

I'd like to teach the world to sing:  
Music and conflict transformation

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## Abstract

Modern conflict transformation emerged after World War II as a discipline and a field of academic research. Since the early 1990s it has increasingly concerned itself with psycho-social issues (e.g. trauma treatment or reconciliation) in the aftermath of violent protracted social conflicts. Within this psycho-social space there has been a growing interest in the use of music in conflict transformation to improve relationships between in and out-groups. However, the field of music and conflict transformation is still nascent, with little in-depth research available. The majority of studies have been undertaken by interested parties or relies on anecdotal evidence from organisers and musicians with little concern for the context of the music use. Participants, whose attitudes and relationships to out-groups are the focus of conflict transformation interventions, are largely overlooked and their views are rarely discussed. Furthermore, there are few detailed studies on exactly **how** music affects conflict transformation outcomes. Instead allusions are often made to terms such as “the power of music” which act as a black box intended to explain how music “works”, but patently fail to do so.

This thesis attempts to fill these two gaps in the literature by focusing on the participants' experiences in two different conflict transformation contexts, a multi-cultural music project for school children in Norway and the casual music use in a settlement of internally displaced persons in Sudan. Through qualitative research methods, rich descriptive data from different parties is gathered. The data is analysed using grounded theory. As a result a very different and more complex picture emerges that enriches the current understanding of how music is used and perceived in conflict transformation contexts. In particular, how participants view these activities and how power relationships, though rarely mentioned, affect the music use is explored in detail. Some tentative suggestions indicate that music works best when used in longitudinal bottom-up activities and that music can augment conflict transformation activities rather than replace them. Additionally, it is proposed that music may work as a form of benign interruption in conflict transformation activities and that musical events provide a liminal space where the real work lies in the process of bringing any changes in attitudes from the liminal space into everyday life.

## Table of Contents

Figures, tables and copyright.....	5
Preface: How singing stopped war – but not alone.....	6
Acknowledgements.....	8
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	10
Thesis background.....	10
The “power of music”.....	13
Summary.....	17
Chapter 2: Literature review.....	19
Introduction.....	19
Conflicts today.....	19
Music in conflicts.....	23
Conflict transformation.....	25
Music and conflict transformation: Beginnings.....	32
Music and conflict transformation: A typology.....	42
Music and conflict transformation: Recent developments.....	44
Music and conflict transformation: A critique.....	54
Summary.....	56
Chapter 3: Methods.....	59
Background.....	59
Aims and methods.....	60
Summary of fieldwork sites and methods used.....	63
Fieldwork site 1: Norway.....	66
Fieldwork site 2: Sudan.....	67
Benefits of two fieldwork sites.....	69
Methods.....	70
Methods in Norway.....	71
Methods in Sudan.....	75
Additional research.....	85
Data analysis.....	87
Critical reflection.....	92
Summary.....	94
Chapter 4: Introduction to field sites.....	95
Norway: Demographics.....	96
Norway: Historical background.....	97
Norway: Conflict in question.....	98
Norway: Music in general.....	100
Norway: Background to conflict transformation research.....	101
Sudan: Demographics.....	103
Sudan: Historical background.....	104
Sudan: Conflict in question.....	106
Sudan: Music in general.....	108
Sudan: Background to conflict transformation research.....	110
Summary.....	115
Chapter 5: Findings.....	116
Introduction.....	116
1. Participants’ reflections on music and conflict transformation.....	118

1a. Broadening relationships.....	118
1b. Participants' own understanding of the musical events.....	131
1c. From joint active musicking to music as representation.....	136
1d. Traditions and multicultural issues.....	150
2. Socio-political context of music and conflict transformation.....	154
2a. Extra musical issues that affected the outcome.....	154
2b. Music and cultural/economic capital.....	159
3. The politics of music and conflict transformation.....	162
3a. Interventions, music coming into focus and out of locus.....	162
3b. Top-down vs bottom-up power issues.....	170
Summary of findings.....	182
Chapter 6: Analysis.....	185
Group contact.....	185
Music augmenting conflict transformation.....	192
Music as interruption for conflict transformation purposes.....	197
Developing and transferring bonds: From music to everyday life.....	202
1: Before the musical event.....	204
2: During the musical event.....	205
3: After the musical event.....	210
Summary.....	214
Chapter 7: Conclusion.....	216
Conflict, transformation and music.....	216
Music, participants, power and intervention.....	217
Music and conflict transformation in Norway and Sudan.....	220
The how of music and conflict transformation.....	225
Future research.....	229
Final thoughts: Between conflict transformation and music.....	231
Appendices.....	232
Appendix A: Interview questions.....	232
Interview schedule for fieldwork in Norway, former pupils.....	232
Interview schedule for fieldwork in Norway, musicians.....	233
Interview schedule for fieldwork in Norway, teachers.....	233
Sudan: Semi-structured interview schedule for participants.....	235
Sudan: Semi-structured interview schedule for musicians.....	236
Sudan: Semi-structured interview schedule for organisers.....	236
Appendix B: Survey done in Kassala.....	238
Appendix C: Informants.....	239
Summary of informants.....	239
Informants names and background.....	239
List of ethnic groups present Wau Nour.....	243
Appendix C: Fieldwork locations.....	244
Map of school locations in Norway.....	244
Map of fieldwork locations in Sudan.....	246
Appendix D: Clustering of ideas.....	248
References.....	249

## Figures, tables and copyright

### Figures

Kassala survey results.....	124
Video snapshots showing pupils at different schools engaging with African music.....	129
Picture from Krongo concert showing audience non-participation.....	148
Top-down network, strong ties = bolder lines, stronger actors = dark colour.....	174
Bottom-up network.....	175
Overview map of school locations in Norway.....	244
Detail map of school locations in Norway.....	245
Overview map of interview locations in Sudan.....	246
Detail map of interview locations in Sudan.....	247
Cluster from 2005, emerging themes (at that time) coded in different colours.....	248

### Tables

Norwegian timeline.....	103
Wau Nour timeline.....	115
Group contact theory summary.....	190
Music and conflict transformation typology.....	210
Summary of informants.....	239
Full list of informants with background summary.....	242

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## Preface: How singing stopped war – but not alone

The background to this thesis is encapsulated in the song and history of *Christmas In The Trenches*.<sup>1</sup> This song by John McDermott recounts a particular aspect of the so-called *Christmas Truce* in 1914 when an impromptu ceasefire took place for several days between British, French and German troops, starting on Christmas Eve. The song recounts how British soldiers heard *Stille Nacht* (Silent Night) sung on the German side and how this prompted the ceasefire. The story of the truce and the singing of *Stille Nacht* is relatively well known and sometimes used to describe how powerful music can be.

Inspiring as this notion of a song stopping war is, it presents and perpetuates a particularly romantic view of music. In this view “the power of music” is a black box that works in mysterious and benign ways, regardless of context; in this thesis I will demonstrate how this affects music and conflict transformation. Due to the almost magic nature of music in this view, there is no need to explore further what happens; therefore we never learn how music may actually function in conflict or conflict transformation. This lack of explanation leaves us at the mercy of music and musicians should we ever want to use music in conflict transformation activities. However, if we refuse to accept this and insist on finding out more about what happened, what was the context and how music fitted into this context, a different picture emerges of music and the role of music. Filling in (parts of) this picture is the essence of this thesis.

Using the *Christmas Truce* as an example is instructive. We find that troops on both sides had been promised a quick victory but ended up in muddy trenches and were killed in their thousands every month. By Christmas there was considerable animosity and cynicism about one's own side among soldiers who had fought for some time at the front, and this tended to reduce hostility to the other side. A desire existed on both sides to bury their dead who had been lying in no man's land between the two sides for some time. Furthermore, in both Britain and Germany Christmas was strongly connected to family and peaceful celebrations; therefore considerable emotional priming had already taken place. However, the ceasefire did not **start** when *Silent Night* was sung. In the days before Christmas there had been spontaneous fraternising between the two sides.

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1 <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s9coPzDx6tA>

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

On Christmas Eve, the Germans (who had easier access to material goods from home) had been decorating trees, etc. thus clearly signifying their intent to celebrate Christmas. Later soldiers started singing back and forth and this went on for some time before they started shouting directly to each other. Germans held up placards saying that they would not shoot if the other side did not. **Then** the soldiers came up from the trenches (main source: Weintraub 2001).

The view promoted in the song *Christmas In The Trenches*, no matter how inspiring, do us a disservice by inflating the role of music, which is done largely by ignoring any context, thus making it seem as if music is always the key actor in the drama that unfolds. In this case a number of issues are ignored:

- Music was not used in isolation. It was yet another (very clear) signifier that one side considered celebrating Christmas, with all that this entailed (not shooting being the most important thing in this case) .
- Music did not on its own stop the soldiers from fighting. There were underlying issues that meant the soldiers were already tired of war. So much in fact that new troops had to be brought in many places to “break” the ceasefire.
- The Christmas songs were known by both sides, so it was very clear what they were. In other words, music “worked” because it resonated with both sides.

The history of, and myth around, the ceasefire and my response to it, represents this thesis in a nutshell. Although my purpose is not to belittle music, the reality of what happened shows that music tends to augment actions towards peace but rarely does so out of nothing. Music is action and interaction between human actors and therefore depends on human collusion for any changes to occur. Believing it to be otherwise does not necessarily make it so. In the end, the story about Stille Nacht and the ceasefire tells us more about those who recount it than about music itself. The purpose of this thesis therefore is to go beyond the lay theories and beliefs about music and what it can achieve in war and conflict situations in an attempt to see the real role of music in conflict transformation. Then, perhaps, we can start to use music for conflict transformation rather than hope that music can use us.

## Acknowledgements

It has been said that it takes a village to raise a child. Likewise, creating a thesis also requires a community, in this case an international network of immensely knowledgeable, friendly and helpful people. I owe many people a debt of gratitude for their help and advice.

Three people deserve a special mention. My daughter Maia whose warm support made all the difference during the long process from initial thought to final thesis. My supervisor *extraordinaire*, Tia DeNora, must be thanked for coping with my argumentative ways and supporting me professionally and personally, with a great deal of humour. Last but not least, Mariko, my colleague and friend helped me as a discussion partner, sociologist and friend. Thank you all three, I could not have made it without your help.

Any social research is only as good as the data it obtains. My informants in Norway and Wau Nour, in particular al-Shafi and Hamad, therefore deserve a heartfelt thank you for taking the time to talk to me and furnish me with your insights and memories. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the employees of the project organisers in Norway and Sudan, without your information and help I would have missed out a lot of detail.

I received a great deal of help from the academic community around the world in my work in Norway and Sudan. In Norway Kjell Skyllstad provided considerable help with background material and contacts for my research there and it is appreciated deeply.

My fieldwork in Sudan was unusual for a sociologist, but without the Sudanese data this would be a lesser thesis. Muhamad Jalal Hashim was an indispensable colleague and ally in Sudan. Come practical or academic issues, he always had the answer. Herman Bell deserves special thanks for suggesting that I embark on this PhD in the first place, for coming with me to Sudan and introducing me to his extensive network and for the final proofreading. I am also indebted to the Sudan Academy of Sciences who invited me to Sudan and Babiker Kelaibai and his students at Alsharg Ahlia College in Kassala who at short notice helped conduct a survey in Kassala. Ali al-

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Daw from the University of Khartoum kindly arranged a public talk for me to discuss my findings. Finally, Halim Sabbar helped me verify and clarify the data from Sudan at short notice; thank you.

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*Arild Bergh, 31<sup>st</sup> January 2010*

## Chapter 1: Introduction

*“Sociology and art do not make good bedfellows. That's the fault of art and artists, who are allergic to everything that offends the idea they have of themselves: the universe of art is a universe of belief, belief in gifts, in the uniqueness of the uncreated creator and the intrusion of the sociologist, who seeks to understand, explain, account for what he finds, is a source of scandal.”* (Bourdieu 2003, p.96).

The idea for this thesis was developed after attending an ethnomusicology conference on music and power (Randall 2004). During the conference it became clear that music and conflict transformation, as opposed to music and conflict, was relatively unresearched. Prior to this conference I had discussed with friends from Eritrea, in theoretical terms, the possibility of using music amongst the Eritrean and Ethiopian diaspora in the UK to help resolve a conflict between them relating to the then ongoing war between the two countries. As a preliminary investigation revealed no books or empirical research on the subject at the time, it seemed a fruitful and challenging area for research.

In this chapter I will introduce the topic of my thesis and explain how my research was affected by the nascent nature of the field of music and conflict transformation, in particular the sometimes romantic view of what music can achieve. By the end of this chapter I hope to have established a working understanding of the terrain in which my research takes place and how and why this thesis takes a different approach to existing writing on music and conflict transformation. This will form the foundation for my review of current literature on music and conflict transformation in Chapter Two and the explication of my choice of research methods in Chapter Three.

### Thesis background

Attempting to use music to influence people is not a new or novel idea; for instance Indian classical music has for centuries used different ragas for different moods (Balkwill 1997, p.27; Bandopadhyay 2003). Such deliberate use of music has been researched in a number of settings, ranging from individuals (re-)configuring parts of their lives (DeNora 2000) via music for therapeutic purposes (Bonny 1997; Pavlicevic & Ansdell 2004) to the use by social groups or movements for mass mobilisation for different causes (Eyerman & Jamison 1998; Garofalo 1992; Mattern 1998; Lockard

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1998; Brooks 2009; Roscigno et al. 2002). While music is often associated with peace in songs such as *Give peace a chance* or *Blowin' in the Wind*, my research will not deal with this area. Rather, I will focus explicitly on situations where music's role has been to, intentionally or unintentionally, support conflict transformation activities.

Using music to enhance efforts at resolving and transforming conflicts (whether on the individual or group level) is a natural extension of the ideas listed above. Conflict transformation activities using music have increased in recent years, something that is reflected (perhaps exaggeratedly so) in a rapidly growing attention to this topic in mainstream media. In the aftermath of the wars in the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia for example, there have been numerous initiatives to "build bridges" through music. Mostar Sevdah Reunion is one example where "*musicians, of mixed Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian backgrounds, specialise in Mostar's most typical music – sevdah*" (Erdevicki 2004). In the Middle East, the famous classical conductor Daniel Barenboim and the academic Edward Said set up the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra for Israeli and Arabic youth to perform Western classical music together (Barenboim et al. 2002, pp.7-8; Rampton 2003). On a more local scale, music has been used with gangs inside prisons in South Africa to try to reduce violence (Little 2001).

Despite these flourishing activities, conflict transformation as a practice and a discipline is still an emerging and disparate field with many different theories and approaches from a number of professions and academic backgrounds (Miall et al. 1999, p.82; Reimann 2005, p.2). Steinar Bryn from the Nansen Dialogue Network in Norway has pointed out that dialogue workshops, the most common setting for music use, is a very small part of peace building,<sup>2</sup> and music use within this is relatively rare. At the same time empirical and locally situated academic research on music use is relatively new (Dowd 2002; DeNora 2003; Clayton et al. 2003; Clarke & Cook 2004), earlier research tended either to concentrate on the Western classical "canon", cultural studies of popular music, consumption or production perspectives or ethnomusicological descriptions of rituals.

For researchers there are two problematic issues with the current situation: firstly, as music and conflict transformation is an emerging field, the tools available for applying and researching music in conflict transformation are under- (or yet to

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2 Personal communication, 11 Feb 2005

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

be-)developed. Secondly, research in this field is often done by interested parties, who base their research on casual feedback from musicians and organisers, which leaves participants powerless to put forward their views on what takes place within the conflict transformation activity. It is, to say the least, rather puzzling that participants' views are so frequently ignored when the core purpose of any conflict transformation activity is to affect positive changes in participants and their perceptions of and behaviour towards former enemies.

This missing input is also an ethical issue. People who in the midst of conflict are willing to engage in attempts at transforming the conflict often find themselves in a precarious position. Not to involve them in research is therefore problematic in terms of power imbalances between organisers and participants. Assal (2002) has suggested that anthropologists need to be more involved in research on international aid organisations (who predominates the field of conflict transformation) and their power. In a similar manner, (music) sociology needs to be involved in the (music and) conflict transformation field to provide a more complete picture of what takes place. This involvement will enhance the general understanding of whether and how music can add anything of value to conflict transformation activities, and how this may be improved.

The lack of applicable and tested research tools, the dismissal of participants views and the importance of treating the field seriously affected my research and helped shape my research decisions. I decided to bring a set of well developed sociological methods for the study of social life to the subject of music and conflict transformation. These methods were used initially to investigate the perspectives of the participants in conflict transformation project. In preparation for this task I have explored the accounts of organisers and researchers of music and conflict transformation projects. This examination will be the subject of the next sections in this chapter.

The aim of this thesis therefore is twofold. First, I want to highlight problems with the existing base of (ad hoc) theories and methods used. Second, I want to build upon those aspects of music and conflict transformation that, from the perspectives of participants, seem to have worked. The critique together with the positive findings will form the basis for the outline of some suggestions of how music can contribute to conflict transformation efforts. This will hopefully provide foundations for future work in this area.

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To fulfil these aims I conducted fieldwork in Norway and Sudan, researching conflict transformation activities that utilised music in very different ways. This was done to obtain a rich data set to aid deliberations on the role of music in a field that is otherwise, as mentioned above, relatively data poor. Approximately 70 respondents<sup>3</sup>, of which 27 were in Norway, were interviewed using a semi-structured ethnographic interview technique (sometimes in ad hoc focus group style situations with multiple informants present), with additional data coming from a brief survey and documentation from these sites, such as letters, videos and evaluation reports.

This thesis is organised in seven chapters. The following chapter will put forward an overview of current conflicts and the use of music in conflicts, before reviewing the history of modern conflict transformation as a part of the broader peace studies and building disciplines. I will then examine in some detail research on music and conflict transformation within this context, paying particular attention to the romantic view on music as exemplified in the notion of “the power of music” that I will expand upon in the next section. Following this overview of the field I will discuss the methods and analytical strategies I used in my inquiry in Chapter Three. This chapter will also detail how and why I selected my field sites and how these choices helped me achieve the aims of my research. In Chapter Four I will provide a detailed socio-political background of the two field sites before moving in to Chapter Five where I will present my findings with particular attention to the participants’ views. In Chapter Six I further analyse the data from Chapter Five, and provide some tentative theoretical ideas as to how music may work in conflict transformation contexts. This will be followed by a conclusion in Chapter Seven.

## The “power of music”

Whilst reviewing the literature of music and conflict transformation I noticed a distinctly romantic view of music, as alluded to above, even in otherwise well researched publications. This was often, but not exclusively, expressed through the term “the power of music” in connection with conflict transformation (a brief, non-exhaustive list includes Skyllstad 1997, p.1; Boyce-Tillman 1996, p.210; Bakagiannis & Tarrant 2006, p.135; Al-Tae 2002, p.57; Lopez 2007, p.148; Jordanger 2007, p.129;

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3 In Sudan, as I will discuss in Chapter Three regarding my research methods, the interview situation was relatively fluid with people joining and leaving throughout.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Urbain 2007, p.xv; Cohen 2007, p.27; Luzha 2005, p.149; Lederach 2005, p.152). I am not suggesting that the mere use of a term such as “power of music” is problematic. Indeed, it is a staple in the ways that music fans discuss their loves and hates. As a music fan myself I have, at different times in my life, used similar language. The problem occurs when practical uses of music, as conflict transformation certainly is, does not question the theme of “music’s powers”, treating it as a resource for explanation rather than as a topic for research. Ruud (1997), when discussing music therapy, echoes my concerns with regards to music and conflict resolution when he warns against an over-romantic view of music's abilities and suggest that we ask “*what kind of mythology produces this kind of ideology*”.

The romantic imagery of music’s power implies, in effect, that music is *instantly* able to change enemies’ attitudes in ways that are context-independent. As a result, participants are reduced from active agents engaging with music for conflict transformation purposes to passive agents waiting for the power of music to affect them and provide conflict transformation. Through this unspecified account of music’s power, music metamorphoses from a communal activity to a force that is black-boxed within the conflict transformation process. However, as music sociology has made clear in recent years (Gomart & Hennion 1999), music is an activity in which actors engage within a range of settings and modes. Any “power” does not reside in the music, but in an assemblage that includes music as a cultural material, together with many other elements and factors. The black boxing of music thus contains, and at the same time obscures, a range of issues of considerable sociological interest: social network developments; the role of existing discourses to new networks; power relations in unsettled spaces; cross-cultural communications; the cultural capital of music making; occupational claim making; participants’ meaning making; invented traditions; the professionalisation of music; (power) issues around external interventions and music use in the transition from upheaval to routine to mention but a few.

As a sociologist, it therefore became an important task for me to try to investigate the contents of this black box and to account for what (if anything) music actually adds to the conflict transformation process and how this is achieved. I will examine these romantic views further in the literature review, where “the power of music” and similar phrases often appears as a resource for making claims about success of music in conflict

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

transformation efforts. Later I will attempt to open and operationalise the content of this black box in my findings and analysis chapters.

To prepare for this task and to cue readers into a common discursive practice of music and conflict transformation, it is useful to look briefly at some examples of these romantic views that simultaneously tap into and strengthen the idea of the “power of music”. This taster should **not** be mistaken for a full discourse analysis; a complete social and historical discussion of the emergence of “the power of music” discourse is outside the limits of this thesis. However, based on my literature review and fieldwork, I want to give some examples of how references to music’s automatic and seemingly magical powers are made in music and conflict transformation literature as well as more general music discourse. Such references, as I will suggest later, obscure proper empirical and theoretical work in the field.

*“I was struck with the nonviolent power of music and the creative act. The moral of the story now seemed to be: Watch out for the flutist and his creative music for, like the invisible wind, they touch and move all that they encounter in their path.” (Lederach 2005, p.152).*

Statements such as this one from a leading conflict resolution scholar and practitioner, are not unusual in the field, where claims about music’s powers are made in ways that sweep aside any contexts and constraints involved in music’s deployment and reception. This romantic imagery of music (‘like the invisible wind’) can be understood to be linked to age-old philosophical notions of music’s social powers. Compelling quotes, such as “[m]usic is a moral law. It gives soul to the universe, wings to the mind, flight to the imagination and charm and gaiety to life and to everything” (Watson 1991, p.45), are often marshalled in discussions on music and conflict transformation to indicate music’s power (e.g. Mans 2009, p.1; Menen 2002, p.55). This particular quote is attributed to Plato, but after some investigation it is clear that this does not originate directly from Plato (Grocke 2006). Rather it seems to be an amalgam created in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Sir John Lubbock (1889, p.136; Musical Times 1889, p.271). It thrives today<sup>4</sup> as a “Plato quote” to provide ancient, and therefore “authoritative”, support for present day romantic views on music.

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4 Internet search engines return several hundred thousand hits when searching for different parts of this quote.

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Equally abstract and poetic modes of expression are used in present day discussions about music: *“AlHaj’s humble voice asks for an empathetic ear. By forcing the listener to respond actively, VoxLox turns recorded sound into a foundation for political engagement and intercultural dialogue.”* (Lears 2004) Whether or not a recording can actually **force** a listener to respond actively is a topic for research, not a resource for explaining music’s powers. Similarly, and partaking also in this “fan” discourse, is the imagery of masses “moved” by music:

*“[Oasis’ concert at] Knebworth was their zenith – a gargantuan underlining of the redemptive power of music to unite people from disparate backgrounds, a seething mass of humanity, brought together in joyful union.”* (Owens 2009)

Such “fan” views also open the door for musicians to make strong claims about the power of music and how it can work in ways that transcend specific situations:

*“Music has an inexplicable way of elevating humankind to its noblest action. [...] Everything a musician plays is an expression of Divine inspiration and transformative for that very reason.”* (Youssou N’Dour quoted in SGI Quarterly 2004)

However, even the academic world can contribute in subtle ways to the romantic ideals of music in otherwise rigorous studies on music and music worlds. Many studies focus on music fans and peak musical experiences in ways that tend to eclipse the study of more mundane musical experiences (Bergh & DeNora 2009, p.110). This focus further adds to the lay understanding of “power of music”, albeit unintentionally.

As a result of these “poetic” features of the discourse around music in general and music and conflict transformation more specifically, conflict transformation applications often rest upon implicit assumptions about how music “works”. One example of such lay theories is the idea that music is a universal language as this quote from the launch of an Orchestra for the United Nations demonstrates: *“We often need a thousand words to get a simple message across and sometimes we only need one language: music.”* (UN News Centre 2007) Despite considerable cross-cultural evidence that it is not a universal language and that music is far more flexible this idea is prevalent in many music and conflict transformation projects. However, this confuses the almost universal availability of music and music like material, with uniformity in use and/or experience of music. To give but one example, *Blowin’ in the Wind* by Bob Dylan is an anti-

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

establishment protest/anti-war/peace song from the 1960s. In 2008 however, it was used to sell washing machines on TV in Norway, co-opted by advertising (Frank 1998).

My preceding observations were not an attempt to deny that music can be, and is, a part of intense physical and emotional experiences. On the contrary, it is **because** the idea of “the power of music” resonates with real life experiences that these romantic beliefs and assumptions about the power of music survive. To some extent, the “power of music” discourse primes the musical experience at the same time as it provides a frame for discussing strong musical experiences that one may have. Where these suppositions fail however is in the belief that **all people** can have such experiences and that these experiences can be invoked **at will** within **any context**.

In sum, for conflict transformation purposes the romantic idea that music somehow has power independent of agents raises several issues: Firstly it exaggerates the potential of music so much that it is unlikely to achieve anything near what is asserted. Secondly, by showing music and/or musicians as something out of the ordinary, the non-musicians, i.e. participants, must leave any conflict transformation work to music and/or musicians. Finally, complex situations are reduced and de-contextualised and end up as mere backdrops to the “power of music”.

## Summary

In this chapter I have endeavoured to summarise the subject matter of my thesis and to identify some of the challenges involved in the study of music and conflict transformation. I have explained how the thesis will unfold and that my data was collected from field sites in Norway and Sudan. I have also begun to highlight some of the hyperbole that often surrounds the music and conflict transformation field which makes it more problematic to research. I will take my exploration of this hyperbole forward in Chapter Two, to show how the romantic discourse of music's powers has hampered efforts to understand music's role in conflict transformation.

I will suggest that tools and methods originating from (music) sociology are helpful for this task. I apply these tools and methods first through a critical look at existing literature and then in the analysis of the empirical data from my two field sites. I believe this approach will benefit the field and help elucidate the complex role of music in conflict transformation activities. In so doing, I hope that my thesis will help

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

fill a significant gap in the current understanding of how music may contribute to conflict transformation.

From the base established in this chapter I will now review the literature devoted to two topics: (1) conflict transformation in general as a modern discipline and (2) music and conflict transformation and socio-musical studies that have a bearing on my research of this field.

## Chapter 2: Literature review

### Introduction

The overall aim of this chapter is to summarise issues and research related to violent conflicts and conflict transformation in general, before moving on to a detailed literature review of music and conflict transformation. The music and conflict transformation field has received little attention from music sociology or the broader field of sociology. This review will therefore present an interdisciplinary overview, drawing in sociological literature which intersects with music and conflict transformation issues and my own research. Due to the multi-disciplinary and emerging nature of the field, this chapter is slightly longer than usual as it is important to situate my research within several contexts: current conflicts, conflict transformation, the work of international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and finally music itself. I will finish this chapter by highlighting some of the problems of research on, and application of, music and conflict transformation.

### Conflicts today

Conflicts are a common part of interactions between social groups as Coser (1956) and Simmel (1955) have observed. Conflicts are not necessarily negative, they can also be creative as Galtung (2000, pp.4-7,43), a founder of the peace studies discipline, has suggested. However, conflicts that are deemed to be destructive have always attracted attempts to resolve them and such conflict transformation efforts are the focus of this thesis.

After 1990, the attention of conflict transformation researchers and practitioners was increasingly directed towards what Kaldor (1999) calls “new wars”. In her view conflicts after the Cold War differ from earlier conflicts. They are more complex than before and are frequently internal to a country. They may include elements of globalised crime with warlords that have no clear political aims and failed states where the central government fails to provide for the basic needs of the population. However, as Miall et. al. (1999, pp.90-93) mentions, already in the 1970s these sorts of wars were fought and Kalyvas (2001) has pointed out that the “newness” is a view imposed from the world of

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Western research and less a reflection of an actual radical change in the ways internal wars are started and fought.

Therefore, rather than referring to these conflicts as “new wars” the term “protracted social conflicts” coined by Edward Azar (Azar et al. 1978; Ramsbotham 2005) in the 1970s is more appropriate. Azar defined protracted conflicts as “*hostile interactions which extend over long periods of time with sporadic outbreaks of open warfare fluctuating in frequency and intensity.*” (Azar et al. 1978, p.50). He identified four elements of protracted social conflicts; unfulfilled basic needs such as security or recognition; lack of good governance by the state; identity issues (which he referred to as communal content); and international linkages, whereby a country intervenes across borders, directly or through support for one side (Ramsbotham 2005, pp.114-117). Although not specified by Azar, I suggest that the “international linkages” should also include refugees and asylum seekers who form diasporas<sup>5</sup> around the world. Azar maintained that as conflicts were more complex than the Cold War bi-polarisation indicated, they should also be handled by different academic disciplines working together since no single discipline covered all aspects of such conflicts (Miall et al. 1999, p.99).

The identity issue that Azar highlighted has received particular attention in the past 20 years with many wars referred to as “identity conflicts”. Examples include the Rwandan conflict between Hutus and Tutsis or the conflicts between Croats, Muslims and Serbs in the former Yugoslavia (Ashmore et al. 2001). However, diverging identities in themselves do not cause conflict, it is identity politics, i.e. the active use of discourses about identities for political gains, that can instigate conflicts (Smith 2004). It is therefore important not merely to refer to identities as an explanation of these conflicts. Such accounts reify a simplistic understanding that identity is a single label uniting each group in a conflict. A more nuanced understanding of the role of identity in the conflicts is required. Otherwise mistakes are easily made both in diagnosing causes of conflicts and in devising possible remedies in conflict transformation.

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5 “Diaspora” is a name originally applied to the Jewish population that was dispersed from Jerusalem by the Roman Empire. These days it is commonly used to refer to communities of people who have left their country of origin yet still maintain close links to that country, even in generations who were born abroad.

People have multiple identities with considerable overlap between statuses, roles and identities (Stryker & Burke 2000; Epstein 1978) and these identities are never neatly complementary. Strauss (1995) points out that there might be considerable paradoxes inherent in the biographies that form these identities. Stryker and Burke (2000) have discussed this in terms “salience hierarchy” of identities, whereby the self puts more or less emphasis on a particular identity depending on the situation. When the “use” of one identity gets negative feedback, less focus will be put on this in later interactions. Epstein (1978, p.26) and Giddens (1991, pp.52-54) point out that identity always involves choice. These choices can be the result of internal or external pressures. In anthropology identities have been researched for some time and Barth's seminal contribution *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969, pp.15-16) provides a definition that is very appropriate to protracted social conflicts. Barth sees identity as something that occurs on the boundaries between groups and rather than being fixed it is a process that takes place through the maintenance of these boundaries. Thus identities can be modified and at their core are concerned with relations to other groups. In short, identities can reflect a deeply held, primary aspect of life (such as religious identity) or they can be a fleetingly acquired, self-selected identity (for instance as a heavy metal fan). Identities may be chosen internally by individuals (forming groups) or be applied as labels externally (which create categorisations) (Jenkins 2004, pp.20-21,77). Categorisation also entails power and control as Foucault (Mills 2003) and others have pointed out (Swidler & Ardit 1994). Overall, identity is a processual practice. Agents choose how to identify themselves and who to identify themselves with. This in effect is “identity politics” embodied.

Epstein (1978, p.100), who researched migration, mentions how issues around identity become more acute when different groups are thrust together. Refugees may for instance emphasise certain identities which can result in conflicts with other groups as I will discuss in my findings. In protracted social conflicts the refugee situation is complex and multilayered: refugees may live in (temporary) camps; they may be sent to other countries on a quota system (UNHCR 2005); they may travel directly to countries using modern means of communications with help from existing networks of migrants; and they may end up as internally displaced people (IDPs) that flee the violence but stay within the borders of the country (Korn 1998).

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Those leaving for other countries often form permanent diasporas who “*share a sense of belonging within a larger community spreading beyond national boundaries*” (Georgiou 2005, p.483), not unlike the “imagined communities” of nations (Anderson 1991). These diasporas can also include people who migrated for economic reasons, e.g. Pakistanis and Turks who were recruited to work in Northern Europe in the 1960s (Eriksen 2002, pp.15-18). Diasporas can influence conflicts by shaping or creating the narratives of the countries or regions they come from (Kaldor-Robinson 2002; Axel 2002) or by promoting the cause of the different sides abroad, as well as raising funds for the war efforts (Sugarman 2006, p.18). Their influence has increased with the growth of modern telecommunications (Kaldor-Robinson 2002; Axel 2004; Chan 2005).

IDPs represent a highly visible humanitarian problem during conflicts, yet have considerably less influence on a conflict, unlike the diaspora. Having been forced to leave their homes they often live in squats or temporary refugee settlement around larger towns and cities (Assal 2004). They are often seen as the most vulnerable and dependent group, but refugees are generally resourceful and adaptable on many levels (Kibreab 1993; Reyes 2006) and I will discuss these aspects in detail in my findings from Sudan. Unfortunately, in international aid contexts this tends to be overlooked, and the refugees’ own skills and desires are rarely tapped into, instead a top-down regime will be installed by aid organisations to provide everything required on the physical level (Schechter 2004).

After a conflict returning IDPs may harbour resentment towards those who drove them away from their homes (and who may be living in the same area). Such resentments can contain the seeds of future conflicts: one of the most common reasons for conflicts to break out is the recent experience of violent conflicts (Smith 2004). Hence conflict transformation work at the local level fulfils certain needs that efforts at the national level cannot reach. For instance, conflict transformation at this level can help ensure that enemy images that emerged before or during the conflict do not dominate post conflict narratives and discourses (LeBaron 2001, pp.7-17). Such enemy images can represent a resource for spoilers (Stedman 1997) who attempt to re-ignite the conflict.

## Music in conflicts

Music is often used to construct and assert these enemy images, thus maintaining boundaries between erstwhile enemies, either by performing music that emerged during a conflict, by creating new music that commemorates a conflict or through music that highlight latent conflicts. Over time enemy images of “the other” can become part of future conflicts as happened in Northern Ireland after the 1960s (McCann 1995). Thus music is a key battleground in conflicts and conflict transformation and it provides a means for a group to identify themselves and other groups in the conflict. Music for conflict purposes is only briefly acknowledged in literature on music and conflict transformation (Zelizer 2004; Weaver 2001; Lederach 2005; Urbain 2007). Despite increasing work on music **in** conflict as opposed to music and conflict transformation,<sup>6</sup> little is done to compare the two, i.e. how is music used differently to foment conflict rather than reduce it? It is outside the scope of this literature review to do this in detail, but a brief summary of music use in conflict will be useful to my later discussions on music and conflict transformation and the findings from my fieldwork.

Before a conflict music mobilises resources for “the cause”: in Nazi Germany in the 1930s music provided a uniting focus in the large Nuremberg rallies (Reinert 1997, pp.13-14);<sup>7</sup> in Croatia independently produced tapes of ultra-nationalistic Croatian music were produced and sold before the war started in the 1990s (Pettan 1998, pp.11-12) and in Serbia turbo-folk<sup>8</sup> was used by Serbians to bolster the myth of the Serbian uniqueness (Hudson 2003; Bohlman 2003, p.215). Kosovo Albanians actively used music videos to disseminate a message that tried to create a national identity whilst also bolstering preparation for war:

*“[videos] were aimed not only at viewers in Kosova, but also at Albanians living in the diaspora. [...] they telegraphed messages of pathos and urgency to men in the diaspora who had left their unprotected families behind.”* (Sugarman 2006, p.13)

Music is also used to clarify and disseminate ideology as discussed for instance with regards to White Power music (Corte & Edwards 2008; Eyerman 2002; Futrell et al. 2006). In Nazi Germany Christmas songs and general folk songs had their Christian

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6 See for instance <http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/84354.html> (retrieved 10 January 2010) or <http://web.me.com/jpehs/conferencearchive/05-8-ict.html> (retrieved 10 January 2010).

7 For more discussions on music use in Nazi Germany see Levi (1994), Gilbert (2005), Reinert (1997), Bergh, Sutherland and Hashim (2008) and Jaros (2005).

8 A mixture of Eurovision Song Contest style pop with traditional folk music/themes.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

content replaced with more mystical-religious German content and Scandinavian fire/light cults (Sweers 2004), similar to the music use in European nationalism(s) in late 19th century (Bohlman 2003). In short, groups often deploy music to promote their own goals, often by re-using existing songs and rituals for new purposes.

Music during wartime has tended to be thought of as a morale booster or a diversion for the non-fighting population, as seen in the UK during the second world war for instance (Weingartner 2006) or in parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the 1990s (Hadzihusejnovic-Valasek 1998; Zelizer 2004). In active warfare music has been used to marshal troops in(to) battle, through marching rhythms that help build a (temporary) community and foster strong euphoric feelings (McNeill 1995). In the 2003 invasion of Iraq American soldiers played recordings of loud, predominantly rap, metal and hardcore music, whilst engaging in patrols and attacks inside armoured vehicles (Gittoes 2006).

In times of war music has also been used to intimidate as was seen in the Balkans: *“the Cetniks would set up loudspeakers and play ‘turbofolk’ at a high volume, sometimes for extended periods of time, before, during, or after shelling.”* (Hogg 2004, p.223) Croatian prisoners of war were humiliated by making them sing Cetnik songs (Pettan 1998, p.18). In more traditional societies, songs have been used to encourage fighting. This has been reported both from Rwanda (African Rights 1995) and Sudan. In Sudan, the *hakkamah*, female singers from Darfur who used to praise men who had done some practical feat (Carlisle 1973) have in recent years used their skills to encourage *jihad* (Lacey 2004). Music has also been used as torture (Cloonan & Johnson 2002). In several Nazi concentration camps in the 2nd World War music was used “to torment and further humiliate the prisoners underscoring the horror of their situation” (Moreno 1999, p.4), by making them perform cheerful songs or orchestra pieces whilst gassing prisoners or to help manage the camp (Gilbert 2005, pp.177-178). Prisoners of war in the recent Iraq and Afghanistan wars were subjected to loud music from heavy metal to children's music (Cusick 2006), in the process changing music from a cultural expression to a weapon of war (Bayoumi 2005).

Two common themes emerge from this brief overview of current studies of music in conflict. First, music has been used to augment activities rather than serving as a focus of attention in its own right. Second, music is used to mark and strengthen

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

boundaries between groups. This is not an uncommon use of music as Street and Frith (1992, p.80) have pointed out, the most passionate responses to music come when it is used to maintain boundaries. To use music in an inclusive way, a core aim of conflict transformation, can therefore be difficult as familiar music may already have been used to define one's identity in **opposition** to groups that one is to be reconciled with. As Pettan (1997) has discussed, in preparation for or during conflict people holding power may use music to emphasis togetherness within the group. This also increases the external pressure against the group and this may, as discussed by Simmel (1955), further increase the internal cohesion in the group. Using music that is negatively perceived by the outside world is therefore useful to strengthen internal bonds. This musical boundary maintenance may result in stereotyping through music on two levels, behaviour and preference. Violent imagery in rap music may lead to Afro-Americans generally being seen as violent (Johnson et al. 2000) or all British Asians may be assumed to enjoy or play bhangra (Bakrania 2004, p.94). Stereotypes such as these will affect music use in conflict transformation efforts as I will discuss later.

As we can see, music is not inherently peaceful and groups and individuals who want to create or maintain conflicts have often made good use of music to further their agenda. However, this does not mean that these musical positions are fixed. In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict for instance songs about Jerusalem have often changed as a result of political twists and turns on the ground (Al-Tae 2002). Hence a musician that sings for conflict today may sing for peace tomorrow.

## Conflict transformation

Over the past 60 years the peace building field, which includes conflict resolution and transformation, has become an occupation and a topic for academic research. The aim of peace building work is to achieve a sustainable peace in societies that have recently experienced violent conflict (Lederach 1997). Peace building and conflict transformation should not be confused with peace studies, a more academic and less applied discipline, somewhat a mirror image of international relations studies (Guzzini 2003). To provide a detailed overview of all conflict transformation ideas, theories and tactics is not feasible. The field is too broad and diverse, with contributors from many professions and academic disciplines (Miall et al. 1999, p.82). I will instead present a

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

brief summary of the background leading up the current state of conflict transformation, an overview of the field at present and a discussion of some problematic issues around the notion of conflict transformation. Following this I will turn to music and conflict transformation specific literature and conclude by outlining some of the problems with current research and practices in this field.

Conflict transformation is a relatively new term. In the 1990s and earlier the phrase *conflict resolution* was used to discuss anything from business arbitration (Follett 1941; Fisher & Ury 1987) to post war peace building (Kaufman 2000). However, Reimann (2005, p.2) points out that “*conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation are often used loosely and interchangeably*”. This confusion is increased by the fact that there is considerable debate as to whether conflicts can be properly **resolved** with short term projects (Kaufmann 1996). Thus more recently conflict **transformation** has become the preferred term for many practitioners and researchers. In this thesis I will use the expression conflict transformation to indicate efforts aimed at changing conflicts from a violent/aggressive stage to a less confrontational situation. Conflict resolution will only be used if particular sources use the term.

More or less formalised methods for handling conflicts exist in most societies most of the time (cf. Robarchek 1979; Harris et al. 2001; Sandnes 1999; Walker 2004; Shook & Kwan 1987). At present however, the conflict resolution field is dominated by individuals and organisations that base their work on principles developed since the 1950s in late modern countries<sup>9</sup>, something that affects my research. Hence, when I am outlining primarily the late modern and academic perspectives in this literature review, I neither seek to promote these views nor to ignore other forms of conflict transformation. However, as most conflict transformation efforts around the world either adhere to or are strongly inspired by these perspectives, it is important to review them in detail.

Peace studies emerged as a discipline in late modern countries in the 1950s, emphasising rational and positivist ideas (Miall et al. 1999, pp.54-58). At the same time

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<sup>9</sup> I am using the term “late modern” (Giddens 1991) here in preference to “developed” or “the West”/“the North” which does not capture the difference I want to highlight. The differences between late modern and other countries for the purposes of this literature review focus on role of music (more rarefied in late modern societies), income (high in later modern societies when compared to more traditional societies) and communication possibilities, especially travel (freedom for inhabitants in most late modern countries to travel anywhere relatively cheaply).

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

conflict resolution as a discipline developed as a less theoretical and more applied discipline with many academics also acting as practitioners. In the 1960s the *problem solving workshop* was developed by the academic and diplomat Burton (Wallenstein 2002, p.41; Lumsden & Wolfe 1996). Since then workshops have been a frequent tool in small scale conflict transformation activities as I will return to. Until the 1990s peace research and conflict resolution work was oriented towards superpower conflicts and international wars. After the cold war the changes in how conflicts were perceived resulted in a “reconstruction” of the peace research and conflict resolution fields in the 1990s and early 2000s (Kodama 2004). Late modern concepts of conflict transformation are not without their critics. It has been suggested that they may allow the underlying problems to continue rather than resolve or improve an unjust situation (Rupesinghe & Anderlini 1998, pp.93-95; Luttwak 1999; Fast 2002). A full overview of such critiques is outside the scope of this chapter, cf. Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (2000) for a summary.

The current state of conflict transformation broadly follows the pioneering peace researcher Galtung's (1969, p.183; 1996, pp.31-33) concept of *positive peace*. This idea suggests that the mere absence of direct violence (*negative peace*) is not enough to prevent conflicts. Improved social conditions such as health care and education in the afflicted societies are also required. The core ideas of positive peace have received a great deal of attention in conflict transformation research (Menocal et al. 2005; Ryan 2003; Pearce 1997; Barash 2000; Reimann 2005; Kodama 2004; Webel & Galtung 2007; Miall et al. 1999), although not always linked directly to Galtung's concept of this term. This focus on social conditions is generally referred to as addressing the *root causes* of conflicts (Foresti 2004). Positive peace has become the prevailing mode of operation. The United Nations is now committed to the *human security* concept which is similar to positive peace: “*Human security is ‘people-centred’, focusing the attention of institutions on human beings and communities everywhere.*” (Commission on Human Security 2003). UNESCO also instituted a year (2000) and decade (2001 – 2010) devoted to the Culture Of Peace, attempting to “*reject violence and prevent conflicts by tackling their root causes to solve problems through dialogue and negotiation among individuals, groups and nations*”.<sup>10</sup>

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10 UN Resolutions A/RES/52/13 : Culture of Peace and A/RES/53/243, Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

As a result of this expanded notion of what constitutes peace, peace building and conflict transformation efforts are now closely linked with development and humanitarian assistance (Duffield 2001). Development is a term applied to various programmes and practices that aim to improve economic and social conditions in developing countries (Slim 1995). Smoljan (2003, p.234) refers to this as the *inclusivist approach*: in this view the merged development and peace building efforts are better suited to solving post-conflict problems.

Whether conflict transformation is a part of development or applied on its own, the “suppliers” of conflict transformation have changed considerably in the post Cold War period. Current international policies and structures emphasise privatisation over state management. Previous state responsibilities are therefore increasingly handled by NGOs (Blaser et al. 2004). This change has resulted in a considerable growth in NGOs, with more than 37,000 international NGOs in 2000 (United Nations Development Programme 2002, p.5). The majority of these NGOs are based in or receive their funding, directly or indirectly, from late modern countries. Furthermore, whereas previously NGOs tended to rely solely on small donations from the public, an increasing number of NGOs have become dependent on fewer and larger (inter)governmental grants that tie them closer to the politics of the country they originate in (Petras & Veltmeyer 2005).

In short, conflict transformation is at present mainly initiated and/or paid for by international NGOs, which de Vaal (quoted in Assal 2002, p.80) suggests consist of:

*“[...] the international elite of the staff of international relief agencies, academics, consultants, specialist journalists, lobbyists and also, to a greater extent, conflict resolution specialists and human rights workers.”*

The emergence of these organisations and professions has resulted in a number of issues that are important to discuss to contextualise my own fieldwork later.

The usefulness of intervention by third parties in conflicts is generally accepted in conflict transformation milieus (Fisher 2001). However, **who** should intervene is a crucial question. These days it is usually an international NGO or a government from a late modern country, directly or by proxy. Implicit or explicit in these interventions is the notion that democracy and free trade, i.e. *liberal peace* (Bellamy & Williams 2003), is the only possible sustainable peace. These interventions and the ideology behind it

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

have been criticised as an attempt to change societies by the imposition of Western values from the outside (Duffield & Waddell 2004; Fetherston 2000; Paris 1997; Kamat 2003; Stubbs 1995; Brudholm 2008).

These ideas represent an ideological hegemony in Gramscian terms (Osborne et al. 1999, pp.107-108) that is deeply rooted in notions of modernity and progress. This hegemony results in Western notions and concepts being implanted before conflict transformation can take place: *“the phenomenon of NGO development [in Bosnia] was referred to as [...] attempts to create an NGO world similar to that of the country of their origin...”* (Bekkering quoted in Large 1997, p.156). This means that even those who favour local empowerment and indigenous knowledge may strengthen the dominance of the international development discourse (Pfeifer 1996) which imposes a world view on indigenous populations that ignores their traditional views (Walker 2004). Furthermore, ideas implemented by NGOs may simply reflect fashionable contemporary theories, the ill-fated structural adjustment programmes of the World Bank and IMF being a case in point (Duffield 2001). Because of the hegemonic nature of current development and conflict transformation ideas, war torn communities can find it difficult to resist such programmes.

Concerns such as these have resulted in discussions in the NGO field and academia with regards to the effectiveness and ethical issues of top-down vs bottom-up approaches. The terms themselves are rarely defined, but top-down implies an external planning of projects with little or no local input, often based on macro level theories. Bottom-up implies local consultation and the involvement of those affected by any changes. These debates take place in development (Menike 1993), peace keeping/building (Woodhouse 2000) and conflict transformation (Bloomfield et al. 2004). The bottom-up approach is in vogue these days, although this may be more a matter of public rhetoric than reality (Shivji 2004).

Interventions that are instigated or funded by external actors are rarely true bottom-up endeavours even in small-scale projects. For example, an NGO from the UK may work with local partners in Sudan, but through funding and training the NGO has the power to shape local policy, effectively constituting a top-down approach. Top-down vs bottom-up is therefore too binary a distinction to really capture what is taking place on the ground. In the review of the literature on development and peace building two

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

additional approaches can be perceived. In the first instance, which I will refer to as a *sympathetic top-down* approach, external organisations may allow local communities considerable input, but still have an internal ideology/agenda/way of working that takes precedence when projects are planned. The second, which can be termed the *mediated bottom-up* approach, cover projects where the local community is represented through local intermediaries that an organisation feels comfortable working with. They may speak English or have a higher education. These intermediaries are socially distant from the final target of a project, whilst the NGO considers them to truly represent the target population. My working definition of a bottom-up approach is therefore one where external actors are not involved in a controlling capacity in the planning or execution of a project.

Part of the problem with top-down approaches is caused by peace and conflict transformation studies ignoring local, tacit, knowledge and assuming that “*a more peaceful history could evolve if only we followed certain recipes all of which belied a certain empiricism and West/(Euro)-centrism.*” (Guzzini 2003, p.8). The historian Misra (2001) has pointed out the similarities in current rhetoric regarding humanitarian intervention and 19<sup>th</sup> century imperialism. In his study of conflict resolution in the Arab world Rabie (1994, p.7) points out that:

*“[...] because societies have different cultures and historical experiences, conflict-resolution techniques that many nations have developed over time are not the same and may not work outside their own cultural contexts.”*

Overlooking local cultural and epistemological issues usually leads to longer term failures for conflict transformation initiatives. Pearce (1997, p.453) has suggested that:

*“Learning from [local people's] experiences and building on their capacities, rather than introducing quick-fix solutions dreamt up by outsiders, may be a longer path to peace, but a more sustainable one”,*

a concern echoed by Grenier (1998). In Somalia for instance, international initiatives focused on talking to “leaders”, often self-appointed warlords, rather than the elders who were the traditional peacemakers. As a result peace agreements never lasted (Duffey 2000). In general, sustainability of development work has become an issue of concern over the past fifteen to twenty years (Commission on Human Security 2003), primarily as a result of the failure of many projects to provide solutions that survive the initial intervention/set up in the affected locality. However, these discussions in the

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

NGO community refer to economic and environmental sustainability. Cultural sustainability is rarely discussed, something I will return to in my findings.

NGOs are not necessarily unaware of the problems outlined above: Bryn from the Nansen Dialogue Network pointed out that they do not try to transfer ideologies in their conflict transformation work.<sup>11</sup> Anderson (cf. Anderson et al. 2004) has developed a “do no harm” policy to ensure that aid in conflict situations is not misused. However, from the NGOs’ side, these debates are all based on the premise that the concept of external interventions is not problematic in itself. It is merely individual implementations that require improvement.

NGOs and individual practitioners are these days important actors in attempts to transform conflicts and they are able to considerably influence local events and power balances with their interventions, an influence that belies their size and can be unintended. After the genocide in Rwanda for example, the protagonists used refugee camps and international aid to regroup (Shawcross 2000). However, conflict transformation researchers and practitioners rarely discuss the power of smaller actors: Miall et. al. (1999, pp.17-18) suggests that representatives of governments or intergovernmental organisations have power, whereas other mediators have no power except to communicate and facilitate. This is a serious misrepresentation of the situation. The differential in financial clout for one thing is such that even a small NGO from a late modern country will have considerable financial resources compared to local organisations or social groups.

This issue is further exacerbated as NGOs often have an unclear status and are accountable towards their donors, rather than the people they help,<sup>12</sup> and any evaluations are often done by internal staff. This has considerable transparency and misrepresentation implications. The need to provide success stories for further support will affect the reliability of evaluations (Mebrahtu 2002; Burger & Owens 2008; Jennings & Baldwin 2010 forthcoming). The self-reporting issue is a largely unacknowledged problem in conflict transformation where many scholars are also practitioners. This can be a problem when the success of a project is to be determined,

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11 Personal communication 2005.

12 There are a number of initiatives and codes of conducts drawn up in the US and Europe that many larger NGOs are signed up to (Slim 1997; Duffield 2001, p.56) but this is voluntary and managed by the NGOs themselves.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

something I will return to below with regards to music and conflict transformation as well as in my findings later.

## Music and conflict transformation: Beginnings

Today there is a clearly established, but very diverse, discipline of conflict transformation/conflict resolution that receives a great deal of attention from academia as I have shown in the discussion above. This diversity has meant more opportunities for small scale, local peace building with new approaches encouraged and experimented with. These new approaches tend to focus on the *psycho-social* effects of conflict (Miall et al. 1999, pp.269-277; Stubbs 1995; Bradbury 1998, p.335; Chandler 2000, pp.147-148), e.g. traumas and other invisible effects of war that were often ignored in earlier conflict transformation work. The projects developed in this space range from dialogue workshops (Lumsden & Wolfe 1996; Maoz 2000), drama (Epskamp 1999), cross cultural music events (Independent 2005) and reconciliation work (Chicucuecue 1997; Chirwa 1997) to music therapy with traumatised children in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Osborne 2004; Sutton 2002).

It is within this psycho-social domain of conflict transformation that music is used. The music related activities themselves have generally been ad hoc with little theoretical underpinning specific to the music use and the academic research that focus on the intersection of music and conflict transformation is rather limited. I will first outline the background to the current use of music as a conflict transformation activity, from traditional use of music via use of drama in recent years through so-called multicultural music activities in late modern countries. Following this I will suggest a basic typology of music use in conflict transformation before tracing the emergence of relevant research in the past 15 years.<sup>13</sup>

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13 There are several fields of study that are related in broad terms to music and conflict transformation, but any detailed discussion on these are outside the reach of this literature review. This includes music that promotes peace or is anti-war such as music performed at the Peace Jubilee in Boston in 1869 (Rinhart & Rinhart 1996) or anti-war songs in the USA from the 1960s onwards (Brooks 2009). Music and politics, a rich area for studying music and change (cf. e.g. Lockard 1998; Randall 2004; Mattern 1998; Eyerman & Jamison 1998; Garofalo 1992), is also kept out of this literature review. These musical expressions are generally meant to disseminate a message, provide means by which people can work together for social change, or mark opposition to certain politics or powers. There is thus an emphasis on sharpening boundaries and promote their own view, rather than trying to resolve or transform a conflict through inclusiveness, which makes it less central to my own research.

Ethnomusicological work on traditional music tell us that music use in conflict transformation is not a recent innovation. In the Philippines the Buwaya Kalingga People established peace pacts that were cemented through feasts which included peace pact specific songs (Prudente 1984). In Africa music is still important in an everyday context: “*Vandy Kanyako stressed the importance of creative methods like music, song and dance as outstanding African methods, which were always an integral part of African conflict resolution [...]*” (UNOY 2001). A recent example of this was reported from East Africa where elders negotiated the settlement of a conflict during a music competition in 1999 (Barz 2004, pp.50-51). However the ethnomusicological focus on description rather than analysis means that such accounts do not help us understand **what** music adds to the conflict transformation process.

Drama was a precursor to music use in conflict transformation. It has been frequently used in peace building workshops and dialogue projects. Problem solving workshops were, as mentioned earlier, developed in the 1960s as a space for mid range leaders and academics to develop win-win scenarios in conflicts<sup>14</sup> and through back channels influence decision makers. A 1996 review of the workshop model by Lumsden and Wolfe (1996, p.48) pointed towards current trends when suggesting a move away from purely analytical approaches to using arts related methods for “creative problem solving” efforts.

The workshop model is also used in “dialogue projects” (Jordanger 2006; Miall et al. 1999; Aarbakke 2002; Bloomfield et al. 2004), which became prevalent in the late 1990s and onwards, particularly in the Balkans. Here, the focus moved from negotiations to encouraging participants to engage with the other side to develop local understanding rather than negotiate possible peace agreements. In this context drama<sup>15</sup> is frequently used. I observed an example of this, taking the form of role playing, when attending a day long conflict transformation workshop at the Nansen project in Norway. Dan Smith from International Alert also told me that they used drama extensively in

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14 The win-win scenario assumes that solutions to problems can be found through meditation /negotiation processes (for a number of summaries and debates on this topic see Follett 1941; Fisher & Ury 1987; Melone et al. 2002; Linstead et al. 2006; Richardson & Wang 1993).

15 Drama should here be understood as activities where participants do briefly prepared role-playing (Fiona MacBeth, personal communication December 2004), or relatively unscripted interactions between actors and audience. This is often used in developing countries to spread development messages for instance.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

their workshops<sup>16</sup> and in Northern Ireland there was a huge increase in drama projects following the late 1990s peace agreement (Jennings & Baldwin 2010 forthcoming).<sup>17</sup> Drama thus introduced the idea that the arts can be used in conflict transformation: however, drama is more prescriptive than music (Ryan 2003). This aspect may lead conflict transformation organisers to attempt to determine the outcome of drama activities, something that is considerably more difficult to achieve with music as my findings will show.

A common approach to using music for conflict transformation is the *multicultural* music project or event. These have been arranged in late modern countries since the 1970s when *Rock Against Racism* (Frith & Street 1992; Roberts 2009) and similar concerts took place. Although not a method per se, the general purpose of such events is commonly defined as an endeavour to “build bridges” (Lundberg et al. 2000, p.138; Al-Tae 2002, p.53; Skyllstad 1995, p.10) between different groups who are perceived to be in conflict. Although the conflict transformation aspect is not always overt, it is implied or stated that people can be influenced to have a more positive view of out-groups by being exposed to music that is deemed to represent the group in question. The defining element is the inclusion of music, dance and/or performers from more than one social group. These groups are typically defined along ethnic lines, with the idea discussed in Chapter One, that music is a universal language, often a central part of the ideology. One example of such an activity is the Oslo world music festival with performers from around the world which the Norwegian foreign minister referred to when discussing music as a universal language that builds bridges (Støre 2008). The nascent discipline of “applied ethnomusicology” also works in the multicultural field, with projects related to the integration of minorities through music (Clausen et al. 2009).

Culture and multicultural are both difficult terms to use. A detailed discussion is beyond the reach of this chapter (see e.g. DiMaggio 1997; Swidler 1986; Avruch 1998; Inglis 2005; Reeves 2004; Holton 2000; Allport 1930 for a range of discussions on this topic). The key errors in thinking about culture for those working with conflict resolution are as follows: assuming it is homogeneous or monolithic, a thing or customs,

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16 Personal communication, January 2005.

17 See Smith 2007; Liebmann 1996; Cohen 2005b; Cohen 2005a; Davis 2005; Lambert 1982; Brunson et al. 2002 for further discussions.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

believing that it is uniformly distributed among members of a group, thinking that individuals only have one culture or that it is timeless (Avruch 1998; Kagan 2004). In multicultural contexts this presents particular problems. Often the invocation of multiple cultures reifies the very boundaries and problems they seek to challenge by emphasising “the other” (Milligan 1999).

Multicultural events frequently take place in educational settings (Baird 2001; Skyllstad 1997; Fock 2004; Evron 2007). Skyllstad is an early and frequent contributor to research on music and conflict transformation work in multicultural educational settings. He was involved in organising a Norwegian project from 1989 to 1992 called *Resonant Community* (which I later researched in 2005-2006 as part of my fieldwork) where pupils were exposed to music from countries around the world. In several articles (1995; 1997; 2000) he has summarised the results from this project which dealt with racism and attitudes to immigrants, and presented these in different contexts.

The key results, as Skyllstad reports them,<sup>18</sup> were a reduction in the number of [immigrant] pupils who reported bullying, a more positive attitude to immigrants compared to pupils who did not attend these multicultural concerts and a better self image among children of an immigrant background. However, some of the indicators on positive views that are briefly mentioned might be problematic. He suggest that pupils who are not racist see immigrants as “ honest, law-abiding, industrious and kind” (Skyllstad 2000, p.3). These are of the values of the majority, and as Lamont (2000) has pointed out, ethnic minorities may have different views on what is considered “good”. Overall, measuring the impact on such a sensitive topic is difficult when using written forms.

Skyllstad makes the important point that the positive experiences children have of others through music requires support from other parts of the curriculum. This is often overlooked in multicultural projects where music is frequently deployed on its own. However, with regards to the music itself few attempts are made to discuss or explore how music has achieved the claimed effect beyond basic references to rehearsals and the “social ritual of performance” (Skyllstad 2000, p.6).

Overall Skyllstad focuses on musicians and teachers. The pupils are heard only through references to the written test they were given and the results of this. This is not

<sup>18</sup> The content of the test, or how it was administered, is not discussed.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

unusual. A study on how music and song can improve children's lives interviewed musicians exclusively, without involving the children to discover what they thought (Baird 2001).

This raises several issues. First of all the participants tend to be the less powerful party. Positive reports may therefore be a result of informants trying to please the organisers. Fock (2004, pp.23-24) for instance found that teachers in a similar Danish project were more cautious when reporting changes in pupils to her than in the questionnaires returned to the organisers. Secondly, the parameters by which success is measured is set by the organisation, and finally their "world view" is used as a starting point, so any lack of local knowledge will not be revealed. In general Skyllstad's papers frequently provide positive references to Resonant Community and other music projects without specifying what constitutes success.

Overall multicultural projects suffer from an acute decontextualisation of the music itself. When discussing how the multicultural project worked to create a climate for understanding Skyllstad (1995, p.7) says that:

*"many of the artistic manifestations of the Asian countries, particularly in their ritual form, have evolved as effective agents of integration and of the fostering of social consciousness."*

Although this is undoubtedly true in the original location of the music, it is doubtful that this would apply in schools in Norway where the majority of children had no connection to the music and no knowledge of its original context.

Einarsen (2002), when talking about another Norwegian multicultural music project, questions this often implicit assumption that music can be understood universally, and suggests that although everyone has **an** experience around music when listening/performing together, the experience is not necessarily the same. Fock (2004, p.55) has similar reservations and points out that: *"The question is how and what [music] communicates."* This unfortunately is rarely discussed in detail with regards to multicultural music use. For instance, Bradley discusses a Canadian children's choir which wanted to encourage *"open, encompassing attitudes suggestive of an emerging multicultural human subjectivity"* (Bradley 2006, p.6) by performing songs from around the world. While discussing how one choir member with an African background felt validated during the performance of a South African song when a South African

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

delegation joined in with the singing, she also mentions how another member discussed African music as primitive. This highlights the problem of cross-cultural communication, but Bradley never goes into detail. What does this mean and how does it affect the type of multicultural projects she is organising? Bradley fails to explore the fact that there was a black male who felt validated by other black members in the audience partaking in the singing, which defeats the cross-cultural bridge building intent of the project.

In general there are often references to how hearing ones "own" music will validate individuals and make them feel more confident; however, this is clearly a contradiction to the stated purpose of multicultural music. This strengthens rather than weakens boundaries. Thus when Skyllstad, with regards to a project with Bosnian refugees in Norway says that "*there seemed to be an almost insatiable demand among the refugees for the music of their homeland.*" (Skyllstad 2000, p.8), he is no doubt correct, but there is no discussion about any problems that can occur from such a close link to one's own music. This obviously represents a major problem if we want to use music to bring people together, as Fock (1997) has pointed out with regards to immigrant music in Denmark, where ethnic minorities, as in many other late modern multicultural countries (Bergh 1995), draw their ethnic group together through music use.

A research project by music psychologists in Portugal used music to see if it could change the attitudes among "*light-skinned Portuguese children aged 7-10 years*" to immigrants. This was done by introducing Cape Verdean songs in music lessons and measuring "*anti-dark-skinned stereotyping*" before and after the project (Sousa et al. 2005). The results of the tests, which combined pictures of dark and light skinned people with certain properties such as being friendly, showed reduced racial stereotyping after the musical interventions. Like Bradley's project, this research is positive as it involves the children directly in the research. However, in the Portuguese case the focus is on simple psychological tests that provide "thin descriptions", so when they respond, it is difficult to know whether this represents a genuine change or if the test and the songs both exist in a "virtual reality" not connected to their everyday life. Overall the more positive of the reports above tend to leave any supposed "workings" of the music unsaid and unexplored.

Einarsen who studied a multicultural project in Norway comes to different conclusions than the more positive papers above (Einarsen 1998; Einarsen 2002). This was perhaps because he was not involved in the organisation of the project and also spent considerable time with the participants and not just the organisers. He points out that for music to work on negative attitudes in a multicultural context it is given specific abilities and also mentions the idea of music being seen as magic and the notion of universality in music. Music was mainly seen as a tool in the multicultural project he studied. Music making in itself was not valued, and outsiders decided what music immigrants should play to be authentic. This top-down approach is common to many multicultural events and projects as can be seen from the discussion above. This top-down attitude tends to preclude local initiatives, thereby affecting the participants view of, and interest in, the project and ultimately impacting the chance of successfully changing attitudes through music use. Freire (2000, p.95) in his explanation on pedagogy for the oppressed suggests that:

*“One cannot expect positive results from an educational or political action program which fails to respect the particular view of the world held by the people. Such a program constitutes cultural invasion, good intentions notwithstanding.”*

In the case that Einarsen researched the good intentions failed so that the two music groups, one consisting of Vietnamese-Norwegians, the other ethnic Norwegians, in the end never played together or even met.

As we have seen, many multicultural music projects take place in schools (cf. Evron 2007 for a summary of peace and arts in education), often aiming to achieve *transformative learning* which provides “*new ways to view the world*” (Olson 2005, p.56). In this view, as transformative learning is primarily based upon rational thought, music would be used in a *deliberative* way (Mattern 1998, p.28), that is to say, musicking provides a means to cognitively negotiate group and intergroup identity and relations. Within the context of multicultural music this seems to be very much a matter of traditional top-down “teaching” where the “lesson” of conflict transformation will be absorbed as prescribed (and imagined) by the “teachers”. This mode of disseminating knowledge has been extensively critiqued by Freire (2000), and multicultural conflict transformation projects leave little scope for the dialogue he promotes as a tools for true

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

learning. This issue will receive a more detailed treatment in my findings chapter when I discuss the use of music for conflict transformation in Norway.

Though prevalent, multicultural music projects often share certain basic problems: a failure to realise that they often increase, rather than reduce, differences; the problematic assumption of music being a universal language; the notion that merely playing music to different social groups will bring them together and a general lack of theoretical developments to try to understand how music in this context can achieve positive results.

Beyond top-down multi-cultural music events there are also examples of bottom-up music use for conflict transformation purposes. In the 1980s, reports of hip-hop's role in reducing gang related violence in New York in the 1970 emerged in general music books (Toop 1984, pp.14-16,56-59). Hip-hop has generally been discussed as having provided a competitive forum which replaced gang related violence. Conflicts were in this way transformed from violent to non-violent. This was a genuine grass-roots example of music use that resulted in reduced violence. However, literature on this topic is primarily from popular music studies (Price 2006; Toop 1984) and no detailed academic research exists on the processes that might have aided the conflict transformation outcomes of the hip-hop movement.

With regards to literature specifically on music and conflict transformation, the edited volume *Arts Approaches to Conflict Resolution* (Liebmann 1996) from 1996 looks at the role of the arts in conflict resolution. Only two of the 17 chapters, however, relates to music, indicating the low profile of music in conflict resolution at the time.

Levinge's (1996) chapter on music therapy focuses on a number of anecdotes from music therapy practice with individuals. She suggest that music therapy can be a container for conflict and through its non-verbal nature provide a medium through which conflicts can be resolved; however, conflict resolution among larger groups is not investigated.

Boyce-Tillman's (1996) chapter *Getting our acts together* on the other hand focuses on the group aspect of music. With a broad brush she brings together ideas, ranging from spiritual views and discussions on how Britain's Judeo-Christian heritage has tied in with communal music making to thoughts on the physical, sonic/vibrating,

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

aspects of music. Her focus on the communal side of music and music's role in aiding community building is important in a conflict transformation context. Boyce-Tillman also suggests that music listening and composing is as important as performing. Small (1998, p.9) has provided a similar, more formal, extension of what is to be considered active partaking in music, with the term *musicking*. In this view music is an activity not only for performers but for anyone who takes part, "*in any capacity, in a musical performance*". Throughout this thesis I will use the term *musicking* to indicate this more inclusive view of music making.

Boyce-Tillman's early, exploratory contribution is let down however by its reliance on (current and historical) anecdotes, rather than empirical data, to make a wide range of points. It thus lacks the explanatory potential of a fully empirical investigation. The notion that music is automatically uniting is propagated with the suggestion that it is different from words that can be divisive through their ability to classify, without any discussions on the negative sides of music in this respect. Overall there is a tendency to extrapolate from personal experiences and anecdotes. The claim that church singing "*unites a society in a way that no other activity does*" (Boyce-Tillman 1996, p.210) is primarily a reflection on the author's background and not a carefully researched position on social bonding activities of Britain in the past.

Weaver (2001) has more empirical data in his thesis on music and reconciliation where he suggests seeing reconciliation between parties in a conflict as a creative process. Although an Internet survey he deploys (in 1998-99) shows frequent and casual use of music in personal conflict resolution/reconciliation, the numbers must be taken with some caution, as Walker admits, as the informants were self selected. The other data set in Weaver's work comes from five interviews with international participants at a conflict resolution course regarding their views on the use of music. When one of the informants says that "*In African tradition songs must be part of the reconciliation ritual. When we come to a roadblock in negotiations, we stop and sing. Wise men include singing. They begin reconciliation with singing.*" (Weaver 2001, p.38), we must be careful of how we interpret this. I would propose that the tradition described is an example of how music is more integral to daily lives in (sub-Saharan) Africa (Chernoff 1979) rather than proving that music is a form of conflict transformation. Such use of

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

music in conflict transformation processes therefore points to the **possibility** of music aiding conflict transformation if it fits the social groups' view and use of music.

The majority of Weaver's thesis is taken up with an "auto-ethnography" and discussion around the creation of a CD with Weavers own compositions which explores music and reconciliation. The research therefore feels more like a philosophical treatise which makes it difficult to use the findings for any broader conflict transformation work. However, Weaver still suggests a number of detailed steps that a reconciliation process might take. This highlights the problem of being too prescriptive and theory laden with limited data. In a complex and emerging field such as music and conflict transformation this is problematic: Robertson (2010 forthcoming) has discussed this issue with regards to his own work on music and conflict transformation (Robertson 2006) which had to be revised with considerably less focus on theoretical rules once empirical data had been collected in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The edited volume *People Building Peace* (European Centre for Conflict Prevention 1999) covers a wide range of peace activities on the local level. Ungerleider (1999) discusses the role of music and poetry in conflict transformation efforts in Cyprus. This is done by cataloguing artists who write peace songs or work with artists/music styles across the conflict boundaries. Although there is no in depth discussion, a telling quote reveals how the "power of music" rarely trumps political power:

*"Bands from either side [...] were in the early stages of meeting to produce and record a jointly written peace song to enter in the Eurovision contest when the bi-communal meeting ban froze all collaborative efforts."*  
(Ungerleider 1999).

In the same volume Epskamp (1999) draws on personal experience as a community artist from theatre of development as well as summaries of a number of practical music initiatives around the world to provide a list of "lessons learnt". Of particular interest is his caution that several of these lessons (do not emphasise differences, involve sub-groups, make sure people from the conflicting communities have space to mingle) are "*so obvious that their importance tends to be forgotten*". This is an important observation. Conflict transformation projects that are planned by outside organisations often ignore these simple, yet important observations. He also provides a theoretical overview of the different potential roles for visual and performing art in

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

peace building, with process based art, which includes music, deemed more suitable for community building and reconciliation.

## Music and conflict transformation: A typology

So far I have outlined the background to, and beginnings of, music use in conflict transformation contexts. Within this field the different applications of music share certain characteristics which lend themselves to a typology that will be useful as an analytical lens for viewing different music and conflict transformation projects. These categories define how music has been deployed and how participants interact with the music. They are as follows: Musicking as representation, musicking as a joint activity and musicking as an emotional tool (Bergh 2007).<sup>19</sup>

**Musicking as representation** attempts to let (a usually dominant) group A see something else than their current (stereotypical) view of group B, “the other”, through musicking. “The other” is represented by music which somehow links it to group B, which may be defined in terms of geography, age, ethnicity, religion, etc. Most multicultural projects discussed in this chapter fall into this first category.

Identities are central to multicultural projects, and within the literature on music and identity there is a general agreement that music is a major tool for identity work and not merely a reflection of existing identities (MacDonald et al. 2002). Music is a means by which social spaces, and thus identities, are negotiated (Stokes 1994). This can be in a geographically based group, for instance the Celts in Brittany (Chapman 1994), a transnationally linked group of fans, e.g. death metal fans in Bali (Baulch 2003) or different diasporic groups around the world, such as Afghani refugees living in the United States (Baily 1999). However, to claim that all music use relates to identity issues or that identity is the most important aspect of music is problematic as Negus and Velazquez (2002) has pointed out.

As identities (musical and otherwise) are an active process rather than a fixed label as discussed earlier, it will be difficult to represent a group accurately in conflict transformation projects. For instance, Croats in Croatia have regionally specific music, separating different Croatian groups inside the country, whilst Croats in Australia

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<sup>19</sup> A similar categorisation of the social functions of music has been suggested by Hargreaves and North (1999, p.72): “management of self-identity, interpersonal relationships and mood”.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

listened to what they considered Croatian music which in Croatia during the Balkan wars was seen as “Serbian” (Pettan 1997). Music taste among migrant groups may also change over generations (Bakrania 2004) or with different waves of migration (Knudsen 2004). This fluidity means that the frequent use of traditional music as **the** identity marker is a problematic choice, I will return to this in detail in my findings.

The view implicit in musicking as representation, i.e. that improved relations will result from exposure to people (and music) from groups that one is in conflict with, touches on ideas contained in the *group contact theory* developed by Allport (1954). He suggested that four conditions had to be met for prejudice (i.e. out-group stereotyping) to be reduced during such contacts: equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and authority support. Allport also points out that the contact has to be of a certain quality or intimacy; superficial contact will leave it worse than before. This often happens in multicultural projects as discussed above. Despite this perceptible connection to multicultural issues there was no evidence of this theory applied to music and conflict transformation activities in my literature review. The closest was a study where shared music preferences between groups led to more positive attitudes towards the out-group, with a similarly positive attitude expected from the out-group (Bakagiannis & Tarrant 2006).

**Musicking as a joint activity** covers events where participants actively engage with music on the physical level together. Here the forms of musicking are more restricted in that it excludes solitary listening or composing: it includes dancing, singing, playing or interacting in other ways with live music in real time. The most prominent example of this is the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, a classical orchestra with young Israeli and Arab musicians set up by the Israeli conductor Daniel Barenboim and the Palestinian academic Edward Said. Epskamp (1999) has suggested that when art is used for a practical purpose, the process is more important than the end product. In other words, joint work is more important than a perfect performance, which implies that musicking as a joint activity is more important than musicking as representation. Similarly, Lumsden and Wolfe (1996, p.50) propose that even if mass events such as rock concerts could offer forms of cathartic release post-war, “*variations permitting a much greater degree of constructive participation by large numbers of participants would be even better.*”

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Through this joint activity new relationships are expected to emerge and such affinities are discussed both in conflict transformation and music theories. Lederach (1997, p.26) highlights the importance of relationships in conflict transformation, saying that “*Relationship is the basis of both the conflict and its long-term solution.*” This connects with Small's (1998) suggestion that musicking is primarily about relationships. He sees musicking as a space where relationships are (temporarily) established, and where “ideal relationships” that participants would like to have outside the musical encounter is imagined (1998, p.13). Small suggest that the quality of musicking should be judged by whether it provides the means to “*explore, affirm and celebrate*” these relationships (1998, pp.142,215). In conflict transformation terms this would mean that music is “good” if it achieves the aim of transforming conflicts. It is therefore not surprising that research on music and conflict transformation, which I will examine below, often discusses relationships.

**Musicking as an emotional tool**<sup>20</sup> concerns a number of uses of music: (1) to induce change in participants through a single peak or cathartic musical experience; (2) by acting as a “mood regulator” for those trying to resolve a conflict or (3) through therapeutic interventions that use music, most commonly through music therapy. The use of shared music listening in a small conflict transformation workshop that resulted in a very strong emotional experience among those present (Jordanger 2006) is an example of this approach.

These categories are not mutually exclusive: a conflict transformation project may fit into more than one of these categories at different times. A multi-ethnic/multi-faith choir from Bosnia-Herzegovina that performed music from different communities (Zelizer 2004, pp.167-168) was an emotional tool for the members of the choir whilst at the same time doing joint musicking.

## Music and conflict transformation: Recent developments

When the wars in what was then Yugoslavia started in 1991, it was the first outright war activity (as opposed to terrorism or political oppression using violence) in

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20 A complete discussion on music and emotions is not possible here; for a number of discussions see (Meyer 1956; Sloboda 2005; Becker 2001; DeNora 2001; Gabrielson 2001; Juslin & Sloboda 2001; Krumhansl 1997; Balkwill 1997; Levitin 2006; Robinson 1994; Altenmuller et al. 2002; Unwin et al. 2002).

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

continental Europe since World War II. Together with the advances in telecommunications technology, which in the 1990-91 Gulf War had heralded the coming of 24 hour cable and satellite news (Schmitt 1996) it resulted in immense attention in media and amongst people in the rest of Europe. It was, in Large's (1997) words, "*the war next door*". As this was a protracted social conflicts it had considerable scope for small scale interventions either outside the areas of war or in ceasefire periods. The result was an immense number of NGOs entering Bosnia-Herzegovina (Large 1997) and working in conflict transformation related activities.

Within the former Yugoslavia frequent use has been made of music for reconciliation and conflict transformation purposes. These range from multicultural workshops involving the arts (Sultoon 2001) via music therapy with children (Ng 2005) to brass band performances drawing children from different ethnic groups with foreign visitors (Veledar 2008). Research done in Bosnia-Herzegovina by Zelizer (2003; 2004) on arts in peace building and by Haskell (2005) on cultural policy and NGOs after the war both provide some interesting views that I will discuss in detail.

Zelizer's research is an exploratory study that looks at all art forms, using empirical data from field work in Bosnia-Herzegovina rather than anecdotal evidence. His focus is on arts in so-called identity conflicts with the underlying idea that these conflicts can be resolved by broadening or transcending the identity of the participant beyond their separate and conflict-imbued group identities.<sup>21</sup>

Zelizer's focus is on the practical use of artistic processes in peace building. This is different from the "music as a tool" approach that Einarsen described in his research from Norway, although Zelizer (2003, p.71) reports that many of the projects in Bosnia-Herzegovina tended to use a similar approach as well. He refers to the two different ways of using art as "implicit" and "explicit" peace building. The implicit way of working was concerned with creating a "product", such as a performance, whereas explicit peace building was more about internal (conflict transformation) processes among the participants (Zelizer 2004, p.221). This distinction may prove to be a useful analytical tool when planning as well as executing conflict transformation activities.

With his emphasis on identity conflicts the findings focus on how the arts helped build new relationships and create new joint identities or transcend the old divisive

21 Zelizer divides his findings into arts use during and after war, I focus on the after war aspects only.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

identities among the participants. This broadening of the identity can then increase understanding and empathy between the opposing groups. However, despite some promising data, there is little in-depth discussion on how this may take place beyond some discussion of a multi-ethnic choir who had worked together for several years. Here it seems that the joint activities related to performing and rehearsing over several years helped build new inter-ethnic relationships with several participants having changed their attitudes to other groups (at least those who were represented in the choir). Whilst alluding to external factors these are not really discussed, for instance outside pressure from those who were opposed to contact across ethnic lines may have contributed towards new identities emerging in the choir.

Despite the rich data, there are many examples of sweeping suggestions being presented but never followed up or unpacked; we are told that “*Artists, by the nature of their work, can challenge existing prejudices, build bridges between diverse communities and serve as guide to higher aspirations*” (2004, p.4) but the nature of this work is never explored. These statements feel as if they tap into the “power of music” idea discussed in Chapter One, rather than emerging from his data. Similarly, and again like Weaver, he suggest that most conflict resolution work is “rational”, whereas most conflicts are said to be “irrational” (Zelizer 2003), therefore the arts can help. This definition of conflicts may seem appropriate from the outside, but to the actors involved in the conflict their actions will always seem rational. Yet even if they are irrational, how do the arts processes actually help? What work do they perform or aid?

Cohen (2005a) suggests that emotional work is the route to reconciliation after civil war, not strict rational thought. It can certainly be argued that the act of giving up hopes of revenge and forgiving former enemies is intensely emotional. However, the range of suggestions Cohen makes for reconciliation through art, all seem rooted in Western psychological notions of “the talking cure” and overall her suggestions seem too detailed, prescriptive and theory laden, where theory comes first and data second. Cohen does make a valid point in stressing that music and arts should connect with other conflict transformation type activities and take into consideration the context within which the work is done. This is something that is largely overlooked in work on music and conflict transformation, and I will discuss this in detail in Chapter Five.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

It is problematic however that all Cohen's stories of music and art “working” come from organisers’ and artists’ statements without any empirical data from participants, a problem it has in common with the majority of Zelizer's interviews. They often make statements that, as Zelizer admits, he cannot verify by seeing if the arts activities had the claimed impact on the participants. Partly this is a practical issue. It is easier to find organisers and practitioners than participants from old events. Nevertheless, positive results in inter-group behaviour and attitudes is the entire purpose of conflict transformation work. Thus this should be the focus of any research in this area. Zelizer is aware of this as he suggest that any future research should a) investigate the impact on the participants and audience (2004, p.235) and b) evaluate whether these changes also applied outside the immediate conflict transformation context (2004, p.226). These points were of particular concern to me in my research, and my findings will discuss these aspects of my empirical data in detail.

Zelizer’s missing critique (apart from a short three page appendix summarising general criticisms of conflict resolution) comes through strongest in the absence of any discussion on power issues between participants, organisers/NGOs and artists. Cohen, in a paper on the use of arts in reconciliation, has similar blind spots. On the one hand she suggests that power asymmetry when working with reconciliation is important to address. Yet her suggestion (2005a, p.8) that in “*aesthetic apprehension, the perceiver and perceived are equally weighted*” and that the arts always have some respect of the other, is rather simplistic and does not really discuss how arts activities can also involve power imbalances. Haskell (2005, p.8) who studied NGOs and international cultural aid in Bosnia-Herzegovina suggested that “*issues of power and control should be central to any study of situations which involve patronage*”. In Haskell’s fieldwork on a village and its relationship to an international NGO, she found that when funding was allocated to start a village folklore group they had to fit into the NGOs way of working. They needed to present themselves in a certain way in the funding application and also relate to concepts such as “civil society” that were imported by the NGO. This top-down way of working meant that the local people quickly adapted to the NGO agenda, and the NGO had considerable power over what groups to include or exclude based on the groups’ self presentation.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Beckles-Wilson (2007) has also discussed the issue of power in music and conflict transformation efforts with regards to the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, the Israeli and Arab youth orchestra mentioned earlier. She is mainly concerned with the negotiations of power between the instigator and conductor Barenboim and the young musicians, and shows that despite the utopian character of the orchestra (Beckles Willson 2009) it is clearly dominated by Barenboim.

Zelizer (2004, pp.8-9) ignores the fact that all the conflict transformation projects he discusses are effectively interventions when he suggests that arts and conflict resolution fall into four broad categories: *Intervention Based*, *Relationship Based*, *Social Protest* and *Creative Therapies*. Like most research on music and conflict transformation the NGO/power landscape in which the peace building takes place is not taken into consideration.

Zelizer's category of "creative therapies" has, in the guise of music therapy, become increasingly involved in peace building related work around the world, the Pavarotti Centre in Bosnia-Herzegovina being the best known. A number of recent articles by music therapists on music and war, peace, trauma and refugees (Hunt 2005; Ng 2005; Akombo 2000; Edwards 2005; Kennedy 2001; Lopez 2007) point to an increasing interest in the topic of music and conflict transformation from music therapists.

The music therapist Lopez Vinander (2007) discusses the role of music therapy and the group *Music Therapists for Peace* in conflict transformation. The emphasis here is on the spiritual side of music therapy, with a number of individual stories around the idea that music can "bypass' the mind and go straight to the heart" (2007, p.153). Although the examples often are compelling, there is little in-depth exploration of what really takes place in the various music therapy settings. There is no discussion of how the prolonged and close inter-personal contact that accompanies music therapy activities may have an additional positive affect outside the joint musicking. Whilst accepting that music is not always a universal language, she suggests that in the music therapy setting it is a universal language, but fails to discuss why this is so or what this entails. However, this universalist view is on the wane in music therapy. Bradt (1997, p.139) suggests that assuming music is universal in therapy contexts has serious ethical implications if one overrules the patients' own preferences, whereas Ansdell (2004,

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

p.68) points out that music is not a universal, but a cultural phenomenon. Overall Lopez Vinander's chapter feels like a report from an interested party who mediates anecdotal evidence, which is regrettable as music therapists can make a valuable contribution to the conflict transformation field.

Also from a music therapy background, Dunn's thesis (2008) is grounded in empirical data and provides an exploration of the potential for music use with adults in mediation situations. Such music use often focuses on children and adolescents, as Zelizer (2004, p.216) found in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This therefore has the potential to contribute new insights. Dunn is aware of any potential ethical and power issues in conflict transformation when pointing out that one must exercise caution when using musical exercises for conflict transformation, i.e. music is never without affect and effect, even if seemingly innocuous. She discusses three themes that emerge:

*“Antecedent experiences with music affect the ability to use it to address conflict”*; *“Music transforms conflict by creating common ground, eliciting physiological change, addressing feelings and thoughts, and improving communication”* and *“Musical exercises require careful consideration when used to address conflict”* (2008, p.65).

These provide some general guidelines and ideas as to how music may work. The discussions on these topics however tend to be broad and lacking in detail, to take one example, on how music can transform someone's view of a particular conflict. Here the use of writing song lyrics is discussed as a way to empathise with others and express their feelings differently (2008, p.84). But how this works beyond the practical action of writing lyrics is not explored.

Dunn's research shares the common problem of working only with organisers, in this case mediators, when gathering data. The perspectives of real mediation participants is therefore not available. Furthermore, the data comes from a single workshop with the mediators role playing or recalling conflicts, hence it is difficult to gauge whether the findings would apply to real conflicts that would be more intense and/or deeper rooted.

In recent years music therapy has started to work with and within the communities of those that require therapy, a way of working known as *Community Music Therapy* (CoMT) (Pavlicevic & Ansdell 2004). (Community) music therapy is increasingly used to deal with victims of war and torture both in one on one music therapy sessions

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

(Zharinova-Sanderson 2004), as well as groups of children (Sutton 2002). As mentioned earlier, a recent experience of violent conflict often causes further conflicts, and if local people still bear the scars of the previous war they may be more vulnerable to attempts at restarting the conflict or more prone to use violence. Music therapy can therefore play a vital role in conflict transformation efforts.

The use of music for therapeutic purposes does not necessarily follow any strict music therapy teachings (Hara 2008), e.g. a US soldier rapped about his experiences in Iraq to cope with the aftermath of his deployment there (Gilchrist 2006) and in Uganda “*One young man is playing a string instrument [...] all day long, but is too traumatised to talk about his role as a [Lord’s Resistance Army] commander*” (Mirren 2005). Music can therefore be used for therapeutic purposes, i.e. as an emotional tool, without the presence or intervention of a third party.

Post-conflict music use is not only about therapy. Refugees in particular use music for identity work, sometimes to preserve their original identity and links with the homeland, but perhaps more importantly, to “rephrase” their identity. This identity work may be about creating more inclusive identities as a part of a larger group of refugees from different backgrounds. Reyes has shown how Sudanese refugees from different ethnic groups who in Sudan would keep apart from each other, came together in church in Uganda through singing (Reyes 2006). Such work may also be about making sense of one’s new identity as refugees rather than warriors (McMahon 2005), with music providing a form of internal reconciliation. The displacement they have experienced may require innovation and changes in their music when they have migrated to far flung places (Reyes Schramm 1989; McMahon 2005) and music may be used to keep life “normal” until they can return to their home country (Baily 1999). Internally displaced people on the other hand tend to stick to their original repertoire (Bergh 2008).

Two recent books have put music more firmly on the agenda for conflict transformation. The first is a monograph by the well known peace building scholar and practitioner Lederach (cf.1997) who engaged with the question of how artists can contribute to peace building in his book *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (2005). One chapter is devoted to music and arts, within a book that is primarily philosophical in tone. A key idea in this book is that art/music “*helps us return to our humanity*” and it is suggested that peace builders should see themselves as

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

artists. A number of avenues are explored with regards to art and conflict resolution, However, there are no attempts at trying to open the “black box” of the artistic episodes he describes and trying to understand what happens around these aesthetic experiences.

Lederach is explicit about the fact that he relies on anecdotes when discussing music and arts, which is a valid approach to illustrate certain points. However, the focus on anecdotes has the effect of isolating the music/arts from its context, making it appear as though the artistic incident was solely responsible for changes that occurred. This is seen when he discusses a *griot*<sup>22</sup> using traditional song and dance to call for the presidents of Burkina Faso and Mali to make peace during the *Agacher war* in 1985 (Cooper 2004; Adeniji 1997). Lederach describes how mediation efforts had failed to stop the conflict, then relates how the presidents “*shed tears and embraced publicly*” and promised not return to war (Doe and Bombande, 2002:164 quoted in Lederach 2005, p.155). Later a peace agreement was signed and it has been honoured since. What Lederach does not mention is that the countries purchased weapons abroad but ran out of money in their local arms race (Cooper 2004) and that the regional organisation ANAD arranged a ceasefire (Adeniji 1997) before international arbitration settled the border dispute (Cooper 2004). So even if the emotional reaction to the griot took place, which I have no reason to disbelieve, the artistic incident is exaggerated in its overall importance by ignoring the complex context of peace making between two the countries.

The general approach to current writings on music and conflict transformation can be summed up with this quote from Lederach (2005, p.22) on peace building in general: “*Ours are professions afflicted with a proclivity toward the promise of great change. [...] Our rhetoric comes easy.*” In itself this is not a problem, but when we remember the context of a profession where individuals and organisations from wealthy, late modern countries are free to, at will, travel the world to engage in peace building, then such an attitude can affect war torn and poor communities disproportionately. Therefore one person’s mystical and poetic views on music can become the less powerful person’s concrete reality that they have to yield to in their everyday life if they are involved in conflict transformation projects organised by outsiders. Thus “easy rhetoric” about “the power of music” can be a power issue.

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22 Traditional praise singer, poet and reciter of local history, common in West Africa.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

This rhetoric is often reproduced and intermittently critiqued in the edited volume *Music and Conflict Transformation* (Urbain 2007). The collection of articles warrants a detailed treatment as it attempts to move the music and conflict transformation field forward through debates around different aspects of music, conflict, conflict transformation and peace.

The emotional side of music in conflict transformation is discussed by Jordanger (2007) with an account of a dialogue seminar on the North Caucasus conflict that used a music therapy technique called *guided imagery*. This is done by playing recorded music and asking participants to focus on images that occur. Jordanger contextualises the music use within the dialogue seminar and provides a clear background of the conflict. This clarifies music's role in the particular conflict transformation event, which is important. He further explains how a minute of silent remembrance for victims of recent terror attacks was requested before the music session started. This clearly constituted extra-musical cueing (DeNora 2000) which would influence the common mood. This project is therefore an example of music as an emotional tool. The joint group experience during a "sad" song is described as a musical peak experience, and it is suggested that the music session caused a feeling of *collective vulnerability*. It is theorised that this opened up avenues of creativity which aided further conflict transformation efforts. It is not explored whether music **caused** the major emotions, or simply provided a space for it, by interrupting other activities and allowing the participants some quiet time for reflection. The research provides some valuable first hand data, albeit reported and interpreted by the organiser. However, when the author suggests that a number of post-seminar activities were caused by the collective vulnerability experienced during the music session we again see how 30 minutes of music is emphasised as the primary cause of changes when the dialogue seminar itself took place over several days.

The prevalent notion that music is a universal language is avoided in this book, instead we have an insightful chapter by Cohen (2007) that raises some very valid concerns in the conflict transformation arena with regards to the problem of assuming that music is a universal language. She points out that this belief can lead to music being used in a superficial manner, as I discussed above with regards to multicultural music use. This superficiality can offend participants due to lack of proper respect and/or

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

context for the music being deployed, or it can lead to a certain temporary affinity being created between groups without the underlying issues in the conflict being properly addressed. She raises a very important point when she mentions that music in conflict transformation is most useful not when appealing to something universal, but rather the specific meanings that arise from a piece of music's position in a given historical and cultural tradition.

Outside of specific mentions of music being used for obviously negative purposes there is a tendency towards a somewhat naïve acceptance of music as conflict transformation in various contexts. Thus when Skyllstad (2007a, p.127) quotes Jones saying "*Music plays an important role in keeping the peace behind bars*" or Boyce-Tillman (2007, pp.47-48) discusses the use of local African music for Christian worship, only positive aspects of music use are inferred. However, these cases (among others) can also be seen as attempts to manipulate and control people through music, a frequent use for music (cf. Brown & Volgsten 2006). Furthermore, possible power issues between participants and musicians/organisers are never examined. Musicians are implicitly seen to be neutral and altruistic without personal ulterior motives that might lead them to chose conflict transformation activities.

The phrase "power of music" (and variants of it) is deployed 22 times in the book, but as usual this is never examined and mostly we are asked to take on face value any success stories that are reported, often as secondary anecdotes. Overall there is scant reference to more in-depth and relevant literature on conflict transformation, which means that music is often isolated from the wider debates and discussions in the field.

The key problem with the book is that, as so often in this field, we hear nothing from the participants (apart from in Boyce-Tillmans chapter on music in education which provides a selection of quotes from participants). They are excluded in a number of ways. Several chapters concentrate on ethnographies of individual musicians who have taken a stance for peace in different situations. In general these focus on musicians interacting with different musical forms, which are assumed to lead to peace (as when Yair Dalal mix Arabic and Jewish music). Some chapters use anecdotes to highlight music and conflict transformation episodes, but does not explore how and why music affected a change. At other times the participants are shadowy figures that are mentioned, but their reactions to the music is reported and analysed by the

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

author/researcher as the expert without the participants' direct feedback, as happens when the lyrics of prisoners in Norway are analysed by Skyllstad (2007b). The "author-organiser" entity is also present in this volume, Jordanger, Cohen, Palieri, Skyllstad, Boyce-Tillman and Lopez-Vinander all elaborate on work where they, as organisers, gauge and mediate the participants responses. Overall this makes it impossible to provide evidence that music actually mattered in conflict transformation projects, and if so, how did it matter?

Boyce-Tillman (2009) has drawn on a number of the chapters in this book to provide a theoretical discussion what she calls the "transformative qualities" of the liminal space of musical experiences. She pulls together a wide range of theorists to suggest a model for how musicking can help in transformation, although not necessarily only conflict transformation. The model has a mixture of spiritual and pragmatic elements, with the pragmatic of most interest to me: Musicking provides a liminal space that is still linked to everyday life, a loss of boundaries occurs in this space and people can try out new personas. However, the model is somewhat sketchy. There are suggestions that one enters the space with problematic issues and leaves with them changed, but these suggestions gloss over the problem of how deep anchoring practices can possibly be altered during a short musical event. Lumsden (1999, p.11) discussed, from a psychological point of view, similar issues with regards to post-war trauma, suggesting that there is a "zone" between the personal and social world which is where "culture" and "play" take place and where various activities, such as music, can play a role in helping societies and individuals recover from the trauma of war. Lumsden emphasises that these creative arts activities need to be brought into the communities for them to have an effect, which is suggestive of the joint musicking activities I outlined as one approach within music and conflict transformation.

## Music and conflict transformation: A critique

My review of the current literature on music and conflict transformation revealed several prevalent issues that affect both the execution of, and research on, music based conflict transformation projects. These problems will inform my own research and analysis in the field.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

**The participants views are rarely heard directly:** In most research on music and conflict transformation only musicians and organisers are interviewed, and they tend to report success. Musicians are seen as impartial, and quotes by them are taken as proof of music's effectiveness. This focus on musicians implies that any positive changes are bestowed (at will) upon participants by gifted musicians and the participant-music interactions are rarely interrogated.

**Music's role is exaggerated or taken out of context:** My literature review confirms the hype around music to be a continuing problem also amongst academics: *"The arts by nature hold significant power to transform individuals and societies"* (Zelizer 2004, p.59); *"Our thesis requires us to explore the survival of the artist's genius and gift in the lands of violence."* (Lederach 2005, p.5); Thus sweeping statements are made without any proof or further discussion and transformations are assumed to be available through magic moments of intense change. There are rarely any discussions as to how long such changes may last or how it can be used to improve the everyday conflict situation outside of the musical intervention.

**Power issues amongst actors are generally overlooked:** It is obvious that the power wielded by NGOs and (visiting) artists is largely ignored in writings on music in this field. Yet there is clearly an imbalance in power between organisers and participants. Zelizer (2004, p.156) has highlighted this: *"Much of the arts-based peacebuilding related work is part of the huge post-war investment of international funds and expertise to support extensive humanitarian and peacebuilding work"* and Haskell (2005) suggested that power and control should be central concerns to any inquiry in this area. As a weaker party may prefer to "play along" with what they assume the stronger party wants, partly out of deference, partly to avoid trouble (Munch 1964), it is important both for practitioners and researchers to pay attention to power issues (Assal 2002).

**Evaluations are geared towards claiming success, not exploring what took place and how music may work:** Evaluations are central to conflict transformation projects where outsiders are involved, a successful evaluation may be the key to further funding for NGOs or future work for musicians. Various forms of evaluations are also what support claims of music's effectiveness as a tool for conflict transformation.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

The review of the existing literature indicates that evaluations fail basic academic criteria for reliability for a number of interlocking reasons. In addition to the three points above, frequently occurring concerns include: evaluations that are done by organisers and authority figures; the assumption that any changes inside a short term project automatically affect the participants' lifeworlds in the long term; positive changes are assumed to come solely from music use and little attention is paid to the context; anecdotal evidence is seen as "proof" and personal experiences of music are extrapolated to apply to entire societies.

These concerns all link back to a single issue: the tendency to interpret and observe the use of music in conflict transformation in a distinct top-down manner. As with conflict transformation in general, this causes problems as it fails to thoroughly understand any conflict transformation processes that may occur through music.

## Summary

In this literature review I have situated music within the discipline of, and research on, conflict transformation and conflicts. I have explained how developments over the past sixty years in late modern countries have resulted in today's situation where conflict transformation is an occupation often situated within the larger field of development. This occupation is mostly filled by NGO workers from countries outside the conflict areas. Music has emerged as an activity in modern conflict transformation efforts over the past ten to twenty years, within the psycho-social space that opened up when practitioners started dealing with the aftermath of protracted social conflicts.

Music and conflict transformation is, as I have pointed out, a nascent field in academic research. This research has so far been overburdened by a relatively uncritical view of the field. Discussions on the topic often tap into romantic discourses to explain how music has been successful in conflict transformation projects. This means that the field has yet to develop any discerning views on the activity of music use in conflict transformation. It relies instead on lay theories and "common sense" comprehension of what music is and what it does.

However, if music is to play an active role in aiding conflict transformation efforts, we need to increase our understanding of how it works, which is best done by critical and in depth research that looks at all aspects of the musical intervention, not

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

only the musical events. This, I hope, is where this thesis can make a contribution to the field. Music, conflict and conflict transformation should not be seen as reified concepts with lives of their own: they are all the result of people (inter)acting, individually or in groups. They are dynamic, messy and complex. This is rarely captured in existing research which tends to present “input” and “output” as neat and detached narratives, unburdened by context.

Cohen (2007, pp.37-38) provides a number of useful and important questions that people who want to use music cross-culturally should ask, based on Anderson's (2004) “do no harm” concept mentioned earlier:

- *“Is it possible to extend the positive effects of musical encounters into political and social life? If so, how?”*
- *“Can arts projects be linked with other peace building efforts so that emotional, cognitive, and relational gains can be connected to political, economic, and ongoing cultural projects?”*
- *“What are the dynamics of power present among those involved in the project and among the various cultures and communities involved?”*
- *“Who benefits (politically, economically) from cultural forms when they are lifted out of context.”*
- *“How can we minimize the risk of reinforcing an inequitable status quo by creating short term ‘good feelings’ with no contribution to substantive or lasting change?”*

These are all questions that my research will attempt to answer, if not in full, then at least in part for future research to follow up. More broadly Zelizer (2004, p.219) has suggested that:

*“One of the questions that needs to be addressed in future research is mapping out more concretely what types of changes do arts-based processes result in, in the emotional and cognitive spheres and community circles?”.*

This is a question that can only be answered by empirical data that is grounded in the lifeworlds of participants in the conflict transformation efforts. The lack of such empirical data in most existing research is the common denominator in the four main points I outlined in my critique above. My research attempts to tackle these issues by focusing on the impressions and experiences of those who were the “target” of music projects some time after the projects were over and by letting participants explain their experiences on their own terms, not through an intermediary. In the next chapter I will discuss the research methods that were used to accomplish this aim, how I located my

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

informants and how these methods helped me work with the informants to obtain relevant data that will help fill the gaps identified in the literature. The findings emerging from this data will be discussed in detail in chapters four to six.

## Chapter 3: Methods

### Background

“How can music be used for conflict transformation?” This was my core research question when I first started my Ph.D. This chapter will discuss not only my methods, why they were chosen and how I applied them, but also how the question itself changed as my research was shaped by the methods chosen.

As discussed in the introductory chapter, the discourse around music and its effect(s) tends toward hyperbole. In my literature review I argued that the writings from the field of music and conflict transformation often exacerbate this problem by continuing the discourse and basing reports on anecdotal evidence or the views of organisers and/or musicians.

I realised that I would need to confront this problem head on by going beyond self reporting by interested parties and gain a deeper understanding of what takes place in conflict transformation events where music is used. For example, what were the organisers' aims, and did it match the participants' own aims and experiences and fulfil their expectations? To do this I had to explore the (musical) experiences of different groups involved: organisers, musicians, participants. After some reflection I also realised that my fieldwork should ideally cover events that were not in the present or immediate past, but some time ago. This approach benefited my research as I got a more considered view from the participants of what had taken place with, quite literally, the benefit of hindsight. (A similar approach was taken by Berkaak and Ruud (1994) in their ethnography of a local Norwegian rock band who fifteen years after they started a rock band as 12 year old schoolchildren were able to provide both factual data and reflections upon the role and meaning of music in their life.) By researching past projects I also ensured that I did not interrupt or affect ongoing conflict transformation work, a key ethical concern. Finally, I needed a solid understanding of the surrounding “landscapes” that conflict transformation projects took place in, partly to understand why the narratives from the different actors may diverge and partly to contextualise my data.

## Aims and methods

Once these aims were identified there were a number of issues that steered me towards certain research methods: Firstly, as a researcher I subscribe to an interpretivist/constructivist view of the social world (Swingewood 2000). This position emphasises that humans attach meanings to what we do and observe and, unlike physical objects, we are affected by being researched, the so-called Hawthorne effect (Kercher & Kosloski 2000, p.2325). This may in fact be one of the reasons for overly positive feedback when music and conflict transformation projects have been evaluated. This is a natural human tendency of wanting to “get on” and play the role allocated to us as Goffman (1990) has discussed in general terms, thus introducing what is known as the “auspices bias”. This is the circumstance whereby informants’ responses are formulated to “please” the known (or suspected) sponsor of the research, rather than putting forward their own opinions.

To overcome such issues we require different research tools than the quantitative methods of natural sciences (Bryman 2004, pp.11-13). Although it is possible to create indicators of abstract concepts and collect large data sets (De Vaus 2002, pp.43-57); such quantification tends to impoverish the rich understanding that people have of their lifeworlds. Furthermore, I believe that when studying social groups “[...] *the researcher is the instrument*” (Rossman & Marshall 1999, p.766); in other words the researcher acts in many ways as a tool (albeit a tool with considerable agency) that builds relationships to help informants delve into and reflect upon aspects of their lifeworlds. The researcher, together with a purposive sample of informants (Miles & Huberman 1994, p.27), can in this manner uncover subtle, yet important aspects about a social phenomenon. One example of this relates to research on the identity building among Balinese trash metal fans (Baulch 2003). In this study the researcher not only looked at identities, but also gained an understanding from the music fans regarding how they oriented themselves towards a global music scene, yet chose local modes of resistance to authority that were appropriate for their situation. This led me to realise that a research partnership with the **participants** in music project, rather than those who organised the projects, would be of key importance to me when trying to unravel the discourse on the “power of music” discussed earlier: What did the people whose livelihood and prestige did not depend on this “power” think of it? How did they

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

process and make sense of it from their viewpoint, rooted as it was in the mundane and non-powerful? This led me to considering primarily qualitative methods, with their emphasis on in-depth data from, and about, a small number of subjects. This also allowed me to engage in participant observation when required.

To achieve my aim of understanding the conflict transformation as experienced by the participants, their views needed to come into focus. These views are rarely heard in evaluations, or if it they are, there is an unacknowledged disadvantageous power relationship with organisers as discussed in the literature review. It is quite common for children for instance to “[...] respond with what they think researchers want to hear, particularly in one-to-one interviews” (Moore et al. 2008, p.87). This turned out to be the case in Norway, where I talked to former pupils 13 years after the project I researched was finished. When children had previously responded to adults in the Norwegian project it led them to believe certain things that may not have been accurate. For example, a teacher at one school said about the children's original reaction to the project: *“It wasn't, I think, that they thought, great that we escape teaching and do something else, I don't think so.”* The former pupils however would provide a very different account: *“I think we kind of saw it as a bit of time off or at least time off from the usual routines of the school day.”*

This meant that in my research I would need to be accepted by my informants as someone who was not in a superior position, but rather someone they could trust with a frank disclosure; give informants time and space to reflect on what happened during the conflict transformation events; try to obtain an insight into their lifeworlds at the time of the events, in particular their relationships to “out-groups” (as changing these relationships is the key purpose of conflict transformation); understand their individual and social relationship to music and finally, understand how they viewed the conflicts that were to be transformed. In short I would take advantage of the fact that:

*“actors are always engaged in the business of mapping the 'social context' in which they are placed, thus offering the analyst a full-blooded theory of what sort of sociology they should be treated with.” (Latour 2005, p.32).*

Using this process and being able to accept the rich self-understanding amongst social actors meant that I was able to engage in short, intense periods of ethnographic research while still reaching my goals as I will discuss later.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

In recent years there have been a number of interesting and successful studies in the field of music sociology in particular, that have employed a variety of qualitative methods. It has been suggested that:

*"[...] music sociologists often highlight the shared cognition that lies behind and enables musical life, thereby unpacking tacit assumptions that their earlier counterparts sometimes overlooked. [They] routinely explicate how musical life is embedded in larger contexts, [...] their explanations now emphasize the evolving interaction that occurs between musical life and its contexts." (Dowd 2002, p.1)*

This has come through clearly in a range of recent work e.g.: McCormick (2009) who also focused on participants' understanding of musical events, in her case concerto competitions; DeNora (2002) on music use in intimate encounters; research by Batt-Rawden (2006) that has investigated the use of music for health promotion, studies of the use of music therapy in old people's homes in Japan (Hara 2008) and inquiries into how fans of certain types of music "perform" to showcase their taste (Hennion 2001). These examples have in common a curiosity and openness towards our use of and relationship(s) to music, and an acceptance that we will never succeed in understanding what role music plays in people's lives unless we let the "users" speak for themselves. In each of these endeavours qualitative research opened up new avenues of understanding to the researcher through the rich, multilayered data they obtained. These avenues would remain closed if they had used quantitative methods as they tend to focus on simple responses even to complex questions, which result in the informants' responses being "boxed" in by tick boxes and one line responses.

More generally, research on music use undertaken by music psychologists, (new) musicologists, music sociologists and music therapists have all to some extent moved towards more qualitative methods to understand music in the context of peoples' everyday lives. This has been done through methods such as autobiographical research that has asked people about important early life experiences with music listening (Sloboda 2005, pp.181-188), or through ethnographies of music making in immigrant communities (Knudsen 2004). Such studies have been done very much in response to what is perceived as the *"sterile opposition between theoretical and empirical programs"* (Hennion 2003, p.83). In other words, we now see that isolated laboratory experiments where students listen to Western classical music is not sufficient to understand the role(s) of music in people's lives.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

For these reasons qualitative methods seemed appropriate for the majority of my research: The rich data they can elicit offer researchers a detailed understanding of social events that comes from the informant's, rather than the researcher's, point of view. This was particularly important in the type of exploratory work that my research entailed; music and conflict transformation is a new and under-researched field where little is understood about the processes at "work". I also decided to utilise other research methods, if required in the field, to confirm certain findings or to expand my understanding of the contexts which my informants discussed. One example of this was a short survey I did in Sudan. This gave me the flexibility that field work requires and as "[...] *music sociologists frequently take an eclectic approach to their task, drawing on a variety of theories and/or disciplines.*" (Dowd 2002, p.1) I was not alone in making such a decision.

## Summary of fieldwork sites and methods used

With the aims of my research decided upon, and the broad methodological issues settled, the task of finding fieldwork sites started. Once they were selected, it also became clearer what particular qualitative methods I would need to use. Thus there was a flexible interplay between methods and sites. Below is a summary of how and why I selected my sites of research, with a discussion on the core method that was used and why certain methods were not used. I also discuss how I augmented the core method used through a strategy of using multiple methods for data collection when appropriate (Moran-Ellis et al. 2006).

At an early stage I decided that I wanted more than one fieldwork site, and that these sites should be very different, geographically and musically. By gathering data from two different social groups with different levels of musical specialisation and social stratification I hoped to see what practices, ideas and tool kits such different societies had regarding the use of music to influence people's views of each other. The intention behind this was not to perform a comparative study directly as for instance Slobin did with micro-musics around the world (Slobin 1992). Rather I wanted to have more material available to "think with" when it came to analysing and understanding the processes that take place when music is used for conflict transformation purposes. In other words, two sites would provide exploratory data with which to develop some

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

broader ideas, and, ideally, prevent me from becoming caught up in assumptions that would be the result of local customs and habitats (mine or the informants') pertinent only to one location. If common themes emerged I would be in a better position to discuss these and make suggestions for future research in that area. Therefore the two sites were meant to provide breadth rather than direct comparison, and breadth would enrich my overall analysis. A similar approach has been used with benefit by Eyerman and Jamison (1998) when looking at social movements' use of music around the world and by Corte and Edwards (2008) in their research on White Power music.

When looking for fieldwork opportunities, a key aim was to find cases where the active use of music was clearly delineated (even if it was still a part of everyday life) and involved members of at least two social groups that were involved in a relationship that had clear conflictual elements. It was also important that the music use involved these groups in forms of "social behaviour", in other words that the music stimulated social interactions between the participants (Davidson 2004).

Through networking, literature and Internet searches I found two likely candidates for investigation. The first was a multicultural project in Norway which attempted to reduce hostility towards recent immigrants by exposing pupils in a number of schools to music from the home countries of the immigrants. It was running from 1989 to 1992 and was an example of musicking as representation (Bergh 2007, p.149) as mentioned in my literature review. Because it had taken place some years ago within a clearly defined project it would fulfil my aims as outlined above. In 2005 I was able to meet with the original evaluator from Norway who had since done a number of presentations on the project. He was very generous in not only providing me with material, but also pointing me in the direction of other academics who had researched his own and similar work. On a practical level, as I am Norwegian myself, my fieldwork in Norway would benefit from my own tacit knowledge of local social mores.

As I was particularly interested in music use after conflicts that had been openly violent, I looked further afield for my second site. After discussions with Professor Herman Bell who originally assisted me in starting my PhD, I chose Sudan, primarily because a civil war in the South and East had recently ended (in 2005) and furthermore, music plays a very important role in everyday life in Sudan. It would therefore provide an ideal research site. In addition Herman Bell had lived in Sudan for long periods since

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

the 1950s and had extensive knowledge of the country and we were able to discuss over a few months possible research sites. Two early possibilities were discarded. One was the dispossessed Nubian community who often use improvised song and poetry in communal gatherings and express anger towards the government in song but not in action. I felt that this form of conflict transformation was too abstract for what I wanted. A second option, to look at music in the Nuba mountains where there had been intense warfare, was also deemed inappropriate. Partly it is very inaccessible and partly it was not clear how music might be used there for conflict transformation as we had no recent, direct information available.

Eventually I decided on a refugee settlement in eastern Sudan based on information from an international NGO that described their use of traditional music from different displaced groups for development and peace building purposes in a project in 2003.<sup>23</sup> As is often the case with fieldwork, the story that emerged once I started my research in Sudan was more interesting than my initial information indicated, and I will return to this in detail later. It was then decided that Herman Bell would travel with me to Sudan and through his extensive network help me contact academics who could be of assistance. He also put me in touch with Dr. Muhammed Jalal Hashim before we went there. We had already met in Oxford earlier. Dr. Hashim was informed about what I wanted to do in Sudan and ended up helping me with all the practical aspects in Sudan from obtaining travel permits to doing translations.

As this was an exploratory study in a relatively new field it was not possible nor practical to find a truly representative sample (Fielding & Gilbert 2002, pp.226-228), nor was an entirely random sample (De Vaus 2002, pp.91-92) desirable. My aims were (a) to focus on participants, (b) to make sure I had information from participants representing more than one side in the conflict in question and (c) to obtain additional information from musicians and organisers. Thus, both in Norway and Sudan, I aimed for naturally occurring diversity in my sample, along the same lines as earlier research on Sudanese refugees in Cairo (Coker 2004). My overarching sampling method was therefore purposive sampling (Palys 2008) within each of my three groups of informants: participants, musicians and organisers. I used a variety of sampling techniques. (Semi)random sampling was used when larger groups of potential

<sup>23</sup> To keep the organisation anonymous I will not cite the web page. I will refer to this organisation as DevOrg throughout this thesis.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

informants were available. With smaller groups or when only one person was initially available I used snowball sampling practices (Bryman 2004, pp.100-101), that is, the first informant suggested other possible informants who were then contacted and so on. Overall these sampling methods gave me a rich and varied list of informants who together filled in different parts of the research puzzle.

### **Fieldwork site 1: Norway**

I will discuss the projects and fieldwork sites I investigated in detail in the next chapter. Here I will provide a brief description for the purpose of discussing my sample chosen and methods used.

The Norwegian music and conflict transformation project (known as *Resonant Community*) took place in several schools in and around Oslo between 1989 and 1992. It was a multicultural project aimed at promoting understanding between ethnic Norwegians<sup>24</sup> and recent immigrants and thus combating racism. Research in this area is relatively common with investigations ranging from the role of music among first generation immigrants (Knudsen 2004; Bergh 1995), music in the intersection between immigrants and non-immigrants (Lundberg et al. 2000; Bradley 2006) and the use of music in second and third generations in the diaspora, such as the Asian-British youth in the UK (Bergh & Banerji 1987; Bakrania 2004; Chatterjee 2000).

My informants were from three groups involved in the project: ethnic Norwegian pupils and pupils with an immigrant background (the 1989 year four cohort was involved for the duration of the project); musicians and organisers (including teachers). Music was used in a school setting primarily through concerts that the pupils attended and/or participated in. I chose three schools based on different demographic criteria: School 1 was in an affluent suburb just outside Oslo, School 2 was in the countryside 50 kilometres north of Oslo, and School 3 was in a densely populated inner city part of Oslo. At the time of the original project School 2 had no pupils with an immigrant background, School 1 had only one (later two) pupils with non ethnic Norwegian background (including one of my informants, a half Gambian girl), and at School 3 approximately 40%<sup>25</sup> of the pupils had an immigrant background (including three of my

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24 This is a translation of the official term used in Norway to indicate the dominant Caucasian ethnic group.

25 This number is based on information from informants.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

ten informants). In addition one teacher from school 2 and one from school 3 and two of the organisers of the project were interviewed, one in depth, the other casually. Four of the performers, all based in Norway at the time of the project, were also interviewed. Three were adults at the time of the project; a dancer and a musician from India, and a dancer/musician from the Ivory Coast. In addition a Norwegian-Pakistani female singer who was 14 years old at the time of the project was interviewed.

From school 1 I first made contact through a social networking site with a former pupil from the class a year above the cohort involved in the project. She remembered the project even though she was not participating and put me in touch with a friend in the relevant class who gave me names of others in the same class to contact. From school 2 a participant from the project responded to an ad I placed on a local radio and gave me further names to contact. In both these places I followed standard snowball sampling practices, and only one pupil from school 1 declined to participate. I managed to obtain the complete class list from school 3 and from this I found current contact details for 14 pupils, those were selected using random sampling. Out of these 2 declined participation (both from a South Asian immigrant background), the rest joined, 3 from an immigrant background and 7 ethnic Norwegians. The former pupils were all 26-27 years old at the time of their interviews with me. For full details of my informants in Norway see Appendix C.

## **Fieldwork site 2: Sudan**

Before arriving in Sudan some preliminary work had been done by my local contact, Dr. Hashim. However, upon arrival I was told that according to the local understanding of what I was looking for, nothing suitable was available. The reason for this was that there had been no direct contact between me and Dr. Hashim and as a result the "definition" of music and conflict transformation was not entirely clear. In addition the people that had been contacted at the NGO who ran the project I wanted to study were not aware of that particular project, as it was a relatively small project. However, after a frantic 24 hours of negotiations, visits to NGOs and telephone calls all parties clearly understood what I was looking for. On the second day in Khartoum talks with the head of the NGO whose project I had seen described on their website, made it clear that it was eminently suitable for my research. He also kindly offered for me and

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Dr. Hashim to stay in the NGOs guest house in Kassala where a number of their employees also lived. This was done without any conditions of any kind. After this it was necessary to obtain local travel permits (the country was still in a partial state of war with military checkpoints throughout), and arrange practical aspects of my stay in Kassala, a town in eastern Sudan where the fieldwork site was located. Overall I spent one week in Kassala, and a week before and after this in Khartoum to prepare practical aspects of the fieldwork and meet people who had been involved in the NGO's project in Kassala.

The music and conflict transformation activities that I wanted study took place in Wau Nour, a settlement outside Kassala. It is made up of many different ethnic groups that were internally displaced by the civil war (in recent years members of local ethnic groups have also joined the settlement). Some of these groups had at times been involved on different sides in the civil war. Music was here initially used in a local, everyday setting, involving the whole community, but in more recent time a music project organised by the NGO for development purposes took place there.

My informants were a number of "ordinary" people from the settlement (equivalent to the participants in Norway); politicians and civic leaders in the settlement; three people from the NGO that was involved with music use there and a number of musicians from the settlement. The latter represented three out of 12 music bands present in Wau Nour, from the Nuba Mountains, the Krongo ethnic group and Azande ethnic group. In Khartoum I also interviewed a member of the national folklore band who had gone to Wau Nour to train people in the NGO run music project. I also spoke to people at the NGOs headquarters. Overall I interviewed approximately<sup>26</sup> forty people ranging from 11 to 60 years old.

The primary means of selecting participants was a combination of purposive sampling and snowball sampling based on discussions that went through the local schoolmaster and a couple of the elders in the settlement. They were thus the "gate keepers" (Bryman 2004, p.298) for my access to the community, but at no point was I stopped from talking to anyone, nor did I have any particular informant pushed on me. However, outside the context of concert audiences or interviews with music groups I

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26 In Wau Nour people would join in and wander off during interviews, so exact numbers are not possible.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

was mainly introduced to males, who form around 2/3 of my sample. Random sampling was also used to select people from concerts and football matches. For full details of my informants in Sudan see Appendix C.

### **Benefits of two fieldwork sites**

The two sites each provided different angles to my research: Norway is a fairly typical example of a high income industrialised country with a (generally) non-violent conflict between the existing population and recent immigrants. Sudan on the other hand represented a violent protracted social conflict (Azar et al. 1978; Ramsbotham 2005) with a large degree of ethno-politics involved. Norway is a society where music is taken out of everyday life and only a minority consider themselves to be “musicians”, just as the case is in Britain (Sloboda 2001). In Sudan, as in most of sub-Saharan Africa, music is still very much a part of everyday life and a core cultural and communal expression for most people there (Chernoff 1979). The cases I studied both gave me the longitudinal angle I discussed earlier. This enabled my informants to perform a reflexive evaluation of what had happened and I was able to see how the music related experiences had influenced participants' lives and social relations through the years (if at all). It also gave me access to the different sides both in the conflict itself (in- and out-groups) and the conflict transformation work (organisers, musicians, participants). Hence I was able to accomplish the aims described in the introduction to this chapter.

## Methods

One particular research method that I considered early on for my fieldwork was the action research method (Batt-Rawden 2006) which would seem ideal, as it “[...] involves researchers and participants working together to examine a problematic situation or action to change it for the better” (Wadsworth 1998, quoted in Kindon et al. 2008, p.1). However, this approach would cause problematic ethical issues concerning the participants welfare as I would introduce people who were in conflict with each other and would not have resources to provide follow up when problems occurred. Furthermore, action research (and participant observation) were ruled out partly by my intent to study projects from some time back, and partly because most research in this field have been of an interventionist nature, uncomfortably mixing the roles of practitioner and evaluator as discussed before.

Hence my core data gathering method was semi structured ethnographic interviews in both locations. Ethnographic interviews have become a very common research method in the past three to four decades (Hammersley 2001). Their popularity as a method owes much to the richness of data they allow the researcher to access in an “interactive” manner (Charmaz 2006). In my case it helped elicit enough data to provide a “thick description” (Maxwell & Mittapalli 2008) of what had taken place, and thus making sure that the accounts of the music and conflict transformation events could provide answers to my questions about it from the informants point of view (Charmaz 2006, pp.18-19). Ethnographic interviews are a common research method in anthropology and ethnomusicology. In recent years it has been favoured by many sociologists and even in musicology (Clarke & Cook 2004; Tomlinson 2003). It has often been used in research that focus on music's role in people's daily life (DeNora 2000; Greasley 2006; Crafts et al. 1993; Walser 1993) or the networks that enable/form around musicking (Gomart & Hennion 1999). This gave me some ideas for my own research and provided “tools of the trade” (DeNora 2004) that were useful in thinking about and planning my research.

The semi-structured interview format I chose allowed for a “co-production” of the research by informants who may engage reflexively with the researcher (Knapik 2006). The term co-production here indicates that neither the informant nor the researcher “finds” the data in isolation. It is a result of a rich, and largely sympathetic, interaction

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

between the two. Such co-production may happen through objections by the informant to the researchers interpretation of statements or events (Tanggaard 2008). One should be careful however, as Hammersley (2001, pp.13-15,91) points out, not to assume that an(y) ethnographic account automatically provides insights into social phenomenon . Like any data it requires contextualising and analysis. In my case I contextualised the data by collecting additional material from the projects (reports, promotional material, videos, correspondence, etc.) and by doing preliminary research into the communities and conflicts before I did my interviews.

The benefits of the semi-structured ethnographic interview method became clear early on, when in Norway my informants provided lucid and compelling narratives that challenged the official report from the project (Skylstad 1992) and provided a more sober evaluation of what had taken place. For instance whereas the report spoke about “peak experiences” (Skylstad 1992, pp.8,17,37,50,79) one of my informants when asked what he thought about the music in the project said rather matter-of-factly that:

*“For us it was like going on an excursion to a power station. Same thing, we just did it because it was interesting, not because we were told that it should create bonds to anyone or achieve something.”*

### **Methods in Norway**

In practical terms, in Norway my interviews lasted from thirty minutes to almost three hours, most informants were interviewed alone, occasionally informants were interviewed in groups of two or three. A friendly and open atmosphere was established by being forthright about my project: I explained what the aim had been of the original project (this was not explained to the pupils originally), and what the aim was of my dissertation. I never encountered any problems or refusal to respond to questions and I was several times asked to pass on greetings to former classmates or teachers. All meetings took place in their homes or in cafés and pubs (except for the organisers who were interviewed in their place of work). The decision of where to meet was always left up to the informants, a common practise in similar research (Batt-Rawden 2006; Hara 2008; DeNora 2000). During interviews the informants background and current status was established before asking open ended questions around the project, their memories of it and of school in general, and what they liked or disliked about it in practical and musical terms. I did not attempt to gauge or measure their attitudes towards other ethnic

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

groups. To decide on relevant indicators and obtain such sensitive and possibly contested data accurately would be present considerable difficulties methodologically. Instead I focused on the projects' ability to engage the children and whether the performances achieved the aim of connecting the music to the wider immigrant community.

By keeping the interviews semi-structured I gave informants and myself ample scope for following up on interesting comments and narratives that emerged. For instance, when interviewing a Pakistani-Norwegian woman who had performed as part of the project when she was 14, she started discussing how people tended to project their own ethnic identity onto her:

*"[...]some of the black kids thought that I might be like mixed race and have some black in me. Most of the white kids thought I was tanned, but I was white. [Right]. And the Asian kids thought I was Asian."*

a rich topic I let her follow before we returned to the music side of the interview. I sometimes made references to the report that had been written about the project (Skylstad 1992) to seek clarification on different points. Following each interview the key passages were summarised in memos or emails to my supervisor and recordings were consulted to verify key quotes and re-examine themes that had come up. Over time my questions also changed, so an initial question asking *"What did your family think about it?"* turned out to be of less interest. No-one ever discussed it with their family, so this was dropped, at the same time I realised that the perception and reception of African music was important, and I focused more on this area.

During my interviews and the following analysis, I was careful to check for issues around power imbalances between me and the informants (Hellier-Tinoco 2003; Henry 2003). This was important because in the original project the participants were school children, and as such they tend to avoid confrontation with teachers and other authority figures (Moore et al. 2008), which may have skewed the results in original reporting from the project (Skylstad 1992). This was also a concern to me. Was there a possible feeling among my informants that they were required to supply certain answers to me, which would introduce a bias in my data? As there was no money involved in Norway beyond a free cup of coffee when meeting in public, and my status as an older Ph.D. student was unlikely to impress any of my informants, I believe this could have taken

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

the form of power imbalances in the following areas: Gender, age or ethnicity, the latter with regards to my informants with an immigrant background. However, Norway is a very egalitarian country in gender terms. I was invited to some of the women's homes in the middle of the day and I never felt any form of deference or worry in these terms. Age was no longer an issue, although I was 13 years older, they were all adults (26-27 years old), this was very different from the situation when they were involved in the original project, and they were only 11 to 13 years old. When it came to ethnicity, my informants who had an immigrant background were all born in Norway and spoke fluent Norwegian. They were very open about all the issues discussed, in fact on the subject of racism they were more open than most of the ethnic Norwegian informants, so this did not affect anything as far as I can ascertain.

Memory related issues were a key concern as I researched something that had taken place thirteen to sixteen years prior. Psychologists have shown that it is easy to implant false memories (Braun et al. 2002) and memory, rather than being a vault of facts stored for future retrieval is made in an "*interplay between memory, self and culture*" (Wang & Brockmeier 2002). In this case it may be possible that some informant would have suppressed memories of behaviour which had been negative towards the out-group, but I had several incidents when they were open about such incidents, so I do not believe this to have been a problem in general. Informants remembered the project overall without any need for prompting, and a couple of them even remembered an African song they had been taught and could sing 14 years later. The individual performances were remembered with differing levels of clarity and some were forgotten altogether. The different accounts had strong internal coherence and their validity was verified further by checking against factual data obtained from the original report (Skylstad 1992), original video recordings and the accounts of performers and teachers. I also occasionally used copies of documents to refresh their memories and for informants to comment on.

On three occasions I interviewed more than one person at the same time, something which helped improve the overall recall of events. One instance of this happened when three female informants discussed the different types of music they could remember, and one of the three remembered that South American music had been played, whereas the other two had forgotten it. This both enhanced the validity of the

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

data as different pupils challenged the narrative being presented and helped fill in gaps if someone did not remember certain events or facts.

Given the lack of empirically based research I identified in the literature review, it was important to make sure that the data I got was not only interesting in itself, but that it was contextualised and could be backed up by documentary sources, as others have done when researching music use in movements for instance (Futrell et al. 2006). This was achieved by using a variety of methods for collecting data, i.e. I let my topic decide my methods (Holloway & Todres 2003). This eclectic use of research methods is known as multi-method or mixed methods (Moran-Ellis et al. 2006; Mason 2006; Bryman 2004, p.268). For clarity I will use "multiple methods" to refer to the fact that I collected data in different ways. This tended to be done "opportunistically", for instance I heard from the evaluator of the Norwegian project that several videos existed from the project. I then arranged to get hold of copies for my analysis. Using multiple methods does not automatically mean that the research becomes more valid (Moran-Ellis et al. 2006; Mason 2006) and it has been suggested that finding the same results by using different methods may be the result of researchers simply looking for confirmation and overlooking contradictory data (Meeto & Temple 2003). However, I was using multiple methods **because** I wanted to find contradictions, so as to reject or corroborate data from the interviews. For example, some artists in Norway would talk about how involved children were in their performance(s). By reviewing videos from the project I could see whether this was correct or not.

With multiple methods I was also able to understand the complexities of what takes place when music is used for conflict transformation purposes, in other words to reveal more aspects of this particular social phenomenon (Meeto & Temple 2003; Moran-Ellis et al. 2006). The flexible and creative approach afforded by multiple methods (Mason 2006) was used for three of the six purposes suggested by Denscombe (2008, p.272), namely to "*improve the accuracy of [...] data*", "*produce a more complete picture*" and "*developing the analysis and building on initial findings using contrasting kinds of data*". The content of the booklets given to the pupils as a background for the music from other countries thus provided data for documentary analysis, which was then integrated into my overall analysis (Moran-Ellis et al. 2006).

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

In Norway my data sources provided complementary and rival accounts in two ways. First through gathering information from three distinct “sides” in the music and conflict transformation project, participants, musicians and organisers. This meant that hegemonic accounts of organisers and evaluators were challenged and I obtained different narratives. When viewed in the context provided by the supporting material (video, letters, teaching material, evaluations), these accounts gave me an overall understanding of the events as they had unfolded originally from the participants point of view. This was exemplified by the earlier quote from a former pupil with regards to music events being similar to visits to a power station. Secondly, I acquired reports, letters and different types of documentation including original video footage from the projects and a former pupil and a teacher gave me complete access to documents they had saved from the period 1989 to 1992. This showed the practical negotiations between the organisers and the schools, the material that was presented to pupils about the music, etc.

Finally, there was a possibility that certain “idealised” discourses were followed. Meeto and Temple (2003) experienced this when diabetes patients in face to face interviews claimed to follow diets, but in a food diary revealed non-compliance. This meant that it was important to contextualise the (social) position of different informants as has been suggested by Irwin (2006) with regards to different values arising from peoples’ social class or group. By adding data from different sources as well as applying my own tacit and explicit knowledge of Norway and Norwegian society, I was able to understand what vantage point their information came from, and work this in to my analysis.

## **Methods in Sudan**

In Wau Nour all interviews except one took place in public outside or inside the school building, in the late afternoon or early evening (most people worked in nearby Kassala during the day). It was always a relaxed atmosphere, and my overall project was explained with reference to an interest in the music in the settlement and how this had affected the relationship between different groups over time. I worked all the time with Dr. Hashim who acted as the interpreter. With his linguistic and folklore research background he had considerable knowledge of the informants social and ethnic

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

background which meant that interviews progressed smoothly. As Temple and Young have pointed out, the issues arising from translations are often ignored when social research is presented (Temple & Young 2004). In particular they discuss whether it matters if the researcher clearly identifies the fact that translation took place (something I have already done), epistemological significance of who does translation and the effects on the research with regards to how involved the translator is in the research. I believe these are very important issues that deserve a thorough discussion.

In Wau Nour I would (typically) ask a question in English which Dr. Hashim would translate to Arabic, the *lingua franca* of Sudan, which was also the common language between all the ethnic groups in Wau Nour, although they would speak their own languages in their own ethnic groups. Sudan is extremely rich in languages, an exact figure is not agreed upon, but at least 130 main languages are spoken within Sudan (Bell & Hashim 2006). Dr. Hashim's translations would not be direct, but contextualised in terms that made sense locally, for instance when trying to gauge the closeness between people from different ethnic groups it was phrased as a question on how people would help someone from another ethnic group when they fell ill in the old days and nowadays. In other words, the translator was here an active partner in the research. When the reply was translated, Dr. Hashim was able to provide further context such as when certain dances would be danced, the significance of wanting to marry into a different ethnic group, etc. This helped "fill the gaps" that occur when informants assumed that I shared their tacit knowledge base, or are not even aware of it being an issue to explain, so it remains unsaid. This worked very well throughout all interviews and it never felt "unnatural" or hurried, and I was always able to ask follow-up questions and explore themes fully.

During my research, in particular in Sudan, the importance of flexibility in the field became obvious. Rather than trying to adapt my informants to my methods, I adapted my methods to the informants. In Wau Nour I therefore switched from fixed one-on-one interviews to what can best be described as ad hoc focus groups. There were no one-on-one interviews; all interviews would have either multiple people involved from the start (usually the case with band interviews) or others would join in during the interview with comments. In general terms, focus groups, although often connected with marketing and advertising (Bryman 2004, pp.345-362), are used in increasingly

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

flexible ways, for instance to define what aspects of rural landscapes are important by driving a focus group through the countryside (Propst et al. 2008). A key part of the focus group method is the interactions between the participants and it may be that certain normative discourses emerge to dominate the sessions (Smithson 2000).

Contrary to most focus groups, my groups were largely self selected, i.e. they were friends or “colleagues” in music groups, or simply happened to be in the same location when we asked someone for an interview. One benefit of this was that they felt secure in their interaction with the researcher / translator, but more than that they would provide instant corrective narratives. So for instance, when I interviewed the schoolmaster and a community worker about the current situation of the music in the settlement, someone in the background from the Krongo ethnic group interjected “*On Friday, they all used to come here. The reason I am saying that [the bands] are not attractive [anymore], is because now they have become ready, on demand*”. On another occasion an authority figure told us that there was no violence in the settlement in the old days, but then a younger man told us how it was very dangerous to live there and that they had several murders. What we experienced here was real-time communal meaning making, a negotiated narrative. Overall this meant better quality data and more detail from different viewpoints.

It may be argued that the three weeks spent in Sudan was too brief, although considerable time was spent preparing for the visit. Ethnomusicologists and anthropologists in particular tend to subscribe to the idea that a long period of living in a community is required to learn about it (Cooley 2003; Eriksen & Nielsen 2001, pp.42-43). However, I was not there to describe in meticulous detail local traditions, I was there to learn about certain re-occurring events in their local community. If one can accept that ethnographic interviews performed in a café in the West will yield relevant data, there is no reason to assume that people outside the West are any less able to explain their life-worlds and impart information than someone in the West. Assuming otherwise may be more a matter of producing difference as discussed by Agawu (2003), who gives many examples of how difference is emphasised rather than similarities when it comes to African vs European music. Thus, the idea that research in Africa or Asia always requires long term situated study may not be based on what is really achievable. Rather, it may be a part of the anthropological project of studying “the other” (Davies &

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Piero 2002, p.7) which clearly requires different methods than what we use “at home”. In addition to this, it should be clear that Dr Hashim provided extensive help both as a local translator of language, but also of as a translator of culture and experience. This meant that every night we would spend considerable time discussing the day's interviews/events, with me asking clarifying questions related to responses to questions, things that had occurred and issues that simply puzzled me.

In some ways my fieldwork resembled multiple “mini-ethnographies”, a technique that has been used in medicine, where medical personnel can quickly learn more about groups of people they treat and thus give a more appropriate care (Weinstein & Ventres 2000; Kleinman & Benson 2006) and in education (Rand 2006; Sleeter 1995). This form of research is often deployed in attempts to deepen one's understanding of other ethnic groups by doing small sessions over a period of a few weeks. In my case it took the form of three weeks stay in the country, where I lived in a local flat and used the local shops and services, with many interviews and general immersion in the environment. In Kassala I would “hang out” in the NGOs offices and chat with people, even provide technical support for their computers, or we would walk around town, sometimes meeting people Dr. Hashim knew, or chat with employees from the NGO in the guest house we shared with them. This was about their work in more general terms as well as issues that had come up during the day in my interviews. When I was in Wau Nour I also chatted informally with a number of people either through interpreters or basic English (even improvised sign language sometimes), and I was asked questions about my home country as well as being offered opinions and information on local issues.

However, Sudan did raise a number of issues that were very different from working in Norway. This obviously affected my way of working there and had to be dealt with in “real time” in the field. A key concern was that in 2007 Sudan was still in a state of war in Darfur, but there were also check points throughout the country and foreigners moving outside Khartoum needed a permit. And although the insurgent Sudanese People's Liberation Movement had become part of the government in a power sharing peace agreement, there was still tension and sporadic violence in parts of Sudan that was covered by the 2005 peace agreement. Therefore I took extra care to discuss with local academics what would be best to do to ensure the safety of my informants

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

(Knox 2001). However there was no reluctance from people in Wau Nour and other places to discuss political issues or even sing political songs, primarily because the regime in Sudan does not control the country in the same way that might be familiar to Westerners from communist dictatorships such as Romania or Soviet Union, with their strong surveillance aspects.

Once I arrived in Wau Nour, an immediate issue was that of making good connections to the people I was interested in interviewing. There is some debate as to how one can achieve rapport with informants in a location where one is not an insider. Some suggest striking up friendships as a strategy, whereas others see a "*contractual relationship*" as a desirable way forward (Hellier-Tinoco 2003). For reasons of time the first was not realistic, and would have felt somewhat false and forced, and the latter may be more relevant when one stays as guests with a community for a long time. A survey of other researchers has suggested that the process of establishing rapport in the field follows five steps, "*Other-Orientation, Self-in-Relation to Other, Self-and-Other Linking, Interpersonal Connection, and Partnership*" (Pitts & Miller-Day 2007, p.185) which broadly echoes my experience in Sudan. I found that explaining my work before each interview, saying that "around the music there are all the things that happen [which] I am trying to understand" (from my first interview with members of the Nuba music group) was sufficient to start eliciting information. Once the interview had begun there was a clear willingness among informants to talk about different aspects of their lifeworlds. I also emphasised that I was a student who was there to learn from them, and with most contact with Westerners being from NGOs who do a lot of "teaching" this seemed to have been a welcome change, and we tended to end up as partners in my research.

I was received very cordially in Wau Nour without exception, and the first evening there I was welcomed by the Sultan (the elected leader) of Wau Nour and other notables, and several music groups put themselves forward for interviews. I also got on very well with the schoolmaster and Hamad, a young man, who met me every day I was there. I felt that people there were able to make me aware of any issues that were a problem for them. For instance due to their very low income there was no communal money available for tea and sugar to serve us and this is vital to Sudanese hospitality. They contacted Dr. Hashim about this and we solved this by bringing the ingredients

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

and handing this over discreetly for people in Wau Nour to prepare and serve all of us together.

However, the first evening it was clear that people in Wau Nour (especially civic leaders) thought that I was affiliated with the NGO who had been running the music project I was interested in investigating. This was caused partly by me being given a lift by the NGO earlier in the day and partly by the fact that I wanted to talk to them about the music project that the same NGO had been involved with. They depended on good relation with the NGO for future support in certain areas. As a result, when we were chatting informally with Musa, a community worker from Wau Nour on the first day (in earshot of NGO workers) he denied the existence of any conflicts in the settlement, very much concerned not only with how he was presenting himself (Goffman 1990), but also how the community was perceived. This is not an unusual problem to encounter, Russell has discussed similar issues with regards to researching young students, and the problem of gaining their trust (Russell 2005). However, unlike a school there was no authority issues between the inhabitants of Wau Nour and the NGO. They had a very good working relationship, it was more about wanting to be seen in as positive light as possible. Therefore, after some discussion with Dr. Hashim I decided to solve this in a straight forward manner, I asked Musa to meet us on neutral ground (in the end we met in a small backyard café in Kassala run by an Ethiopian woman) and explained in detail who I was, what I did and how it was not connected to any NGO. After this he became very open and discussed community conflicts and other issues freely. Similar results were observed in the settlement at large. Local politicians who were eager to see me the first day, were nowhere to be seen after my “non-credentials” had been established. Although I was offered free use of the NGOs offices I declined the offer as this would very likely cause self-censorship from many of the informants. Instead all interviews were done in Wau Nour itself.

Power issues between me and my informants were more of a concern in Sudan than in Norway, in particular gender related issues (Brown & Strega 2005). Basically there were large regional differences. Women from the Nuba mountains and the South were happy to be interviewed by us and answered forthrightly to questions in all areas with or without men present, whereas women following stricter Muslim traditions would probably not have consented to this. Local people (of the Beja ethnic group, not

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

the displaced people who had migrated to Wau Nour) were quite strict in following Islamo-Arabic traditions and the first night I had a very tense experience together with two people from the NGO and Dr. Hashim when a local woman who had been recommended to us for local fieldwork help was refused permission by her husband who had participated in militia operations (i.e. ethnic cleansing) in southern Sudan. Eventually we were helped in this matter by Bahja Jalaal, a local woman who worked for another international NGO and lived very close to Wau Nour. She went around and informally interviewed women during a concert in the settlement to find out more about their views relating to participation in music and changes to inter-ethnic relationships. As has been pointed out, gender identity is often built through music (Dibben 2002), and in Sudanese music this is often acted out very clearly as I saw for myself in some of the dances performed, and it is very much an issue in conflicts (El Jack et al. 2003) and development work (Byrne et al. 1996). By working with a woman interviewer I was able to control for gender bias on two levels: The possibility that my questions were male oriented, and the possibility that informants would alter their response because I was a man. This was done by me outlining what information I was interested in rather than giving exact questions to ask. I also made sure that we did not infringe on women's time. As they often are busier than men (Grenier 1998), the interviews took place when they were "off work" watching the concert. Two issues should be noted however: Firstly, it was obvious to anyone there that she would be asking questions on my behalf and secondly, Bahja Jalaal was not a trained interviewer. The data from the interviews was therefore in the form of her written summaries of the responses she received, rather than ad verbatim transcripts.

Another power relationship that I was worrying about before going to Sudan was my status as a *khawaji* ("white guy"). Although one can conceive that this status, if linked to colonial or neo-colonial images, could have caused bias in my data, Dr. Hashim felt that this did not constitute a problem. In this he agrees with Sin (2007) who suggests that one is not powerful simply being a white researcher, and the "non-white" respondent is not lacking in power (Henry 2003). The whole "problem" might be more of a perceived issue amongst Western researchers than a reality on the ground, and rather than my "whiteness" being a monolithic fixed identity, a researcher's identity is something that is co-created by the researcher and the researched (Cassell 2005). This

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

was seen clearly in the mistaken identity I was assigned, as an NGO affiliate, and how together we established that I was a student. Even so, by using two local Sudanese people to help out with interviews the chances of any such problems manifesting themselves were reduced, and the validity was enhanced by the fact that they received similar responses to similar questions. In addition to this, the fact that many interviews turned into what can be described as focus groups, as mentioned earlier, meant that informants were surrounded by people they knew, and felt more comfortable as a result (Grenier 1998).

One issue around my “Western-ness” cropped up when several music groups offered to perform for us when we were there. They no longer performed in the settlement apart from when official events were held, so this was obviously done because of my outsider status. At this point one of the groups pointed out that we would have to pay them for the performance. I did not feel this was a problem, as the payment was clearly for the performance and not for the interview which was over by the time the performance was discussed. The performance took place three days after the interview. Of the other two bands, one gave a small performance inside the band leader’s house. Offering money there would have been perceived as an insult as he was relatively well off and even provided expensive canned drinks for our refreshment. I felt that the third band should also be paid as it was a full performance and the first band had been paid for a similar performance. There was some embarrassment from the band over this. They insisted the performance was for me and not for money, but I pointed out that I felt they had earned it, and it worked out well. Finally, I quietly gave a small donation to the school via the school master a few minutes before I left the final time. Through Dr. Hashim I had already asked if this would be OK, and it did not present a problem, and for me it was a token of gratitude to the community without it being an amount that was extravagant or given to a particular group.

There were obviously internal power issues in the settlement and when working in such a setting it may be that one inadvertently strengthens one group simply because one is unaware of local inequities (Grenier 1998). My payment for the music undoubtedly made a temporary fiscal difference. However at this point the music groups were already used to being paid for their performances as I will discuss in Chapter Five.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

So although this reinforced a fiscal difference between band members and non band members in a small way, I do not believe it affected existing social dynamics.

Age was possibly a power issue when I interviewed the younger children (approximately 10 to 18 years old), their responses were generally shorter and often quite shy. Later Hashim suggested that their responses were very much what their parents would expect to hear (mainly that “we like the music of our ethnic group because it is tradition”). In this they therefore acted similarly to what the Norwegian pupils had done when they were talking to adults 13 years earlier who also tried to please the adults.

The fact that I was a *khawaji* obviously marked me out for everyone as an outsider, but this seemed neither to stop people from wanting to talk to me, nor to be quite frank about local issues. I believe that most researchers experience that the liminal space opened up by research allows even fairly closed social groups to open up, for instance even gangs that are in conflict with the police have allowed researchers access (Keiser 1969).

More subtly, in Sudan I had a “problem” caused by the fact that academic researchers have been active most places. I was following in the footsteps of others as Jones-Bamman (2003) has discussed with regards to doing ethnomusicology in places where other ethnomusicologists have been before. In my case it was clear that many there were familiar with folklore research, the leader of the Azande band had prepared a lot of notes on the origins of his instrument for me, and when someone locally was asked to video the audience for me, he focused on the band all the time. However, the solution was simply to let this run its course, before moving the conversation towards my interests.

In Sudan, as in Norway, I was interested in events that took place some time in the past. In Wau Nour it started about fourteen years prior to my fieldwork and lasted until the present day, with the NGO project starting four years before my fieldwork there. One danger in a small community like this is that certain personal narratives become “communal stories” (Seaton 2008), and this could be found to some extent in the history of how musical groups formed in the settlement. However, the overall picture that emerged was corroborated through various cross checking interviews, and we also

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

asked people outside the settlement informal questions about Wau Nour and the music there, which broadly confirmed Wau Nour residents' accounts. Furthermore, as Sudan still has a strong oral history traditions (Al-Shahi 1985; Bell & Hurreiz 1975) it meant that very detailed accounts were available from memory, such as the origins of the settlement. And the aforementioned “focus group” approach to interviews meant that gaps in individuals' recollections were filled in by others.

I was also able to verify the reliability of some of the statements made by musicians in interviews through multiple methods. We were repeatedly told that Wau Nour and its residents had become better known and accepted in Kassala through their music. We therefore designed a simple questionnaire for a survey (De Vaus 2002) to find out how many people had actually heard of the settlement and/or the music there. This was deployed as a structured interview (see Appendix A) with 149 randomly selected people, 72 female, 77 male, in *The Street of a Million Fools*, a central thoroughfare of Kassala. The interviews were done by ten volunteers from the Alsharg Ahlia College in Kassala. This added a quantitative angle to my data collection in Sudan, and confirmed some of the statements made to us.

This was further enhanced by my taking part as a participant observer during several formal and informal music events in the settlement, which gave me access to subtle data not always available in an interview (Laine 2000, p.19). In my case, by taking part I was able to see the reaction of people outside the music groups to the music (Futrell et al. 2006), both from the same ethnic group and from other ethnic groups, without any mediation. This gave me another level of understanding of the attitudes and negotiations that formed around music events. These events were documented through pictures and video as well, a useful technique which added an “extra swathe” of data (Stock 2004, p.27) when I analysed the events later. One example of this was the Krongo musicians' insistence that once they started playing, people would join in, but my experience there and later review of the footage shows clearly that people were very reluctant to join in. In addition to this I had access to some documentation from the NGO (pictures, videos and documents) which coloured in more of the background for Wau Nour.

On a practical note, on my last day in Wau Nour Dr. Hashim had to be in Khartoum, so Sami Ibrahim, a local Ph.D student, helped with interpretation. He was

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

not as skilled as Dr Hashim, so the three interviews I did with him tended to start off in rather hurried manner, but were calmer towards the end. I have taken this into consideration in my coding of these interviews. Outside of Wau Nour I did a few interviews with NGO staff and musicians. These were conducted directly in English. My informants' English was reasonable, but often lacking in nuance, so data from these interviews would be more factual than reflexive.

As discussed above, I wanted to research projects that had taken place some time ago, especially so that the informants would be able to reflect back on what had happened. In methodological terms this was sometimes problematic. In Norway for instance, one informant remembered very little, and responded mainly by saying "I would have thought..." or "we must have...". But this was rare. In most cases this approach enabled them to think about what took place, and then put it into context for me through their own background knowledge. For example, one informant from the countryside who had a mother from Romania told me that *"I felt sort of responsibility with [the concerts]. Don't know if I tried to defend cultures, because everyone laughed at me for travelling so much."* Here we see that the actions of the past that were instinctive are explained, and the insight into this would simply be unavailable if I talked to her when she was 12 as the vocabulary and reflective skills would have been less developed.

In Sudan these "reflections about the past" were not about child vs adult, but about time being required for the changes that music brought to be visible to those who lived there. Remembering particular issues was not a problem, but if I had come there ten years ago the music use would be in its infancy, and it would not be clear that it was (slowly) making a change. And because what I call "the Friday music events", casual yet regular public music playing that took place on a field outside Wau Nour most Fridays since the early 1990s, had stopped, they were also able to see, and discuss, the changes that this had wrought.

In both locations therefore, reflections on the past through accumulated knowledge was vital, and my research would have had little data without it.

## Additional research

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

To further expand my understanding of the context that these projects took place in I also attended, as observer and/or participant, various peace related events and interviewed peace building NGOs and academics in the field both formally and informally. Some examples of this contextualising work included:

- Exploratory research with the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra (the Israeli-Arab youth orchestra) which prepared me for the discourse around peace initiatives and the black box of “the power of music”. Access was arranged via Professor Sloboda at Keele University and for a day I was able to attend rehearsals and administrative meetings, interview orchestra members and watch the evening concert in the Royal Albert Hall.
- Talking to another NGO in Sudan about their use of music for conflict transformation purposes highlighted the general discourse that these organisations engaged in.
- Watching a conflict transformation workshop in Norway. This gave me an understanding of how they work and the relationships between organisers and attendants.
- Attending multicultural events in Norway which showed who attended such events and if different ethnic groups mixed.
- Participating in two peace conferences gave me a better comprehension of the current ideas and ideals that currently permeate peace work.
- Talking to academics in Norway and Sudan provided more background information on the individuals and organisations involved in the projects and networks around the music events.
- In Sudan an informal meeting with a government minister who was also the leader of the Blue Nile Army (part of the SPLM) gave me a view from “the top” and also from those who have used music to aid conflict rather than conflict transformation.
- In the UK I attended concerts for Sudanese expatriates, here I could observe how tastes and behaviours was different compared to what I saw in Sudan.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

- Finally, at Khartoum University I was able to present my findings to local academics thanks to the kind help of Ali al-Daw of the Institute of Folklore. The input and discussion this generated provided useful correctives to my understanding of my findings in Wau Nour.

## Data analysis

When deciding on how to analyse the data collected, my main concerns were to ensure that I was able to look beyond the superficial ideas of “the power of music” that was so prevalent in my literature review. Instead I wanted to understand more of the role it really played (**if any**) in conflict transformation. I also wanted to make sure that I used my informants’ understanding and narratives as the starting points for my analysis, with a focus on participants rather than musicians and organisers. I therefore decided to utilise a grounded theory approach, described by the originators as “*theory from data systematically obtained from social research*” (Glaser & Strauss 1967, p.2). By using this approach, any theories or findings would be rooted firmly in the information I obtained in the field, and from this solid base I was able to uncover a much more nuanced picture of what really takes place in conflict transformation situations where music is used. It is important here to emphasise that grounded theory is not a type of theory, it is a way of generating theory, a working method to theorise about social life (Charmaz 2006). Although there is no fixed link to qualitative methods, it works very well with the sort of rich data that I uncovered in my research. The grounded theory approach also afforded a way of developing some initial ideas soon after data collection had started and then revise and add to the theory/ies in tandem with additional data collection as it took place. This was of particular importance in my study, as I was trying to go into areas where there was little existing in-depth research. As my interviews progressed I would focus on certain themes that came out of earlier interviews, and/or seek out new informants to clarify certain aspects. In short, collecting data and theorizing about what I found in the field was an iterative process, alternating between the two tasks.

One example of this process took place in Wau Nour. When I started work there I was not aware of the Friday music events as these had not been mentioned by the NGO.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

After a couple of days however, it became clear that these events were extremely important to the settlement, and I took more time asking questions around them.

Some recommend the practice of collecting data until reaching a “saturation point” (Charmaz 2006, pp.113-114), and new data no longer reveal any new insights, however, this is probably an issue of experience and trial and error rather than a fixed point to aim for (Allan 2003) which may be the reason that the saturation point is often referred to but rarely defined (Bowen 2008). As this is one of the first attempts at studying music and conflict transformation empirically, and my two field sites provided a wealth of data in the first round of interviews I have used this material for my analysis without any attempts at collecting further data. Instead I will focus my analysis on some of the broad, core areas that emerged and leave many of the smaller issues to future research.

During my fieldwork periods I wrote up notes, either as emails to my supervisor, or just standalone notes on a smartphone or in Internet cafés. These notes acted as analytical memos. Here I summarised things I had been told outside formal interviews, jotted down themes that were emerging and anything else of interest. For instance one short memo read “*In Muslim world in general they do [recite from] the Qur'an before things take place, in Wau Nour they do Qur'an, Bible, chant and any other tribal invocation.*” This was a small comment made to me outside the interviews which indicated the level of co-operation they had achieved.

This was particularly useful when I came back to analyse my data as it reminded me of the context in which I had done the interviews and provided background information to the interview data. Outside of my fieldwork I would present papers or write articles based on my data. This gave me the space to summarise and discuss material from my interviews and all the additional material I had collected. An idea I will discuss in my findings, that music is a form of sanctioned interruption in a conflict situation, came from a paper written for a festschrift (Bergh 2010 forthcoming). During these periods I also would write memos, looking at different aspects of the data, link it back to various literature I read, and just keep ideas flowing. I would also do clustering of ideas,<sup>27</sup> a technique learnt from web design (Williams 1996), which is also

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27 This consisted for me of writing down different ideas or subjects/themes on post-it notes, then use a huge wall to put these on and spend time finding connections between the themes.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

recommended by some advocates of grounded theory (Charmaz 2006, pp.86-90). See Appendix D for an early example of such a cluster.

These activities helped me to see certain patterns emerge from my data, and forms a part of common grounded theory work, that of “memo writing” (Groenewald 2008), although in my case I did it throughout the research and not only in the final data analysis stage. This was in part because my analysis also took place throughout the research.

My core data was the ethnographic interviews I had done, and as they needed not only transcription, but also translation it is worth going into some detail in this process. The interviews from Norway were transcribed into English by myself in two steps. First I transcribed key sections that I had noted as being of particular interest during my interviews, and used these sections as raw material for memos, papers and discussions with my supervisor. The advantage of this was twofold, as the field is so new, fresh material that was important to me was allowed to enter my research and shed a different light on my data. Secondly, as the gaps in the field are so large it gave me the opportunity to focus on the areas that emerged as the most promising to hone in on. An example of this occurred when at a seminar I heard about the use of guided imagery music therapy techniques in conflict transformation workshops (Jordanger 2006), which provided the impetus for the aforementioned idea of music as interruption.

Later I did summary transcriptions of the entire interviews. These were done *ad verbatim* when required, for instance when a particularly insightful quote was encountered. However, due to the fact that interviews were done in a relaxed and friendly atmosphere they contained lengthy conversations that were not directly relevant, such as plans for class reunions or discussions as to what a teacher's name had been. Combining summaries and exact quotes gave me the flexibility of getting detailed information on all areas directly related to my research, without being bogged down by too much tangential material.

For the Sudanese interviews I transcribed two that were done in English, following the same methods as above. The remaining interviews were transcribed by Dr. Hashim from the Arabic parts, not the interpreted English. This was advantageous as he had been present during the interviews and could add comments such as “*A gesture*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*of 'No'. Translated this to Arild*" which helped preserve the full content and meaning of the interviews and alleviated some of the problems of translating/transcribing interviews from a mainly oral tradition (Finnegan 2005). Given Dr. Hashim's more than 30 years of experience in research in the Sudan, both in areas of folklore and linguistics, as well as his extensive travels in the country (he also used to live in Kassala as a teenager) meant that his undertaking of this task provided even more detail and richness than we achieved in the original interpretations. In addition to this, the transcripts were checked and discussed in the UK with Halim Sabbar, a folklorist from Sudan who was able to provide further insights: For instance, an informant who had called us during the day in Kassala and asked if we wanted to join them for music and beer said "*We don't drink it, but others do!*", when a reference to beer was made in the interview later in the evening. What was happening was that we were in a semi-public space with other people around, and due to the strict Islamic codes of Eastern Sudan (as opposed to the more relaxed version in the South) the informant was "required" to say this.

In this context both Dr. Hashim and Halim Sabbar were data sources in themselves, as well as academics who aided me in the process of understanding my interviews. In particular they provided rich, tacit knowledge that is difficult to obtain from books. In effect they supplied the deep understanding that I myself have of Norway. In the field Dr Hashim was also able to provide guidance with regards to local customs and how I should tackle certain situations. This was a great help both methodologically and culturally.

The final step in my research was the analysis of the data collected. In grounded theory this generally takes the form of coding different segments of data, usually in primary and secondary coding sessions, and then from these codes overarching categories emerge (Charmaz 2006, pp.91-92). Once all the transcripts had been done I used the NVivo software for coding and analysis: First I applied codes to sections in an interview that dealt with things I was interested in: music use, conflict, changes in relationships, etc. My actual coding was influenced/inspired by notes I took during or after interviews, by current topics from literature on conflict transformation and music related topics and by patterns I had noticed after two or three interviews in each place. Once the initial coding was done I merged a number of categories that were closely related, for instance "Pupils danced" and "Like to join in" became "Involvement". I also

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

removed a number of codes that when looked at in detailed proved to be of little interest such as “Music tastes as adults”. Memos were then written and linked to some (but not all) nodes, and I read through older memos I had written. Then I created tree nodes. This is a way of organising the codes in a tree-like hierarchy, which allowed broader categories to emerge, so I ended up with a category of “Top down” which contained codes such as “Artist's vision”, “Insider evaluation” and “Organisational constraints”. From this I then started writing up my findings (chapter 5).

The additional data I had collected, such as letters, educational material, evaluation reports and videos, were not coded but were used as supporting material to further document the musical event as Stock (2004) has suggested. For instance I watched all the videos from the project in Norway after the interviews were done and noted the pupils’ reaction to different music styles at the time the project took place. Morse and Pooler (2008, p.63) have suggested that “*with videotaped data, exact scenes may be used to illustrate one’s emerging theoretical scheme*”, and in my case I compared the video recording to their comments on the different performers and thus detected a pattern of what musical styles were remembered most vividly, which in turn helped me think of what forms of music might work best in conflict transformation contexts. Likewise, official letters and evaluations were read and compared with my literature review material and commonalities with regards to the discourse on what music “has the power to do” was detected.

All interview transcripts as well as notes, memos and academic source material were stored in a *Wiki*.<sup>28</sup> This is an web based, editable, searchable and hyper-linked free-form database which let me to store, retrieve and edit data from anywhere in the world. It proved very useful in Sudan where I would enter notes and upload documents I was given every day and know that they were safely stored and backed up. This also provides an automatic audit trail for all documents, and changes to documents within it, so I can for instance track changes in memos over time. It was particularly useful after my coding was done so I could quickly search for other material that dealt with similar issues, such as top-down vs bottom-up in conflict transformation work, and use this additional material when discussing the issue at hand.

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28 I used the Twiki (<http://twiki.org>) implementation. I also wrote additional computer code for this to this to let me store time stamped copies of web pages as well as store and search PDF articles (<http://twiki.org/cgi-bin/view/Plugins/URLCachePlugin>).

## Critical reflection

Before ending this section on my research methods I want to reflect on my experiences in collecting and analysing the data, both the interviews themselves and my research more broadly, and what I as a researcher and person brought with me into the research process. Whereas positivist researchers tend to assume that the research can be objective in their research, interpretivists such as myself assume this is an impossible task, and that the best way to deal with subjectivity is to try to disclose all relevant information about oneself (Bryman 2004, p.500). Housker (1997) for instance, did this in her PhD on the use of music therapy to make couples relationship stronger, and where she felt her age, gender or even laughter might have affected the outcome. My subjectivity may have affected the data through my own biases which might pre-dispose me to make certain inquiries or conclusions not warranted by the data (Ogden 2008) or it may have affected my informants as we jointly created an identity in the field for me “the researcher” (Cassell 2005).

Listening to some interviews done in Norway I can see that I sometimes got too eager in discussing music before moving the focus back onto my current research. I do not believe it caused any problems, and this issue also disappeared after a few interviews. In the Sudan I can see that due to the format of the interview sessions (and the fact that the interviews in English with people outside Wau Nour was conducted with people who were not fluent in English) the question tended to be less open ended and more directly probing, although not always.

One personal aspect I initially thought could cause problems did in fact turn out to be a boon, namely the fact that I am not a musician. Having seen the problems musicians often have in evaluating their own impact (tending towards positive exaggeration as mentioned in my literature review), I feel that this has been a definitive benefit. This does not mean that I am not interested in music, on the contrary, music has been a passion for me since my mid-teens. In the past I have worked as a music journalist, which included a number of prolonged projects investigating particular musics, such as underground music in Eastern Europe in the 1980s (Bergh 1988) or Mediterranean immigrant music in the 1990s (Bergh 1995). The network of connections that make up the “value” of music in everyday life (Bergh & DeNora 2009) was

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

perceived and understood more readily as my research progressed, due to my past experiences with music.

The quality of a research design can be appraised in a number of ways. Qualitative research has often focused on *credibility, transferability, dependability* and *confirmability* (Lincoln & Denzin 2000, p.21), with an overall focus on trustworthiness (Halldorsson & Aastrup 2003). For my research I followed Charmaz' (2006, pp.182-183) suggestion that evaluations should be closely related to practical concerns of people outside academia. Is the research credible? Does it give us something new? Does the research offer informants new insights into their own lives that unravels unstated "truths"? And is it practical for everyday use? I believe that my findings represent research that provides original and useful information (although somewhat negative for those who wish to believe in the "power of music") which links back to real experiences, thus providing research that is original and as reliable as it can be, given the exploratory nature of the work. Given the growing interest in this field I also hope that the problems I found through my research can help others take a more realistic view on how music can help, and thus perhaps use it more appropriately.

Before finishing this chapter, it is important to discuss ethical issues involved in my fieldwork. Prior to recruiting informants an ethics proposal had been submitted to the University of Exeter Ethics Committee, outlining my proposed questions and target groups for interviewing. Informants were always told that their participation was voluntary, and in Norway they were given a written consent form in Norwegian to sign. In Sudan this presented certain problems, as the typical ethics approval is geared towards a Western way of thinking (Ellis & Earley 2008). This means that research methods and ethics are closely intertwined with certain national/cultural ideas (Redmond 2003). Thus when ethics committees tend to view all research as objective (Nilan 2002), an ideal way of working emerges that does not always fit the realities "on the ground" (Davison et al. 2008). Bearing this in mind, and based on recommendations by Dr. Hashim who has worked all over Sudan as a researcher and who has long experience in interviewing people from similar backgrounds, we decided not to present each informant with a consent form. There was a very important reason for this. A printed form would have suggested an official (and thus probably governmental) presence, and many informants would be very worried, and refused to participate. It

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

would also have caused considerable embarrassment for those who had problems reading Arabic. And as all interviews were done in public with several people present we felt that we never put any one at risk, particularly as the topic at hand was neither personal nor contentious, but rather something the settlement was proud of. We spoke with the NGO which was our initial contact point, and left contact details with them if any questions were raised.

More important, in Sudan there is the possibility of doing damage to the relationship between Wau Nour and the NGO involved in music work in the settlement. The issue of how one presents findings from the fieldwork has been discussed with regards to the clash between the informants official presentation of themselves and information that might not fit the ideal public image (Plastino 2003). I therefore want to emphasise that any criticism of the NGOs involved arise from my analysis of the situation, and were not advanced by anyone from Wau Nour.

## Summary

So how did my choice of research methods help? During the early phase of my research, as I revisited my research question, I saw that I had made a mistake in assuming the music automatically would be useful. I needed to sacrifice the implicit expectation that music **can** help in conflict transformation projects. This would let me follow the ideas of grounded theory more closely and analyse the data with no preconceived hypothesis (Allan 2003; Charmaz 2006; Mills et al. 2006). So in my case the question ↔ methods relationship was not necessarily dictatorial as Vogt (2008) has suggested, but a form of “enlightened despotism”. Thus my core question was changed (and improved) as a result of my choice of research methods, in particular the fact that in grounded theory one is able to start analysing data as soon as the first interview is done. In the end my research question changed from “*How* can music be used for conflict transformation?” to the more open question “*Can* music be used for conflict transformation?” which avoided the implicit assumption present in much other research. This also gave my informants space to respond on their own terms, which helped us unearth together the data to which I will now turn.

## **Chapter 4: Introduction to field sites**

In the next three chapters I will present my findings, starting with a descriptive background to my fieldwork sites in this chapter, before dealing in-depth with my findings based on the ethnographic data in Chapter Five. There I will proceed from a recounting of findings organised by themes before moving towards an analysis of my findings, followed by the outline of some theories in Chapter Six that might explain the workings of different aspects of a music and conflict transformation event.

As previously mentioned the purpose of collecting data in two locations was not done for any comparative purposes. The impossibility of such an approach can be illustrated by the fact that in 2006/2007 when I did my fieldwork, Sudan topped the list of the Foreign Policy magazine's "failed states index", a statistic that had Norway at the bottom (Foreign Policy 2009). At the same time, Sudan happened to be the largest recipient of Norwegian foreign aid (Deutscher 2009), further highlighting the vast differences between the countries. The main purpose for choosing such diverging sites was to get a broader perspective on an emerging field where very limited data, as I showed in my literature review, is often used to support very broad assumptions. This approach sought neither to exclude nor expect the possibility that similar issues could be found in both places. If themes surfaced in both locations it does not necessarily show that I have uncovered something universal, but it indicates that the phenomenon is not limited to only one location. Furthermore, contrasting (rather than comparative) data often aids the task of illuminating an issue from different angles.

To keep the non-comparative aspect of my research clear, I will eschew a site-by-site presentation of findings. Instead I will in this chapter provide an overview of the two countries where the fieldwork took place, followed by a summary of the general music life in each country. This will be followed by background information on the conflicts and the music and conflict transformation events themselves. In the next chapter I will then discuss my findings based around the themes and issues uncovered rather than listing or comparing them country by country.

## Norway: Demographics

Norway is a sparsely populated country in Northern Europe with approximately 4.7 million inhabitants<sup>29</sup> (14 people per sq. km.) and few large cities, the capital Oslo having only 580,000 inhabitants. Due to its location it has until the advent of modern communications been relatively isolated from the rest of Europe. Since the 1960s it has grown rich from oil in the North Sea, and it is largely classless with a very strong egalitarian streak, although this is often applied mainly to the majority ethnic group. Norway has a strong and extensive welfare state that provides everything from schools to hospitals to heavily funded arts. With seven political parties in the parliament most governments are coalitions, thus emphasising consensus as an important political tactic.

In ethnic terms Norway has two major groups, the dominant Caucasian group usually referred to as “ethnic Norwegians” and a Sami community of approximately 37,000 people in 2007. In addition it has five officially recognised minorities: Jews, *kvener* and *skogfinner* (Norwegians of Finnish origin from different eras), Rom and *romanifolket* (which are different Roma people). The Sami people in northern Norway (which also exist in Sweden, Finland and Russia) were discriminated against until the 1980s (Stordahl 2002). In particular this was done through *fornorskningspolitikken* (“Norwegianisation policy”), a policy which forced many Sami people to give up their own religion and language, often through involuntary schooling of children. The Norwegian government has in recent years apologised for this, and the Sami now have their own parliament which deals with local issues (Fouberg & Hogan 2003, pp.56-58).

There are two official languages in Norway, *Norsk* (Norwegian) and *Sami*. Norwegian exists in two language varieties, *bokmål* (book language) and *nynorsk* (new Norwegian). The latter language was documented/created in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as part of what we can call “the national romantic project”, and was an attempt to find the “true” Norwegian language, not tainted by Danish influence. Norway has a state religion, Protestant Christianity, but the politics and country is largely secular with two percent regularly attending church.<sup>30</sup>

In Norway there is strong political support for attempts to preserve the existing dispersed population pattern. Norway is 1,700 kilometres long from north to south<sup>31</sup>,

29 All figures except where noted are from the official Norwegian bureau of statistics: <http://www.ssb.no/>

30 Data from European Social Survey: <http://ess.nsd.uib.no/>

31 To put this into perspective: Every Norwegian child is taught that if Norway was rotated it would

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

with a total coastline of 21,000 kilometres. Thus a large amount of money is spent on improving communications, supporting local culture and moving many government agencies to locations far from Oslo to provide employment. One of the initiatives to provide arts in small communities is *NorConcert*, a government agency that pay for artists to tour all over Norway which also was responsible for the project I was researching.

## Norway: Historical background

Historically Norway has been relatively poor, and unlike Denmark and Sweden was not a player on the European arena in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century. It was in general relatively isolated geographically and politically until after World War II.

Norway was united to a single kingdom (excluding today's Northern Norway) in 872 by Harald Hårfagre (Harald Fairhair). The Vikings from this period are well known in history. They explored, traded and raided all over Europe and as far away as North Africa, North America and deep into Russia between 790 and 1066. This period was followed by the introduction of Christianity in 1030, a long civil war between different groups trying to install their leader as king from ca. 1130 to 1240, a decay in the Norwegian self rule partly caused by the Black Death, a union with the other Nordic countries in 1397 and eventually the royal union between Norway and Denmark in 1450. In this union Norway was ruled from Copenhagen and had no autonomy, creating resentment towards Denmark. In 1814, with Denmark weakened after siding with Napoleon who lost his wars against Britain and her allies, an independent constitution was created for Norway in an attempt to gain independence. However, while this was done Britain had “given” Norway to Sweden to reward them for joining Britain against Napoleon. After a brief war in July 1814 Norway had to accept this, although with a high degree of autonomy for Norway (Sjøvik 2008; Helle 2003; Foubert & Hogan 2003).

In 1905 this union was dissolved as a result of negotiations and without any violent conflict (despite armed forces being made ready on both sides), and one could make the argument that this marks the beginning of Norway as a peaceful society as discussed by Kemp and Fry (2004). Norway successfully managed to stay out of World

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cross all of Europe and touch Rome in Italy.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

War I and attempted to do the same in 1939-40, but ended up being occupied from 1940 to 1945 by Germany. This historical background contributes to a Norwegian desire for peace and self sufficiency, which means it is one of the few European countries outside the European Union and has been actively involved in peace work around the world in the post war period. It had more than 11 engagements dealing with major conflicts between 1990 and 2001 (Eraker 2001). As well as peace negotiations Norway has contributed personnel to UN peace keeping forces in Lebanon and other places around the world. This link with peace can be seen as vital to the Norwegians' self image (Tvedt 2003), an image that has been strengthened by the fact that since 1897 Norway has been responsible for handing out the Nobel Peace Prize.

Since the 1930s politics has been dominated to a large degree by the social democratic Labour Party. The oil revenues that have come in since the 1970s have enabled an extensive welfare state to be established. Due to the reliance on the state funding for most aspects of modern life the welfare state is something of a battle ground where everything from music festivals to healthcare are in frequent contests over how to allocate funds.

## Norway: Conflict in question

The conflict that was the backdrop to the project I researched in Norway was related to racism, in particular between ethnic Norwegians and recent immigrants to Norway.

The main, modern, immigration to Norway started in the 1960s when additional workers were required for industry. Unlike many other European countries Norway did not have any colonial links and workers came primarily from Pakistan, Turkey and Morocco. Initially it was assumed by both sides that the workers would stay for a few years before returning home. However, this rarely was the case, and over time the male workforce brought over their families, so called family reunions. Since 1975 there have been firm restrictions on new immigration for employment purposes, and in the 1980s and onwards it has been mainly refugees and asylum seekers who entered Norway (Fouberg & Hogan 2003, pp.55-56; Bø 1997). Currently 10.6% of the population has an immigrant background (they or their parents were born abroad), with 186,000 from Asia, 233,000 from Europe, 17,000 from South America and 67,000 from Africa.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

The project I studied took place in 1989 to 1992. At this point those involved were mainly from Turkish or Pakistani backgrounds (i.e. children of first generation immigrants), with a very small proportion from an African background.

From the dominant ethnic Norwegian side this is seen as a fairly monolithic relationship between two groups, ethnic Norwegians and people with an immigrant background. This is generally the case whether they have a positive attitude to immigrants or not. The reality is of course that the immigrants are a very diverse group with different attitudes, abilities and needs and also with their own prejudices, but it requires a certain amount of intercultural “competence” to be aware of this (Kagan 2004). There are also differences between generations. Those who are born in Norway have to straddle the generally old fashioned/nostalgic worlds of their parents and the expectations of Norwegian societies which often demands integration while not always giving them the same opportunities due to discrimination. There are also different “waves” of immigrants, for instance the Chilean population in Norway is divided between those that fled political oppression in the 1970s and those who came for work in the 1980s (Knudsen 2004).

In the 1960s and 1970s the immigrants were largely “invisible” in Norwegian society, but as they settled and got children they became more involved in society, whether through schools or requests for places to worship etc. At the time of the project in 1989 there was a growing opposition to immigration. *Folkebevegelsen Mot Innvandring*<sup>32</sup> (people's movement against immigration) and a number of other similar organisations, some with links to neo-Nazis, were launched in the 1980s. A populist right wing party which was launched to fight against taxes started to use opposition against immigration to gain more votes (Hagelund 2003). People with negative attitudes towards immigrants usually focus on two areas, identity and resources. As a country with an extensive welfare system, some ethnic Norwegians feel that this is under threat if too many immigrants arrive. At the same time they feel that the (idealised) Norwegian identity is under threat (Hagelund 2003), whereas immigrants who have left their home countries want to hold on to *their* identity. However, these negative attitudes rarely resulted in violence, unlike for instance the UK. Instead it was more about “everyday

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32 <http://www.fmi.as>

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

racism” with refusal to employ immigrants or making negative remarks about them in the street, etc.

In the 1980s organisations such as SOS Racism were launched to counter such attitudes, and existing organisations such as the Red Cross also started working with anti-racism campaigns. At the same time immigrant organisations also started emerging. As a result of this, by 1989 there was an emergence of multicultural events and projects that emphasised the positive side of immigration, often under the slogan “colourful community”.

## Norway: Music in general

By the time of its independence in 1905, Norway's music life consisted of traditional folk music (usually in the countryside) and art music, or classical music, in Oslo and other towns. Folk music was often dominated by fiddles and was often for couple dancing, whereas the classical music got its inspiration from Europe, with Grieg being the most well known composer and a central figure in the national romantic period.

Later jazz, rock and pop appeared, usually a few years after it arrived in Europe, and often as local copies, for instance in the early 1960s there were many bands copying the British band The Shadows. Norwegian jazz became well known in the 1970s with names such as Jan Garbarek and Terje Rypdal. Popular music was often sung in English, but in the 1970s this started to change, and in the 1980s local musical expressions started to emerge, still influenced by foreign trends and ideas, but more professional. In the mid 1980s a-Ha became the most famous Norwegian pop group of all times, but more recent groups such as Royksopp has also gained a worldwide audience. In the 1990s techno was very popular and folk music became more popular, often under a “world music” banner. As modern communications improved there was also more innovation in Norwegian music, partly through international influences, but also due to the ability to easily tour and sell music abroad. There are several large music festivals in the summer and a healthy scene of various popular musics and some classical and avant-garde music.<sup>33</sup>

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33 [http://www.norway.org.uk/About\\_Norway/culture/music/](http://www.norway.org.uk/About_Norway/culture/music/)

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

As with most parts of Norwegian life, music is heavily supported by state grants. Norway has a state sponsored rock society,<sup>34</sup> many festivals are paid for by local or national government and many artists go on tour with support from government grants. This has made governmental funds a battleground for organisers and musicians. Grants are given from a business perspective of how well they may be able to do abroad, with even death metal bands receiving support from the state (Holen 2006).

When it comes to active music making, Norway is similar to other Northern European countries; for most people musicking is received from radio, TV, MP3 players or CDs. Most people's exposure to local live music would be through brass bands which are still quite common in most schools, although only some pupils take part. The overall picture is of active musicking being a minority pursuit. Outside of popular or folk music groups approximately 29,000 take part in choirs<sup>35</sup> and 70,000 in brass bands.<sup>36</sup>

Despite this, music is often used as a “bridge builder” between ethnic Norwegians and recent immigrant communities as I discussed in my literature review. As Ellingsen (2008) has pointed out, this has often been presented as integration, when in fact it tends to attract mainly ethnic Norwegian concert goers and categorise musicians based on their ethnicity rather than truly integrate them.

## Norway: Background to conflict transformation research

In 1988/9 *Rikskonsertene*, the Norwegian national concert agency (known as NorConcert in English), developed a project, known as Resonant Community,<sup>37</sup> that was meant to alter the attitudes of ethnic Norwegians towards immigrants. Anne Moberg, who was employed to run the project, explained that it was initiated at the behest of the director of the organisation at that time. He had overheard a very racist conversation on an underground train in Oslo and wanted to do something about this. As mentioned, in this period there was an increased public debate for and against immigration. The initial idea, that music should be used to change attitudes, was strongly supported by the minister of culture at the time, which meant that funding for what was an expensive project did not present any obstacles.

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34 <http://www.norskrockforbund.no/>

35 [http://www.ssb.no/emner/07/nos\\_kultur/nos\\_d315/tab/tab13.10.html](http://www.ssb.no/emner/07/nos_kultur/nos_d315/tab/tab13.10.html)

36 [http://www.ssb.no/emner/07/nos\\_kultur/nos\\_d315/tab/tab13.7.html](http://www.ssb.no/emner/07/nos_kultur/nos_d315/tab/tab13.7.html)

37 In Norwegian this is “Klangrikt Fellesskap”, a play on the term “Fargerikt Fellesskap” (colourful community) that was used more broadly to promote multicultural ideas.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

A core idea here was that attitudes could be “attacked” through musical experiences at a deeper level than information alone as the evaluation report makes clear (Skylstad 1992, p.17). Ideas such as this are common in projects of this type as I showed in the literature review.

The resulting project was exploratory in nature, and was meant not only to change attitudes amongst participants, but also to provide a springboard for NorConcert to create other multicultural projects in the future. After a small pilot project in 1988 a three year project was funded to run from 1989 to 1992. Several schools were contacted and asked if they wanted to be involved in the project. For research purposes 18 schools were eventually selected. They were known internally as the A, B and C schools:

- A schools had a concert every month
- B schools had two concerts a year
- C schools had no concerts, and were included for comparative purposes.

The schools were all in and around Oslo, the capital of Norway with approximately 475,000 inhabitants at the time. The 1989 year four cohorts (11 years old) were selected for inclusion in the project. It was thought that this was a good age to help shape opinions (Skylstad 1992, p.16). The same classes were involved for the duration of the project. The concerts presented traditional and classical music and dance from Asia (1989-90), Africa (1990-91) and South America (1991-92). The majority of the artists participating lived in Norway or Sweden but some were brought to Norway from their home countries.

In addition to the music and dance itself, related educational material was produced, covering the countries of the immigrants, their music and everyday life.

Before and after the project the pupils were given a number of questions to measure their attitudes to people of different ethnic groups. The aim was always to change the attitudes of ethnic Norwegian children, the idea that immigrants may have racist attitudes was not discussed. A professor from the Department of Musicology at Oslo University was involved in the role as an external evaluator of the effects of the project and was also involved in the project in terms of organising artists, etc.

After the project was finished an evaluation report was written up (Skylstad 1992), and it concluded that distinct changes had taken place in the children. In my fieldwork it became clear that the conflict between immigrants and ethnic Norwegians in society at large was rarely reflected in these schools: In the inner city school, with its relatively large proportion of children with an immigrant background, the pupils rarely saw each other as outsiders and tended to get on well. Although some of them tended to have most of their friends from their own ethnic group, there were little evidence of ongoing conflicts along ethnic lines. In the countryside school there were no immigrants from non-European countries, either at school or in the community at large. Thus attitudes towards foreigners were mostly on the abstract level, that is, people they might see on TV, or in this case, performers who came to school. In the suburban school there was one pupil who was half African, but everybody, including herself, felt that amongst the children (as opposed to the teachers) she was never seen as different and her skin colour was rarely even noticed.

<i>Time period</i>	<i>Main activity</i>
1988	Initiation and pilot project
1989-1990	Asian music was presented, pupils 11+ years old.
1990-1991	African music was presented, pupils 12+ years old.
1991-1992	South American music was presented, pupils 13+ years old.
1992-1993	New multicultural project launched (not part of my research)
2005-2006	Fieldwork and interviews, former pupils 26-27 years old

*Table 1: Norwegian timeline*

## Sudan: Demographics

Sudan is the largest country in Africa in area, but with a relatively small population of around 40 million people.<sup>38</sup> It has figured in western news mainly for its civil wars, most recently in Darfur. Due to its size, it has a large number of ethnic groups, cultures, religions, music styles and languages within its borders. There is no agreement on the exact numbers of any of these, however, as mentioned above, more than 130 languages are spoken within Sudan's borders (Bell & Hashim 2006). As a result of this there will be many who speak at least two, if not more, local languages.

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<sup>38</sup> Ethnologue gives a population of 36 million ([http://www.ethnologue.com/show\\_country.asp?name=SD](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=SD)), the UN has a figure around 40 million (<http://esa.un.org/unpp/p2k0data.asp>)

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Arabic is the *lingua franca* in Sudan, although English is often used in the South for historical and political reasons. Geographically Sudan is immensely varied, ranging from the Nubian desert (part of the Sahara) in the North broken by the Nile, via the Nuba mountains in the middle to the lush and swampy areas in the South.

The ethnic groups present in Sudan are often described as tribes, for instance “the Dinka tribe”. In reality many of these groups are kingdoms or larger ethnic groups, often divided into tribes proper (Johnson 2004). The Dinka for instance consist of some 25 tribes, such as the Abiem Dinka, Malual Dinka and Twic Dinka. So rather than seeing Sudan's various ethnic, religious and language groups as cleanly separated entities that are internally coherent, they can be envisaged as an assemblage on many levels, where borders are overlapping and fluid. It is common for instance for an ethnic group, such as the Beja in eastern Sudan, to claim Arabic ancestry where there is none, as this is thought to enhance their status, especially in terms of rights to rule (Miller 2005).

Religion is also very important in Sudan: this often boiled down to the phrase “Islamic North and Christian/Animist South” when discussing the conflict(s) involving southern Sudan. However, this is too simplistic a view. There are a range of religions in the South, some of which are theistic religions from outside the Abrahamic tradition (Johnson 2004). There are also Muslims in various southern areas, not only in the North. Islam in Sudan has been relaxed in incorporating local traditions as it was spread through various Sufi sects, and as a result it is less strict than in many other countries (Degorge 2000). Furthermore, the conversion to Christianity in the South started by missionaries in the 1800s has increased in post-independence times and may be seen as a reaction to oppression by the central government (Deng 1995, pp.217-222,494), rather than a cause in the first place. Many Muslims in the South were themselves attacked by government forces (Mohamed Salih 1995), some were even leaders of the resistance against the Islamic government during the second civil war there.

## Sudan: Historical background

The causes of the conflict(s) in Sudan have deep historical roots. It is therefore necessary to provide a more detailed summary of Sudan's history, starting with the northern part of modern day Sudan: After the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE arrival of Christianity in

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Nubia (stretching from modern day Khartoum to southern Egypt). Unsuccessful attempts to invade Nubia from Islamic Egypt resulted in a peace treaty known as the *al-Baqt* (Pact) in 625 CE. Over a period of more than 600 years intermittent peace treaties followed the original Pact. It has been suggested that these can be seen as “*a symbol of religious co-existence or tolerance*” (Sidahmed & Sidahmed 2005, pp.3-4): exchanges of goods ranging from slaves (a common trade in these days) to grain took place and apparently Christian Nubians in one period maintained a mosque built by Muslims in Dongola. Throughout this period a large amount of trade took place between the two sides and Arabs intermingled with the population in northern Sudan over a period of 1000 years (Johnson 2004). Conversion to Islam was slow and rarely forced, but often pragmatic as certain taxes were not paid from areas under Muslim rule. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Funj ethnic group converted to Islam and established the Kingdom of Sennar in the southern part of northern Sudan and a similar Islamic sultanate was established by the Fur in what is now known as Darfur. These sultanates set precedents for the future: they sought to establish their legitimacy by claiming an Arabic genealogy and tied this to Islam, and they often treated non-Muslims as inferior and suitable for slavery. This was linked to skin colour, so lighter skin tended to be linked to Arabo-Islam and dark skin to Africa and non-Islam. This exploitative pattern was reproduced time and again. The Ottoman Egyptian rule over northern Sudan (*Turkiyya* 1821-1885) was initially marked by an increase in slave trading and plundering of local treasures. And the Mahdist state (1885-1898), despite being the first to include all the areas of modern Sudan, also engaged in slave raids in the South (Hashim 2004).

The southern part of today's Sudan had been geographically isolated from the North by a huge swamp, *Sudd*, which made southern travel difficult. The area was populated sometime before the 10<sup>th</sup> century by what is now referred to as the Nilotic people and later other ethnic groups followed from other parts of Africa. The native Mahdiyyah movement won control over Sudan in 1885. Led by Muhammad Ahmad ibn as Sayyid Abd Allah, the self proclaimed Mahdi, it introduced strict Islamic laws for people in all parts of Sudan whether they were Muslim or not. The final period before independence in 1956 was the *Condominium* period following the 1898 British-Egyptian conquest of Sudan when they established a joint rule over Sudan with Egypt. During this period the North and South were kept administratively separate, supposedly

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

to protect native traditions in the South, which meant that Southerners had limited access to modern education.

This caused a marked differences in preparedness for governance between the North and South when the British decided to withdraw from Sudan in 1956. During pre-independence negotiations the main decisions were taken by the Northern contingent whose leaders tended to look to two major Sufi sects, the Ansar and Khatmiyya, for popular support as they were able reliably to mobilise people.

Thus the birth of modern day Sudan followed a pattern of intra-Sudanese exploitation that was the result of cultural practices embedded over hundreds of years: The centre (rather than the North) viewed itself as Arabo-Islamic, and superior to the African non-Muslim parts of Sudan and the central government installed northern officials in all main positions in the South.

Together with an economic downturn this feeling of being “colonised” by the North led to the first civil war in Southern Sudan from 1955 (when it started with local riots at a garrison in Torit) until the South negotiated a peace agreement with the central government in 1972. The agreement left many issues to be dealt with in the future, but gave the South a final say over laws that would affect the South, and a certain amount of autonomy. However, this autonomy was not very well defined, and lacked proper economic funding/control.

## Sudan: Conflict in question

Following many years of instability after 1972 two incidents set off the second civil war. Firstly, the government sought to redraw the boundaries of the South so newly discovered oil fields would come under northern control. Secondly, the so called September laws in 1983 introduced Islamic Sharia law in the whole country, contravening the 1972 peace agreement. The war started in 1983 in the South, but over time developed into a number of conflicts, fought for different reasons. As well as fighting between the government (often deploying militias rather than the regular army) and different (ethnic) groups there was also Muslim's fighting Muslims (seen in the Nuba mountains for instance). As the war(s) went on there were also splits in the warring factions and between different southern ethnic groups who sometimes would

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

fight on the side of the government against other southerners (Johnson 2004). Over time it also spread to the eastern and western parts of Sudan.

The anti-government forces had both a political movement, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and an armed wing, the SPLA (Army). It was led by John Garang and he insisted that the fight that was started was for a new Sudan that was fair for all, so a secession was not on the cards. Instead he appealed to other parts of Sudan who also suffered under central mismanagement to work for regime change. After six years of war a hard line coup d'etat took place in Khartoum in 1989 to avoid a peace agreement between Khartoum and SPLM/A. This coup was led by Omar al-Bashir of the National Islamic Front and he is still in power.

In this 22 year period at least two million people were killed and more than five million were driven from their homes all over southern Sudan (Assal 2004). A number of key points about the war(s) are as follows: The war was not won outright by any part. For the whole period towns and areas were repeatedly switching hands between the warring sides. As time went on larger areas got involved, for instance at the start the Nuba mountains were not considered part of the South or the war, but in 1985 when the government set up local militias they got involved. Despite the religious and ethnic overtones that are often emphasised by outsiders, fighting over resources was a key part of the conflict (Assal 2009).

In common with other protracted social conflicts there was an increased targeting and use of the civilian population by the different sides whether by armed groups (from all sides) who would demand food or would destroy entire villages belonging to the other side. At the same time traditional methods of conflict transformation died out, as a result Darfur for instance experienced an increase in conflicts that were not handled by local conflict transformation mechanisms (Anderson 2004). The conflicts also involved a growing number of international NGOs and aid organisations operating in Sudan. A problem here was that these were frequently used by either the government of Sudan (GOS) or SPLA/M (Riehl 2001). NGOs were also manipulated by the GOS who learnt to couch certain policies, like forced migration, in development terms, and frequently managed to get international aid for normal government business. Finally, the approval of NGOs and international aid organisations were sought by various sides as a part of their attempts to gain international recognition (Johnson 2004, pp.144-151). The long

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

civil war has left a large number of internally displaced persons, refugees in the neighbouring countries as well as a dispersed diaspora all around the world, making Sudan the country with the highest number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the world (Assal 2004, p.9). This war lasted until the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in January 2005. This agreement paved the way for temporary power sharing between the central government of al-Bashir and the SPLM. It also allowed for a referendum on independence for southern Sudan in 2011. However, the peace agreement did not cover Darfur, where similar conflicts have killed more than 200,000 people and displaced two millions.<sup>39</sup> Recent reports indicate a flare-up in violence in southern Sudan between different ethnic groups,<sup>40</sup> and al-Bashir has since early 2009 faced an indictment in the International Criminal Court for war crimes in Darfur. The future of Sudan is therefore far from settled.

## Sudan: Music in general

Considering the size and ethnic diversity of Sudan, it is no surprise to find a very varied musical output. Locally Sudan has a wealth of recording stars, with Mohammed Wardi the unquestionable super star. He is a Nubian singing in Arabic and Nubian. Names of other stars such as Muhammed el Amin, Abdel Gadir Salim and Abdel Aziz el Mubarak are well known throughout the country and in the international diaspora (Broughton 2006). However, unlike many other African countries, little of this music has made it into the so called “world music” scene. There is also a migration of traditions from the local to the national through recordings such as those by Omar Ihsas and Abdel Gadir Salim. In addition there are official folklore bands and recordings done by local academics that seek to document and preserve local music.

Because of music's central place in Sudanese life, Islam was often spread within the country by Sufi musicians. Despite this, music has in periods been suppressed by the Islamo-Arab centre: It was often seen as something that only slaves should do; during the Funj sultanate music was generally discouraged and during the Mahdiah era music was banned outright (Bergh et al. 2008). However, in all these periods what would

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39 The exact numbers are impossible to verify, a common estimate is quoted here:  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/7361979.stm>

40 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jun/21/sudan-humanitarian-disaster>,  
<http://www.dagbladet.no/2009/06/18/magasinet/konflikt/krig/fredsavtale/sudan/6725517/>,  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/8194060.stm>

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

traditionally be considered music was produced by Sufis or other groups and it was not categorised as music as long as it was praising the Prophet. Hence what we might think of as music may not be considered music locally, even when it adopted local African musical expressions (Osman 1990).

When the National Islamic Front (NIF) government from 1989 onward instituted a severe repression of music, banning many songs or singers and erasing existing recordings at radio stations, they therefore followed a historical pattern. Musicians were jailed by the regime, beaten up by the NIF police forces, and even killed by zealous followers (Verney 2001). As a result many well known stars either went to live abroad for periods, stopped singing, or were forced to sign contracts saying they would not attack the authorities. This (self) censorship was particularly hard on women musicians, both traditional singers at weddings or religious ceremonies (Bernal 1994) and popular recording artists (Verney 2001). And whilst the North had state repression the South was devastated by war, so Sudanese music suffered in both areas. The censorship was informally eased before being removed totally as a result of the 2005 peace agreement.

In Sudan active musicking is an integral part of everyday life, providing a way to participate and express yourself in local society and a means of connecting to one's surroundings and the rhythms of everyday life (Eyre 1977). For example pastoralists such as the Didinga create a song to their first ox, and subsequently change it as the ox grows (McMahon 2005). Songs are generally created co-operatively, and can be news or commentaries as much as entertainment (Bell & Hurreiz 1975). In Sudan the lyrical content of a song is very important, and songwriters may be as famous as the performers (Broughton 2006). Compared to Norway music is therefore something that requires strong grass roots support, not only is there relatively little state support, it is often repressed by the state.

With music (in particular songs) being so much a part of social, everyday life, it is used in many practical ways, such as settling disputes in a villages (Jones et al. 2004). Of particular interest are the female singers of Darfur, called *hakkamah*. They used to praise men who had done some practical feat (Carlisle 1973) but have in recent years used their skills to encourage *jihad* in Darfur. This has resulted in some of them being invited to a local project at the University of Nyala, and persuaded to spread messages of non-violence instead (Lacey 2004). As a result of this "social aptitude" for song as a

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

practical tool, projects amongst refugee camps have often used songs and rapping as a way of alleviating the traumas that the refugees have experienced, either in refugee camps in Sudan (Schechter 2004) or in the diaspora (Jones et al. 2004; Reyes 2006).

## Sudan: Background to conflict transformation research

The data from Sudan focuses on the music use in Wau Nour, a settlement of approximately 5,000 IDPs, situated 2-3 miles outside the centre of Kassala, a town of 350,000 people in eastern Sudan. The settlement started in 1988 when Idris, the first settler and one of my informants, cleared some land there for his own use, effectively squatting on local land. Previously some soldiers had stayed in this area overnight (bivouacking) but they only used it as a place to sleep and never created huts or other infrastructure. He was followed by a rapid influx of people in the early 1990s who fled the violent or economic impact of the war. A survey showed that in the Kassala area 79.4% of the refugees had become displaced for personal security reasons,<sup>41</sup> for example one of my informants had been sentenced to death by the local government in Kadugli. Another 17% arrived primarily due to the economic impact of war. Most of my informants came via Khartoum or other larger towns in Sudan before ending up in Wau Nour. Many people also came because they had family or friends in the Kassala area.

At one point the United Nations wanted to designate the area as a refugee camp, but the local government refused this. Although this meant a certain lack of access to resources, it also meant that the settlement from early on had a strong local political structure with a local sultan and individual sheikhs representing different groups. This has clearly had a positive impact on the settlement with an extensive civil society having developed.

The age profile from the IDP survey shows that 88.4% are younger than 44 years and 62.2% are under 24 years. A key reason for such an age profile is the ability and willingness to move from war zones combined with the creation of new families once settled. This affects the importance assigned to music; Adib, who worked for DevOrg,<sup>42</sup>

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41 All demographic figures come from a survey of three refugee settlements around Kassala, including Wau Nour, done by International Organization for Migration six months before my fieldwork (International Organization for Migration 2006).

42 The NGO that was involved in Wau Nour has been anonymised and will be referred to as DevOrg throughout.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

an NGO that was active in the area, pointed out that “*they are young people. So they like music.*”

Wau Nour was always ethnically very diverse. At the time of my fieldwork there nearly 30 different ethnic groups/tribes were present (see Appendix A). Islam, Christianity and other religions were practised. The ethnic groups are primarily from the Nuba Mountains (in central Sudan) and other southern states, but there are also local groups from the East, some from Darfur in the West and the North. With a wide range of languages spoken, colloquial Sudanese Arabic is the *lingua franca* in the area; this is not unique to Wau Nour but common to most of Sudan, although English is often spoken in the South.

This ethnic diversity was reported to be unusual for IDP settlements, in Kadugli (another IDP settlement near Kassala, not the original town in Western Sudan) I was told that 90% of the population was from the Katla ethnic group and that there were strong tensions between them and the minority Krongo and Jororo groups. Adib commented on this “*What's interesting is that many people come and do their music together, the Hadendowa, Nuba, in the same place. Very, very strange.*” As a result there were many different types of music present in Wau Nour, whereas in Kadugli there was said to be only the Kirrang style played.

The different ethnic groups in Wau Nour initially kept apart with no direct socialising between the groups, although there was a certain amount of “high-level” connections between the sultans and sheikhs<sup>43</sup> from different groups on special occasions. Some people had friends from another ethnic group, but outside these limited friendships little contact was reported. The pressure of living under harsh economic conditions and the trauma of war often makes for further violence in IDP settlements and refugee camps (Schechter 2004; Moro 2004), as was the case in Wau Nour. This is also caused by traditional leadership and leadership structures missing, so traditional conflict resolution mechanisms are no longer in place. Different groups who may traditionally be at peace in their home locations may also try to gain more influence, I was told that the Kamda group had recently manipulated a meeting so they controlled a public committee that would replant the hamlet. This gave rise to tensions with the other

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43 These are the Arabic terms that were used for their leaders, however each ethnic group would usually have their own name for these functions.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

groups from the Nuba mountains who also looked down on the Kamda as being too close to the Baggara Arabs (a nomadic Bedouin people with long standing conflicts with the Nuba people).

Another cause of friction in Wau Nour was minor problems or fights between children or teenagers. When these occurred across ethnic boundaries they would often result in inter-group problems with different groups taking the side of “their” children.

Problems such as these, which on their own and in different circumstances would not have mattered, led to violent conflicts in the past. The sheikh of the Katla told me that “[...] *Wau Nour was truly very tough, very tough ... [Fighting and murdering?] Yes, fighting, and to some extent murder.*” Hamaad, a 24 year old boy explained that:

*“Of course the people at the time when people dealt with alcohol, troubles used to take place here. That is because people from all over the Sudan gathered here. And this leads to troubles. The people of the town used to say to us at that time: ‘Your place is like on fire’ because of the troubles.”*

The “fire” that Hamaad refers to became part of the host community’s name for the settlement, **Wau Naar**. Naar means fire (i.e. trouble) in Arabic, and Wau is the name of a town in southern Sudan (IDP settlements in Sudan are usually named after existing towns). The name was changed to Wau Nour (Nour means light) in 1994 after a suggestion by the state governor who wanted to improve the image of the settlement. However, some people in Kassala still use the old Wau Naar as a derogatory term.

Hence the settlement was disliked and disdained by inhabitants of Kassala as a place of drinking, fighting and general trouble, although a lot of this was perpetrated by outsiders. People from Wau Nour were (and still are) a source of cheap casual labour, and as Assal (2004) says, *“In sum, the IDPs are seen as out of place”*. But at the same time there was the allure of beer. In the Nuba mountains (even amongst Muslims) alcohol is brewed locally and there are “sittings” where alcohol is consumed. In Kassala however, adhering to a stricter Islam, there is no alcohol. As a result of this men from the local ethnic groups would come to Wau Nour to drink beer (I observed this myself whilst being there) which resulted in violence whilst under the influence of alcohol. There were other cultural differences, for example men and women in Wau Nour danced together (as they would do in their homestead) whereas in the local ethnic groups only the men performed (a sword dance). Generally in central Sudan, within the Muslim

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

and/or Arabic population, men and women will traditionally dance separately, or women will dance alone, e.g. *Raqsat al-rageeba* (the “neck dance”) which women often perform publicly.<sup>44</sup> The music itself was also unusual to the locals: “[...] *in the culture of Beja, drums are not used. So when they start using drums here, it was very interesting*” (Adib).

The external dislike of Wau Nour combined with the stricter adherence to Islamic rules locally meant the IDPs would try to fit in with the more powerful host community (their only source of income) by publicly professing to follow their ways. Thus Habiba, who sold tea in the local market and played drum/danced in Wau Nour, told me that:

*“However, nowadays when the country has developed [become Islamic], even in the Mountains, such a thing is not allowed; you will never be allowed to go without a toub [top]; You have to put it on. In the old days, the days of jahiliyya [i.e. before Islam; indicating decadence] people were not enlightened, but when they became enlightened they said that in Islam no woman is allowed to go in the non-toub [i.e. less covered] fashion.”*

Here Habiba follows the acceptable local discourse and discusses the traditional way of dressing as unenlightened. Bernal (1994, p.42) encountered similar discourses in a small village in north Sudan. After the village started following a stricter interpretation of Islam public dancing in the past was explained as a result of having been ignorant. However, later in the same interview Habiba tells of how she would prefer to dress in the old way, thus revealing that the references to being developed is primarily rhetoric that they are used to engage in to protect themselves.

The conflict transformation aspect of music in Wau Nour was very different from Norway. Wau Nour had been settled for less than 20 years when I did my fieldwork there. During this time music had become the main means by which the disparate ethnic groups emerged from a period of conflict and violence to forge a joint community. This happened when the different ethnic groups started to perform their traditional music on a field outside Wau Nour in the early 1990s; over time this became a regular event every Friday.<sup>45</sup> These Friday musical events were not deliberately arranged. It was casual musicking that occurred naturally partly to have a good time and partly to preserve their traditions. The different groups started at different times. The Krongo band told me that

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44 Professor Bell, personal communication 2010

45 Friday is generally the only day people are not working in the Sudan.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

they started playing there in 1995, whereas the Azande band had roots going back to 1983 when their leader moved to Kassala.

By 2003 this music activity had become relatively well know all over Kassala with people from outside the settlement attending. Some of the music groups had been paid to play at official events. The leaders in the settlement felt that the Kassala authorities tried to manipulate the music to their own ends, so they formed a committee who would be responsible for the music groups and organise payments, etc. At this point the NGO *DevOrg*, which had worked in Wau Nour for some time, approached them with a view to use music groups to attract people to their various events which often centred around development issues such as AIDS, the dangers of cooking in enclosed spaces, etc. Through this incidental, and for the NGO, very successful use of music, the idea of setting up more formal “bands” developed. Two folklore experts from Khartoum, a musician and a drama teacher, worked with DevOrg. Between them they formalised various ad hoc music groups into bands by helping them build instruments, by changing the performances so they were geared towards production on a stage and by giving each band matching costumes. Since 2004 the regular Friday events have stopped and the bands mostly play at official events or private parties in the host community when they are paid.

Thus we can see that the music use here had two distinct phases, from the early 1990s<sup>46</sup> to 2003 when it was local/casual, and post 2003 when it was organised and professionalised by DevOrg.

<i>Time period</i>	<i>Main activity</i>
1983 - 1984	Azande band started in Kassala (not Wau Nour), paid to perform at local events.
1988	First person (Idris) settles in area that will be Wau Nour. At this point a few soldiers bivouacked there.
1988 - 1990	Settlement becomes known as Wau Naar (fire). The name is originally linked to the Southern town of Wau. Settlement is locally perceived as a place of drinking and violence.
1990 - 1995	Local music life develops. Regular music every Friday emerges
1994	The governor comes to open UNICEF built school building: suggests they call it Wau Nour (light) to improve areas image.
1995	A people's committee in the settlement is formed to represent bands

46 The earlier Azande band was not based in Wau Nour as the settlement did not exist until 1988.

1994	The bands start being hired ad hoc by local government to play.
1995	Krongo band started to preserve heritage for their children
Late 1990s	Violent period ends
2003	DevOrg employee pays Habiba to perform and DevOrg gets invited to a community meeting. Band project starts.
2004	Theatre was built and formal bands are given matching costumes; performances take place at Totil, a local mountain/recreation area.
2003 - 2004	Bands stop performing on Fridays.
2007	Fieldwork and interviews

Table 2: *Wau Nour timeline*

## Summary

For the purpose of my research, the Norwegian project can be viewed as a conflict transformation activity, since it was assumed that problems between ethnic Norwegian and immigrant children could be improved by making Norwegian children see their new countrymen in a different light. In Sudan, the use of music can be seen as a conflict transformation activity as it changed not only the internal dynamics between the ethnic groups in Wau Nour, but it also affected the relationship to the external, and more hostile, host community.

Already here we can see that the social mores of the two societies left a strong imprint on the way music was used, thus rendering unworkable any notion of universality in music use. This will be discussed throughout the next chapter, where I will go into details about my findings from Norway and Sudan.

## Chapter 5: Findings

### Introduction<sup>47</sup>

Before presenting my findings it is worth re-iterating the purpose of having two field sites in two very different locations: It is not to attempt to uncover or prove that there are certain universal methods or values available, but to obtain more varied data for deliberation, so as to develop a deeper understanding and a more informed perspective on music and conflict transformation. This strategy was a direct result of the field being new, with current research, as discussed in Chapter Two, largely based on pre-existing assumptions and romantic views on “the power of music” rather than empirical data. As a result some of the sections below will be focusing more, or exclusively, on one site, whereas at other times I will deliberately juxtapose the two sites.

It should also be kept in mind that I am not trying to **evaluate** music and conflict transformation use. Nor is this thesis an attempt to come up with recommendations to individual organisations who want to do intervention style projects. My concern is to investigate how music affects **any** conflict transformation process, be it naturally occurring or as the result of an intervention, and to develop the beginnings of a theory to explain how music may affect such processes.

The Norwegian project, albeit with several of references to conflict, was primarily a multicultural project aimed at increasing tolerance of others and reducing racism. As mentioned in Chapter Three, I have not attempted to measure racist attitudes. Not only would this be a difficult task, but as my ethnographic data will show, it is a largely redundant task as the music rarely had the intended effect. Instead I have focused on how the music and the social activities around the music were experienced by the participants and how this often contrasted with the views of musicians, organisers and teachers. Although I want to highlight the participants’ understanding, this needs to be contextualised. Hence I also interviewed organisers and artists whose views will be presented here.<sup>48</sup> My focus, as I have stated before, reflects my interest in the experience

47 It should be noted that any criticism of DevOrg originates in my interpretation of events as described to me. Informants in Wau Nour raised no such issues with me.

48 To make it clear whose opinion is presented I will mark quotes and references to artists with “(a)”, organisers with “(o)” and participants with “(p)”. Some interviewees have multiple roles, e.g.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

of conflict transformation from the 'bottom-up', that is from the perspectives of the participants themselves.

The Norwegian project was the first of its kind in Norway, parts of what I will discuss as problematic may therefore be a result of initial organisational learning problems. The lack of children's direct involvement is identified as a key problem in my findings in this chapter. Documents from a later NorConcert project, called *Grunerverden*, seem to indicate that children were more involved, thus correcting what I see as problematic. However, these issues are still worth mentioning as most of my findings are rarely acknowledged explicitly in music and conflict transformation research and practice.

In Sudan, as highlighted in the previous chapter, the role of music in Wau Nour can be seen to fall into two distinct periods: (1) a period when music was created in a casual bottom-up manner on most Fridays and (2) a period, following the formal project by DevOrg, when music was created by bands who performed for payment. I will refer to these as Phase I (early 1990s to 2003/4) and Phase II (2003/4 to present) throughout.

Following the initial research in Norway in 2005-2006 some key issues regarding music use in conflict transformation emerged. During the research in Sudan in 2007 these same issues came even more into focus and certain tentative ideas from Norway were confirmed by what was found in Sudan. In addition a wealth of new information was provided in Sudan which further expanded my understanding of the problems and opportunities presented by music use in conflict transformation contexts.

I will now discuss these issues organised into three key areas, each with several broad sub-themes: (1) **participants' reflections on music and conflict transformation**; (2) **socio-political context of music and conflict transformation and** (3) **the politics of music and conflict transformation**.

The section on **participants' reflections on music and conflict transformation** will be informed by the participants view (but it will also include information from artists and organisers) to provide a broad overview of how music and conflict transformation events were perceived. In this section I will look at (a) how music helped

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someone may have become an artist recently. In this case I use the relevant marks depending on the situation that is being discussed. A full list of informants and a description of them is found in Appendix C.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

broaden relationships; (b) the participants own understanding of the musical events; (c) how conflict transformation in Wau Nour went from joint active musicking to music as representation and (d) traditions and multicultural issues.

In the segment on the **socio-political context of music and conflict transformation** I will contextualise the conflict transformation efforts and the music use. I will discuss (a) practical, extra-musical issues that affected the conflict transformation aspect and (b) how the musical side of conflict transformation activities affected local social and political issues, in particular how music can provide social, cultural and economic capital.

The third and final section in this chapter, **politics of music and conflict transformation**, will focus on power issues. I will look at (a) interventions and how these interventions force music centre stage within the conflict transformation event, but at the same time remove it from its normal habitat and (b) power issues that arise from the top-down aspect of such interventions.

Some of these findings are not new or unexpected in themselves, but in the context of the romantic discourse on music's power and abilities they help to advance an account of how music is implicated in conflict transformation that differs markedly from the view which is usually promoted. In the next chapter I provide an analysis of certain aspects of the music ↔ participant interaction and put forward some tentative suggestions with regards to the role of music in conflict transformation.

## 1. Participants' reflections on music and conflict transformation

### 1a. Broadening relationships

It is often assumed that music in conflict transformation can improve relationships between people on different sides of a conflict. Zelizer suggests that in Bosnia-Herzegovina “the arts are a powerful process for bringing groups together through a creative process, to help rebuild social relationships” (Zelizer 2004, p.71). In multicultural projects, such as Resonant Community in Norway, this role is seen as the key, or even the only role of music. Small has suggested that “*The act of musicking establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*relationships that the meaning of the act lies”* (Small 1998, p.13). In other words, relationships form around musicking (which includes any activity linked to music, not only performing), and these relationships give meaning to the musical event. Furthermore, these relationships can be seen as a model for relationships in the wider lifeworlds of those involved in the event (Small 1998, p.13). I will therefore first discuss several instances of music successfully enhancing such relationship building, regardless of whether this was the result of an intentional intervention, or a coincidental side-effect of other everyday music activities.

In any location where people share the same space, even if riven by conflicts, there will be certain pragmatic relationships present, whether tacit or formal, that are required for basic functioning and day to day operation of that particular location. In Wau Nour there were from an early date relationships between leaders from different ethnic groups, and there was the purely physical issue of sharing the same, relatively small piece of land. In Norway, even if children from different ethnic groups kept to themselves, they were of necessity drawn together at school where they had to work together in the classroom. In both these cases, music's role of was less about **creating** relationships where none existed and more about **broadening** and **deepening** those relationships that were already there, however limited, especially on the group level.

### *Phase I, Wau Nour, Sudan*

In Wau Nour it was very clear that in Phase I music was the main means through which relationships were broadened. Idris (p), the very first person to settle there, today an elder in the settlement, said that:

*“those people, when in the past, when they were simple, they used to go to each other as tribes. Now there is a development; even the bands go to participate in the occasions of the people, they go to participate and the people also participate; the bands have brought the people closer together.”*

This observation was repeated by different people I interviewed, they knew very well that in the beginning of the settlement their relationships were fragile and as discussed earlier, violent conflicts were common. Martin (a) from the Azande band expanded on this theme:

*“In the past the relations were limited; I only go to you if I knew you personally. If something happened to you, I go to you. But now after the*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*people have become one community [after Phase I music], when a Dinka is dead, I, an Azande, go to my people and urge them to go to the so and so to pay our respect to the dead."*

This view was underlined by Adib (o), the person at DevOrg who was responsible for Phase II in Wau Nour, he described how "[...] *they speak very much about music, they see it as the thing that brought them together.*"

This broadening not only affected adult relationships, bonds to and around children were also improved through the regular music use. These bonds are very important in a place like Wau Nour where the susceptibility to conflict was high and where relatively innocuous trouble between children, which in a more settled community would not cause problems, can inflame more serious trouble between adults. As al-Shafi (p), the Wau Nour schoolmaster, put it

*"You see now the dances and performances have made the children of the settlement well associated with each other, including the young and the old people. The people now know each other; if you ask any, whether a Dinka boy or any one, about the house of Uthman, he will immediately reply: Ah! Uthman Husain? And will take you to his house. Do you know Idris? Ah! Yes! And he will bring you to his house. From where have we got this? From the traditional performances and the bands which have made the people know each other very well."*

The fact that these relationships were built around music has also resulted in members of the bands being used for conflict transformation purposes outside music as well:

*"In the past, for instance, I did not have any relation with Hadendawa. But now I go to the house of any Hadendawa because our relations are broad. [...] If there is a problem between children, then the question is 'which tribe?' for instance Nuba. Immediately I, an Azande, hurries, or one of my band. We solve it quickly with the responsible person [of the other child].*  
(Martin (a) from the Azande band).

This is an example of how someone's role and relationships as a leading member of the community were initially developed within a musical context. Later, this role is transferred, or extended, from the musical to the extra-musical context, thus demonstrating that music can have a pragmatic effect beyond the immediate aesthetic experience it provides.

Music also strengthened existing relationships in groups that traditionally tended to be close. For instance the various ethnic groups in the Nuba mountains are generally

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

peaceful back at home. In Wau Nour there were certain (non-violent) conflicts between them generally due to the fact that their traditional leaders were missing and they were in a new situation. However, they would perform the Kirrang dance together and through this be reminded of their traditional bonds. As Habiba (a), a female musician from the Kirrang band explained:

*“Each people respective to these [other] tribal bands belonged to the same ethnic group. But we, although we are all Nuba, our languages were different. So we had to do training among ourselves so that we could understand each other and make our band.”*

Later she explained that “*Kirrang is the base of the 99 mountains*”,<sup>49</sup> in other words it has a traditional role as a dance that is used when people visit other ethnic groups in the Nuba mountains. The school master, al-Shafi (p), pointed out that “*Now the kirrang has become sort of a national band for all the Nuba people, you bring any people from any Nuba tribe, they will perform the kirrang.*” In this case music continued to play a role it already had traditionally, that of connecting people from diverse ethnic groups to a tradition of peaceful co-existence. Performing this music in Wau Nour provided a way of remembering this mode of interaction through re-enacting, thus highlighting another way in which music “works”. (This reconnection of people to a peaceful past through music has been used deliberately in a project run by the folklore department of the University of Khartoum.<sup>50</sup>)

The quotes above were all discussing music that had been naturally occurring in Phase I in Wau Nour, i.e. the time prior to any official conflict transformation project. If we consider the two conflict transformation **projects**, Resonant Community in Norway and Phase II in Wau Nour, we see a very different picture from Phase I in Wau Nour. Although these two projects may seem very different, we will see that they ultimately have a lot more in common than Phase I and II in Wau Nour had.

### ***Resonant Community, Norway***

In Norway, as I will discuss in detail below, music **in the project** had little effect in terms of bringing people together across the perceived conflict boundaries between children with ethnic Norwegian and immigrant backgrounds. Although a couple of

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49 The 99 mountains is a local reference to the mountainous area the Nuba people live in. It is not an accurate term.

50 Al-Daw, personal communication 2007

comments from one of the pupils from the inner city school, Sonja (p), suggested that “[t]he pupils became closer as well, because we had to do things jointly” overall there was little evidence from my informants of the project broadening relations long term.

However, this does not mean that relations were never enhanced through music in these schools: Another girl<sup>51</sup> from the same school, Lotte (p), told me that they had a New Kids on the Block<sup>52</sup> (NKOTB) fan club in their class with three Norwegian and one Pakistani girl in it. Silje (p) from the same school told me how “*We bought diaries on 7-11 and things like that. [...] all girls had that, with New Kids on the Block written as favourite group.*” Another informant from the inner city school, a boy (p) with a background from Punjab in India, told me how he had heard a modern pop version of Bhangra<sup>53</sup> at a family wedding in Canada. He then brought this music back to Norway and played it in music lessons when everyone could bring any music with them to share. And Lotte (p) pointed out that:

*“We lived in a town house where there were a Pakistani and an Indian family with kids on my age and I saw a lot of Indian romantic films and there's lots of music there. [...] We played music [on the school tannoy] during breaks at school. [...] some pupils took it in turns [...] they played the music they wanted to and often it was Pakistani and Indian music played.”*

What we see here, unsurprisingly given the literature on music reception in daily life, is that music is used in this everyday setting on a casual basis when interacting with others. In the case of the NKOTB fan club, we can surmise that it certainly helped strengthen existing friendships: Having the same taste in music, as Hennion (2007, p.103) has pointed out, is the result of an ongoing active dialogue where “*taste [...] is a history of oneself permanently remade together with others.*” How much this particular taste making activity broadened the relationships between groups is not clear here. The point is that the music in the project which was primarily traditional and classical, failed to aid relationships in the way that the casual everyday encounters with popular music did.

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51 I will use girl/boy to refer to my informants to indicate their age/gender at the time of the original project.

52 One of the first so-called “boy bands” from 1984 to 1994.

53 Bhangra is traditional music used at harvest time in rural Punjab with a strong rhythm. In the 1980s the Punjabi diaspora started playing it using Western pop music instruments and modern production techniques and gained crossover appeal in the UK especially (Bergh & Banerji 1987).

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

### *Phase II, Wau Nour, Sudan*

In Phase II in Wau Nour formal bands were organised by the NGO DevOrg, this was initially thought of as an income generating project. However, as the project progressed the idea to use music to improve relations between Wau Nour and Kassala, the host community, emerged. Thus, whereas Phase I had considerable impact on internal relationships, it was primarily the external relations that improved in Phase II. Two artists from the *National Band for Traditional Musical Instruments*, a musician and a drama performer (both named Dafallah), were hired to train the formalised band in Phase II. Dafallah (o/a), the musician, pointed out that:

*"[...] because we notice the idea inside Kassala, the idea about Wau Nour is not good, that if you are from Wau Nour, pfft, they are afraid. We need to change this idea, we need to mix the community."*

As a result of this the performances (usually paid either by the local government or NGOs working in the area) became more oriented towards the host community. They were promoted locally and performances took place in *Totil*, a local mountainous area which traditionally was used for Friday socialising. It also became common for locals to hire bands from Wau Nour to perform at weddings etc. I will discuss the results of this in detail below. These performances had some very positive results in terms of being accepted locally:

*"[...] the difference is that now we are famous and we have become conspicuous in the state. Because when there is any occasion, even the government has recognized our status. In the past no one knew whether the people here were alive or dead. Now we have become important like any other people. (Habiba (p/a))*

As this was a point of pride among the bands and the settlement in general I did a survey in Kassala (with the help of ten students from the Alsharg Ahlia College) to verify whether the music of Wau Nour was in fact well known. With a sample of 149 randomly chosen people in Kassala I got the following results:

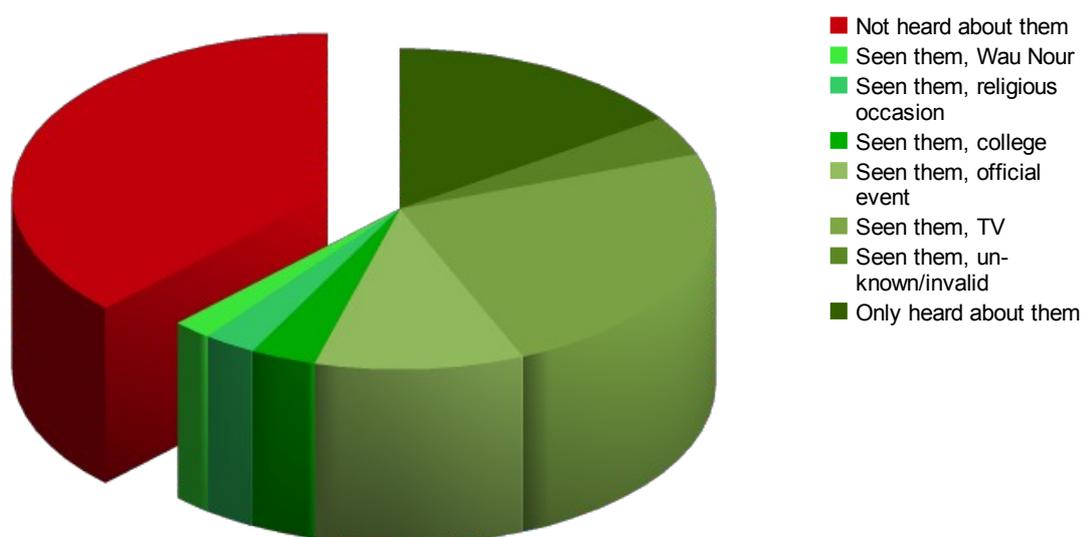


Figure 1: Kassala survey results

Almost two thirds of the people asked knew about the bands from Wau Nour, with 70 people, just under half, having seen them perform (this included one member of the bands and three forms where the place they had seen them was difficult to understand as it was hand written in Arabic).

It is important to understand that Phase II should not be seen as having improved the relationship to the host community on its own: People from Kassala had over a number of years since the mid 1990s come to know about the music from Wau Nour, as Uthman (p), a community worker in Wau Nour, explained:

*“When this place started, the people of Kassala were not aware of the settlement and were not aware that it has such a richness of heritage. [In the empty field across the road from Wau Nour] spontaneously the people [of the settlement] used to go out in the evenings on Fridays to perform and dance. This is why the people of Kassala along with its high officials used to come.”*

In Phase II the members of the bands were given a *libis* [matching costumes], this made the bands stand out as more formal entities and it became more common for the local government to hire them for official events. Thus their exposure in publicly sanctioned arenas of celebration were given a seal of approval and the host community was exposed to them more frequently without having to go to Wau Nour, which with its

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

bad reputation may have stopped many from experiencing the music. Therefore we can see that the changeover from Phase I to II was a change from joint, active musicking to using music as representation.

### *Music use and conflict transformation outcomes*

Having shown some examples of how music helped to strengthen and broaden relationships between individuals or groups, I now want to consider different aspects of the music(s) and its use in the two places that affected the conflict transformation outcome.

In Wau Nour people were very clear about their desire to keep their own music alive, while often expressing a preference for music from another ethnic group. For example, Idris (p) who came from Kadugli in the Nuba mountains had a liking for Latuka music from the border area to Uganda. Such preferences were obviously the result of long term exposure to music from other groups. Another respondent, Hanan (p), a Nuba woman elaborated this point: *“Due to the constant listening to music and living side by side [with other kinds of music], now I understand more than one dialect [language]. And I keep by heart musical couplets of more than one ethnic group.”* Musical proximity also aided the growth of relationships, for example Uthman and al-Shafi were both clear that they would not be the same with a single band: *“No. One band could not represent all the people.”* (Uthman (p)); *“The first day the people may enjoy watching it, but not the next time. They wouldn't come.”* (al-Shafi (p)). In Wau Nour music was first and foremost entertainment, despite my focus here on its role in conflict transformation processes. Thus a single group performing the same music every week would fail to attract people after some time, and at the same time it would not be seen as a “Wau Nour” activity by other ethnic groups. However, whilst acknowledging the importance of diverse bands playing, it is important to realise that there was a shared African aesthetic to all the musics played in Wau Nour, which meant that the music did not seem alien, despite its diversity.

In Norway the picture was more unclear with different reactions and connections to the music presented. Pupils with an immigrant background often listened to music from their parents' country at pre-school age, but at the time of the project they were all into western pop music. One African-Norwegian girl (p) was very clear on how much it

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

meant to her that African music was presented, something that might have had to do with the fact that she was the only person with an immigrant background at her school. Zubi (p), a girl of Pakistani origin from the inner city school suggested that her familiarity with Pakistani music made it easier for her to relate to it and discuss it at home, but at the same time suggested music was not very important in Pakistani culture. Other pupils felt no particular connection to the music that was supposed to represent them. The performers often reported that they felt that ethnic Norwegians reacted better to their music than the children who shared their ethnic/immigrant background, possibly due to the fact that it was exciting and new.

Overall, familiarity with, and connections to, the music used were important in terms of how it was received, and thus how well it engaged the children. Samir (p), a big fan of Michael Jackson, commented about a South African group who performed:

*"[...] what was very cool was that they first played very traditional music with drums, [...] but then they began to rap and we thought that was so cool, because then it was real rap and it was so fun."*

Several quotes from children in the original report (Skylstad 1992, p.73) also refer to this rapping event. Here we see how an (accidental) connection to something that was a part of their everyday musical life had a shared appeal to pupils across different ethnic groups. In other words, familiarity to music does not mean that music has to come exclusively from "their background" whatever that may be.

On the theme of music that is familiar as a link between opposing people, one woman in Wau Nour highlighted an important point when she said that *"For instance, if I were on bad terms with my neighbour and I overheard music in their house, I can [still] dance to it and sing it."* (Hanan (p)) This highlights the lightness of music as a contact point, which in the context of Wau Nour's Phase I was a boon. At times of trouble individuals from different groups could still enjoy each other's music. In this way music offered a (temporary) shared cultural ground, which provided a **potential** path to closer relationships outside the musical event. I will return later to discuss in detail how this shared cultural ground may operate in conflict transformation terms. It also shows that the "power of music" notion in fact distracts from and hinders this very important side of music by its insistence that music will transform one in an instant. An

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Israeli violinist (p) I spoke to from the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra as part of my preliminary study made a similar point:

*“Only solution is what we [in the orchestra] do [...] which is to ignore the problem and just try to live together peacefully. And then maybe there will be a solution. Problem now is that people has [sic] such a big ego.”*

The music in Phase I also provided a “safety valve” where pressures and tensions between ethnic groups from everyday life could be released. This was done (implicitly) when the different music groups competed for people’s attention as one woman explained: *“The place bustled up with music and dancing. There was a spirit of rivalry.”* (Fayza (p)) Thus minor irritations between different ethnic groups could be dealt with through musical competitions rather than an open/violent conflict. People often joined in with their ethnic group because the competition was judged informally by the biggest crowd, but were also open to experiencing the other music on offer:

*“When anyone gets a liking for a certain performance, you keep watching and after that you leave. You call the person you respect and see if he likes it or not. And go to another band performing next to it to see if he likes it or not until you cover them all.”* (Idris (p))

This aspect of local culture in East Africa shows that competitions can be used for inclusive purposes as discussed in the literature review (Barz 2004, pp.50-51). This competitive element also has echoes in the origins of hip-hop and rap, which was encouraged by social workers in New York to get away from gang killings (Toop 1984, pp.14-16,56-59). In these cases there is an underlying shared identity that frames the competitions: in Wau Nour they were all displaced people; in New York they all belonged to inner city ethnic minorities. Thus music is a space for forging a joint identity, whilst at the same time resolving rivalries that are an obstacle to this shared identity by re-framing and acting out these rivalries in musical terms. This space may have been helpful in keeping the competitions good natured and as the aim of the competitive musicking was to be respected and liked by a common audience, violence would be counter productive.

A key aspect of the performances in Norway that improved the reception of the music was practical involvement, i.e. active musicking, this was also the default mode of musicking in Wau Nour. This is not too surprising given that children generally get

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

restless after some time, but it highlights the problem of pure listening performances: In Norway the concerts consisted of a mixture of plain performances (especially Asian and South American music) and active dancing/singing/playing by the children (usually with African music). This was reflected in my interviews with the performers. The Asians viewed their participation in the project as an opportunity to present their culture, whereas the African performer discussed it in terms of helping the children to form a community. Most of the participants in Norway remembered with a good level of detail the events where they had taken an active part and were positive about them, but were negative or had completely forgotten about many of the pure listening events:

*“The best was when they came to the school. At Konserthuset it was a bit more classical style. It was much more fun when you could participate. Take part and learn to play the instruments, lots of laughter and some teasing afterwards. Damn, didn't you manage that? I managed it. You did things with your class, become closer.”* (Sonja (p))

This shows the importance of active, yet casual musicking in a society, as a meeting place outside work and school. Zelizer's (2003, p.221) findings in Bosnia-Herzegovina supports this view. Having a performance component there seemed to aid the process of creating a shared identity among the those involved. However, involvement may cause problems in some cases. For children it may be a matter of being shy, for adults it may cause discomfort if they feel that they do not have the right skills/knowledge to participate appropriately.

Both in Norway and Sudan I found that a strong rhythm was the best way of involving participants. This may be caused by rhythm's greater potential for entrainment. Longer term it may also have resulted in embodied memories, although the latter effect would only be applicable in Wau Nour. In Norway most of the pupils remembered music with stronger rhythm (usually African) better than other types of music. The videos from the project show that during performances with rhythm that involved joint active musicking pupils participated vigorously with the music. They are, often after some initial hesitancy, variously clapping, dancing and running inside a circle, skipping around with the performers, tapping their feet to the rhythm and jumping. In short, they are engaging with the music and each other, as can be seen in figure 2 below.<sup>54</sup>

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54 Video © Kjell Skyllstad/NorConcert.



Figure 2: Video snapshots showing pupils at different schools engaging with African music.

In Sudan the director of DevOrg (o) told me that they found that strong vocalists were not as important as the rhythm, something that surprised them.<sup>55</sup> The Kirrang band has members from three different ethnic groups from the Nuba mountains and are named after the Kirrang dance that exists all across the Nuba mountains, rather than any individual ethnic group. They sing the lyrics in their own language (two different ones), but as one of the members (m) of the Krongo band<sup>56</sup> said “*When it comes to dancing, we all dance very well. But the language of the Nuba are divided into 99 tribes where no one hears [understands] the speech of the other.*” Through the beat/dance they effectively create a supra-identity between the Nuba mountains groups, which at the same time demonstrates the fluidity of identification. This allowed some of the smaller groups to achieve parity with other, larger, ethnic groups present in Wau Nour.<sup>57</sup>

55 The lyrics are usually very important in Sudanese music especially in the North, with most of the stars being singers and lyricists first and foremost (Broughton et al. 2000).

56 Krongo is an ethnic group from Nuba mountains who were large enough in Wau Nour to have their own group, thus the distinction between the Kirrang band and the Krongo band.

57 Although the body/rhythm connection is an intriguing aspect of my findings it is impossible to cover

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

When Raymond (a), a performer from the Ivory Coast, discussed how he wanted to interact with the children in the Resonant Community project he also summed up how music worked in Wau Nour:

*“It was **not** about them having a good time **with us**, no, the point was that they had it good between themselves, enjoy themselves and get something positive out of it [...]. That was our special message. The kids in the field, for them to have it good together, create a community between themselves.”<sup>58</sup>*

What Raymond points out here is that for music to work it has to connect to the lifeworlds of the participants and let **them** do the work of creating relationships.<sup>59</sup> This was also the key difference between Norway and Sudan. In Norway the music was so alien to most pupils that it failed to make an impact. Deepika (a), the young singer of Pakistani origin was more aware of this than others as she was close in age to the participants and when a Pakistani did an *alaap*, that is a solo over many octaves, she told the audience that “*even if Michael Jackson did pee his pants he couldn't manage that.*” (Samir (p)), thereby appropriately contextualising what the pupils had just heard. Deepika herself told me that later in similar contexts she:

*“want[ed] to make music that is more accessible to kids my own age and then flip in some of the other [i.e. Pakistani] stuff, so it is easier to take in. [...] Pop music/culture in general has the ability to carry a lot of other things [...], like a sweetener that you can give to people and they go cool, this tastes familiar to me and you can have a drop of something else.”*

What Deepika says here links back to how children in the school had a cross-ethnic New Kids on the Block fan club, i.e. something that they were familiar with would bring them together. In Sudan of course there never was a problem with this as music in Phase I was very much a part of everyday life. In Phase II however this has changed and people outside the bands were very aware of this:

*“On Friday, they all used to come here. The reason I am saying that they are not attractive, because now they have become ready, on demand. If anyone has an occasion, they will come and take them there. [...] They simply come and take them to where they are celebrating. [And you became spectators?] Yes, we have become spectators.”* (Unnamed Krongo man (p))

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it adequately within this thesis, a full exploration of this will have to be left for future research. Here I merely want to put forward this observation within the discussion of how different music **use** affected the outcomes.

58 Emphasis added.

59 This approach was clearly appreciated by the teacher from the inner city school who praised the African musicians for being excellent educators.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

who intervened in the interview with al-Shafi and Uthman).

And Hanan (p) said that *“The casual way of performance was far better because it was natural and without self-consciousness/awkwardness.”*

This lack of connection to participants' lifeworlds is also echoed in longitudinal issues, in particular the need for repetition. Anne (o) from NorConcert who organised the performances in Norway explained that:

*“There was expressed a desire for certain musicians to come back and in the second year we used African musicians who live in Norway who do tours for us, who came back at the end of the school year. We saw the benefits of redoing stuff, singing songs they already knew, etc. We underestimated the benefits of this, always thought it had to be new.”*

Due to the bottom-up approach to music in Phase I in Wau Nour repetition was never a problem, but in the top-down project in Norway this was impossible to achieve beyond the fixed project dates. At the same time “the power of music” discourse implies that changes through music are rapid and strong, obviating the need for repetition whilst at the same time preventing us from exploring how music actually works in conjunction with other activities and practices.

## **1b. Participants' own understanding of the musical events**

So far I have dealt with occasions where music did bring people closer together and possible reasons why this did or did not happen. I will now look closer at how the participants engaged with, understood and reacted to the music more broadly. In other words, we will move from “music that worked” to “music from the events” and how this music fitted in with their everyday life. In Norway as well as in Wau Nour in Phase II the focus was on music as a tool rather than a process, as Einarsen (1998, p.15) discovered in a similar project in Norway. But was the tool suited to the situation?

In terms of the pupils' reaction to the music in Norway, I have already discussed how rhythmic music was well remembered and provided scope for participant interaction, although this was by no means universal. As could be expected reactions in general ranged from Anders' (p) reaction that *“It was also boring, hours when we just sat and sat and sat and listened to... I came across one place where I wrote [at the time of the project] that I thought it was boring.”* via Elisa's (p) comment that *“[...] just the contrast from Africa to the more careful China, all that was strange, it was.”* to Ole

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Christian (p) who discussed a comment he had written at the time of the project: *"I thought it was very exciting."*

Beyond this it was clear that music that made some form of impression on the pupils was music that they could relate back to something else in their life. For instance the Indian and Pakistani performances were often remembered. This seems to have been partly due to the number of people from these countries present in Norway and because Deepika (a), the young Norwegian-Pakistani singer was later featured in newspapers in connection with her further music career. Attempts were made by the organisers to link music to Norwegian experiences, the song *Alle fugler små de er*, a common song taught to children, was presented in Turkish, Urdu and Norwegian, something several of my informants remembered. Similarly, South American pan flute music was (and still is) frequently heard in the centre of Oslo in the summer and several informants made comments linking the two: *"Pan flutes I remember [Renate: Yeah] The ones who played for us, are they the ones who now play on the street? [...] Well I wondered, one was rather cute."* (Sonja (p) from the inner city school)

The last remark underlines how the experience of music never took place in isolation. The participants in Norway, just as we all do, made connections to extra-musical issues, framed it from their own point of view and situated it in **their** everyday lives. This situating is what often causes problems with music and conflict transformation projects. Activist often assume that participants come to the musical experiences innocently, without any prior associations or experiences/memories that will affect their encounter with the music. Jordanger (2007, p.137) has suggested, based on music use with adults in a dialogue project in Crimea, that the collective meaning making in that case was more important than individual personal or cultural differences. However, collective meaning making does not necessarily indicate that everyone present takes part in a single, uniform collective that creates a single meaning. In Norway there were at least three collectives: performers, teachers/organisers and pupils, all of which may consist of further collective entities. Collective meaning making, that is, meaning making in the same place and time, is therefore no guarantee that the understanding of the music is shared by all present.

From all informants it was clear that the pupils viewed the project differently from musicians and organisers and the project played a very different role in their lives than

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

what came through in the official evaluation. For example, the evaluation emphasised (musical) peak experiences, as defined by Maslow (1968, p.85), as a way of changing attitudes. Although the pupils certainly had some positive memories, as discussed above, they saw the project in much more pragmatic terms: It was an acceptable activity because “it was not school”, or as Zafar (p) from the inner city school put it, “*The way the project was, I think we were happier to avoid doing school work and have fun different places.*” Bjørnar (p) from the suburban school put it even more pointedly when he said that “*For us it was like going on an excursion to a power station*”. It also gave their class some status as it was only one cohort in each school that participated:

*“What I remember the best almost is that the other [cohorts] were very envious of us because we were involved. In another project we got free bicycle helmets [from an insurance company] [...]. So I remember there was an underlying issue where others were a bit upset because we got so much good [stuff].”*

Therefore it was not particularly significant to them unless they were very interested in music in general and no peak experiences were reported to me. As Gabrielson (2001) has described at length, such experiences are so unique and strong that they are unlikely to have been forgotten in the intervening years. This discrepancy highlights two practical problems linked to the formulation of aesthetic experience. The first of these problems is linked to the temporality of musical experiences. Attempts to isolate aesthetic experiences and harness their potential for emotional affect without connecting them to the daily life of participants just emphasises their short lived nature and has little effect. As one former pupil (p) put it: “*...it's typical kids, what happens at two o'clock, happens at two o'clock, but at three o'clock [something totally different happens]. Then it is marbles and brass band [practice]*”. Secondly, sometimes quite different and seemingly insignificant or marginal aspects of an experience become a highlight for the audience. For example, informants from the countryside school had strong memories of a fight breaking out with pupils from another school at one of the concerts.

At a deeper level, the reported lack of involvement by the pupils beyond the actual performances highlights the dangers of not including the target audience when selecting music. In most cases the audience will already be using music themselves as discussed above. The fact that the music was selected by adult music experts with a far wider

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

experience of classical and folk music than what the target audience had, meant that it more often than not became a very uni-directional experience. Deepika (a) said very clearly that:

*“I think we could have done a lot more. There are many ways, not sure what, more ways that we could have done this in, which could really have hit the pupils. Not only ‘this is a colourful day, how fun it is, now we are all clapping, hurrah hurrah’. I feel we could have gone deeper. It is easy for me to say this in retrospect, but I do remember that I thought that at the time as well. I seem to remember thinking ‘OK, what do I know? I know what I would have liked as a pupil, but what does that matter? I am not NorConcert, I am not adult smart person who knows how these things are supposed to be done’.”*

This meant that the idea in Norway of presenting “good” music failed, because the question “good from what point of view?” was never asked.

By not involving the intended participant more, all the small, incidental, tacit, local learning/teaching interactions that so enriched the music use in Wau Nour were not marshalled to back up the music use. Two examples from the pupils at the inner city school illustrate this:

*“I remember we saw some short film [outside the project] about kids in these countries, but it was like ‘What, is this how it is in your home country? You can’t live like that!’ [...] But they [class mates from these countries] had heard and seen things so they would be ‘yes, that’s how it is’, or ‘this is right’ or ‘this is not right’ or ‘we haven’t experienced it like this’ or ‘that was wrong’. [...] they would say ‘no that’s not right, my mum taught me something different.’” (Sonja (p)).*

Zubi (p) who had a Pakistani background also explained that:

*“I do remember girls in class were very keen on knowing about Pakistani culture and clothes. When I wore it, some of the girls wanted the same clothes. It was not so many immigrants there then, so for them exciting to know about it. Why wear this? Why so long? Why trousers like this? There were questions, but not necessarily after the [project] concerts.”*

Here we clearly see that the participants learn as they go along and even correct wrong impressions about their countries/cultures that were created from above.

This was also very much the case in Wau Nour, as discussed above. The weekly, casual concerts taught the people in the settlement about other ethnic groups, their language, music and culture. Music is always part of a larger picture and in Wau Nour music was so tightly knit into life that it worked on people in small drops over time.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Leaders, non-leaders and children all gathered at the same musical events, so there was a long term broad social surface to interact with, whereas in Norway it was short term and narrow interactions during the performances (as opposed to the everyday encounters). In other words, music is easy to transplant (for example from Africa to Oslo) but the recipient body may very well reject it. This is what happened in Norway. Although most of the pupils enjoyed African music, at the same time they also saw it as alien and exotic:

*"[...] it was fun to watch [the African musicians] when they played, a little comical and we laughed a bit at their costumes and the way they played, like "is this the way they play?", in a way teasing/bullying [about] the outfits and the way they played." (Zubi (p) from the inner city school) or "We probably laughed about them looking a bit strange and had strange hats I think." (Bjørnar (p) from the suburban school).*

This happened despite the organisers' best intentions: *"The Resonant Community must not be confused with 'cultural voyeurism' or exotic spicing of the daily life of the school."* (Skyllstad 1995, p.9). So unlike Wau Nour where the music meant something both to the ethnic groups whose music it was and the outside groups listening to it, in Norway the divide between the aesthetic expressions and the audience was simply too wide. In short, the participants in Norway did not have any stake in the music.

In Wau Nour on the other hand, the casual emergence of local music in Phase I meant that people could and would support their own music groups in many ways which meant they felt close to the music. In the beginning this was a matter of joining the musicians directly by playing with them, as was the case when the Krongo decided to form a band of 24 people in 1995 to preserve their heritage. Later it might be about supporting your band by coming to celebrations as the leader of the Azande band told us happened after he formed his band in 1983. As the music from Wau Nour became well known the settlement formed their own committee for the bands (just as they had for health and education) and all contact with the band would be handled by this committee. This meant that music had deep roots in the community on many levels and as Adib (o) from DevOrg pointed out *"[They supported their music] because of the culture, they feel this is their culture."*

Obviously there is a stark difference between a settlement of (equally) displaced people where traditional music is still a part of everyday life and a multicultural society

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

with a majority group in an industrialised country. To draw direct comparisons would be futile, but it is fair to say that the music in conflict transformation projects needs to be felt by the participants to be **their** music. Whether this is recorded western pop or classical music is up to the participants to decide.

### **1c. From joint active musicking to music as representation**

In previous chapters I discussed a number of issues relating to musicians and their audiences in conflict transformation projects: how the discourse around the “power of music” was often encouraged by musicians; how research on music and conflict transformation often focused on the musician and their points of view; the problem of musicians extrapolating from their own positive cross-cultural experiences to imply that this works for everyone; the frequent lack of the non-musicians’ view in writings on music and conflict transformation and the use of musicians in conflict transformation projects to represent different sides in the conflict. Unpacking and exploring the musician ↔ audience relationship should therefore be central to any research on music and conflict transformation.

#### *Connections*

As mentioned earlier, the core idea of the Norwegian project was to change attitudes of ethnic Norwegian children by utilising music that was representative of different immigrant groups. Any success in this type of project ultimately relies on connections being made by the participants between the performances/performers and other people from that country. In other words, not only did the music have to be positively received in Norway, for attitudes to be changed it was also “required” that participants saw very clearly that those who played the music were representatives for their classmates from the same region. Likewise, a reported side-effect was that pupils from an immigrant background felt more confident as a result of the visits (Skylstad 1992). Again this requires that they felt a connection to the performances/performers. In broad terms I found that the former connections generally did not happen, whereas the latter sometimes occurred, but overall any affinity with the performers was influenced more by individual biography, personal reflexivity and the **need** for role models, than shared ethnicity. In other words, as I will demonstrate below, there are so many additional factors that intersect with the numerous identification and experiential

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

possibilities around music, that this relatively simplistic, top-down expectation is rarely fulfilled.

The general “failure” of the pupils to connect the performers and classmates from the same country/region seems to have been mainly due to the fact that the ethnic Norwegian pupils did not see the pupils with an immigrant background as different. For instance in the suburban school Bjørnar (p) mentioned that *“I can never remember that it was a subject for us that Haddy [a Gambian-Norwegian girl] had a different skin colour, that it mattered.”* Haddy (p) herself told me that *“they are so used to see you that they no longer think about you looking different from them.”* From the inner city school Sonja (p) put this very clearly:

*“Don't think you can compare our pupils with what we had [the performers]. [Silje & Renate: No] We saw them as, I can't remember but I don't think I ever saw any of them wearing a shawl, perhaps none in the class. Even if we were... [ethnic] Norwegians, Indian, Pakistani, Lionel who was mixed race, perhaps only four nationalities in the class [...]. Regardless of skin colour, we all saw each other as being Norwegian. [Renate: Yes] It wasn't like 'Samir, we're having India today. What we saw earlier is that something you can remember or have experienced?’”<sup>60</sup>*

This is not to say that such connections were never made, for example one of my ethnic Norwegian informants (p) mentioned how he had a good friend/neighbour from Chile as a child and he remembered it was “cool” to talk about where his friend came from.

Not connecting performers and pupils was not purely an issue for the ethnic Norwegian children. When I asked Zafar (p), who had a Pakistani background, whether they thought *“this is my music, this is his music”* he told me that *“[I] did not really think about that, I think, I just thought it was fun.”* When discussing Deepika, the young Pakistani-Norwegian singer who took part in the project, he said *“I always thought she was Indian? Did not know she was Pakistani.”* Similarly, Zubi (p) said about Deepika that *“Now that I think back, first I didn't think she was Pakistani. I could see she was Asian, but thought perhaps she was adopted.”* For both of them, the difficulty of identifying Deepika as Pakistani was primarily caused by the fact that in their frame of reference, Pakistani girls did not stand in front of audiences and perform. The fact that

<sup>60</sup> This statement conflicts slightly with the earlier quote where she points out that after watching films about foreign countries they would interrogate children from these countries and ask them “do you really live like that?”, i.e. a connection was made. This is normal, social actors are not coherent in their responses, and the failure to connect music to pupils in the class was clearly described to me.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

ethnic connections are fickle and may be selectively chosen or assigned was highlighted by Deepika (a) herself when she discussed later work in schools in the UK:

*"[...] what shocked me was that the kids did not realise where I am from. They thought, some of the black kids thought I might be mixed race and have some black in me. Most of the white kids thought I was tanned but white and the Asian kids thought I was Asian."*

Here we can see that pupils assigned Deepika to their own ethnic group, no doubt as she was "cool" and a pop star.

On a similar note, Elisa (p) from the countryside school explained that as her mother was Romanian their family was more cosmopolitan than the others in the (mainly farming) community and her reaction was coloured by this "outsider" status:

*"I remember that with Resonant Community I felt a sort of responsibility. Don't know if I tried to defend cultures, as everyone laughed at me for travelling so much. [...] It was important for me I remember I sat there and clapped [demonstrates] and important for me to be really engaged in these things just to... [...] Usually I would not give a damn at that age, not so exciting to see people in folk costumes, but I did this consciously; it was important to me."*

So here strong identification with the musicians took place; not based on any ethnic background, but a shared feeling of being different. Haddy (p) touched on similar themes when she mentioned that:

*"Now someone came, even if it was people from totally different places than where I came from, I come from Gambia. It meant a bit that someone came that I could identify with as different, which did something good that people thought was fun and good."*

In intra-ethnic terms, the children with an immigrant background had mostly positive identification with the music from their own region. Haddy was very clear about this:

*"And for me of course it was the Africa thing, I was very proud and thought it was very nice. I don't think the others thought about that, but there are some times when you feel very black in a white group... sometimes it is positive, other times negative...this was one of the times when I felt very African and I was part of something that was good."*

Likewise Ole Christian (p) remembered that:

*"[The Pakistani kids] were very eager when they were going to hear music from their home country. That I remember very well. They thought that was exciting, cool." Samir also felt that "[...] it was much easier if you, for*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*instance I come from India and when I hear Indian music, it was easier to associate with it and understand it."*

The fact that these connections were made and felt as a positive thing is neither surprising nor unexpected. However, these feelings and identifications did not change the attitudes of people outside the specific immigrant groups that the music was meant to represent. They were often not aware that the music, like it or not, had anything to do with the children who shared the ethnicity of the musicians. Thomas (p) from the inner city school summarised this when he said:

*"I think, I believe it was the other way. I think we were so little aware that we were from different places, but for Samir, he might tell if he recognised things. That direction. Not that I would think 'you know this because you are Indian', but that he would think 'this is cool, because I am Indian. I know this from being home last year'."*

In sum, connections were made frequently through self-identification with the performers (whether this was through a sense of shared "difference" or a common ethnicity), but rarely through external identification.

So far I have discussed the ethnic identification process in the musician - audience and audience - audience relationships only based on my Norwegian data. In Wau Nour the picture emerging from the data is very different and much simpler. Firstly, there was never any problem of connecting the musicians and the ethnic group. They were to a large extent the same people and they played their own music. That is to say, there was no real distinction between the musicians and the ethnic group they represented. Secondly, the use of music was one of active musicking that involved all the groups equally for a prolonged period, so the connections were embedded and embodied. Thus any positive feelings for the music was easily transferred onto the larger ethnic group and any personal friends you may have in an ethnic group was likely to result in direct exposure to the live music. As Idris (p) said above, people went to the events and discussed the music with their friends.

The above discussion and quotes from my Norwegian data show the difficulty of assuming that ethnic based connections will be automatically made or that they will be accurate when they are made in western multicultural contexts. Therefore to rely on musicians ethnicity as a reason for deploying them and their music into a conflict transformation situation is not particularly fruitful. In Wau Nour music worked more

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

successfully as representation at the Friday events where different ethnic groups played together. The potential of music as representation may have improved in Wau Nour because the different groups engaged in active musicking, thereby establishing a clear connection between the conflicting parties and their music.

### *Professionalisation, emerging networks*

In Chapter Two I summarised a number of critiques made of multicultural projects and the data presented above show, from the micro-level, how difficult it is for these to make a genuine impact. Overall there is a communication and perception gap between the intent and design of a project in this field, and what really takes place when the project is implemented, a gap that this thesis is attempting to explore and explain. Despite this gap there is no shortage of similar projects taking place today. It is therefore important to try to understand why the idea that music can change attitudes between groups remains so durable in multicultural societies.

For many of the musicians involved, these multicultural projects constitute a significant part of their work. Anne (o) from the concert agency explained that for most musicians in Norway, regardless of what music they play, it is almost impossible to make a living by performing. The performers I spoke to emphasised how important the project was for them in terms of being part of an official funded project, in effect receiving a “stamp of approval” by arts authorities in Norway, which gave the impetus to further work with their own culture:

*“That time [Resonant Community] was a new opening for us. We thought, OK, now we can be serious and teach classical dance a lot more. [...] It was very good co-operation with NorConcert [...] and it was accepted as a good start for us. We also needed a platform and this was one for us.”*  
(Shikha (a) who runs a classical Indian dance institute).

Haskell (2005) who researched an NGO run music project in Bosnia-Herzegovina reported similar finding: “*Singers and dancers felt honored to receive international support [...]*” In the years since Resonant Community the different performers have frequently performed at multicultural arrangements around Norway and thus formed an “art world” of their own. Shri Lal (a), an Indian performer who took part in Resonant Community explicated this when he told me that “*Where my children are today is a*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*production of NorConcert. If they had not got the inspiration then they might not have gone down the music route. So we are very grateful.”*

Once such a network emerges, it tends to reward those who conform as Becker (1982, p.306) points out. The conventions that gave the impetus to the network formation become embedded in, and preferred by, the actors in the network. In Bosnia-Herzegovina for instance, international NGOs working with music related activities favoured those projects that applied a discourse of civil society and multi-ethnic performances (Haskell 2005). Thus one needs to put the suggestions that music is a bridge builder into context. The music is presented as something that helps the larger community (i.e. audience) to improve relations. However, often it is the musicians who have the strongest experiences of “getting on” through the joint music making, but their experiences are imputed to the audience as well. This is then fed back as “proof” that multicultural projects “work”. At the same time multicultural projects provide work for musicians as Shikha (a), the Indian dance teacher from Resonant Community, for instance explained:

*“Now we have Damini House of Culture funded over the national budget. [...] Shri Lal teaches with us. [...] We do a production once a year since 1997 when we did an integration project with Flamenco. In 1999 it was Indian music and jazz, various integration projects each year [...]”*

Without suggesting any bad faith on the part of the musicians, together these two aspects, the personal musicking experiences and the job opportunities are strong incentives to support the idea that music as representation works.

In very different circumstances Wau Nour experienced the emergence of a similar network towards the end of Phase I, a network that was made explicit in Phase II. The Azande group had been paid to perform at official events already in the mid 1980s before Wau Nour was established. The leader, Martin, lived in Kassala at that point and moved to Wau Nour later. As the Friday events became more widely known the local government tried to manipulate the music for their own purposes by hiring musicians when certain visiting dignitaries arrived or on official celebrations. According to Adib (o) this was partly an attempt to show that the government respected the culture of others whilst the war against the same cultures took place. As a result a music committee was set up to liaise between those who wanted to hire the bands and the bands themselves and deal with monetary issues. At this point in time the income was

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

sporadic and mainly for performing at official events in town. The bands still played in the field outside Wau Nour every Friday. So the income from the music was controlled by the settlement together and the paid performances were relatively infrequent. Then one day, during an event arranged by DevOrg, Habiba (p/a) had the following encounter:

*“When [DevOrg] came first time, they arranged a school festival [for teaching children]. I, on my own, being so depressed because of [money problems], brought my drum [...] and started playing on my own. The youth joined in. Here, there was a Khawajiyya [white woman] whose name I don't remember. She said that they wanted this performance. So, she called me and asked me if I could bring people to perform this music. I said 'yes'. Immediately she gave me SDG 15.000<sup>61</sup> which I distributed among the children who joined me in dancing and jumping. To me it was free money that God had sent, so I distributed it.”*

What happened in this encounter was that the DevOrg employee, the *Khawajiyya*, noticed how easily Habiba's drumming attracted people in the settlement. DevOrg was at that time running a number of awareness raising events, informing people about AIDS, the dangers of cooking in enclosed spaces, etc. These events had problems attracting people and the immediate idea was to use music to improve the attendance for these events, a relatively common use of music among NGOs in other parts of Africa as well (Van Buren 2007).

Following the handover of the large sum of money, the leaders in Wau Nour put on an event for DevOrg. Here they showcased all the existing (casual) bands and discussed how they might work with DevOrg. Adib (o) from DevOrg who eventually became responsible for working with the bands in Wau Nour explains that *“So what we propose to strength[en] this activity, we ask two guys [sic] from Khartoum, specialising in music, to come and spend some time with them and form a dancer's school for each tribe. [...] But actually, the initiative came from the community itself. It was not our idea, or proposal, it was their proposal.”* This formal project took place from 2003 to 2004 and marked the start of what I have called Phase II. At this point Dafallah and Dafallah, the two performers from the *National Band for Traditional Musical Instruments*, were hired by DevOrg as external experts to make the bands more professional. These two performers had previous experience working on a project

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61 Approximately 60 USD at the time, Habiba could expect to earn approximately 5 dollars a day selling tea in the market.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

involving children in refugee camps around Khartoum. This was for a different NGO. In my interview with the musician Dafallah (o/a) he explained how they had set out deliberately to use music and art to alleviate the suffering of war when they first started their activities:

*“Me and my colleague, when we finished our study in College of Drama [...] I say to Dafallah [his friend], why are we sitting like this and the war is growing up [increasing] [...] We have to do something, because we are artists in Sudan. The history will not let us, ‘when the war was there, where were you?’ history will say for us. [My friend] said, for me, I will need to do something by our arts and we are musician and you are drummer, with that we have to do something.”<sup>62</sup>*

Thus Dafallah and Dafallah followed a path similar to other artists who want to contribute to conflict transformation using their preferred skills.

With the support of DevOrg and under the aegis of the two experts from Khartoum a process then took place in Wau Nour. In the first step the different ethnic groups in Wau Nour were asked to sign up to the project and put individuals forward for the band for their ethnic group. A survey was then done by Dafallah and Dafallah which looked into what they wore during performances, their reasons for playing music, etc. Then auditions followed to select who could be in the band, there was a fixed number of 24 members in each band, Dafallah described the selection process to me:

*“We would give our opinion, but we left the selection for them. [...] sometimes it might be something we didn't know, their cultures. We don't know the culture more than them. We let them choose 24 and after [...] if we notice someone not clever we say ‘why you choose this person?’. They give us many reasons. If we find these reasons good we let him. If not good, we ask if they can change him. They change him. Finally we find a good band who can present a good performance.”*

This was followed by workshops to build instruments following traditional rituals. A brick theatre building was also erected for performances in the settlement, and this was used for performance training as well. As a part of the professionalisation of the bands, they were taught to dance facing a group of spectators rather than using the traditional circle formation common to most African dances (Mans 2004, p.155). During this period Dafallah and Dafallah lived in the settlement and took full part in everyday life. Finally DevOrg, who had paid for everything else, purchased matching costumes (*libis*) for all the bands. Previously there had been no formal costumes used.

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62 This interview was done in English, the transcript is ad verbatim

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

When asked what was the biggest difference between the old informal bands and the new ones, Dafallah explained that:

*“First they sing frankly and random, [...] maybe one rhythm is going all the concert, they do not know how to change their rhythms. And how to attract their audience with a change in their rhythm. Of course we have experience in our band. If you need to attract people, you have to change the rhythm and move... [Demonstrates singing] Michael Jackson does like this. And we said for them [the audience] you have to move, have to move in the theatre. But we didn't put our hand in the song ourself. [...] In the first we heard the song, then ask how they move, dance it. They say we dance like this in a circle. We said no, you can't dance it like this. ... And the style of the dance itself, no change, only the movement in the theatre. That is a difference.”*

In the few months that the process lasted the professionalisation of the bands was complete; going from casual, traditional circle dances where others could join in, to a performance oriented unit with fixed membership.

In the development of Phase II we can clearly see that the two members of the national band worked from and within their own frame of reference. They were long standing members of a band that collected, modified and performed traditional music for audiences around the world in modern settings. In other words, their audiences had little deep knowledge of the music (requiring “change of rhythm” to “attract” people) and they would be a paying audience separated from the band on stage. Their ideas of how to do “proper” music came from an institutional folklore angle whereas the NGO would be looking for a “result” from the project which entailed something that could be reported back to head quarters/funders. Although, of course, quite different from the Norwegian case, here also we can see a network emerging of professional and semi-professional musicians, dependent upon being paid for performances within a framework of “building bridges”. Thus the difference from Phase I to II in Wau Nour was a change from joint active musicking to music as representation, although the representation was closer to people's everyday lives. The credo of the newly minted professional musicians was summarised succinctly by Martin (a):

*“Since [DevOrg] began helping us and gave us matching costumes [libis], they told us: all you, we have trained you and showed you how to go into the stage and how to go out. We have given you libis and everything. Your libis and performance will bring to you popularity inside Kassala and outside. If you improve your performance, they will demand you and you will eventually get what is due to you. If you don't improve your performance they will not invite you.”*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

This change is not unusual in itself, similar changes have taken place to most local cultural expressions around the world in the past 2-300 years. However, in terms of local, tacit conflict transformation it means that the core mechanism that the settlement used for this purpose has ceased to exist, although other positive sides have arisen.

The benefit of the new earnings potential for the bands was discussed above, as were the further improvements in relations with the host community as a result of the bands/performances that emerged in Phase II. A number of other improvements occurred as a result of the closer relationships between the bands and their members who in this phase emerged as a new class/social group, somewhat above the other people in the settlement. The bands themselves have become closer due to the practical, extra-musical, aspects of performing and travelling together. Whereas *“Before [Phase II] they were not relating to each other, each [band] was on their own.”* (Idris (p)), now *“If there is [an invitation], we, all the bands, go in a group. We go to the guest room and stay there together.”* (Habiba (a)). Martin also confirmed that the relationship between the other heads of the bands had developed into something personal. The bands' common goal of earning money by performing to the host community was augmented by the casual pragmatics of their extra-musical travelling and living together. Although beneficial, it means that they now have many experiences that are not shared with the settlement at large, unlike Phase I when they were deeply embedded in the community. A combined result of the closer intra/inter-band relationships and their elevated status is that they, as discussed above, also intervene on behalf of their own ethnic group in smaller conflicts by approaching persons in the other group in the conflict. With the added cultural capital comes social capital, and with the social capital further responsibilities to the(ir) communities. This has given the community a new class who can participate with gravitas and cross-ethnic social capital in issues relating to their ethnic group and the settlement in general: *“Even when there is no band or anything to do with them, we behave as representatives [of the people].”* (Martin (p))

### ***Creation of a spectator***

The creation of the formal bands in Phase II necessitated the creation of an obedient, non-interfering audience, or more specifically, a group of spectators:

*“Now singing and dancing has become limited to those who are recognized*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*as members of the bands. The rest of the people have been turned into spectators. This has limited the extent of enjoyment of the rest of people as it has become like a stage where they perform and we, the public are the spectators.*" (Fayza (p), woman in Wau Nour)

When I discussed the formation of the bands with Dafallah (o/a) he pointed out that the number of members in the bands are:

*"Fixed. We say, you are Azande, we believe you are Azande, but let us choose 24 people from Azande to reflect Azande dance and songs. And the others maybe to show up and watch and to share you our side. But in the theatre we need only 24."*

The primary distinctive feature of the musician is the *libis*, the matching costumes paid for by DevOrg. The costumes work as a very efficient uniform, making it clear who is in the band and who is on the outside. Idris (p) commented that *"they gave them dance libis and they thus became distinguished from other people because at the beginning they used to dance casually with no organization, without libis and without being distinguished."* Although these costumes were a negligible cost to the NGO, they presented a serious financial issue to people outside the bands. One woman explained that before a costume could be made just for the cost of a woman's time. Now the cost of a matching costume was out of reach as they came ready made from shops: *"In the past everybody in the concerned tribe sought the kind of uniform and accessories they can afford according to their liking."* (Fayza (p)). Dressing up for performing was not new, the Azande band used to make and wear costumes back in the 1980s when they first started performing. However, there were two key differences from the present situation. Firstly the outfits were not matching costumes, i.e. they did not separate the musicians from the audience. Secondly, the performers, made these outfits locally, so financially anyone else could, as Fayza pointed out, afford to make an outfit of their own.

The main purpose of **matching** costumes was to create unity within a group by contrasting them with and elevating them above the non-group members. In conflict transformation projects that use music as representation costumes are often encouraged to make clearer the culture, ethnicity and authenticity of the musicians. Thus the costumes emphasise difference more than anything else. In Norway this resulted in negative impressions of musicians even when the music itself was well received as was the case with African music:

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*“I remember there were some in our class that were talking about their costumes. That's what they laughed a bit about. The Africans, they had lion skins and different things and that was strange for them. [They thought it was laughable?] I thought that as well, kinda jungle people, coming from the jungle and ... but there were no particular remarks ...” (Zafar (p)) .*

Others had similar remarks, Silje (p) for instance said that *“What I remember is that from Africa there were those costumes. They were so colourful and very ugly, like pyjamas.”* When music and/or musicians are used to represent a culture or an ethnic group, emphasising traditional costumes which are not used in everyday life may make for a colourful experience, but it does nothing to convey a nuanced picture of the musicians' home country, nor is it likely to aid the ability to connect musicians and others who share the ethnicity as discussed earlier. And on those occasions when the link is made, it may further alienate people from the ethnic group rather than changing their attitudes in a positive way.

The development described above is not unique to Wau Nour. Such divisions are at the core of any professionalisation. Sardinian folk music experienced similar changes in the musician/dancer formation and the use of costumes (Lortat-Jacob 1981) and Johnson (1996) has documented how the once participating audiences in Paris were silenced from the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards. However, within the context of music and conflict transformation in Wau Nour, we see that the core activity used to bring people closer in the settlement is now denied them, and it is made clear that the music no longer belongs to the settlement, but to the musicians, who can trade in it (albeit through a settlement committee). This commercialisation has created differences on several levels: band members can earn more money than non-band members; music has become a few-to-many rather than many-to-many activity; there is dissatisfaction in the settlement with the lack of the regular Friday events. It may be that this does not matter, that the settlement is now so well integrated at this point that the conflict transformation mechanisms provided by the regular joint music making is not required.

In short, (matching) costumes emphasise differences and are detrimental to inclusive practices. The resulting exclusion exacerbates the difficulty of broadening and sustaining links and relationships between different groups. In multicultural projects the costumes reduce the chance of musician-to-everyday life connections happening, and in joint, active musicking contexts the costumes stop non-musicians from joining in:

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*“They simply scream and shout and make shrieks. It is like the fans of football. Shrieks and shouts. But we don't allow them to mix with us.”* (Habiba (a)). This spectator-musician divide described by Habiba manifested itself clearly in two concerts I observed outside the school building in Wau Nour, one with parts of the Kirrang band and another with the full Krongo band.

We had been assured by the bands themselves and authority figures that as soon as the drums sounded all the people would gather and dance. The reality was very different. On both occasions there were 30-40 people or less present (the same number was there on days with no music as well), with the majority of people sitting still and watching the bands attentively. The leader of the Krongo band waved to people to join him, but they sat still and apart from a few women singing a bit in the background the only ones who joined in was a couple of very young children and a local (Hadendowa) drunk man.



*Figure 3: Picture from Krongo concert showing audience non-participation*

When I asked the Krongo band after the performance if it was difficult to get the audience involved, I was simply told that this was not a problem, indicating they were free to join. The avoidance of the question revealed, I believe, some embarrassment with regards to the lack of audience participation and highlighted the increasing dissonance between the musicians' beliefs and claims and the views of rest of the settlement. Similar issues also cropped up in my Norwegian data. This divergence between what musicians/organisations think takes place in conflict transformation events and the experiences of the participants/audience represents a key problem in music and conflict transformation projects.

### *Clashing aims and views*

Within conflict transformation, as I have pointed out earlier, musicians' views tend to reinforce the positive notions of music as a useful and successful tool in this area. In this they are no different from any other group who want recognition for their occupation. At the same time musicians may have different aims than the audience. Their artistic vision may not fit the situation at hand. For instance in Norway, when I discussed the fact that the children quite liked African music, Shri Lal (a) told me that:

*“We had to popularise Indian classical music. It would have been easy for me to turn to popular music from India [...] Of course it was very easy to make the children happy at that time, to make the Bhangra music and this music and this music. But I stick to that [classical music] ... now I feel that, after 16 years, I did the right decision, if I had not done that, my son would not have been able to play sophisticated tabla.”*

In principle there is obviously nothing wrong with artists having their own goals, nor is it unexpected. However, in conflict transformation projects, if these goals are not closely aligned to the views, needs and circumstances of the participants, then music, as I hope to have been shown, has no effect, not even negative. Thus, if one is selecting (live) music for use in an explicit, top-down conflict transformation project (as opposed to the naturally occurring conflict transformation music use in Phase I in Wau Nour), one should not assume that musicians, any more than participants, are infinitely malleable materials that can be deployed into any context by organisers for whatever purpose they have in mind. The differing results could be observed in Norway where artists who tended to stick to their program of music and simply perform it **to** the children (Chinese or Persian music for example) were largely forgotten. On the other hand, those who adapted their performances to the situation or engaged with the children such as the African musicians who did some improvised rapping, had better results. Shikha (a) for instance reported that the pupils responded much better to folk dances that involved them, than to classical Indian dance that took the form of pure performances. It may also be that the more well known and established musicians are, the more difficult it will be for them to fit into new situations as their image or former practices stop them from taking certain actions that may help the conflict transformation process move more smoothly. A final point is that when the payment or funding for music and/or musicians comes from external sources there are no options available for participants to improve on these situations by rewarding more appropriate music and

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

punishing less useful music. Instead their only response may be to quietly withdraw from the conflict transformation process. This was observed both in Norway when children felt that music was boring and in Wau Nour in Phase II when audiences stopped engaging with local music as witnessed by myself.

#### **1d. Traditions and multicultural issues**

In Phase I the aims of the audience and musicians in Wau Nour were largely identical as audience and musicians were closely linked and in the main interchangeable, the differences discussed above largely emerged in Phase II. The key purpose for people in Wau Nour as they started their musicking was to maintain and preserve their traditions, often a key issue for IDPs and refugees. The Krongo band pointed out that *“We started with the 24 persons; we thought we better start performing lest our children and coming generations lose their traditions.”*. Dafallah (o/a) explained that *“we ask them [in our survey] ‘why are you playing?’ They say we need to keep our heritage from generation to generation; that is [became] one of our aims.”* These sentiments were echoed by Gammar (p), the Sultan of the settlement:

*“I want our dance to be performed in front of the society [i.e. people]. It is normal, every Sudanese tribe want to present their folk dances. We work to make it a heritage for the next generation.”*

Those who arrived in Wau Nour in different ways were very aware that their traditions needed to be deliberately maintained. Habiba (p) who came there as a soldier's wife expressed this very clearly:

*“So, when we come to our heritage, with regard to our heritage, so as we reflect a picture to our children whom we begat here as they of course know nothing of what we have of heritage. They will get lost in this way, if they end up knowing nothing ...”*

Not only did the traditional music performances educate the different children in their traditions, but as al-Shafi (p) explained above it *“made the kids of the settlement well associated with each other”*. This raises an interesting point which I note in passing: in Wau Nour enculturation and acculturation took place at the same time. Children were introduced to their own musical culture whilst observing other ethnic groups practising and learning theirs, an unusual situation in more settled and physically separate communities.

The strength of the desire in different ethnic groups to preserve their heritage was reflected in the younger children. When I spoke to the 10 to 17 year old boys, they all emphasised that they preferred their own groups' traditional music. In their responses they seemed to largely tell us what they assumed was the "right" answer, in many ways echoing the Norwegian children's responses with regards to how much they enjoyed the music. Thus the emphatic desire to preserve traditions had gained certain discursive qualities when it reached the second generation, i.e. those who were born in Wau Nour or arrived there at a very young age. This is similar to what is found among migrants most places. For instance Bergh (1995) found that in Turkish and Mahgrebian diasporas in Europe the first generation wanted to freeze the music experiences as they were when leaving their original place of habitat behind, whereas the second and third would move further away from the traditional music, often mixing it with other types of music.

People in Wau Nour were very close, geographically and temporally, to what they considered to be their traditional music: they still lived in the same country and had themselves played the music in question a few years earlier. Furthermore, they were very clear about what they considered to be **their** music, i.e. the music of their ethnic group or even the music of their village, rather than the "music of Sudan" or the "music of the Nuba mountains". In other words, the music that they identified as theirs was closely entwined with their everyday life and deeply embodied. This meant that even as the use of music turned from joint, active musicking to music as representation in Phase II, there was never any problem for inhabitants of Wau Nour to connect to what was their music. In Norway however, where NorConcert had decided to focus on classical and folk music, the notion of traditional music representing particular immigrant groups was much more problematic. Firstly music was chosen and presented country by country, or even continent by continent. This meant that for many groups the music did not accurately represent and/or link to them as they understood themselves. The problem of young people not feeling represented by this music has already been discussed, but even amongst their parents it is unlikely that all of them felt that the music used was something connected to them. Someone from the countryside in the Pakistani province of Punjab may be more likely to prefer Bhangra music, used to celebrate harvests and weddings, than music of the Hindustani classical tradition.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

This raises some key questions when “traditional” music is used. Whose traditions are we talking about and who decides what music is traditional for (i.e. representing) a group of people? In Wau Nour the answer was the people themselves, whereas in Norway it was a collaborative effort between NorConcert and a few select musicians. The result in Norway was that large heterogeneous groups were treated as homogeneous whereas in Wau Nour small homogeneous groups (whether this was a village or ethnic group) determined what constituted their traditions. As a term, “traditions” is commonsensically used to indicate something that is unchangeable and timeless. This ignores the fact that traditions, even in non-industrialised societies, are never fixed. Like identities they are about maintaining external boundaries and internal group coherence and are often invented as Hobsbawm and Ranger (1992) have discussed. Therefore the use of traditional music in a multicultural project such as Resonant Community tends to focus on existing songs and dances that have been documented. In other words music is treated as an historical object and not a process. But the most important thing about traditional music is not that certain songs have existed for a long time, but the fact that it is created in a traditional way, that is, as a continuously developing, bottom-up and communal endeavour, with popular songs entering a locally defined canon for a longer or shorter time. In Wau Nour they made traditional music about events that took place there and then. For instance Martin, when asked about songs for peace or war, said that *“We have a lot of peace songs ... [We made them on] our own. The peace songs we have a lot of them even with varieties. [...] The destruction of southern Sudan, our own destruction, we indeed sang about that.”* Abdel Gadir Salim, a famous singer and folk song collector in Sudan told me likewise that after the peace agreement he started finding “new traditional” songs about peace, the United Nations and related topics.

Overall there is a tendency for organisations to pay lip service to traditions as there is a certain distinguished patina that the terms give to activities denoted as traditional. Reverence for the ‘traditional’ also seems to provide an antidote to what is seen as the ills of intrusions of modernity in the past. In Wau Nour DevOrg and Dafallah both emphasised that they wanted to let them continue their traditions. Yet the notion of using identical costumes that divided the audience from musicians were not traditional. When Habiba (p/a) was asked if they used to put on a specific dress when dancing and performing in the Nuba mountains she answered emphatically : *“No! Any woman would*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*dance with the dress she admires.*” Martin (a) who was the head of all the bands emphasised that:

*“The libis was designed according to their respective heritage and according to their dance. Everybody [band] chose their libis. [...] So each tribe had the libis that suited its heritage and so all the ten bands and tribes had the libis that suited them.”*

However, Habiba told us that:

*“They asked us at the beginning about our traditions. We told them that if we followed our folk tradition, we should have ‘ashara baladi gowns, but they said ‘No’, instead of ‘ashara baladi’ ... [Interviewer: Was it you who said no or them?] No! When we asked for ‘ashara baladi’, they said they were going to bring to us the skirts ...”*

What happened here was that local Islamic sensibilities limited the type of costumes that could be used, showing arms or legs would be out of the question. In a similar vein Anne (o) from NorConcert told me that:

*“It was aimed at their [the children's] group, which meant we had to simplify which some people might criticise, that you simplify too much. Here the purpose was to create openness through music, and curiosity. A lot connects with that, being open and curious about others. Then things happen.”*

I think these changes showed a pragmatic side which should be encouraged rather than condemned in conflict transformation projects. However it does raise the question, why focus on traditions when they have to be modified for practical reasons? Rather than trying to enhance the status of a music and conflict transformation project by appealing to the implicit authenticity values of “traditional music” the pragmatic side should be pursued more fully with a focus on music that works in a given combination of circumstances.

I have earlier discussed how the Norwegian participants’ comprehension of the project was very different from organisers’ and musicians’ intent and understanding of what took place. This problem can be acute when it comes to traditional music; outside the social or ethnic group(s) associated with the music it may be perceived mainly as exotic and unusual, the music of “the other”. Notions of difference and primitiveness among the recipients, as discussed by Said in connection with “orientalism” (2003), result in traditional music producing segregation rather than integration. My informants in Norway often referred to this aspect of the music: *“It was exotic and new [...]”*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

(Mads (p)); “ [...] it wasn't very exotic to me, even though it was exotic [in itself], but I think that for [another pupil] this was probably more exotic [laughs] ” (Elisa (p)); “I remember [...] African because it was strange.” (Thomas (p)); “I think it was Asia the first year, and I think that that was very strange/foreign music, at least for us.” (Anders (p)); “[...] we had Indian dance, and that was so way out of what we were used to see on TV, so that was perhaps a bit strange.” (Ole Christian (p)).

Just as traditional costumes emphasise difference, we see that traditional music increases the distance between the musical representation of out-groups' and participants' everyday lives, rendering any notions of “bridge-building” rather moot. Rather than changing attitudes to the out-group and helping them to see music and/or musicians (and by extension those they are supposed to represent) as their equals, they are further painted as the other, the outsiders.

## 2. Socio-political context of music and conflict transformation

### 2a. Extra musical issues that affected the outcome

Music is always a part of society and social expressions, rather than existing in some form of aesthetic isolation as I have demonstrated above. Too often when a successful peace deal or conflict transformation workshop includes music, the reason for success is attributed to music alone. The problem of attribution has been discussed in detail by social psychologists who have developed various “attribution theories” (Howard & Kane 2000), which attempts to understand how people attribute causes of achievements or actions. Therefore we also need to pay close attention to extra-musical factors in my two field sites that could have affected the outcome of the “music use” discussed above.

A key point in Wau Nour was that over the years they had developed strong local governance. Gammar (p), the current sultan, explained:

*“In the beginning conditions were difficult, there were many problems. There were not many tribes. There were many soldiers who brought their relatives. Gradually the number of people increased and they began asking for services. For that reason they formed a committee. People united to work for the future of their families. We built our huts; we brought the teachers and the headmaster. They were volunteers. People cooperated with*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*each other."*

This was not necessarily a given. As mentioned, the UN wanted to turn the settlement into a refugee camp whereas the local government of Kassala refused, partly because the place was intended to host housing for towns people in the future. In retrospect this was a blessing. In a refugee camp you are reduced to a passive recipient where it is unlikely for any deep forms of local authority to emerge. In Wau Nour however each ethnic group selected a sheik and they had an overall sultan, in addition different committees were headed by other residents, for instance Martin (p) from the Azande band was the leader of the music committee at the time when we were there and would handle issues relating to the bands.

Connected to this was the fact that the Wau Nour settlement was broadly supportive of SPLM, the former rebels. When I undertook my fieldwork the peace agreement had been in place for two years. During my stay there we saw people wearing SPLM t-shirts and authority figures told me openly that they were SPLM supporters. The significance of this is that SPLM fought not for secession, but for a new Sudan regime which would encourage "unity in diversity" (Yoh 2008), in other words accepting the many cultures that make up Sudan and work to live side by side peacefully. In this regard Wau Nour could be seen as a poster child for SPLM's ideas. At the same time it is also "normal" in the sense that on the local level people in Sudan have through centuries managed to get on and establish local forms of conflict handling mechanisms. In Wau Nour this stance was also aided by the large number of ethnic groups, so there was no single group in overall control. This was in sharp contrast to another local settlement, Kadugli, where there was a single ethnic group making up about 90% of the population, which was reported to be in conflict with the smaller group(s) present there.

The attitude of the host community would also have played a role here. As discussed in Chapter Two, Simmel (1955) has suggested that external pressure tends to increase internal cohesion. Idris also pointed out that they were all displaced in Wau Nour. Thus they did have a shared, albeit negative, identity even before the music had brought them closer. The negative perceptions that Kassala held of Wau Nour would therefore have helped emphasising this identity, although this on its own was clearly not enough to stop violent incidents from occurring in the settlement. This combination of

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

pressure from the outside and the “balance of power” within Wau Nour have similarities to findings by Reyes (2006) who researched music among Sudanese refugees in Uganda. She found that evenly sized refugee groups could deal with conflict issues face to face, whereas the same groups used avoidance as a way of dealing with the more powerful host population in Kampala.

The local governance meant that even at an early stage when there was a lot of open conflict in the settlement the leaders had contact. Idris (p) told of how in the beginning of the casual musicking “*After that came the Azande, then the Kirrang. Every time they had an occasion [celebration], they call us [the leaders]. We go there; they keep dancing and playing and we remain watching.*” So music received leadership support, whilst at the same time being a truly bottom-up undertaking.

The final feature of Wau Nour that enabled music to play such an important role was that the fact that the Friday music events was **the place** for entertainment where people would physically spend time together repeatedly. There was no electricity in Wau Nour, so modern media entertainment was not available. The cinema in Kassala was closed by the local Islamist government and any form of consumerist escapism was unaffordable. Music was therefore, quite literally, the only show in town, so if one wanted any break from hard, dull everyday life, one went to listen to the music. This meant that music not only had time “to work” but music was part of everyday life and not seen as an external entity.

In Norway the social context was very different. The children had no choice about participating in the project. Yet at the same time there were so many things they could do with their time once the performance was over, that it played a very small part in their everyday life. At the same time, although teachers supported the project, there was no support from parents who generally knew nothing about it, or may sometimes have been negative about it. The teacher from the inner city school told me that when they started celebrating holidays that were not traditionally Norwegian, for example Ramadan, they would sometimes receive complaints from ethnic Norwegian parents. This lack of broad community support would obviously affect the impact of the project.

It is also important to realise that at the time of the project (when I write this it is twenty years since it started) Norway was just starting to come to terms with the notion

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

of multiculturalism. This was the period when second generation immigrants started to grow up. For NorConcert it was their first project in this area and it was meant to see what the organisation could contribute as Anne (o) told me:

*"[The project] was more about showing there is a potential way of working, linked to the way Norway changed from only ethnic Norwegian to multicultural, how we can open society and bring people together and how school system could work with this."*

This view was supported by Shikha (a) who did performances of Indian classical dance together with young Indian-Norwegian girls: *"At least they saw something else. [...] This was a way of showing that now additional cultures exist here. New countrymen. That was the opening that I felt. It opened doors for us."* As a result this being "early days" there were many sides of the project that now seems out of touch, which may have caused problems in that they implicitly presented the cultures in a negative light. I have already talked about how the use of traditional costumes in particular for African music made the children laugh at it. It was also clear that racism was not only a concern with regards to ethnic Norwegians, despite the project's focus on ethnic Norwegian children's attitudes. As one of my informants pointed out:

*"We Indians and Pakistanis don't call Africans African. We just call them "the blacks" or "the darks" and if a Norwegian started saying it, it would be easy to call him a racist, but immigrants themselves are good at stereotyping other groups."* (Samir (p))

There were also more subtle issues, for instance the leaflet on Africa that was given to pupils starts with eight pages (out of 42) about Stanley and Dr. Livingstone, thus focusing on a Western intervention rather than the culture of these countries. There were also frequent links outside of the Resonant Community project between music from these countries and negative issues. For instance, the school in the countryside would invite an African drummer in connection with an annual national charity collection that focuses on issues like refugees or hunger.

On a more positive side, it was clear that the teacher(s) played a very important role in the inner city school when it came to helping the children get on. There were two classes there participating in the project and Ole Christian (p) explained that *"I remember I was in the A class and Roy in the B class. We in A were jealous because they had the same teacher for six years. We had a different one each year. There was*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*more trouble in our class [...]”*. All the pupils in the B class commented with fondness on their teacher without any prompting:

*“Also, our class was very close knit. We had a unique teacher, in the end we called him dad. [...] He arranged a school garden on Aarevoll. We always had Christmas and summer end of term [events], he did so much for us. All the pupils were so trusting of each other due to him. He lost his dog once, it passed away and he told us he was sad. We collected money in the class and bought him two goldfish.”* (Sonja (p))

This teacher was also very supportive of the Resonant Community project and signed up for it at an early stage. It was clear that all pupils, no matter what ethnic background, felt very supported by him. Based on the unanimous reports from my informants with regards to this teacher's obvious skill in making them all feel equally valued I would suggest that positive inter-group relationships in this class to a large extent emerged through the teacher's long term, everyday work. However, in the evaluation report (Skylstad 1992) teachers are primarily seen as informants or implementers of the project. Again we see that the music use is de-contextualised and any positive effects are attributed to the intervention alone.

Another factor that will affect such a project is the participants' social or ethnic group's relationship to music. Some may **not** be interested in music. Zubi (p) told me that *“[...] when it comes to Pakistani milieu I have never seen music as a part of the culture. Music was connected to Indians who were more concerned with it. That was the impression I got from this.”* This dis-interest in music is rarely considered when music and conflict transformation is discussed, a side effect of the notion that music is universal.

A final point which may seem obvious, but often is not, was discussed by performers who pointed out that those classes that had been prepared reacted better than those for whom the music came out of the blue:

*“It was very varied, some schools had introduced what was coming and worked with Indian culture before we came. They took on board a lot of what we taught them, faster. But where the teachers had given no info when we came to dance, they were a bit blanked out and more negative reactions.”* (Richa (a/p) who did Indian dance performances with her mother, Shikha)

Once again we can see that if music was perceived as something that could change attitudes on its own, the performances actually become counter-productive.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Music rarely creates something in isolation, but it is very good at augmenting what is already there, as discussed above with regards to Wau Nour's broadening of relationships. Going back to Samir's (p) comment and enthusiasm for the South African performers who did rapping, we see that familiarity with music, whether through tacit or formal learning, helps prime the participants for receptivity, whereas a total lack of familiarity causes nothing but musical alienation and dis-orientation.

Overall I hope to have outlined some of the external factors that affected the use of music and its success or failure in the field. Some of these factors will seem obvious, others so small as to be deemed insignificant. However, as the reception of music is never isolated from the overall context produced by these apparently trivial issues, they must be considered and factored in to the overall picture. Conversely, the effects of the musical event itself are not limited to participants' aesthetic experiences. It can have a range of consequences in the wider world. The music and music events in Wau Nour demonstrates this. They had several other, rather pragmatic, results that should be mentioned to complete the picture of music's role in the settlement.

## **2b. Music and cultural/economic capital**

I have already discussed how the status of the settlement went from obscure and negative to well known and positive through the use of music, in particular in Phase II. This increase in the cultural capital, as defined by Bourdieu (1986), took place on two levels, firstly on a personal level for the members of the bands:

*“For instance, I, Martin, no one knew me. When I enrolled in the army, only the people of the army knew me. When I became a tailor in the market, only my customers knew me. But the musical functions have made me develop broad relations with big personalities and have made me a name in the present.”* (Martin (a), leader of Azande band)

Similar changes also took place on the collective level with a general acceptance of Wau Nour:

*“[The music] has also increased, strengthened the voices, especially when there is problem with local government and Wau Nour. Because it's a slum [i.e. illegal], it brought a lot of [inaudible]. When they have that strong type of music, the government started to hear them. [Interviewer: Really?] Really, really because a lot of time the government invites them here to do their dances, especially great occasions. So the government started to pay attention to them. And they raised their voice.”* (Adib (o), DevOrg)

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

The increased cultural capital has helped the settlement in (at least) two very specific areas, one of which constitutes conflict transformation on a very material level: Legally Wau Nour was basically a squat, in other words the land did not belong to those who lived there and they could be forced to leave by the local authorities at any time. Uthman (p) explained that *“Even the government was neglecting us and was reluctant to do the planning [of the settlement], telling us that the area was first class residential area and we should quit from it and go to so and so place.”* Thus they were in a precarious position like most squatters. The settlement developed and increased in size as the local government ignored it when the land was not needed. However, at any moment police may clear the place and new civic developments would replace it. This did not happen and Uthman told me:

*“However, it is the cultural and social harmony [of the people of the settlement] which has brought to us all these facilities [planning permission and connection to electricity grid]. [...] As I told you before, at the beginning, the “thing” of carnival and folklore caught the attention of people [in Kassala]. Even they [the local government] who did not want to do the planning of the land of the settlement. The performance of folklore and the [Friday] events attracted the attention of the people including the officials who started coming to the settlement. This is maybe the one thing that has made it possible for us to have our settlement being planned.”*

Adib (o) concurred when he later told me *“That is why they now, legally, their habitat is legal. They have no problem with the government.”*

Wau Nour as a community had no economic capital and depended on low paid work in the host community for survival. It was bereft of any external symbolic capital, i.e. it had no power to wield over the local government that represented the town and state of Kassala. However, through the regular Friday events, and later the public performances of music they accumulated social and cultural capital. The social capital came primarily through their connection to officials who had attended their Friday events, and later used them for official arrangements around the state. The cultural capital was a result of the host community, in particular in Phase II, starting to perceive them as skilled musicians and not only trouble makers. Their higher status in the community, their cultural capital, made it more difficult for authorities to remove them from the land. The social capital, aided by advocacy work by DevOrg, meant that they had a more direct connection to local decision makers, who were also the same people who wanted to hire them to provide entertainment at official events. Thus the social and

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

cultural capital was converted to economic capital when they were given ownership of land that they had never paid for. It is not unusual for music performances to have exchange value in power relationships: What makes this different is that it was a large and disparate community who through a repeated music event (the Friday musicking) resolved conflicts on multiple level and leveraged the resulting benevolence to a benefit for the whole community. It must be pointed out that the music did not work on its own: DevOrg also helped with advocacy work and the political leaders in Wau Nour are very skilled at negotiating. But without music Wau Nour would still be seen as a trouble-spot not worth preserving and they would have had no cultural capital to use in their negotiations with the local authorities.

On a smaller scale the same thing happened for the members of the formalised bands in Phase II (and to a lesser extent in Phase I). They are now being paid to perform at private and public events: *"In the past Adaroob<sup>63</sup> knew nothing like this [band music], but now comes to us and asks us to play for them at their occasions"* (Martin (a)). In the next section I will discuss some of the more problematic aspects of this development, but it is important to realise that in a very poor settlement these bands provide additional income for twelve bands with up to 24 people each. This means that 250 to 300 people have gained access to an extra source of income that has expanded the potential for earnings without affecting existing income opportunities. The importance of this should not be underestimated. When you struggle to make a living, this makes a huge difference.

The emergence and enhancements of relationships in Wau Nour represents different forms of capital (Bourdieu 1986): I have already suggested that the improved status in the host community represented cultural capital, and the connections to officials were social capital. Internally in the settlement there were two additional forms of capital as defined by Putnam (2000, p.22). The broadened relationships between different ethnic groups represented bonding capital, this is primarily useful in local societies for *getting by* through increased social support (Briggs 1997, p.112). This type of capital was seen in Martin's mention of how he and his fellow band members were now called upon to mediate in minor conflicts. The formal bands, with their income generating opportunities were a network based on what Putnam calls bridging capital

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63 This is a nickname for the Hadenduwa, the dominant local ethnic group of the host community.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

(2000, p.22). This type of capital is more useful for *getting ahead* in society (Briggs 1997, p.112), that is, to improve one's life.

### 3. The politics of music and conflict transformation

#### 3a. Interventions, music coming into focus and out of locus

The changes in conflict transformation provisions discussed in Chapter Two outlined the move from governments and citizens working in their own country to the present situation where international NGOs play a large part in peace building efforts. Thus conflict resolution/transformation efforts now tend to share one defining characteristic, that of intervention. In this study we have seen how casual music use in the Norwegian inner city school and in Wau Nour were both supplanted by initiatives developed by organisation, albeit to some degree in dialogue with (parts of) the target groups. As this is the prevalent mode of working with music in conflict transformation and also the mode that receives the most attention in media and academia, it is worth discussing interventions in some detail. This discussion will benefit from a general overview of interventions and what they entail, before I return to my findings. There I will demonstrate how interventions put music into the centre of the conflict transformation activities which, as a side effect, removed music from the everyday lives of participants. I will suggest that interventionist use of music, i.e. music in focus, makes it impossible for music to remain in locus, in other words, an intervention always implies a removal of music from everyday life.

To illuminate the complex and often problematic aspects of interventions I will provide a brief enumeration of the main properties of a typical intervention in conflict transformation and discuss how this can affect outcomes. These are derived from an extended literature review coupled with my experiences and data from Sudan and Norway.

- Those intervening will by definition have less knowledge of the situation at hand (the conflict itself, the key individuals and groups involved) than those directly affected by the conflict. Otherwise it would not be considered an intervention. The lack of in-depth understanding can cause those intervening to make rash decisions that benefit one side of the conflict.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

- Interventions may be part of an “industry”. Most NGOs these days depend on official funding and a complex international network of professionals. This industry may have fixed ways of working that are applied regardless of the specific situations.
- In more broad terms, those intervening will often have different underlying goals than those emerging from a conflict. When these goals are not made explicit, they can have a negative effect upon the conflict transformation initiatives.
- Interventions are short term, often very energetic attempts at resolving conflicts that frequently have a long history. As a result quick and easy achievements are often preferred to longer term, slow and solid gains.
- Publicity is often important for those doing the interventions. Foreign politicians need support from their voters and NGOs need to please and increase funders. This can put conflict transformation efforts in peril as spoilers will try to thwart any progress made.
- Interventions are rarely part of the broader group's everyday life, whether this manifests itself as mediations between leaders taking place in serene surroundings far away from an ongoing conflict or disproportionate use of money by outsiders. This means that any positive changes can be too abstract and/or too high-level to survive when exposed to the realities of ordinary life.
- Interventions tend to be top down. Even if done by smaller NGOs they tend to have access to money or other resources and they will have a certain ideology they follow. This means that even when local input is solicited, the decisions on how to do something will ultimately be taken by the intervening party.
- Due to the interventions in peace building often working with poor or underprivileged people, there is an implicit notion that the participants should be grateful for the intervention, as it is meant to help and/or “empower” them.

When using music in conflict transformation the aspects of interventions listed above mean that music is put on a pedestal where it has to rely on the “power of music” to fit in with the constraints and expectations of the intervention. As this ties in with the discourse on music having universal powers as I discussed in Chapter One, the

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

requirements of an intervention and the discourse around music are a perfect match. Thus the discourse around music has become a resource for further interventions.

Some of the findings discussed in different contexts earlier in this chapter highlighted issues that ultimately arise from interventions, as opposed to locally situated conflict transformation through music. It is worth summarising these before considering other aspects of the interventions in Norway and Sudan.

The well-meant focus by NorConcert on “diversity” tended to emphasise differences too much, to the detriment of bringing people closer. Deepika (a), the Norwegian-Pakistani singer, pointed out that when comparing her later work with the Resonant Community performances:

*“[...] what I have tried to experiment with a little when I work with kids since, try to relate to kids on the similarities. First and foremost. And then bring in the differences, but not starting up with the differences. Because I think differences put people's backs up instantly and it instantly puts on this kind of strange barrier in their mind which goes **me** and **you**. I am here, you are there and that's kind of it.”*

Reinforcing differences is problematic when it comes to music: Although the common sense view of musicking is as an inclusive practice (singing around the camp fire or going to a concert together), the reality is that group identities are always created by demarcating groups against each other. For example, social movements frequently use music to foster internal group cohesiveness and mobilise supporters against “the outside” like the civil rights movement did in the US (Eyerman & Jamison 1998) or the democracy movement did in the Philippines (Lockard 1998). Therefore it is important to realise that more inclusive group formations are not automatically emerging simply by different groups partaking in shared musical experiences. As Eriksen (2001) points out, it is too easy to assume that collective identities can be changed overnight, when in fact identities are rooted in people's experiences: they are not simply the result of rhetoric.

Along the same axis we have the problem of not connecting the music and/or musicians with the lifeworld(s) of the children. When I asked Nina (p) if she connected the performers in Resonant Community with the immigrants in nearby Oslo she replied: *“Not at all. Firstly conflict resolution is more in the school yard between pupils, not on the cultural level or social level.”* The musician/spectator divide was also a result of the

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

intervention in Phase II in Wau Nour. Although the interveners there emphasised and clearly felt good about the fact that had not tried in any way to change music or lyrics, they overlooked and underestimated the effect of paying for matching costumes and creating bands with fixed memberships. Finally, the “top-downness” of interventions means that they can have a certain patronising aspect to them as Deepika pointed out:

*“I feel like we went and talked **at** people. The kids took it and they were a part of it and they enjoyed it and it was fun, colourful exciting, different day. A day you did not have to do maths. A day you did not have to do all the boring subjects you don't wanna be doing. So it's OK, something like this comes along and it pulls you away and it is nice. But in terms of creating a real difference and really touching some of the kids, I think if we had actually talked with them and made it a dialogue and not so much a one way street, I think it would have been more effective in terms of the original intent of this project, which was to cross bridges, actually crossing cultures and touching people and creating some sort of difference on some level. Not changing someones life completely in three hours, but creating a bit more of a difference, in the way that kids perceive 'pakis' [sic] or a black man and all these different cultures.”*

In the interventions in Norway and Sudan a lack of **detailed** understanding of the local situation affected decisions that were taken. This does not mean that no research was done. As discussed before the members of the National Band for Traditional Musical Instruments did a survey in Wau Nour and in Norway a pilot project took place. However, this does not provide the sort of deep and locally situated knowledge required. As Pearce says: *“Learning from [local people's] experiences and building on their capacities, rather than introducing quick-fix solutions dreamt up by outsiders, may be a longer path to peace, but a more sustainable one.”* (Pearce 1997, p.453). This means that outsiders can find it difficult to understand the conflict in question, in particular subtle interactions between different parties. Sometimes this may result in being overly sensitive to issues that the locals cope with or do not see as a problem, or even in seeing problems where there are none. As I talked to a number of informants from the inner city school it was clear that they valued the school, both with regards to other pupils and the educational side. Zafar (p) who had a Pakistani background was adamant that *“at Lakkegata I never had any issues with anyone. Perhaps trouble sometimes between us foreigners, but apart from that nothing.”* Zubi felt that:

*“It was a very good school, [...] both teachers and school followed up the children very carefully depending on how much knowledge they had. [...] We went back to Pakistan when I was in year two, I was away for eight*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*months. [When we came back] I got quite a bit of help to catch up, so in that way I got a lot of help there. [...] I remember they tried a lot to help people manage in society, we often went out on nature trips, many social occasions together, parties and concerts at school, and we went outside to watch things."*

But that was not the view from outside. Ole Christian (p) for instance told me that:

*"Lakkegata [...] wasn't really the place to go to school [...]. When I worked for a company previously, and where we had gone to school was discussed, then it immediately comes up 'Lakkegata [...] isn't that the dangerous schools?'. [...] I think that even if those on the outside saw us as tough and scary, we never were tough and scary when we were together. We all knew each other [Roy: It was the image from outside] it might have been 'hammed up' a bit by those who went to Lakkegata but I think it was a lot of 'self suggestion' of thoughts and ideas from those on the outside."*

And as previously mentioned, immigrants were often not thought of as immigrants by ethnic Norwegians pupils, so an intervention to help change attitudes to immigrants simply had no place in the inner city school. Here outsiders focused on differences more than those who were to be involved in the project. At the same time the focus was on ethnic Norwegians' attitude to those with an immigrant background, whereas there were equal examples of negative attitudes between different immigrant groups in society at large. As discussed above, the Asian children sometimes had negative responses to African performances. Overall the problem of understanding whether there is a conflict, how the different groups in the conflict view each other and what the conflict really is about ultimately leads to interventions that are ill-suited to the situation and may create rather than solve problems.

In Wau Nour there were some examples of how the intervention in Phase II had un-intended, negative side effects (although it is worth remembering that it also had many positive effects). For example the change to paid performances led to more competition for economical benefits as Martin (a) told me:

*"There were some tribes who started making troubles; they said why not us [our band] but them [the Azande band] being invited every time? So the women started abusing our female members verbally."*

The problem was eventually settled between the band leaders as the relationships that had been built in Phase I were strong enough to survive the conflict, however this was a clear occurrence of interventions introducing rather than reducing conflicts. This incident also shows how economic capital was, as is often the case, a scarce resource

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

that caused negative competition. Cultural and/or social capital on the other hand is not limited in the same way, thus it could be shared in the community without competition.

Furthermore, as the bands are now paid individually to play, their performance pattern has changed as Hanan (p) pointed out *“Now all the bands do not perform on the same day; consequently not all the people are enthusiastic to come to watch as they used to be.”* This may have negative effects for the long term unity of the settlement that was so closely linked to joint and regular musicking. Already there are signs of this as al-Shafi (p) worried about:

*“In the past, all the young ones, as I said earlier, used to come and perform with their parents. But now, they come and take them [the bands] from here to places outside [of Wau Nour]. So the little children do not have [this opportunity].”*

The head of DevOrg in Khartoum told of another negative consequence not only for Wau Nour but also for Kassala at large: They suggested to the local ministry of tourism (this was also confirmed by Dafallah) that they should fence in an area of a local hill in Kassala known as Totil. This area was used for recreation on weekends and then charge for performances there to raise some money.<sup>64</sup> This caused the local public to lose the opportunity for free music as well as making the area out of reach for casual socialising, thus potentially having wide-ranging local effects.

A final intervention related problem in Wau Nour relates to the initial financial support supplied by DevOrg. Providing such support is a very common role for NGOs in development projects in general and peace building/conflict transformation more specifically. In this case the support related to the purchase of matching costumes and materials for instruments, allowing the bands to reach a higher quality in performance terms. This has had a dual side effect. Firstly the expectations regarding the quality of clothes and instruments is now very high, so high that it is difficult to finance locally. Secondly, a pattern of behaviour to look outside for aid is now developing:

*“As you see our present state, now there is a recession and there is no one is helping us. We are just waiting while there is no help forthcoming. Right now our wood equipments are worn out and we don't have a budget.”*  
(Martin (a))

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<sup>64</sup> Interestingly enough, this intervention has since been blamed on the local police:  
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/maykal/1805216880/>

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Uthman (p) confirmed the equipment issue when he told me that *“There is the material aspect now ... you see now their libis are torn out.”* The injection of outside money, although very helpful in terms of launching the formalised bands, was out of place in the long term and at the same time as music was taken out of the community, so the financial side was moved beyond the reach of the settlement.

Here we also see the difficulty caused by the common (and unavoidable) organisational constraints on time. The funding given to Wau Nour was meant to last for two years and in Norway the project was a three year project that the organisation could learn from. There is therefore a fixedness to such musical interventions that does not match the more long term realities of everyday life; conflict transformation cannot be scheduled and an organisation's time perspective is radically different from a local community's perspective. This means that even in those contexts where music use helps generate a positive change it will have severe problems to be sustainable if it initially relies on support from an intervening party.

Whether these problems could have been foreseen with more research and local input is difficult to say, but the local administration and the people of Wau Nour have always worked to solve problems together. They had separate committees on health, education and music and before the NGO intervention they managed the smaller sums of money and had no requirements for external funding for costumes or instruments. However, the introduction of larger sums of money for playing has caused more economic self interest. Idris (p) clearly showed his irritation when explaining that *“The tribal administration [i.e. leaders of each ethnic group] is responsible for organising the [bands]. But people give them something material [money] to sit with them one to two hours [at private parties].”* In other words, although the money should have been managed for the benefit of the whole group there are musicians who take jobs on the side and keep the money for themselves.

The discourse around the “power of music” is often adopted (and adapted) by participants and others involved in an intervention. From the participants point of view it may be due to feelings of obligations, whereas authority figures may wish a project that they invest time in has been successful. Due to the entry of the outsider as a key player when interventions take place and the rarity value of the intervention, they are often seen as something to be appreciated by recipients, a gift to them from the

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

interveners: *"The impression I got was that 'you have been chosen from five schools in the country or five classes in the country during this project'"* (Anders (p)) The teacher from the same countryside school as Anders agreed with his assessment when she said that *"That was the impression I got, I think they felt they were lucky to be allowed to participate."* (Olav Gulbrandsen (o)). This stresses the discourse of the extraordinary that such interventions foster and further moves the project away from participants' everyday life and into the realm of the "magic" and special. This can lead to a willingness to see the musical intervention as successful regardless of personal experience. Although several informants in Norway came with genuinely positive comments, there were others who provided vaguer statements that showed a desire to confirm that music "must have worked":

*"It might be that it helped those of us who were part of it. Indirectly at least. I think so."* (Anders, (p)); *"[I] think ethnic inspired music is very exciting, and I listen a bit to that. [Mads: I wonder if this is from the project?] We shouldn't look away from it, I remember it was very engaging, and even if it did not make me buy a CD, it might have been something subconscious."* (Bjørnar (p)) *"[On changes in bullying] Not so easy to measure on that class, but it is **almost self-evident** that when you work together the way they did [musicking] and you get to know people from your own country in a different way, then it **must be positive**."*<sup>65</sup> (Olav Gulbrandsen (o)).

Here we can see that the participants tap into the aforementioned discourse on music, and despite earlier playing down the role the project had in their lives they feel it **ought to work**.

A final point about interventions, especially by NGOs, is that they tend to rely on some form of formal feedback to decide how successful they have been. I have discussed the problems of self-evaluation in earlier chapters, but it is also very difficult to measure how attitudes have changed as it is generally seen from the outside. Therefore, just as the original diagnosis of the conflict may in the main be a reflection of the interveners' ideas, so may an evaluation say more about the aims of the intervening party than what actually took place. Anne (o) acknowledges these difficulties in the Norwegian project when she said:

*"[...] but of course to measure such a thing [changing values] is always difficult. What is caused by what. What is caused by children growing up, what is caused by new adults coming into the groups?"*

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65 Emphasis added

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

The teacher from the inner city school had similar reservations:

*“Just this thing of bullying, perhaps the pupils interpreted it differently. [The question] I have never been bullied, I think that never happens [i.e. that a pupil has never been bullied]. [Laughs] There are these boundaries that can be difficult perhaps.”* (Olav Gulbrandsen (o))

Again there is also a time issue. I spent several weeks on my fieldwork which is a detailed form of evaluation of these projects. An external organisation is unlikely to have similar resources available to the evaluation part of a project. This is a cost centre for the organisation that can take up considerable time (Mebrahtu 2002, p.510) as has been found with regards to community theatre projects in Northern Ireland (Jennings & Baldwin 2010 forthcoming). Also, detailed research into a project may highlight problematic issues, something that is not always welcomed (Mebrahtu 2002, p.505).

### **3b. Top-down vs bottom-up power issues**

Power issues, as discussed before, are rarely explored in the context of music and conflict transformation. In this field power can be enacted in a number of ways: through the selection and deployment of music; through direct or indirect control over participants' involvement and selection; by being in charge of any evaluation done; the organisation of musicians and through the use and promotion of certain discourses. The power itself is gained through economic means, direct physical control or cultural capital linked to NGOs places of origin, i.e. coming from a late modern country carries considerable clout in a developing country. In current music and conflict transformation projects these powers are usually wielded by a smaller external entity, such as an organisation intervening in a conflict situation, as we have seen in this chapter.

In the literature review I discussed how conflict transformation and peace building projects are often describes in terms of being *top-down* or *bottom-up*. I suggested that to use only these two categories to define approaches to conflict transformation was too limited for the real world and that two more categories were required: Many projects could be described as being *sympathetic top-down* when they allow for local input but ultimately the decision is taken by an external body. Other projects could be seen as using *mediated bottom-up* approaches when someone local, but still external to the community, represents the community to the intervening organisation. This leaves us with four different ways of describing how conflict transformation takes place, from

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

bottom-up where everything is done locally (Phase I in Wau Nour), mediated bottom-up (many examples from Bosnia would fit this, where NGOs have often worked with local English speaking intermediaries), sympathetic top-down (Phase II in Wau Nour) and top-down (Resonant Community in Norway).

There is a broad contemporary discourse that favours bottom-up approaches in development and peace building in war torn countries, to the extent that few organisations ever claim to do top-down work. Upon closer examination however, it is difficult to accept this. External NGOs from high-income countries will always have considerable leverage over local actors, even if they do not make use of these explicitly. On the other hand, we should be aware that in most societies many large organisations work successfully using top-down methods, as seen for instance in health care provisions in Europe. There is no automatic quality added to an intervention just because one attempts to work in a (mediated) bottom-up fashion, nor should it be a goal in itself to eradicate top-down ways of working. It is, as always, a matter of what suits the situation the best.

In my findings I touched on a range of issues. Some were examples of top-down decisions and management. Others exemplified bottom-up ways of using music. I also showed how the music use in Wau Nour went from what was a truly bottom-up use of music to become part of a more *sympathetic top-down* approach. This happened after DevOrg helped form the bands mentioned previously, which has changed how music is used and viewed in the settlement. What I want to do here is to discuss how the different approaches that were used (at different times) in the places I researched tended to afford certain ways of working and “suggested” certain actions to those who were involved in the music and conflict transformation activity.

### Views on what took place

One issue that was clear in Norway and in Phase II in Sudan was that the leaders, when working in (sympathetic) top-down modes, had very different views on what happened than the participants. A good example of this came from Norway where a teacher said that:

*“I do actually think that the pupils also thought it was good music and good dance, and that they simply liked what they saw. It wasn't, I think, that they*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*thought, great that we escape teaching and do something else, I don't think so.*" (Jorun Stokstad (o))

However the pupils told me a very different story:

*"I think we kind of saw it as a bit of time off or at least time off from the usual routines of the school day"* (Anders (p)). *"We didn't have to stay in the classroom, and have [regular] teaching, so it was a bit OK to get into the music room and watch someone play."* (Mads (p)). *"It was fun time off"* (Ole Christian and Roy (p)). *"We teased the ones who were a class above or below: 'Oh, you're having maths? We're going to enjoy music in the gym hall.'"* (Sonja (p)). *"The way the project was, I think we were more happy to avoid doing school work and had fun different places."* (Zafar (p)).

Thus when one works in a top-down fashion many decisions are based on inaccurate data, which results in views of what is taking place that are often too general or slanted in too positive ways, or less often, too negative ways. In music and conflict transformation this then supports an inclination to feed on and into the discourse of music's "power", rather than attempting to delve deeper into what is really taking place and ultimately improve the conflict transformation process.

#### Framing: Abstract vs real

I have already discussed how non bottom-up projects have problems in terms of planning, execution and evaluation due to their distance from the participants, a fairly common complaint in general about top-down interventions. What is less discussed is how (sympathetic) top-down approaches often lean towards abstract points of view, or focus on aspects that are not immediately obvious outside a circle of experts. This is not always the case. In Phase II in Wau Nour very pragmatic goals were set and achieved. In Norway however there was a lot of focus on issues like peak experiences and aspects of the music that were of little importance to the participants. Anne (o) for instance told me that *"I see it as a nice progression that we had African music before moving on to Latin American music, where you again found some of the African music, but in a meeting with others."* Although not a key to the project's success or otherwise, this is fairly abstract way of viewing the music. Thomas (p) from the inner city school put this into perspective when he described how he saw the world at that time:

*"for us, we were all from Gruenerlokka, or from the area around there. There were large enough divides there, if you came from wrong side of a street, or from "down there". [...] you have a much smaller territory when you are little. [...] I live here, my territory stretches four blocks outside my*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*home, and there's an invisible border [...] if people were from out of town it was almost scary."*

Here we see two very different perspectives, one that can understand and negotiate around a global music world and the other where four by four blocks constitutes the limit of one's life experience. Phase I in Wau Nour represented the opposite. Musicking took place to alleviate boredom and to teach the children the music of their parents and grandparents. Thus there was a clear local understanding of why, how and when they would play music. There was no ontological distance between the reason for playing music and the actual playing of music.

### Networks created

The networks that emerge from conflict transformation work often hold the key to success or failure in a particular situation. There was a marked difference between Phase I in Wau Nour and the two (sympathetic) top-down interventions. The latter created fixed networks that focused on "professional" musicians selected and elevated by the organisations. Members of the networks were seen to represent their ethnic groups. The former activity generated a fluid settlement-wide network where participation was open to all and over time solidified into the people's committee which became responsible for managing the bands for the benefit of the settlement at large.

Top-down approaches can affect the location in which the original conflict transformation activities took place beyond the duration of the initial project by leaving behind a carefully (self)selected network that embodies the organisation's ideas and ideology. This is seldom planned, but is an implicit side effect of the strength of the intervention. In Norway the network survives to this day, some 20 years after the original initiative and the discourse that the Resonant Community project was built on still continues to thrive.

Bottom-up approaches have a less clearly defined network. It will have a patchwork quality to it with membership ebbing and flowing over time. It is often subject to internal (in the community) contestation, something that top-down networks rarely encounter as the intervention by default excludes anyone who does not agree with their ideas. This is not done with malice, but as the project (and the musical ideas within it) is presented as an entity that is inserted into community for voluntary uptake, those



direction. There is some input from the musicians' ethnic group for recruitment (if used in a multicultural setting) but the key connections concern recruitment and monetary rewards from the funding organisation. This organisation is also the central node in terms of power. This always flows from the organisation to the participants, either through paid musicians, through local authorities or directly. The music, although internal to the musicians is an external factor meant to act upon the participants and change their attitudes to out-groups. Here the "power of music" becomes a resource and frame of reference for all involved, but primarily a support for claim making by organisers and musicians.

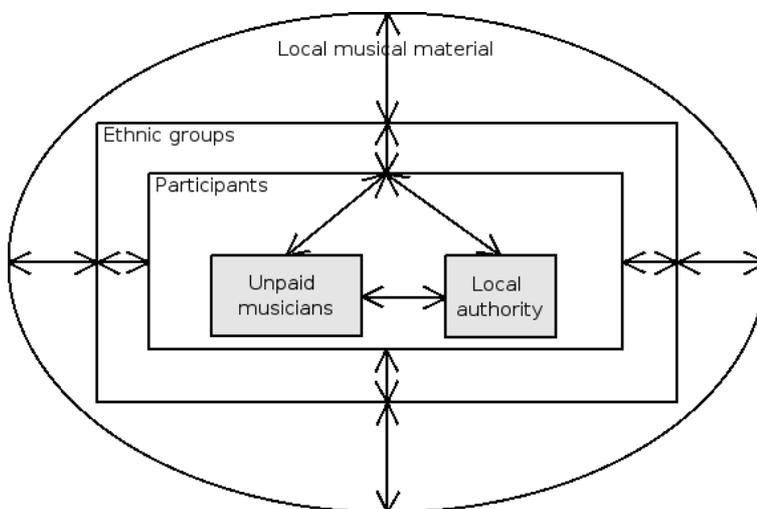


Figure 5: Bottom-up network

In the bottom-up network in figure 5 (based on Wau Nour in Phase I) we see that there is no external hierarchy, although musicians and/or any local authority figures (in Wau Nour the settlement committee for music) will have some more power on a small and local level. The relationships are primarily about self selection, that is, the participants are a sub group of the ethnic groups present, and it will vary at any given time. The musicians are also a sub group of the participants, thus all relationships are flowing equally in from the overall population, rather than having a single downward path.

### Teaching vs learning

In conflict transformation work the key aim is to help conflicting parties view each other in a more positive light and via this change reduce violence and other negative actions between the groups. Music has had two roles here. The first one is to

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

provide an environment conducive for such changes to occur, through joint musicking or through music as an emotional tool. The other role has been to carry a “message” (indirectly or directly) that would promote this change, usually through music as representation or occasionally as a joint activity. We can broadly describe these two ways of using music as *learning around music* or *teaching through music*.

Learning in this context involves a social group who on their own engage in the production of new knowledge that challenges the status quo, in other words, “informal learning” (Batt-Rawden & Denora 2005). This locally situated and embedded/tacit learning process may involve cognitive processes, physical interactions or a combination of the two. As a result the groups (over time) amend and update their views of the out-groups and this contributes to the conflict transformation.

The term teaching here refers to external agents providing pre-organised musical material (performances, songs, recordings) which is intended to produce a pre-determined result and consequently, as with learning, to change inter-group attitudes.

Genuine bottom-up conflict transformation tends to provide (opportunities for) learning. Other approaches that are more top-down will be considerably more directed and pre-planned, which makes it difficult to improvise and let new ideas and interpretations in. This lack of flexibility hinders one of the main advantages of music, the fact that it can provide a space where different people from different backgrounds can feel comfortable at the same time, as they can project different emotions on to the music. Eyerman and Jamison (1998, p.46) contend that “*music suggests interpretation, ideology commands it.*” However, music, when deployed ideologically, may also expect certain interpretations, e.g. many conflict transformation efforts take a top-down approach, not allowing for local meaning making among participants.

Linking this back to music and conflict resolution in Norway and Wau Nour, it is clear that in Norway the new positive attitudes to immigrants were (attempted to be) taught from the top-down, just as the music itself it was merely presented and not “debated”. (Ironically the pupils in the inner city school had already **learnt** about each other through other forms of play and music, so the teaching was not really required). In Wau Nour on the other hand, changes occurred in and between groups as the musicking was local and new modes of interacting were learnt socially and tested, improved and

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

exchanged with other groups in a social setting with the music simply providing the space.<sup>66</sup>

Whether top-down or bottom-up, using music for conflict transformation represents the idea, be it implicit or explicit, that music can enhance and augment the process of moving away from open/violent conflicts. With bottom-up conflict transformation the idea itself is disseminated and then adapted locally. Such propagation is reminiscent of how music itself has spread. For instance rap is present in many places around the world and it has become imbued with local values and traditions. In the adaptation process it has become embodied in local populations. That is to say, local people **learn** how to rap, just as they **learn** how to work within the conflict transformation activity. However, when music is used for top-down purposes it tends to take the form of a single, fixed implementation of the idea. There is a focus on the musical event as a fixed object, rather than a space for shared meaning making, which implies that there are certain “correct” responses to the event. In other words, participants are **taught** how to react to conflict transformation activities. This is exemplified by a number of multicultural projects using shared performances by musicians representing different cultures/countries as a way of aiding integration in Norway (cf. Ellingsen 2008; Einarsen 2002). However, the music is remote to the everyday lives of participants. It therefore relies on top-down teaching and not bottom-up learning. I will return to this issue in Chapter Six when I discuss the musical event in detail.

### Music as a tool or a process

In his research on a multicultural project in Norway Einarsen (1998, p.15) pointed out that musicking was seen as a means to the end (of integration), rather than an end in itself. This attitude was also seen in Resonant Community (which laid the foundations for multicultural projects in Norway, such as the project Einarsen studied) where the application of great musical experiences would change attitudes. Dafallah and Dafallah followed similar lines in Wau Nour's Phase II where performances to the host

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66 In many ways the two approaches can be compared to soft and hard power as defined in international relations (Nye Jr. 2004): America's postwar successes stem mainly from soft power, i.e. American popular culture spread through media for people to voluntarily make use of, whereas the failures of most countries come from attempts to use hard power to change things on the ground through military force.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

community were seen as instrumental in getting Wau Nour accepted by the host community. In Phase I on the other hand it was a process of long term, joint musicking that aided the tacit and successful conflict transformation work. I have previously touched upon the issue of time constraints in interventions. There is a desire/need to provide results from a clearly defined project in a short time. Another issue in (sympathetic) top-down conflict transformation projects is that there is often little knowledge of the existing music use among the participants-to-be. These issues tend to push all but pure bottom-up projects towards viewing music as an object which can be applied to the subjects, and if done in the “right” way it will shape the subjects into new, less conflictual entities. In bottom-up uses of music in conflict transformation on the other hand, music either takes the form of a process of joint musicking or it is part of larger inter-group process of daily interactions. The former was the only mode of musicking in Wau Nour in Phase I and the latter was how music was tacitly used when Bhangra music was played to classmates or when fan clubs were a meeting point for different ethnic groups.

### Approaches affecting music(king) choices

The discussions above have showed that with regards to music in conflict transformation, as could also be said about social life more generally, those who favour top-down approaches have a proclivity for abstract thinking, lack of flexibility and a tendency to assume participants can be taught new modes of behaviour. There is a focus on using music as a tool and the networks created are not so closely in touch with the community at large, although they often outlive the time limited project itself. Bottom-up uses of music in conflict transformation contexts have generally come from the opposite direction. Issues and methods are more fluid, adaptable and receptive to local concerns.

The manner in which music is chosen and used closely reflects these issues. Top-down approaches have a strong focus on “high quality” musical experiences. The music either represents groups in the conflict or presents a preselected message/mood that will change the participants’ way of interacting from the outside (through some unspecified means of working). Music takes centre stage and is seen to provide a certain short term intensity in the conflict transformation efforts, with the participants’ role carefully

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

prescribed. The music's relationship to participants is reduced to whether it represents them (in which case music must be found to represent the other groups as well to achieve parity). This tends to overlook how music may please one side but at the same time "*reify stereotypes that were already embedded in [participants] thinking*" (Bradley 2006). In many ways this ties in with Said's (2003) notions of orientalism where outsiders (in this case music and/or musicians) represent or speak on participants' behalf.

Bottom-up approaches tend to use whatever music is "available", generally what is already known to and/or used by the participants. Thus the music tends to be suitable for the occasion. It is matching the "competence" of the participants who can engage with the music on an "adequate" level (Stockfelt 2004), unlike the top-down approaches that attempt to choose music that is seen as "appropriate" by external standards (Hara 2008). The participant-music connection may be one of direct engagement with the music together with members of the out-group(s), or the focus may be on participant-participant interaction with music being out of focus. The musical experience is low-intensity with frequent repetitions over time.

The different approaches discussed above and the inclinations that come from following one or the other should not be seen as fixed and immutable binary opposites. For example, in Phase II music in Wau Nour was very much about representation, but here it was seen to represent Wau Nour as a unified community, which was beneficial at that time. This not only helped settling the long term, underlying conflict with the host community, it also further aided internal cohesion in Wau Nour. Unlike many other top-down projects though, here the music used was current and developed by the participants themselves and the costumes were not seen as exotic, i.e. the music was known to and used by the participants. To a large extent these summaries are commonsensical views in everyday life outside conflict transformation. However, in the context of music and conflict transformation activities they have rarely been explored or made explicit before, hence this rather succinct comparison between the different ways of working.

## Sustainability

A final issue to explore along the top-down/bottom-up axis is the sustainability, beyond the immediate musical event(s), of any advances that have occurred. This is of key importance for any solution that wants to positively change a conflict filled situation. If enhancements in the group relations are merely temporary it may end up making the overall situation worse. This has been seen a number of times in the Israel-Palestine conflict where temporary thaws have been followed by severe violence. Along similar lines participants in peace building efforts often suffer from the *re-entry problem* (Kaufman 2000): This occurs when people who have participated in conflict transformation activities outside their normal habitat return to their own societies. There family and friends have not changed, so conflict transformation participants have to return to their old attitudes which are more acceptable in their community, thus quashing any positive outcomes of the conflict transformation work.

Issues that affect sustainability negatively have already been mentioned above. Top-down projects operate with limited time frames. They tend to have fixed ideas of what should happen and lack deep links with the community they operate in. They have a functional rather than process view of music use and music making. These aspects are particularly pertinent to the music side. The strong emotions that can be evoked by music are temporary, as Sloboda puts it: "*Emotions by their nature are immediate and evanescent: they do not survive long after the triggering event.*" (2005, p.218), unlike moods that can be considered long(er) term feelings (Meyer 1956, pp.7-8). In top-down music and conflict transformation initiatives the time limitations often combine with the discourse on the power of music to produce a particular environment. In this environment it is beneficial for the organisers to focus on any strong emotional responses generated by and during the musical events and assume that they indicate immediate, genuine and long term changes in attitudes. This is what happened in Resonant Community. The pupils engaged vigorously with African music as reported (Skylstad 1992, pp.75-77) and as I could also observe in the videos from the project. However, as soon as the workshop or performance was over the pupils reverted to their old/own worlds where the music had no effect.

This ties in with top-down projects' tendencies to aim higher than is realistic for the long term. I have already discussed how the financial intervention in Wau Nour

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

mean that expensive costumes and instrument materials were purchased, which now are difficult for the community to replace. In colloquial terms, top-down projects tend to “punch above their weight”.

When comparing Phase I in Wau Nour with the Resonant Community, the differences in sustainability are striking: In Wau Nour the conflict transformation side of music was maintained for many years, whereas in Norway what little effect there was never lasted beyond the individual music events. In short, in Norway music and conflict transformation never developed any roots and the particular mode of working could only happen with strong financial and logistic support (admittedly NorConcert never envisaged it going on for more than three years). The key difference here is of course scale. Over time everybody in Phase I in Wau Nour did something, made a drum, danced, supported their band, made a simple costume or just attended the Friday events. Hence there was no large task that would exhaust a single person, and each task was closely tied into participants' everyday life. Positive attitudes generated during musical encounters took hold in the community and resulted in a new, shared identity of being Wau Nour inhabitants and not just a disparate collection of ethnic groups. A similar time issue is described by Zelizer where a multi-ethnic choir felt close after five years of working together (2004, p.198).

The emergence of the new, joint community in Wau Nour during Phase I is reminiscent of a discussion by Johnson (2004, pp.167-171) on local moral communities in Sudan and how these came to make grass roots peace in different locations during the civil war. He connects this to examples from the 1800s of a Nuer Prophet who managed to reduce conflicts between different Nuer tribes as well as between the Nuer and other ethnic groups. This was done through prophecies that over time got internalised. In a similar way the values from the joint musicking in the field outside Wau Nour became the “soundtrack” for a local moral community who internalised the thoughts and behaviours from the Friday events and over time applied them to other parts of their life. I will return to this aspect more in detail later.

In Norway on the other hand the musical format was such that it was impossible for the participants to contribute to it on an equal footing with the musicians and it was very remote from their lifeworld, unlike their own music use as discussed earlier. Thus

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

there were no new communities that came out of the music use (the musicians were there only temporary) and the entire setup was such that it discouraged sustainability.

The following analogy can help us understand the difference between bottom-up approaches with casual music use over time and top-down interventions that focus on strong musical experiences for a short time: The former is akin to a long term savings plan, safe and predictable, but it takes time to mature. The latter approach can be likened to buying a lottery ticket, a win promises immense profit, unfortunately there are few winning tickets available.

## Summary of findings

In this chapter I have highlighted the core findings from my fieldwork. These findings give a very different picture of the effect of music in conflict transformation contexts than what is usually reported from this field. There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly the participants were given the time and space to discuss their views, whereas in most other research they are not involved. Secondly, I was someone from outside the conflict transformation situation and not in an authority position, which is very different from most research in this area when the organiser and the evaluator is the same person. Third, the events were in the past, which enabled the participants to frame the events differently and see them in a longitudinal perspective which goes beyond any immediate positive and excited impressions. Finally, unlike most studies on music and conflict transformation, I contextualised the conflict transformation activities within the social space they took place in. This exposed other factors that were instrumental in the success or failure of these conflict transformation activities.

From the resulting data I have demonstrated that music can be an aid, but not the cause of, broadened relationships between groups. Furthermore, the role of music is experienced as more mundane by most participants, than the romantic views relating to the “power of music” often suggest. It was also clear that joint, active musicking was more effective in broadening relationships than music used as representation of out-groups. The latter’s failure was generally caused by the problems of connecting music and/or musicians with members of the out-group. I also established that there is a link between the professionalisation of music in multicultural and conflict transformation contexts and the (attempted) use of and belief in music as a bridge builder. This view of

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

music represents a resource for networks of musicians and organisations to utilise when promoting or working in this field. This professionalisation also created a divide between those who were chosen to be musicians and others that were reduced to spectators, a situation which created tensions around music in Wau Nour where music previously had reduced conflict. Traditions were also important for different reasons: People in Wau Nour was keen to preserve their traditional music which aided the conflict transformation processes through the regular Friday concerts. However, external organisers tended to focus on authenticity and costumes from the point of view of the organisation, views that were rarely shared by the participants. Overall, the use of costumes tended to create and emphasise difference, thus separating rather than bringing people together.

In this chapter I have also indicated how extra-musical issues affected the outcome of conflict transformation activities. In Wau Nour local leadership and the negative relationship with the host community also improved the internal conflict transformation efforts. In Norway there were issues such as parental support and preparation of the pupils for new forms of music that affected, usually negatively, the effect of music on changes to attitudes. However, music also had extra-musical effects. It provided cultural capital, which in Wau Nour was also used to obtain economical benefits, such as ownership of the land which had been squatted on originally.

Finally, I analysed in some detail the top-down vs bottom-up issues that arose within the conflict transformation activities. Music used in specific projects arranged by external actors, tended to put the focus solely on the music and generally deployed music as a tool, thus ignoring the social interaction and processes that take place around music. There were also considerable divergence between the views on what had taken place within the conflict transformation events, with organisers and authority figures noticeably more positive about what happened than the participants. I also examined how the networks that formed around the music and conflict transformation efforts were more sustainable in bottom-up activities.

In short, when the music use was not situated within, or did not emerge from, the everyday lives of participants, there was a disconnection between participants relatively mundane concerns and abstract ideas from those who planned conflict transformation

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

projects. Music worked best when it was not the focus of the conflict transformation activity, but rather when it augmented other social interactions.

I will now move away from the detailed view of my findings, and take a more analytical look at the broader issues suggested by my empirical data. I will analyse these issues and develop some preliminary theories as to how music can affect conflict transformation activities.

## Chapter 6: Analysis

In this chapter I hope to provide some fresh insights into the field of music and conflict transformation. However, it should be stressed at the outset that my suggestions here are preliminary and tentative at best. Due to the emerging nature of the field, it has few, if any, methodological or theoretical foundations, hence the widespread reliance on lay theories around music as a bridge builder and the power of music. I will therefore need to reference literature in this chapter beyond the literature that was reviewed in Chapter Two to support my analysis of the musical event as a conflict transformation space. This analysis will draw on work in (music) sociology, music and social psychology, ethnomusicology and anthropology. As suggested at the outset of this thesis, my research would be intra-disciplinary, and I can now benefit from this approach by including well developed work from other fields relevant to music and conflict transformation. However, music sociology will be the supporting pillar in this work. In recent years it has made significant progress in improving our understanding of the role of music in a range of settings that I can benefit from (cf. e.g. Gomart & Hennion 1999; Hennion 2007; DeNora 2000; Batt-Rawden et al. 2007; Roberts 2009; Eyerman & McCormick 2006; Corte & Edwards 2008).

Using this approach I will attempt to develop new methodologies for use in the practice of, and research on, music and conflict transformation based of the findings and observations highlighted in the preceding chapter. I will focus on four areas: (1) The role of music in group contact situations; (2) the use of music to augment conflict transformation efforts; (3) music as a form of benign interruption to aid conflict transformation and (4) the workings of the musical event and how it connects to everyday life. It is hoped that these draft theories will be useful as a starting point for future work in music and conflict transformation.

### Group contact

I opened the previous chapter by discussing situations where music had brought people together in general, practical terms<sup>67</sup> and where it had broadened relations between groups in conflict to the extent that it clearly constituted conflict

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<sup>67</sup> As in Norway with the *New Kids on the Block* fan club.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

transformation.<sup>68</sup> I also explored how conflict transformation required these changes to be sustained and how this worked best when the music and conflict transformation work was long term bottom-up initiatives rather than short term top-down interventions. The change in attitudes to groups that one is in conflict with is central to conflict transformation if patterns of conflict are to be reduced or avoided. If there are no changes, then negative views of former enemies presents a fertile ground for future conflicts as discussed in Chapter Two with regards to enemy identities and music in Northern Ireland (McCann 1995, p.52). I will now explore what forms of contact are beneficial for group hostilities to be reduced.

The groups that emerge during a conflict are often referred to as in- and out-groups. Such groups are not fixed entities, but change depending on viewpoints and developments in the conflict. In Sudan, as discussed in Chapter Four, the civil war was from the outside referred to as a conflict between two groups, the Muslim North and the Christian/animist South. Inside Sudan many more groups were identified, e.g. Muslims in the South fighting the government. There were also splits in the SPLM which created and merged different in- and out-groups as the conflict evolved. Group membership is in effect an identity (i.e. Muslim versus Christian or oppressor versus rebel) and as groups change, identities also change. This reminds us that identity is an active form of boundary maintenance, rather than a fixed label, as I have pointed out earlier.

In conflict transformation activities that utilise music, the musical identity (MacDonald et al. 2002) is important. I have discussed music and identity in general in Chapter Two, but it is important to distinguish between two types of musical identity: identity **around** music (the music is in focus as with heavy metal fans) and identity **through** music (where existing, non-musical identities are projected through use of music).<sup>69</sup> For *identities through music*, the music tends to be of secondary concern for the individual. It is “chosen” by the group, whether the group rallies around a cause, or it is ethnic based, whereas *identities around music* tend to be more of a reflection of personal music taste. The two forms of identity can be overlapping. British-Asian Punjabis may use bhangra music to emphasise their Punjabi origin, whilst also being

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68 As seen in Wau Nour in Phase I.

69 In the book *Musical Identities* a similar distinction is made between musicians’ “identities in music”, where music is central to the identity of the person(s), and “music in identities”, where music is part of a broader identity (MacDonald et al. 2002, p.2), my suggestion here is extending this beyond musicians.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

jazz fans, thereby displaying a salience of identities (Stryker & Burke 2000), in this case musical identities.

The key point to consider for conflict transformation is that identities through music are more rooted and less fluid identities, whether linked to an ethnic identity (Trimillos 1986) or a social movement identity (Roscigno et al. 2002). This can make it difficult to use music from this identity in conflict transformation efforts whereas identity around music may be more mutable as it echoes Giddens' ideas on the reflexive, late modern, multi-identity person. As such a music based identity is in many ways ideal for conflict transformation purposes. It is an easily acquired and changed identity. Chapman (1994, p.35) suggests, with regards to the linguistic and musical involvement in the Celtic identity: "*Music, by contrast, offers a pleasant and easy participation for the dilettante.*"

Linked to attitudes and identity is the concept of practices. Frequently used in sociology and a range of other social science disciplines (cf. Knorr-Cetina et al. 2001), practices are seen to bridge the gap between the ideas of the constantly calculating rational actor on the one hand and fixed social structures on the other. The idea of cultural practices, semi-standardised yet flexible responses to social situations, a concept that partly arises from Bourdieu (1977), is therefore a useful one with which to view the interactions between groups in a conflict. One example of this would be the stereotyping of the out-group's members. As a practice it is convenient and time saving for the in-group to engage in (Macrae et al. 1994), but it is not structural as it is possible to change view over time. In terms of the two studies presented here the superficial allocation to in-group / out-group was based on colour in Norway and *shulukh* (tribal marks) in Sudan.<sup>70</sup>

Hence I would suggest that in- and out-group identities arise from the process of (self)identification which is a practice. As such it is amenable to change and the change has to come through contact between the two sides if it is to be able to survive in the real world. This is where the well developed *group contact theory* from social psychology is relevant, this was mentioned briefly in my literature review when discussing musicking as representation. The group contact theory was originally

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<sup>70</sup> In this context it is also important to understand that tribal belonging in the Sudan is the primary identity for many people, not dissimilar to how a person in the West would identify herself through her work.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

developed by Allport (1954) and it provides some interesting ideas on how intergroup practices may be changed. Allport in his time developed the theory in response to the suggestion that mere contact between opposing groups was enough to resolve racial problems in the USA. He felt that this was overly optimistic and "*wanted to highlight the importance of contextual prerequisites in promoting meaningful change.*" (Dixon et al. 2005, p.698). This point was amply demonstrated by my findings in Chapter Five. The benefits of applying this theory will highlight the importance of interdisciplinary work to understand music's role in conflict transformation contexts.

Allport initially suggested that four conditions had to be met for prejudice (i.e. out-group stereotyping) to change or be reduced when people had inter-group encounters: equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and authority support. However, he also pointed out that the contact had to be of a certain quality or intimacy. Superficial contact will leave matters worse than before. This has led others to add a fifth condition namely that the contact must give people the opportunity to become friends (Pettigrew 1998). Finally, there has been some discussion with regards to the salience of group membership at the time of the contact, with some advocating an individualistic approach, which reduces group visibility and others arguing that this would fail to improve the perception of the out-group since the positive encounters would not be linked back to the group: "*Therefore, retaining group salience in a positive, intimate, cross-group interaction appears to be the best way to optimize intergroup contact.*" (Kenworthy et al. 2005). For my purposes I will use this as a sixth condition. A supplementary approach is offered in the idea of decategorisation, whereby barriers to the external group are broken down by no longer seeing it as a monolithic entity and letting the individuals within become the focus. This allows for a more nuanced view of the group as discussed by for instance Gaertner et al. (2000). However, this may mean that the group as a whole is still viewed negatively and this does not necessarily contradict the idea that high group salience is required for *groups* to interact better, although Pettigrew (1998) sees this as a part of the process for point five, developing friendships.

Here I want to apply this theory to the musical events themselves, which represents the contact situation that I am interested in. One problem to be noted at this stage is that contact theorists have over time developed more and more refined criteria,

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

thus ending up with suggestions for optimal contact situations that are almost utopian in character (Dixon et al. 2005, pp.699-701). However, I am interested in the broad outline of the theory which is more pragmatic and will help us understand how the musical events worked for the participants in the conflict transformation work.

In the top-down project in Norway the informants rarely made the link at the time of the performances between the music or performers and the children in their class who had an immigrant background, or the immigrant population at large. This was often caused by decategorisation of immigrant children, i.e. they were not seen as being different. In group contact theory terms this shows both the positive side of acceptance of individuals and the drawback of this acceptance not benefiting others in the same group. Musicking as representation type projects may therefore be difficult to execute with any reliability when it comes to changing attitudes. When no link is made between aesthetic experiences and individuals or groups from participants' everyday life, any positive experiences is unlikely to result in changes to group boundaries or the daily repertoire of inter-group interactions.

In Wau Nour there was never any doubt about the links between the music and whom it represented. Furthermore, there was always a direct involvement of everyone in the musicking itself. When it came to attitudes towards other groups, clear changes were reported from all levels of society. As the settlement started to grow there were always interactions between the leaders from different groups on official occasions, but people in general kept to their own ethnic group. However, as the Friday music events went on there was more and more interaction between the different groups. My informants often emphasised that after the music started, they had more interactions *as groups*. So if someone had a wedding or a death in the family, people from the whole community would join in, not just their own ethnic group and the leaders. Many of the informants also had a favourite music group that was not from their own ethnic background. This solidarity was not only skin deep:

*“Even the Zekaat!<sup>71</sup> We faced a problem in this regard. The church came and gave [money to] all the people [i.e. regardless of religion]. However, the people of the Zekaat chamber came and of course they stressed that only the Muslims should receive the aid. They did this once and we told them never to bring money again because you will disturb the situation we have*

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71 Islamic tithe, obligatory, in Sudan distributed by a government agency.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*here and create troubles for us [others in background supporting this statement].” (Uthmaan (p))*

<b>Group contact theory applied to musical event, summary</b>	
<i>Norway</i>	<i>Sudan</i>
Not equal to musicians, equal to fellow pupils.	Equality through shared displacements.
No common goals.	Common goals: celebration and passing on traditions.
Some intergroup cooperation.	Intergroup cooperation for pragmatic purposes.
Strong authority support.	Strong authority support.
Friendship unrealistic.	Friendship possible.
Low group salience.	Strong group salience.

*Table 3: Group contact theory summary*

Looking at the (extended) contact theory, how does it apply to the musical events? In Norway there was certainly an equal group status between the pupils themselves, but there was no equality with the musicians (due to age/authority, we are obviously not discussing ethnic equality here). There were no common goals (especially as the music meant little to most of the pupils) and the intergroup cooperation would only take place in some of the events where the musicians involved the pupils directly. However, the authority support from their teachers was very strong.

In Wau Nour all these four criteria were fulfilled. Inhabitants of Wau Nour were all participating as equals, through their identity as displaced people. The enjoyment of and participation in the music and pride in their culture (and a desire to maintain their heritage) were strong common goals and through the joint physical involvement in the music and dance there was strong intergroup cooperation, which also linked back to their common goals. Finally the leaders themselves enjoyed these events so it had strong authority support.

The fifth condition, that it should provide an opportunity to make friends across the group boundaries, was in Norway only a possibility in the inner city school with other pupils; becoming friends with the musicians was not an option. In Wau Nour on the other hand friendships were possible, both due to their equal status and the longitudinal aspect of the Friday concerts. The sixth and final condition suggests that a high group salience is required at the time of the contact. In Norway the focus was on the immigrant communities and as we saw, the pupils generally failed to connect the

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

music with the immigrant groups it was meant to represent. Hence the group salience was very low. I highlighted in Chapter Five how some pupils had made fun of the African performers' costume, relating this to the jungle, etc., hence proving Allport's point when he said that superficial contact is worse than no contact. In Wau Nour on the other hand, there is never any doubt about one's tribal belonging, which was given a positive push by the music.

Following on from his suggestion that friendships are required to reduce prejudice, Pettigrew (1998, p.76) points out that "*Optimal intergroup contact requires time for cross-group friendships to develop.*". This requirement is especially important in music based projects. Although individuals may have a strong, life changing experience through music (Greasley 2006; Gabrielson 2001), societies do not have epiphanies (although social groups and movements may have moments of "collective effervescence" as Durkheim suggested (Durkheim 1976, pp.158-164; Jasper 1998, p.417; Batt-Rawden et al. 2007)). Arranging festivals and other one off music events for conflict transformation purposes is therefore rather problematic. Music is ephemeral. The music use therefore needs to be repeated (which requires time) to have any effect and provide the space required for participants to do their "work". Hence the intermittent musical events in Norway did not give enough time and space for friendships to grow. In Wau Nour on the other hand, it was not only time for cross group friendships to develop, inter-marriages have also started occurring in recent times.

As I have discussed in the previous chapter, there were a number of other, additional reasons why the settlement has developed such good inter-tribal ties. However, this does not contradict the findings that musicking as experienced in Phase I in Wau Nour supported inter-group encounters that satisfied the requirement of the extended contact theory. Quite the opposite, it confirms that contact need to be contextualised and there is more to the meeting than just sharing the same physical space at the same time.

Having analysed the group interactions in the musical event in relatively broad terms I will later look into the musical event in more detail and put forward some suggestions as to how the musical event functions as a device for conflict transformation. I will also discuss how positive experiences with out-groups in the musical event may be carried into everyday life. This is **the** key concern if conflict

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

transformation is to succeed beyond the excitement of short term music related encounters.

Before I do that, I want to explore two possible ways that music may work in conflict transformation activities. The first role is primarily to support non-musical activities, hence it is rarely discussed within conflict transformation work. The second role is more specific and, I propose, supports conflict transformation processes by providing and sanctioning interruptions.

## Music augmenting conflict transformation

The application of the group contact theory to the data from Norway and Sudan showed that merely bringing different groups together around a musical event was not enough to broaden relationships between the groups. At the same time, putting music at the centre meant that it was de-contextualised, did not connect to the participants' everyday lives and thus had little effect on them. Such attempts to put music in the centre of conflict transformation activities are, as I have discussed, mainly influenced by the romantic discourse around the "power of music". Contrary to this view, and based on the empirical data presented in this thesis, I would suggest that a more pragmatic view of music in conflict transformation context would be to focus on its augmenting capabilities.

In my detailed discussion on my findings in Chapter Five I occasionally touched upon the use of music as an augmenting, rather than central, factor in the social encounters I researched. Traditionally music had no other function than to anchor and support social events and actions from dance to sacrifices. The idea of enjoying music for its own sake, i.e. listening with intent, has been prevalent in Hindustani classical music for some centuries (Broughton 2000) and emerged in the West in the 18th century (Eisenberg 1987). It has since become the normative mode for engaging with music in late modern countries following technological innovations in recorded music since the early 20th century (Bergh & DeNora 2009, p.102). However, recent mobile technologies means that music once again is used primarily to augment social interactions (Bergh et al. 2010 forthcoming).

In this context I understand augmentation to mean a resource (e.g. an object, a social network, an action) that explicitly or implicitly improves the chances of an initial

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

action to succeed in its original purpose by providing support for that action. A simple example relating to music will illustrate this: during the so-called Orange Revolution protests in Ukraine in 2004-2005 a song called *Razom Nas Bahato (Together We Are Many)* was composed and in a few days became an anthem for the protests (Lynskey 2005). The anthem supported an existing revolt by providing a simple message packaged through an easily distributable, easily memorised aesthetic material that could be invoked at any time. The revolution was not won by the song, rather the song augmented existing protests.

Superficially, this definition of augmentation sounds similar to the concept of affordance. DeNora (2000, pp.38-41) has developed this concept within music sociology based on the original idea from the psychologist Gibson. A simple example of affordance would be a chair. It affords sitting (more than other actions) by the way it is shaped and a common, local understanding of what a chair is. The difference from my definition of augmentation is that affordance indicates a stronger focus on the affording object, which offers a range of options for new actions. Augmentation on the other hand, in my definition indicates that the augmenting resource is not the focus of attention and is enhancing existing actions that have already been initiated. Using the example of the chair, we could see a cushion as an augmenting object that further enhances the act of sitting in the chair. However, augmentation is also a subsidiary and specific part of affordance. Listening to fast paced music when running augments the action of running, but the fast music obviously affords running or there would be no augmentation. To summarise, when considering the augmenting characteristics of music, the focus is on the ecological aspects of music: what can be done with, through or around music.

In music and conflict transformation circumstances music has often been deployed as a central actor, rather than augmenting other processes. As discussed in the summary of music use in conflicts in Chapter Two, in this context music has always had an augmenting role, as marching music, to intimidate, to incite violence. To put it rather crudely, no general has ever sent his marching band musicians into battle and kept the army at home. This is a key point where conflict transformation practitioners can learn from “conflict practitioners”.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Music can work as a supporting resource on a number of levels. It may augment existing emotions by “*allow[ing] a person access to the experience of emotions that are somehow already 'on the agenda' for that person.*” (Sloboda 2005, p.204). Or it can augment work situations by mobilising, coordinating or rejuvenating people. In Sierra Leone scattering seeds is done to music, as is mail sorting in Ghana (Anangwe & Patterson 2004), and in a blinds factory in the UK, music from a radio is used to energise people during long hours of physical work (Korczyński 2007).

Music can augment peace building efforts on many levels. On the macro level local popular music in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict went from promoting nationalistic ideals in the 1960s to supporting peace making after the Oslo agreement in the 1990s (Al-Tae 2002). Here music not only reflected larger political trends, it also augmented these same trends. On the micro level a former Pakistani Foreign Secretary revealed that when they held official negotiations with India in the late 1990s, in the evenings they would gather both delegations, share food and chat with recordings of old Hindustani classical music being played in the background. This, he felt, helped remind them of their shared past before the partition in 1948 and provided relaxation after tense negotiation.<sup>72</sup>

In my research I came across a number of examples of music being used to augment other activities (beyond traditional use in celebrations). Adib, the DevOrg employee who worked in Wau Nour summarised the African attitude to music when he explained that:

*“the [music] project pushed the other activities. For example, during the health campaign they used that music to improve the health. Garbage collection? People become more organised in their life when they use music. Activities move more smooth than without music. OK? Really, really, really. It give a lot of support if people know that today there is a drum, a dance, they do very well campaigning.”*

This was an example from the early days of Phase II, when NGOs and the settlement together used music to promote certain messages and ways of working. Another interesting point was how music provided a way to learn other languages. In a country with more than 130 languages this provides a valuable way to learn more ways to communicate with people from different parts of Sudan, and it has been suggested that this multilingualism can contribute to peace building (Bell & Hashim 2006). Music

<sup>72</sup> Personal communication, 2001.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

augmented language learning was common in Wau Nour. Habiba (a) gave an example of this from the Kirrang band which was composed of several different tribes:

*"[...] when we gathered and as they [the Katla] were the majority, we learnt it according to their way and in their language. We, the fewer, learnt their language. [...] Every [weekend] at such time, we used to go there to perform. [...] In this way, we understood and eventually the band was formed."*

This was also done by people outside the band, Hanan (p) pointed out that:

*"I can interact with any kind of music even if I don't understand the language of the song. Due to the constant listening to music and living side by side [with other kinds of music], now I understand more than one dialect [language]."*

Again, this is an example of pragmatic use of music to aid a small tasks that ultimately contributes to conflict transformation, although this is not overt or planned.

As I have pointed out above, in conflicts music is used solely in an augmenting capacity. Although I am here concerned with conflict transformation, it is instructive to look at some of the music uses I found in the Sudan, which highlight music's usefulness when augmenting other processes. When I met Malik Agar, the commander of the Blue Nile Army and at the time minister of investment in Sudan, he related the following story: He had a problem caused by the diverse nature of his army, with many different languages and dialects being spoken by the soldiers. His solution was to have competitions between the different ethnic groups in the army to compose the best battle music and when a song was selected everyone would learn the song in the original language and these songs would be used when practising for warfare. This provided unity not only in physical moves and song, but also through the process of learning the language of others.

Music also provided a commentary on larger issues, Martin told of how in the past they sang about *"The destruction of southern Sudan, our own destruction"*. The oral poetry tradition is strong in Sudan, especially amongst women, and has been used to resist colonialism and egg on soldiers. It has been suggested that it *"can shape people's socio-cultural and political life"* (Muhammad 1996, p.72), thus it was no surprise to hear Habiba sing:

*"John Garang, oh Hamada! Where do you live?"  
Jebel [mountain] Awliya, oh Hamada, the Jebel of happiness, oh Hamada!*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*We are [the] liberation army, came from the thicket  
Who lights the fire? The commander, the fire oh 'fireman'!*"

In this song people from the Nuba mountains make it clear that they are followers of SPLA/M,<sup>73</sup> the commander is John Garang, the original leader of the SPLA/M. This song was even performed in front of visiting dignitaries from Khartoum by Wau Nour musicians as the musicians gleefully told us. Martin and Habiba's examples show how music augmented meaning making in times of extreme volatility when one needed to come to terms with losses and rally behind the liberation movement.

Returning to conflict transformation, the examples above show how the local (bottom-up) use of music, with its tendency towards the simple, pragmatic and common place, have great scope for augmenting activities that are necessary, not only for direct conflict transformation, but also for inter-group cooperation on a day-to-day basis. This is in marked contrast to the type of projects where music is used as a tool on its own. As I have mentioned in various contexts in Chapter Five, when music is placed in the centre as the only activity, not only does it reduce most people to passivity or predefined roles, it also expects a lot more from music than it can "deliver". The fascination with strong/peak experiences in music and conflict transformation is rather misguided as Maslow's original definition of peak experiences show: "*In B-cognition the [peak] experience of the object tends to be seen as a whole, as a complete unit, detached from relations, from possible usefulness, from expediency, and from purpose.*" (1968, p.85). In other words, conflict transformation projects that strive for peak experiences actually attempt to create emotions that are entirely disconnected from the conflict that they try to transform.

In Norway there were examples of music augmenting social interaction, rather than trying to overwhelm it. Raymond, the performer in the Resonant Community project originally from the Ivory Coast, explained that his aim was to "*[create] a common mood in that situation, and how should you use the material [music/dance] as simply as possible, so it can be used in a common area? [...] That is a good challenge.*" As mentioned in the previous chapter, Raymond was concerned with the children's connections to each other around the music, thus trying to augment social interactions rather than expecting the music to be in focus.

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73 The opposition force in the second civil war in Sudan.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

The idea that music is primarily about augmentation does not detract from music's unique value in conflict transformation activities, the fact that social interactions can continue unimpeded whilst being aided by music is what sets music apart from drama, theatre, the visual arts, etc. Without trying to stretch the point, it could be suggested that music is a relationship "tool" which in conflict transformation activities primarily work if it augments other actions: DeNora has described a situation in which a couple listened to "romantic" music and through this developed their relationship (DeNora 2002, pp.177-178). If they were not already interested in each other romantically, music on its own would not have made them fall in love. At the same time if they were required to focus solely on the music, their relationship could not move forward.

From my findings it is clear that the ability to augment actions makes music a useful activity in conflict transformation contexts, but it also hints at the impossibility of music being prescribed as pill for a given situation. It is, I would suggest, more important to establish good group contact situations where music is introduced, and let participant initiated actions be augmented by the music.

## **Music as interruption for conflict transformation purposes**

Another way in which music may add value to conflict transformation work will seem to run counter to what I suggested in the previous section. However, conflict transformation is a multi-faceted and complex activity, there are therefore many ways in which music can be a part of conflict transformation activities. The idea that music can provide interruptions ties in with the notions of group contact I considered above as well as ideas I will discuss below with regards to the musical event.

In very basic terms we can say that engaging with music can affect one physically or mentally and that these two realms are often linked. Firstly, emotions arising from music listening may affect our bodies. Secondly, bodily actions in response to music (such as dancing) may change our emotions (Gerra et al. 1998). In the mental domain, which I want to focus on here, music may bring out a range of emotions such as sadness or happiness. Emotions that come out of being reminded of specific or general memories, which Sloboda (2005, p.336) refers to as episodic and iconic associations, are relatively easy to explain and understand. An episodic association may be a happy feeling that comes when listening to a song that was frequently played on radio when

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

something very positive took place, for instance when we got our first job. Whereas an iconic association could occur through music that reminds us of summers and holidays in general.

More difficult to explain are emotions not obviously linked to memories (for a number of cross-disciplinary discussions see Juslin and Sloboda (2001)). DeNora (1986) and Sloboda (2000) have both suggested that the “power” of music may not reside in music as such, but that music acts as a Rorschach ink blot. That is to say, music is open to interpretation on the emotional level and we see in it what satisfies us the most. This does not mean that music is disconnected from everyday life: Our personal and social biographies as well as cues linked to the music (DeNora 1999; Sloboda 2005, p.208) play a big role in how we react to music. Emotions and attitudes are not generated automatically or unidirectionally by music, but by people engaging in a back-and-forth manner with music and within *the spaces afforded by music* and a network that includes other people, objects and situations as DeNora (2001) and Gomart and Hennion (1999) have suggested.

By describing music as a Rorschach ink blot we allow for considerable agency on behalf of the listener when it comes to emotions. This freedom to project, interpret and engage in emotional work obviously has important implications for projects that “use” music to bring people together. But what happens if we take this idea one step further and see music as a source of diversion, or more precisely, a beneficial interruption? Music then ceases to be a focal point demanding attention. Instead it offers a break from tense cognitive processing and/or intense emotions, in this case the emotions that may arise when one focuses on and discusses conflicts. This idea will be anathema to many, especially musicians and academics who specialise in music studies. It therefore requires some careful explanation, in particular as this is an idea where little directly relevant research exists to date.

First of all, I am **not** suggesting that there are certain music styles so simple or banal that they can only be a diversion (in the negative sense of the word), whereas other music styles are more complex and worthy of a listener's careful attention. Nor am I suggesting that the idea of music as an interruption applies to any engagement with any style of music, all of the time.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Rather I am suggesting that *at times* any music can provide a form of diversion for those who are involved in an emotional encounter or situation and that this function is what makes it powerful in certain conflict transformation (and similar) contexts. The idea of diversions in conflict transformation work is not new. For instance, “break-time” is a valid, although infrequently used strategy to deal with problems in mediation and negotiation sessions (Wall & Druckman 2003; Wall Jr & Callister 1999; Callister & Wall Jr 2004).

However, there are two key differences between a break from conflict transformation activities without music and the use of music to provide interruptions. Firstly, most societies view music as a worthwhile and positive activity, so engaging with music, even when it acts as a diversion, receives a “stamp of approval”. But simply taking a break to do nothing, or to do other relaxing activities, is seen as non productive or negative. For example, sitting in front of the TV half asleep is “bad”, but doing the same while listening to a recording of classical music is “good”. (Bourdieu (2001) has discussed such attitudes in terms of social and cultural capital.)

Secondly, most listening to or casual performing of music lets us switch our mental focus (voluntary or involuntary) between the music itself and non-musical emotional or cognitive thoughts. So we may focus closely on music for some time before drifting into thoughts and emotions that may be linked to the music, or it may emerge from conflict transformation discussions/interactions. This pattern is very similar to some meditation techniques where a person's focus may oscillate between conscious thoughts and the meditation sound (or *mantra*) (Holen 2007).

These two points can be illustrated with an example. In a chapter on music therapy and conflict transformation Lopez Vinader discusses in some detail a class she is running for expectant mothers where they listen to music. She mentions that “*One woman reported that during the music therapy session it was the first time that she had connected with her baby because otherwise she was under too much stress.*” (2007, p.155). Without belittling music therapy we can see that if stress was an issue, requesting time alone to sit and enjoy the pregnancy may be considered self indulgent, whereas attending a music therapy session is acceptable not only to the woman herself but also to others as it is considered a valued activity (sitting still without music would have been considered inactivity). This I hope explains my first point. The second point

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

is that within this music based activity, if one is processing negative feelings (in this case guilt for being too stressed to value the unborn child), one can deal with such feelings, but have the opportunity to switch attention back to the music when such feelings are too strong, thus keeping the session overall pleasant.

The first point, music being a valued activity even when providing a diversion, is relatively easy to grasp. The second point, how such a diversion can be beneficial to conflict transformation, requires further exploration. From this point of view the role of music is to **make possible** and to **provide the potential** for interruptions on two levels: the external, social level and the interior, personal level respectively.

Firstly it makes possible interruptions of what may be considered routine, non-reflexive (even embodied) activities that occur in social interactions. In conflict transformation contexts, this may be, for example, the act of hating an out-group, and act that makes one behave in certain ways. The musical interruption puts a temporary stop to this by providing a liminal space. This space, as I will discuss in detail in the next section, is a temporary and transient space where new and different ways of interacting with the out-group can be tried out relatively safely, precisely because of its indeterminate nature.

Secondly, it offers internal micro-interruptions (should we need them) when things become (in)tense emotionally, a frequent occurrence in conflict transformation work. Thus, if a session in a conflict transformation workshop has brought up uncomfortable memories and music is present, the individuals' attention can be switched to the music. This temporary interruption means that the painful process of digesting memories, thinking of or accepting new ideas, thoughts and emotions can be done in smaller "chunks". Again this echoes ideas present in certain psychology based meditation techniques (Holen 2007).

By extension, in this view different styles of music can provide different spaces that afford different types of emotional work (DeNora 2000), rather than different emotions being embedded in the music. Although **any** interruption can give positive results as reported by Lesiuk with regards to air traffic controllers: "*Results showed that whether the group sat in silence or listened to music, their stress levels reduced significantly.*" (Lesiuk 1992 quoted in Lesiuk 2005, p.176), what music offers in

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

addition is the idea that it is an acceptable activity, which does not make participants feel self-conscious.

If we look at what happened in Sudan, we see that the regular, casual Friday music making in the settlement interrupted the daily interactions between ethnic groups, interactions which initially were very conflict filled. Within this musical event people could switch between joint musicking to the music itself and the emotional and/or cognitive work of viewing their fellow Wau Nour inhabitants in a different light, i.e. the interruptions allowed for new associations to (slowly) emerge. In this way positive changes did not require a single huge and painful readjustment, but could be done in small doses over time.

Viewing the role of music in conflict transformation in these pragmatic terms challenges the idea that “the power of music” is responsible for major changes in people's attitudes. This understanding is not a rejection of music's possibly unique role, but it implies that a continuous process of interruptions, emotional work and consolidations take place, each in small doses and that this process requires time and repetition to have an effect. This means that participants in conflict transformation work are not hostages to fortune, waiting for the muse of music to open them up and conversely, that those in charge can not expect to apply music to transform people and attitudes in an instant.

If the key role of music is to interrupt we may ask, why not use any diversion, such as playing games or watching films, instead of music? I suggest that music is not useful because it contains some magic force, but because the real power of music may lie in a range of pragmatic and occasionally unique properties, some of which are:

- Music has a very low threshold for participation. A voice to sing or hands to clap a rhythm is all that is required.
- Music is an easily accessible, worldwide resource in the sense that the basic concept of music is generally understood in most locations, although (as mentioned earlier) not everyone enjoys it and the actual experience of music will differ depending on a range of local variables such as customs, circumstances and tastes.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

- Music augments actions, rather than dominate them, i.e. one can run or talk whilst enjoying music, whereas most other activities require one to be stationary and/or tend to exclude social interaction beyond the actions required by the activity.
- Music provides a socially acceptable space for admitting to being emotionally affected. Although music may sometimes be banned for religious or political reasons, even the most hardened warrior can admit to being “moved” by a piece of music. One example of this can be seen in the BBC documentary “Killers Don’t Cry”, a project with serial killers in South African jails where music was used as part of a workshop (Little 2001).
- The forward temporal movement of music means it invites occasional attention which stops one from being stuck in a single thought, a point highlighted by Lesiuk (2005) with regards to computer programmers who improved their problem solving technique when listening to music.

An anecdotal example that illustrates (rather than proves) the above points was related by Einar Gerhardsen, Labour Party prime minister of Norway for sixteen years after 1945. He told of how, when there was a high level of disagreement at Labour Party conferences, someone would stand up and suggest a song and delegates would immediately join in.<sup>74</sup> This interrupted the flow of negative feelings due to arguments, required no preparation, created a temporal new space for cooperation and allowed for emotions to come out and cognitive activities to take place on the side. The Friday music events in Wau Nour also provided similar opportunities for socially sanctioned interruptions. And this is the key point. The musical space is given a sign of approval by society. It is not seen as strange or suspicious to listen to music. Quite the opposite, it gives people social capital and affords changes of mind that seemingly have come about through “high” aesthetic experiences.

## Developing and transferring bonds: From music to everyday life

So far I have discussed to what degree inter-group activities in Wau Nour and Norway were affected by music. Through the application of the group contact theory I

<sup>74</sup> Even Ruud, personal communication, 2005.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

analysed why music failed or succeeded in broadening relationships. I have also suggested two different but related ways in which music may aid conflict transformation specific processes. I will finish this discussion by putting forward a tentative theory on how positive group experiences may develop within, and then extend beyond, the temporary musical events. In other words, how are relationships broadened when participants engage with each other in situations where music is played or listened to, and how do these broadened relationships enter the everyday lives of participants? This is the crux of the matter. Without this transfer music has no role in conflict transformation. In Norway for instance, there were activities such as the African music workshops that the children clearly enjoyed together, but despite the enjoyment of the musical event they still made negative remarks about the artists in other contexts. This was partly a matter of the contact being superficial in group contact terms, as I have discussed above. However, it is also analogous to the re-entry problem that was described in Chapter Five (Kaufman 2000). That is to say, some form of conflict transformation may have been achieved in a particular situation, in this case the musical event, but this conflict transformation does not survive the return of the participants to their more mundane surroundings. In the case of the Norwegian pupils this was the re-entry to the school yard were, one might surmise, jokes about funny African costumes may be an expected part of the conversation.

There are examples from outside conflict transformation where music has provided a space for developing relationships which are then taken into the broader social world. In social movement studies Eyerman and Jamieson (1998, pp.20-25) have suggested that music can be a part of the *cognitive praxis* where movements develop ideas and identities that are influenced by and recalled through music. Mattern (1998, pp.25-32) has discussed similar issues in terms of the *deliberative* and *pragmatic* use of music. In community music there are similar examples related to transformative learning (Olson 2005). However, in these circumstances the groups want to achieve internal cohesion to oppose external social entities and work together towards a defined goal. Hence togetherness **within** the group is augmented relatively easily through music. However, in conflict transformation the desire to be inclusive of out-groups poses different and more complex problems that require investigation.

The “musical event” refers to the period during which participants engage with music as a part of conflict transformation activities (whether the conflict transformation is implicit or explicit). In Sudan this was the Friday musicking, in Norway it was the monthly performances in the schools. However, the musical events also overlap with other parts of the participants’ life. Thus we can see that there are three phases that link the musical event together: before, during and after (Götell et al. 2000; DeNora 2003, p.55). In the specific context of conflict transformation, the “before” (1) concerns how participants feel encouraged to join a musical event when out-groups are present; the “during” (2) is about what happens between groups and individuals inside the musical event; and the “after” (3) is where, if at all, any short term positive changes inside the musical event are carried into the broader lifeworlds of the participants. The “before” and “after” are therefore the key links between the musical event and everyday life.

### **1: Before the musical event**

The main attraction of music was summed up in one word by one of my informants (p) in Wau Nour when I asked what he liked about the Friday musicking: “*Merriness*”. The entertainment factor of music tends to be forgotten in the discourse on “the power of music” and suchlike, yet this aspect for the vast majority of people is the most attractive aspect of music. This is also why music in multicultural conflict transformation settings attracts a lot of people, not because of attendants engaging in any underlying, in-depth analysis of its value for conflict transformation. Aasgaard (2002, pp.203-208), a music therapist, has discussed this as constituting an extra-musical connection to the event in terms of expecting or recalling the musical event itself, thus adding “pleasurable moments” to participants’ (in his case hospitalised children) lives.

This means that music provides an easy way **into** the conflict transformation event, where another property of music provides further aid to help participants stay on even when facing adversary groups: the act of music filling the sonic space. This provides an additional benefit with regards to conflict transformation processes as a member (p) from the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra explained to me: “*First of all, you don't have to talk*”. As discussed in the previous section, this means that one can choose how much to engage in the (implicit or explicit) conflict transformation taking place and

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

does not have to talk directly to members of the out-group(s). This eases the initial encounter.

Another facet of music that helps people enter into the conflict transformation event is the bodily effect it may have. Rhythmic music can, quite literally, be difficult to walk away from and the entrainment it affords may make it easier to stay than to go. In Chapter Five I mentioned, and demonstrated through video snapshots, how the pupils in Norway had overcome initial shyness and engaged energetically with the music and each other. In short, their involvement went from that of a passive spectator to an active participant in joint musicking. My informants in Wau Nour further confirmed that the stronger rhythms allow one to “lose oneself”, to calibrate one's mood and body (DeNora 2000, pp.151-157), to help break through the barriers that might limit one's interaction with others, thus providing a vital community building block (Chernoff 1979, pp.33-37) via entrainment. One of the sheikhs from the Nuba mountains told of how he could never resist the Kirrang drums and now that he for religious reasons had decided that music was not a good thing, he had to leave when he heard them. It also allows for casual, short term participation in a joint effort through dancing, clapping or other activities.

What I have described here is not unique to conflict transformation. All of these musical properties that aid initial socialisation in awkward and tense situations can be observed at teenage parties in the UK: enjoyment of music, music helping to avoid difficult breaks in the conversations (Bergh et al. 2010 forthcoming), the tapping of the foot or dancing while being on the edge of the party. However, this does not detract from music's usefulness as a conflict transformation activity. Providing an everyday initial attraction to music is, to use a colloquial term, “half the battle won”. This is not to say that there is a single, universal way for music to attract people. Musical forms and modes of behaving around music will differ, depending on space, place and participants.

## **2: During the musical event**

The properties of music discussed above may help “funnel” people into a musical event, but what takes place once the event is under way is of paramount importance in conflict transformation terms. At the beginning of Chapter Five I discussed how relationships had broadened between different groups in Wau Nour through active

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

musicking in Phase I, and how music as representation had failed to achieve the same improvements in Norway. Specific aspects of music that can help or hinder positive outcomes in music and conflict transformation activities have been discussed in terms of traditions, interventions, cultural capital, etc. I will now make some suggestions as to what features of musical events (the combination of music and social groups) can aid conflict transformation processes through the improvement and broadening of relationships.

Small (1998) has proposed that musicking is primarily about relationships, and music affords a range of social interactions, i.e. it is a very social activity. These are the obvious and pragmatic sides of music that point towards **possibilities** for improved relationships. However, the data from Norway showed clearly that this is not an automatic outcome of the musicking process. Thus we can say that musicking may augment relationship building, but it does not assure it.

I have previously discussed music as something that one can project one's own emotions and thoughts onto, which is possible because music is polysemic, diffuse and ambiguous. By extension we can see the musical events, as exemplified by Friday musicking in Wau Nour or school performances in Norway, as *liminal spaces*. Liminal, in Turner's (1967, pp.93-111) definition indicates a particular time and place when and where individuals' status is more ambiguous than is usual. Here one can act differently than in the non-liminal spaces without facing serious consequences such as censure or ostracism by one's social peers. Boyce-Tillman (2009) has suggested that the musical experience is a space where one can try out new personae, whilst still being connected to the everyday.

An important part of the liminal space is music's equivocal nature. Corte and Edwards discuss this with regards to White Power music: "*Music's power rests precisely in its ambiguity in contrast to the specificity of ideology tied as it is to particular values, beliefs and meanings.*" (2008, p.9). Zelizer (2004, p.52) has raised the question of whether art is useful for specific conflict resolution purposes, or more as a general community/trust builder. The former suggests that music is used very specifically and directed, i.e. as a tool. The latter is more open to vaguer and longer term augmenting use. Zelizer (2004, p.73) also reported that a very realistic drama project ignited rather than resolved conflict which indicates that art aids conflict transformation

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

best when it is vague rather than specific. Thus in the liminal space of the musical event, its non-specificity makes this space less likely to meet resistance as it is, broadly speaking, “all things to all people”.

Like most liminal spaces, the musical events are clearly defined. The boundaries are demarcated through sound which marks the beginning and end both of the time and the place where the music can be heard, and in that physical space, liminal “rules” apply. However, the divergence of this liminal space from everyday life varies considerably. It is not to be understood as a universal entity. The ambiguity is not total. Hence, in classical Iranian concerts in Norway the pupils were still pupils, their role largely unchanged apart from not having to make notes or answer questions. The African workshops on the other hand, offered considerable more freedom for alternative actions.

The relationship building itself can occur in many different ways, from agreement on which song is the best to dancing together to simply chatting on the sidelines. That is to say, the steps from non-relationships to relationships are no different in conflict transformation contexts than in normal life. What I am proposing is that the indeterminate sides of the musical event that means new relationships can be struck (temporarily) in an environment where there are fewer strictures on how one should behave – Attali's (1985, p.21) “carnival” in other words. In- and out-groups can interact more closely for a limited time, trying out different modes of behaving towards each other. These interactions have a “lightness” to them. They are easy to engage in and easy to discontinue. Since these interactions are clearly framed by the musical event, there is no requirement that behaving differently there requires any immediate adjustments in other parts of one's life. In conflict transformation terms this means that the risk is small when interacting with someone from the out-group. “Getting on” is relatively effortless, and if it fails music provides an alternative activity, as discussed above with regards to music providing interruptions. This was borne out by Hanan (p), a woman in Wau Nour who said that *“For instance, if I were on bad terms with my neighbour and I overheard music in their house, I can [still] dance to it and sing it.”*

However, “pure” liminality is not ideal, that is, a situation with no known elements and no anchoring points supporting the participants' navigation of the (temporary) situation that allows more freedom. In Wau Nour in Phase I the musical

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

event provided support in the form of familiarity to the music and personal (although not necessarily friendly) knowledge of the musicians. This meant that when someone danced with people from out-groups, it did not feel like a huge step to take. As multiple bands played at the same time, one could sample other groups, and then return to the safe and the well known. In short, “the other” could be engaged with in small steps, and the degree of these interactions were controlled by the participants individually. Similar controlled engagements have been described with regards to the Czechoslovakian underground music scene (Hagen & DeNora 2010 forthcoming). At the same time, there were no fixed or preconceived expectations from any organisers, so the opportunities afforded by the liminal situation were not restricted or hurried.

In Norway on the other hand the musical space was less ideal than in Wau Nour. The children's status, as mentioned, was often less ambiguous. They still felt very much like pupils. Sometimes liminal spaces were opened up, as seems to have been the case with the African music workshops. However, in these cases the aesthetics of the situation did not relate to any previous knowledge (except when one of the groups did some rapping as mentioned earlier) and their relationship to the out-group (the musicians) was too ambiguous. Thus there were no fixed points by which to “navigate” so that any changes would have involved large steps away from their everyday life into unknown territory. At the same time there was a pre-written narrative that was supposed to be followed: The children would listen to the music, like it, connect the music to the performers' ethnicity and then change their attitude to others from the same background.

Thus, the degree of liminality in the musical event can be too loose, that is, there are no familiar materials, aesthetic or otherwise, to aid the participants' feeling of self, so relationships are hard to strike up. In Norway we heard that the children liked the rapping by the South African group. This had unmistakable connections to their everyday musicking and it provided orientation rather than disorientation. The liminality can also be too restricted, so there is no room for the interactions required for relationships to occur. Turning again to Norway for an illustrative example, we can see that the performances of Asian classical musics, where the children were sitting still whilst (supposedly) appreciating the music and amending their attitudes to people from these countries. However, this was too tight a script. Zelizer (2004, p.212) discussed similar concerns with regards to arts-based conflict transformation processes in Bosnia-

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Herzegovina where he found that activities that were too structured dampened creativity whereas open-ended activities were lacking in structures/support for inter-group work. This has been echoed by Cohen (2005, p.7) who suggested that neither “*random idiosyncratic expression*” on the one hand and “*completely uniform expression*” resulted in aesthetic responses when rebuilding inter-communal relations. What is too loose, too limited or “just right” however, will obviously be defined by the situation in which the musical event occurs. Successful conflict transformation may occur when the open, indeterminate side of the musical event is nurtured and the underlying drift of musicking towards relationship building is allowed to take place without intervention.

The liminal space of the musical event is, in terms of music and conflict transformation, the arena where group contact takes place. I have earlier discussed how the musical encounter needs to be of a certain quality for group contact to broaden cross-group relationships. However, this is not a simple one-way test, the liminality of the situation can aid the group contact quality, albeit **temporarily**. It can do this in four ways: (1) it increases the equality between members of in- and out-groups, (2) it can provide a common goal through enjoyment of the music, (3) it gives an opportunity for intergroup cooperation and (4) it makes friendship possible. These improved group contact opportunities are short term and, as mentioned above, have a “lightness” to them. In other words, although the musical event can make friendship easier, these friendships are initially rather shallow. The equality likewise, is temporary and easily forgotten. However, when repeated, as I will discuss below, some of these light and temporary improvements may become firmer and more long lasting.

Liminal spaces are not everlasting, as Turner (1967, p.106) points out “*this liberty has fairly narrow limits [...] they [who were in the liminal space] have to become once more subject to custom and law.*” The question therefore, as Cook (2009, p.9) put it with regards to the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, is “*how far [the reconciliation] survives the transition to [real life]*”. In the Norwegian data it was clear that the positive interactions between the children and the musicians, as documented in the videos from the project, were not mapped back onto their everyday lives. Again we see the “re-entry” problem. This shows the relevance of Bourdieu and Thompson’s suggestion that “*the effects that a new experience can have on the habitus depend on the relation of practical ‘compatibility’ between this experience and the experiences*

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

*that have already been assimilated by the habitus*" (Bourdieu & Thompson 1991, p.82; Bradley 2006). The question is, even if participants' acquire alternative or new views and relationships of each other during the musical event, how can these translate into changes in the mundane, everyday world, if at all?

### 3: After the musical event<sup>75</sup>

As the findings from Wau Nour demonstrated, music **can** have a positive effect in conflict transformation terms, primarily through the broadening of relationships. Trying to understand what caused music to fulfil its conflict transformation potential in Wau Nour will also help us towards a better understanding of how these relationships move from the liminal space to everyday life.

In Chapter Two I suggested a basic typology of music and conflict transformation with three categories. Within each of these categories music is intended to affect participants in different ways. Music and conflict transformation projects may fall into more than one category. However for the purpose of discussing what positive effects, if any, music within each of these categories have, I will treat them as "ideal types". In terms of investigating what happens **after** the musical event and how the musical event affects everyday life there are two "outliers" within this typology which are relatively simple to explain. Yet, at the same time, as I will propose, they have little chance of success. The three categories and their potential for change can be illustrated as follows:

Musicking as representation	<b>Musicking as a joint activity</b>	Musicking as an emotional tool
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Table 4: Music and conflict transformation typology

*Outlier 1, musicking as representation:* if music is seen to represent one side in a conflict, and people on the other side of the conflict like the music, this may provide a positive view of all those connected with the music. This, in theory, is simple to explain, but as discussed in the literature review and in my findings, it rarely happens. This I will suggest is because deliberate cognitive work following a given path is required for this approach to succeed. That is to say, the participants must at a very conscious level think

<sup>75</sup> My discussion here is somewhat reminiscent of Turner's (1995, p.132) idea of spontaneous and normative *communitas*. However, his focus was on strong initial experiences and more deliberate and detailed organisation than what I discuss here. I will therefore leave the *communitas* concept aside for this discussion.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

about the meaning of what is taking place first to connect the music to the out-group and thereafter apply any positive views on the music to the out-groups.

*Outlier 2, musicking as an emotional tool*: if one has strong emotional experiences when listening to music together with people from other sides of a conflict, those emotions may trigger a rapid change in behaviour towards the out-groups. In my findings music rarely had this effect. Similarly to *musicking as representation* this also requires careful and active thought on behalf of the participants. Any strong emotional experiences in the musical event must be used as a springboard for changing attitudes to other groups.

Once the musical-event-to-everyday-life steps implicit in the two approaches are spelled out as I have done here, it does not represent a difficult intellectual task. However, in everyday encounters around music this deliberate cognitive work rarely took place within my findings. Therefore, I propose that (a) these two categories are on the margins of music and conflict transformation efforts. The way in which they are supposed to work is simple to theorise and explain, but difficult to make work. Furthermore, (b) there is the last category, *musicking as a joint activity* (in the broadest possible sense of the term), where we observe the majority of successful conflict transformation work to be happening. Finally, this success is (c) connected to everyday *practices* being amended as a result of what takes place in the liminal space.

Bourdieu's (1977) concept of practices suggest that we have ways of behaving and interacting that are informally learnt and deeply ingrained, yet still changeable, and which we use to some extent "automatically". These shared practices (Barnes 2001) are semi-standardised yet flexible responses to social situations, i.e. they are routine responses that we use out of habit rather than as a result of careful, conscious consideration. Individuals embody these practices, that is, they are not fixed structures outside of the actors, but internalised notions that individuals deploy through bodily actions and reactions relating to other people and the environment in which they operate (Jenkins 2002, pp.40-64).

Referring back to my findings we can see that clashing interactions between in- and out-groups during or after a conflict are practices. When relationships are broadened these modes of interacting are amended or entirely new ways of interacting

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

emerge. That is to say, one set of habitual responses, or practices, are replaced with another set in which there is less emphasis on conflict. The liminal space of the musical event is therefore a space where a different set of practices it first developed and enacted. This is possible because the habitual (conflict filled) interactions are interrupted by musicking which draws participants into new modes of interaction without requiring conscious efforts of getting along, albeit just for brief periods. The success conflict transformation therefore depends on how (and whether) these new and temporary practices are incorporated into everyday life.

I believe that **when** new practices survive beyond the musical event there are a number of pragmatic issues, rather than a single unique aspect, that are crucial. Time and repetition were important in Wau Nour: A single musical event with an out-group has the feeling of unreality, just as any other singular and isolated incident in life does. However, the repetition meant that the liminal and virtual became part of everyday life rather than being separated from it. Mans (2009, p.33) has discussed this form of learning in a musical context as cultural immersion, a slow absorption of values. The repetitive aspect also meant that any cross-group interactions became a habit, a part of the tacit ways of interaction, rather than requiring a hard, one off effort. Time also allows for more subtlety. In Wau Nour there was time for different groups slowly to engage with each other in and out of the musical space. In Norway on the other hand it was a starker proposition: a single event was supposed to make one see a large group of people in a different light.

In social psychology and group contact theory this process of amending negative views of out-group members is known as recategorisation (Gaertner et al. 2000; Gaertner et al. 1989). Recategorisation is different from the decategorisation I mentioned with regards to the pupils in the inner city school in Oslo. Here they perceived each other as individuals. Thus stereotyping categorisation rarely occurred. The recategorisation process occurs when actors "move" other actors from one category to another, in this case a move from a negative "other" category, to a more positive "fellow Wau Nour inhabitant" category. Such recategorisation work is then aided by casual but repeated encounters around music.

Aasgaard (2002, pp.203-208) has also suggested that music provides a range of pragmatic positive responses such as positive anticipations toward future music events,

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

and the music events can become a talking point (with in- and out-group). This lubricates social interactions outside the music event itself and provides additional new practices that can be used in social encounters. Davidson (2004) reports similar findings from a project with homeless men in Canada, when participating in a choir they felt that both the music itself and the social interaction around music was useful. Such interactions are what Epskamp (1999) referred to when he suggested that in arts and conflict transformation work participants needed space to mingle, as I discussed in Chapter Two.

Supporting this transfer of new and positive practices from the musical event to the everyday lives of the participants is the fact that with joint musicking activities the positive experiences from the liminal space have many carriers who spread their amended practices piecemeal in a variety of everyday interactions. There is therefore no single point of failure and the new practices are closely linked with other casual, mundane and routine experiences and interactions. Musicking as representation or as an emotional tool are both tied to a single attempt at success. Similar issues are common in musicking more generally. Musicking as a joint activity in the form of community or popular music spreads relatively easily and requires little external support to survive. Professional, "high art" such as classical music on the other hand is difficult to sustain and can easily fail if the required external support is not forthcoming. In other words, musicking as a joint activity is a many-to-many cultural activity, whereas the other two categories are one-to-many (musicking as representation) and many-to-one (musicking as an emotional tool).

Any success in transfer of the practices that broaden relationships into everyday life can also result in new supporting institutions and structures emerging, further enhancing the new practices. In Phase I in Wau Nour a local people's committee for the music was formed and music was also used, as discussed before, to spread certain development messages. The link between practices in the liminal space of the musical events and everyday life is therefore not uni-directional. There is a "dialogue" where they both affect each other. This is vital to sustain any conflict transformation effects that occurs. Cohen (2005, p.3) has suggested that the effectiveness of artistic initiatives in reconciliation can be improved if they are coordinated with other civil society and governmental activities to help the sustainability of such initiatives.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

In summary, the transfer of new practices from the musical events goes from a basic common, and relatively “light”, activity that participants can share, which results in further common points of contact outside the musical event. Through repetition the opposing groups or individuals become used to cooperating and coexisting in liminal and non-liminal situations, and through this a wider basis for cooperation is achieved, not through any inexplicable “power of music” but via a joint meaningful and meaning making activity situated in the community.

An interesting aspect of the above ideas is that music’s unique properties are central at the point of enticing participants to engage with each other in step 1, whereas on re-entry to life outside the musical event these same properties are more problematic than helpful. This suggests that when working with music in conflict transformation, it is the exit from the experience that requires the most careful handling, rather than planning the musical event itself. This is a position that is diametrically opposite to how most conflict transformation activities currently use music.

## Summary

Through the presentation of my findings and the discussion and exploration of the data from my fieldwork, I hope first of all to have presented a nuanced, not to say complicated, picture of how music is used and perceived in conflict transformation contexts. Furthermore, I have consistently tried to fulfil a key aim of my research, to bring forward the voice of the participants, rather than the organisers and musicians, although the latter have been given ample space so as to contextualise the findings.

This I believe, is in stark contrast to most existing work in the field of music and conflict transformation where self evaluations by organisers and musicians are prevalent. Many of my findings are mundane and fall squarely into a pre-existing commonsensical view of the socio-musical world. Top-down approaches do not work very well. Musicians (as any other occupation) promote themselves and music does not change anyone in 30 minutes. However, these somewhat obvious aspects of music use in conflict transformation are rarely made explicit or are simply assumed not to influence the music use. It has therefore been important to also be explicit about the more mundane findings, thereby providing a clear and detailed understanding of the role music does and can play in conflict transformation work. The role of the “power of

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

music” discourse and the interests of certain groups involved in music and conflict transformation work has been explored and expressed and the effect of different ways of working have been discussed in detail.

It is important to realise that this is a largely exploratory study, not an attempt at prescribing an ideal for music use conflict transformation. Instead I have attempted to trace some of the connections that occur around music, and demonstrate how these may help or hinder the broadening of relationships between in- and out-groups. It is **always** the participants, not the music, that do the “work” in these situations. Therefore we must be aware that it is impossible to predict what the outcome will be. In Norway, African musical events often led to further stereotyping and did not improve the perception of the out-group. In Wau Nour on the other hand, performances that were unusual to the host community have been very popular and a became a way for Wau Nour to resolve the underlying conflict with the inhabitants of Kassala.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

*“[the poor] are in no hurry to launch upon an accelerated route to empowerment. We know that in the social, economic, and political conditions in which we are placed, this would be not only unrealistic but self-destructive. The Poor have their own pace and own rhythm of empowerment: a rhythm that is born out of wisdom and experience and not out of planning on a drawing board, sitting under a fan in a comfortable urban office.”* (Menike 1993, p.177)

### Conflict, transformation and music

Most research into music use in conflict and conflict transformation situations has taken place within musicology, ethnomusicology or the conflict transformation discipline itself. While this has yielded interesting data from a number of projects and events, there is no doubt that there are mutual benefits to be gained by applying a sociological gaze on this emerging area. I have suggested that from the viewpoint of music sociology, the combination of music and conflict transformation illuminates a range issues of interest within our field e.g.: conflict, unsettled periods of intense social negotiations, power, emerging network, the role of music and culture in the formation of relationships and communities, forms of cultural and social capital to mention but a few. This field therefore merits more attention from music sociology and sociology in general.

At the same time just as these areas can benefit music sociology's understanding of music on a number of levels, so can music and conflict transformation profit from more music sociological attention. For too long, music making and consumption outside the high arts or Western popular music has been thought of as an ethnomusicological or anthropological concern. These two disciplines have a historically studied “the other”, thus seeing difference as the key boundary of their fields (Davies & Piero 2002; Bohlman 1988; Agawu 2003). However, as disciplinary boundaries in the social sciences are eroded by a range of exciting cross-disciplinary studies, sociology in particular has a lot to offer to the field. Sociology's interest in power issues, micro-sociology's highlighting of situationally specific relational behaviour and music sociology's rapidly improving theoretical understanding of music use in everyday life are all strengths that can help improve the understanding of exactly **how** music can

benefit conflict transformation processes.

As this thesis has explored, there are many local and small scale initiatives that attempt to bring about more peaceful relations (with or without music) in communities that are riven by conflicts, violent or not. At the same time local, traditional methods of conflict transformation are increasingly ignored or forgotten in traditional societies (Anderson 2004), whilst in modern societies legal arbitration through courts is the primary conflict transformation mechanism. New initiatives in conflict transformation therefore play a very important role and will increasingly do so over the foreseeable future. However, a key problem as I have demonstrated, is the lack of realistic feedback as to the true success of such initiatives, largely due to the fact that those initiating conflict transformation are not in and of the community they try to help (Procter 2004, p.229). An important role of scholars therefore is to help provide feedback that is more in-depth than what internal evaluations can provide and have a willingness to engage with critical issues (Assal 2002). But what is needed is not critical theory at the macro level. Rather, as I have suggested, if musicking shall aid conflict transformation efforts, constructive criticism derived from grounded theory at the micro and meso level that contributes new insights is more appropriate.

My thesis has followed this approach and it has been further influenced by realities on the ground, which can be summarised as (1) music is used primarily in the aftermath of protracted social conflicts or in multicultural societies between different ethnic groups; (2) such music use is mainly organised by non-governmental organisations from outside who work either on the psycho-social effects of war or on immigrant issues; (3) lay theories about music are often the primary driver when used in conflict transformation contexts and (4) what little literature exists on the topic tends to focus on anecdotes and ignore participants' views.

## **Music, participants, power and intervention**

My review of existing music and conflict transformation projects suggested that the use of music in such projects could be broadly categorised as musicking as representation, musicking as a joint activity and musicking as an emotional tool. Within this typology musicking as representation or an emotional tool was often favoured by top-down interventions, whereas musicking as a joint activity is frequently a

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

characteristic of genuine bottom-up conflict transformation approaches.

My study also found that there is a strong romantic discourse which provides music and conflict transformation with lay theories for action. These underlying assumptions were reinforced through reports on music and conflict transformation activities. Overall the working of music in conflict transformation was often presented as a black box labelled “the power of music” which were used to explain any changes that occurred within the conflict transformation activity. This thesis has concerned itself with opening up and investigating this black box.

In recent years music and arts sociologists have called for more attention to be paid to art works themselves. Thus Acord (2009, pp.245-248), in a study on art worlds in late modern countries, highlights the importance of including the artwork itself in the study of these art worlds, rather than merely focusing on codes and conventions. However, in my review of existing literature I found the opposite problem. Here music was often isolated from the overall conflict and/or other transformation efforts, with scant regard for any context, both in deployment and research. As a result, any positive changes were assigned to the musical intervention. Music seemed to exist in a de-contextualised “world” that was neither an art world nor a lifeworld, and as with Acord’s study, the elements that researchers felt uncomfortable with were written out of the narrative. In my study these elements included, amongst other things, the complex contexts around conflicts and less enthusiastic responses from participants. To counter this problem I needed not only to look at the music itself, but I also needed to ensure that the rich tacit (mis)understanding of music in the communities where it was used was included. The most important task was therefore to elicit ethnographic accounts from the participants regarding their understanding of music and the conflict transformation activities.

These accounts were obtained by utilising well developed sociological research methods, in particular semi-structured interviews, (ad hoc) focus group interviews and participant observation. Additionally, music sociology frequently adapts research tools from different disciplines (Dowd 2002, p.1). This practice made possible the use of a multi-disciplinary research approach that was still rooted in sociology. I could therefore draw on the strengths of music and social psychology (emotions, group contact), ethnomusicology (traditional/multicultural music) and anthropology (liminal spaces) to

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

analyse the data. My research also benefited greatly from supplementary documentation and, in Sudan, local contextualisation from my interpreter and research partner, Dr. Hashim.

This focus on participants' accounts was the key element largely missing from earlier research, research that has tended to focus exclusively on musicians' and organisers' interpretation of what occurred within the musical events of conflict transformation projects. The organisers' power has been discussed by Beckles-Willson (2009) and Haskell (2005) in some detail, and more implicitly by Einarsen (1998) and Fock (2004), but is otherwise largely ignored in work on music and conflict transformation. In this thesis I have discussed power extensively: in particular the participant-organiser relationships and how age and money affect this relationship in terms of power. This power is often (re)enacted through the ability to intervene in the first place, as well as through evaluations and interpretations by the more powerful parties of the musical event, which defined and decided on the interventions' effects. By paying particular attention to the issue of power as well as contrasting the accounts of the powerful and less powerful actors I hope to have highlighted the problems that result from uneven power relationships conflict transformation.

Barthes (1977, p.148) has suggested that the final destination of text (or music in this case) is where the final assembly of meaning occurs. Hennion (e.g.2001) has discussed this extensively in terms of listeners and how the "reception" of music (even if it involves other activities than listening) is an active process (Bergh & DeNora 2009, p.114). Music certainly affords certain action more than others (DeNora 2002), but these affordances are not uniform nor unique, even when "receiving" music in a particular location at the same time. Jordanger (2007, p.137) has suggested that in certain circumstances individual biographies are of less importance to what occurs in the musical event. My research suggests that this is rarely true. The musical and social biography of individuals and groups have a strong influence on the understanding and reception of music. Therefore, the question of who to involve in research on music's effect in conflict transformation contexts has a somewhat tautological answer: **Any research on music's effect should focus on those whom music purportedly affects.** This I hope to have achieved in the present research without losing sight of organisers and artists who, due to their views as much as their actions, can affect the outcome of

conflict transformation activities.

Overall, having the authority to intervene and the lack of concern for personal biography may mean that the weaker party, i.e. the participants, feel obliged to go along with the aims or aspirations of the organizers. (I alluded to this in Chapter Two when discussing the romantic views of music among some organisers and researchers.) This pattern of interaction could also be perceived as an example of symbolic violence as defined by Bourdieu (Jenkins 2002, pp.65-83), where the weaker party, in this case participants, “play along” with the situation as Munch (1964) has discussed with regards to local/colonial interactions in Tristan da Cunha. In this case the **official** meaning making, or interpretation of results, is performed by organisers (as happened in Norway) rather than by participants (as in Wau Nour in Phase I). Hence the musical events are often perceived as more successful than they really are, as the participants often ignore the activity once the organiser ↔ participant encounter has finished as Munch found to be the case in Tristan da Cunha.

## Music and conflict transformation in Norway and Sudan

Given the relative immaturity of the field this thesis was necessarily exploratory in nature and my key research question, “*Can music be used for conflict transformation?*” has only received a tentative answer. By eliciting rich ethnographic data from implicit and explicit conflict transformation activities several years in the past participants’ were able to be more reflexive when discussing their views. My analysis of the data from the two fieldwork sites in Norway and Sudan painted a complex picture at odds with much existing work on music and conflict transformation. Overall it hinted at the ability of musicking to contribute to conflict transformation, but only under certain circumstances.

I observed a strong dissonance between what organisations and external authority figures<sup>76</sup> thought about a project’s reception and the views of participants. In Norway organisers and evaluators reported very positive outcomes whereas the participants saw the project as relatively unremarkable, even if some musical events were experienced as exciting.

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76 With this I mean that teachers in Norway had power that did not depend on the the pupils co-operation, whereas Sheiks and Sultans in Wau Nour were elected.

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

It was clear that relationships were positively affected by musicking (Small 1998), primarily by broadening and strengthening existing relationships between (former) in- and out-groups through repeated music use. This finding highlighted two problems with most models of musicking in conflict transformation. Firstly they tend to isolate music from everyday life and assume that through “the power of music” sustainable relationships and attitude changes can be established in a short time. Secondly, although relationships can be developed and nurtured through music use, the groups need to have some existing connection, even if these connections may initially be rather tenuous or conflict filled.

The tendency in overt conflict transformation projects to deploy music out of context is problematic as participants always integrate the musical experience into their own lifeworlds. This “re-contextualisation work” meant that intent was rarely matched by effect in music and conflict transformation interventions. In Norway the musical events were compared to class excursions to power stations and viewed as a way to avoid regular academic work. The musicking as representation approach observed in Norway often fails, I suggested, as it relies too heavily on assumptions and expectations from organisers of how the music should be received and processed. This problem was non-existent in Wau Nour in Phase I, which was a clear example of bottom-up musicking as a joint activity. Here the music was integrated in everyday encounters and the conflict transformation was an outcome of the musical event, rather than the musical event being an outcome of a conflict transformation project. The main reason for this is that the choice of music emerged locally, that is, those involved in a conflict will have chosen music that means something to them. Thus it does not require any further contextualisation to fit into the participants’ world view. Thus it could be observed that in Norway pupils from different ethnic backgrounds had a joint New Kids on the Block fan club. This activity was meaningful to them, whereas the quality and ethnic origins of the music, both aspects emphasised in the formal Resonant Community project, were irrelevant.

In Sudan the extra musical connections were not only related to conflict transformation. As a result of the Friday concerts in Phase I (casual music use) and the emphasis on public performances in Phase II (NGO organised bands), music groups in Wau Nour were able to earn money outside of the settlement. The settlement and its

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

inhabitants also accumulated cultural capital. On a collective basis the settlement was given official ownership of the land and would no longer have to fear eviction. Civic leaders in Wau Nour saw this as mainly a result of becoming known to the host community through their musicking which even attracted local politicians. On an individual level the cultural capital meant that inhabitants felt more self worth when interacting with people in the host community, and the host community no longer viewed them merely as a source of trouble.

At this point it is worth briefly referring back to some of the questions raised by Cohen (2007, pp.37-38) that were quoted at the end of Chapter Two. She asked whether arts projects could be connected to other peace building efforts and strengthen political, economic and cultural domains. In Wau Nour I found a strong integration between cultural and economic capital flowing from the regular music making that attracted host community attention. This integration occurred naturally in Phase I, but became an explicit aim in Phase II. The more than 15 years of musicking in Wau Nour resulted in greater acceptance locally and in economic benefits such as ownership of the land they had previously squatted on. In Norway on the other hand, the music was used in isolation from other social domains and it had no discernible effect.

Cohen also highlighted the need to examine power dynamics in arts based conflict transformation projects. In Chapter Five we saw how music and conflict transformation interventions had a strong, one-way flow of power. It went from the organisers, through musicians (and discourses) down to the participants, even when such interventions attempted to consult the participants. This then constituted a top-down approach in the conflict transformation work (Menike 1993; Ramsbotham & Woodhouse 2000; Bloomfield et al. 2004) even if the interventions were presented as bottom-up projects (Shivji 2004). I therefore suggested two additional terms to adequately capture what happens in the field: *sympathetic top-down* and *mediated bottom-up*. In this view the *Resonant Community* project used a top-down approach, Phase I in Wau Nour was a bottom-up initiative whereas Phase II was a sympathetic top-down project.

The potency of true bottom-up approaches was clear from the Norwegian pupils' recollection of their own musicking and what took place in Wau Nour in Phase I. Locally understood (although not always locally produced) music made a more effective contribution to broadening of relationships than top-down music use. When

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

musical events involving in- and out-groups emerged as a result of the participants' own decisions, not only was it meaningful to the participants, it also connected to current situations in their lives outside of the musical event. In this way a wide range of extra-musical issues were tacitly included before, during and after the musical event, something that was not possible in top-down music use. The changes in Wau Nour accompanying the change from Phase I to II exemplified the differences between bottom-up and top-down approaches. It was clear that what initially served to broaden and enhance the inter-group relationships had been removed from the fabric of their lives. This happened when the ad hoc and casual music groups that had emerged from different ethnic groups, primarily as a way to keep their traditions alive and pass them on to their children, were formalised into "bands" with a fixed membership. By providing matching costumes those who were "proper" musicians in the bands, and those who were not, became separated.

In both Norway and Sudan a network of musicians emerged. These networks embraced the external organisations' discourse with regards to what music should be and what it could achieve. Through this network ↔ organisation connection musicians were able to earn all or part of their living from music making in contexts that were very similar, namely official events that stressed unity or concerts arranged by the external organisations. (In Wau Nour there was also an additional income-stream from private parties in the host community). Another of Cohen's questions, who benefits politically and economically when music is taken out of their cultural context, therefore had a clear answer. In top-down projects it benefits organisers and musicians first and foremost, both financially and through increased attention and entry into social and economical networks. In bottom-up approaches the benefits were dispersed, although not necessarily evenly, throughout the community.

Interventions and top-down approaches are difficult to sustain, an important issue in conflict transformation as musicking clearly required repetition to have any effect on relationships. In Wau Nour, Phase I as a true bottom-up approach, sustained music use relatively effortlessly over a number of years. However, in Phase II after the costumes were donated by the NGO, it became a financial issue when these costumes required replacement. On a deeper level, the networks that emerge out of top-down and bottom-up conflict transformation music activities are very different. In Phase I in Wau Nour

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

they had the support of the whole community and developed into a people's committee that supported the musicking activity and endeavoured to make sure it benefited the whole community. In Phase II and in Norway however, the networks were purely professional networks that concerned themselves mainly with income-generating activities. These networks had considerably less, if any, local support beyond their own ethnic/immigrant groups. The former type of network is more suitable for conflict transformation purposes that, as I have demonstrated, require sustainable music use over time. This type of longitudinal music use did not emerge out of the more common top-down approach that was taken in Norway and in Phase II in Wau Nour.

In both locations, albeit from very different angles, traditions were an important part of the musical events. In Wau Nour there was an explicit desire to ensure that one's traditions were shared in the ethnic group and passed on to their children. In Norway, although similar enculturation efforts were shared by some of the immigrant performers, the organisers' emphasis on traditional music hindered rather than helped efforts at changing the pupils' attitudes. Many performances were seen as boring, and even if they engaged children, traditional costumes sometimes meant the pupils experienced the performers as exotic and made comments on their strangeness outside the performances. Emphasising difference when seeking unity is frequent, counter-intuitive approach in multicultural projects (Einarsen 1998, p.54).

Overall, I have sought to demonstrate through empirical data how interventions from the outside tend to exaggerate the potential for music to transform conflict on its own. Partly this is the result of a belief in the "power of music"; partly it arises from the need to distinguish and promote the activities of the organisation. The resulting hyperbole moves music out of its context and into a central, isolated position during the conflict transformation activities. At the same time interventions, by their very nature, are time limited. This encourages high, but short term, anticipations which tap into the discourse on music's ability to transform people and further fuels the discourse on the power of music. Overall, within this view music is, as Einarsen (1998; 2002) discusses, seen as a tool to be applied, and the musicking process itself is not utilised. However, as shown by the data from Norway, high expectations with little active musicking tend to produce positive results in internal evaluations rather than in the lives of the participants.

## The *how* of music and conflict transformation

The field of music and conflict transformation has received little sustained attention from academia, with conflict transformation itself being a contested and diverse field (Miall et al. 1999, p.82). Therefore there have so far been no coherent theoretical or empirical foundations to build on. In research on music and conflict transformation there is a distinct lack of work that attempts to discuss **how** music can produce the effects described based on empirical data. Any theorising has often been done at a highly abstract, de-contextualised and non-grounded level with anecdotes serving as data. Such theorising has tended to look exclusively at (ascribed) positive effects of music and has rarely engaged critically with the examples being discussed or the contexts that music and conflict transformation activities took place in. A key aim of this thesis was therefore to go beyond the often mediated description of perceived effects and outline some basic suggestions grounded in empirical data. These suggestions can hopefully help illuminate **what happens** and **how it happens** in music and conflict transformation contexts.

I have not attempted to reach an over-arching theory of music and conflict transformation. The inherent complexities of conflict, conflict transformation and music itself means a single, general theory would exclude more than it includes. Instead I have endeavoured to explore several aspects of musicking in conflict transformation efforts that in certain circumstances seem to be of benefit to participants. In other words, these suggestions are grounded in my empirical data from Norway and Sudan. To take them further will require additional empirical study in other situations and locations

I have proposed that (1) the use of the group contact theory from social psychology (Allport 1954) can help us understand and enhance the group interactions in music and conflict transformation activities; (2) music works well when augmenting other non-musical activities in the conflict transformation effort; (3) music can act as a positive interruption in conflict transformation and (4) musical events can provide a liminal space where new relationships emerge, but these relationships do not always change participants' behaviour in everyday life.

My first suggestion was primarily concerned with a practical aspect of music and conflict transformation work. The *group contact theory* was developed by Allport and others (cf. Allport 1954; Kenworthy et al. 2005; Pettigrew 2008; Brewer et al. 1995;

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Gaertner et al. 1989; Gaertner et al. 2000; Pettigrew 1998). This theory suggests a number of requirements that need to be fulfilled for encounters between groups in conflict to be successful rather than assuming that **any** cross groups contact will be positive. By applying the group contact theory to the Norwegian project and Wau Nour's Phase I music use it was clear that whereas Resonant Community failed on most points, Wau Nour generally fulfilled the criteria that this theory suggested. It therefore appears that this theory can fruitfully be applied to future planning and evaluation of conflict transformation projects, although further research will help clarify the usefulness the theory.

My other suggestions were concerned with developing an understanding of **how** music and musicking affect and contribute to conflict transformation processes. These all focused on musicking as a joint activity. The second proposal suggested that musicking can be understood as a practical way of augmenting other conflict transformation activities. In my findings such augmentation happened in a number of pragmatic ways, ranging from language learning in multi-ethnic societies via commenting on current events and particular experiences through music making to the provision of temporary meeting spaces for different sides in a conflict. Similar augmentations have been discussed outside conflict transformation in terms of music aiding work patterns (Vatuk 1970; Korczynski 2007), providing aesthetic materials for personal encounters (Hennion 2007; DeNora 2000; Bergh et al. 2010) or in terms of social movements framing and disseminating movement views (Eyerman & Jamison 1998; Corte & Edwards 2008; Mattern 1998). This suggestion does not attempt to reduce music to a simplistic and predictable tool, but sees music as a diverse yet easily available aesthetic activity through which joint meaning making can be performed unobtrusively and in real time.

My third proposal posited the idea that music can act as an interruption in conflict transformation contexts. This idea is somewhat counter-intuitive after having suggested that music is a way of augmenting other conflict transformation activities. Interruptions are typically viewed as something that requires our attention. In other words, it is centre stage until the interruption is dealt with. However, when we view conflict transformation as work that is performed by participants engaging **with** music and interacting **around** music, we can perceive of the interruption of music as augmenting

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

the cognitive aspects of conflict transformation. This is achieved by providing opportunities for participants to switch from emotionally difficult work related to out-group attitude adjustment and the more relaxed engagement with music. At the same time, music, as I have suggested, is considered a valuable social activity in many societies. Thus music is an activity that is acceptable to introduce into conflict transformation activities, providing an “excuse” to switch attention between conflict transformation and music, in effect lubricating the cognitive aspects of the conflict transformation. Again it is worth stressing that this should not be treated as a reductionist view of music. It is the aesthetic properties specific to music that make it useful as an interruption: its time-based nature that can attract attention, its amorphous aspect that allows projection of emotion and its non-visual aspect which allows co-existence (thus augmentation) with a range of other activities.

The final embryonic theory of this thesis concerned the musical event's place in conflict transformation. The function of the musical event and its connection with the everyday lives of participants has received scant attention in the context of conflict transformation activities. Discussions that refer to the musical event have primarily been concerned with reactions observed in participants or audiences, usually reports on strong emotions, or it has focused on the level of interaction between performers and participants. I have suggested that a key role for the musical event, within conflict transformation specifically, is to provide a liminal space (Turner 1967; Boyce-Tillman 2009). Liminal in this context suggests a time and place where the normal “rules of engagement” between in-groups and out-groups in a conflict are temporarily put aside through a (tacit) agreement. People are typically attracted to this for reasons associated with the music rather than the conflict transformation aspect, such as the music's entertainment value. In this liminal space participants may interact with members of the out-groups for some time; interact with(in) their own group; engage in extra-musical tasks such as discussing the music or do some joint musicking. The availability of these choices ties in with my “music as interruption” suggestion: the more difficult and awkward connections with out-group members can be done in small “chunks” and music is there if the interaction gets too tense.

In this liminal space, repeated interactions over time can help broaden relationships between the groups. However, this liminal space cannot exist without

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

anchoring points to everyday life **outside** the space. Otherwise the participants will have difficulty positioning and orienting themselves in relation to their own lifeworld and that of the out-groups. Therefore the music has to be meaningful to all parties in the conflict transformation event. It does not necessarily mean that the music has to be traditional. It can be any music that the groups have some affinity to. Those involved need to feel a connection to their own group, and at the same time it is necessary to see that the out-group is in fact the group you interact with on a daily basis, even if this is a conflict filled relationship. This is similar to the idea of group salience from the group contact theory as discussed in Chapter Six. Through these clear connections to their everyday lives, participants can over time amend their practices. This change to practices is, I suggested, the key to conflict transformation. Otherwise there is a *re-entry* problem as explained in Chapter Five, where positive changes do not survive the conflict transformation event. This was also one of the questions Cohen posed, as discussed in the literature review, “[*how i*]s it possible to extend the positive effects of musical encounters into political and social life?”. This question I believe can be answered in part by my suggestion that the musical events in Wau Nour provided a liminal space that still had strong connections to everyday life and tentative and repeated interactions within this space resulted in changed practices over time.

These theoretical outlines represents an attempt to move music out of the “quick fix” role that the discourse of “the power of music” suggests and into a more realistic role as a supporting aesthetic material for conflict transformation. The implication is that conflict transformation is not achieved by music as a reified entity with its own agency and ability to manipulate people. Rather, human actors are seen to engage with music on many levels. Those levels include meaning making, physical engagement with others around music, projecting emotions onto music, semi-reflexive re-evaluations of out-group members or simply enjoying music that takes attention away from the conflict at hand. In this view, the mere introduction of music will not be sufficient to help transform conflicts. It needs to connect to the participants’ lifeworlds in a meaningful way over a longer period, i.e. it requires repetition.

Taken together my suggestions represent a break from current mainstream notions of how music may aid conflict transformation. This break emerges as a result of two things. Firstly my data was obtained from participants who are largely excluded from

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research on, and evaluation of, music and conflict transformation activities. Secondly, I engaged in a more critical examination of existing music and conflict transformation projects and studies. The findings in this thesis have suggested that there are severe difficulties in achieving successful conflict transformation by running short term projects using music. Instead it points in the direction of local and bottom-up initiatives with little or no external control or intervention. This is at odds with the current realities of the peace building field. As I have discussed before the majority of conflict transformation initiatives are run by external NGOs who are required to show results to their funders to receive further funding (Mebrahtu 2002; Burger & Owens 2008; Jennings & Baldwin 2010). It is therefore difficult to see how findings here can be directly integrated into NGO work, but this would most certainly represent an interesting challenge for any future, more applied, academic work.

## Future research

The exploratory nature of this thesis imposes a number of limitations on my findings. A core challenge arises from the relative immaturity of the field, with a relatively small body of existing literature and even fewer studies based on empirical research. This thesis can therefore only provide a faint outline of a broad and complex field that covers many subjects of interest to sociology as summarised at the opening of this chapter. My empirical data from Norway and Sudan presented a rich and nuanced picture of music in conflict transformation activities which meant that at times topics that deserve in depth research could only be touched upon in passing. I will here suggest a few areas that seem particularly interesting for music sociology

I have highlighted the importance of the musical event and its relationship to the everyday lives of participants and discussed this at the level of practices. The minutiae of these musical events, where embodied and tacit negotiations between in- and out-groups take place, would be a fruitful area for longitudinal participant observation. Similar research has been undertaken by Hara (2009) in music and care settings. A long term ethnography from the micro-level would further enrich our understanding of how aesthetic time-based materials help shift inter-group dynamics in conflict situations, an important task in music and conflict transformation work.

Within the musical event a mind-body issue was alluded to in the data from

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

Norway where pupils enjoyed the stronger rhythm and engaged physically, and the joint musicking (with an emphasis on dance) in Phase I in Wau Nour. Space and available data did not allow this aspect of music in conflict transformation to be explored in the detail it deserves. However, it could prove a fertile sphere for conflict transformation research. In my findings it was clear that bodily engagement with music enabled different responses to out-groups than purely cognitive involvement. Both the effect bodily engagement with music has on cognitive processes and the way any new attitudes are embodied after the musical event requires further research if we are to understand more of the complex role that music has in conflict transformation. There has been research on “groove” and micro-timing (Keil & Feld 1994; Zagorski-Thomas 2007) that could provide impetus for more detailed investigations.

These two areas, the musical event and mind-body issues, and their connection to the everyday lives outside of the musical event merit a more thorough investigation, in particular on the cognitive level. Of appreciable interest here would be more research on the meaning making that crosses the domain of the musical event and everyday life (see e.g. Eyerman & McCormick 2006; DeNora 2004; Korczynski 2007; Solomon 2004, pp.304-311 for work on music and meaning relating to work, social structures and trauma). As suggested in Chapter Six, the transfer of positive changes from the musical event to everyday life is the single most important point in the concatenation of music and conflict transformation sub-events.

In this thesis the issue of power is examined more thoroughly than is common in conflict transformation research. Our understanding of how power is enacted in music and conflict transformation projects is also developed here. Power, and the networks that appear around power clusters, have a considerable effect on how projects are implemented and evaluated, and ultimately on how economic incentives are distributed. Additional work that shed more light on the working of power, how it is negotiated during and around the musical event and the networks that embody this power in conflict transformation situations constitutes an important area of study, and can build on existing work from the development field (e.g. Assal 2002; Duffield & Waddell 2004; Kamat 2003; Pfeifer 1996; Walker 2004). My tentative suggestion that music and conflict transformation projects arranged by outsiders may constitute a form of symbolic violence is at this stage speculative. However, it would certainly merit further

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investigation when looking at power issues more generally.

## Final thoughts: Between conflict transformation and music

In this thesis I have attempted to go beyond the surface research that has tended to look at music as an application rather than a social activity. In other words, I have questioned and sought to go beyond the common view of music's role in conflict transformation by analysing and theorising, rather than merely describing, the use of music. This was done by taking a micro-level perspective and using data from top-down projects as well as naturally occurring bottom-up conflict transformation activities. When participants were directly involved in the research, their considerable insights into how such a music centred process works highlighted a complex web of perceptions, meaning making and contexts connecting the music to conflict, conflict transformation and everyday life. Participants' experiences ranged from boredom and disorientation via broadened relationships to increased cultural capital through public musicking.

It was clearly demonstrated that music does not have any power in isolation from social life, as Lockard (1998, p.270) has suggested: "*...[music] can establish an atmosphere favorable to change, but organized political action is the necessary catalyst.*" Music has properties that can be used to establish liminal spaces that allow participants to try out new modes of interaction.

Zelizer (2004, p.219) suggested that research in this field needs to "*[map] out more concretely what types of changes do arts-based processes result in*". Based on the extensive fieldwork presented in this thesis I would suggest that one should take one step back and find out if there are any changes to investigate in the first place. My findings and experiences in the research presented here suggest that whereas music **can** aid in conflict transformation processes, it tends to do so when these processes emerge locally, utilising music selected by those between whom conflict transformation should occur with the music use continuing over a prolonged period.

Once the black box known as "the power of music" was opened it became clear that music is no "magic" force for conflict transformation. However, the many facets of music in action proved to be more exciting than mere magic.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Interview questions

#### Interview schedule for fieldwork in Norway, former pupils

- **Explain**
- What I am working with in general
  - Specifically in Norway
  - Why I contacted you
- Practical aspects of today
  - Your rights (get signature)
  - Recording
- **General background**
- Past background
  - Where did you grow up
    - In the same place all the time
  - Tell me a bit about your family
    - Musical family
  - Describe the school, who was there, what was it like, where was it
    - How many kids with an immigrant background in school/class
  - Who were your friends at school, still in touch with them
  - Were you interested in music outside the project
    - What type
- Current background
  - What takes up most of your time these days
    - Work/studies/leisure time
  - Current family situation
  - Future plans
- **Project**
- How was it done, i.e. practical arrangements that they remember
  - Did you have to work in groups
  - Did they get homework from it
- **Project influence**
- What, if anything, did they like about it overall
- What, if anything, did they dislike about it overall
- Were there any factual, non-musical information about these countries presented
- What did your friends (i.e. the ones mentioned above) think about it
- Difference in reaction between immigrant/non immigrant children
- What was their impression regarding the different types of music and dance
  - What did their family think about it
- **Attitudes**
- What music listen to these days, and what sort of music do your friends listen to

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- How like to relax? (Music, sport, TV, hang out with friends, dining out)
- When go out, what like to eat, where
  - Ever feel unsafe if on their own
- Can you tell me a bit about your close relationships, either at work/studies or in private life, over the past few years? Who they were, where you knew them from, etc.
- Economy, how has it been in their 20s
  - How do they feel they do compared to others
- Do you feel that it is easy in work or studies to achieve equality or to be measured according to their real worth
  - Do you have any experiences in your own life when you felt that someone who were not right for a job/task was given it
- Greatest changes in Norway since this took place?
- **Wrap up**

### **Interview schedule for fieldwork in Norway, musicians**

- **Explain**
  - What I am working with in general
    - Specifically in Norway
    - Why I contacted you
  - Practical aspects of today
    - Your rights (get signature)
    - Recording
- **General background**
  - Where come from, when come to Norway
  - What work with, how long, where
    - Explain about the type of music/dance they do
- **Project**
  - How was the project explained to you
  - How was it compared to other teaching you've done
  - Did you have any input in how it was done
  - What was the feedback you had from pupils and teachers
  - Heard from any of the kids since
  - What is your thoughts about the project
    - Any change to how your music/dance is received and perceived in Norway since project

### **Interview schedule for fieldwork in Norway, teachers**

- **Explain**
  - What I am working with in general
    - Specifically in Norway
    - Why I contacted you
  - Practical aspects of today
    - Your rights (get signature)
    - Recording

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- **General background**
  - Describe the school, who was there, what was it like, where was it
    - About class in detail
    - How many kids with an immigrant background in school/class
- **Project**
  - How was it done, i.e. practical arrangements that they remember
    - How did Rikskonsertene explain the project to you
    - Did you have any input in how it was done
    - What was the external support given
    - How was it compared to other multicultural teaching you've done
- **Project influence**
  - What, if anything, did they like about it overall
  - What, if anything, did they dislike about it overall
  - How would they rate the factual, non-musical information about these countries presented
  - Difference in reaction between immigrant/non immigrant children
  - What was the pupils impression regarding the different types of music and dance
  - What was the feedback you had from pupils and parents (if any)
  - Do they do any multicultural projects these days

## **Sudan: Semi-structured interview schedule for participants**

- **Explain**
  - This interview is for a Ph.D in England, and I am interested in learning more about how music is used to bring people together in areas where there has been a conflict.
  - You will not be mentioned by name in what I write, and the recording will only be used for the academic studies.
  - You can refuse to answer any of the questions, and you can ask for the interview to stop at any time.
- **General background**
  - Where does your family come from and where did you grow up?
  - If you have moved away from where you grew up, why did you come here? When?
  - Can you tell me a bit about your family?
  - Can you tell me a bit about this area/camp/village?
    - Who are here, what happens most days?
  - What takes up most of your time these days?
    - Do you take part in any other types of music/dance in the area/camp/village?
  - What languages can you speak? [Note especially any African languages that are spoken well.]
  - Future plans?
- **The music project**
  - Relationship to music:
    - How often you hear music (live or recorded)?
    - What type is it? (e.g. Sudanese Arabic? From another Sudanese ethnic group? Qabiila? Western?)
    - Where do you listen to it?
    - Do you play, sing or dance yourself? How often?
  - What do you remember from the concert(s)?
    - Was it only performances or other activities as well?
  - What, if anything, did you like about the concert(s)?
  - What, if anything, did you dislike about the concert(s)?
  - Did they notice what the music tried to tell them (HIV, smoke inside house)? What did they think about this?
  - Why did you come to the concert(s)
  - Did you go to all the concerts?
- **Project influence**
  - Who were your friends when the music concert(s) took place?
  - What did your friends think about the concert(s)?
  - Did you think that there was a difference in the reaction between people from different (ethnic) backgrounds?
  - What do you think of music from other areas of Sudan than your own?
    - What did your family think about it?
- **Attitudes**
  - What music do you listen to these days? What sort of music do your friends listen to?
  - Describe your daily life these days. What do you do? Where?

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

- Who are your friends these days?
- What do you think of the groups who played at the concert(s)?
  - Did you know anyone from their ethnic/tribal group before?
- What do you think are the greatest changes in this region of the Sudan since the concert(s) took place?

### **Sudan: Semi-structured interview schedule for musicians**

- **Explain reason for interview and the interviewee's rights**
  - This interview is for a Ph.D in England, and I am interested in learning more about how music is used to bring people together in areas where there has been a conflict.
  - You will not be mentioned by name in what I write, and the recording will only be used for the academic studies.
  - You can refuse to answer any of the questions, and you can ask for the interview to stop at any time.
- **General background**
  - Can you give some background about yourself: Where you come from? What languages can you speak? Please tell me about your musical career. Please tell me about your family.
  - What languages can you speak? [Note especially any African languages that are spoken well.]
  - Could you explain about the type of music/dance you do?
  - Did you use to perform music before the project here?
    - What type of music and on what occasions?
- **Project**
  - How was the project explained to you?
  - How was it compared to performances you normally do?
  - Did you have any input in how it was done?
  - What was the feedback you had from participants?
  - What was the feedback you had from the organiser?
  - Have you done similar things before or afterwards?
  - Have you been invited to play at other concerts after this project? If so, what where they?
  - What are your thoughts about the project:
    - Were there any differences in reaction between different groups?
    - Did your group get the same reception as other groups?
    - What was the participants' impression regarding the different types of music and dance?
      - For example:
        - Would they join in with dancing when appropriate?
        - Did they stay for the whole concert(s)?
  - Did you feel that your own ethnic group was better understood in the refugee camp/other places after the project?

### **Sudan: Semi-structured interview schedule for organisers**

- **Explain reason for interview and the interviewee's rights**
  - This interview is for a Ph.D in England, and I am interested in learning more about how music is used to bring people together in areas where there has been a

I'd like to teach the world to sing: Music and conflict transformation by Arild Bergh

conflict.

- You will not be mentioned by name in what I write, and the recording will only be used for the academic studies.
- You can refuse to answer any of the questions, and you can ask for the interview to stop at any time.
  
- **General background**
  - Please describe the area (village, town, refugee camp) where the project took place.
    - Can you give some background information on what ethnic and/or religious groups were there?
  - What organisation did you work for when the project took place?
  - Why did you choose to work with them?
  - Have you worked for other NGOs before after?
  
- **Project**
  - How the project was organised:
    - Who thought of the project?
    - If someone else thought of the project, did you have any input in how it was done?
    - Were the musicians involved in planning the project?
    - Who, if anyone, supported the project apart from the main organisation?
    - How would you compare it to other (non-music) projects you've done in the camp(s)?
  - What, if anything, did you like about the project?
  - What, if anything, did you dislike about the project?
  - What would you have done differently if you could do it again?
  
- **Project influence**
  - Were there any differences in reaction between different groups?
  - What was the participants' impression regarding the different types of music and dance
  - What was the feedback you had from the musicians?
  - What was the feedback you had from the other participants?
  - Have you done any similar projects before or afterwards?

## Appendix B: Survey done in Kassala

The University of Exeter- Britain  
**جامعة إكسِتر - بريطانيا**

With the kind assistance from students of the Sharq Ahliyya University College in administering the questionnaire

بمساعدة كريمة من طلاب كلية الشرق الأهلية الجامعية في إدارة  
الاستبيان

19-25/2/2007

These questions are part of a Ph.D project in the British Exeter University which is about music in Kassala.

هذه الأسئلة جزء من مشروع أكاديمي لنيل الدكتوراة بجامعة إكسِتر  
ببريطانيا تتناول الموسيقى في كسلا.

1. Note the respondent's approximate age group: young, middle or senior.

1. الرجاء ملاحظة الفئات العمرية للمستجيبين بالتقريب: شباب،  
متوسط أم متقدم.

2. Where do you live? If in Kassala, what part of Kassala?

2. أين تُقيم/ين؟ في حال كانت الإقامة بكسلا، في أيّ جزء منها؟

3. Have you heard about the music bands from Wau Nour?

3. هل سمعت شيئاً عن الفرق الموسيقية التي تتخذ من واو نور مقرّاً  
لها؟

4. If yes, have you ever seen them, or some of them, perform?

4. في حال كانت الإجابة بنعم، هل واثتكَ فرصة مشاهدة هذه الفرق، أو  
بعضها، تؤدّي عروضها؟

Thank you,  
Student: Arild Bergh  
**أريلد بيرق**

مع جزيل الشكر  
**الطالب:**

## Appendix C: Informants

### Summary of informants

Location	Group	Number
Norway	Former pupils	18
	Teachers	2
	Organisers	3
	Musicians/dancers	4
Sudan	Musicians	13 (approximately, from 3 music groups)
	Organisers	2
	Inhabitants in Wau Nour	25
Location	Gender	Number
Norway	Male former pupils	8
	Female former pupils	9
Sudan	Male musicians	Approximately 9
	Female musicians	4
	Male non-musicians	Approximately 20
	Female non-musicians	A group at a concert, 10+

Table 5: Summary of informants

### Informants names and background

Norway (ethnic background and current occupation at time of interview in brackets)		
Informant	Role	Background
Anders	Participant	Male pupil from countryside school (Norwegian / MA student)
Anne	Organiser	Main organiser of Resonant Community for NorConcert (Norwegian / Works for NorConcert)
Bjørnar	Participant	Male pupil from suburban school (Norwegian / MA student)
Mads	Participant	Male pupil from suburban school (Norwegian / MA student)
Deepika	Artist	Female singer who performed in the project, she was three years older than the participants (Pakistani / musician)
Elisa	Participant	Female pupil from countryside school (Norwegian-Romanian / fashion journalist)
Grethe	Participant	Female pupil from countryside school (Norwegian estate agent)

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Haddy	Participant	Female pupil from suburban school (Norwegian-Gambian / journalist, musician)
Jorun	Organiser	Female teacher from the countryside school (Norwegian / teacher)
Lotte Yvonne	Participant	Female pupil from inner city school (Norwegian / hairdresser)
Nina	Participant	Female pupil from suburban school (Norwegian / scientist)
Olav	Organiser	Male teacher from the inner city school (Norwegian / retired)
Ole Christian	Participant	Male pupil from inner city school (Norwegian / mobile business)
Roy	Participant	Male pupil from inner city school (Norwegian / mobile business)
Raymond	Artist	Male drummer/singer, lived in Norway since the early 1980s. (Ivory Coast / musician)
Samir	Participant	Male pupil from inner city school (Indian / catering)
Shikha	Artist	Female dancer, lived in Norway since the 1970s (Indian / dancer)
Sonja	Participant	Female pupil from inner city school (Norwegian / care worker)
Silje	Participant	Female pupil from inner city school (Norwegian / not known)
Renate	Participant	Female pupil from inner city school (Norwegian / care worker)
Shri Lal	Artist	Male sitar player, lived in Norway since the 1970s, originally as an engineering student, later as a musician (Indian / musician)
Thomas	Participant	Male pupil from inner city school (Norwegian / student)
Zafar	Participant	Male pupil from inner city school (Pakistani / runs family shop)
Zubi	Participant	Female pupil from inner city school (Pakistani / office worker)

**Sudan** (In most cases other people joined in with their opinion during interviews, only main person is listed here as name not always known.)

<i>Informant</i>	<i>Role</i>	<i>Background</i>
------------------	-------------	-------------------

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Adib	Organiser	Male, employee of DevOrg at the time of Phase II, now works for another NGO. Main person responsible for the Wau Nour band project inside DevOrg.
Dafallah	Organiser / musician	Male in the 30s, one of the two artists from the Khartoum based National Band for Traditional Musical Instruments who were responsible for training the formalised band in Phase II.
Habiba / Kirrang band	Participant / musician	Female, late 30s, divorced with kids, has a tea stall in Kassala and is the assistant leader of the Kirrang band. Arrived from the Nuba mountains as a 15 year old to marry a local soldier.
Hamad	Participant	Male, late 20s, single, casual labourer. Arrived from the Nuba mountains as a young boy in early 1990s.
Idris	Participant	Male, around 50 years old, married with kids, works at local hospital. First person to settle in Wau Nour, came from Nuba Mountains via Port Sudan.
Wali	Participant	Male, 38 years old, work situation unknown, elected sheikh of the Katla ethnic group. Arrived in Kassala in 1986 from the Nuba mountains, lived in Wau Nour since 1993.
al-Shafi	Participant	Male, 48 years old, married with kids, headmaster of the local school. Arrived in Wau Nour (originally from Kordofan) in 1993 when invited to run the school by Idris.
Uthman	Participant	Male, late 40s, married with kids, trader and community worker in Wau Nour, from local Beni Amir ethnic group.
Musa	Participant	Male, around 30 years old, community worker in Wau Nour.
Krongo band	Musician	Males, age range from early 20s to late 50s. Krong ethnic group, most arrived in Wau Nour in the 1990s.
Martin	Musician	Male, 40s, married with kids, works as a policeman in Kassala. Arrived in Kassala from South Sudan (Azande ethnic group)
Marta	Musician	Female, 30s, widowed with kids, works as a policeman in Kassala. Arrived in Kassala from South Sudan (Azande ethnic group) in 1983, moved to Wau Nour in 1990s.

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Gamar	Participant	Male, around 50, married with kids, sultan of settlement. Arrived in Wau Nour in 1989 from Wad Madani, he is from the Denka ethnic group.
Country Director of NGO (Sudan)	Organiser	Male, head of DevOrg in Sudan, based in Khartoum.
Local Director of NGO (Kassala)	Organiser	Male, head of DevOrg in Kassala.
Hanan	Participant	Female, in Wau Nours since 1989.
Fayza	Participant	Female, in Wau Nours since 1988.
Boys aged 10 – 17	Participant	Males, most born in Wau Nour, different ethnic groups, interviewed after a football game.
Boys aged 18 – 28	Participant	Males, arrived in Wau Nour when young, different ethnic groups, interviewed after a football game.

*Table 6: Full list of informants with background summary*

## List of ethnic groups present Wau Nour<sup>77</sup>

♫ indicates a band in the settlement at the time of my research.

### Nuba Mountains:

#### The Six Mountains: ♫

Ghulfan

Krongo

Ajang

Jururu

#### The Eastern Mountains

Shatt (Abu Hashim)

Um Heitan (Koalib)

Tagali - Abbasiya

Hadra

Koalib

Delami

#### The Western Mountains

Katla

Wali<sup>78</sup>

Kamda (Tulishi) (Laqāwa) (this group sings in own language at same time as Katla, several people agreed this was because rhythm and dance more important than words)

#### The Southern Mountains

Keiga

Kanga ♫

### Southern Sudan

The Dinka ♫

Muru ♫

Latuka ♫

Belanda → ♫

Azande → ♫

Acholi ♫

Shilluk ♫

Dar Fur ♫ (All the groups below in a single band. In the Beryey Murabba al Wuhdo settlement they have separate groups)

Fur

Bergo

Gimir

Tama

Zaghawa

Masalit

### Eastern Sudan

Beja

Hadendowa ♫

Beni-Amir ♫ (this was disputed at first meeting)

### Northern Sudan

77 This list was developed with information from Musa, the community worker in Wau Nour, and Dr. Hashim. Transliteration are based on the Ethnologue.org website where present.

78 Musa claimed this was part of the Kirrang band. This was denied by Habiba who said there were no Wali in WN.

Shaygiya

## Appendix C: Fieldwork locations

### Map of school locations in Norway

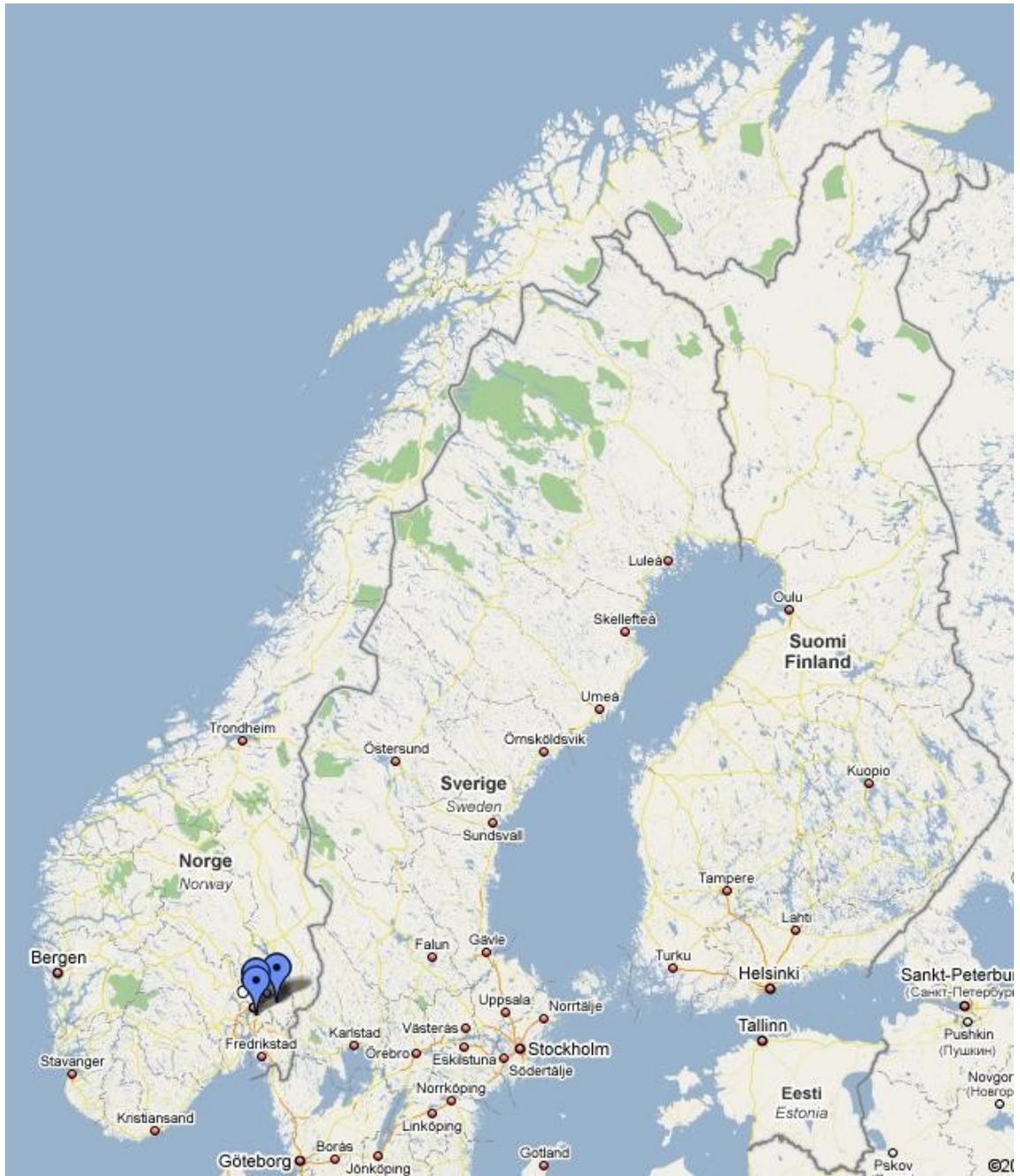


Figure 6: Overview map of school locations in Norway

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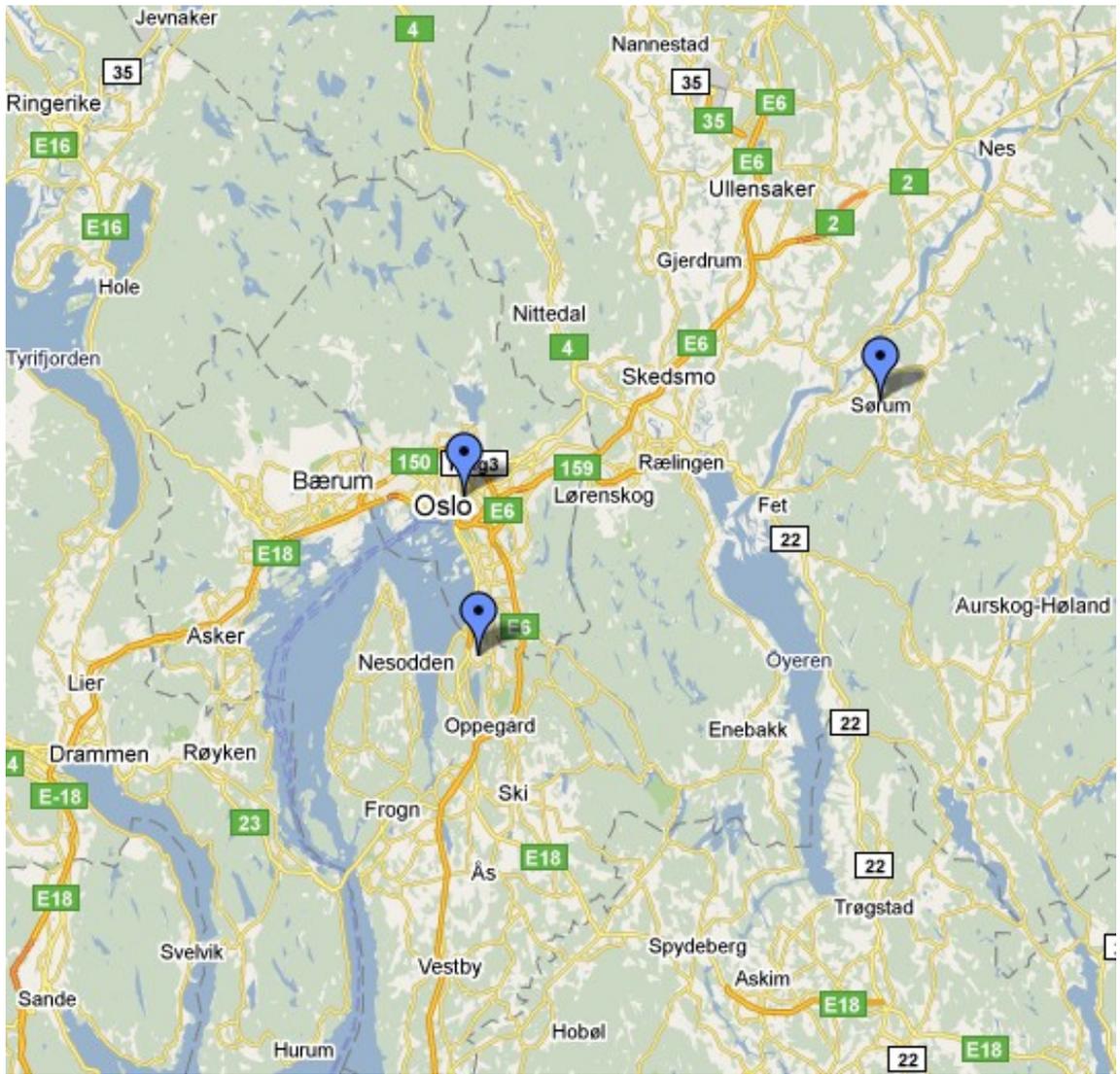


Figure 7: Detail map of school locations in Norway

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### Map of fieldwork locations in Sudan



Figure 8: Overview map of interview locations in Sudan

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*Figure 9: Detail map of interview locations in Sudan*

## Appendix D: Clustering of ideas

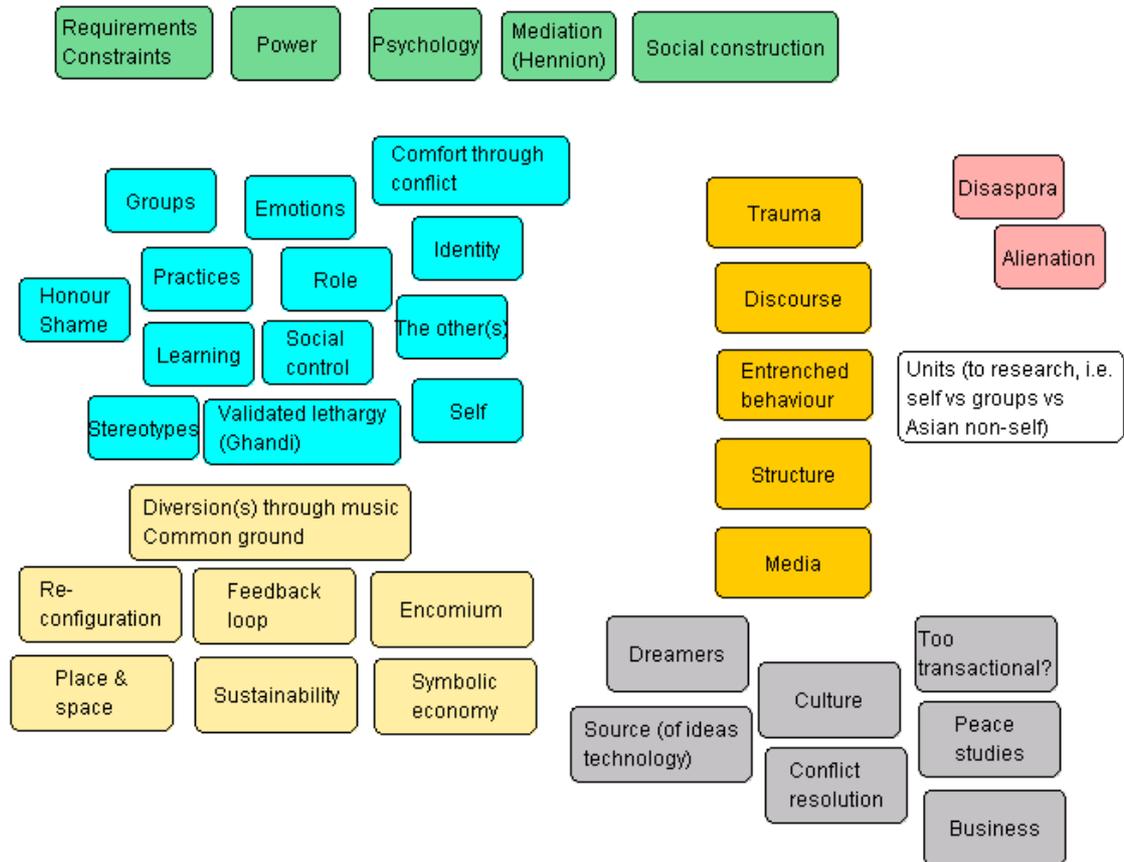


Figure 10: Cluster from 2005, emerging themes (at that time) coded in different colours.

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