Music for Global Human Development: Participatory Action Research for Health and Wellbeing

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Abstract: This article outlines an engaged ethnomusicology called Music for Global Human Development (M4GHD), fostering human development through sustainable music-centred community collaborations. Human development a human process of upholding human value by reinforcing the I-thou essence of human connection — is impeded by dehumanization resulting from the mediation of personal relationships through an impersonal world system. Theoretically, the M4GHD model builds upon the Habermasian duality of system and lifeworld. But maintenance of the lifeworld — locus of human value — depends not only on rational "communicative action" (as per Habermas), but equally on affective social connectivity, constructed through the soundworld, where feedback loops of thoughtfeeling produce socio-sonic resonance. The method is Participatory Action Research (PAR), forging collaborative community-engaged networks, drawing outsider and insider participants into a shared, resonant soundworld, thereby transforming awareness and practice. After outlining problem, theory, and method, this article offers several examples illustrating how resonant networks of PAR in ethnomusicology have the potential to transform community and network towards global human development, and development of the global human.

Résumé : Cet article décrit dans les grandes lignes une ethnomusicologie engagée appelée « Musique pour le développement humain global » (Music for Global Human Development, M4GHD), qui encourage le développement humain au moyen de collaborations communautaires centrées sur la musique. Le développement humain – un processus humain de maintien de la valeur humaine par le renforcement de l'essence « je-tu » de la connexion humaine – est entravé par la déshumanisation qui résulte de la médiation des relations personnelles à travers un système mondial impersonnel. En théorie, le modèle M4GHD s'édifie à partir de la dualité du système habermassien et du « monde de la vie ». Mais le maintien du monde de la vie – le locus de la valeur humaine – dépend non seulement de « l'action communicative » rationnelle (à la Habermas), mais également d'une connectivité affective sociale édifiée au moyen du « monde du son », où les boucles de rétroaction pensée-sentiment produisent une résonance socio-sonique. La méthode est celle de l'action recherche participative, qui forge des réseaux de collaborations engagés dans les communautés, attirant les participants de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur dans un monde du son partagé et évocateur, transformant ainsi tant la conscience que la pratique. Après avoir décrit le problème, la théorie et la méthode, cet article mentionne plusieurs exemples illustrant la façon dont les réseaux « de résonance » de l'action-recherche participative en ethnomusicologie ont le potentiel d'amener communauté et réseau en direction du développement humain global, et du développement de l'être humain global.

In this article, I outline Music for Global Human Development (M4GHD): a form of applied ethnomusicology fostering human development, locally and globally, through sustainable, music-centred community collaborations. Human development entails a human process of upholding human value rights and freedoms, social justice, health and economic equality, well-being and self-actualization — in the world by reinforcing the I-thou essence of human connection (Buber 1958). Human development is impeded by rampant dehumanization resulting from the mediation of human relationships by an impersonal, powerful, frequently parasitic, but largely hidden global system. Such mediation is, ironically, characteristic even of much "development" work today, driving both its methods and its goals.

The M4GHD model extends the Habermasian duality of lifeworld (the social world as lived and experienced) and social system (the world as durably structured, largely beyond our ken). For Habermas, consensus and social solidarity in the lifeworld depend upon "communicative action," which he views primarily as *rational* discourse (1984b: 57). By contrast, I affirm the importance also of *affective* social communications, carried primarily through a profoundly social "soundworld," including speech and song that move people — and move them *together* (in both senses). Thus, music offers a crucial technology for rehumanizing social relations damaged by system mediation, strengthening and protecting the lifeworld from system depredations, and promoting a mutualistic, rather than parasitic, system-lifeworld relationship.

The M4GHD method is Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005). PAR forges collaborative, extensible, communityengaged social networks that draw diverse participants into a shared, resonant soundworld, thereby transforming their awareness, attitude, and practice, and those of the societies where they live.

After outlining the problems, theory, and methods of M4GHD, I present examples of resonant PAR networks illustrating two broad project types,

"Songs for Sustainable Development" and "Music for Cultural Continuity," both applied to development foci in health and wellbeing. While the former address issues explicitly through lyrics, often carried by popular mediated song, the latter effect change through active participation, usually in traditional live performance. Both types support rehumanized social connectivity. I suggest that resonant sociomusical networks of PAR in ethnomusicology have the potential not only to transform communities — rich or poor — but also the action network itself, towards global human development, and development of the global human.

A Diagnosis of Social Pathologies and Sustainable Musical Solutions

Nearly all big humanitarian problems — human rights violations, economic inequality, poverty, racism, war, civil conflict, ethnic cleansing, refugees, climate change, food insecurity, health inequity — can be traced to the evolution of a parasitic global system engaged in the relentless, short-sighted pursuit of money and power. Natural cataclysms and dastardly individuals are rarely more than proximate causes. Rather, problems result ultimately from emergent social system formations, exploiting the lifeworld, while clashing with each other. These non-human emergent forms dehumanize individual subjects, oftentimes with a seductively human face, exploiting our innate drives and culturally instilled values, coaxing us to become mindless consumers or ideologues. Other times the process is brazenly brutal, reducing subjects to objects, the "nonhuman human" bereft of all rights (exemplified in atrocities like genocide or the trans-Atlantic slave trade), towards accumulation of economic wealth or political power.

The most lucid diagnosis of this situation, in my view, is articulated by philosopher Jürgen Habermas in his pithy catchphrase: the system's "colonization of the lifeworld" (1984b: 325). The lifeworld — locus of authentic human meaning, value, morality, and intersubjective connection — is that lived, social reality we inhabit as human beings seeking a stable, purposeful existence. Emerging from the lifeworld, its indispensable matrix, the social system is defined by positions and connections of "instrumental action," including dissemination of inauthentic meaning, as a strategy for quantitative accumulation of wealth or power. Driven by this inherent disposition — and gradually evolving through a kind of Darwinian "survival of the fittest" — the system may hijack the lifeworld's qualitative humanistic values. Mapped to system positions (whether as CEO, gig worker, or consumer), people's actions and even thoughts are constrained, as amoral, ends-oriented instrumental actions come to mediate and overwhelm human relationships. Such system mediation induces division, objectification, and dehumanization, blinding us to our common humanity, creating "social pathologies" (Habermas 1984a: xl), and exacerbating social "fault lines" (Galtung 1996: 38) of nation, race, ethnicity, gender, and class, in the process.

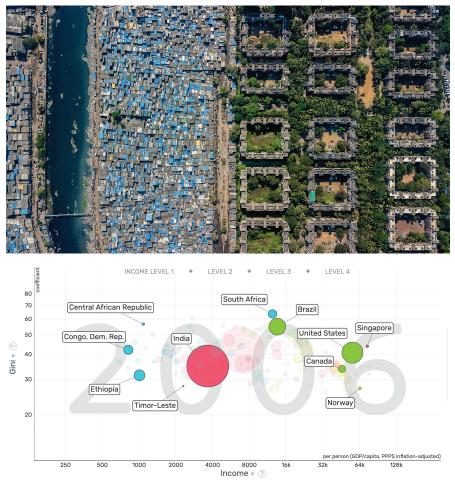


Fig. 1. Above: Mumbai is a city of radical inequality. Presently the 10th richest city in the world, with an estimated total private wealth of \$970 billion US, it ranks ahead of wealthy metropolises like Houston, Toronto, Geneva, and Paris (New World Wealth 2021), yet ranks only 423rd among world cities in average monthly wages (\$669 US, compared to \$5556 US for Houston. See Numbeo 2021). Image © Johnny Miller / Unequal Scenes (https://unequalscenes.com/mumbai). Used by permission. Below: Plot of Gini coefficient (a measure of income inequality) vs. income (GDP per capita, in fixed 2011 PPP dollars, using data from the World Bank's International Comparison Program); bubble size is proportional to population. While India combines vast wealth and crushing poverty, inequality is even greater in the USA. (Free material from www.gapminder.org.)

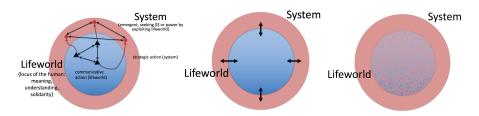


Fig. 2. A diagnosis of global problems, through an analysis of the relation of lifeworld (blue) and emergent system (pink). As individuals (black triangles) are mapped to system positions (red diamonds), the system comes to mediate relationships, inducing dehumanization (left). Systemlifeworld interactions can be mutualistic when they stabilize each other (e.g., system provides durable legal institutions) (centre), or parasitic, when the system colonizes the lifeworld (e.g., exploits workers, or unsustainably plunders the environment), while masking that colonization, weakening and ultimately destroying the lifeworld — and hence itself (right).

So long as they remain in mutualistic balance, the system's relatively durable positional structure provides a critical stabilizing function that is essential for human wellbeing in the modern complex, hyperspecialized, high-density lifeworld. Steering values of money and power can maintain such a mutualistic system, one enabling cultural continuity despite passage of generations, supporting a stable, peaceful civil society through durable participatory democratic institutions, and offering reliable employment in a publicly accountable, secure private sector. Such a system is antithetical to political authoritarians and robber barons ruling by personal whim, whose empires crumble with their demise. Such a system offers (in an inversion of its own emergence out of the lifeworld) a sustainable trellis enabling lifeworld traditions to root, climb, and flourish, and self-actualization to thrive across the *longue durée*, despite an ever-changing flow of human beings, a river into which, as Heraclitus put it, one can never step twice.

The crisis of colonization only occurs when system and lifeworld decouple, the former's steering values run amok, no longer serving humanity, but rather evolving blindly towards optimization of short-term gains in money or power, even at the risk of self-destruction. Such a system is parasitic: exploiting, oppressing, and dehumanizing, threatening human values and even (through environmental destruction, or nuclear war) humanity's very survival. But as the system is an emergent structure grounded in the lifeworld, it lacks any autonomous existence. As the parasitic system percolates ever more deeply into its sustaining lifeworld, it endangers itself as well: the parasite killing its own host (see Fig. 1 and 2).

Liberation from system colonization requires social solidarity: rehumanizing social connections (particularly across the "fault lines" that bound in-groups and promote dehumanization of out-groups) in order to repel the system's parasitic depredations and transform it into a mutualistic form. We cannot transform the system directly; as an emergent structure, it lies beyond our grasp, or even ken. Yet in the final analysis, the system is *just us*. Through changes in our awareness, attitude, and practice, we can transform our lifeworld, both to protect it, and, indirectly, to shape a more life-affirming system. For Habermas, the lifeworld is sustained by "communicative action," which he formulates as a series of "speech acts" (following Austin 1962, Searle 1969, and others) that make intersubjective validity claims. Thus conceived, "communicative action" is a primarily cognitive mode of communication that fosters intersubjective understanding (Habermas 1984b: 77–111). Certainly, such an intellective understanding is important. But something crucial is missing from this formula: social solidarity also requires affect.

Sustainable solutions are required to restore and fortify the lifeworld. What can ethnomusicology contribute? My response is M4GHD: deploying "music" in a generalized sense (including expressive sound, allied expressive arts, and musical discourse) as a powerful social technology for rehumanized connection via *affective* communicative action. M4GHD draws on social theory, ethnomusicological theory, and PAR.

Music as Thought-Feeling: Reweaving the Social Fabric in the Soundworld

Music is a flexible, sustainable, and economical form of communication integrating thought and feeling. It is hence psychologically transformative, both cognitively and affectively. Music is, therefore, also a powerful *social* force capable of strengthening the lifeworld. As technological optimism drives so much development funding, and in search of funding to support a variety of projects, I began to assert that *music too is a powerful social technology*, but one far more humanistic, economical, and sustainable than anything engineers might produce. Music can forge and maintain human connectivity across system-induced divisions, (re)weaving the social fabric.

Musical reweaving centres on the heart of the lifeworld, locus of what I call the *soundworld*, the hub of social interaction and solidarity, as has been recognized since the Enlightenment. Kant affirmed sound as our most social sense (Kant 2009 [1798]: 47–48), while the 18th century French naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc, the Comte de Buffon, wrote, "It is by [hearing] that we are enabled to carry on the business of society, and to form a mutual communication of our sentiments" (Bouffon 2007 [1780]: 36). R. Murray Schafer considered hearing a form of "remote touching":

Touch is the most personal of the senses. Hearing and touch meet where the lower frequencies of audible sound pass over to tactile vibrations (at about 20 hertz). Hearing is a way of touching at a distance and the intimacy of the first sense is fused with sociability whenever people gather together to hear something special. (1994: 11)

According to contemporary German philosopher Wolfgang Welsch, "Seeing is an individual sense. ... Listening, on the other hand, is connected with people, with our social existence" (2006: 95).

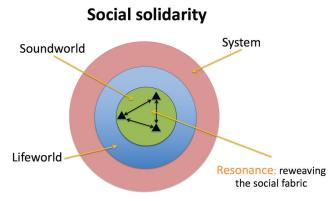


Fig. 3. Social solidarity at the lifeworld's core: the soundworld.

For the majority, hearing underlies affective socialization more than any other sensory faculty. Hearing is central to communication — cognitive and emotional — via speech and music. Here, the soundworld is the primary locus for the weaving and reweaving of the social fabric, especially through what I call *socio-sonic resonance* (see Fig. 3). The affective social power of communication through sound rests on four acoustic and psychoacoustic attributes: rapid three-dimensional diffusion (implying near simultaneous hearing); diffraction (circumnavigating solid objects); masking (blocking competing communications); and serving as substrate for language, fusing reference and paralinguistic expression — most intensively in song, but also in speech: what I call *thought-feeling*.

Sound's social power expands in collective musicking, maximizing linguistic, paralinguistic, and purely sonic expression. Unlike speech, music enables full participation even by large groups, allowing people to forge relationships across a musical event. Collective sensory focus, semantic ambiguity, shared associations, and sonic organization have the capacity to gather people together, induce connection, and dissolve boundaries through shared experience in the soundworld. Music's sonic organization (temporal, spectral, and formal) connects participants by inducing social alignments (e.g., synchronized rhythm, call/response interactions, harmony). Music also induces *common feeling*: emotion, together with an intuitive sense that such emotion is shared (cf. "common knowledge," Chwe 2001; Frishkopf 2021: 64). Over time, common feeling associated with a shared context leads to the sedimentation of shared meaning. All these factors induce social cohesion.

At the same time, poetry and especially music are ambiguous symbols, capable of idiosyncratic significations. Participants may find music meaningful, but each in their own way. This semantic flexibility enables connections that are both far-reaching and individualized. Sound provides further advantages over text and image in overcoming illiteracy and in being suitable for radio broadcast, the most widely accessible and effective mass medium for development.

But the affective power of sound is most intense in a cybernetic phenomenon I term *socio-sonic resonance*: a potent, collective, cognitive-affective state resulting from communicative feedback, carrying, tuning, and amplifying thought-feeling, while gathering participants together (Frishkopf in Rasmussen et al. 2019: 305–6; Frishkopf 2021). Resonance entails intensifying feedback, through which sound adapts to participants and their environment. While most powerful in music, resonance and concomitant sonic adaptation may develop in any socio-sonic feedback system, from dyadic conversations to religious sermons or political speeches.

The metaphor of a network, a set of nodes and links, is particularly useful in conceptualizing resonance. Nodes represent subjects (in the lifeworld) or positions (in the system); links interconnect them. In the general case of system positions, nodes and links are formal, dehumanized, and inducing dehumanization. It is only in the lifeworld where humanizing, intersubjective links are *possible* (though never *assured*), carrying, and sustained by, flows of thought-feeling between their endpoints, usually within the soundworld.

Once again, this sound need not be musical. In a simple conversation, for example, two people exchange thoughts and feelings, moving towards intersubjective understanding, if not agreement: cognitively, they may agree or they may "agree to disagree," but they are emotionally connected through this exchange. Whatever the outcome, this process leads to mutual recognition of each other as subjects. Humanization is perforce a human process — and a dialogic one. People humanize each other; (re)humanization is necessarily relational. This follows from the fact that the subject itself is relational, a node in intersubjective space at the interstices of social connections. Unlike the system's

network nodes and links, the subject is *defined* by social connection. When resonance happens, each recognizes the humanity of the other by *participating* in the other. One might also characterize this resonant state as empathetic: knowing what the "other" feels, mitigating "otherness."

Resonance transmutes social links into humanized, empathetic channels through which thought-feeling is collectively shared. I call the links that have been transmuted by this sort of communication *social threads*, and (to extend the metaphor) say that they are *spun* by resonance. I view the *spinning of threads* as an elementary social action out of which a larger *social fabric* can be (re)woven and maintained. Unlike conversation, collective musical events are broadly encompassing and harmonizing, narrowing the space for conflict. With full participation (following Small's "musicking" [1998], "musical participation" encompasses all modalities: singing, playing, dancing, clapping, or simply listening), the potential for disagreement decreases (Bloch 1974) while emotional communication in sound intensifies.

Thus, resonance implies communicative feedback cycles through a social network. These cycles carry sonic representations of thought-feeling. They adapt to participants and environment; they entail mutual humanistic recognition; and they transform node to subject, link to thread. Whether in a dyad, or a larger network (see Fig. 4), resonance moves people (emotionally and spatially), and moves them together (temporally, emotionally, spatially, socially), forging localized social-affective structures in affective convergence. We can then speak of a *resonating network*, infused with shared ideas and emotions. Resonance implies common thought-feeling: recognizing each other as fully human and recognizing that shared recognition, resulting in the emergence of a self-communicating "macrosubject," the network as a "We." Through all its attributes — diffusion, diffraction, masking, speech substrate, and resonance — music gathers, aligns, and moves people — and it moves them together.

For most of human history, resonance developed through live, face-toface interactions. But resonance can occur within — and transform — any social network, live or mediated. Unmediated resonance tends to centre on traditional musical forms, localized but intergenerational. These forms develop through immediate feedback and support cultural continuity. Adaptation through convergence of feedback cycles is rapid, while impact is narrow. Adaptation in the mediated lifeworld (where feedback may flow through social media, for instance) is slower, but impact is more extensive. Here, mediated popular music may develop solidarity around key social issues, particularly among youth.

Full network resonance necessitates several conditions: inclusiveness, communicative feedback channels linking participants, and performative flexibility enabling personal expression (see Fig. 5). A live musical concert,

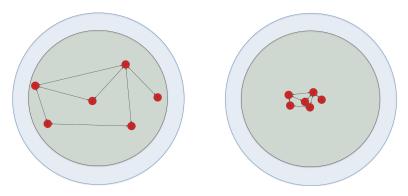


Fig. 4. A communicating network of six individuals, from initial state (left) to final state (right). Sociosonic resonance moves people, and moves them together (in both senses of "move"). In the process, nodes are transformed into subjects, links into threads, network into fabric.

being evanescent, may generate empathetic communion only during its short span, dissipating thereafter. But when paired with more continuous social formations — a village community, a grassroots political movement, a religious establishment, or a development initiative — the concert's humanizing transformations may be more durable, even if periodic renewal is required.

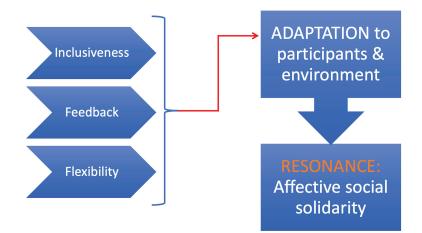
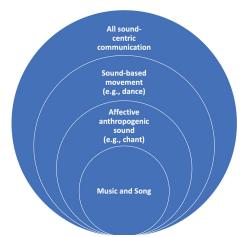


Fig. 5. Conditions for network resonance and weaving of the social fabric.



Generalized Music, Generalized Resonance

Many ritual events that seek to reweave the social fabric — whether periodic confirmations (e.g., an annual saint festival) or occasional initiations (e.g., a wedding; an inauguration) — feature resonant sonic performances, which include what I call *generalized music*: expressions of thought-feeling centred on language, voice, and sound that develop a sense of common humanity. These forms may be conceptualized as a nested set of categories, from music and song proper, to a broader sphere of affective anthropogenic sound, often accompanied by movement (dance, ritual behaviour), to all sound-centric communication (verbal or non-verbal, face-to-face or mediated) (see Fig. 6).

Widening the narrow definition of "music" as "aesthetic sound" to include such related sound-centric performance, the concept of resonance also widens. If music includes sound, dance, poetry, religious and political chant, and discursive forms like musical teaching, conferences, and research, then we may also speak of a resonant lecture, symposium, or project. Likewise, applied ethnomusicology can also resonate (face-to-face or mediated) across far-flung social networks.

This generalized music provides a pivotal human technology for connection and recognition of our common humanity, rehumanizing links, spinning social threads, reweaving the warp and weft of the lifeworld, and fostering empathetic intersubjectivity. Such *music technology* is critical because it is simultaneously personal and social, cognitive and affective, projecting inner identities into intersubjective space to connect with others via "remote

Fig. 6. Nested categories of "generalized music," potentially inducing "generalized resonance."

touching" as a quasi-autonomous extension of the self. As an intersubjective agent, music assumes the role of the "human nonhuman" — the converse of the system-dehumanized "nonhuman human" — entering the social fabric as a virtual subject. By means of generalized resonance, generalized music is community builder par excellence, a primary sustainer of the lifeworld, though not always recognized as such. By the same token, however, it is also vulnerable to system colonization.

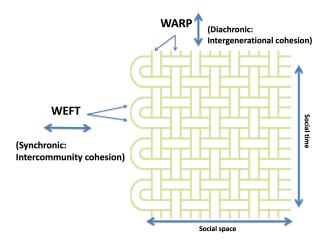


Fig. 7. Resonance restores the lifeworld by reweaving the social fabric in two dimensions (where time is conceived along the vertical axis), analogized as a cloth's warp and weft.

Generalized resonance revitalizes the lifeworld by reweaving the social fabric in two interlocking dimensions of social space-time: 1) horizontally (synchronically) *across* social space (e.g., communities, subcultures, ethnic enclaves, etc.) and *along* social time; and 2) vertically (diachronically) *along* social space (e.g., lineages) and *across* social time (e.g., generations). These two dimensions constitute the warp and the weft of the social fabric. They also correspond with sociologist Alfred Schutz's analysis of the lifeworld as comprising relations among those who interact face-to-face (consociates), potential relations among the living with their predecessors and successors (Schutz 1967: xxvii) (see Fig. 7).

M4GHD: Generalized Musical Resonance as an Intervention

M4GHD deploys generalized musical resonance — mediated or unmediated — as an intervention, a social technology for humanization, reweaving the social fabric while supporting positive social change by reconditioning attitudes and behaviours through messaging. Ideally, M4GHD should reweave the warp and weft together, but many interventions focus on one or the other depending on musical style and modality of social interactions. Thus, traditional live resonance tends to have a warp focus, underscoring the importance of intergenerational cultural continuity within a sociocultural group ("Music for Cultural Continuity"), while popular mediated songs tend to have a weft focus, supporting awareness and action concerning topical issues of concern across groups ("Songs for Sustainable Development") (see Fig. 8).

	Face-to-face resonance	Mediated resonance
Music	Traditional local music	Popular generational music
Lyrics	Traditional	New: development messages
Restorative focus	Warp (intergenerational)	Weft (intercultural)
Adaptation	Faster	Slower
Impact	Intensive (narrower)	Extensive (broader)
Limitation	Monocultural	Monogenerational
Primarily supports	Cultural continuity	Solidarity around key development issues

Fig. 8. Face-to-face (unmediated) and mediated resonance: tendencies.

The theory of M4GHD outlined here is definitively *not* an argument for music as an unequivocal force for social progress. It is of utmost importance to remember that resonance (and the (re)weaving of the social fabric) is never an unconditional good. There is always a risk that such resonant reweaving could exacerbate existing divisions, or create new ones, opening fissures serving system colonization. Bellicose songs can drive the public to support destructive, sometimes genocidal, wars or ethnic cleansing, amplify political power, or serve the "military industrial complex." Nationalistic songs can mask the cruelty of dictators. Fascists and white supremacists have their music too, which can be used to enhance social solidarity through exclusion and dehumanization and to encourage violence. Social cohesion must never be developed negatively, via dehumanization of others as outsiders. Rather, identity must be defined positively, by the presence of a shared attribute. M4GHD resonances must be inclusive, rather than supporting negative identities, lest they promote social solidarity within one group at the cost of dehumanizing another.

One way to avert a negative outcome of M4GHD is to ensure that resonance criss-crosses extant social fault-lines, whether of race, ethnicity, class, citizenship, or any other system-induced division. It is therefore critical that each M4GHD project bridge social categories, particularly the gaps between the developed and developing worlds, since the dehumanization of the latter among citizens of the former is most pernicious. The sociomusical networks of M4GHD action ought to be global, while remaining always rooted in the local lifeworld. In this way, they expand the lifeworld to global proportions, fostering development of the global human. They must be inclusive, flexible, and promote good communication. It is no accident that these are precisely the conditions for resonance, and, in fact, it is within this network that transformative resonance begins, through PAR supporting music for global human development, and development of the global human.

Resonance and Participatory Action Research

PAR is a collaborative, community-based strategy to enact positive social change (Kemmis and McTaggart 2005; Fals-Borda 2005; Kemmis, McTaggart, and Nixon 2014; Rahman 2005); it is a strategy that both requires and generates social networks. Ideally, PAR entails egalitarian team participation: all cooperate in an action network, coupled with research formulating and guiding action, and gauging its efficacy. Such a network blurs participant categories, including distinctions in educational level, class, ethnicity, religion, gender, and nation. The network should be diverse, grassroots yet global, criss-crossing social fault lines, open, cohesive, equitable, empowering, and humanizing, spurred to action by an urgent issue. While achieving true equality may be elusive or impossible (usually academics enjoy access to funding, equipment, and power that others do not), the network mitigates difference through humanistic, respectful connections linking categories that are usually separated — "faculty" and "students," "researchers" and "subjects," "academics" and "lay people," "international" and "local" - problematizing such divisive binary structures by promoting humanized lifeworld relations among them. Collectively, the network formulates a plan, carries it out, observes its impact, reflects on its results, then refines it, cycling while spiralling upwards. The network must be well-rooted in the lifeworld; too many development projects affiliated with large organizations inadvertently absorb system-level agendas. (See Fig. 9)

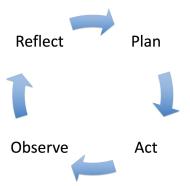


Fig. 9. Participatory Action Research (PAR): collaborative research cycle/spiral for positive social change that is more ethical, effective, and sustainable.

Inclusive and empowering, PAR is both more *ethical* and more *effective*, building local capacity, fostering sustainable, scalable methods, and meeting real needs. The PAR network itself resonates with powerful, shared thought-feeling, transforming itself into a global social fabric in which the "I-it" relations of ordinary research networks are humanized to become "I-thou" relations of mutually recognized humanity (Buber 1958). This recurring cycle/ spiral of plan-act-observe-reflect creates a non-exclusive, collective "We." While the network's long-range objective is a sustainable positive transformation in a wider community, the immediate result is the rehumanization of relationships that connect project participants, pulling down the walls that all too often block recognition of our common humanity.

Being musical, the M4GHD PAR network is particularly prone to resonance, simultaneously a development strategy and a microcosm of the broader aim — both a means to an end, and an end in itself. As the project evolves through multiple PAR cycles, more people are drawn into the action network, whose transformation becomes a goal in itself. Due to its global/ local nature, each M4GHD project is conceived as a double- (or multi-) sided network, connecting the local to a wider global, and thereby effecting humanizing social transformations, bridging local empowerment (from despair to hope) and global awareness (from indifference to compassion).

Many M4GHD projects involve mediated resonance, sometimes in combination with face-to-face resonance. Given the limitations on coverage and the cost of television and internet, the most important medium is often community radio. This is evident in numerous African contexts (Asemah, Anum, and Edegoh 2013; Tucker 2013; Community Radio 2014; Al-hassan, Andani, and Abdul-Malik 2011), as championed by the Canada-based Africa-focused NGO Farm Radio (2021), which pioneered the development of radio as a two-way platform thanks to a technology investment from the Gates Foundation.

Music for Global Human Development: Five Examples

I conclude by briefly introducing five double-sided M4GHD projects. Each instantiates the PAR cycle in addressing a development issue, connecting people (especially project participants) through resonant PAR networks and disseminating positive messaging both locally and globally.

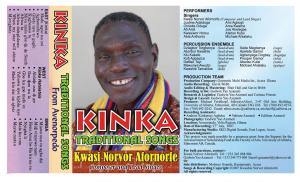
1. Loss of cultural continuity in Ghana & Kinka

Norvor is lead composer, poet, and song leader for the Lebene Habobo, a mutual aid society based in Ashaiman, Ghana (see Fig. 10). The group, whose members hail mainly from Ewe communities in Ghana's Volta Region, performs traditional music for funerals, centring on a genre called Kinka. I met and worked with Norvor in 1988 while conducting research for my MA thesis on Ewe composers (Frishkopf 1989), when Lebene Habobo was most active. With the electrification of the villages in the late 1990s and 2000s, radios, televisions, and cassette players — and, somewhat later, mobile phones introduced generationally disruptive commercial music that was disseminated via broadcasts, cassettes, and social media, even in rural areas. As a result, many youths drifted away from long-standing socio-musical traditions. Lebene Habobo's membership declined, threatening cultural continuity.

When I returned to Ghana in 2006, after a gap of nearly 20 years, I met Norvor and we talked about potential collaborative projects. He told me he wanted to produce a cassette tape featuring his Kinka songs. With modest funding from my university, we gathered a team that included Lebene's leading singers and drummers, my student participants, and locally based sound engineers. Together we recorded and produced a cassette designed for the local market. Using the same recordings, I then produced a CD for a global English-speaking market, containing extensive liner notes distilling my MA thesis and documenting the Ewe musical scene. The CD has been well-utilized in African music teaching programs in North America (Norvor 2007; 2010; Carl 2015; Frishkopf 2007; 2010).



Fig. 10. Composer-poet Norvor (a.k.a. Emanuel Afornorfe) leading songs at a Lebene Habobo funeral (c. 1988). (Photograph © Michael Frishkopf.)



traditional songs from avenorpedo



Fig. 11. Cassette for local market (above; 2007), CD for global market (below, 2009).

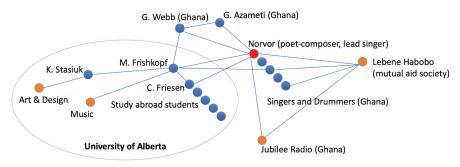


Fig. 12. The resonant global PAR network for *Kinka*, indicating special roles of Norvor, G. Azemeti (research, recording, photography), G. Webb (recording, editing, mastering), K. Stasiuk (graphic designer), C. Friesen (student researcher). Here and in subsequent PAR network figures, central nodes are indicated by red dots and organizations by orange dots.

The cassette sold well. Its impact — supporting cultural continuity by valorizing traditional live music as recorded media, higher status, and reproducible — was amplified by local broadcast media. Norvor distributed copies of the new cassette to Jubilee Radio, which was established in 2002 as one of the first private radio stations to operate in the Volta region (Jubilee Radio 2021). According to Norvor, Jubilee's Ewe-language broadcasts, targeting the local audience from the coastal town of Keta, rekindled interest in Kinka and encouraged youth to join the group. While I cannot prove a connection, when I visited Ghana in 2013, I attended a packed Lebene Habobo funeral in Ashaiaman, and the group appeared to be thriving again. Thus, an intervention transmitted through the very media (radio and cassette) that had disrupted cultural continuity succeeded in reversing that process, to some extent at least, by localizing media content and encouraging a resumption of live performance. At the same time, the CD raised awareness about Ghanaian performing arts and all profits from its sale were returned to support the artists (see Fig. 11 and 12).

2. Dehumanization in a Liberian Refugee Camp and Giving Voice to Hope

The Buduburam Liberian refugee camp, designed to accommodate 8,000, was packed with some 40,000 Liberian refugees in 2007 when I first met Slabe Sennay, camp director of the NGO Center for Youth Empowerment (CYE). I was in Ghana leading a summer study abroad program. One of my students, Eilis Pourbaix, a former CYE volunteer, introduced us. Life on the camp was very difficult. But, thanks to Slabe, we discovered a flourishing local music scene that included numerous recordings. Some popular musicians, like S-man (a.k.a. Samuel Taylor) and Shadow (Samuel Morgan), produced music in their own camp studios. Many songs were topical, speaking frankly about

war's horrific impact and their hopes for peace, while critiquing power and corruption. Musicians sought to express their experiences within the camp to their Ghanaian hosts (where anti-camp sentiment, dehumanizing Liberians as thieves, was all too common), and to the wider world, thereby rehumanizing themselves, other refugees, and their relationships with one another (see Fig. 13 and 14).



Fig. 13. The Buduburam camp in Ghana: streets (left); Center for Youth Empowerment (right). c. 2011. (Photographer unknown.)



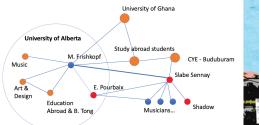
Fig. 14. Music production studios in Buduburam camp: S-Man (left) and Shadow (right). (Photographs © Michael Frishkopf.)

Gradually, from 2007 to 2010, we established and broadened a resonant PAR network that included students, NGOs, and musicians in Ghana, Canada, and the United States, meeting over the internet, or face to face in the camp. Participants shared songs and stories. Eilis conducted systematic interviews with the musicians.

Our interactions resulted in an audio CD (supported by University of Alberta International) that featured 16 groups and included extensive liner notes, as well as several videos (*Giving Voice to Hope* 2009; Frishkopf 2009; Morgan and Frishkopf 2011). We sold nearly 1,000 copies. The royalties were sent to the musicians and CYE – opportunely, because they reached musicians at a moment of need, just as they were resettling in Liberia. Many have continued their music careers to the present day. Meanwhile, the media (CD and videos) raised awareness and compassion in the West about the terrible conflict and its aftermath, expressed in powerful song. Locally, this collaboration produced a kind of *musicification*, and hence rehumanization, of camp life by highlighting and supporting musicians. In conjunction with public talks in North America, as well as wider distribution, it also exerted a global effect (see Fig. 15 and 16).



Fig. 15. PAR network meetings in the camp. (Photographs © Michael Frishkopf.)



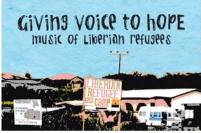


Fig. 16. Left: Resonant PAR network for Giving Voice to Hope, including producer Shadow, NGO head Slabe Sennay, researcher E. Pourbaix, and education abroad lead B. Tonge. Right: the "double-sided" CD (http://bit.ly/buducd).

3. Poor Sanitation in Post-War Monrovia (Liberia) and Giving Voice to Health

After 2012, hundreds of thousands of Liberian refugees, including many of the musicians who had participated in the Giving Voice to Hope project, returned to their war-torn country as refugee camps in West Africa were shut down. As a result, sanitation services in Liberia's capital, Monrovia, were severely strained. Shadow, having by then returned to Liberia, proposed a project to raise awareness through a music video featuring local artists advocating for better sanitation practices (see Fig. 17).



Fig. 17. Artists participating in the M4GHD project "Sanitation and Safewater in Liberia" (2011). Left to right: Shadow, J-Glo, Chiller Coolnanee, 5YA, and Jacob-V. (Still from the music video, produced by Faron Films Production, Liberia. For the full video see Morgan and Frishkopf 2013a. Used with permission.)

We connected with various non-profits, academics, and small media organizations in North America and Liberia to form a resonant PAR network for this new project, called Giving Voice to Health (see Fig. 18). Out of this network we produced and edited the music video and an accompanying documentary, *Sanitation and Safe Water in Liberia*. It was distributed in Liberia and globally, via conferences, over radio and television, and online via YouTube and Vimeo (Morgan and Frishkopf 2013a; 2013b). Funded by the Rotary Club of Calgary, Giving Voice to Health drew attention globally, but was strengthened locally by the participation of local artists who could meaningfully connect with their community through music, which the documentary makes evident. Such connection doesn't necessarily happen when well-intentioned international singer-activist stars — Sting, Bono, and the like — parachute in. Such artists enjoy system-mediated connections to fans globally but lie entirely outside the lifeworld of everyday local experience. By contrast, Liberian stars are singing to their own communities, fans they may know personally, in musical styles, accents, and idioms — like Liberian "hipco" (a local genre of Liberian hip hop) — they all understand. The project also succeeded in connecting people who would never have met otherwise. While resulting in presentations and a qualitative research publication (Frishkopf 2017), however, the project lacked a quantitative assessment component. Funding to measure the impact of our music video on local attitudes, behaviours, or sanitation conditions was simply not available. I addressed this omission in the following project.

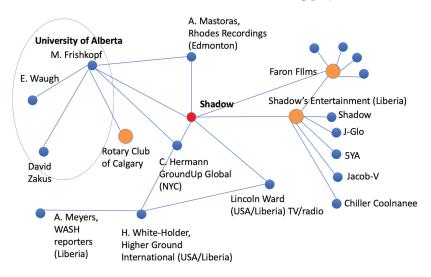


Fig. 18. The resonant network behind "Giving Voice to Health" (http://bit.ly/sanitationtitles), including university support from E. Waugh and D. Zakus, audio editing from A. Mastoras, with media and NGO contacts A. Meyers, C. Hermann, H. White-Holder, and Lincoln Ward, and the five artists, all coordinated by Shadow (Samuel Morgan).

4. Sanitation and Malaria in Northern Ghana and Singing and Dancing for Health

With high poverty, weak infrastructure, and scant social services compared to the south, Ghana's north suffers greatly from poor sanitation and deadly malaria. In 2014, a PAR team was assembled to address these issues through the performing arts. Team members comprised Tamale's Youth Home Cultural Group (a performance and youth training NGO), a community development organization (then known as grooming.org), faculty from the University for Development Studies, and community leaders in three northern villages (Tolon, Ziong, and Gbungbaliga), including chiefs, elders, imams, pastors, and representatives of Ghana Health Services, along with David Zakus (then University of Alberta Professor of Global Health) and myself. Together, we addressed these health issues plaguing northern Ghana, using dance dramas that incorporate dialogue, song, dance, and comedy to gather villages and deliver powerful health messaging through live performance. Preparation involved sharing ideas, then commissioning scripts from professional writers in Accra, which were vetted by public health experts before being translated into the local language, Dagbani. Village publicity was enhanced by posters and banners. Thanks to generous funding, we were able to carry out extensive knowledge-attitude-practice (KAP) surveys via interviews in all three villages, pre- and post-intervention, in sufficient quantities to enable valid statistical analysis (performed by Hasan Hamze) gauging the effectiveness of the network's interventions. In addition to local impacts and engagement, this PAR project resulted in numerous academic presentations and several collaborative publications (Frishkopf and Zakus 2015; Frishkopf et al. 2016a; 2016b).

To ensure sustainable public health messaging within the northern villages, we capitalized on local enthusiasm following the professional performances by establishing youth "singing and dancing for health" groups in two of the three villages, after raising more funds for costumes and training from Youth Home. The intention in forming these groups was to implant the idea of "singing and dancing for health" in local oral tradition where it could be sustained for generations to come. Primary support came from the Killam Foundation, with additional contributions from the University of Alberta's Department of Music, Faculty of Arts, Faculty of Medicine and Dentistry, and Centre for Health and Culture, as well as from Global Affairs Canada (see Fig. 19–23).

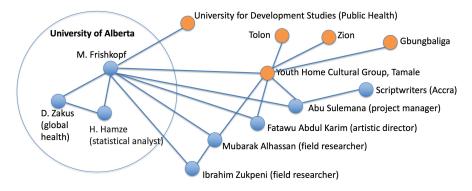


Fig. 19. The resonant PAR network for Singing and Dancing for Health in northern Ghana, including researchers David Zakus and Hasan Hamze, fieldworkers Mubarak Alhassan and Ibrahim Zukpeni, artistic director Fatawu Abdul Karim, and project manager Abu Sulemana.



Fig. 20. Project banner for Singing and Dancing for Health, 2014.



Fig. 21. KAP surveying in three villages: Ibrahim Zukpeni administers two surveys. (Photo by Mubarak Alhassan, 2014. Used with permission.)



Fig. 22. Scene from a dance drama, performed in Ziong. Dramas, combining melodrama with comedy, featuring the Youth Home Cultural Group and two locally famous actors, and enlivened with music and dance, drew enormous crowds everywhere they were presented. (Photograph © Michael Frishkopf, 2014.)



Fig. 23. Training a youth group in Tolon, 2015 (top); the youth group in Ziong, 2016 (bottom). (Photographs by Sulemana Abu. Used with permission.)

5. High Maternal and Neonatal Mortality Rates in Ethiopia and Lib Yaleh⁸

Ethiopia suffers from tragically high maternal and neonatal mortality rates: on average, one woman and ten babies die every hour, mainly in rural areas, most of preventable or treatable conditions. Because the country is so large—over 100 million people spread across more than a million square kilometres—rural communities depend on small local clinics for services, where expectant mothers rely on trained midwives. Over the past 20 years, health services have improved considerably, yet substantial health inequalities remain. Research shows that in 2016 only 13 percent of women in the poorest quintile had a skilled attendant at birth, compared to 67 percent for the richest quintile (Tesfaye, Mathewos, and Kebede 2017).

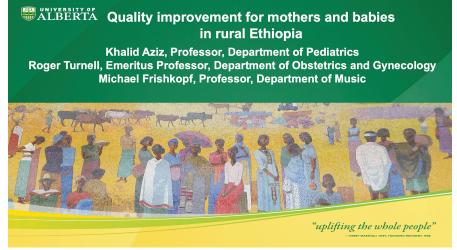


Fig. 24. The Ethiopia-Canada Maternal, Newborn and Child Health (MNCH) Project, funded by Global Affairs Canada.

While the government has provided clinics across the country, they are often understaffed and offer limited services. There are also cultural obstacles. In rural areas, there is a traditional preference for home births, particularly among men, for whom privacy is integral to honour. Furthermore, it is usually the husband who decides where his wife will give birth. In one study, a 24-year-old informant reported that "husbands took a lion share in the decision process of delivery location" (Adinew, Assefa, and Adinew 2018). Within this context, raising awareness, shifting attitudes, and changing behaviours in the face of cultural norms are essential to reducing maternal and infant mortality. To bring about such changes requires effective communication, what the UN calls "communication for development" (C4D) (UNICEF 2020). While C4D is ultimately about transformative messaging, the message's channel, style, and people matter greatly: who is providing the information, and how.

From 2012 to 2019, the University of Alberta partnered with St. Paul's Hospital Millennium Medical College in Addis Ababa on the Ethiopia-Canada Maternal, Newborn and Child Health Project, funded (\$6M) by Global Affairs Canada (see Fig. 24) to improve maternal and newborn health in Ethiopia. Three project components addressed this issue: 1) boosting capacity of midwife educators through a tutor training program; 2) strengthening referral procedures so that women in distress could be rapidly transferred to hospitals if necessary; and 3) building training capacity at St. Paul's Hospital. Recognizing the health crisis, organizations in Ethiopia responded with informational campaigns, mainly focused on text and image, such as billboards (see Fig. 25). But text-

and image-based campaigns are limited: text requires literacy, and broad dissemination is expensive (printing) or requires coverage and access to telecasts and internet, which is unavailable in much of rural Ethiopia. Also, an effective message needs to be affecting and memorable, in a compelling rhetorical style. What better medium than song, performed by celebrated local artists in local languages?



Fig. 25. The Amharic text reads: "Giving birth in a health facility ensures the health of baby and mother!" (above); "No mother should lose her life in childbirth! Let all babies be born!" (below). (Photographer unknown.)

In 2013, as we were collaborating on the Liberia and Ghana projects, David Zakus and I discussed creating an album motivating requisite attitudinal and behavioural changes in Ethiopia. But we needed to partner with an Ethiopian musician who could arrange connections in Ethiopia and craft its songs. My colleague Jon Kertzer, who has close connections with many popular artists in Africa, put me in touch with acclaimed Ethiopian music producer and bassist Thomas Gobena (a.k.a. Tommy T), based in Washington, DC. Thomas was the perfect choice: an outstanding musician with a deep understanding of Ethiopian society, culture, and music, he had immigrated to the United States as a young man, while retaining extensive connections to Ethiopia's musical scene. Together, Thomas, David, and I began to discuss possible musical collaborations. After Dr. Zakus left the University of Alberta in early 2015, I introduced the project to the new MNCH project director, Dr. Roger Turnell, who was very supportive, as were project team members Dr. Khalid Aziz, Ashton James, Janet Summerhayes, and Amy Fowler, as well as our partners in Ethiopia, especially Project Manager Abrham Getachew. Together with Thomas, we finalized the details of the budget, contracts, and timeline. After mulling over the album idea, we realized that costs had soared too high and so we opted to focus our limited resources on a single song.

To maximize impact via star power, Thomas enlisted two hugely influential Ethiopian artists, one female and the other male, to write the lyrics and sing a duet in the country's two primary languages: Tadele Gemechu sang in Oromiffa, while Zeritu Kebede — who also composed the melody — sang in Amharic. Thomas and his team arranged the song, assembled a stellar ensemble of Ethiopian musicians to record the music, engaged a talented and experienced director, Daniel Tamirat, to create the video, and completed the mixing and mastering. Meanwhile, following years of his dedicated philanthropic work in the country, in 2015 UNICEF tapped Thomas to become their National Ambassador to Ethiopia, thereby connecting us to wonderfully supportive UNICEF Ethiopia staff (UNICEF 2015).

The song, entitled "Lib Yaleh" (If you have a heart), is a tragedy — the story of a man who lost his wife and unborn baby because he did not bring them to a clinic. We opted to open the music video with an informational panel presenting the maternal health crisis (see Fig. 26), followed by the dramatized song, poignant thought-feeling animating the logic and compassion implicit in the panel. Scenes include the husband plowing his fields, his unbearable grief upon being informed of his unimaginable loss, and communal mourning in a rural hut. Here is where the tremendous value of community-based action research — working with those who know the culture from the inside — clearly emerges.

UNICEF staff thought the video should conclude more hopefully, and so they provided us with additional footage, showing women coming to the clinic for neonatal care and posing happily with their healthy babies (see Fig. 27). Throughout, the audience is urged to act — to do something to save women and babies in the future, "if you have a heart." This deeply moving song raises awareness about a serious health issue, targeting husbands and unequivocally underscoring the solution. Our hope is that greater awareness will engender attitudinal change, and ultimately behavioural change as well.

As a double-sided project, we produced two versions of the video: one with English subtitles (for global uptake) and the other with subtitles in Amharic and Oromiffa (Amharic subtitles for Tadele; Oromiffa for Zeritu). The Tragically, in Ethiopia over 1 in every 250 pregnancies results in the death of the mother, and 1 in 30 the death of a newborn baby. An Ethiopian woman's lifetime risk of dying in pregnancy is 1 in 48. Every year about 13,000 women die during pregnancy, almost half of them on the actual day they deliver. The Ethiopian government has ensured that there is a health centre within reach of every community, staffed with skilled birth attendants. At health centres, women receive proper care and medicine throughout pregnancy, and maternal deaths are rare. Statistics show that women who give birth at health centres, and their babies, are far less likely to die of complications.

But due to lack of knowledge and awareness, expectant mothers don't always go to these facilities for care, nor are they brought by their families. These senseless deaths can be prevented ... If you have heart.

Fig. 26. Opening text panels from Lib Yaleh (If you have a heart) (Tamirat et al. 2019).

final videos were approved by all parties involved, including Ethiopia's Ministry of Health (see Fig. 28).

Since its YouTube release on October 24, 2019 (and its promotion by UNICEF on their channel), the video has been viewed over 900,000 times, mostly in Ethiopia, generating thousands of comments and replies, inducing a kind of virtual resonance. We gathered statistics on viewership and impact using an online survey (in both English and Amharic) linked from the video's YouTube pages. While the sample is small and potentially biased by literacy and internet access, preliminary results support the intuitively plausible supposition that nearly all viewers reside in cities. It is very likely that the video has not reached rural areas due to lack of internet access there.

As discussed above, radio is a highly effective mass-medium for rural Africa. To bring the song's message to a rural audience, where it is most urgently needed, an awareness campaign via community radio is most promising. This



Fig. 27. Scenes from the music video, *Lib Yaleh* (If you have a heart) (Tamirat et al. 2019). Used with permission.

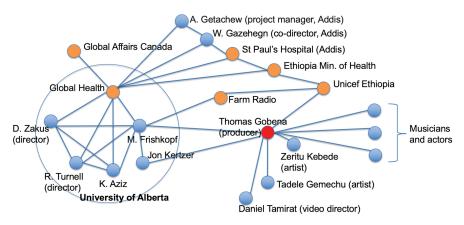


Fig. 28. PAR network for *Lib Yaleh*, including (in North America) maternal health project directors David Zakus and Roger Turnell, associate director Khalid Aziz, ethnomusicologist Jon Kertzer, musician-producer Thomas Gobena; in Ethiopia, project co-director Wendmagegn Gazehegn, project manager Abrham Getachew, video director Daniel Tamirat, and the two artists, Zeritu Kebede and Tadele Gemechu.

campaign, presented in multiple languages (minimally Amharic and Oromiffa), has the potential to draw and inspire its audience through the song, paired with broader informational programming on maternal and neonatal health, including interviews with experts, as well as discussions with community leaders and ordinary people.

Towards this end, we are working with Farm Radio International, a Canada-based NGO focused on rural development through interactive radio broadcasts, using ordinary cellphones for listener feedback. This feedback technology, which they call Uliza (Swahili for "ask"), enables a new, massmediated form of socio-sonic resonance. Farm Radio maintains an office in Ethiopia and enjoys extensive community radio connections across that country. However, as local radio stations require support, there is a modest cost involved, and fundraising has only just begun. We have also partnered with the Canadian charity Maternity Today (2021), an organization with strong Ethiopian connections, focused on maternal and newborn health, and strengthening the midwifery profession. The PAR project cycles onward, upward, and outward.

Conclusion

These M4GHD examples demonstrate the power, efficiency, economy, and sustainability of music as a social technology for human development, reweaving and strengthening the social fabric and infusing it with messaging

that induces relational, attitudinal, and behavioural changes. However, funding such projects is difficult, even though their costs are negligible compared to those of typical infrastructural development projects, which are often nonsustainable. For instance, *Lib Yaleh* cost less than a third of a percent of the overall Ethiopia-Canada Maternal, Newborn and Child Health project budget. Even the relatively ambitious "Singing and Dancing for Health," with its rigorous impact assessment and follow-up, cost under \$60,000, less than 0.2 percent of the Northern Region Small Towns Water and Sanitation Project budget, sponsored by Global Affairs Canada for \$30M (and providing a scant \$1,000 towards our project).

Perhaps music is not taken seriously in the development sector precisely due to these small budgets, or music's reputation as frivolous entertainment, or its incompatibility with driving forces of the high-tech development industry. Bureaucracies tend to assume that impact requires enormous expenditures to effect corresponding physical or structural transformations, and the development system demands such expenditures as a matter of political and economic necessity. State development dollars are well colonized by the system; initiatives recognizing and countering this trend are unlikely to fare well. Politically, nation states view development investments as a form of "soft power"; economically, the entrenched development industry needs to be sustained (for a critique, see Cornwall and Eade 2010; Escobar 1995). Global Affairs Canada has not responded to my pleas to consider reinvesting even a small portion of remaining MNCH project funds to support our planned radio campaign.

Yet what this system does not, and indeed cannot, recognize is that social and psychological transformations — humanized social bonds, cultural continuity, individual awareness, and attitudinal shifts — within the lifeworld are what matter the most. Expensive infrastructures are unsustainable and may stand unused without accompanying attitudinal changes. Ultimately, it is only socio-psychic transformations that can support the lifeworld, repel system colonization, change behaviours, and thereby promote durable wellbeing. Once culturally embedded, attitudinal and behavioural changes are sustained and reproduced by successive generations. Music for Global Human Development offers an effective sociomusical technology towards such an outcome, while transforming its own PAR networks through resonance, weaving a new layer of social fabric—global and grassroots—and fostering development of the global human.

Notes

1. An uncritical faith in technology's capacity to solve human problems; see Segal (1994) and Krier and Gillette (1985).

2. Note resonance's striking parallels to what Durkheim called "collective effervescence" in his description of a "corroboree" performed by Australian Indigenous peoples:

The very act of congregating is an exceptionally powerful stimulant. Once the individuals are gathered together, a sort of electricity is generated from their closeness and quickly launches them to an extraordinary height of exaltation. Every emotion expressed resonates without interference in consciousnesses that are wide open to external impressions, each one echoing the others. The initial impulse is thereby amplified each time it is echoed, like an avalanche that grows as it goes along. (1976: 217–18)

3. In many traditional cultures these predecessors are conceptualized as a living social body — often rendered in English as "the ancestors" — to which maintaining strong and good social connections via sonic communications (through dreams, visions, or prayer) is critically important to social and individual health. Examples abound from the research of multiple disciplines (religious studies, history, anthropology): togbui in Ewe culture (where the ancestors constitute a living and interactive ritual presence) (Parrinder 1969: 115ff); the awliva' (saints) of Sufism (considered to live on in their shrines, whence they exert enormous socialspiritual power) (Taylor 1998; Reeves 1990; Hoffman 1995); al-salaf al-salih ("pious forefathers"), designating the first three Muslim generations (Afsaruddin 2013); ancestor dreaming among Latinx and Xicanx (Medina and Gonzalez 2019); ancestors in Hindu Bali (Boon 1974); and in Kazakhstan (Dubuisson 2017). Formerly denigrated by scholars as mere "ancestor worship," Singleton (2009) has argued for a more credible characterization as interlocutory interaction. In my work among Egyptian Sufis, I have taken to extending the social network to include the living *awliya*, since for believers these entities are socially present (see Frishkopf 2001: 238).

4. Such messaging is well known in the development community as "edutainment" programming (often through larger mediated productions such as telenovelas), under the wider umbrella of "communications for development" (C4D) (UNESCO 2020; UNICEF 2020; Sabido 2004; Singhal and Rogers 1999).

5. In his 1961 farewell address, President Dwight Eisenhower (or his speechwriters Ralph E. Williams and Malcolm C. Moos) presciently identified the "military industrial complex," a hugely salient aspect of the global system today. (Eisenhower, Williams, and Moos 1961)

6. For additional context, see the music video *Sanitation and Safe Water in Liberia* and its accompanying documentary (Morgan and Frishkopf 2013a, 2013b)

7. For more information about the Singing and Dancing for Health project, see Frishkopf (2015).

8. For more information about this project, see Frishkopf (2019) and University of Alberta (2021).

9. These are the two most widely known languages in the country. 56,900,000 Ethiopians (52%) are fluent in Amharic (29.3% as a first language); 37,071,900 (34%) know a dialect of Oromiffa (33.8% as a first language) (Ethiopia 2021; CIA 2021b). Percentages assume estimated population of 108,113,150 as of 2020 (see CIA 2021a). Ethiopians knowing neither language are not only a minority, but are also widely distributed, linguistically, speaking some 89 different languages; following Oromiffa and Amharic in prominence are Somali and Tigrigna, with only about 6% each (Ethiopia 2021). For these reasons we chose to limit the song to Amharic and Oromiffa only.

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