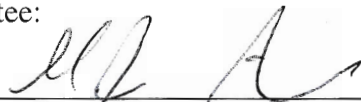


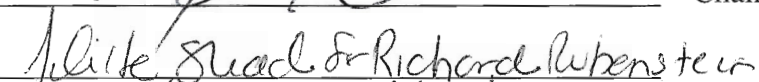

"THIS MACHINE KILLS FASCISTS": AN EXPLORATION INTO THE
MACHINERY OF MUSIC AN CONFLICT

by

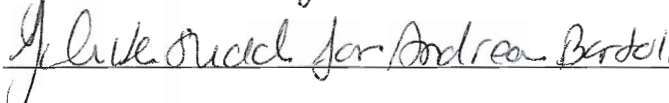
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Master of Science
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This Machine Kills Fascists: An Exploration into the Machinery of Music and Conflict

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts at George Mason University

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to the lover, the dreamer, and me...

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I would like to thank the many friends, relatives, and supporters who have made this happen. My parents, David and Jody. Blythe Fox, who helped me to stay grounded. Drs. Simmons, Rubenstein, Flores, and the other members of my committee were of invaluable help. The faculty and staff at ICAR. My classmates and colleagues who provided sounding boards from which I tested my ideas. Furthermore, I would like to acknowledge the musicians and artists who originally inspired me. Finally, thanks go out to the Java Shack, Galaxy Hut and other local Arlington establishments for providing a vibrant, friendly and relatively chaotic environment with free wi-fi in which to work.

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ABSTRACT

THIS MACHINE KILLS FASCISTS: AN EXPLORATION INTO THE MACHINERY OF MUSIC AND CONFLICT

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This thesis explores the phenomenon of music and conflict, both as generator and resolver. The study examines forty-seven observations of where music has occurred as a significant cultural marker to conflict. The observations occurred across the globe and throughout history and ranged from violent conflicts such as the French Revolution to non-violent conflicts like the Velvet Revolution. The data was collected, coded and analyzed statistically to determine what variables might be important in understanding this social phenomenon. This thesis is designed to be a reference, resource and starting point for people interested in understanding the factors that may contribute to successful and musically artistic resolutions to conflict.

Introduction

‘What’ is “the initial element of an extended journey into the *context of discovery*”¹ ‘What’ begins with a general theme and moves towards a more specific theme. The most general theme of my inverted pyramid is *Culture*. However, culture is a complex matrix of all the symbolic and material ways in which we interact.² Furthermore, individual definitions of culture vary; the borders of where culture stops are vague and amorphous. Therefore, to be more specific, this study looks at two specific aspects of culture: *Music and conflict*.

Music is an aspect of culture that appears to be global. There is something that humanity believes is special to music as a form of expression and entertainment. There is the belief that “music expresses that which cannot be put into words and cannot remain silent,”³ and that somehow music has the ability to uplift, unite and express in unique ways.

Conflict is a core aspect of the human experience. Humans encounter conflict on a daily basis. Generally conflict is thought of in negative terms; however, that is not always so. The sociologist Lewis Coser wrote that conflict strengthens group identity and

¹ Dennis J.D. Sandole, Critical Systematic Inquiry in Conflict Analysis and Resolution: An Essential Bridge Between Theory and Practice, page 421

² Kevin Avruch, Culture and Conflict Resolution, pages 20-21

³ Victor Hugo, “Takin It Global,” <http://www.tigweb.org/themes/music/>, Last accessed 6/21/09

awareness, “thus establishing the identity of groups within the system.”⁴ Coser further states that conflict maintains social systems, something that he asserts both Georg Sorel and Karl Marx also espoused.⁵ Aside from maintaining systems, conflict also seeks to destroy or change systems.⁶ Furthermore, conflict is tends to be discussed in terms of violence. However this is also not necessary; conflict is merely struggle and struggle may be either peaceful or violent. Conflict can be understood as “the process which begins when one party perceives that another has frustrated, or is about to frustrate, some concern of his.”⁷

There is a deep appreciation for music, and the belief in its power and relevance to life is even seen in our language and the way we describe social interaction; for example, interactions may be described as harmonious or discordant. English language has even created idiomatic phrases to describe everyday life that relate to music: we jazz things up, instead of making it interesting; we make music, rather than have sex; flavors and smells can be referred to as ‘notes.’ Imagining a world without a deep belief in the power of music is eerie and somehow disconcerting.

As E. Y. Harburg put it, “words make you think a thought. Music makes you feel a feeling. A song makes you feel a thought.”⁸ Evidently, E. Y. Harburg believed in the power of music and song. Clearly, society has woven music into its very fabric. However,

⁴ Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, page 34

⁵ Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, page 34

⁶ *ibid.*, page 36

⁷ K. W. Thomas, Conflict and Conflict Management, Handbook of Industrial and Organizational Psychology, page 891.

⁸ E. Y. Harburg, Music for the Soul: an Emotional Relief Organization,
<http://www.musicforthesoul.org/quotes.html>, Last accessed 6/21/09.

is music as powerful as we want believe? Is music uniquely situated to influence hearts and minds (feel a thought)?

There is a practical justification for doing this research that comes from a deep human belief in the power of music. There are many global examples of where it was employed as a tool for creative change (both positive and negative). By positive change I mean change that promotes togetherness and understanding of self and other as deserving of mutual respect. Whereas, by negative change I mean the promotion of an existing division, or fracturing of one larger group into smaller antagonistic groups. Furthermore, there are numerous examples of where music was used to create and reinforce identity. While music is normally understood to be a creative force, music may be used by agents for either creative or destructive change

The belief in music as an agent of change has been observed in number of countries and communities across the globe and for a wide variety of reasons. In Central Europe, the anti-communist movements of the Velvet Revolution were greatly influenced by the Punk Rock and other arts; the more the state tried to oppress the musicians the more political they became and the more concerts were held in non-traditional venues at no cost.⁹

Despite this phenomenon of music affecting conflict being witnessed and recorded through history there has been surprisingly little critical social scientific evaluation of the topic. As such, the question still remains: *Does music have the power to transform conflict and become a tool for positive progressive change?*

⁹ Joseph Yanosik, Plastic People of the Universe, <http://www.furious.com/perfect/pulnoc.html>. Last accessed 6/21/09

If music does not have power to transform conflict, then due to the limited resources available for the field conflict transformation through music should be de-funded, and the music should be funded as art for art's sake. However, if it does have the power, how might this work? What might improve the practice?

I hypothesize that the following might be observed in many situations:

1. There appears to be a basic belief in the power of music to affect individuals and societies.
2. An individual actor, a musician, charged by an ideology or concept becomes activated.
3. This activated individual translates, or distills ideas, arguments and concepts into the root symbolic meaning, and a *lyric* is created. A *lyric*: a packet of information, that is not the argument or idea but points to what the argument or idea is (an example: "War is over! If you want it."¹⁰)
4. This *lyric* is combined with music, which adds infectious power, or *stickiness*.
5. Through the venue of a concert *collective effervescence* is created: the *lyric* and music create a mystical and divine feeling of importance, which effects the core desire for meaning within an individual. The *limbic brain* is engaged.¹¹
6. The individual is then charged as the initial actor. A *web*, *snowball*, or *ripple* effect is created throughout the various levels of society.

¹⁰ John Lennon, war is over campaign, <http://imaginepeace.com/news/war-is-over>. Last Accessed 6/21/09

¹¹ Dennis J.D. Sandole, Capturing the Complexity of Conflict: Dealing with Violent Ethnic Conflicts of the Post-Cold War Era, page 114

This social phenomenon relates to *conflict intervention*, which “is where a potential intervener can attempt to do something about a complex conflict, including facilitating processes that lead to quite different, albeit potentially interrelated outcomes.”¹² Furthermore, actors engaged in this form of transformation are seeking a *positive peace* scenario by attempting to influence people at a very primordial level teaching them to feel good about this alternative future. The idea here is that through song, people can move beyond and end to the conflict, eventually “to deal with the underlying conflict causes and conditions”¹³ and depending on the ideology may also seek “to achieve Burton’s *provention* by eliminating structural/cultural violence.”¹⁴

Provention means “to signify taking steps to remove sources of conflict, and more positively to promote conditions in which collaborative and valued relationships control behaviours.”¹⁵

There is plenty of practice in the idea that music disseminates ideology through its ability to open up creative space within which people are easily subject to its message. At the very least, people want to believe that music has the power to either overcome obstacles and transgress boundaries, or to reinforce a national narrative.

What are the variables involved in seeking to understand what is at work here? Assuming that a theoretical framework for understanding the relationship between music and conflict is needed, how can aspects of this phenomenon be classified? For the purpose of this study it will be assumed that music has two basic relationships with

¹² Dennis J.D. Sandole, Peace and Security in the Postmodern World: The OSCE and Conflict Resolution, page 41

¹³ Dennis J.D. Sandole, Peace and Security in the Postmodern World: The OSCE and Conflict Resolution, page 43

¹⁴ Dennis J.D. Sandole, Peace and Security in the Postmodern World: The OSCE and Conflict Resolution, page 43

¹⁵ John W. Burton, Violence Explained. Manchester University Press, 1997, page xv.

society. The first relationship is a structural one: how the artist(s) relate to the structure of society, either in favor or opposed; this relationship deals primarily with the message. The next relationship is cultural: The cultural aspect deals primarily with the sound the music makes: is it traditional or alternative. (For more on this framework see appendix A).

Within the realm of music there are several ‘legitimate actors:’ the state; the artist, or musicians; the audience: fans, or other listeners; and non-government institutions, like the church, media outlets, schools, etc., etc. The influence of each of these actors will vary depending on the political and institutional pressures of the society and region of action.

Two theoretical models will be handy in exploring the levels of analysis. The first is “Dugan’s’ Nested Model.”¹⁶ Dugan’s Nested Model is a useful framework for analysing highly impactful social phenomena, as it shows an interlink of interpersonal all the way to the global. Furthermore, where certain phenomena may reside primarily on one level of the nested model, music used as a tool for positive progressive change would inhabit all realms.

Theoretically, music begins, or at least first becomes manifest, in the interpersonal realm where the sharing of music and message occur. Next it affects people on an intrapersonal level, where they take to heart the message conveyed in the song broadcast. Following the intrapersonal, there is a movement back into the interpersonal as it

¹⁶ Maire A Dugan, A Nested Theory of Conflict, page 14

becomes institutional and finally global as those institutions make their imprint on society.

The second helpful model is Michael Mann's four sources of social power.¹⁷

Mann posits that there are four sources of social power Ideology, Economy, Military and Political (IEMP). In the framework of the research question, Music inhabits the ideological and economic sectors, often against the military while trying to influence the political.

In addition to the theoretical frameworks, there are several concepts that may be useful in helping to understand the phenomenon of music and conflict. "*Concepts* are the basic building blocks of thought, perception, and language; "mini-models" that allow us to capture bits and pieces of "reality."¹⁸ Some concepts involved in this phenomena are: Desire for meaning; collective effervescence; material and symbolic practices; ritual and symbolism; transcendent leadership; power of mythology; soft power.

At a basic level, human beings are driven by a desire for meaning. At the foundation of our drive for meaning are feelings: "Feeling is the first fundamental dimension within which knowing emerges."¹⁹ According to Bernard Lonergan, without feeling and later understanding our feelings, knowing becomes impossible.²⁰ Music has an ability to make us feel: it stimulates our senses and our emotions. Music begins its

¹⁷ Michael Mann, The Sources of Social Power: Volume 1, A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760, page 1.

¹⁸ Dennis J.D. Sandole, Critical Systematic Inquiry in Conflict Analysis and Resolution: An Essential Bridge Between Theory and Practice, page 423

¹⁹ Bernard Lonergan, What are Judgments of Value?, Collected works of Bernard Longergan. Toronto: University of Toronto Press (2004), page 142

²⁰ Bernard Lonergan, What are Judgments of Value?, Collected works of Bernard Longergan. Toronto: University of Toronto Press (2004), page 142

operation at the most basic level of our ways of knowing. Whether or not we process the message in the lyrics, music has begun its work.

Related to the notion of feelings, but dependent upon group experience, is collective effervescence. Collective effervescence is the perception of energy created by a gathering of people, such as a music concert. This energy can feel transcendent and cause people to act and react differently. This transcendent feeling is the same as that experienced in religious rituals: the concert, then, may become a religious ceremony and the music, the artist, the instruments may be gods. “God and society are one of the same...the god of the clan...can be none other than the clan itself, but the clan transfigured and imagined in the physical form of a plant or animal that serves as a totem.”²¹

Further related to the idea of collective effervescence and the actual experience of attending a concert are material practices. Material practices “maintain the institutional structures” of concert going.²² For those participating the concert experience there are a number of material practices that occur and help give meaning to the experience. The first material practice is purchasing of a ticket, an entrance fee. By buying a ticket, the attendee has already made an investment in the process. Once inside, whether the person came alone or with friends, there is a gathering of people that exchange narratives and information about the event or previous and similar events. Another material element of the experience is the purchasing of merchandise. Merchandise is a material method in

²¹ Durkheim, Émile. The Elementary Forms of Religious Life. New York: The Free Press, 1995, page 208.

²² Thomas Medvetz, The Strength of Weekly Ties: Relations of Material and Symbolic Exchange in the Conservative Movement, Politics & Society, Vol. 34, No. 3, September 2006, page 345.

which the participant not only finances the experience, but also helps to evangelize and spread the ideology of their experience.

In addition to material practices, there is symbolic practice. “Symbolic forms provide a major source of both its internal cohesion and its external expression.”²³ The symbolic practices may vary from group to group and genre to genre, but in essence there are similar forms readily observed. Most groups have uniformity in appearance, from haircuts to outfits. There are objects and actions that become rituals when outside the concert venue, where the space does not hold the same shared meaning and appearance may revert to dominant social norms.

Ritual is another concept useful to make sense of the experience. “Rituals are symbolic acts. Symbolic acts are physical actions that require interpretation.”²⁴ Once again, these rituals vary from group to group and are ways that help to distinguish a “true believer,” or one who has fully adopted the belief and ideology of the music and artists.

On the other end of the equation are the artists, or generators of the sound, music and words that spread ideology. The voice in the front of the crowd, clearly exhibits a large amount of social power. They are the objects of our desire that we either want to know or want to be. In essence the artist(s) in the front become a charismatic and transcendent figure of our admiration. They function in our society the way that shamans once did.

Shamans were once common, and held special positions in society. The belief was that a shaman had special access to knowledge that the rest of the society did not or could

²³ Ibid., page 359

²⁴ Lisa Schirch, Ritual and Symbol in Peacebuilding, Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2005, page 16.

not have. Shamans often had the ability to be freer with their gender roles and lifestyle. Shamans were also believed to have all sorts of special powers: communication with the afterlife, healing the sick, flight. In essence, a shaman was someone that was special, had abilities that the common person did not and was able to do what most people could not.²⁵

While most rational people would not believe that musicians had the ability to commune with the spirit world or heal sick people, there is still the belief that the musician has special access to a world most people never could experience. Indeed, the charisma and ability to control masses of people is akin to the skills of shamans. Their mastery of and ability to control and use music for specific ends also sets them apart from the masses of society. Furthermore, there is a similarity in the way musicians and shamans are able to translate, mediate, or vernacularize ideas and concepts that transcend boundaries. For example musical artists who wish to spread awareness are able to translate theoretical arguments into poetic images that touch people in ways the original argument could not.

In “On Popular Music,” Theodor Adorno wrote about the “psychological ‘jump’”²⁶ that the individual listener takes that connects them with that ‘dimension of the piece which cannot be grasped by recognition alone,’ but rather “built up only by spontaneous linking the known elements – a reaction as spontaneous by the listener as it

²⁵ Joseph Campbell, “The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology,” Penguin (Non-Classics) (November 1, 1991)

²⁶ Theodor Adorno, “On Popular Music: III. Theory about the listener,” *Journal on Media Culture*, Vol 2, January 2000, p. 1

was spontaneous by the composer.”²⁷ Adorno, argued in addition to that recognition and connection between the generator of music and the consumer, there also needed to be an understanding: “psychological transfer,” where the listener not only recognizes but understands and believes in that song; this grants a sort of shared agency with its creator.²⁸

A final concept that explains music’s ability to transcend boundaries of race, class, ethnicity and political borders is soft power. Joseph Nye invented the term to describe power that is developed through attracting people your group. In soft power there is no beating into submission, nor is there any direct payment. In fact, with music, there is a wilful purchase in to the system. It also seems, that music’s soft power can thrive in almost any system: when banned, it becomes seductive; when promoted it becomes popular; if it is not “sticky” it adapts until it is.

The first, a *descriptive* hypothesis, is that *there is a link between music and positive progressive change*: not only does music have *the power to transform conflict*, but it is also *a tool for progressive change*. The second hypothesis is an *evaluative* hypothesis: *music is an effective tool for positive progressive change*.

²⁷ Theodor Adorno, “On Popular Music: III. Theory about the listener, *Journal on Media Culture*, Vol 2, January 2000 p.2

²⁸ Theodor Adorno, “On Popular Music: III. Theory about the listener, *Journal on Media Culture*, Vol 2, January 2000 p.3

Review of Related Works

As there has been limited social scientific study in the field of Conflict Resolution into music and conflict, the review or related works is split into two sections, a theoretical juxtaposition of Plato and a Marxist belief in music's influence on society, and a review of music and conflict transformation in practice.

Theoretical

Plato believed that: "Music and rhythm find their way into the secret places of the soul."²⁹ In fact, Plato's belief in the influence of music was so powerful, that in the Republic, he prescribed that music "be preserved in [its] original form, and no innovation made...for any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole State...[w]hen modes* of music change, the fundamental laws of the State always change with them."³⁰

The fear of Plato has provided grounds for censorship of music in various political regimes. His fear is also akin to the fear many parents have over the music their children listen to. There is not only a deep belief in the power of music, but also a fear of what music might do. However, there is has been little science or research to support this

* In Plato's time, *modes* were more than just the scales that modern musicians use. Modes were also thought to be rhythms and the 'proper' way of playing songs and scales. David Binning Monro, The Modes of Ancient Greek Music, Oxford, 1894, page 10.

²⁹ Plato, The Association of Music Therapists of Serbia. muzikoterapija.rs/en/index.html. Last Accessed 6/21/09

³⁰ Kelly M. Askew, As Plato Duly Warned: Music, Politics, and Social Change in Coastal East Africa, Anthropology Quarterly, 2003, page 633.

belief, and academics have classically shown limited interest in music, especially popular forms of music. Is this fear rational, and why has so little research been conducted? For whatever reason, research into the power of music was marginalized. This marginalization was only further reinforced through Marxist analytics: “Popular culture’s frequent appearance in commodity form has made marginalization seem all the more necessary—particularly for scholars wedded to classical Marxist analytics, where mass production and commodification are thought to render the cultural form inauthentic.”³¹ Furthermore, through a Marxist analytic, popular culture is “deemed epiphenomenal to questions of politics and power.”³² In this interpretation by Adorno and Horkheimer, Marx made music inauthentic and popular music could not be considered a central point of politics or power. If popular culture is not a central notion to power and politics and music is inauthentic, then there is no reason to study or use music and popular culture as vehicles for social change: it simply wouldn’t be effective, or at least only marginally so.

However, another Marxist intellectual Leon Trotsky, stated “from the point of view of an objective historical process art is always a social servant and historically utilitarian.”³³ Art “enlarges the volume of thought in advance and not through the personal method of accumulated experience, it educates the individual, the social group, the class and the nation.”³⁴ Furthermore, in direct contrast to the words of Plato, Trotsky said about art that there is an “objective social dependence” and that politics has no

³¹ Rebecca L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg, Popular Culture, Relational History, and the Question of Power in Palestine and Israel, Journal of Palestine Studies, No. 4, (Summer 2004), page 5.

³² Ibid., page 5.

³³ Leon Trotsky, The Social Roots and the Social Function of Literature, www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1923/art/tia23bhmt. Last accessed 6/10/2010

³⁴ Leon Trotsky, The Social Roots and the Social Function of Literature, www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1923/art/tia23bhmt. Last accessed 6/10/2010

“desire to dominate art by means of decrees and orders.”³⁵ According to Trotsky, no matter what class the artist came from, what the scope of the work was, nor the subject of the art, art “is not a raving” but rather “a changing and a transformation of reality”³⁶

Academics have essentially seemed to accept this interpretation of culture and popular culture. However, the masses still rally around songs, singing them in protests marches, imbuing them with political messages. The young and the old still wish to be musicians, and every week people try out for “American Idol”. Musicians become celebrities with vast capital wealth and influence on the lives of people everywhere. Somehow, in spite of this Marxist analytic musicians still hold great power and influence.

Another critique launched by Marxist ideologues, is that music has become a commodity for the masses to buy and for industry to sell. The belief is that “commodification and mass production effectively denude culture of its political role or potential, even as commodities are deployed as tools with which to control the “stupefied and consuming masses.”³⁷ Furthermore, “The fact that culture as commodity is frequently produced and circulated through global circuits and interests is often thought to endow it with a troubled, even treasonous, relation to national interests and struggle agendas.”³⁸ Therefore, mass production and easy availability of music is an attempt to sedate the masses; even more, in a global market popular culture is not only marginally influential, but also potentially treasonous!

³⁵ Leon Trotsky, The Social Roots and the Social Function of Literature, www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1923/art/tia23bhmt. Last accessed 6/10/2010

³⁶ Leon Trotsky, The Social Roots and the Social Function of Literature, www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1923/art/tia23bhmt. Last accessed 6/10/2010

³⁷ Ibid., pages 7-8.

³⁸ Ibid., page 8.

This interpretation was only reinforced through the success and influence of the Frankfurt School on literary criticism and social sciences. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer saw culture, as it was being produced en masse as alienating and no longer possible of anything creative or unique. Art and music became objects and they espoused “no object has an inherent value, it is valuable only to the extent that it can be exchanged.”³⁹ Culture, through its mass production had become bland, “the idea of anything specific to themselves now persists only as an utterly abstract notion: personality scarcely signifies anything more than shining white teeth and freedom from body odor and emotions.”⁴⁰

However, this Marxist and neo-Marxist interpretation of culture is openly at odds with the way society interacts. Furthermore, it speaks in contrast with an ancient logic and a deeply held belief in the power of music. Marcuse knew what the masses still believe that music has a unique ability to control, persuade, influence, resist and unite people. In Marcuse’s interpretation of art and music, music, in spite of the interpretation posited by Adorno and Horkheimer has the power “with song and dance” to “break through the univers of mental physical pollution in which we live.”⁴¹ Music still has power, and people still believe it has the ability to influence politics: “As part of the established culture, Art is affirmative, sustaining this culture; as alienation from the established reality, Art is a negating force. The history of Art can be understood as the

³⁹ Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, The Culture Industry, from Dialectics of Enlightenment, New York: Continuum, 1993, page 20

⁴⁰ Adorno and Horkheimer, The Culture Industry, from Dialectics of Enlightenment, , page 24

⁴¹ Herbert Marcuse, Art as Form of Reality, <http://libcom.org/library/art-form-reality-herbert-marcuse>, last accessed 6/10/2010

harmonization of this antagonism.”⁴² If what people believe about music is true: music is not only a tool for opening creative transformative spaces, but a powerful medium for the dissemination of ideology.

Review of Music and Conflict Transformation Practice

Worldwide, there has historically been a belief that music is an agent of change. Furthermore, there are numerous folk history examples of where it has been applied and done so successfully. In Central Europe, the anti-communist movements of the Velvet Revolution were greatly influenced by the Punk Rock and other arts; the more the state tried to oppress the musicians the more political they became and the more concerts were held in non-traditional venues at no cost.⁴³

Another famous case in Europe was Estonia, which is known as the “Nation that sang itself free.” Estonia’s struggle for liberation has been existed for around 700 years as if fought off invaders, cultural repression and domination by outsiders. Every July, Estonia holds a National Song Festival to remember and commemorate their liberation through the art of song. Estonia did this twice, first in the 18th Century and again in 1988.⁴⁴

In Brazil, a Hard Core Metal band, Sepultura (later Soulfly), used the band’s public platform to raise awareness on indigenous people’s rights. The band began with stylistically adding tribal drums to their sound and using traditional artwork for their

⁴² Herbert Marcuse, *Art as Form of Reality*, <http://libcom.org/library/art-form-reality-herbert-marcuse>, last accessed 6/10/2010

⁴³ Joseph Yanosik, Plastic People of the Universe, <http://www.furious.com/perfect/pulnoc.html>. Last accessed 6/21/09

⁴⁴ Steven J. Pierson, *A Nation that Sang Itself Free*, Christianity Today, October 25, 1999

album covers. Later the band covered famous earlier musicians of indigenous backgrounds and finally writing overtly political messages into their lyrics.⁴⁵

In Africa, “musicians and poets along the Swahili coast and throughout East Africa have historically accepted and served the roles of organic intellectuals (Gramsci 1971:15), actively challenging the status quo and vigorously pursuing alternatives.”⁴⁶ This tradition of musicians as intellectuals was used by “political activists in pre-independence Zanzibar strategically exploited the popularity of *dansi*.” This group of political activists understood that the musicians could incorporate and use symbols and tools of the dominant culture and turn them into avenues of liberation for the disenfranchised groups. Use of music and dance, it was hoped, would also help to persuade less political youth. The African activists also understood that these gatherings were a perfect place to build a strong, but decentralized social network of people ready and passionate for change.⁴⁷ The Swahili have a word for this process: *kumwimbia*, which means “‘To sing about’ someone, something some event, some process and by so doing effect social change.”⁴⁸

In Asia, the people of Singapore are taught their national identity through songs. These songs are written in all four national languages and encapsulated in the project *Sing Singapore*.⁴⁹ There is also a form of subtle resistance to the dominant and imposed

⁴⁵ Idelber Avelar, Heavy Metal Music in Postdictatorial Brazil: Sepultura and the Coding of Nationality in Sound, Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies, Vol. 12, No. 3, 2003.

⁴⁶ Kelly M. Askew, As Plato Duly Warned: Music, Politics, and Social Change in Coastal East Africa, , Anthropology Quarterly, 2003, page 631

⁴⁷ Ibid., page 629

⁴⁸ Ibid., page 631

⁴⁹ Lily Kong, Music and Cultural Politics: Ideology and Resistance in Singapore, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1995. page 452

culture, this is written in a collection of parodies to the songs of *Sing Singapore* called *Not the National Song Book*.⁵⁰ In Singapore, the structural inconsistencies, social tensions and failures of governmental promises espoused in the *National* songs are explored through humor and particularly satire.⁵¹

Nations need not be under occupation or oppression by foreign entities for people to use music to spread ideology or gather groups of resistance. The United States has several examples in its history of where music was used for social change: The underground railroad; Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) movement; Civil rights; 1960s anti-war movement; hip-hop.

The Underground Railroad was a connection of safe houses, caves and tunnels that led fugitive slaves northward toward freedom. Directions and locations of the Underground Railroad had to be memorized by anyone wishing to make use of it. Memorization was key, because a map would incriminate any good intentioned southern citizen and the slave owners kept those in need of directions illiterate, and so words would be useless. In order facilitate memorization of these directions, they were encoded into spirituals and hymns: In these hymns and spirituals, Heaven was in fact the North and other biblical or spiritual phrases became key geographic markers around the next station.⁵²

The IWW, or the “Wobblies,” also made use of music to spread their ideology of socialism and workers rights. Throughout the United States, members were recruited and

⁵⁰ Ibid., page 455

⁵¹ Ibid., page 457

⁵² Harold Courlander, *Negro Folk Music, U.S.A.*, Courier Dover Publications, 1992 pages 41-43

given two things: a “red card” and the “little red book of songs.” The “red card” symbolized membership in the union, however “the little red book of songs” spread the message. The songs were simple and catchy, designed to get more people singing the songs and carrying the message than were actually members of the union!⁵³

In the United States, the struggle for civil rights grew out of the churches. The Southern Baptist churches excelled in leadership programs and teaching their youth how to organize, and due to the importance of songs in religious ritual, songs became an important aspect of the civil rights movement as well. Many civil rights anthems were adaptations of religious scriptures, spirituals or hymns. This served at least two functions; it provided religious moral grounding, as well as cultural familiarity.

The anti-war movement of the 1960s was full of protest songs. The 1960s has been described, by some, as the time that popular music got serious. Artists like Bob Dylan and Joan Baez used revival of the folk tradition to raise awareness of structural violence in society. Popular musicians during this time wrote many songs that resonated with issues facing their audience, like a national draft, an unpopular war, social inequality and an overwhelming feeling of being lied to by the government.⁵⁴ During this time period there was a tremendous amount of social upheaval, that, combined with the increased power granted to American youth, both political (with voting rights) and material (increased economic capital), gave a robust amount of support to the movements in this decade.

⁵³ Deborah Shaffer and Stewart Bird, director, *The Wobblies*, 1979

⁵⁴ Robert A. Rosenstone, *The Times, They Are A-Changin': Music of Protest*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 382, Protest in the 60s (Mar. 1969), pages 133-134

Hip Hop, or as Chuck D put it, “the Black CNN,” arose in the 1980s out of Puerto Rican and Black youth living in New York. Hip Hop was a response to structural and perceived inequalities that still existed almost twenty years after civil rights were supposedly gained. Hip Hop grew organically out of community parties and organizations and poetically minded people that used these parties to organize talk about issues. Due to the limited technology necessary and an importance placed on the lyrics or rhymes of the artists Hip Hop was easily accessible to a wide array of people with little income or means.⁵⁵

Currently, music is used as a tool for social change, resistance and ideology across the Middle East, and notably Israel and Palestine. “The “heavy reliance on lyricism” makes hip hop a genre that can be powerfully used for social and political commentary by layering poetry over beats.”⁵⁶ In the proper hands, hip-hop becomes a tool for criticism and analysis of the “conditions of growing up Arab in the diaspora and an archive of the historical memories and collective experiences of Arab and Palestinian Youth.”⁵⁷ Artists use hip-hop to “enunciate pressing issues facing Palestinian-Israelis—including issues of Israeli-Jewish racism, lack of economic and educational opportunities and rampant drug use in their communities.”⁵⁸ Both artists use a variety of techniques (underground recordings, Internet, and concerts) to insert these narratives into

⁵⁵ Andy Bennett, *That's the Joint*, Routledge 2004, pages 177-180

⁵⁶ Sunaina Maira, *We Ain't Missing: Palestinian Hip Hop—A Transnational Youth Movement*, CR: The New Centennial Review, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2008, 164 (Quoting Youmans 2007, 42)

⁵⁷ Ibid., page 167

⁵⁸ Rebecca Stein and Ted Swedenberg, *Popular Culture, Relational History and the Question of Power in Palestine and Israel*, Journal of Palestine Studies, Vol. 33, No. 4. (Summer, 2004), 11

the Israeli and international public discourse.⁵⁹ The artists rap in Arabic, Hebrew and English “in highly idiomatic ways, replete with slang and obscenities, local and international references.”⁶⁰ This level of multilingual sophistication insists on a dialogue with the dominant Israeli society. Not only does it “demonstrates the place of Palestinians within the Israeli state”⁶¹ it also “suggests ways in which Israeli-Jewish culture and linguistic idioms can be repossessed by Palestinian-Israeli culture, thereby fracturing and heterogenizing Israeliness from within.”⁶² Beyond hip hop, there are other forms of rock music as well as an organization called “Heartbeats of Jerusalem,” which focuses on youth and involving the youth in Israeli-Palestinian music programs.⁶³

All of the movements listed have been intensely grassroots movements with a fair amount of popular support. Furthermore, there is an understanding of the movements being in direct opposition to an apparently immovable force. However there was still the belief that they could be like wind on a rock face: slowly but inevitably carving away at the opposition that appeared so resolute and indestructible. Aside from holding belief in the power of music to help overcome an apparently indestructible enemy, most of the movements believe that they are on the side of justice. Furthermore, for most of the movements, music played a role in uniting the people, boosting morale and attracting others to their ranks.

⁵⁹ Ibid., page 14

⁶⁰ Ibid., page 14

⁶¹ Ibid., page 14

⁶² Ibid., page 14

⁶³ Heartbeatofjerusalem.org. Last accessed 6/21/09

It remains unclear, however, if these generalities are true of all movements that hold music to be important. Furthermore, there may be other unifying factors that must be explored.

Evidently this question straddles the theoretical/scientific as well as the practical justification for why research should be done on this topic. Once a research question is justified, there must be a path set forth as to how, the research will be conducted. 'How', is Sandole's final level.⁶⁴ As a researcher, the how is very important: it provides us with the path towards our goal. The 'HOW' is how we cross *the bridge of fire*.

⁶⁴ Dennis J.D. Sandole, Critical Systematic Inquiry in Conflict Analysis and Resolution: An Essential Bridge Between Theory and Practice, page 422

Design

The type of study to be conducted is in part an *exploratory study*, but also an *evaluative study*. It is an exploratory study, because there is little actually known about *music having the power to transform conflict*. However, in spite of the small amount of scientific knowledge and data regarding this process, there is a lot of practice. People all over the world are using and have used *the power of music to transform*. So, the real question regarding the practice is whether it is so: *Does music indeed have the power that people believe it to have? And if it does, how effective is it?*

In order to test effectiveness, it is necessary to attempt to understand what variables may be at work.

“Societies are constituted of multiple overlapping and intersecting sociospatial networks of power.”⁶⁵ According to Michael Mann, the “four sources of social power [are] ideological, economic, military, and political (IEMP) relationships.”⁶⁶ The IEMP relational framework constructs the social and political structures of a society. Therefore, the ways in which the social power sources combine and overlap will contribute to the ability of certain forms of music to thrive or pursue certain ideological ends. These

⁶⁵ Michael Mann, The Sources of Social Power: Volume 1, A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760, page 1.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, page 2.

factors cannot be controlled for, but are worth noting as they may provide insight into how music may affect society.

There are several factors that relate to the IEMP framework that would be useful to assess. Regarding ideological factors that may influence success or failure there us: regime type; religion; identity/identifiability; sacred vs. secular; movement affiliation. Related to economics is: socio-economic status; resource management. For military there is: violence; reaction of state. The variables that relate to the political are: political process; leadership; goal.

Other interesting variables to test for are age of participants, source of the music, level of symbolism in language, emotional content, and the period of time for each movement. (For a complete list of variables and units, see appendix B)

The variables thus defined will be organized along one axis of a chart. The other axis will feature various conflicts where there was significant participation by musical actors. Once the matrix is set up, journal, newspaper, and magazine articles will be used to collect information regarding each event. Once the information is collected, each conflict event will be coded for the variables. (To see the chart, see appendix C).

Once the data is collected from the various sources, it will undergo statistical analysis in order to test for relevance. To conduct the statistical analysis, the data will be entered into STATA and analyzed using Pearson's Chi Squares. There will be several sets of relationships ran.

The first set of relationships will test the theoretical genre based map (see appendix A). Each genre will be referred to a genre. Each variable will be run in

relationship to Genres 1 – 4, in order to develop a more concrete understanding as to what variables define each genre.

The next set of relationships run will be testing variables with outcomes. This should provide a base and general understanding of what variables most generally contribute to specific outcomes.

The next and final sets of relationships run will be testing variables in Genres 1 - 4 with outcomes. This set of relationships should provide information on what helps contribute to certain outcomes in relationship to structure and culture.

Analysis

The first level of analysis was to determine what, if anything could be generally understood regarding the variables and outcomes of music and conflict. This first wave of data was to represent what large and non-categorical relationships were present. Understanding some of the general factors involved might help practitioners to design and rally support in situations where there may be limited understanding, or widely divergent groups. The outcome variable was tested three times: First, coded for success (meaning events where most of the espoused goals could be reasonably interpreted as met), failure (events where goals were clearly unmet), ongoing (events where goals were in progress) and inconclusive (a catch all for events that had unclear goals, shifting goals, or multiple leaders trying to reach varying outcomes); Second, coded for success (most of the goals reasonably met), failure (goals clearly unmet) and other (outcomes ongoing or unclear); Third, coded for success (events where goals were clearly met) or not successful (any event where the goals were other than met).

After the Chi-Squares were run, there were a number of variables that gave statistically improbable results, which for the purpose of general understanding in mind, was $Pr = 0.2$. Surprisingly few variables yielded results with a probability > 0.2 , these variables were: Resource Management, Political Process, Goal_New, Violence_New, and identifiable leadership.

General Outcomes

Regarding *Regime Type*, the $Pr = 0.000$. The Regime Type variable had three options: Authoritarian, Democratic, and Mixed (or Other). The results told us that for democratic countries, there were lower than expected inconclusive results. What this probably tells us is that democratic regimes provide greater records regarding activities of groups of people, so that we know what happens. For mixed regimes, the data showed lower than expected success rates, and higher than expected inconclusive results. Regarding the rate of inconclusivity: it could be explained through an inability to understand (or read) where influences come from in democratic movements; who really does the changing in a mixed regime environment. Lower success rate may be a similar issue, there may be enough democratic freedom for music to express itself, however not enough democratic process to influence policy.

Another variable with $Pr = 0.000$ was Age. Age was coded into five categories: Youth (the group was dominantly composed of teenagers and young adults, roughly people between 15 and 30); Middle Age (dominant people in the group between 30 and 55 years); Elderly (mostly composed of people aged 55+); Mixed (representing people from a variety of age groups, but not all); All (an even spread of all age groups). The middle-aged bracket did appear to participate solely in any sort of movement. This is not unsurprising as this is the age that is, in general, having families and working full time. They did, however, participate with other brackets. The Youth had a slightly lower than expected rate of inconclusive results (results that were neither clearly successful, unsuccessful or ongoing), furthermore all youth movements either succeeded or failed.

This might be explained by the traditionally high energy of youth and perhaps greater flexibility for the time required to mobilize and achieve the goals of their movement. Elderly had a significantly higher rate of ongoing movements with no success, failures or inconclusive results. Why this is so, is unsure, perhaps it is due to the type of cause heralded by an aging crowd, or perhaps it stems from a silencing of elderly voices. The mixed demographic group had more than its fair share of inconclusive results. With many successes and a few failures, the reason for this may be due to the disparate desires of the ages within the group that lead to inconclusive outcomes (i.e. most of the goals were met, but not all for the youth, which yields a feeling of inconclusive results). Finally, the all ages demographic were slightly more successful in gaining positive results. This is unsurprising as common thought asserts that the larger and more inclusive your constituency is the more likely the success will be. This group also had a lower than expected inconclusive results, which makes interesting contrast with the mixed demographic and raises the question why the two are so different?

Regarding Socio-Economic Status (SES), the $Pr = 0.001$. SES was coded into seven categories: Low income, low status; low income, high status; middle income, low status; middle income, high status; high income, low status; High income, high status; and Mixed statuses. Regarding the general outcomes, only two sets had any significant outcomes: Middle Income, Low Status and Mixed. Middle income, low status had significantly higher than expected ongoing movements. One reason for this may be due to the relatively higher social standing that may come from being part of a social movement. Another reason may come from a high desire to achieve, but lack of time, energy and

other resources necessary to do so. The mixed status group, which dominated the sample, also had a slightly higher than expected ongoing. Unlike the middle-income low status group, there should be enough status, and money, time and resources to accomplish the goals; as such the reason must be different. One reason may stem from the diversity of people with different social and economic standings having similar goals, but also very different goals regarding the outcome of society, especially regarding economics or status (e.g. the elites may agree with the plan for change, but want to keep their social position; the poor may wish to have the economic status of the wealthy changed; and those with less status may require a more egalitarian structure).

For Source, the $Pr = 0.005$ and was coded into four categories: New; Revival; Borrowed; Mixed. New music made up almost half the events and yielded a lower than expected inconclusive results. This may be due to the ability to reasonably determine the impact that new music has on society. Revival music had a lower than expected rate of failure. The most probably reason for lack of failure in revival music is that the music is a resonant and recognizable cultural artefact that people have historic feelings about. Borrowed music had a significantly higher rate of failure, in fact, all recorded events failed. This is most likely due to the perception of inauthenticity of the symbol, however that does not mean that music should not be borrowed providing that there is also a fair amount of indigenous (either new or revival) music as well. Music with mixed sources had a higher than average rate of success. This is probably due to the ability of different sorts of music being able to pull in differing crowds of people, both locally and globally. Mixed music also had a higher than expected level of inconclusive outcomes. This may

be a result of attracting a variety of people that, while sharing some goals, do not share all of them, as such important goals are met but significant goals of some of the group are not.

Sacred and Secular deals with the religious element of the music, was coded for sacred, secular and mixed and had a $Pr = 0.040$. As may be expected, sacred and secular music were reflections of each other. Sacred music had a lower than expected failure rate and higher than expected ongoing outcome. Whereas the inverse was true for secular music: Higher than expected failure and lower than expected ongoing. This may deal with the general tendency of faith to sustain people in spite of great odds, and that the music taps into a deeper reservoir of faith might provide people with the strength to endure and persevere. This variable was recoded for two variables: overtly sacred and not sacred. The results were identical with a higher probability. For the second test, $Pr = .017$.

What relationships do espoused goals have to success? The coding for this was in four categories: Few and clear; Many and clear; Unclear; Inconclusive. The Goals $Pr = 0.055$. Having a few clear goals was the norm for this variable and meant that there was lower than expected inconclusive results. When there are a few clear goals it is easy to measure success. However, having many clear goals meant that there was significantly higher inconclusive results; this is probably due to there being both success and failure during each event. However, having many clear goals also meant that there was a lower rate of failure that occurred. This too, is probably due to there being, at least, some success. When goals of a group were inconclusive, there was a higher than expected

failure rate. This probably comes from an inability to measure success with any legitimacy.

What are the effects on outcomes of violence on musical movements in conflict? The categories coded here were violent, non-violent and mixed, and the $Pr = .012$. Most of the movements in the sample were non-violent, and had a slightly higher level of inconclusive results. Violent movements, in general had a higher success rate and lower failure rate. Movements that were mixed in results had lower than expected success and significantly higher than expected inconclusive results. Measuring success and failure of non-violent movements has always been an issue, which may be why non-violent movements were so frequently judged inconclusive, as other factors may appear to play a stronger role in the outcomes. However violent populist movements appear to have generally a strong ability to affect change. Success here may either be due to attrition, or threat inspired by the mob.

Political Affiliation is another variable tested for, the $Pr = 0.008$, and was coded in to seven categories: Radical liberal; Radical Traditional; Radical Religious; Reactionary Liberal; Reactionary Traditional; Reactionary Religious; Mixed. The three variables that yielded any general results were reactionary liberal, reactionary traditional, and mixed. Liberal movements that were reacting against some social or state situation had a higher than expected rate of failure. Reactionary traditional, on the other hand, had a higher than expected success rate and a slightly lower than expected failure rate. The reasons for this may have less to do with the political affiliations of the groups then it does to musical styles (in general revival music was more successful and revival music

may be more frequently adopted by traditional groups). Mixed groups had lower than expected successes and failures and were significantly more likely to have either an ongoing movement or inconclusive results. The reasoning here may be, once again, that there are too many differing goals for clear successful outcomes to occur. This variable was re-coded into larger clusters (reactionary, radical and other). The results yielded a $Pr = 0.000$. Radical groups tended to have lower than expected ongoing movements, probably do to a desire to see change and see change quickly. Whereas, reactionary groups tended to have less inconclusive results. Most likely this is because there was a definite event that was being reacted against and it is easy to check whether there was success or progress made. The category 'other' had lower than expected success, lower than expected failure, but significantly higher ongoing and inconclusive results. Without clear ideology, there may be, as the saying goes, 'too many cooks,' and therefore too many goals for clear results.

Religion, with a $Pr = 0.001$, deals with the plurality and presence of religion in each event. The categories coded were singular, multiple, N/A (for lack of any mention of religious elements). One religion presented higher level of success and lower levels of failures. This may be due to commonality of goals and a shared belief in what is defined as right and wrong. Multiple religions showed less failure, but more ongoing and inconclusive results. Belief and faith may contribute to the lowered failure rates; however the divergence of goals and beliefs around what a proper society should look like may contribute to the higher levels of ongoing and inconclusive results. When religion was not present, there were less inconclusive outcomes, but there was also significantly higher

than expected failure rate. The higher rate of failure may be due to a lack of global support that religion often brings to movements, combined with the deep transcending belief in faith and the divine that sustains people in times of struggle.

The reaction of the state to movements is also of importance, the $Pr = 0.016$ and the categories coded for tactics of reaction by the state were tolerance, adoption, suppression, ignore, and mixed. When a state chose to tolerate the music of conflict, there was a higher rate of success and lower rate of failure. While the state may not have been supporting the music, the decision to tolerate it provided tacit support without opposition to the cause, so the results should not really surprise. When the state chose to adopt the music of conflict, there was a higher chance that the movement would end up ongoing. When a state chose to suppress a movement, then there was a higher rate of failure. The state has an ability to mobilize a large amount of resources in order to silence dissent, the failure here may be due to the inability of the music to counter the states resources. When a state chose to ignore a movement (this is different than tolerate, in toleration the state acknowledges the right of the group, whereas when ignored there is no acknowledgement) there was a higher rate of success, but a significantly higher rate of inconclusive results. It is not surprising that there is a higher success rate, as in the tolerated movements, however the lack of state acknowledgment (and therefore, legitimacy) may provide the reason for the high rate of inconclusive results: if the state never acknowledged the movement, how can it be certain that it was the music movement which affected change. When the state used multiple tactics against the music movement, then there was a higher rate of success and a lower rate of failure. When the state

switches plans it not only utilizes more resources, butt tends to inadvertently draw attention to 'the enemy.' Furthermore, it may deligitimize the states actions by making it look schizophrenic in the eyes of anyone watching. In fact, the only state reaction that truly created more failure is suppression of the music, something that is not easy for a democratic government to do with any legitimacy.

What region of the world do movements come from? Is this truly a worldwide phenomenon? As it happens, all parts of the world were accounted for in the sample. This variable was coded into nine categories: Mediterranean; Middle East; North Africa; Latin America; Caribbean; Central and Eastern Europe; Western and Northern Europe; Asia and Oceania. The effect of region on outcome yielded a $Pr = 0.045$. There were only a few regions where there was any important data outcome. In the Middle East, there was a lower than expected failure rate, a lower than expected success rate, but significantly higher than expected ongoing and inconclusive results. In Northern Africa, there was higher than expected failure and lower than expected inconclusive results. The Caribbean had lower than expected success, higher than expected failure and higher than expected inconclusive results. Asia and Oceania had lower than expected inconclusive results. There may be reasons for these that relate to a more in depth understanding of the various geopolitical and social forces in each of the regions. However, due to the limited sample size for each region, the results themselves may be of limited accuracy.

The effects of symbolic language on movements had a fairly low Pr value of 0.193. However, what they suggest is that when symbolic language is not present, then there is a greater rate of failure. Symbolic language carries with it great weight of

emotions and meanings that need not be spoken but are transmitted in a small and convenient narrative packet that can be remembered easily. Therefore it is unsurprising that without symbolic language, movements are less successful.

A variable related to symbolic language is emotional content. What sorts of emotions are important to successful music in conflict? This variable, with $Pr = .112$, was coded for positive emotions, negative emotions and mixed (positive and negative). What it suggests is that when emotions are primarily negative, then there is lower success, higher failure and a greater rate of inconclusive results. This variable was re-coded for positive and not positive emotions ($Pr = 0.136$) and similar results to negative emotions were found for not positive emotions. This variable was coded a third time for negative and not negative (0.025) and the results remained true.

The next variable tested was group identifiability, or the ability for members of the group to be identified when apart from the group. The $Pr = 0.063$ and was categorized as 'strong' (where member of the group would have a clear 'uniform' or style) or 'loose' (which meant that the members were not particularly uniform in dress or style). For groups where the members were clearly identifiable, there was a lower than expected rate of ongoing movements. Whereas, for loosely identifiable groups, there was a higher than expected rate of ongoing movements as well as a lower than expected rate of failure.

Regarding the length of time for each event, the $Pr = .074$. For the periods in which an event lasted three, seven, eight or fifty-five years there appeared to be a greater than expected chance of failure. For events that lasted twenty-eight years, there was a lower than expected rate of success. For events which lasted five or twenty-three years,

there was a higher degree of inconclusive results, and events that lasted sixteen years, there was a greater chance that the outcome was ongoing. When this variable was tested again in larger units of time, this time decades and not single years, the results were similar with a $Pr=0.005$. For events that ranged from 0-10 years and 51-60 years there was a greater rate of failure. For those events lasting more than ten years but less than twenty, there was a higher rate of ongoing outcomes and less inconclusive results. Finally, or events which lasted greater than twenty years but less than thirty, there was significantly lower success rates and significantly more inconclusive outcomes. The variables regarding time seem to relate less to success than any other outcome. Which means that there is no length of time that is more beneficial, in general, to positive outcomes. However, it does suggest that there may be periods of time in which groups of people lose the ability to stay mobilized for change and that it may be better to attempt to work within such constraints.

The demographic variable regarding minority and majority group status in society was divided into five categories: disempowered minority; dominant minority; disempowered majority; dominant majority; mixed. The Probability for this variable was 0.067. What the results suggest is that there is a higher than expected success rate for disempowered minority groups, additionally, this group will yield less inconclusive results. For minority groups in power, there tends to be less success and higher failure. Furthermore, for minority groups in power there is a greater level of both inconclusive and ongoing outcomes. Finally, for disempowered majority groups, there appears to be lower than expected inconclusive results. What the general outcomes tell us is that there

is a greater likelihood that disempowered minority groups will be more successful in using music to alter social situations. Whereas, a minority group attempting to maintain power through music will more likely fail.

Outcomes were recoded two more times: First, as success, failure and other (inconclusive and ongoing were lumped together); second, as a harsh success or failure (if the goals were met, then it was successful, if not it was a failure). Both of these newly coded outcomes produced similar results. Success and Failure remained fairly constant throughout and the biggest differences in outcomes tended to be the probability value for each variable. The consistency in results suggests that the general outcomes should be reasonably good predictions as to what factors contribute to more successful or less successful outcomes.

Regarding success, it is reasonable to conclude that in general that the following factors are important: the State (regime type and reaction); Ideology (religious; political affiliation); source of music; emotional content and demographics. Regarding the State: There was a greater chance of success when States tolerated, ignored or had mixed reaction to movements; however, chance for success declined under a mixed regime. Ideologically, success was greater for single religious groups and groups where the political affiliation was not unclear. Other factors that contributed to success were: mixed sources of music (some combination of borrowed, revival, or newly created music); when the emotional content was not negative; when coming from disempowered minority groups and not minority groups in power.

Generally, failures were more likely for the following factors: State reaction; Ideology (religion, political affiliation); Language (sacred/secular, symbolic); goals; source; minority and majority. Events were more likely to end in failure when the State's primary reaction was to suppress the music. In regards to ideology, absence of religion in the movement created greater chance of failure, as did liberal movements reacting to social events. Regarding language, overt secularism, as well as absence of symbolic language contributed to greater rate of failure. Other factors that contributed to greater general rates of failure were: primarily utilizing music from other parts of the world; unsurprisingly, the lack of clear goals, or the inability to measure success; When the music is used by minorities in power to maintain power or influence a conflict.

Following the testing of general outcomes in relationship to various potential factors, the theoretical map (see appendix A) was tested. Using the Chi-Square in Stata, variables were compared to the conceptual genre they occupied. The potential genres were based on relationship to structure (for or against) and relationship to culture (traditional or alternative). The following breakdown thus occurs regarding the various forms of movements in music and conflict: Genre 1 "Orthodox" (Structural and Traditional); Genre 2 "Nostalgic" (Structural and Alternative); Genre 3 "Revolutionary" (Revolutionary and Alternative); Genre 4 "Subversive" (Revolutionary and Traditional).

Theoretical Map

Genre 1 is composed of music that reinforces structure and has a traditional sound. The term "Orthodox" is used here to label music in this genre, as orthodox is a fitting label as the Merriam-Webster dictionary defines orthodox as:

1 a: conforming to established doctrine especially in religion b: conventional

2 capitalized: of, relating to, or constituting any of various conservative religious or political groups⁶⁷

While it may not refer directly to a religious or political group, per se, there are definite religious and political elements within music and social movements.

Furthermore, the ideologies of these particular groups choose to reinforce the established social structures, traditions, and methods (doctrines).

Based on the data, the following information regarding Ideology (religion, identifiability, and movement affiliation), Economics (socio-economic status), military (violence and state reaction), political (leadership and political process), and other factors (region, age bracket, source of music and minority/majority make-up) can be reasonably deduced about ‘orthodox’ musical movements.

The ideologies of this particular group tend to be more radically traditional as well as more reactionary religious. Which means that those drawn to and leading this movement are more in favor of how society has operated and deeply respectful of the years and history that has transpired to create rigid and clear laws and social norms regulating what is accepted. Furthermore, these groups also tend to be composed of a singular religious group, most likely native or with significant historical ties to the region. These groups also tend not to be composed of liberally minded people reacting to social or state changes, be of mixed religion or loosely identifiable. Overall, it could be said that there is generally a strong homogeneity in the ideological make-up of the ‘orthodox’ musical movements.

⁶⁷ orthodox. (2010). In Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary.
Retrieved March 24, 2010, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/orthodox>

Concrete examples can be found in the Afghan Taliban,⁶⁸ or within the Sikhs around the time of the Golden Temple Massacre.⁶⁹

The socio-economic status of ‘orthodox’ movements tends to be disproportionately composed of elites, those in society with relatively high status and incomes. It makes sense that those on the cultural pinnacle would have a stronger desire to see the structures and traditions of society remain: Why change what has benefited you and your family?

In regards to the military elements of this genre, there tends to be nothing unusual or unexpected regarding the method that the state undertakes in dealing with this faction. This is strange, especially due to disproportionately more violent actions on behalf of the members of this movement. While this faction tends to be more supportive of the traditional structures and institutions of society, which may in theory benefit certain state goals, the level of violence should provoke a stronger reaction towards suppression of the group.

Politically, this group tends not to have unclear leadership. This makes sense, as unclear leadership would be confusing and create chaos, and as the group favors structure and tradition there should be someone who has the authority to interpret what the appropriate traditions and structures are. This faction tends not to rely on any inherent cultural value of music and arts.

Primarily this group relied on moral (based on religion) legitimacy, accompanied

⁶⁸ Sumanta Banerjee, Unheard Melodies from Afghanistan, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 37, No. f. (February 2-8, 2002), 380-381

⁶⁹ Joyce Pettigrew, Songs of the Sikh Resistance Movement, Asian Music, Vol. 23, No. 1. (Autumn, 1991 – Winter, 1992), 85-118

with the importance of music for social interaction and material gain. This morality infused with materialism and social interaction seems to have some interesting parallels with various ‘prosperity doctrines’⁷⁰ that espouse the idea that a good life rightly lived will bring prosperity.

Other factors regarding ‘orthodox’ music movements are: region, source of music age bracket and minority/majority make-up. ‘Orthodox’ movements tend to come primarily from Asia and do not tend to be popular in North America. This could mean that ‘orthodox’ movements are favored by collectivist societies with strong respect for traditional ways, whereas individualistic countries and cultures that are always looking for ‘the next big thing’ tend to be resistant to ‘orthodox’ movements. Not surprisingly ‘orthodox’ movements tend to be composed of music from the past and ‘revived’ for their agenda. Demographics in this group tend to have all ages represented and participating. Furthermore, there tends not to be any focus on a specific age group, least of all youth. Movements of this type tend also to be of a unified minority or majority group and rarely do all areas of society rally behind the cause. This is probably due to the strong support of structures that do not benefit all levels and people in society, making a crosscutting movement difficult, if not impossible (or undesirable) to achieve.

Genre 2 is still composed of structure enforcing music, however this sector has an alternative sound. This genre is labelled ‘nostalgic’ music because this music evokes the desire to return to structures of the past that were, if not perfect,

⁷⁰ Simon Coleman, The Charismatic Gift, Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. 10, No 2, 421-422

desirable. There is, with this music, an understanding that the past is gone and that aspects of culture have moved forward. It is thus expressed through an alternative sound despite the overtly traditional, status quo, or sometimes archaic message of the songs and movement. Nostalgia is defined by Merriam-Webster's dictionary as:

- 1: the state of being homesick : homeickness
- 2 : a wistful or excessively sentiment yearning for return to or of some past period or irrecoverable condition; also : something that evokes nostalgia⁷¹

The second definition evokes the sensation expressed through song by this movement. The music is expressed through modern and alternative methods but yearns for an idealized version of a better past where the structures of society better suited their needs.

The 'nostalgic' group can be defined through Ideology (religion, identifiability and political affiliation), Economics (socio-economic status), Military (state reaction), Political (political process) and Other (region and music source).

Ideologically, 'nostalgic' music movements tend to have religion, either in pluralist or singular form. Furthermore, there tends to be an unusually high level of radically religious political affiliation in the group members. 'Nostalgic' movements tend not to be radically liberal. Otherwise, members tend to be loosely identifiable and without a clear 'uniform' or dress code.

⁷¹ nostalgic. (2010). In Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary.
Retrieved March 24, 2010, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nostalgic>

‘Nostalgic’ movements seem to grow primarily out of groups with high status but low income. The state tends not to suppress the music of this group, instead favoring, generally to tolerate the movement. The authority of these movements is heavily invested in moral and cultural resources.

‘Other factors of ’nostalgic’ movements are the region of the world where they are located and the source of their music. These movements are primarily based in the Mediterranean and Central/Eastern Europe and their music rarely comes primarily from new sources, but instead tends to utilize both new and revival forms.

Examples of this kind of music are religious rock groups, such as the ‘Free Monks,’ which are several Orthodox Catholic Monks that use heavy metal to express faith and belief in the church and other traditional structures and institutions.⁷² Other, and not so benign, examples of ‘nostalgic’ movements are white power music that expresses a belief that a white race belongs in superior social positions to those of other races.⁷³ Leaders of ‘nostalgic’ movements decide which structures and institutions to reinforce and highlight for potential listeners and depending on your relationship with, or understanding of, that structure will shape how you perceive the benevolence of malevolence of the movement.

⁷² Lina Molokotos-Liederman, Sacred Words, Profane Music? The Free Monks as a Musical Phenomenon in Contemporary Greek Orthodoxy, *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 65, No. 4 (Winter, 2004), 403-416

⁷³ Robert Futrell, Pete Simi and Simon Gottschalk, Understanding Music in Movements: The White Power Music Scene, *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (31 Mar 2006), 275-304

The third genre is opposed to structures and expressed through an alternative sound: this is 'revolutionary' music. As defined by the Merriam-Webster dictionary, the term revolutionary means:

1 a: of, relating to, or constituting a revolution <revolutionary war> b: tending to or promoting revolution c: constituting or bringing about a major or fundamental change <a revolutionary new product> ⁷⁴

Revolutionary' music is anti-establishment, rebellious and defiant. The artists are often provocative and openly dissident using their music and message to create schisms and agitate in order to illuminate structural issues. The significant factors of this group are Ideological (religion and political affiliation), economic (socio-economic status), military (violence and state reactions), political (political process), and other (region, source of music, age and minority/majority).

Ideologically, 'revolutionary' musicians tend not to be reactionary and traditional or radically religious; and by and large not representing a singular religious outlook. While there must be some sort of ideology that keeps 'revolutionary' movements cohesive, it is not vested in traditional religious or clear ideological structures.

'Revolutionary' music movements tend to come from middle-income groups with high social status. Which means, that there is enough social and economic comfort to not only have enough time to notice structural problems, but also enough of a safety net to begin mobilizing to address them.

⁷⁴ revolutionary. (2010). In Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. Retrieved March 24, 2010, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/revolutionary>

The military components of 'revolutionary' music movements tend to, on the movement side, be torn between the use of violence and non-violence and factions within each will often practice both. While the state tends react against these movements primarily by active suppression, rarely mixing their tactics. Clearly the chaos and unpredictability of these groups poses a great deal of perceived threat to the state. This perceived threat discourages the state from adopting a variety of approaches to dealing with the 'revolutionary' groups.

The political process of the 'revolutionary' groups focuses on cultural expression of art, individual liberty and responsibility and the creative process. For 'revolutionary' groups there is limited focus on morality, or traditional moral norms, often questioning the legitimacy of certain components. Furthermore, there is also a limited focus on the material interests of society and musicians, often enough decrying materialism as another aspect of structural oppression.

Other factors that illustrate the 'revolutionary' music movements are that they tend to come from the new world, North America, Latin America and the Caribbean; rarely do these movements come from Asia or Oceania. The demographic breakdown of this group tends to be fairly mixed between minority and majority groups within society, but primarily limited to youth (rarely encompassing an all ages faction). Additionally, this group rarely uses revival music, but often borrows music and styles from other parts of the world and regions.

Some notable examples of ‘revolutionary’ music can be seen in Punk rock and Hip Hop. Punk Rock was a movement that was generally loud and fast and sought to challenge all social and structural norms: in short, anything went. Punk Rock failed, with the exception of a few key artists, to have clear goals and vision of an alternative to the normative structures. Instead it generally stated that this isn’t working and there is something else that is passionate and free, if not entirely clear.⁷⁵ Hip Hop, while encompassing several similar aspects of Punk Rock (both being a sort of minimalist and decidedly amateur approach to popular music), had at least in the beginning days a more clear articulation of the specific aspects of structure that went wrong. However, with Hip Hop, the second generation of this movement shied away from a critical voice into one that was explanatory and perhaps more exploitative of life in the inner city.⁷⁶ Not all ‘revolutionary’ music movements fail to articulate an alternative vision of the world: for example, the 1960s in the US where full of artists that not only critiqued the system, but also offered alternatives.⁷⁷

The fourth and final genre defined by the theoretical map, is opposed to structures, but uses traditional sounding music to articulate discontent: the label used to describe this movement is ‘subversive.’ The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines subversive as:

⁷⁵ Alan O’Connor, Local Scenes and Dangerous Crossroads: Punk and Theories of Cultural Hybridity, Popular Music, Vol. 21, No. 2 (May, 2002), pp. 225-236

⁷⁶ Greg Wahl, "I Fought the Law (And I Cold Won!)": Hip-Hop in the Mainstream, College Literature, Vol. 26, No. 1, Cultural Violence (Winter, 1999), pp. 98-112

⁷⁷ Simon Frith, Rock and the Politics of Memory, Social Text, No. 9/10, The 60's without Apology (Spring - Summer, 1984), pp. 59-69

1: the act of subverting; the state of being subverted; especially: a systematic attempt to overthrow or undermine a government or political system by persons working secretly from within⁷⁸

It is the concept of working within a system to undermine that makes the label ‘subversive’ appropriate: these movements use the traditional sound to undermine structures.

The factors that describe this movement are Ideological (political affiliation and identifiability), Economic (socio-economic status), Political (political process and leadership), and Other (region and age).

The ideology of ‘subversive’ music movements is unusually reactionary traditional with a loose identifiability. Which means that there is an opposition to uniformity within the group as well as reaction to, what are perceived as new advances in structures and institutions that are harmful to traditional roles.

The socio-economic break down of this group is primarily composed of a middle-income population with low status. This is a section of the population that has enough means to provide for themselves and family, but are often ignored by the political elites: an example would be the classic blue-collar factory worker that has a good job but lacks in the social power that ensures stability.

‘Subversive’ groups tend to lack clear leadership, instead utilizing the power of the mob and collective action. Furthermore, this group relies on mobilization of all resources available and instrumental to the situation: moral, social, material or cultural. Subversive’ movements are more likely to manifest in

⁷⁸ subversive. (2010). In Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. Retrieved March 24, 2010, from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/subversive>

Western and Northern Europe and rarely in Central or Eastern Europe. Finally, these groups are rarely youth oriented, and primarily composed of a mixture of ages.

Prime examples of ‘subversive’ artists are folk artists such as Woody Guthrie or certain incarnations of Bob Dylan. Both of these artists use a traditional and non-threatening method of conveying their message: acoustic guitars and traditional melodies, occasionally re-working older folk songs for the goals they herald. Ironically, these artists are often held up as revolutionaries, however, further examination suggests that while not normative values, they are traditional community focused values centered on populist hardworking values.⁷⁹ These artists are no fans of structure, however they do not seek to question traditional values in the way that ‘revolutionary’ music does.

Based on the diversity of the various genres of the theoretical map, it becomes necessary to test the statistical relationship of outcome by genre to establish if the cultural and structural differences of Orthodox, Nostalgic, Revolutionary and Subversive types of music contribute to success or failure.

The results of a chi-square relationship akin to the other variables, proves that genre does not matter. Regardless of the apparent diversity of the genres and their relationship to culture and structure, all music has the same potential for success relative to another. Furthermore, now that a bivariate analysis has been

⁷⁹ Robert A. Rosenstone, "The Times They Are A-Changin'": The Music of Protest, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 382, Protest in the Sixties (Mar., 1969), pp. 133

conducted on each variable determining importance to outcome, more in depth analysis is needed; therefore, a regression model will be employed.

For this process of the analysis, a standard regression will be used, as opposed to the logit, or probit model. The standard regression will be used due to the sample size and number of variables. Perhaps the most interesting question from the standpoint of the conflict resolution field is why violence has a much stronger success rate than non-violence? Is it really so, or do multiple variables affect the outcome in such a way that non-violence is more effective?

Multivariate Analysis

Table 1: Regression Table

Outcome	Coef.	Std. Err.	T	P> t	[95 % Interval]	Conf.
Violent	0.641	0.159	4.04	0.000	0.319	0.963
Non Violent	0.477	0.121	3.95	0.000	0.232	0.722
Democratic Regime	0.092	0.095	0.97	0.340	-.101	0.285
No Symbolic Language	0.193	0.122	1.58	0.122	- 0.054	0.441
Mid Age Group	-0.734	0.247	-2.98	0.005	- 1.131	0.184
High Income Low Status	-0.474	0.324	-1.46	0.152	- 1.131	0.184
Unclear Religion	-0.260	0.095	-2.74	0.009	- 0.452	-0.068
Caribbean Region	-1.064	0.225	-4.72	0.000	- 1.521	-0.607
Dominant Minority	-0.394	0.098	-4.02	0.000	- 0.594	-0.195
State Adoption	0.128	0.117	1.10	0.281	- 0.109	0.364
_cons	0.331	0.182	1.82	0.077	- 0.038	0.699 9

An ordinal least squares regression was used because the logit and probit specification was too complicated for the data structure and therefore did not work in this context.

Therefore, to begin our regression, the dependent variable will be success (again, success defined as most of the espoused goals could be reasonably interpreted as met) with the independent variables of violence and non-violence. With this simple setup we find that violence has a 75% chance of being successful (with 91.7% goodness of fit), whereas non-violence has 43.75% chance of success (with 98.5% goodness of fit), and ambivalence towards violence not being effective. Furthermore, when we regress either violence or non-violence with a variable that stands for ambivalence to violence, we find the success rate for either plummets. This means that ambivalence to violence is truly a spoiler variable in regards to success, and a movement either needs commitment to violence or commitment to non-violence.

As we introduce more of the important variables from our bivariate analysis we begin to see a larger picture unfold. Certain variables end up creating more ‘social noise,’ that is they appear to have an effect on some aspect of the model, such as success of non-violence but reduces the confidence and overall model.

Furthermore, as the model develops and certain variables are dropped or inserted, it becomes necessary to introduce new variables in an attempt to explain why the bivariate analysis appeared to show an association with outcome, but is

no longer helpful in our model. For example: religion and sacredness of the lyrics are combined into a single variable; non-violence and emotion; and leadership and symbolic language.

The final model provides us with ten variables to keep in mind. The model that was created has an adjusted r-square of 64.26%, there were positive correlations with violence (64%), non-violence (47%) (with ambivalence being left out), democracy (9%) (with authoritarian and mixed political regimes not contributing), symbolic language (19%), adoption (12%) (whereas other forms of state response not contributing) and negative correlations with middle aged (73%) (and no significant correlation for other age demographics), high income low status (47%) (with no significant correlation with other SES brackets), non-religious (26%) (religious and unclear religions not contributing to final outcome), dominant minority (39%) was the only category within the minority/majority variable with any significance.

Therefore, a successful movement (or one that clearly accomplished what it meant to do) requires, at the very least, a commitment to either violence or non-violence and it is the ambivalence towards violence that causes the greatest error in successful movements. Regime type seems to matter little, however there is a slight preference towards success in democratic regimes. More important that religion, the sacredness or secularity of the music, or emotions was symbolic language, which provided another mild boost to a successful outcome.

Interestingly, success is also likely when the state coopts a movement, whereas the other forms of state reaction seemed to provide little support.

The factors that seemed to carry the most weight of importance regarding inhibiting successful outcomes are being composed primarily of middle aged individuals, most likely because these people are in the career-family-home stage of their life with limited time or interest in large-scale structural and cultural changes. Domination by those with high income, but low status also negatively affects the success of a movement; this class of person is a unique case and there negative effect is most likely due to a negative social image, or even pariah-like state of these persons, this social category some often temporal in nature – in the US in 2010, this category would be the wall street bankers responsible for the economic collapse, but still receiving bonuses far in excess of standard American yearly income. Interestingly, while the bivariate analysis showed a preference towards religion, it appears (from the regression model) that it is actually a dislike for irreligious movements; the irreligious have a negative effect on outcomes, the reason for this is unclear, but it could be tied up in the larger social perceptions of the intentions and goals of atheists. Finally, when a social movement is driven primarily by a small group already in power, there is a negative effect; this is reasonable if we assume that a minority in power already has a tenuous hold on the rest of the population, and is therefore unlikely to make any real structural changes without the consent of the masses.

Discussions/Implication

There are numerous examples of practice around the world where music was used as a tool for social change, reinforcement or dissemination of ideology. While this study only looked at a small selection of these events, there are several things that have been brought to light based on the findings.

Both the bivariate analyses and the regression model showed us that violent movements had a greater chance of success than those that were non-violent. However, what the regression model showed us is that the ambivalence to violence is the truly damaging aspect. We were also able to glean from the models that variables such as regime type played a limited role in the outcome, while emotion and spirituality (providing it at least existed) played no role in outcomes, whereas symbolic language (something one might associate with religion, or at least emotion) did have an effect.

Additionally, we learned that there were certain demographic variables that one should try not to include as their primary base: middle aged (the child rearing demographic); people with disposable income but little status; and minorities in power. What's most interesting about these variables, is that they almost seem counterintuitive: those of child rearing age are a major political constituency; any hierarchical model would suggest that control of a small group that has much political power would allow access to more avenues of power and more resources than masses without power; low

status individuals without much status should have much to gain politically, and less to lose economically, from supporting these movements, however they are not a desired demographic.

In addition to the statistical data, there were a few more observations made during the course of research:

First, what was noticed during the research phase of this study, is that music is an integral part of human social interaction, and that any event that has social significance has a soundtrack. Music is written about important events to record, commemorate or mourn and may be further used by social movements to rally to a cause. Music is also written during the course of action as a means to inspire and motivate, similar to how radio and television jingles use music to influence your dollars. Furthermore, music is also used as a way of criticising society and attempting to influence the consumers of media to act, or react in a way that exercises agency and changes (or reinforces) a particular ideology. The effects of music are indeed varied, and what this study suggests is that while there are successes, there may be a greater overall chance of failure. However, what this study and further studies can say is what might increase the odds of success.

A side effect of increased efficacy of music in social movements is also an increased ability for counteraction. When a movement is particularly destructive, hateful or violent, the ability to counteract will be a blessing. Whereas when a movement is one that has a positive, creative and loving message the ability to counteract may be a curse. Furthermore, increased efficacy of music as tool for change and conflict may be used as

some to promote censorship and perhaps greater requirements on warning labels for CDs and future audio devices.

Second, for those who wish to finance or practice music and conflict understanding factors that contribute to positive outcomes will help to effectively and knowledgeably invest money. This will further help non governmental organizations develop programs to effectively deal with conflict in certain situations, under certain regimes or in differing cultural environments. Eventually, research like this will help artists and practitioners to diagram systems of best practices for combining the art and causes that they are most passionate about.

Finally, this research begins to uncover what support is needed for practitioners of ideological music. For example, in most cases, it seems that government support is undesirable and that there are certain demographic and income/status groups that should have limited involvement.

Within each group of results, general, genre 1, genre 2, genre 3 and genre 4, there were results with a probability > 0.2 . These variables may have implications for the field of music and conflict; however there may not have been enough data present to make such determinations and the chi-squares were unable to predict accurately the implications.

Based on this study practitioners and parties interested in pursuit of music and conflict resolution should begin to hone their practices and tactics around the suggestions illuminated by the data. However, due to the immense complexity of social situations and conflicts, these findings exist primarily as a suggestion of what tends to work, or not.

Artists and practitioners should always examine strategies and tactics based upon the facts on the ground and feedback generated through their work.

Scholars and researchers should continue to examine and question the practices of music and conflict in order to further refine the data and findings. Work that is done based upon the research will inform future research. For now, this study has begun to illuminate possibilities for greater success as well as questions for future study.

Questions for Future Research

Regarding future research there is much still to be uncovered. Beginning with general outcomes there are several questions that deserve further examination. First, there is a paradox regarding the age bracket variable. Second, there are several questions related to the region variable. Third, there should be further examination into the relationship of time to outcomes. Fourth, is in regards to scalability of the theoretic genre map. Finally, there are questions around dependency and multivariate analysis.

Analysis of general outcomes displayed an interesting variance in the age bracket variable. ‘All ages’ tended to have more successful outcomes, whereas ‘mixed ages’ (mixed representing two of three age brackets) tended to have more inconclusive outcomes. Exploration into the reasoning behind this difference in two fairly similar variables should be explored. Understanding could come from further analysis of specific goals and a deeper understanding of what initially attracted each age bracket to the movement, for example similar complaints about structures, institutions or society, but different solutions to the perceived problem. Through focus groups, interviews and otherwise deeper understandings behind the different age groups this variable and the differences could begin to be understood.

What are the implications of the region variable? While the data did report statistical significance, this variable could be more descriptive than important to outcome.

However, region may also be related more to cultural and other geo-political factors. What the factors are should be further explored. For example, does it have more to do with collectivist or individualist culture? Or, is it related to the relative levels of development? It could also be related to the general openness of the society, especially in regards to different genres. The regional breakdown may also need to be redrawn. In order to understand more about the region variable, research regarding the cultural, political and societal makeup of the regions should be undertaken.

Time appears to have a primarily negative effect on outcomes. Furthermore, the time variable seems to reoccur at regular intervals within a country. Greater understanding of time in relationship to music and protest needs to be analyzed. Is there some way that we may understand time in a way that can generate positive outcomes? Furthermore, we should attempt to understand whether the appearance of patterns is coincidental, or if it means something. If it does, what?

This study treated each variable as independent of the other. However, there were some variables that did not yield any statistically relevant or probably results. While this may be a result of a small sample size, it may also be due to dependency of the variables on other variables. More research into specific cases, in depth case studies and interviews regarding specific events, may help to illuminate what variables, if any, are dependent upon others.

Regarding specific genres and outcomes there is also room for further study. Generally, each genre deserves individual attention to further understand what exactly

hinders and helps successful outcomes. However, each specific genre has unique questions raised by this study.

The 'orthodox' genre tends to attract the elements that undermine success. As there are examples of success, more research should be done specific to this genre to explain this success. Specifically there should be greater understanding regarding the role of religion in this group. Clearly for this group religion is important. This group tends to be composed of homogenous religious elements. However, this group has less success when only representing a singular religion, whereas when religiously pluralistic, there is a greater chance of success. While religious pluralism is not impossible, it appears too unlikely. Tensions within this group between the group composition and likelihood of successful outcomes exist and deserve greater subtlety. Case studies and other research designed specific to 'orthodox' movements is necessary.

'Nostalgic' movements were largely underrepresented. However, it is not as if groups and movements do not exist. Benign formats of this genre are religious rock groups. However, there are also numerous structural rock groups around with less desirable ideologies, such as white power rock groups. It is well known and reported that music, often in this 'nostalgic' vein are incredible important to white power and other xenophobic movements, however research regarding them is lacking. More research should be done on this group, however, it also raises two primary concerns: access and safety. Due to the nature of these movements, gaining access may take several years before there is enough trust to glean reliable answers. In the process of gaining access and after gaining access, the question of personal safety arises, especially due to the well

known violent nature of these groups. Once access is gained, how can research be published safely? Furthermore, gaining access creates affiliations with groups and individuals that may be personally, professionally and politically undesirable. As such, research on 'nostalgic' movements is reasonably unpopular.

With 'revolutionary' music, there is a strong tendency to become an ongoing movement. Therefore, it is important to ask: "for what reason is this?" Initially, two potential answers come to mind first, structural and second particular to individual psychology. First, that structures are incredibly difficult to change, and the change that occurs/goals met are not due to structural change. Therefore, the goals are not legitimate or authentic solutions to these movements. Second, may be due to individual psychology: that people attracted to these movements are for various reasons generally disgruntled and that it may not necessarily be at a specific structure or institution: therefore, change is irrelevant and discontent stays.

'Subversive' groups, while not a particularly large sample in this study yielded greatest knowledge regarding outcomes, and primarily successful outcomes. What made this group particularly well understood? Furthermore, what can we learn about this group and the results of this study in relationship to other movements in order to better understand the others?

Regarding the scalability of the theoretic map of the genres, there are several questions: First, might a third axis involve prosocial and countersocial elements; Second, are there gradients to the axes; Third, in regards to gradients is there a 'golden zone' in which greatest effect is achieved?

A third axis of the model may be a social axis: prosocial and countersocial. For example: 'nostalgic' movements have two clearly identifiable groups, religious rock (which tends to be largely prosocial) and racial hegemony rock, such as white power bands (which tend to be largely countersocial). While this axis may exist for one or more groups, it may not be universal, and furthermore may not be necessarily important to understanding effect and outcomes of the movements. A content analysis of the music within each genre must be undertaken in order to determine the existence as well as the effects.

This study suggests that there are clearly delineated forms of music and conflict, however, are there gradients to each movement? Whether the effect is a conscious creation of the artist, or if the artist has control is a separate question up for debate. However, it is not unreasonable to hypothesize that art, by its creation and existence, has an effect on society. Therefore, as music is an artform and all art has an effect, it should move society in some direction along the axes of the map. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume there are varying degrees to which music moves in each direction. Each axis could be improved through a likert-style scale that would create a range for the study of music and conflict. This range suggests a final question in regards to music and conflict, which is how far from the origin should music stray in order to be effective?

Is there a 'golden zone' at which music is most effective? If all music influences society, it is reasonable to assume that most music would be clustered near the origin. Music of social movements would tend to be farther out than most music commonly enjoyed by people. However, there may reach a point where either the message or the

sound exists too far along an axis to have much effect on many people (i.e if it sounds too weird, or the message is too overtly opposed to normative values). Or, it may be just the opposite that the music that exists on the far edges of the field is the music that has the most effect. To understand this question, surveys and interviews of participants should be undertaken and integrated with the existing framework.

Finally, regarding all groups, are these outcomes correct predictors? A series of studies may easily be designed and undertaken to test the outcomes. First, all current and ongoing movements can be coded for relevant variables; Second, predictions based on observations can be made; Third, these events and movements should be tracked in order to test the predictions.

Conclusion

If music is as powerful as people wish to believe in disseminating ideology and winning the hearts and minds of people, then it is quite understandable that understanding what works, how, and under what sort of situation could be frightening. Fear could exist in any portion of the population, both those who wish to see political and social structure remain unchanged, and those who want to change the political and social structures.

While preliminary and largely descriptive, there is evidence here enough to prove that music does have some of the power the folk has imbued it with. We now have a better understanding of some of the variables that directly contribute to successful social movements that regard music as an important aspect. Furthermore, while the model created is currently a crude tool for assessment, there is promise for further refinement. However as more research is conducted and further refinements can be made, it is not merely efficacy that increases, but also wariness.

Those with vested interests in the existing social and political structures could be threatened by improved understanding of how music that promotes change works. It is understandable, because any increased knowledge essentially improves the accuracy and ability of those seeking to promote and affect change. With an increased ability to affect change, two things may happen: First, the change that is easily affected may not be positive, especially as the model currently favors movements which are violent, as

opposed to non-violent. Just because “this machine kills fascists,” does not mean it won’t kill lovers or saints, too. Second, better understanding of how these movements work could allow the development of defences against such movements: knowledge of a machine’s construction can enable more efficient destruction. Furthermore, this knowledge could lead to understanding how such movements could be turned in a different direction, for example a liberation struggle could be turned into an atomized economic struggle: after all, doesn’t affluence provide a certain degree of freedom?

For those individuals seeking to keep or reinforce the existing structures, they have much to lose through increased understanding of how movements that promote change through song work; however, there is also the ability, through this increased understanding, to develop safeguards and techniques to defend against the dreaded change.

These safeguards and tactics that may be developed by those seeking a return to existing structures are part of the threat to the parties seeking to create change through music. While, a better understanding of what works and for what reasons is clearly beneficial as it allows them to improve their work, there is also the fear of cooptation of the movements. For some, the fear of cooptation may create a desire to leave the success of what makes these social movements successful in the realm of magic and mysticism. This fear is not irrational; in fact, it could be argued that this happened to the hip hop movement, which began in the 1970s as a political and musical movement that addressed concerns over structural violence and inequality. Today that movement is about material wealth, plays off negative stereotypes of minority citizens and glorifies the structural

violence of the neighborhoods the artists are escaping from. However, just how this turn happened is also worth studying; perhaps, it would enable musicians to develop resistance to this process. Therefore, even though increased understanding of music and social movements may increase the ability of those in power to subvert movement, it will also allow the agents of change to act critically and strategically in a manner that increases the odds of success, even if their opponent also understands the dynamics at work: it takes the outcome out of the realm of chance, and into the realm of strategy and effective direct action.

Regardless of the threats to either side, further exploration of music as a tool of dissemination of ideology is worthy of study, if for no other reason than to test the model and its efficacy. If this study is wrong and there is no power to music's ability to assist change or enforce return, then, on one hand, there is little to worry about in regard to music's power, and, on the other hand, there are resources that may be better used elsewhere. However, regardless of the outcomes and inspite of facts to the contrary, the belief in and desire for music to be an influential and useful tool for ideology will most likely perpetuate; there are just too many "sticky"⁸⁰ components.

⁸⁰Chip Heath and Dan Heath, Made to Stick Why Some Ideas Survive and Others Die, page 247

Appendix A: Models

Theoretical Map of the Topography of Social Change Music

Axis 1:

The first axis of the model is one that represents the culture of sound, or how the music sounds. On one end of the cultural spectrum is “traditional culture.” Traditional culture is a set of values and beliefs with a significant history held by a dominant portion of the population. Traditional culture is not expected to remain entirely static, merely accrue relatively small, or at least incremental changes as history advances. The opposite end of the spectrum is “alternative culture.” Alternative culture is that which stands in opposition to traditional culture. Alternative culture does not attempt to uphold any form of dominant social norms or traditions. In a microsocial setting, alternative cultures are more likely to be alien, whereas a macrocultural, or even mesocultural, setting alternative cultures may be a surge of marginalized cultural tradition that takes on a life of it’s own.

On a continuum in the world stage, the year zero that separates the culture of sound into traditional and alternative may be the birth of Jazz. This time period is unique, as due to technology and trade, this format of music could rapidly spread across the globe where it would change and be influence by traditional cultural sounds. Now, however, almost a century later, Jazz has become accepted as a traditional cultural form of music, one indigenous to the United States. The adaptation of society to accept an alternative form of music as a traditional form of music insists that a certain amount of structuration

occurs. Which means that for each time and place the definitions of traditional and alternative are dependent on unique and contextual history.

Axis 2:

Where the first axis was one that described how the music sounds, the second axis of this model is one of normative social structure. This axis acts in relation to the political goals of the music. On one end of this axis is a return to past/existing social structures, and the other end of this axis is a progress towards a different or alternate future. More extreme points on this axis would call for more extreme tactics, politics and positions regarding society. This axis could be most simply understood as an axis of social structures and institutions.

Social order is again contextual to society. Desire to return to past structures is a highly structural message, whereas envisioning an alternative future free of the structural shackles of the past in an anti-structural message. At one point in time the movement to a 'free market' capitalist society was an anti-structural message. Today, however, this is not the case and exists as part of the structure of society.

Genres

These two axes meet at a central point and form genres in which to group the various forms of movement music: Orthodox; Nostalgic; Revolutionary; Subversive.

Genre 1: Orthodox music is music that is bounded by traditional sound and return to dominant and social political structural norms. This type of music was, perhaps, the dominant form of high cultural music in Europe for many centuries. Examples would be traditional classical music (like Mozart, or Beethoven). Another classic example is

traditional folk music, which reinforces normative social life, folk histories, etc.

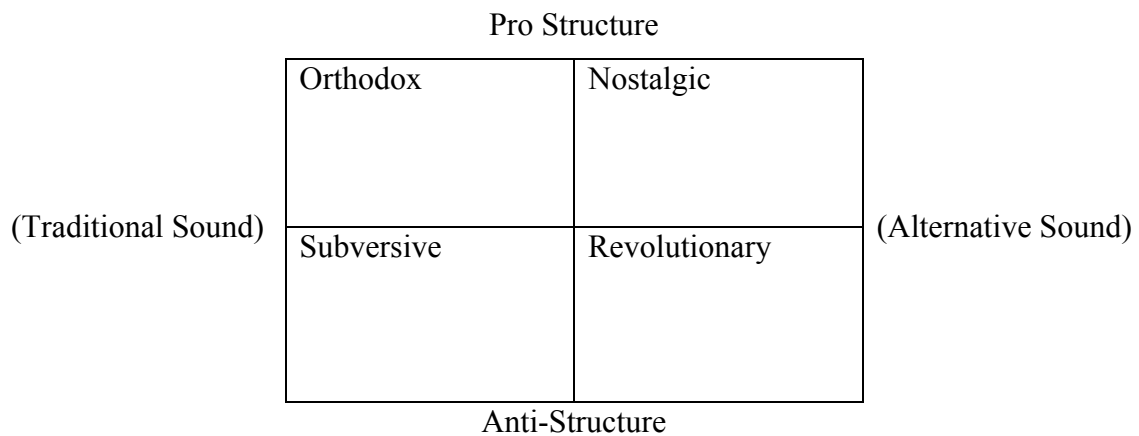
Religious hymns that reinforced the structure and authority of the church are another genre of traditional music. Finally, there is also Nationalistic Anthems, either official ones of the state, or unofficial Anthems that reinforce political views and contain symbolism that reinforces traditional society.

Genre 2: Nostalgic music is music that is also bounded on one side by a return to established structure, but has an alternative sound. Two clear examples in this category would be religious rock music and patriotic pop. Both of these forms of music adopt an alternative sound to convey a message of return to social order: a return to the legitimacy and authority of the church and belief in the legitimacy and authority of the national government.

Genre 3: Revolutionary music is bound by alternative sound and progress towards an alternate vision of the future. Revolutionary music is more than likely the standard connotation of rock, or hip-hop. This may generally be true as both forms of music are alternative in sound and constantly seeking new styles and structures representing the next generation. However, unless the lyrical component speaks to the vision of an alternate future, it does not fully meet the criteria. The protest rock of the 1960s would be a prime example, as would hip hop bands like Public Enemy: these artists had not only an alternative sound but also a political message that was opposed to existing structures.

Genre 4: Subversive music has a traditional sound but a political message that envisions an alternate future. The traditional sound laced with a message of change is what makes this genre subversive. Perfect examples for this genre are the spirituals and

hymns that mapped out the underground railroad: unless you understood that there was a subversive message and knew how to decode the meaning, these songs would have appeared no different than any other hymn or spiritual. Another example could include artists like Woodie Guthrie who used a traditional sound, folk music, to carry messages of change and social protest.



Appendix B: Coding Variables and Categories

- 1 Regime Type
 - 1 Authoritarian
 - 2 Democratic
 - 3 Mixed (Apartheid, Socialist/Marxist, etc)
- 2 Age
 - 1 Youth
 - 2 Middle
 - 3 Old
 - 4 Mixed
 - 5 All
- 3 SES
 - 1 Low Income Low Status
 - 2 Low Income High Status
 - 3 Middle Income Low Status
 - 4 Middle Income High Status
 - 5 High Income Low Status
 - 6 High Income High Status
 - 7 Mixed
- 4 Source
 - 1 New
 - 2 Revival
 - 3 Borrowed
 - 4 Mix
- 5 Sacred/Secular
 - 1 Sacred
 - 2 Secular
 - 3 Mix
- 6 Outcome
 - 1 success
 - 2 failure
 - 3 ongoing
 - 4 inconclusive

- 7 Goal
 - 1 Yes Clear Few
 - 2 Yes Clear Many
 - 3 Yes Unclear
 - 4 Unclear
- 8 Violent/Non-Violent
 - 1 Violent
 - 2 Non-Violent
 - 3 Mixed
- 9 Movement Affiliation
 - 1 Radical liberal
 - 2 Radical traditional
 - 3 Radical Religious
 - 4 Reactionary liberal
 - 5 Reactionary traditional
 - 6 Reactionary Religious
 - 7 Mixed
- 10 Religion
 - 1 Singular
 - 2 Mixed
 - 3 N/A
- 11 Reaction
 - 1 Tolerance
 - 2 Adoption
 - 3 Suppression
 - 4 Ignore
 - 5 Mixed
- 12 Region
 - 1 Mediterranean
 - 2 Middle East
 - 3 North America
 - 4 Latin America
 - 5 Caribbean
 - 6 Africa
 - 7 Central/East Europe
 - 8 West/North Europe
 - 9 Asia/Oceania

- 13 Identifiable Leadership
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
- 14 Symbolic Language
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
- 15 Emotional Content
 - 1 Positive
 - 2 Negative
 - 3 Mixed
- 16 Identity/Identifiability
 - 1 Strong
 - 2 Loose
- 17 Time Period
 - X Number of years a movement existed
- 18 Resource Management
 - 1 Culture
 - 2 Moral Culture
 - 3 Social Culture
 - 4 Material Culture
 - 5 Mixture
- 19 Political Process
 - 1 Destabilization
 - 2 Control
 - 3 Expression
 - 4 Survival
 - 5 Unity
- 20 Minority/Majority
 - 1 Disempowered Minority
 - 2 Dominant Minority
 - 3 Disempowered Majority
 - 4 Dominant Majority
 - 5 Mix

Appendix C: Coding Matrix

Event	Minority/Majority	Political Process	Resource Management	Time Period	Identifiability	Emotional Content	Symbolic Language	Identifiable Leadership	Region	State Reaction	Religion	Movement Affiliation	Violence/Non-violence	Goal	Outcome	Sacred/ Secular	Music Source	Genre (1-4)	Socio-Economic Status (low, mid, high)	Age Bracket (youth, middle aged, elderly)	Regime type (authoritarian, democratic, etc)
"The Free Monks" ⁸¹	2	1	2	9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	1	4	2	2	1	2
1960s US: Pop ⁸²	5	1	4	9	2	3	1	1	3	2	1	1	3	2	1	2	1	4	1	1	2
1960s US: Folk ⁸³	5	1	2	11	2	3	1	1	3	1	2	2	2	1	1	3	2	4	3	1	2

⁸¹ Lina Molokotos-Liederman, "Sacred Words, Profane Music? The Free Monks as a Musical Phenomenon in Contemporary Greek Orthodoxy." *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 65, No. 4, Special Issue: [Culture and Constraint in the Sociology of Religion] (Winter, 2004), pp. 403-416

⁸² Simon Frith, "Rock and the Politics of Memory." *Social Text*, No. 9/10, The 60's without Apology (Spring - Summer, 1984), pp. 59-69 (political process; setting; resource management; time, identifiability; emotional content; leadership; region; religion; political affiliation; outcome; music source; age and regime);

Hugh Davis Graham, "On Riots and Riot Commissions: Civil Disorders in the 1960s," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Summer, 1980), pp. 7-27 (violence; goals; state reaction; minority/majority);
Paglia, Camille, "Cults and Cosmic Consciousness: Religious Vision in the American 1960s." *Arion*, Third Series, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Winter, 2003), pp. 57-111 (SES; sacred/secular; symbolic language)

⁸³ Simon Frith, "Rock and the Politics of Memory." *Social Text*, No. 9/10, The 60's without Apology (Spring - Summer, 1984), pp. 59-69 (political process; setting; resource management; time, identifiability; emotional content; leadership; region; religion; political affiliation; outcome; music source; age and regime);

Hugh Davis Graham, "On Riots and Riot Commissions: Civil Disorders in the 1960s," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Summer, 1980), pp. 7-27 (violence; goals; state reaction; minority/majority);
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<i>Event</i>																					
<i>1960s US: Psychedelic</i> ⁸⁴	5	1	4	6	2	1	1	1	3	3	2	1	2	3	1	2	1	3	4	1	2
<i>1960s US: Motown</i> ⁸⁵	5	1	3	12	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	3	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	2
<i>80s Hip Hop</i> ⁸⁶	1	1	1	9	1	3	1	1	3	3	3	1	3	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	2

⁸⁴ Simon Frith, "Rock and the Politics of Memory." Social Text, No. 9/10, The 60's without Apology (Spring - Summer, 1984), pp. 59-69 (political process; setting; resource management; time, identifiability; emotional content; leadership; region; religion; political affiliation; outcome; music source; age and regime);

Hugh Davis Graham, "On Riots and Riot Commissions: Civil Disorders in the 1960s," The Public Historian, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Summer, 1980), pp. 7-27 (violence; goals; state reaction; minority/majority); Camille Paglia, "Cults and Cosmic Consciousness: Religious Vision in the American 1960s." Arion, Third Series, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Winter, 2003), pp. 57-111 (SES; sacred/secular; symbolic language)

⁸⁵ Simon Frith, "Rock and the Politics of Memory." Social Text, No. 9/10, The 60's without Apology (Spring - Summer, 1984), pp. 59-69 (political process; setting; resource management; time, identifiability; emotional content; leadership; region; religion; political affiliation; outcome; music source; age and regime);

Hugh Davis Graham, "On Riots and Riot Commissions: Civil Disorders in the 1960s," The Public Historian, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Summer, 1980), pp. 7-27 (violence; goals; state reaction; minority/majority); Camille Paglia, "Cults and Cosmic Consciousness: Religious Vision in the American 1960s." Arion, Third Series, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Winter, 2003), pp. 57-111 (SES; sacred/secular; symbolic language)

⁸⁶ Roger Sanjek, "Urban Anthropology in the 1980s: A World View." Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 19 (1990), pp. 151-186 (minority/majority; political process; setting,; region; religion; affiliation source; SES; and regime)

Rachel E. Sullivan "Rap and Race: It's Got a Nice Beat, but What about the Message?" Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 33, No. 5 (May, 2003), pp. 605-622 (sacred/secular; outcome; goals; reaction; leadership; resource);

Derrick P. Alridge, "From Civil Rights to Hip Hop: Toward a Nexus of Ideas." The Journal of African American History, Vol. 90, No. 3, The History of Hip Hop (Summer, 2005), pp. 226-252 (identifiability; symbolic language; violence);

Greg Wahl, "'I Fought the Law (And I Cold Won!)': Hip-Hop in the Mainstream" College Literature, Vol. 26, No. 1, Cultural Violence (Winter, 1999), pp. 98-112 (age ; emotional content; time)

Minority/Majority	Political Process	Resource Management	Time Period	Identifiability	Emotional Content	Symbolic Language	Identifiable Leadership	Region	State Reaction	Religion	Movement Affiliation	Violence/Non-violence	Goal	Outcome	Sacred/ Secular	Music Source	Genre (1-4)	Socio-Economic Status (low, mid, high)	Age Bracket (youth, middle aged, elderly)	Regime type (authoritarian, democratic, etc)	Event
																					<i>American Revolution</i> ⁹²
			14	2	1	1		3	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	4	7	4	1	
			45	1	1	2			7	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	4	1	<i>Armenia (post genocide)</i> ⁹³
			96	1	1	1										1	4	7	4	2	<i>Australia Aboriginal: Survival</i> ⁹⁴

⁹¹ Jane E. Goodman, "Singers, Saints, and the Construction of Postcolonial Subjectivities in Algeria." *Ethos*, Vol. 26, No. 2, (Jun., 1998), pp. 204-228

⁹² Elizabeth B. Crist, "'Ye Sons of Harmony': Politics, Masculinity, and the Music of William Billings in Revolutionary Boston." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 60, No. 2 (Apr., 2003), pp. 333-354 (minority/majority; setting; time; identifiability; symbolic language; leadership; region; reaction; religion; political affiliation; violence; goals; outcome; sacred/secular; source; regime);

Warren P. Howe, "Early American Military Music." *American Music*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (Spring, 1999), pp. 87-116 (emotional content; resource; process);

John Money, "Taverns, Coffee Houses and Clubs: Local Politics and Popular Articulation in the Birmingham Area, in the Age of the American Revolution." *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Mar., 1971), pp. 15-47 (SES; age)

⁹³ Nercessian, Andy, "A Look at the Emergence of the Concept of National Culture in Armenia: The Former Soviet Folk Ensemble." *International Review* 2000), pp. 79-94

⁹⁴ Eric Maddem, "'We Have Survived': Aboriginal Music Today" *The Musical Times*, Vol. 129, No. 1749 (Nov., 1988), pp. 595-597 (minority/majority; identifiability; language; region; violence; goals; outcome; sacred/secular; source; SES; age; regime);

Damien Short, "Reconciliation, Assimilation, and the Indigenous Peoples of Australia." *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique*, Vol.

24, No. 4 (Oct., 2003), pp. 491-513 (political affiliation; religion; leadership; emotional content; time; culture; setting; political process)

Minority/Majority	Political Process	Resource Management	Time Period	Identifiability	Emotional Content	Symbolic Language	Identifiable Leadership	Region	State Reaction	Religion	Movement Affiliation	Violence/Non-violence	Goal	Outcome	Sacred/ Secular	Music Source	Genre (1-4)	Socio-Economic Status (low, mid, high)	Age Bracket (youth, middle aged, elderly)	Regime type (authoritarian, democratic, etc)	Event
																					<i>Balkans: Yugoslavia after Tito. Fractured ethnicities fighting for dominance</i> ⁹⁹
	2	3	6	1	2	1	2	7	2	2	5	1	1	1	2	2	2	7	4	1	
	3	3	3	1	1	1	1	9	2	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	7	5	1	<i>China: Cultural Revolution</i> ¹⁰⁰
	1	4	2	1	1	1	1	9	4	1	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	5	1	<i>China: Revival of Traditional Buddhist/Confucist</i> ¹⁰¹
	1	4	2	1	1	1	1	9	3	1	6	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	5	1	<i>China: Uyghurs</i> ¹⁰²
	3	1	3	2	1	1	2	8	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	4	7	5	1	<i>Estonia: Singing Revolution</i> ¹⁰³
	3	1	5	6	2	1	1	8	5	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	4	7	4	1	<i>French Revolution</i> ¹⁰⁴
	5	1	4	9	3	1	1	3	1	3	1	2	3	1	2	1	3	7	1	2	<i>Grunge</i> ¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ Naum Panovski, "Prelude to a War." *Performing Arts Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (May, 1996), pp. 2-12

¹⁰⁰ Yuan, Ji Feng, Koenraad Kuiper and Shu Shaogu, "Language and Revolution: Formulae of the Cultural Revolution" *Language in Society*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Mar., 1990), pp. 61-79

¹⁰¹ Stephen Jones, "Chinese Ritual Music under Mao and Deng." *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 8 (1999), pp. 27-66

¹⁰² Rachel Harris and Rahilä Dawut, "Mazar Festivals of the Uyghurs: Music, Islam and the Chinese State." *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 11, No. 1, *Red Ritual: Ritual Music and Communism* (2002), pp. 101-118

¹⁰³ Stephen J. Pierson "A Nation That Sang Itself Free." *Christianity Today*, October 25, 1999, p. 99

¹⁰⁴ Cornwell B. Rogers, "Songs-Colorful Propaganda of the French Revolution." *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (Autumn, 1947), pp. 436-444 (minority/majority; political process; resource; identifiability; emotional content; symbolic language; region; reaction; political affiliation; violence; goals; outcome; sacred/secular; source; SES; age; regime);

David Swanzy, "Drumming up a Revolution." *Music Educators Journal*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (Oct., 1968), pp. 54-56 (leadership; time; setting)

¹⁰⁵ Mimi Schippers, "The Social Organization of Sexuality and Gender in Alternative Hard Rock: An Analysis of Intersectionality" *Gender and Society*, Vol. 14, No. 6 (Dec., 2000), pp. 747-764

Event	Minority/Majority	Political Process	Resource Management	Time Period	Identifiability	Emotional Content	Symbolic Language	Identifiable Leadership	Region	State Reaction	Religion	Movement Affiliation	Violence/Non-violence	Goal	Outcome	Sacred/ Secular	Music Source	Genre (1-4)	Socio-Economic Status (low, mid, high)	Age Bracket (youth, middle aged, elderly)	Regime type (authoritarian, democratic, etc)
<i>Haiti</i> ¹⁰⁶	3	1	2	55	1	2	1	2	5	3	2	1	2	4	2	2	3	3	1	4	1
<i>India: Sikh Golden Temple</i> ¹⁰⁷	1	1	2	5	1	1	1	1	9	4	1	6	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	5	2
<i>Indigenous Rights (Brazil)</i> ¹⁰⁸	1	1	2	18	1	2	1	1	4	3	3	1	2	2	1	3	1	3	4	1	2
<i>Iraq/Afghanistan Wars or Dixie Chicks</i> ¹⁰⁹	2	1	4	3	1	2	2	1	3	3	3	4	2	1	2	2	1	3	7	4	2
<i>Iraq/Afghanistan Wars or Dixie Chicks</i> ¹¹⁰	2	1	4	3	1	2	2	1	3	3	3	4	2	1	2	2	1	4	7	4	2
<i>Israel</i> ¹¹¹	2	1	4	28	1	2	1	1	2	4	2	7	3	2	4	2	4	1	7	4	3

¹⁰⁶ Gage Averill, "Haitian Dance Bands, 1915-1970: Class, Race, and Authenticity." *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (Autumn - Winter, 1989), pp. 203-235

¹⁰⁷ Joyce Pettigrew, "Songs of the Sikh Resistance Movement." *Asian Music*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Autumn, 1991 - Winter, 1992), pp. 85-118

¹⁰⁸ Idelber Avelar, "Heavy Metal Music in Postdictatorial Brazil: Sepultura and the Coding of Nationality in Sound." *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 2003, pp 329-346

¹⁰⁹ Gabriel Rossman, "Elites, Masses, and Media Blacklists: The Dixie Chicks Controversy." *Social Forces*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (Sep., 2004), pp. 61-79

¹¹⁰ Gabriel Rossman, "Elites, Masses, and Media Blacklists: The Dixie Chicks Controversy." *Social Forces*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (Sep., 2004), pp. 61-79

¹¹¹ Rebecca L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg, "Popular Culture, Relational History, and the Question of Power in Palestine and Israel." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Summer, 2004), pp. 5-20 (minority/majority; political process; setting; identifiability; emotional content; symbolic language; region; religion; political affiliation; violence; goals; outcome; sacred/secular; source; SES; age; regime); Maira, Sunaina, "'We Ain't Missing' Palestinian Hip Hop—A Transnational Youth Movement." *The New Centennial Review*, Vol 8, No. 2, (2008), 161-192 (reaction; identifiability; time; resource)

Minority/Majority	Political Process	Resource Management	Time Period	Identifiability	Emotional Content	Symbolic Language	Identifiable Leadership	Region	State Reaction	Religion	Movement Affiliation	Violence/Non-violence	Goal	Outcome	Sacred/ Secular	Music Source	Genre (1-4)	Socio-Economic Status (low, mid, high)	Age Bracket (youth, middle aged, elderly)	Regime type (authoritarian, democratic, etc)	Event
Israel ¹¹²	1	4	28	1	2	1	1	2	4	2	7	3	2	4	2	4	2	7	4	3	
Israel ¹¹³	1	4	28	1	2	1	1	2	4	2	7	3	2	4	2	4	3	7	4	3	
Israel ¹¹⁴	1	4	28	1	2	1	1	2	4	2	7	3	2	4	2	4	4	7	4	3	
Israel 48 ¹¹⁵	2	5	73	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	7	2	1	1	1	4	1	7	5	2	

¹¹² Rebecca L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg, "Popular Culture, Relational History, and the Question of Power in Palestine and Israel." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Summer, 2004), pp. 5-20 (minority/majority; political process; setting; identifiability; emotional content; symbolic language; region; religion; political affiliation; violence; goals; outcome; sacred/secular; source; SES; age; regime); Maira, Sunaina, "'We Ain't Missing' Palestinian Hip Hop—A Transnational Youth Movement." *The New Centennial Review*, Vol 8, No. 2, (2008), 161-192 (reaction; identifiability; time; resource)

¹¹³ Rebecca L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg, "Popular Culture, Relational History, and the Question of Power in Palestine and Israel." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Summer, 2004), pp. 5-20 (minority/majority; political process; setting; identifiability; emotional content; symbolic language; region; religion; political affiliation; violence; goals; outcome; sacred/secular; source; SES; age; regime); Maira, Sunaina, "'We Ain't Missing' Palestinian Hip Hop—A Transnational Youth Movement." *The New Centennial Review*, Vol 8, No. 2, (2008), 161-192 (reaction; identifiability; time; resource)

¹¹⁴ Rebecca L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg, "Popular Culture, Relational History, and the Question of Power in Palestine and Israel." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Summer, 2004), pp. 5-20 (minority/majority; political process; setting; identifiability; emotional content; symbolic language; region; religion; political affiliation; violence; goals; outcome; sacred/secular; source; SES; age; regime); Maira, Sunaina, "'We Ain't Missing' Palestinian Hip Hop—A Transnational Youth Movement." *The New Centennial Review*, Vol 8, No. 2, (2008), 161-192 (reaction; identifiability; time; resource)

¹¹⁵ Yohanan Boehm, "Music and Bands in Israel: A Historical Overview." *Music Educators Journal*, Vol. 67, No. 2 (Oct., 1980), pp. 30-31 (minority/majority; political process; setting; resource; time; identifiability; region; leadership; reaction; religion; violence; goals; outcome; sacred/secular; source; SES; age);

Rebecca L. Stein and Ted Swedenburg, "Popular Culture, Relational History, and the Question of Power in Palestine and Israel." *Journal of Palestine Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (Summer, 2004), pp. 5-20 (political affiliation; symbolic language; emotional content)

Event	Minority/Majority	Political Process	Resource Management	Time Period	Identifiability	Emotional Content	Symbolic Language	Identifiable Leadership	Region	State Reaction	Religion	Movement Affiliation	Violence/Non-violence	Goal	Outcome	Sacred/ Secular	Music Source	Genre (1-4)	Socio-Economic Status (low, mid, high)	Age Bracket (youth, middle aged, elderly)	Regime type (authoritarian, democratic, etc)
<i>Israel: Palestine and Israel Peace</i> ¹¹⁶	2	5	2	16	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	7	2	1	3	1	4	3	3	3	3
<i>Israel: Palestine and Israel Peace</i> ¹¹⁷	2	5	2	16	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	7	2	1	3	1	4	4	3	3	3
<i>Jamaica</i> ¹¹⁸	5	1	2	23	1	1	1	1	5	2	1	1	2	1	4	1	1	3	1	4	3
<i>Malvinas war: Argentina</i> ¹¹⁹	2	1	1	7	1	1	1	1	4	3	3	4	2	1	1	2	1	3	7	1	1
<i>Punk Rock</i> ¹²⁰	2	1	4	8	1	2	1	1	3	4	3	1	3	4	2	2	4	3	7	1	2

¹¹⁶ Nasser Al-Tae, "Voices of Peace and the Legacy of Reconciliation: Popular Music, Nationalism, and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East." *Popular Music*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Jan., 2002), pp. 41-61

¹¹⁷ Nasser Al-Tae, "Voices of Peace and the Legacy of Reconciliation: Popular Music, Nationalism, and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East." *Popular Music*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Jan., 2002), pp. 41-61

¹¹⁸ Diane J. Austin, "Culture and Ideology in the English-Speaking Caribbean: A View from Jamaica." *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (May, 1983), pp. 223-240

(setting; resource; identifiability; emotional content; symbolic language; region; political affiliation; violence; sacred/secular; source; SES; age; regime);

Timothy Rommen, "Protest vibrations? Reggae, Rastafari, and conscious Evangelicals." *Popular Music* (2006) Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 235-263 (outcome; goals; religion; reaction; leadership; political process; minority/majority);

Deborah A. Thomas, "Democratizing dance: Institutional transformation and hegemonic re-ordering in Postcolonial Jamaica." *Cultural Anthropology* (Nov., 2002) Vol. 17, No. 4, 512-550 (time)

¹¹⁹ Pablo Vila and Paul Cammack. "Rock Nacional and Dictatorship in Argentina." *Popular Music*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Latin America (May, 1987), pp. 129-148

¹²⁰ Alan O'Connor, "Local Scenes and Dangerous Crossroads: Punk and Theories of Cultural Hybridity" *Popular Music*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (May, 2002), pp. 225-236 (minority/majority; political process; setting; resource; time; leadership; region; state reaction; religion; political affiliation; violence; goals; outcome; sacred/secular; source; SES; age; regime);

Jessica Rosenberg and Gitana Garofalo. "Riot Grrrl: Revolutions from within. *Signs*, Vol. 23, No. 3, Feminisms and Youth Cultures (Spring, 1998), pp. 809-841 (emotion);

Bernice Martin, "The Sacralization of Disorder: Symbolism in Rock Music." *Sociological Analysis*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Summer, 1979), pp. 87-124 (symbolic language)

Event	Minority/Majority	Political Process	Resource Management	Time Period	Identifiability	Emotional Content	Symbolic Language	Identifiable Leadership	Region	State Reaction	Religion	Movement Affiliation	Violence/Non-violence	Goal	Outcome	Sacred/ Secular	Music Source	Genre (1-4)	Socio-Economic Status (low, mid, high)	Age Bracket (youth, middle aged, elderly)	Regime type (authoritarian, democratic, etc)
<i>Rock the Vote</i> ¹²¹	5	1	4	17	2	1	2	1	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	2	4	3	7	1	2
<i>Singapore: Counter government Movement</i> ¹²²	1	1	1	18	2	2	1	2	9	3	3	4	2	1	1	2	1	4	1	5	1
<i>Singapore: government</i> ¹²³	2	2	1	18	1	1	1	1	9	2	3	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	6	5	1
<i>South Africa</i> ¹²⁴	3	1	2	30	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	4	1	4	3
<i>Swingjugend</i> ¹²⁵	2	1	2	7	1	1	2	2	7	3	3	4	2	1	2	2	3	3	4	1	1

¹²¹ Diana Burgess, Beth Haney, mark Snyder, John L. Sullivan and John E. Transue. "Rocking the Vote: Using Personalized Messages to Motivate Voting Young Adults." The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 64, No. 1 (Spring, 2000) pp. 29-52. (minority/majority; political process; resource; time; leadership; region; reaction; religion; political affiliation; violence; goals; sacred; source; SES; regime; age; emotional content; identifiability; setting);

rockthevote.com/about/press-room (outcome; symbolic language)

¹²² Lily Kong, "Music and Cultural Politics: Ideology and Resistance in Singapore." Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1995), pp. 447-459

¹²³ Lily Kong, "Music and Cultural Politics: Ideology and Resistance in Singapore." Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series, Vol. 20, No. 4 (1995), pp. 447-459

¹²⁴ Christopher Ballantine, "A Brief History of South African Popular Music." Popular Music, Vol. 8, No. 3, African Music (Oct., 1989), pp. 305-310 (minority/majority; political process; setting; resource; identifiability; emotional content; symbolic language; leadership; region; reaction; religion; political affiliation; violence; goals; outcome; sacred/secular; source; SES; regime); Albert Grundlingh, "Rocking the Boat' in South Africa? Voelvry Music and Afrikaans Anti-Apartheid Social Protest in the 1980s." The International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol. 37, No. 3 (2004), pp. 483-514 (age; time)

¹²⁵ Stephen Pagaard, "Teaching the Nazi Dictatorship: Focus on Youth" The History Teacher, Vol. 38, No. 2 (Feb., 2005), pp. 189-207

	<i>Minority/Majority</i>		3
	<i>Political Process</i>		5
	<i>Resource Management</i>		1
	<i>Time Period</i>		9
	<i>Identifiability</i>		2
	<i>Emotional Content</i>		1
	<i>Symbolic Language</i>		1
	<i>Identifiable Leadership</i>		1
	<i>Region</i>		4
	<i>State Reaction</i>		1
	<i>Religion</i>		3
	<i>Movement Affiliation</i>		4
	<i>Violence/Non-violence</i>		2
	<i>Goal</i>		3
	<i>Outcome</i>		1
	<i>Sacred/ Secular</i>		2
	<i>Music Source</i>		4
	<i>Genre (1-4)</i>		4
	<i>Socio-Economic Status (low, mid, high)</i>		7
	<i>Age Bracket (youth, middle aged, elderly)</i>		5
	<i>Regime type (authoritarian, democratic, etc)</i>		1
<i>Event</i>			
<i>Uruguay</i> ¹²⁶			
<i>Velvet Revolution</i> ¹²⁷			

¹²⁶ Carlos Alberto Martins, "Popular Music as Alternative Communication: Uruguay, 1973-82" Popular Music, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Jan., 1988), pp. 77-94

¹²⁷ Tony Mitchell, "Mixing Pop and Politics: Rock Music in Czechoslovakia before and after the Velvet Revolution." Popular Music, Vol. 11, No. 2, A Changing Europe (May, 1992), pp. 187-203

Appendix D: Genres (descriptive statistical tables)

Genre 1 (structural message/traditional sound)

"Orthodox:" upholding tradition in both structure and aesthetics;
classical, needing stability and resisting change.

Region 99.6%

- Disproportionately high number from Asia
- disproportionately low number from North America

Affiliation 99.5%

- More radically traditional
- less reactionary liberal
- more reactionary religious

Age 99.2%

- Disproportionately high number of movements with all ages participation
- disproportionately low youth only (tied for Lowest youth only)

Process 97.6%

- Disproportionately low on cultural only resource mobilization
- disproportionately high on moral/cultural resource mobilization (strongest)
- disproportionately high social/cultural resource mobilization
- disproportionately high material/cultural resource mobilization

SES 94.4%

- Disproportionate to other sectors high-income high status

Source 92.8%

- Disproportionately high revival music

Leadership 90.3%

- Disproportionately low number with no clear leadership

Religion 89.1%

- Higher probability of a single religion
- disproportionately low mixed religions

Minority/Majority 88.2%

- Disproportionately low mixed movements

Identity 86.1%

- Disproportionately low loose group identity

Violence 82.9%

- Disproportionately more violent

Reaction 80.8%

- Nothing unusual about how the state reacts to this movement

Genre 2 (structural message/non-traditional sound)

"Nostalgic:" Romantic and wistful for days gone by but accepting artistic progress providing the structures of society are upheld.
Longs for the romantic and simple past days while at the same time enjoying what cultural progress has brought.

Region 99.6%

- Unusually high Mediterranean
- unusually high central/eastern Europe

Affiliation 99.5%

- Unusually low radical liberal
- unusually high radical religious (very strong)

Age 99.2%

- Nothing Unusual

Process 97.6%

- Unusually high moral/cultural resource mobilization

SES 94.4%

- Unusually High Low Income High Status

Source 92.8%

- Unusually low new only music
- unusually high mixed sources of music

Leadership 90.3%

- Nothing unusual

Religion 89.1%

- Unusually low n/a

Minority/Majority 88.2%

- Nothing unusual

Identity 86.1%

- Unusually low loose identity

Violence 82.9%

- Nothing unusual

Reaction 80.8%

- Unusually high toleration
- unusually low suppression

Genre 3 (counter-structural message/non-traditional sound)

"Revolutionary:" Bohemian and anti-establishmentarian.
Rebellious, defiant, provocative. Openly dissident, attempting to
create schisms and agitate. General disregard for systems and
structures of tradition. Often loud and in the face using
unconventional sound to illustrate structural problems.

Region 99.6%

- Unusually high North America
- unusually high Latin America
- unusually high Caribbean
- unusually low Asia Oceania

Affiliation 99.5%

- Unusually high radical religious
- unusually low reactionary traditional

Age 99.2%

- Unusually high youth only
- unusually low all ages

Process 97.6%

- Unusually high cultural resources mobilized
- unusually low moral resources mobilized
- unusually low material resources mobilized

SES 94.4%

- Unusually high middle income

Source 92.8%

- Unusually low revival music
- unusually high borrowed music

Leadership 90.3%

- Nothing unusual

Religion 89.1%

- Unusually low single religion

Minority/Majority 88.2%

- Unusually highly mixed

Identity 86.1%

- Nothing unusual

Violence 82.9%

- Unusually high mixture of violence and non-violence

Reaction 80.8%

- Unusually high suppression by state
- unusually low mixture of state reaction

Genre 4 (counter-structural message/traditional sound)

“Subversive.” Respectful of traditional culture but upset with the structure of power. Attempts to work within traditional culture to ease transition to alternate future.

Region 99.6%

- unusually low central and eastern Europe
- unusually high high western and northern Europe

Affiliation 99.5%

- Unusually high reactionary traditional (check this variable)

Age 99.2%

- Unusually low youth only
- unusually high mixed

Process 97.6%

- Unusually highly mixed resource mobilization

SES 94.4%

- Unusually low middle income

Source 92.8%

- Nothing unusual

Leadership 90.3%

- Unusually high lack of clear leadership

Religion 89.1%

- Nothing unusual

Minority/Majority 88.2%

- Nothing unusual

Identity 86.1%

- Unusually high loose identity

Violence 82.9%

- Nothing unusual

Reaction 80.8%

- Nothing unusual

Appendix E: Outcomes (statistical tables)

Outcomes (affect on outcome via Variable)

Outcome - Success, Failure, Ongoing, Inconclusive

Regime Type (100%)

Authoritarian

-Nothing unusual

Democratic

-Lower than expected inconclusive results

Mixed

-Lower than expected success

-higher than expected inconclusive results

Age (100%)

Youth

-Lower than expected inconclusive results (zero)

Old

-Significantly higher ongoing

Mixed

-Higher than expected inconclusive results

All

-Higher than expected success

-lower than expected inconclusive

SES (99.9%)

Low Income Low Status

-Nothing significant

Low Income High Status

-Nothing significant

Middle Income Low Status

-Significantly higher than expected ongoing

Middle Income High Status

-Nothing significant

High Income Low Status

High Income High Status

-Nothing significant

Mixed

-Dominant number of cases (59.57%)

-slightly higher than expected ongoing

Source (99.5%)

New

-Highest percentage (48.94)

-lower than expected inconclusive

Revival

- Lower than expected failure
- Borrowed
- Significantly higher than expected failure rate (all recorded)
- Mix
- Higher than expected success
- higher than expected inconclusive
- Sacred/Secular (96%)
- Sacred
- Lower than expected failure
- higher than expected ongoing
- Secular
- Higher than expected failure
- lower than expected ongoing
- Mix
- Nothing unusual
- Sacred/Secular_New (98.3%)
- Sacred
- Lower than expected failure
- higher than expected ongoing
- Not
- Higher than expected failure
- lower than expected ongoing
- Goal (94.5%)
- Few and Clear
- Highest percentage category 63.83%
- lower than expected inconclusive results
- Many and Clear
- Lower than expected failure
- significantly higher than expected inconclusive results
- Unclear Goals
- Nothing unexpected
- Inconclusive
- Higher than expected failure
- Goal_New (low probability)
- Violent/Non-Violent (98.8%)
- Violent
- Higher than expected success
- lower than expected failure
- Non-Violent
- Highest category 68.09%
- Slightly higher than expected inconclusive
- Mixed
- Lower than expected success
- significantly higher than expected inconclusive

Violence_New (low probability)

Affiliation (99.2%)

Radical Liberal

-Highest category 44.68%

-nothing unexpected

Radical Traditional

-Nothing unexpected

Radical Religious

-Nothing unexpected

Reactionary Liberal

-Higher than expected failure

Reactionary Traditional

-Slightly higher than expected success

-slightly lower than expected failure

Reactionary Religious

-Nothing unexpected

Mixed

-Lower than expected success

-lower than expected failure

-significantly higher than expected ongoing

-significantly higher than expected inconclusive

AffNew (100%)

Radical

-Lower than expected ongoing results

Reactionary

-Lower than expected inconclusive

Other

-Lower than expected success

-lower than expected failure

-significantly higher than expected ongoing

-significantly higher than expected inconclusive

Religion (99.9%)

Singular

-Higher than expected success

-lower than expected failure

Mixed

-Lower than expected failure

-higher than expected ongoing

-higher than expected inconclusive

N/A

-Significantly higher than expected failure

-lower than expected inconclusive

State Reaction (98.4%)

Tolerance

- Higher than expected success rate
- lower than expected failure
- Adoption
- Higher than expected ongoing
- Suppression
- Higher than expected failure
- Ignore
- Higher than expected success
- significantly higher than expected inconclusive
- Mixed
- Higher than expected success
- lower than expected failure

Region (95.5%)

- Mediterranean
- Nothing unexpected
- Middle East
- Lower than expected success
- lower than expected failure
- significantly higher than expected ongoing
- significantly higher than expected inconclusive
- North America
- Higher than expected failure
- lower than expected inconclusive
- Latin America
- Nothing unexpected
- Caribbean
- Lower than expected success
- higher than expected failure
- higher than expected inconclusive
- Africa
- Nothing unexpected
- Central/East Europe
- Nothing unexpected
- West/North Europe
- Nothing unexpected
- Asia/Oceania
- Lower than expected inconclusive results

Identifiable Leadership (low probability)

Symbolic Language (80.7%)

- Yes
- Nothing unexpected
- No
- Higher than expected failure

Emotional Content (88.8%)

Positive

-Nothing unexpected

Negative

-Lower than expected success

-higher than expected failure

-higher than expected inconclusive

Mixed

-Nothing unexpected

Positive Emotions (86.4%)

Generally Positive

-Nothing unexpected

Not Generally Positive

-Higher than expected failure

-higher than expected inconclusive

Negative Emotions (97.5%)

Not Generally Negative

-Lower than expected inconclusive

Generally Negative

-Lower than expected success

-higher than expected failure

-significantly higher than expected inconclusive

Structure/Identity (93.7%)

Strong

-Lower than expected ongoing

Loose

-Lower than expected failure

-higher than expected ongoing

Time Period (92.6%)

Three Years

-Higher than expected failure rate

Five Years

-Higher than expected inconclusive results

Seven Years

-Higher than expected failure rate

Eight Years

-Higher than expected failure rate

Sixteen Years

-Higher than expected ongoing

Twenty-Three Years

-Higher than expected inconclusive

Twenty-Eight Years

-Lower than expected success rate

Fifty-Five Years

- Higher than expected failure rate
- Time_New (99.5%)
 - First Decade
 - Unexpectedly high rate of failure
 - Second Decade
 - Unexpectedly high rate of ongoing
 - unexpectedly low inconclusive
 - Third Decade
 - Significantly lower success rate
 - significantly higher inconclusive results
 - Sixth Decade
 - Higher failure level
- Resource Management (low probability)
- Political Process (low probability)
- Minority/Majority (93.3%)
 - Disempowered Minority
 - Higher than expected success
 - lower than expected inconclusive results
 - Dominant Minority (minority in power)
 - Lower than expected success
 - higher than expected failure
 - higher than expected ongoing
 - higher than expected inconclusive
 - Disempowered Majority
 - Lower than expected inconclusive
 - Dominant Majority
 - Mix
 - Nothing unexpected
- Outcome_New - Success, Failure, Other
- Regime Type (100%)
 - Authoritarian
 - Lower than average other
 - Democratic
 - Lower than expected other (zero)
 - Mixed
 - Lower than expected success
 - higher than expected other
- Age (99.7%)
 - Youth
 - Lower than expected other (zero)
 - Old
 - Incredibly few music movements by elderly, not shocking really
 - lower than expected success (zero)
 - higher than expected other (all coded examples)

- Mixed
 - Higher than expected other
- All
 - Lower than expected other (zero)
 - higher than expected success
- SES (low probability results)
- Source (99.9%)
 - New
 - Lower than expected other
 - Revival
 - Lower than expected failure
 - Borrowed
 - Lower than expected success
 - significantly higher than expected failure
 - Mix
 - Higher than expected success
 - significantly higher than expected other
- Sacred/Secular (92.5%)
 - Sacred
 - Lower than expected failure
 - Secular
 - Higher than expected failure
 - Mix
 - Nothing unexpected
- Sacred/Secular_New (94%)
 - Sacred
 - Lower than expected failure
 - Not
 - Higher than expected failure
- Goal (91.2%)
 - Few and Clear
 - Highest category 63.83%
 - nothing unexpected
 - Many and Clear
 - Lower than expected failure
 - significantly higher than expected other
 - Unclear Goals
 - Nothing unexpected
 - Inconclusive
 - Higher than expected failure
- Goal_New (low probability)
- Violent/Non-Violent (97.9%)
 - Violent

- Higher than expected success
- lower than expected failure
- lower than expected other
- Non-Violent
- Highest category 68.09%
- Nothing unexpected
- Mixed
- Lower than expected success
- higher than expected other
- Violence_New (low probability)
- Affiliation (99.9%)
 - Radical Liberal
 - Highest category 44.68%
 - nothing unexpected
 - Radical Traditional
 - Nothing unexpected
 - Radical Religious
 - Nothing unexpected
 - Reactionary Liberal
 - Higher than expected failure
 - lower than expected other
 - Reactionary Traditional
 - Higher than expected success
 - Reactionary Religious
 - Nothing unexpected
 - Mixed
 - Lower than expected success
 - lower than expected failure
 - significantly higher than expected other
- AffNew (100%)
 - Radical
 - Lower than expected other
 - Reactionary
 - Lower than expected other
 - Other
 - Lower than expected success
 - lower than expected success
 - significantly higher than expected other
- Religion (100%)
 - Singular
 - Higher than expected success
 - lower than expected failure
 - Mixed

- Lower than expected failure
- significantly higher than expected other
- N/A
- Significantly higher than expected failure
- lower than expected other

State Reaction (96.2%)

- Tolerance
 - Higher than expected success
 - lower than expected failure
 - lower than expected other
- Adoption
 - Nothing unexpected
- Suppression
 - Higher than expected failure
 - lower than expected other
- Ignore
 - Higher than expected success
 - higher than expected other
- Mixed
 - Higher than expected success
 - lower than expected failure
 - lower than expected other

Region (99.5%)

- Mediterranean
 - Nothing unexpected
- Middle East
 - Lower than expected success
 - significantly higher than expected other
- North America
 - Higher than expected failure
- Latin America
 - Nothing unexpected
- Caribbean
 - Lower than expected success
 - higher than expected failure
 - higher than expected other
- Africa
 - Nothing unexpected
- Central/East Europe
 - Nothing unexpected
- West/North Europe
 - Nothing unexpected
- Asia/Oceania
 - Lower than expected other

Identifiable Leadership (low probability)

Symbolic Language (90.6%)

Yes

-Nothing unexpected

No

-Higher than expected failure

-lower than expected other

Emotional Content (85.3%)

Positive

-Nothing unexpected

Negative

-Lower than expected success

-Higher than expected failure

-Higher than expected other

Mixed

-Nothing unexpected

Positive Emotions (low probability)

Negative Emotions (95.1%)

Not Generally Negative

-Nothing unexpected

Generally Negative

-Lower than expected success

-higher than expected failure

-higher than expected other

Structure/Identity (low probability)

Time Period (86.6%)

Three Years

-Higher than expected failure rate

Five Years

-Higher than expected other

Seven Years

-Higher than expected failure

Eight Years

-Higher than expected failure

Sixteen Years

-Higher than expected other

Twenty-Three Years

-Higher than expected other

Twenty-Eight Years

-Lower than expected success

-significantly higher than expected other

Fifty-Five Years

-Higher than expected failure

Time_New (99.2%)

First Decade
-Higher rate of failure
-higher rate of other
Third Decade
-Significantly lower rate of success
-significantly higher other
Sixth Decade
-Significantly higher rate of failure
Resource Management (low probability)
Political Process (low probability)
Minority/Majority (98.4%)
Disempowered Minority
-Higher than expected success
-lower than expected other
Dominant Minority
-Lower than expected success
-higher than expected failure
-higher than expected other
Disempowered Majority
-Lower than expected other
Dominant Majority
Mix
-Nothing unexpected

Appendix F: Outcome by genre

Genre 1

Structural and Cultural

Age

Outcome (85.4%)

Unclear Outcome more likely with Mixed Ages and Less likely with all ages

Outcome_New (85.4%)

More likely to be ongoing or inconclusive when mixed. Less likely to be ongoing or inconclusive when all ages

Success (81%)

More likely to be unsuccessful with mixed ages

SES

Outcome (95.4%)

Failure much more likely with high income high status

Outcome_New (95.4%)

Significantly more likely to fail when high status high income.

Religion

Outcome (99.7%)

Success less likely when single religion. Failure more likely when N/A. Unclear results less likely when single religion. Unclear results much more likely when multiple religions.

Outcome_New (99.7%)

Success less likely when multiple religions. Failure more likely when N/A. Unclear or ongoing results less likely when single religion. Unclear results much more likely when multiple religions.

Success (98.6%)

Less likely to be successful when multiple religions. Less likely to be unsuccessful when single religion. More likely to be unsuccessful when multiple religions

Regime

Success (82.1%)

Higher chance that it will be less successful in a mixed regime

Outcome_New (99.7%)

Less likely to be inconclusive or ongoing in democratic regimes
significantly more likely to be inconclusive in mixed regimes

Sacred/Secular

Success (91.6%)

Less likely to be unsuccessful in Authoritarian regime. More likely to be unsuccessful in democratic regimes

Violence

Success (85%)

More likely to be unsuccessful with mixed violent/non-violent action

Resource

Success (89.4%)

More likely to be unsuccessful when focusing on cultural resources. More likely to be unsuccessful when focussing on material resources.

Minority Majority

Success (91.6%)

More likely to be unsuccessful when dominant minority

Sacred/Secular

Success (93.6%)

Less likely to be unsuccessful when sacred music. More likely to be unsuccessful when secular music.

Genre 2

Structural and Countercultural

Goal

Success (91.7%)

More likely to be unsuccessful when goals are many and clear

Outcome_New (91.7%)

More likely to be ongoing or inconclusive when goals are many and clear

Outcome (91.7%)

More likely to be inconclusive when goals are many and clear

Time_New

Success (91.7%)

More likely to be unsuccessful in the third decade

Outcome_New (91.7%)

More likely to be ongoing or inconclusive in the third decade

Outcome (91.7%)

More likely to be inconclusive when goals are many and clear

Genre 3

Non-structural and countercultural

Regime

Outcome (98.8%)

Less likely to be successful in mixed regime

more likely to be ongoing in mixed regime

significantly more likely to be inconclusive in mixed regime

Success (91.9%)

Less likely to be successful in mixed regime

more likely to unsuccessful in mixed regime

Age

Outcome (99.5%)

Significantly more likely to be ongoing when age is old

less likely to be inconclusive when youth

more likely to be inconclusive when mixed, but not all

Outcome_New (88.4%)

Less likely to be ongoing or inconclusive when youth
more likely to be ongoing or inconclusive when old
more likely to be ongoing or inconclusive when mixed but not all ages

Source

Success (90.9%)

More likely to be unsuccessful in when music is borrowed

Outcome_New (94.4%)

More likely to be unsuccessful when music is borrowed

SES

Outcome (97.9%)

Significantly more likely to be ongoing when low status middle income

Affiliation

Outcome (92.9%)

Significantly more likely to be ongoing when affiliation is mixed or unclear

More likely to be inconclusive when affiliation is mixed or unclear

Outcome_New (96%)

Significantly more likely to be ongoing when affiliation is unclear or mixed

Region

Outcome (90.8%)

Significantly more likely to be ongoing when region middle east

more likely to be inconclusive when region is middle east

more likely to be inconclusive when region is Caribbean

Success (91.4%)

More likely to be unsuccessful in middle east

less likely to be unsuccessful in Latin America

more likely to be unsuccessful in Caribbean

Outcome_New (96%)

Significantly more likely to be ongoing in middle east

Leadership

Outcome (92.3%)

Significantly more likely to be unsuccessful when leadership is not present

Success (91.4%)

More likely to be unsuccessful when leadership not present

Outcome_New (96.8%)

More likely to be unsuccessful when leadership not present

Identity

Outcome (95.1%)

More likely to be unsuccessful when identity strong

less likely to be unsuccessful when identity is loose

Success (96.4%)

Less likely to be unsuccessful when identity is loose

Outcome_New (92.4%)

More likely to be unsuccessful when identity is strong
 less likely to be unsuccessful when identity is loose
 Process
 Outcome (99.9%)
 Significantly more likely to be ongoing when the process is about unity
 Outcome_New (90.1%)
 More likely to be ongoing when process is about unity
 SacSec_New
 Outcome (92.4%)
 More likely to be ongoing when sacred
 Outcome_New (94.5%)
 More likely to be ongoing when sacred
 AffNew
 Outcome (92.9%)
 More likely to be ongoing when affiliation is mixed or unclear
 more likely to be inconclusive when affiliation is mixed or unclear
 Outcome_New (96%)
 Significantly more likely to be ongoing when affiliation is unclear
 Time_New
 Outcome (99.4%)
 Less likely to be unsuccessful when in second decade
 more likely to be unsuccessful when in sixth decade
 significantly more likely to be unsuccessful when in the third decade
 Outcome_New (98.7%)
 Less likely to be unsuccessful when in second decade
 more likely to be unsuccessful in sixth decade
 less likely to be ongoing or inconclusive in first decade
 significantly more likely to be ongoing or inconclusive in third decade

Genre 4

Non-structural and cultural
 Regime
 Success (88.6%)
 Less likely to be unsuccessful in authoritarian regimes
 more likely to be unsuccessful in mixed regimes
 Outcome_New (88.6%)
 More likely to be ongoing in mixed regimes
 Age
 Outcome_New (85.7%)
 Significantly more likely to be ongoing when old
 Outcome (97.4%)
 Significantly more likely to be ongoing if old
 Source
 Success (94.2%)

More likely to be unsuccessful when music is a mixture of new, revival and borrowed
Outcome_New (93.5%)

More likely to be successful when mixed source

Less likely to be ongoing or inconclusive when New

More likely to be ongoing or inconclusive when mixed source

Violence

Outcome_New (94.3%)

Significantly more likely to ongoing or inconclusive when tactics are violent and non-violent

Outcome (99.4%)

Significantly more likely to be inconclusive if tactics are mixed

Affiliation

Success (91.4%)

Less likely to be successful when affiliation is unclear or mixed

less likely to be unsuccessful when reactionary traditional

more likely to be unsuccessful when affiliation is unclear or mixed

Outcome_New (99.3%)

More likely to be unsuccessful when reactionary liberal

significantly more likely to be ongoing when affiliation is mixed or unclear

Outcome (95%)

More likely to be unsuccessful if reactionary liberal

less likely to be successful if mixed or unclear

significantly more likely to be ongoing if mixed or unclear

significantly more likely to be inconclusive if mixed or unclear

Religion

Outcome_New (94.4%)

Less likely to be unsuccessful when multiple religions

more likely to unsuccessful when religion n/a

more likely to be ongoing or inconclusive when multiple religions

Reaction

Success (93.4%)

Less likely to be successful when state reaction is to adopt

more likely to be unsuccessful when state reacts by adoption

less likely to be unsuccessful when state reacts in mixed methods

Outcome_New (90.3%)

Less likely to be successful when the state adopts

more likely to be unsuccessful when the state adopts

more likely to be unsuccessful when the state suppresses

more likely to be ongoing or inconclusive when the state adopts

more likely to be ongoing or inconclusive when the state ignores

Outcome (96.2%)

Less likely to be successful if State Adopts

more likely to unsuccessful if State Adopts or Suppress

significantly more likely to be ongoing if State Adopts Adopt
 significantly more likely to be inconclusive if State Ignores
 Region
 Success (88.3%)
 Less likely to be successful in middle east
 More likely to be unsuccessful in middle east
 less likely to be unsuccessful in Asia/Oceania
 Outcome_New (98.5%)
 Less likely to be successful in middle east
 more likely to be unsuccessful in North America and Africa
 significantly more likely to be ongoing or inconclusive in middle east
 Outcome (89.1%)
 Less likely to be successful if middle east
 Significantly more likely to be ongoing if middle east
 Significantly more likely to be inconclusive if middle east
 more likely to be unsuccessful if North America and Africa
 Leadership
 Success (95.1%)
 Less likely to be unsuccessful when leadership not clear
 SymbLang
 Success (98%)
 Less likely to be successful when language not symbolic
 More likely to be unsuccessful when language not symbolic
 Outcome_New (99.5%)
 Less likely to be successful when language not symbolic
 significantly more likely to be unsuccessful when language not symbolic
 Outcome (98.6%)
 Less likely to be successful if not symbolic
 significantly more likely to be unsuccessful when not symbolic
 Time
 Success (89.8%)
 Less likely to be successful at 3 years
 more likely to be unsuccessful at 3 years
 more likely to be unsuccessful at 16 years
 less likely to be successful at 28 years
 more likely to be unsuccessful at 28 years
 Minority/Majority
 Success (98.7%)
 Less likely to be successful when a dominant minority
 less likely to be unsuccessful when disempowered minority
 more likely to be unsuccessful when a dominant minority
 less likely to be unsuccessful when disempowered majority
 Outcome_New (94.5%)

Less likely to be successful when dominant minority
more likely to be unsuccessful when dominant minority
more likely to be ongoing or inconclusive when dominant minority
more likely to be unsuccessful when demographics are mixed

AffNew

Success (94.1%)

Less likely to be successful when affiliation unclear
more likely to be unsuccessful when affiliation is unclear

Outcome_New (98.8%)

Less likely to be successful when affiliation is unclear
significantly more likely to be ongoing when affiliation is unclear

Outcome (99.2%)

Less likely to be successful when affiliation is unclear
significantly more likely to be ongoing when affiliation is unclear
significantly more likely to be inconclusive when affiliation is unclear

EmNeg

Success (92.6%)

More likely to be unsuccessful when emotions are negative

Outcome (87.3%)

More likely to be unsuccessful when emotions are negative
more likely to be inconclusive when emotions are negative

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