

Music, movements and conflict

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Abstract

This article introduces a research project² to be used in a larger study that aims to investigate how around-the-globe musical practices have become tied up with political movements and functioned as conflict-coping mechanisms in contexts of social and political upheaval. A series of historical as well as recent cases are explored in this preliminary study, drawing from research undertaken separately on Solentiname Islands, Nicaragua (by Mery A. Pérez³), Zanzibar, Tanzania (by Shani Omari⁴), Australia (by Lesley J. Pruitt⁵) and from the USA (the author). This piece in particular is concerned with the different musical movement's engagement with *tradition* and *change*.

Keywords: music, movements, peace and conflict, learning, social change, tradition

Introduction: getting in tune

Music is the matter of sounds performed live or recorded and mediated in later use. Music is also written in notes to be read and imagined and played for or with others. Thus, music is, importantly, most often a process of communication that involves several people playing or listening.

Music written, read, played or listened to is often an occasion for movement of emotion, mind and physique, individually or with others. This article focuses on musical practice as a movement phenomenon shaping collective identities and visions of a future, and as a process of social engagement, learning and change, for performers as well as listeners. Music is often tied up with communication practices of many social movements, from the Latin American *Nueva Canción* (Fairley, 2014, Montañó, 2001) over North American *Peace and Civil Rights movement* (Rosenthal and Flacks, 2011, Eyerman and Jamison, 1998), to numerous others. Many leading musicians of the 20th century have been involved in social movements (Eyerman and Jamison, 1998: 12) and have found their music sung or played in the midst of political upheaval. Musical traditions have been given new life through social movements which have often expressed their meaning through music, as Eyerman and Jamison note (1998: 15, via Baker).

Music has historically been a way to cope with hardships, to give breathing space, and to formulate ways forward. Music is part of identity politics that marks distinctions between 'us' and others. Importantly, music is as much an instrument that mobilize for conflict or war as it is used for repair, bonding or peacemaking. No revolution without singing, as many have noted. In relation to the cases in this study, it is also worth noticing that many songs and traditions have an afterlife or renaissance. Old songs or genres re-emerge and may inspire new artists and movements (as e.g. seen in the upcoming cases from Latin America and the USA). Thus, we see a renewal of a musical heritage and fresh takes on traditions surviving in

new adaptations. Actions for change are never too late for humanity, I could optimistically pose. It may not always be in tune. But it is likely to involve music.

Case presentations: Nicaragua, Tanzania, Australia, and USA

In what follows I introduce a selection of cases concerned with musical movements, or particular groups giving voice to social issues through music. This is followed by the core part of the essay, where aspects of all cases are discussed under the thematic key words *Tradition and Change*. Tradition becomes a valuable notion with which to discuss adaptations and reuses of the past, while change becomes crucial when engaging with social and political upheaval. Change and tradition relate by addressing breaks and continuities, where a reshaping of the continued is crucial for revitalizing tradition.

Solentiname Islands, Nicaragua

In a continuous study on Solentiname Islands in Nicaragua, research student Mery A. Pérez (2014, 2015) reveals how traditional music at the island, up to the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979, became a way of expressing identity. She explores how music was linked to faith and how other art forms were utilized in an effort to build awareness and to mobilise people to take action on social and political issues. Music here became one vehicle among others to shape informal but powerful learning communities, Pérez argues.

Zanzibar, Tanzania

Shani Omari has researched music and literature in Tanzania. In a recent study on contemporary Hip Hop at Zanzibar (2013), she shows how a growing engagement with global youth culture in various popular forms has been adapted locally to address social and political issues. The musically engaged youth on the islands of Zanzibar, Muslim by faith, are also part of a traditional generational conflict, often living in ‘two worlds’, she writes (2013: 150, via Hoyle). Hip Hop became a self-chosen medium with which they could address issues of concern (Madunia Foundation, 1999, Omari, 2013).

Third Place Project, Australia

Lesley J. Pruitt has researched strategic initiatives of peace-making in Australia as well as Northern Ireland that in both cases involved youth and musical practice as one of the tools for dialogue and cooperation bridging communities experiencing conflict. I will here draw on some of her research on the *Third Place* project in Australia (pseudonym name used by Pruitt not to reveal place and name of organisation).

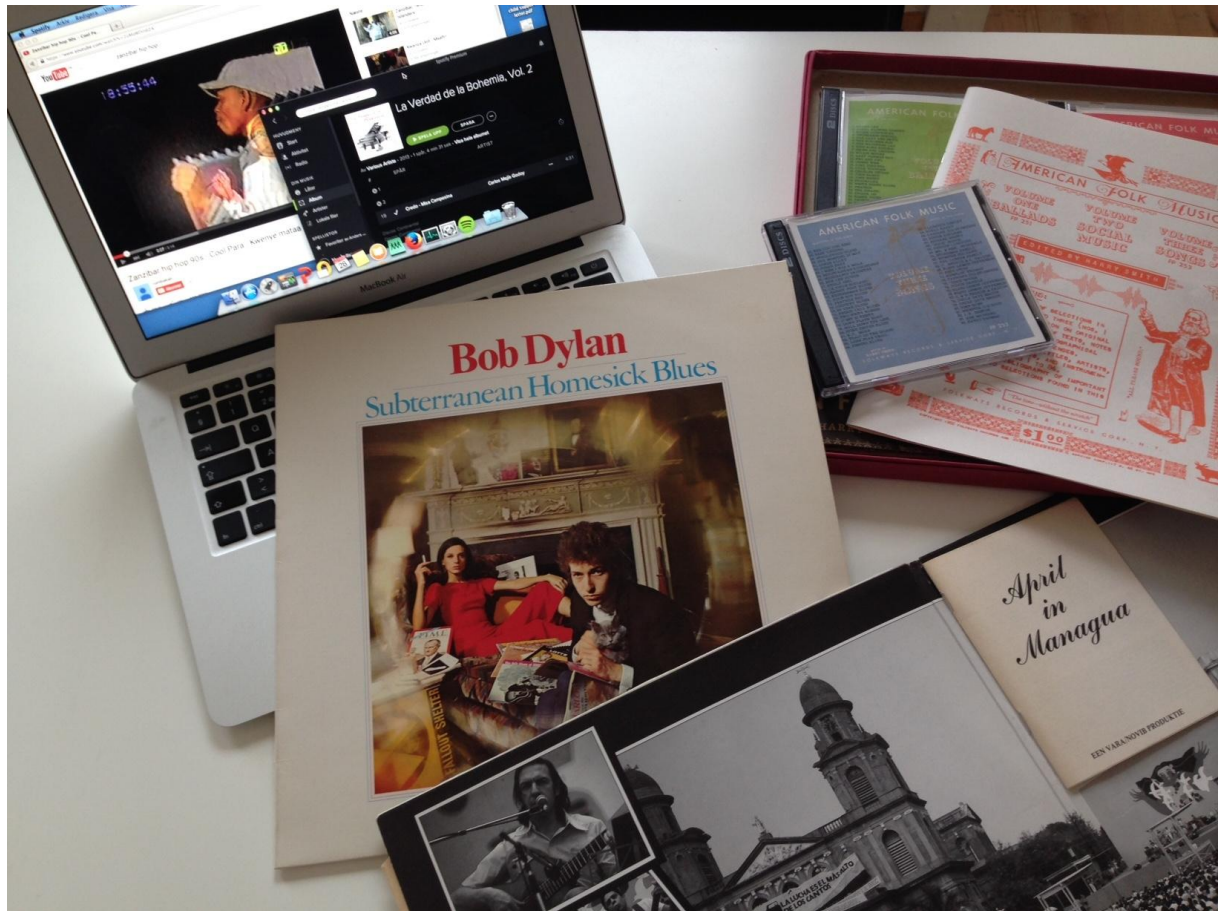
Pruitt begins from a proposition that is of relevance for all cases, which I discuss briefly in what follows before introducing the USA case. For most young people music is part of their culture and talk. It is accessible, and a useful site for engagement and resistance. It may bring people together in pursuing understanding or to act for common goals (Pruitt, 2013: 18). She argues for the importance of involving youth and the grassroots in peace and post-conflict discourse and work, which is often neglected. Her work differs from my own, and from Pérez and Omari’s studies, in the sense that the Australian case study is concerned with strategic and educational work for peace. Her work also has a particular focus on gender.

Folk revivals in the USA

My own entry into the study of music in relation to social movements took off with a monograph on Bob Dylan's lyrics, performances and complex role in the midst of the folk revival and new movements of the early and mid 1960s in the USA (Høg Hansen, 2012b). The work took its point of departure from several key figures that came to shape the folk revival movement's growth and strong ties to the peace and civil right movements. Brought together for a comparative and around-the-globe discussion, the cases in this article addresses in particular how a renewal of tradition shaped the movements and their quests for change. This happened in various ways from parallel folk song movements in the USA and Latin America and through the global distribution of Hip Hop, here in Zanzibar and Australia.

Music, ambiguous meanings and layers of sensation

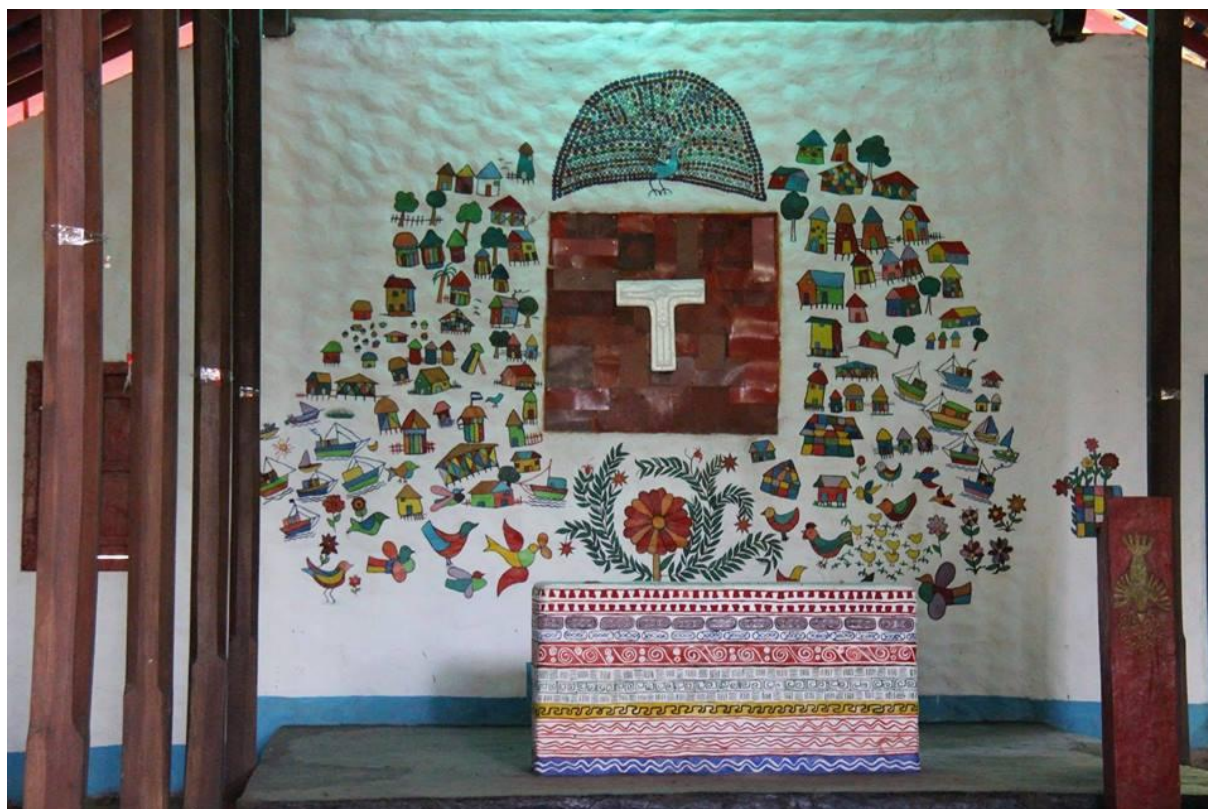
The case studies all engage with *artistic* and playful approaches to social commentary and intervention where performances (words, actions, music) at best pose intriguing, multi-dimensional and not easily answered questions. Where protest songs around the world have had a tendency to develop finger-pointing warnings or simplify political imaginaries, I here argue for Dylan's stronger influence at the time (compared with other contemporary artists) due to the songs' ambiguity and layeredness of meanings, which on the one hand lent voice to the movements, then questioned them, and finally pointed towards new aspects of cultural struggle. Artists ideally *pose questions* or imagine futures that are complex, rather than clear-cut dictates or *prophecies* (Høg Hansen 2012b). Dylan moved back and forth from these roles and eventually did not want to lead a pack or a movement. despite being named 'spokesperson of a generation'. His 'colours' changed constantly, his ways (sounds and words) were ambiguous and fleeting, and his style was individualistic, yet tapping into a collective feeling and zeitgeist. The many ways of decoding relate to the dynamic role of musical communication. Music has an ability to deliver several layers of voice and emotion at the same time. As the Israeli-Argentinean conductor Daniel Barenboim notes: "Music allows people to have different sensations simultaneously". He names it as a kind of "contrapuntal experience" crucial for human existence and for fostering "human qualities in a collective situation" (Barenboim, 2015). Barenboim formed the West-East Divan orchestra with the Palestinian-American academic Edward Said in 1999. The orchestra consist to this day of musicians from Israel, Palestine and elsewhere in the Middle East. I return to the relevance of Barenboim's lecture (2015) for this study in my end discussion.



The music behind the study, gathered from different platforms and technologies: Zanzibar Hip Hop on YouTube, Godoy with Misa Campesina on Spotify, Smith's anthology on CDs with booklets, and a Dylan album with the song Love Minus Zero/No Limit (to be discussed in this article).



The Zanzibar artists Alhaji Goya and Berry Black performing, photographed by Omari in 2010. Goya is quoted in Omari's research and also used in this article.



The restored altar at the Solentiname Church, where the original community gathered in the 1960s. Photo taken by Pérez, 2014.

Tradition and change

Following Eyerman and Jamison (1998: 29), *tradition* is viewed here as a process of selecting and adapting a past with on-going contemporary life: for example, a grammar or basic language from past music which one learns to be able to pass it on (Eyerman and Jamison using Cantwell, 29). Artistic creation is the art of bending and breaking after mastering the grammar. Tradition is no barrier to social change and neither what so-called progressive movements are against (Eyerman and Jamison, 27). In a study on Irish traditional music and its relation to tourism and social change, Adam Kaul explores arguments around “revitalized ritual”, “reinvention of tradition” and his preferred notion (on his specific case study); a “re-orientation of a tradition” (Kaul, 2009: 154). This refers to a reorientation that may fit global forms of consumption, or may evoke the feelings for an old country (155) – whether this is Irish (as in Kaul’s case), or e.g. Nicaragua’s national reorientation of the 1970s, or the rediscovery of rural folk and blues in the USA.

The cases here all engage with ways of reorienting tradition and adapting a past with new, contemporary social issues. We may ask if earlier expressive forms in e.g. the USA and Nicaragua would have a chance to flourish if they did not merge with contemporary desires and contexts. Tradition needs to feed a direction of the day (I give examples of those directions and key issues in the cases to come). However, orientation in a *now* is difficult *without* tradition in the form of tunes, practices and impressions from the past. With no memory in the present, we are left with no capacity to manoeuvre beyond the instinctual.

In the cases to follow, I detect adaptations of tradition showing different figures and musical movement's ability to reorient the past into heated contemporary social issues.

In her study of musical practices in Solentiname islands, Pérez notes that it developed its appeal by trying to remove foreign influence and concentrate mostly on local and national instruments, rhythms and styles (Pérez, 2014: 78). A protective approach to tradition tied up with a strengthening of Nicaraguan national identity (prior to the revolution in 1979). This may be contrasted with Omari's study of Hip Hop in Zanzibar, where youth during the late 1980s and in the 1990s sought a new identity, which this music represented: a movement towards a sense of cosmopolitanism (Omari using Perullo, 2013: 135), through which youth wanted to nurture a new connection with a global culture and a culture of popular stars. In this way they attach themselves to something beyond the constraints and perceived ordinariness of their everyday, I would add. The defining moment may have been when Hip Hop also was performed in Swahili, their own language. The global fused with the local, and the songs were neither a universal type or copy, but something else that drew from home-grown experiences and therefore more easily communicated in Swahili. Ekström proposes the notion of the 'chameleon' to characterize aspects of Tanzanian popular culture (during the late 1990s and onwards) where new mediated forms and global circulations of popular styles are used to make sense of local and lived experience (2010). A sort of 'mould of the multiple', I would add, to express a diversity of sources that nevertheless has gained a coherency. A final note also mentioned in Omari's research - but more central in a 1999 documentary on early Tanzanian Hip Hop (Hali Halisi, 1999) - is the use of Hip Hop as an *alternative medium* of their own. Where previously youth had had to rely on inherited forms, they could now translate and adapt global forms they felt fitting to what they wanted to express.

Adapting tradition to explore new identities in Australia and Zanzibar

The liberalization and the media boom of the 1990s in Tanzania (Ekström, 2010), including the introduction of television introduced Tanzanians to popular culture around the world. In the 1990s, Hip Hop was one of the art forms whereby youth seeking new identities clashed with an older generation in defence of Islamic practices and traditional norms. As noted, a global culture was approached, yet the local adaptation was clear: after examining a range of the lyrics (2013: 150), Omari notes that its lyrics critiqued e.g. alcohol consumption, corruption and poor living conditions, as well as a resistance to traditional art forms that strive to boost Zanzibar's economy by promoting tourism. The Zanzibar case reveals a familiar global trajectory with particular local adaptations. Omari ends her study quoting Hoyle: "Zanzibar is a product of 'two worlds'; the modern and the Islam-traditional" (150).

Hip Hop is also the music of the Australian case: The *Third Place* project took place in a major Australian city over some years in the late 2000s, centred around weekly Hip Hop workshops (including break dancing, MCing, crump dancing) at a suburban centre. It was a participant-run project involving youth who identified as Aboriginal, Pacific Islander, 'white' Australian, and youth with refugee backgrounds seeking a safe space. The aim was to challenge racism and foster peaceful coexistence among groups that had been part of, or affected by, endemic community conflicts in the particular region. Based on the observation of workshops and interviews with participants, Pruitt (2013) argues that the global history of Hip Hop - from its 1970s Afro American and Afro Caribbean emergence on to its spreading - has lent itself as a tool for social struggle and alternative affirmations of identity. Also built

on a culture of non-violence, it has become a tool in peace building (2013: 54). Pruitt also notes that scholars have argued the movement to some extent has degraded, gone for profit and fallen prey to violence. Her research shows that girls have difficulties accessing space in the workshops, movements and dances, on their own terms. Instead, in her research in Zanzibar, Omari argues that both boys and girls break with tradition and some Islamic codes, but the girls are assertive and taking space: “exposing their bodies”, “they don’t hide things”, as an elderly community member expresses it. Opposed to traditional dances as *Msewe* or *Uringe*, girls and boys “mingle so closely” when they dance, he explains: “There is no boundary between man and woman as we used to dance in the past”. The male artists “cut their hair into clumsy styles”, he continues (Omari, 2013: 138). These quotes show that there is more than musical notes and sounds to this phenomenon; it is a part of a culture of fashion, dance, movement and storytelling that side-track from a resilient past form, and in some ways disrespectfully, the elderly thought.

Pruitt interestingly puts forward an argument on Hip Hop’s global spread, which may also explain Hip Hop’s presence and relevance in Zanzibar, arguing that there is a potential for its transformation and use everywhere, since youth based on their cultural knowledge “can generally decipher Hip Hop with greater ease, and use its framework of expression that does not require training or technical equipment”. (2013: 54). Although Hip Hop may not need much equipment global spread may be helped by easy adaptability, as Pruitt states, I have doubts about the point on no need for training when considering the oral and rhythmic work, dances and movements of Hip Hop. It is interesting however that a grammar appears to have been exported easily, and the politics adopted to new feet and participant styles.

Soldiers without guns: from Aljaji Goya, over Nueva Canción, to American folk songs

Another issue of concern in the Australian case – which may be of relevance in all cases – is the intricate relationship between the joy of music-making and other contextual matters, whether it is how the practices relate to or clash with religion, patriarchy. In Australia many of the participants came for the music in itself, but eventually got more interested in the general peace and societal issues too – and dialogue could unfold on many levels, musically, where words did not suffice. Moreover, after playing music together and creating a safe ground, it became easier to talk. Here we may return to Barenboim’s points on music communicating the ‘contrapuntal’, so acutely present in conflict situations. Talking about conflict issues may at first be more challenging, given the difficulty of putting emotions into words. It appeared, in some of Pruitt’s material, that such sensations could more easily be put into music first. In addition, music can help us to develop as listeners or be a platform for ‘shooting’ with other guns: “If you talk with somebody... that doesn’t respect you or something, he won’t listen, but if you get crazy and start dancing and singing he will start listening” (female, 18, Third Space Project, quoted in Pruitt, 2013: 88).

In Zanzibar in Goya’s lyric the ‘weapon’ he seeks is not the gun but the sharpness of a Hip Hop *mouth*: “I am a soldier still in the war/ I stick to the guns I’ll not give up.../ What I want now is for artists to be respected / Don’t call us hooligans anymore... / Aljaji Goya’s mouth is my sole weapon / When you hear that I’m a soldier don’t / think that I hold a gun” (see also image of Goya and fellow rapper, Black) (Omari, 2013: 148, translated from Swahili by Omari)

The folk revival of the USA was also engaged in the use of other guns at a time when upheaval and riots in the major cities escalated throughout the 1960s. Music was weaved into the activity and communication of the Peace Movement and the Civil Rights Movement, and related movements in the USA in particular during the 1960s (although the Civil Rights movement dates back to the former century). One important seed to the folk revival and its affinity to these movements, in particular when it comes to the concern with social hardships, was to be found in rediscovered pasts that had been exposed anew in the record collection produced by musical anthropologist Harry Smith's, *Anthology of American Folk Music* (from 1952), which became key for many folk singers of the 1960s. It was recordings from the late 1920s and early 1930s that had been largely forgotten which now were reissued, a collection of distant yet recognisable traditions re-emerging to the surface. Smith himself viewed the song collection as 'social enlightenment' (Marqusee, 2005: 35). "It was our bible", Dave Van Ronk (one of the prominent singers at the time) said.

South- and North American connections

The revitalization of folk song and its fusion with present politics and cry for change has its parallel in events in Nicaragua explored in Pérez' research of the . *Nueva Canción* ('new song') - a folk revivalist movement with lyrical and political content (see e.g. Montaña, 2001). Here, a musical movement engaged directly with social and political upheaval in Latin and Central America.. It emerged in the 1950s and sought to bring about political change by recovering national identity through the use of folk sounds and rhythms (Pérez, 12, using Tumas-Serna). The *Nueva Canción* music and movement was on the one hand organically political – it was not necessarily connected to particular events or an added instrument of protest, but became a part of the push for change: in some cases instructing for fight or war. One example can be the Godoy brothers song 'Carabina MI' broadcast on Guerrilla radio with instructions to the scattered population (many illiterate), in singing, on how to assemble weapons and engage in armed uprising. This was Nicaragua in the period up until the Sandinistas' victory over the Somoza dictatorship in 1979 (Fairley, 2014: 556). The US folk music, peace and civil rights movement were in decline during the 1970s, while an era of US-backed Latin American dictatorships had begun. Much music and lyrics of freedom in Latin America fought this North American infiltration. In this context, it is understandable that musicians on the Solentiname islands tried to remove foreign influence, as noted in Pérez' research. *Nueva Canción* continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s, where its parallel in the USA had faded. Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton and other key figures in the American folk revival tried to keep it alive, though. At some events the movements were clearly brought in relation, as in Ochs' 'Friends of Chile' Concert in New York in 1974⁶, which gathered mainly American musicians with contact to the still breathing movement: Woody Guthrie's son Arlo, Pete Seeger, Dave Van Ronk, and even Dylan. Ochs had befriended the Chilean *Nueva Canción* musician and activist Victor Jara⁷ a few years before Pinochet couped the democratically elected Allende in 1973. When Victor Jara, an Allende supporter, was killed after the coup, Ochs initiated the concert.⁸

In Latin America the movement was at the same strength during the so-called dark years of the 1970s, where dictatorships eventually gave way to new democracies in Nicaragua (1979), Argentina (1983), and Chile (1988). Some musicians even organised themselves temporarily through an office in Mexico (Fairley, 2013: 135), marking the institutionalisation of activism through music. Events such as the recorded *April in Managua Central American Peace*

Concert in 1983 (Various Artists, 1984) became an important document of the movement's legacy, as Fairley notes (135). The concert exposed many of the biggest *Nueva Canción* performers – e.g. Ali Primera, the Mejía Godoy brothers, Amparo Ochoa – and the Cuban Silvio Rodríguez (belonging to the related *Nueva Trova* movement). Primera was declared national heritage by the Venezuelan government in 2005, 20 years after his death.

Guthrie and Smith triggering North American musical movements

As in Latin America, USA also had its key figures of resilience and resistance. The new musical social movements of the 1960s, and their ties to peace and civil rights issues, are difficult to imagine without Woody Guthrie and Harry Smith. Both these paved the way for Bob Dylan and many others (Marqusee, 2005, Jacobsson, 2003, Høg Hansen, 2012). Dylan on the one hand lent his voice/s and stories to the movement, but also moved out of the 'box' or movement he had been put into – and began to articulate 'protest' and relations to the political in other ways, distancing himself from what he called 'finger pointing' songs, as illustrated later with *Love Minus Zero/No Limit*. Before his career went underway, when arriving in New York, Dylan had visited Guthrie in hospital, on his death bed and sang one of his first self composed songs, 'Song to Woody Guthrie' to him. Guthrie was a folk singer from Oklahoma, who travelled West-ward across the country during the Dust Bowl and Great Depression of the 1930s, and wrote over 1000 songs, for all ages. It was oral history in song, contemporary hardships with a social indignation and a sense of humour. As an interesting example of convergence, Guthrie was quick to use stories and characters from Steinbeck's famed social issues novel *Grapes of Wrath* in his most successful set of records *Dust Bowl Ballads* from 1940, just a year after the novel came out. Guthrie had a strong influence on Dylan and the folk revival movement in general. His guitar had a famous sticker with the words 'This Machine Kills Fascists'.

The other early key figure, Harry Smith, was rediscovering American music from the 1920s and early 1930s (before Guthrie's break through). Smith relied on the recordings that Artist & Repertoire men made when they went to the field to create the first electronic recordings from the vast country. It became a mass phenomenon just before the depression of the 1930s set in and recordings declined. His 5 LP collection spurred the folk music revival. Some of the artists that had recorded in the late 1920s and early 1930s but had less to do due the depression were then employed during the 1930s *New Deal*⁹ (as e.g. Bascom Lunsford).

The 1920s recordings was among the traditional material which the folk revival used to revitalise their musical heritage. They were relying on an age-old tradition, yet also concerned with contemporary politics, the rising social, artistic and youth movements and the American memory debates at the entry to a decade that marked the 100 year of the American Civil War. The movement spoke and sung for more peaceful US politics of the in the world (1950s to 1970s marked engagements in Korea, Vietnam and Latin America that were far from peaceful). Bob Dylan was still a key figure in this movement at the *March of Washington* in 1963¹⁰, where he also performed. The event, merging the folk revival and the peace and civil rights movements, took the issues from the margins to the main stream. But 'the times they are a-changing', as he sung on a recording briefly after this event. Dylan invented a new form of 'protest and folk song' that was still clearly drawn to tradition and history, but also firmly based in contemporary modern reality and dream where figures of then and now could easily join the same story.

The new language of ‘protest’

In "Love Minus Zero/No Limit" from 1965 (and many other songs at the time) Dylan conflicts with the peace movement and constructs songscapes far from some of the earlier topical and finger-pointing songs that made him a key artistic figure in the 1960s folk revival's alignment with the peace and civil rights. It is a cryptic and ambiguous 'protest song', with which we may recall Barenboim and his notion of 'layered sensations' addressed earlier.¹¹

The song can carry many avenues of reading and emotion, yet to a strong extent work as an image of the complexity of love and defeat, person to person, as well as socially and politically in communal and societal contexts.

Dylan's [Love Minus Zero/No Limit](#) from 1965 can be interpreted as breaking with the language and practice of contemporary movements or politics. The lover of the unnamed singer - 'I' - in the song does not take on the voice of ideals or force, but one of calm or silence. It does not paint its slogans and conclusions in public places. There is no medium, like the rose, that can seduce the voice or woman he has found. She sees through the masquerade of slogans and flowers, and is careful towards making conclusions or posing the future.

Figures from the game of chess -*pawns* and *horses*- are used as indicators of on-going battles where pawns are brought to play or war from the music/ceremonial-blowing horns of the horsemen. The game is turned over, matchsticks "crumble into one another". Verse 3 indicates that the voice or woman engaged with is still portrayed as strong ("my love winks / she does not bother"); giving us a "wink" – saying goodbye, or wink/message with the eye? – standing outside, not bothering about this game; wiser than the noise of politics.

Verse 4 marks a turn through a change in the weather. ("The night blows cold and rainy") The woman may have stepped out or side-lined herself, but she cannot stand or manage to go on alone. "My love she's like some raven/At my window with a broken wing". The raven image points toward fragility or lonesomeness, one that seeks refuge to eat the leftovers of love and our political beliefs? But at least the raven is at *his* window, and a broken wing, a wound, may heal again, as Gray notes (Gray, 1972: 78). Or is Dylan singing about his own wounds, seeking comfort, calm and privacy away from the noise of political struggle?

Faith and song in Solentiname Islands

Now on to tradition and change in Nicaragua, specifically on the Solentiname islands. Pérez explains how, prior to the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979, the sharing of food and music as part of an engagement with faith generated a sense of belonging among the peasant community. For many of the young community members, weekly Gospel discussions posed them with a call to action, aligned with this new understanding of who they were (2015: 9). Reading the newspapers and listening to revolutionary music was as central to the community of Solentiname as their Gospel sharing. The liberation theologian Ernesto Cardenal had arrived on the islands and engaged them with readings, art and music (2015: 2), including songs from the *Nueva Canción*.

Pérez elaborates on how others used their musical talents to add to their religious gatherings. Music became for them a way to express who they were as working peasants, as well as a

way to explore how this peasant identity was profoundly linked to faith. With their home-made instruments they contributed, for example, to the writing of the *Misa Campesina*, a Mass reflecting liberation theology in its music, instrumentation and lyrics. Traditional church instruments, such as the organ, were dismissed, and they turned to instruments that were part of their everyday lives.

The songs born out of these events boosted engagement in social issues and built on an alignment with faith. Also, the *Misa Campesina* was a way for peasants of Solentiname to engage other communities. Pérez asks: “What were they to do before a political dynasty that ignored their plight and stripped them of land and resources? How were they going to redefine their place in Nicaraguan society and the Church?” (2015: 19).

Towards future research

I asked Omari and Pérez a question over email in the course of writing this article¹²: *how can these musical activities become, or how have they become, part of a community's cultural heritage? Are they preserved, archived or maintained for the future in some way or another?*

Pérez returned to the *Misa Campesina* songs on peasant identity in Solentiname, and their impact beyond, in her answer: “These songs have been recorded and performed in various Latin American countries but also in Europe and in various languages. Cardenal¹³ himself told me during a personal interview how, while he was exiled in Spain, he often heard this Mass sung. This evoked in him a feeling of hope that he would, once day, return to Nicaragua. He shared how he hoped that other people who lived far from Nicaragua could listen to this music and feel a sense of connection with their own heritage.”

Omari noted how Hip Hop is preserved in contemporary popular media: songs are available in radio or TV stations media archives, lyrics newspapers, but also on blogs and YouTube (I found various materials here). She also noted music's role in addressing conflict in Zanzibar, writing back that in many cases since the first elections in Zanzibar in 1995 Hip Hop (and *Bongo Flava*)¹⁴ “has pleaded for peaceful resolution to the political conflict between CCM and CUF in Zanzibar.” (CCM, The Revolutionary State Party, is the party in power, while CUF, The Civil United Front, is in opposition).

Being part of a space of collective activity and action is not only about the content or the music, whether we are looking at Hip Hop in Zanzibar or as part of a project in Australia, at participation in a folk revival singing gathering in the US in the 1960s, or at a performance at the Central American Peace Concert - It is about the identities that are nurtured and given space to in the process. Movement activity does not necessarily call for specific roles or institutional positioning. It allows for another play with position, partly due to horizontal or a semi- or non-institutionalised nature, with different degrees of participation and involvement (Høg Hansen, 2012a). Social movements are feeding ground for collective emotional vibes and memory (see e.g. Mouffe, 2010, on *passion*). Among the vibes of immense power is music.

Returning to Daniel Barenboim, music allows for multiple and changing feelings and sensations. While Barenboim would possibly turn to a classical music piece as example, I have turned to Love Minus Zero/No Limit above. Importantly, Barenboim notes that music

can mean different things for the same person at different times, as well as different things for different people. The West East Divan orchestra had taught its players to “listen to other voices. Voices that are contrapuntal or commenting.” This is more fundamental “than the right to vote”. The listening aspect is nuanced further: “In music, every voice has a responsibility towards the other in speed, dynamic and intensity” (Barenboim, 2015). This may well express the sharing, dependency and unity that collaborative music creation demands. As listeners, we are finding not only leisure but lessons for life in it. Music can be an escape, but should also be “part of a well-rounded education”, Barenboim says (2015). This approach to music places this form of communication at the heart of citizen dialogue, more fundamental than voting, as Barenboim indicated. Gathering players and affecting listeners is central in the creation of political imaginaries in a popular idiom. With this article, I have pointed towards future research that approaches the formation of such musical movements in the era of globalization comparatively. In the 1950s, it took an eccentric collector (Harry Smith) to gather forgotten pieces of tradition that could now be maintained by being renewed. Later, music videos in particular have transported Hip Hop all around the globe, from Zanzibar to Australia.

The pilot project outlined here will be extended to investigate cases where music forms central and essential parts of social life in the midst of conflict and change processes. The aim will be to detect how movements voice themselves through music (or how music enables movements in the process of playing), and how the music played pushes communities. Of importance would be a focus on how these musical practices and cases are archived, mediated, and revised. The continuation of the research hereby points toward a concern with how music relates to civil society and movement work and play a key role in the political imaginary during times of social and political struggle.

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Also thank you to *Glocal Times* – and to editor Florencia Enghel for comments on the articles I have written for the journal over the last 10 years. This has been a great place to keep an eye on the communication for development field of theory and practice and to check out thesis works adapted to articles. When invited to contribute to the anniversary issue, I decided on a piece on *music* - one of the more rare topics in a journal with width yet focus.

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Various Artists (1984) *April in Managua. The Central American Peace Concert* LP and Cassette, e.g.

¹ Anders Høg Hansen has a PhD in cultural studies and initially researched alternative educational projects for youth in Israel. Cultural heritage and public memory has been focal points over the years. More recently he has engaged in studies of music and movements. He is involved with the MA in *Communication for Development* at Malmö University. E-mail: anders.hog-hansen@mah.se

² The focus on music, movements and conflict began with a monograph on Bob Dylan and the 1960s in 2012 (Høg Hansen, 2012b, in Danish) and continued with music-related work on Malmö and folk music as one case among many in Malmö University's *Living Archives* research project. This study is just published (Høg Hansen and Björgvinsson, 2015). A strand which involved studies of music as conflict coping was also developed for a HERA 'Uses of the Past' application.

³ Mery A. Pérez is a PhD student in Rural Studies, University of Guelph, Canada. She completed her MA thesis *Empowered by Song: The Relationship Between Misa Campesina and Peasant Involvement in Nicaragua's Revolution* in 2014. Works in production (2015) and email correspondence have helped the development of this essay.

⁴ Shani Omari is PhD and Lecturer in Kiswahili Literature at University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. She has been involved in various research projects on music and poetry in Tanzania, including Hip Hop and Bongo Flava – and shared her thoughts in the course of this work. She has also been involved in other studies concerning youth, media and heritage. e.g. with Ylva Ekström and the author: *The House of Culture. Tanzanian Youth and Social Engagement at the Intersection of Arts and New Media*.

⁵ Lesley J Pruitt was a doctoral research student at University of Queensland while completing her research on the peace projects. She is now a lecturer in International Development at RMIT University. Pruitt shared her work on academia.edu upon request, but was not free to be participate further at this stage due to a new lecturer position with teaching and writing commitments.

⁶ The *Friends of Chile* concert was one of the early benefit concert's where musicians gathered for a social cause, although not as famed as the earlier Concert for Bangladesh, initiated by George Harrison (1971) and the later Bob Geldof-initiated Live Aid in 1985. Dylan participated in all 3.

⁷ Victor Jara, a prominent Allende supporter, was tortured and killed by Pinochet's military in the aftermath of the coup in 1973. He also inspired Swedish folk musicians song-writing and engagement in Latin American politics in the 1970s. The Swedish Mikael Wiehe (with Hoola Bandoola Band) wrote a song for him in 1975. It was the B-side for a single where the A-side was 'Stop the Match' (Stoppa Matchen) trying to halt a tennis match between Chilean and Swedish players. Chile at that time led by Pinochet. When Chile had the next democratically elected socialist president Lagos in 2000, Wiehe was an invited guest (Wiehe, 2004)

⁸ A part from Phil Ochs, few were worldly or international in inspirations from the American folk music movement at that time (Denslow in Eyerman and Jamison, 1998: 128-130). Another exception was Simon and Garfunkel where the song 'El Condor Pasa' 1970. The Swedish singer Mikael Wiehe writes on his website (2004) that this song inspired his emerging interest in Latin American music and politics

⁹ The *New Deal* was a series of programs in the USA between 1933 and 1938 aimed at relief, recovery and reform during the Great Depression. It also involved the employment of artists in government programs.

¹⁰ The Great March of Washington took place on 28 August 1963. Here Martin Luther King delivered his famous 'I have a dream'-speech, which drew from biblical forms and the gospel genres *call and response*. These were genres also appealing to Dylan, who was there performing alongside e.g. Josh White, Odetta, Joan Baez, Pete Seeger and Mahalia Jackson. Marqusee (2005: 113) delivers an anecdote on the event: the singer Mahalia Jackson was in the audience close to King during his

speech. When King at some point pauses, Jackson whispers 'Tell them about the dream, Martin', and hereafter the speech takes a turn. The rest is History. Is it true? It is a good story. One of Dylan's songs was *When the Ship Comes In*. Undoubtedly the political and folk revival movement came in as one this day, moving from marginality to become well known national and global voices that now had shored, but not necessarily won.

¹¹ The song was recorded with electrical backing on the LP *Bringing it All Back Home* from 1965, but performed acoustically by Dylan ~~only~~ in an daytime session at that year's Newport Folk festival. At an evening event at the same festival, Dylan famously plugged-in and performed new songs from his two 1965 albums. This marked not only Dylan's turn away from finger pointing song, also a new musical style (which he would soon change again). People booed. Pete Seeger wanted to cut the sound cables with an axe etc. The stories are many. The event is apparently so legendary, that this year's festival (just ended when this is written) had a complete 50 years anniversary event with e.g. Roger Waters and many others performing Dylan-songs.

¹² Lesley Pruitt indicated she was not able to contribute with further reflections on her work at this stage.

¹³ Ernesto Cardenal is a Nicaraguan liberation theologian, born in 1925, and founder of the primitivist art movement in the Solentiname islands.

¹⁴ *Bongo Flava* is the Swahilified name for Tanzanian Hip Hop music including influences from e.g. R&B and Afrobeat. 'Bongo' in Swahili for 'brains', also a nickname for Dar es Salaam, and Flava for 'flavour'. The genre developed in the 1990s and can be seen as a more widespread and commercialized development of Tanzania and Zanzibar's early Hip Hop. On a minor note: Thank you to my wife Happy Singu for introducing me to Bongo Flava, some years ago.