and perhaps more relevant to the topic of this article, community-engaged and applied ethnomusicologies. While it is evident in the foregoing that scholars in music and other fields are increasingly focused on community as process and practice - how communities are created and how they work - how can we channel our efforts into fostering, and perhaps even creating as well as maintaining sound communities?

## **ETHNOMUSICOLOGIES FOR FOSTERING SOUND COMMUNITIES**

Ethnomusicologists who are involved in research that is similarly concerned with fostering sound communities have found other theoretical frameworks useful as well. Perhaps best known among them is Samuel Araujo. He considers his ethnomusicological research to be part of a broader “20th-century epistemic turn in

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<sup>5</sup> In his investigation of the emergence and translation of the term “sustainability” within ethnomusicology, Schippers critiques the tendency for scholars in our field to link sustainability and ecology (2016:7). Schippers, working with a team of scholars, explore mechanisms that could support “sound futures” (2016:7) for music practices around the world. They propose a more dynamic model to both understand and support the vitality of diverse musics. Schippers’ approach, which conceptualizes music cultures as complex ecosystems (Schippers and Grant 2016), deserves further consideration, though it is beyond the scope of the current article.

the humanities towards a more self-critical and politicized approach to the production of knowledge in academia” (2009, p. 33). Araujo engages intensely with Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, especially, in theorizing on the topic. He considers the theoretical and methodological implications of Freire’s work, noting they are part of a shift in academia away “from neutrality to praxis” (2008), focusing on social transformation, and demonstrating a tradition where theory and practice are ‘anchored in each other’ (2010, p. 219). Among Araujo’s well-known works is a co-authored chapter with community-based co-researchers, on “sound praxis” (2010). This term emphasizes “the articulation between discourses, actions, and policies concerning sound, as it appears, quite often subtly or unnoticeably, in the daily experience of individuals, that is, for professional and amateur musicians, cultural agents, entrepreneurs, and legislators, among others; for groups such as musicians.” (2010, p. 220). Published in a groundbreaking volume on research addressing music and conflict (O’Connell and Castelo-Branco, 2010), the chapter by Araujo et al. is very directly relevant to music and peacebuilding. This work embeds contextual analysis of violence in “macro conditionings embracing the political, the historical, and the ideological realms both at a local and a global level” (2010, p. 218) - and insists that academics allow more space in the creation and contestation of knowledge for knowledge-building communities outside of academia (2010, p. 219). This involves working with members of these communities as co-researchers, and often in the locations where academics live.

Ethnomusicologists involved in research for social transformation work in further-flung locations are often doing so with communities connected transnationally with their local interlocutors. For example, Michael Frishkopf is developing a ‘Music for Global Human Development’ model (2017), a participatory action research (PAR) that aims to foster positive, sustainable transformation. His research engages interdisciplinary research collectives (for example, with health researchers), and uses music and music practice as a tool or a technology for social change.

Similarly, the practice-based applied ethnomusicology in which I have been involved for nearly two decades may be understood as community-engaged participatory action research (Greenwood et al., 1993; Kindon et al., 2007) in that it emphasizes collective inquiry and experimentation, offering transformative potential. To support this work, I established the Centre for Sound Communities, where we marshal research and training capacity to effect positive social and cultural change in communities we serve. In other words, we engage in research that involves artistic practice; provide training for students, faculty and community partners; and help communities develop skills and connections as well as access resources to address challenges and solve concrete problems. Our methodological approaches involve real-time (technology-enhanced) interactions that support training, learning, knowledge exchange and co-creation. In this, we draw on knowledge from across sectors, and multidisciplinary participatory action and field research methods to foster understanding and work together to solve concrete problems. Our teams’ methodological toolkits include: applied (e.g., in/outreach, education, workshops) ethnographic methods (e.g., research participant interviews, participant observation); research-creation (integrative creative/academic practice) informed by various media; the creation of performances, recordings and participatory filmmaking; and other techniques common to humanities (e.g., historical research, cultural analysis) and social sciences (focus group discussion, surveys). We also utilize discipline-specific techniques (e.g., musico-theoretical analysis, vocal pedagogy and performance) and digital technologies in the creation of multimedia outcomes (e.g., cyberworlds, and content-rich multimedia maps that

consider ‘cultural mapping as cultural inquiry’ after Duxbury et al., 2015). Our approaches include networking events and activities designed to put proven applied ethnomusicological and other arts-based research into practice.

### **MUSIC AND PEACEBUILDING: MAKING SOUND COMMUNITIES**

At this point I return to the work of Araujo et al. (2010) to argue for the utility of music research for peacebuilding - specifically, sound communities research - and provide a final example to illustrate. Work at the Centre for Sound Communities focuses on sound and music, as well as related aspects of creative practice such as dance and movement, films and other digital media - but it also extends to other disciplines of inquiry. For example, one project carried out with youth living in challenging circumstances, or at-risk youth, focused on social justice issues arising in the context of environmental degradation, what Nixon (2011) calls “slow violence” - and science faculty worked with us in this project to learn about the toxic tar ponds that resulted from the local steel plant, as well as environmental remediation efforts. Projects based at the Centre address the challenges, and the soundness and resilience, of diverse local communities such as at-risk and LGBTQ youth - as well as ethnocultural groups including Mi’kmaw or L’nu, local Indigenous people; Acadians whose ancestors were among the first Europeans to settle the region; Scottish whose ancestors came after the land clearances of the 1840s; and the many other groups drawn to Cape Breton due to the growth of industry which spurred immigration and made the island one of Canada’s most multicultural communities a hundred years ago. These include historically underrepresented groups, including African Nova Scotians and Central and Eastern Europeans.

At the Centre, like Araujo et al., we conceive of multiple forms of violence and conflict as antithetical to peace: “cultural, symbolic, political, economic, social, ethnic, domestic, neocolonial, and so on. [...] cultural or symbolic forms of violence that pervade and (dis)orient more lastingly the daily lives of common people, even those not directly involved in extreme conflicts” (2013, p. 218). In Canada, extreme examples of violence can be found in the treatment of Indigenous peoples. After completing its work in 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada published its report and recommendations, after the federal government official apologized to Indigenous peoples for a host of atrocities including residential schools (TRC 2015). In this context, local Mi’kmaw community leaders worked with me at the Centre for Sound Communities to design a program of community-engaged arts-based research to explore narratives and experiences of local migration and encounter: *Songs and Stories of Migration and Encounter*.

As is typically our practice at the Centre for Sound Communities, together with community members and partners, we identified a challenge in our local communities. Through dialogue, we shaped research questions that we hoped would help us attend to aspects of these challenges. On their basis, we collaboratively designed and carried out our project in ways that involved intensive critical, creative practice and public engagement. It was an emergent process in which researchers were sensitive and responsive to logistical and interpersonal needs arising in context. Then, we co-created outcomes that served all of our needs, such as workshops and performances, policy papers and presentations, and co-authored publications. This all led to further collaborations, in which the process began again and led in new directions. This kind of research depends upon relationships with many different people and organizations to keep it active and

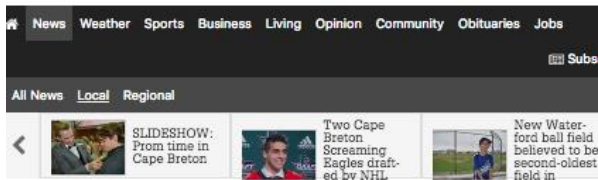
moving forward, but mindfully, at a good pace for the different collaborators - and it requires the investment of a great deal of resources, notably time and money.

The most recent *Songs and Stories of Migration and Encounter: Kun'tewiktuk* phase of the project with Membertou First Nation in 2018 was based on Indigenous principles and paradigms, and the building of relationships, including intergenerational relationships. Kun'tewiktuk is the name of the Old Kings Road Reserve in Unama'ki, or Cape Breton. In the early 1900s, the Dominion of Canada forcibly relocated the Kun'tewiktuk residents from their waterfront homes to the present-day Membertou site up the hill. Maria Campbell noted of a commemoration ceremony held at Batoche that "there's a plaque, but the people still have no land" (in Robinson and Martin, 2016, p. 1). This sentiment was echoed by Membertou Elders who said there is a plaque on King's Road marking where the reserve had been but the stories of people who lived there and the travesty of their treatment has never been properly understood or acknowledged. These inspired and became part of our research project.

For *Kun'tewiktuk*, our working group carried out a six-month research-creation process through which we explored the histories, experiences and resilience of Mi'kmaw related to their relocation to Membertou. We followed an emergent model that was established in earlier collaborations. In an initial period, Elders and other knowledge holders shared knowledge and experiences on our topic with the youth. The youth were invited to ask questions; a dialogic process of inquiry and investigation occurred through an exploration of oral histories and was extended to other knowledge-holders and repositories. This was followed by a period of collaborative creation and experimentation - e.g., the creation of films and a play, and discussions of music that will be included in the production - that expressed the participant's understandings of the topic, including their own experiences. This work, guided by Elders and knowledge holders, was supported by technology-enhanced interactions in training, knowledge exchange and other research-creation activities. The final period of this phase of our project involved sharing the co-created knowledge with broader communities to support continued feedback, dialogue, training and research. Outcomes were multiple and included a performance, archival and documentation material, digital media and print publications.

In *Kun'tewiktuk*, a group of descendants of Membertou residents took action through music, drama and other participatory (Conrad and Sinner, 2015) and practice based (Friberg et al., 2010) research to discover and honour the memory and legacy of their ancestors. In the process, we amassed a rich archive of knowledge. We also created a theatrical production, a play, that integrates oral histories and archival data, including transcripts of court proceedings that led to the relocation of the Kun'tewiktuk reserve. The play was performed at the Membertou Convention Centre for more than 400 people on National Indigenous Peoples Day last June. We have given presentations, and several co-authored publications are forthcoming. Our project's working group involved CBU faculty and students as well as visiting graduate students and postdoctoral fellows. But the project's leaders were Membertou youth, Elders and other knowledge holders and community organizers (Ostashewski et al, 2020; Ostashewski and Johnson 2020; Ostashewski et al, 2018). The production was well-received, and the local newspaper covered the story as well. This project will continue - the play will be developed further - in consultation with the broader community.

## CAPE BRETON POST



### Feasting and friendship in Membertou on National Indigenous Peoples Day

Cape Breton Post  
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Skyla Paul, 7, concentrate as she controls the arms of a large puppet during a workshop reading of the play "Kun'tewiktuk" during National Indigenous Peoples Day celebrations at the Membertou Trade and Convention Centre on Thursday. The production is a collaboration between a working group from Membertou and the Cape Breton University Centre for Sound Communities. - Contributed



Figures 1-2: Photos by Cape Breton Post. Sydney, Nova Scotia, Canada. June 2018.



**Figures 3-5:** Photos by author, Centre for Sound Communities, Cape Breton University. Sydney, Nova Scotia, Canada. 2017-2018.

The value of this research is clear. Community arts research scholar Barndt argues that community arts processes are research processes in and of themselves, because they are processes of collaborative knowledge production (2008). She goes on to note that “the social experience of art-making can open up aspects of peoples’ beings, their stories, their memories and aspirations, in ways that other methods might miss” (Barndt, 2008, pp. 353-354). I am also reminded of the centrality of music in this process by Haley, a 15-year-old of Membertou Reserve and *Songs and Stories of Migration and Encounter* participant who said:

I encourage people to join this kind of project because you meet new people and you do what you love. And music really touches me - it's a really powerful thing. ...you get to learn more about your culture and other peoples' cultures and you all kind of come together.

Haley's comments may also be understood as 'theory' (not separate from the practice) that brings together the knowledge of "sound communities" - ideas of engagement through music with different people to facilitate learning and working (as active process) together.

### IN CLOSING

Ethnomusicology is one of many theoretical and methodological frameworks for arts-informed research and interventions, which have been shown to have positive effects (Block, Harris and Laing, 2005; Clawson and Coolbaugh, 2001; Conrad and Kendal, 2009; Wallace-DiGarbo and Hill, 2006). By adopting an arts-informed approach, ethnomusicologists can both endorse community strengths that foster resilience for sound communities, as well as reveal and upset social inequities that have an impact on people's trajectories. In this way, ethnomusicology might resonate with Tilton's expressed value regarding the soundness of communities when they are just and egalitarian, concerned with social equity.

The work in which I am involved at the Centre for Sound Communities and the work of other researchers described in this article is indicative of what is often referred to as the applied turn in academia. Ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger recently stated that because our work seeks to "make research relevant to the larger community, it is important to use means that actually reach them and touch their lives, rather than restricting results to publications written for and read by specialists" (personal communication).

Ethnography provides a useful framework for understanding the specificity of experience and knowledge, and processes of knowledge-creation. In my own work, I typically refer very specifically to the projects, people, and institutions and organizations involved. As with the work of Araujo and others described above, it is work characterized by methods that are intensely dialogic, collaborative, community-engaged, cross-sector, participatory and involve music - and more broadly, sound and related practices such as dance, theatre, film, spoken word, storytelling, ethnomusicology and other critical, creative practices. In this work, music does not serve merely as the object of study but as research praxis. Where ethnomusicology often desires generalizable theoretical concepts, the point of this kind of work and this particular article is to offer a challenge to notions, in this case, of communities as generalizable. Also, this kind of work demonstrates that research (activities, methods) may not necessarily be conceptualized in some generalizable framework or model - engagement with specific people in a specific time, place and context demands specific, tailored methods, and care. If violence is inherent in structures of power, which constrain rather than empower people, particularly the underrepresented, as Araujo and others suggest, sound communities research offers a challenge to these structures of power and suggests possibilities for building peace in/as/through communities.

I have not been able to explore sonic or acoustic possibilities for sound communities in this article, due to the constraints of the forum. Yet I have endeavored, like Novak and Sakakeeny (2015) in their keywords volume on sound, to extend the keywords model established by Raymond Williams (1976), to interrogate, destabilize and denaturalize the focal concepts and ideas. Like these authors, and Noyes, Walsh



and High, Wenger, and Shelemay in their respective academic contexts, I hope that I have begun to inspire deep thinking, debate and discussion about sound communities, particularly their consideration in broader contexts of peacebuilding.

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