Music in International Development: The Experience of Concerts Norway (2000–2018)

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Doctoral Dissertations at the University of Agder 323

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Dissertation for the degree of PhD in Popular Music Performance

University of Agder
Faculty of Fine Arts
2020

Doctoral dissertations at the University of Agder: 323

ISSN: 1504-9727
ISBN: 978-82-8427-028-9

Print: 07 Media, Kristiansand

Abstract

This article-based doctoral thesis contributes to the multifaceted debate concerning the role of music in "development." By development, I refer to the international aid sector and the deliberate actions of states and/or development agencies to promote equity between various localities and between social groups or classes in the Global South, previously referred to as *developing* or *third world* countries. Development studies is an academic field of its own, but it is interdisciplinary in nature, due to heterogenous understandings of what it means and what it takes to create such equity.

Applying an academic lens that bridges development studies with musicological thought as well as peace studies and postcolonial theory, my work addresses questions about "arts development" versus general views on development assistance in a bid to unpack a particular asymmetry between mainstream development models and the need to strengthen—and therefore empower—the arts sector in the interests of its sustainability. There are, in fact, perpetual tensions between "two opposing professional paradigms: the largely intuitive, practice-led world of the arts and the increasingly evidence-based, bureaucratically driven approaches of international development" (Dunphy 2013: 3).

This study examines how these tensions were negotiated by Concerts Norway (Rikskonsertene), a governmental music organization and key cultural partner of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, between 2000 and 2018. In this period, Norway branded itself as a pioneer and principal international funder of cultural expression as a tool for development, based on a distinct twin-track policy seeking to value the social utility of art as well as the art itself. My thesis offers an academic exploration of the ways in which three musical development projects were initiated and conducted by Concerts Norway together with local partners in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka. The origins and development goals of these three projects differed, in the sense that they were each based on distinct geographical contexts and needs. Yet, many of the key program features were the same.

This study shows how Concerts Norway and its local partners contributed to strengthening cultural infrastructure in these countries, especially in the concert, festival, and educational fields. Their collaborations furthermore facilitated the transfer of artistic and technical skills, as well as the documentation and preservation of intangible heritage. They were also deemed to be successes by external development

evaluators. Yet, a close look at the operational mechanisms of these projects reveals that their framing as “development” initiatives narrowed the scope of their potential agency. The current development system, despite its good intentions, is imbued with outdated binary conceptions and inherited colonial hierarchies, in addition to a result-based management approach that does not work particularly well for the arts. I therefore argue here that the mainstreaming of these musical activities as development limited rather than enhanced their potential furtherance of equity.

A central theoretical contribution of this research is a “post-development framework for music and social change”—that is, a proposal suggesting how a rethinking and restructuring of such projects might contribute to a more humane and fairer global (art) world. The framework pays particular attention to local assessments and processes of change. It urges stakeholders and artists to continuously—and reflexively—analyze their own positions, identities, attitudes, and power relations within the project’s structure, as well as its musical repertoire, teaching methods, and performance arenas. It also opens up for a wider assessment of development “results” than what is currently undertaken.

Key words: international aid, cultural development, music intervention, music and reconciliation, values, legitimacy, postcolonialism

Statement of originality

This work is original and has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Solveig Korum, 10 December 2020

Acknowledgments

I want to express my heartfelt thanks to all of the people around me who have contributed to shaping this thesis. In particular, I wish to thank my main supervisor, Prof. Tor Dybo, who throughout the four years of this doctoral study has given me the support I needed to overcome the practical and psychological hurdles of doctoral research. I also wish to thank my two other supervisors, Prof. Stan Hawkins and Dr. Gillian Howell, who guided me with their great wisdom, academic rigor, and generous spirits. Thanks also to Prof. Jan Sverre Knudsen, who provided useful feedback during my 90%-seminar in June 2020.

I am grateful to the Norwegian Research Council (NRC), which funded half of my salary through the OFFPHD program, while Kulturtanken—Arts for Young Audiences Norway funded the other half. NRC also granted me additional financial support for my field trips to Palestine and Sri Lanka. The University of Agder and the Varieties of Peace Network provided additional travel support, without which this multisite, international research project would have been far more challenging and debt inducing.

My appreciation and thanks also go to the many people in Norway, the UK, Palestine, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Nepal who gave of their time to participate in interviews and/or allowed me to observe and take part in events that they organized. This includes (but is not limited to) Thore Hem, Ann Ollestad, Anne-Lise Langøy, Helene Aastad, Signe Gilen, Hilde Haraldstad, Torbjørn Gaustadsæter, Einar Solbu, Tom Gravlie, Kjell Thoreby, Anne Moberg, Monica Larson, Carsten Jøssund, Hallgeir Frydenlund, Andreas Sønning, Øyvind Fuglerud, Vasuky Jayapalan, Malraji Wanniarachi, Lakshman Joseph de Saram, Dinusha Wickremesekera, Manoj Sanjeewa, Kaushalya Navaratne, Aloka Weerasekara, Saumya Perera, Shalini Wickramasuriya, Jan Ramesh de Saram, Sumudi Suraweera, Hasini Haputhanthri, Dilip Kumara, Harsha Navaratne, Sarala Fernando, Soundarie David Rodrigo, Sharmini Wettimuny, Nirosion Perera, Dr. S. Jeyasankar, Tanya Hettiarachi, Rashmi Malik, Manu Arya, Anirban Chakraborty, Ashish and Ujjla Manchanda, Sohail Arora, Dr. L. Subramaniam, Ambi Subramaniam, Bindu Subramaniam, Said Murad, Bashar Murad, George and Nahida Ghattas, Huda Al Iman, Moslih Kanaaneh, Rami Moshasha, May Odeh, Loab Hammoud, Rima Tadros, Wissam Murad, John Handal, Shafeek Alsadi, Munther Alraae, and Hatem Hatef.

A special thanks goes to Dr. Arunthathty Sri Ranganathan, who, in addition to sharing her knowledge and experience from Sri Lankan music life, opened her home to me on several occasions. I also thank my "brothers and sisters" from the field, notably Rashani Doranegoda, Izzeldin Naqshband, Ila Arun, Emmanuelle de Decker, Sharmin Sultana Sumi, and Chirkutt Band from Bangladesh. Your love, humor, and insight have been essential throughout this process. A special thanks to Malinda Seneviratne and Vijay Sheth.

I also want to thank my friends and colleagues at the University of Agder and the Oslo University Center for Development and the Environment (SUM), who generously included me in their PhD research school. You have shown me that high-level social research is not about pointed elbows or competition. Thank you for your friendship and solidarity and for your critical sense and enthusiasm.

Thanks also to my colleagues in Kulturtanken—Arts for Young Audiences Norway, especially Egil Rundberget, who was my main administrative support throughout this doctoral research, and Ståle Stenslie. Thanks also to our cantina chef, Bjørn Roppen, and his assistants Kisima Sillah and Aldo Maldonado, who provided daily nutritious food, inspiring music, and uplifting conversations. Thanks also to Anne Hegland, our always smiling lady at the front desk: you made a difference. Thanks to Markku Karma.

My appreciation goes out to Nils Nadeau for proofreading my text.

I wish to give a special thanks my Norwegian and French parents, Øystein and Johanne Korum and Paul and Clotilde Chêne, for all that you have done for me over the years, for instilling in me an open and adventurous approach to life and learning, and for giving me both roots and wings. I also want to thank my siblings in both countries, especially my sister Anne Claire Chêne, with whom I have shared this PhD journey at a distance.

Last but not least, I want to thank the Sri Lankan and Norwegian kundalini yoga communities, Odin Lysaker, Jakob Lothe, Elin Toft, Svein Olaf Torbjørnsen, Else Marit Løberg, Kjell Arne Norum, Liv Solfrid Storebø, Alfred Hansen, and my very closest circle of loved ones: Thomas Strønen, Ingvild Brodal, Hanne Nøvik, Demian Vitanza, my husband, Andreas Ljones, and our two children. I am so lucky to be sharing my life with you.

To the Eternal Wavemaker

List of illustrations, tables, and figures

Abbreviations

CN: Concerts Norway
EU: European Union
DIFI: The Norwegian Digitization Agency
FCP: Flying Carpet Production (India) (previously called The Media Tribe, or TMT)
FLICT: Facilitating Initiatives for Social Cohesion and Transformation (Sri Lanka)
ISME: International Society for Music Education
LTTE: Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka)
MFA: (The Norwegian) Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoC: (The Norwegian) Ministry of Culture
MoU: Memorandum of Understanding
NGO: Non-Governmental Organization
NMH: Norwegian Academy of Music
NORAD: Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
NRO: Norwegian Representative Office to the Palestinian Authority
PA: The Palestinian National Authority
PMX: Palestine Music Expo
RBM: Result-Based Management
RSJ: Rock Street Journal (India)
SAARC: South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SaPa: Subramanian Academy of Performing Arts (India)
SDG: Sustainable Development Goal (UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development)
SIMM: Social Impact of Making Music (international research network)
SLF: Sevalanka Foundation (Sri Lanka)
SLNMC: Sri Lanka–Norway Music Cooperation
SOSL: Symphony Orchestra of Sri Lanka
SPIC MACAY: Society for Promotion of Indian Classical Music and Culture amongst Youth (India)
SVIAS: Swami Vipulananda Institute of Aesthetic Studies (Batticaloa, Sri Lanka)
ToR: Terms of Reference
UN: United Nations
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNRWA: United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

Thesis outline

This doctoral thesis is structured in two parts, where part I serves as a frame chapter or comprehensive commentary and supplement to the articles that constitute part II.

In the introduction, I present my topic, overall aims, and research questions.

I then proceed to my disciplinary strands. This section offers an overview of relevant literature from development studies, musicological fields, and postcolonial theory. Since the population in two of my case countries (Palestine and Sri Lanka) currently lives in or has recently gone through decades of violent and armed conflict, I also include perspectives from the field of peace studies, with a particular attention to relational peace.

Next, I focus on the geographical and contextual nature of my field. Here, I present CN's activities and its partners in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka with an emphasis on the evolution of CN and its role in Norwegian and international music life.

I then present the two main theoretical orientations of my research—the new sociology of culture (Boltanski and Thévenot [1991] 2006) and the various ways of understanding the values and functioning of the art world(s) (Becker [1982] 2008, Van Maanen 2009).

I elaborate upon the methods employed for collecting empirical data and discuss some practical and ethical considerations linked to fieldwork and the use of autoethnography.

The frame chapter culminates with a short summary of each article and a consideration of how they intersect in a concluding discussion of my findings.

Finally, I offer some final remarks and visions of further research.

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PART I

FRAME CHAPTER

The furtherance of well-being and freedoms that we seek in development cannot but include the enrichment of human lives through literature, music, fine arts, and other forms of cultural expressions and practice, which we have reason to value. (Amartya Sen 2004: 39)

1. Introduction

The evening sun is on its way down in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. The lights on the stage mirror its warm glow on the Indian Ocean. The air smells of jasmine flowers and spicy dishes from the food trucks next to the festival area. Apart from a VIP section including army chiefs, Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian clergy, diplomats, and foreign NGO leaders seated on chairs, most of the audience—around thirteen thousand of us—sit on colorful plastic mats in the Municipality Grounds close to Jaffna Fort. While the majority of spectators consists of middle-aged Tamil men, there is also a large number of women, children, and elderly people seated in the front rows and eagerly waiting for the show to begin. Like all official events in Sri Lanka, this program starts with an oil lamp lighting ceremony in which all of the VIPs and officials are called on stage to light a large copper lamp and offer blessings to the festival and its artists. After the officials have returned to their seats and a few mandatory speeches have concluded, the musicians and dancers enter the stage. The various groups—eleven in all—have been assigned performance slots of twenty minutes each, but since few of them have been able to perform in front of an audience for a very long time (and probably never in front of such a large one!), they relish the spotlight and go on and on as the stage manager scratches his head. Still, the audience applauds them all and shouts for more. An evening program scheduled for six hours lasts more than eight, and as the music finally fades away at a quarter past midnight, it is clear that a surprising amount of people, even including the women and children, have stayed on until the very end.

In the break between Sabaragamuwa Bali (Sinhalese folk dance and drumming) and Ulavar Nadanam (folk dance from the Tamil Vanni region), an old woman tells me that she is wearing her finest sari for the first time in more than two decades: "Before this, I had no reason to celebrate—no music to listen to." The sari is indeed very beautiful—colorful and neatly woven in Sri Lankan silk and cotton. Our conversation ends as the Vanni dance group comes on stage. They chant about farmers working hard in the fields, and about the dancing peacocks and singing cuckoos. The old woman's hand moves steadily with the music, her feet grooving with the rhythm. A tear flows slowly down her cheek. "Finally, music," she whispers. "After all these years!"

As a young employee of Concerts Norway (*Rikskonsertene*, hereafter CN) and project leader of a state-funded music collaboration between Sri Lanka and Norway in 2011, I was deeply moved by the incident I relate above. To me, there and then, this woman represented living proof that we were actually doing something right with our

program—that the event we had staged was making a difference. The Sri Lanka–Norway collaboration had the overall goal of contributing to the reconciliation of Sri Lankan population groups that had been at war for almost three decades, and during that Jaffna Music Festival in 2011 I watched people from a variety of backgrounds share a musical experience. While the audience was mainly Tamil (Jaffna is geographically situated in the Tamil north of Sri Lanka), the festival program featured cultural expressions from Tamil, Sinhala, and Muslim groups, as well as other Sri Lankan minority groups such as the Veddah and Kaffir Manja. Additionally, the employees from the Sevalanka Foundation, a nationwide NGO and CN's main local partner at the island, reflected diverse cultural origins. I shared the happiness and sense of unity in this bursting combination of vibrant music, color, and culture, but I also felt slightly uncomfortable. I began to wonder: Was I too immersed in my own cultural biases to recognize the potential problems with such an intervention as this?

In retrospect, this moment of doubt appears to be an *épiphanie*, or one of "those remarkable and out-of-the-ordinary life-changing experiences that transform us or call us to question our lives" (Holman Jones, Adams, and Ellis 2015: 26).[1] Epiphanies make impressions that stay with us and make us pause and reflect (Holman Jones, Adams, and Ellis 2015: 47), and a few aspects of my epiphany that I have spent hours pondering relate to the quotation by Amartya Sen that begins this chapter. People clearly value music and other forms of cultural expression and practice, but *why*? And how do people translate those ideas about the value of the arts into "development" efforts like postwar reconciliation programs with societal impact? What pitfalls might we and *do we* fall into? Are people, with these projects, moving toward true equity or, despite the best of intentions, actually reinforcing existing patterns of power distribution and detrimental societal divisions?

Aims and research questions

Belief in the social impact of the arts has a long intellectual history described by Belfiore and Bennett (2008) and Van Maanen (2009), among others, and also explored extensively in the recent Swedish–Norwegian research project titled "The Relational Politics of Aesthetics" (Hylland and Bjurström 2018) and in publications and conferences out of the *Social Impact of Making Music* (SIMM) research network

[1] In the methodology section, I will elaborate upon the connection between personal experience and scholarly research under the topic of autoethnography.

established at Ghent University in 2015 (Boeskov 2017a and 2019, Pairon 2019 and 2020, Sloboda 2019).[2] When faced with the inherent complexity of both music-making and "society," both funders of and participants in music-cultural development efforts tend to simplify the situation to get things done. According to Baker (2017), scholarly skepticism is a necessary counterweight to this tendency to simplify and even romanticize what the arts can do and how the process "works."

In this doctoral thesis, I unpack the process from 2000 to 2018 through which CN, a governmental music organization located within the Norwegian Ministry of Culture (MoC), transitioned from an administrative body of the MoC and a producer of live music concerts for a primarily national audience to an international actor in the field of "culture and development" whose activities were then funded by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). In 2012, when CN enjoyed its most expansive presence abroad, the organization and its partners in the Global South[3] were allocated 23 million NOK (approximately 2.7 million USD)[4] from the MFA to be distributed among musical projects in nine different countries (CN 2013: 8–11).[5] The contents of these projects included but were not limited to school concerts, festival support, workshops and master classes within a variety of musical genres, training for sound engineers, music teacher education, syllabus development, promotion of intellectual property rights/IP law, the establishment of national folk music archives in the Global South, and more.[6] I was active as a project manager for several of these projects, experiences that I draw upon alongside my other sources of data in this thesis.[7]

My study sheds light on an arts organization's transition from music-making and concert-staging in a Norwegian national context to music-related development work in

[2] More references will be presented and discussed in the "Disciplinary Strands" section.
[3] According to Dados and Connell (2012: 12), the "Global South" is "one of a family of terms, including 'Third World' and 'Periphery,' that denote regions outside Europe and North America, mostly (though not all) low-income and often politically or culturally marginalized." While this particular term's history of implied homogeneity and geographical determinism makes it a contested choice, Global South nonetheless remains the term currently used by most policymakers, practitioners and academics, and, for this reason, I have chosen to employ it in my thesis. I wish to underline, however, that I do not use it as any sort of metaphor for underdevelopment but rather as gesture toward the way in which colonialism, neocolonialism, and economic and other types of exploitation have shaped the world today.
[4] At an exchange rate of 8.5 NOK to 1 USD.
[5] In 2012, these projects were being conducted in Bangladesh, Brazil, China, India, Jordan, Pakistan, Palestine, South Africa and Sri Lanka. Previous (short- and long-term) projects had involved Botswana, Gambia, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal, Senegal, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
[6] For a comprehensive list of these activities, see appendix I.
[7] See the methodology section.

an international arena—one where the music was funded and used by CN and the MFA with a twofold agenda of supporting art for art's sake and harnessing this tool for development purposes (MFA 2005). It takes a meso-level, actor-oriented approach through which CN's (and my own) experiences with conceiving and implementing music for development and reconciliation purposes are both documented and analyzed. Combining my insider access with critical inquiry and document research, I sought not to assess whether these international CN projects were "successful" but rather to understand *why* and *how* these projects came into being, evolved, and ultimately impacted a changing cultural, political, social, and economic landscape at the national and international level. In particular, I look at the ways in which CN justified and "performed legitimacy" (Larsen 2016) according to the expectations and needs of often quite distinct policies, actors, and audiences, and the ways in which, in turn, these social performances (Larsen 2016: v) changed the nature of the multicultural and international work conducted by CN between 2000 and 2018.

My overall research aim was to study the process through which musical activity and cultural infrastructure were translated into gestures of "development" or "post-war reconciliation" by CN and its partners in the Global South. Numerous sub-questions then shaped the course of my research, including in particular issues concerning the notion of the "national context" and values CN both activated and developed with respect to its international musical engagement. The opportunities and dilemmas that arise in the course of planning, implementing, and assessing musical activities as "development" form a focal point of my interrogation of the critical junctures that will inform the design of such programs in the future.

Recognizing that musical processes materialize within particular contexts, and that an essential part of this study was to find out what happened when certain musical values and practices traveled into a different environment, I framed this study using the established (socio-)musicological concepts of "music, space and place" (Bennett, Shank, and Toynbee 2006; De Nora 2000 and 2015; Scott 2009; Shepherd and Devine 2015; Stokes 1994; Whiteley, Bennett, and Hawkins 2004). This framework was uniquely appropriate given the fact that development practitioners and scholars tend to rely upon a distinction between places deemed to be either "developed" or "less developed." From the outset of my research, I have been convinced that these two fields, music and development, have something to learn from one another—for example, that cultural insight offers fruitful nuance to notions of development, and, vice versa, that

those who would introduce musical activities into a development context must be increasingly aware of the abiding weight of current social, political, and economic factors as well as the historical (colonial) heritage lurking in the backdrop of these factors.

During the course of my research, it has also become timely to critique the postcolonial episteme, which include a set of distinct postcolonial identities based on cultural, national, ethnic, and gender and class markers. These identities and markers shall not be downplayed or ignored in this study, but I would argue that a focus on identity politics and cultural resistance to the (former) colonizer or representative of the Western world[8] at the expense of a more generous intellectual alignment will only exacerbate cultural division and hinder people from reaching some next level of interaction. My thesis therefore advocates for intercultural professional interaction in the arts field as an impetus for potential and profound transformation—that is, action and interaction that constitute an "interruptive, interrogative and enunciative" *third space* (Bhabha 1994: 103) where new forms of cultural meaning and mutual support can emerge outside the limitations of existing boundaries, however problematic they may be.

I believe that my findings and analysis have implications for future arts-based cooperation between the Global North and South in terms of the shaping of cultural development policies and the praxis on the ground. By raising awareness of the relevant critical junctures, values at stake, and consequences of a set of historical (CN) practices, I hope to prompt discussion and suggest inspired solutions for non-dualistic, multifaceted patterns of musical interaction across borders—solutions designed for "breaking the frame" of international development (Stupples 2011: title).

2. Disciplinary strands

The following section offers an overview of the academic literature that has informed my research. I draw upon perspectives from development studies, postcolonial theory, and diverse musicological fields. Since the population in two of my case countries (Palestine and Sri Lanka) currently live with or have recently gone through decades of violent and armed conflict, I also include perspectives from the field of peace studies, with particular attention to relational peace.

[8] Norway, for example, was never a colonial power.

Culture in international development

Tracing development

The terms *international aid* and *development* are highly ambiguous. In this section, I will briefly outline the various understandings of development, its logics, and the ways in which culture in general, and music in particular, relates to it.

> More than half of the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and the skill to relieve the suffering of these people.

With these words from 1949, US President Harry S. Truman (quoted in Browne 2006: 14) laid the foundations for what was to become an international system of development aid. Behind his statement was the idea that rich and prosperous countries, like his own America, could (or rather "should"—he framed it as a duty) assist poorer countries worldwide to overcome their disadvantages, hence creating a better future for all. The historical context of this speech was the period shortly after World War II, with most of Europe still recovering from the conflict and most of Africa and Asia still under colonial European rule. The underlying assumption was that the West's experience with modernization represented a valuable guide to the developing countries, and this perspective remained dominant in the 1950s and 1960s. As colonial rule concluded around the world, the center-periphery theory of Immanuel Wallerstein, which built on neo-Marxist assumptions, gained ascendancy in the 1970s, while globalization and more pluralist approaches to development process started to emerge in the 1980s (Burnell, Randall, and Rakner 2011: 15–34, Cornwall 2011, Schuurman 2000). Today, we witness a broad and diversified field of development, both in praxis and in research, yet most of the debate remains centered on the reduction of poverty and the social and individual challenges that accompany this effort (Burnell, Randall, and Rakner 2011, UN 2015).

Culture in development

Though culture has always been recognized as important to human development and has been the subject of policies outlined in each nation's (fairly narrow) cultural sector, it was largely absent from the international policy arena concerned with world development until the 1990s. In 1996, however, UNESCO united experts from both developed and developing countries in the first-ever World Commission on Culture and Development:

> When our commission began our work, it had long been clear that development was a far more complex undertaking that had been originally thought. (. . .) Economic criteria alone could not provide a program for human dignity and well-being. (. . .) Building cultural insights into the broader development strategies, as well as a more effective practical agenda, had to be the next step in rethinking development. (UNESCO 1996: 7–8)

Responding to these observations, the report titled *Our Creative Diversity* (UNESCO 1996) offered fundamentally new perspectives in development thinking. It not only emphasized how culture—in the broadest sense—conditions all human activity but also moved culture to center stage in the confrontation with the societal challenges of the post–Cold War era. By raising awareness about the *cultural* issues that underpin human development, UNESCO provided important groundwork for the practical, policy, and research initiatives that followed in the late 1990s and beyond. Among these initiatives was the *Stockholm Action Plan* (UNESCO 1998), which stressed the need for communicating best practices and conducting stimulating research in the field.

Apart from a tiny section in the report about creativity and artistic expression (UNESCO 1996: 23–24), *Our Creative Diversity* emphasized instead the cultural *dimension* of development—that is, the spiritual, material, and intellectual values that impact the development process and its results. This emphasis is shared by the earliest major academic publications on culture and development. *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (Harrison and Huntington 2000) outlines numerous development failures that happened as a result of their failure to take cultural elements into account. In *Culture and Public Action* (Rao and Walton 2004), economists and anthropologists build on these ideas while examining the role of culture in "community-based development, ethnic conflict, famine relief, gender discrimination, and HIV-AIDS policy" (Rao and Walton 2004: book cover). This is also the publication in which Arjun Appadurai, the author of *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (1996), first talked about "building a capacity to aspire" (Appadurai 2004: 59), a term to which I will return below.

The UN millennium goals and UNESCO conventions

In 2000, the international community adapted eight *Millennium Development Goals* (UN 2000),[9] none of which mentioned culture as such. Still, the UN and its member

[9] They were to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger (MDG 1), achieve universal primary education (MDG 2), promote gender equality and empower women (MDG 3), reduce child mortality (MDG 4),

states have on several occasions highlighted culture's contribution to the achievement of the MDGs. This realization resulted in three successive *Resolutions on Culture and Development* adopted by the UN General Assembly (UNESCO 2010, 2011, and 2013), plus an explicit paragraph in the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* that recognizes "culture's contribution to sustainable development" (SDG 2015: 4.7).

As a direct consequence of the millennium focus on culture and development in international policy, UNESCO adopted in 2001 the *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* (UNESCO 2001). A binding legal instrument followed upon this document in 2005 called *The UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. In article 13, the convention urges the following:

> Parties shall endeavor to integrate culture in their development policies at all levels for the creation of conditions conducive to sustainable development and, within this framework, foster aspects relating to the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions. (UNESCO 2005)

As of November 2020, Norway was one of 148 states that have signed this convention. In an edited volume offering a critical appraisal of the convention, researchers have assessed its accomplishments and shortcomings (De Beuklaer, Pyykkönen, and Singh [eds.] 2015). They particularly criticize it for its insufficiencies with regard to human rights, sustainability, and cultural diversity as a whole. In terms of North/South perspectives, De Beuklaer and Freitas qualify it as an "oddly Western document" (2015: 223) and point to the imbalances among states that result from globalization. In order to respond to this critique and seek both global effectiveness and coordinated public policies in these areas, UNESCO has launched a triannual monitoring report, *Re | Shaping Cultural Policies* (UNESCO 2015 and 2018), that focuses on four key areas: strengthening governance for culture; improving the conditions for artist mobility; integrating culture in sustainable development strategies; and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms.

With this stronger international commitment to the role of culture in development, Norwegian financial aid to this sector grew from an annual contribution of 58 million NOK in 1999 to 128 million NOK in 2009 (NORAD 2011: 96). While this amount has decreased subsequently—something to which I will return in my findings section—generally increased funds were followed by greater demands for accountability (which have persisted). Taxpayers, politicians, and the media all want to know about the content

improve maternal health (MDG 5), combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases (MDG 6), ensure environmental sustainability (MDG 7), and develop a global partnership for development (MDG 8).

and effectiveness of the supported projects, and culture workers struggle to find the right tools to respond to this demand: “It is possible to identify the value of culture, but it is hard to put numbers on it” (Throsby, in CKU 2016: 32). Thus, in 2014, UNESCO developed a framework to assess the role of culture in development called the *Culture for Development Indicators* (UNESCO 2014). While this tool has great utility for those wishing to access some tangible results in this field, major difficulties remain. Gathering data demands human resources from already strained cultural actors who are typically running their projects with very little money and very few staff. Substantial financial resources are also required to conduct evaluations—costs that must be added on top of the project grant. And even when it is possible to commit both human resources and money to these evaluations, the actual effects of many of these programs remain hard to pin down. Qualitative data on human and artistic values, stories of change, and descriptions of the lengthy and rich processes leading to the transformation of individuals and communities are hard to capture unless these sources are approached on their own terms. These dilemmas will be duly discussed in my findings section.

Though culture and cultural expressions have now been part of development praxis for some time, these issues continue to receive little attention from academic scholars. The earliest textbook on the issue was published by Schech and Haggis (2000), yet despite their relevant discussions of overarching topics such as postcolonialism, ethnicity, and gender, they provide no actual example of cultural *expression* in development work. Their writing, that is, sticks to culture as social structure rather than venturing into its expressive forms. The same is also true of Radcliffe’s contribution to this area from 2006.

On the other hand, development scholar Polly Stupples was a pioneer in 2011 when she published her doctoral thesis about art’s potentially emancipatory function in developing countries, as exemplified by the impact of the visual arts in Nicaragua (Stupples 2011). Her key argument advocates for the crucial role of the *aesthetic dimension* (that is, the artistic form, quality, and beauty of the artistic expression) in the development process. Stupples contends that the agency of non-instrumentalized funding and the integrated process offered by art should not be underestimated, because “art can contribute to an agency that is both constructive of an alternative cultural imagining and resistant to the reductionisms of development’s framing” (Stupples 2011: 226). In other words, art has the potential to “break the frames of development” (Stupples 2011: title). For art to fulfil this potential, however, people must value the cultural sector as an independent space.

This statement largely coincides with the findings of the present study, to which I will return in my papers and concluding discussion.

Clammer (2014) offers another valuable if somewhat superficial contribution to the academic conversation about arts, culture, and international development. His relatively compact book serves as a fair introduction to the topic and has a large body of literature and links to further reading. Still, his discussions about "how art humanizes social transformation" (Clammer 2014: subtitle) rarely move beyond the straightforward acknowledgment that artistic expressions are crucial tools in human development and the reorientation of our thinking. The book, which draws upon examples mainly from the architecture, design, and public art fields, in addition to theatre, argues that "imagination rather than reason is the main faculty of human interaction with the world" (Clammer 2014: 8) and proposes art as an alternative to politics.[10] Clammer also pinpoints the impact of art upon an eco-perspective and remarks upon its potential to heal hurt societies and individuals through art therapy and in post-conflict situations. Regarding the latter, Clammer refers to Lederach's *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (2005), to which I will return in a later section where I link music and development to the broader field of peace studies.

Another contribution to the conversation that offers both diversity and profundity is Stupples and Teaiwa's coedited anthology *Contemporary Perspectives on Art and International Development* (2017). They bring together perspectives from artists, policymakers, and researchers from various regions of the world to frame the prospects and challenges associated with the arts in a development context, noting an urgent need to "critically engage with the practical and pragmatic complexities of supporting creative practice within the frameworks of 'development'" (2017: 3), which is also the stated aim of the present thesis. Stupples and Teaiwa divide their anthology into four sections. Section 1 focuses on the frameworks and imaginaries regarding how art and development are connected and enacted. Section 2 targets the intersections between art practices and social action through an analysis of agency, activism, and various notions of change (see also Niepoort 2016). Section 3 describes the practicalities of such endeavors, and section 4 deals with the evaluation, a too-often-resisted opportunity to "deepen our insights into creative practices in particular contexts" and to improve donor policy (p. 19). In addition to the aforementioned challenges of measuring artistic results

[10] Art versus politics is something to which I will return in my concluding discussion. My findings indicate that music should not be seen as an *alternative* to politics but rather that music has the potential to transform politics.

in the context of societal goals, the authors in this section of Stupples and Teaiwa's book (Dunphy and Ware 2017: 221–237, Fontes 2017: 238–252) contend that learning in development is indeed very difficult to reconcile with accountability—something that has also been acknowledged by scholars in the broader development field (Bjørkdahl, McNeill, and Reinertsen 2017). The need to document results in terms of how project funds are spent can run counter to certain learning-oriented approaches and, according my own data, to explorative artistic processes as well. Practitioners and researchers largely ignore this issue to their detriment, and I will return to it in my discussions below.

At this point, I will also take the opportunity to bridge my academic literature review with a wider field of "grey" development literature (Auger 1998: 2), such as evaluation reports and other types of assessments of cultural projects related to development. These documents are written by practitioners and/or researchers external to the project with a specific mandate (called Terms of Reference, or ToR) and are often financed through earmarked funds from project donors. These documents are not "obliged to conform to the standards of presentation imposed by [academic] editors and publishers of conventional publications, nor to the rigors of a refereeing system" (Auger 1998: 2), but they nevertheless serve as useful sources of information about the projects in question. They also rarely contribute to theory building or provide reflections on overarching topics, though there are inspirational exceptions such as Millard (2015), which I encountered when conducting my literature review concerning CN's work in Palestine. Millard presents an evaluation of the music collaboration between Palestine and Norway not only as a backward-looking assessment but also as a forward-looking reflection concerning the potential of the "Music for Everyone" project. Here, then, evaluation is both retrospective and prospective and includes important insights on both children and music as state-building tools.

Since 2014, several doctoral theses and major analytical works about music and social action in the Global South have appeared, including, in order, Baker (2014), Howell (2017), Pairon (2019 and 2020) and Boeskov (2019). I will return to these resources in my "Musicological Strands" section. Before doing so, however, I want to zoom in on another disciplinary influence on my research: Postcolonialism and decoloniality.

Postcolonialism and decoloniality

So far, I have attempted to address the fact that *development* is a difficult and contested term. At this point, I now turn to the equally fraught concepts of *postcolonialism* and *decoloniality*. As a starting point, I will introduce the following variations on the theme by Cheryl McEwan (2019: 24):

1. Postcolonialism as *after colonialism*—written as post-colonialism to signify the notion of a new time or a new epoch.
2. Postcolonialism as a *condition*, related to the state of "after colonialism."
3. Postcolonialism as a metaphysical, ethical, and political theory—dealing with issues such as identity, race, ethnicity and gender, the challenges of developing post-colonial national identities, and relationships between power and knowledge.
4. Postcolonialism as literary theory—critiquing the perpetuation of representations of colonized and formerly colonized people as inferior and countering these with alternative representations from writers in (de-)colonized countries.
5. Postcolonialism as anti-colonialism—a critique of all forms of colonial power (cultural, political, and economic, past and present).[11]

Thus, the *post* in postcolonialism points at both the *temporal* aftermath and the *critical* aftermath of the historical and ideological period of colonialism (McEwan 2019: 24). The implications of these two meanings do not always align, which has made postcolonialism a disputed term. In the present study, I will heartily embrace its critical aspect, which is partly rooted in its Marxist influences relating to class, race, and ethnicity, and partly in the post-structural legacy associated with the term, including in particular the importance of culture (and language) in shaping social relations.

Postcolonial theory is, by and large, critical and suspicious of the development project, lumping it in with what is seen as the dominant, universalizing, and arrogant discourses of the Global North (or the West) (McEwan 2009: 27). Over the last century, these discourses were regularly challenged by academic voices from the Global South, as Young (2001) effectively summarizes. Lines can be traced from the cultural and political movements in the early Western colonies to the intellectual foment of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, when academics such as Frantz Fanon, Paolo Freire, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, and Edward Said wrote significant contributions to postcolonial thought.

Frantz Fanon, to begin with, fought an intellectual battle against injustice, racism, and colonialism (Fanon [1961] 2002), and his focus on the organic link between European racism and colonialism—and the lack of public awareness about this connection—resonates today. There is clear link between the imperialism and racism of Fanon's time and the conditions that persist in our (so-called) postcolonial world. Fanon inspired activists in his era as well as academics who have since become ardent critics in their

[11] See also McEwan 2009:17.

own right. One of those is Paolo Freire, whose major work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* ([1970] 1993), can be read as an extension of—or a reply to—Fanon's ideas. Freire advocated for the need to provide the populations of the Global South with a critical form of education that is actually new and modern rather than simply anticolonial. In particular, he wanted to build educational curricula on local knowledge and incorporate the politics of education at the same time. He also coined the term "critical pedagogy," to which I will return in my "Harmony" article (Korum 2020). Both Fanon and Freire have since been criticized for their tendency to generalize and disinclination to define oppression clearly enough (Ohliger 1995). Furthermore, both of them, despite the difficult social conditions of their childhoods, benefitted from a good education, something that prompted Griffith (1972) to ask the following:

> Freire's own professional life since 1959 presents a pattern of sponsorship by the most favored segments of society, universities, international organizations, and churches, a pattern which may present an incongruous answer to his question: What could be more important than to live and work with the oppressed, with the "rejects of life," with the "wretched of the earth"?

However one feels about their individual life trajectories, though, their ideas remain influential. Fanon's centrality to postcolonial thought is also underlined by his influence on Homi Bhabha, whose *The Location of Culture* (1994) relies on Fanon's concepts of mimicry and hybridity to challenge the binary notions generated by colonialism and the Western categorization of the world such as self/other, center/periphery, civilized/savage, developed/ underdeveloped, active/passive, and so on. He shows how these binaries "are not innocent but are bound up in logics of domination that have material consequences" (McEwan 2009: 122). Bhabha launched his concept of the *third space* as an alternative to these harmful binaries, and, despite its own contradictions and ambiguities, it usefully advocates for dialogue and a spatial politics of inclusion rather than exclusion (Meredith 1998: 3).

The legacy of imperialism is crucial to comprehending postcolonialism today. Linked to the faux binaries above, Gayatri Spivak (1990, 1999) has coined the concepts of *worlding* and *epistemic violence*. Recalling Edward Said's imagined geographies in *Orientalism* (1978), she employs these terms to problematize knowledge production and especially the fact that the West still seems to essentialize and then dismiss the Global South—that is, the "dominance of the West is seen as natural rather than problematic" (McEwan 2009: 128). I will return to Spivak below to show how my own

methodological choices were inspired by her writings, but before proceeding further, I will add some critical comments to her thoughts, and those of the other postcolonialists. It is, for example, not only the West that can be accused of essentializing the Other. Huntington shows in *The Clash of Civilizations* (1997) that there seems to be a growing conviction across the Muslim world that the West and its core values are in decay and its global domination is illegitimate and must be challenged through, for example, jihad. The Iranian revolution of 1979 and the first Gulf war are examples cited by Huntington, and the rise and fall of ISIS in the past decade is a more recent demonstration of this conviction. Huntington, of course, is criticized as well—Amartya Sen and Edward Said have both expressed their skepticism about the lack of nuance in Huntington's assumptions and categories (Sen 1999:16; see also Said 2001).

The larger point of concern in this debate, of course, is that most discussions happen among Western scholars or Western-educated scholars with origins elsewhere in the world. As McEwan contends, "Northern discourses, however, operate at a different scale and have greater power to script and order the world, both discursively and geopolitically" (McEwan 2009: 130). The Global North's sway has come under scrutiny in recent years. In spite of the growing number of voices from the Global South in academia, there is the pressing question as to *how* they are included in and heard by the research community—for example, through the increased representation of scholars with minority or immigrant backgrounds or origins in the Global South in Western university curricula or a more equitable approach to collaboration and partnerships with scholars and universities in the Global South.[12]

Since 2015, numerous protests and debates concerning the decolonization of the academy have ensued, and there is even reason to suspect that the radical potential of *postcolonialism* and the related notion of *decoloniality* have been co-opted by hegemonic political formations and become, in fact, empty (or even "pernicious") signifiers:

> And that is perhaps the most pernicious effect of decolonization discourse: the now widespread belief that one's identity constitutes an argument in and of itself, a belief that is surely antithetical to the very concept of a university. The idea that only black people may speak for black people, that only women may speak for women, that only disabled people may speak for disabled people, that only disabled black women may speak for disabled black women—in short, the idea

[12] For various analytical comments and angles on this issue, see the hashtag #RhodesMustFall on social media. Bangstad (2018) and Et Eget Rom (2019) also offer insightful analyses.

> that only the oppressed may speak for the oppressed, and only if they are identically oppressed—is one of the most absurd yet dangerous ideas in circulation today. (Long 2018)

One ongoing challenge resides in the manner in which the language of decolonization has been superficially adopted by the social sciences and conflated with discussions about social justice and civil rights. This trend, in turn, has widened gaps between people instead of narrowing them: "Criticize a postcolonial writer," Vivek Chibber gently chides, "and you may be dismissed for having misunderstood" (in Long 2018). Long (2018) eloquently concludes: "Postcolonial theory denies the possibility of empathy—of a shared humanity—and it is for that reason that it cannot provide the ethical vision we need now more than ever."[13]

To summarize, postcolonialism and decolonization are more than metaphors in debates about knowledge. They ask us to question ourselves, and to be honest and transparent about what we know and what we do not. Yet we must reject their extreme tendencies toward isolation and continue to seek collaboration with and other means of "knowing" from people who are different from us. This renewed energy might inform a *post*-postcolonial or *post*-decolonial approach with both practical and methodological consequences, to which I will return below.

Musicological strands

Critical musicology and popular music studies

My disciplinary approach also incorporates a musicological focus, with an emphasis on the interrelated fields of critical musicology and popular music studies. The term "critical musicology" was coined by Kerman in the 1980s to challenge the then-dominant positivism of music analysis (Kerman 1980, 1985; see also Hawkins 2012: 4). Popular musicology subsequently emerged in the 1990s as a direct response to the lack of musicological research, critical or otherwise, into popular music—a response also acknowledging the relevance to this musicology of sociology, critical theory, semiotics, cultural studies, music anthropology, gender studies, and ethnomusicology (Hawkins 2016, Moore 2007: ix-xxii, Scott 2009).

Academics began to pay more attention to context, meaning, and music's role in shaping people's everyday lives in music research in the mid-1960s, around the time when the

[13] My findings suggest that musical activity and cultural cooperation across borders have a potential role to play in advancing such an ethical vision; see the concluding discussion for more.

colonies fell. The Society for Ethnomusicology had been founded in the United States just a few years earlier as well (Rice 2014: 114). A central objective of ethnomusicology and some of these other scholarly efforts was to address the relations among music, community rites, and ceremonies as well as the ways in which groups of human beings used musical practice to construct their realities (Blacking 1974). Starting in the 1970s, in turn, rock, folk, and other popular genres began to gain acceptance as objects of inquiry in the academy. *Whose Music? A Sociology of Musical Languages* (Shepherd 1977)*, Music–Society–Education* (Small 1977), and *The Sociology of Rock* (Frith [1978] 1980) all framed music in relation to subcultures and leisure—that is, they connected music and context and unpacked the meanings music had for the musicians and their audiences.

Critical musicology (in the United Kingdom) or "New Musicology" (in the United States; see Maus 2011) arose from these foundations and, in 1994, popular musicology emerged once and for all as a subfield with Scott and Hawkins editing the first issue of the journal of the same name at the University of Salford. Scott and Hawkins proposed a seven-point manifesto for the new discipline (1994: 3) that can be summed up by two overarching concerns: first, "to search for procedures capable of instigating a more accommodating framework for music research, and second, to uncover the meanings and myths embedded in musical texts" (Hawkins 2012: 6). The critical analysis of music (which involved established perspectives concerning lyrics, harmony, rhythm, melody, and so on) formed a central subject of research, alongside processes of musicking (Small 1998) that dealt with "production, performance and issues of broad sociocultural significance" (Hansen, Askerøi, and Jarman 2020: 3; see also Brackett 1995; Dybo 2013; Hansen 2017; Hawkins 2012; Moore 2007; Størvold 2019; Whiteley, Bennett and Hawkins 2004). According to Scott (2009: 2), popular musicology, as a direct outgrowth of critical musicology, "may (hence) be thought of as a post-disciplinary field in the breadth of its theoretical formulations and its objects of study."

It is worth reiterating that the semiotic decipherment of the meaning of a musical text based on its various components (again, lyrics, harmony, rhythm, melody) within its identified contexts was long considered the standard mode of research in popular musicology (McClary 1987, 2007; Tagg 1982, 2013). In the last two decades, however, a significant shift from structuralism to post-structuralism has diversified these research methods and brought the ambiguities of these musical components and the inherent slipperiness of music's meaning to the fore. Currently, researchers are more than willing

to attend to "plural analytical and interpretative possibilities afforded by musical experiences" (Hansen, Askerøi, and Jarman 2020: 3). As I contended earlier, postcolonialism is an extension of colonialism yet also a critique of it, and, along those lines, poststructuralist musicological research is both an extension of structuralism and a critique of it. Accordingly, issues of identity have been replaced by fragmented identities; stylistic homogeneity by stylistic heterogeneity; permanent membership by transient attachment; and, more generally, the idea of self-perception as authentic by a celebration of the inauthentic (Longhurst and Bogdanović 2014: 258), for example, through research into gender, race, and sexuality in popular music.

These various interests, methods, and mindsets of critical musicology and popular musicology thus contribute to the framework of this study in terms of its attempt to critically explore music's role in human lives and to gain a better understanding of music*al* cultures and music *within* culture.

The Social Impact of Making Music (SIMM)

Postcolonial thought and decoloniality have increasingly gained traction among music scholars over the past few years as an approach and method in themselves but also in terms of praxis awareness—that is, the ways in which music production, teaching, and performance around the world are colored by the colonial legacy.[14] The unprecedented Facebook response to the newly established "Decolonizing and Indigenizing Music Education" group established by the International Society for Music Education (ISME 2019) is just one example of the ascendance of a vital platform where researchers and practitioners share ideas, projects, articles, documents, and stories from across the planet about these issues. Similarly, the Social Impact of Making Music (hereafter SIMM) network[15] brings with it a strong focus on research experiences from the Global South. This network's thematic focus, rather than the formal party line of any particular discipline, has informed my choice of literature and selection of scholarly insights for the present study. Researchers at Ghent University established SIMM in 2015, and I participated in their second conference, *SIMMposium* 2, at Guildhall, London, in July 2017 to present some preliminary findings even as I continued to struggle to define

[14] Music theorist Philip Ewell's article "Music Theory's White Racial Frame" (2020) addresses how conventional analytical strategies reinforce European classical music as the music most worthy of this form of study. Inspired in particular by feminist and sociological research, Ewell calls for the dismantling of music theory's white racial frame and prompts music teachers and those in charge of curriculum to challenge their own assumptions, biases, and "isms" to address these issues.

[15] See http://www.simm-platform.eu/.

myself as a popular musicologist, an ethnomusicologist, or a scholar of music sociology. My SIMMposium experience helped things to fall into place for me.

Probably *the* main factor that distinguishes SIMM research from other types of social music research is its activist character and interest in achieving a deeper understanding of the connections between music and defined extramusical goals such as enhanced social cohesion and/or integration, community connectedness, stigma reduction, women's rights, preserving local culture and defeating stereotypes, giving voice to marginalized communities, peacebuilding, nationbuilding, regional development, and more (Sloboda 2019). SIMM typically covers kinds of research that are not well supported elsewhere and therefore excludes music education in schools, music and health, clinical music therapy, and so on. The network prioritizes efforts with an explicit *social activist* agenda that is articulated by either the musician in question or the project itself (SIMM 2019, Sloboda 2019).[16]

From the expanding body of SIMM research, I will highlight a few contributions that have provided intellectual stimulation for my work. First of all, Arild Bergh's doctoral thesis from 2010 was one of the earliest research documents to scientifically and critically explore the "overly romantic myth about music's magical powers" (Bergh 2010: 14). Bergh highlights how discourses around music and its effects often tend toward hyperbole (Bergh 2010: 59), so that both practitioners and funders often sell music as a solution to "everything" and—to a large extent—carry out their projects on autopilot instead of interrogating, early on, the underlying values and mechanisms of what they are doing. Building up his analysis using a rich set of data from Sudan and Norway, Bergh offers valuable insights about issues of power and project interpretation among music organizers and participants, and about the ways in which the musical and social biographies of individuals and groups impact the understanding and reception of their music (Bergh 2010: 219). Relying on a sociological framework, he shows how relationships can be created and nurtured through music but also highlights the challenges and dilemmas of "recontextualization" (Bergh 2010: 221), which can have the exact opposite effect of disrupting relationships if they are not given close attention.

[16] Typical beneficiaries of this activism include, for example, performers, groups in (or emerging from) conflict, refugees, immigrant communities, prison inmates, indigenous people, older people, and vulnerable children (Sloboda 2019).

Another major musicological work confronting many of the same questions as Bergh's is Geoff Baker's critical publication about El Sistema. Drawing upon his interviews and ethnographic fieldwork in Venezuela (Baker 2014: 19–21), Baker challenges the widely accepted narrative about El Sistema as a lifesaving initiative for young people in the *favelas*, Venezuela's low-income and extremely socially challenged urban neighborhoods. He argues that the project's benefits have been exaggerated, and that the Venezuelan youth have in fact been stereotyped and even stigmatized in order to play up the transformative effects of music (p.18). He also pinpoints hidden power dynamics, detrimental hierarchies, political complications, and general fear among the El Sistema leadership and its young musicians. Instead of praising the skills of these young orchestra musicians with Western classical music, Baker finds the whole project to represent a thinly veiled threat against the rich indigenous folk music traditions already embedded in Venezuelan society, both urban and rural. In order to achieve healthy, non-hierarchical relationships, he concludes, these kinds of projects must rely on experience and skills that are already present in the community: "the education [must be] based on popular culture and knowledge" (Baker 2014: 312).

Gillian Howell (2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020) is also a key contributor to the SIMM network. The main insights from her doctoral work concerning post-war music interventions in Bosnia Herzegovina, Afghanistan, and Timor-Leste are summarized within a framework of critical junctures—that is, sites of negotiation between various actors that affect the ways in which the project unfolds and its eventual sustainability (Howell 2017). The six critical junctures are aims and motivations, buildings and facilities, pedagogy and learning materials, organizational culture, internal engagement, and external engagement, and I will elaborate upon them in my subsequent theory section.

Kim Boeskov's writings about music and social transformation in a Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon have also provided food for thought, especially when it comes to processes involving musical identities in exile (Boeskov 2017a, 2017b, 2019). He addresses the ambiguities of musical practice and offers insights into how participatory musicmaking can simultaneously reproduce and transform social identities. Boeskov relies on Turner's notion of cultural performance as a liminal space, on Butler's concepts of performativity and subjectivation, and on Georgina Born's model of the social mediation of music (Born 2012). In relation to the present study, Boeskov has produced

a useful article about cultural exchanges between Palestinian and Norwegian students under the aegis of the Norwegian Academy of Music, or NMH (Boeskov 2013).

Last, but not least, I wish to highlight the extensive research of Lukas Pairon, co-founder of the SIMM network who, for seven years, conducted research on the role of music for socially challenged youngsters in Congo Kinshasa in the violent gangs and the so-called "witch" children. Many of these individuals shared with Pairon that becoming musicians had played a crucial role in (re-)constructing their lives, hence the title of the Pairon's doctoral thesis: "Music Saved Them, They Say" (2019).[17] Pairon sought to identify what was so lifesaving about the music practice of these young people and rapidly sank into the "murky waters of forms of enjoyment in music-making" (p. 288)—something that was "not easy to pinpoint and formulate into rational terms." He concludes that the very acts of learning and performing music were critical for these youngsters, as opposed to the extrinsic gains they eventually realized from their practice (p. 289). He also notes that the possibility of being in charge and gaining ownership of these musical initiatives led to their empowerment and agency, and that the social pride involved in "mastering" (p. 289) an instrument led to a feeling of flow and mastery in other arenas of their lives.

The aforementioned examples of relevant literature all explore the role that music can play in social, psychological, personal, and cultural development from a number of angles. In such a young field as SIMM, there are inevitably many research gaps as well, including relatively little research on the role of music *versus* other intervention alternatives, for example: "The question, then," Sloboda writes, "becomes to what extent a particular music educator is willing or able to step outside his or her professional role to exercise wider social action as a citizen or political agent" (2015: 7). In order to reach and bring change into the lives of large numbers of people through music-related development initiatives, one must establish clear links between the micro-issue of music (that is, a potentially transforming experience for a small number of people) and the macro-issue of social justice. How can experiences from music projects with a social purpose be "transferable, scalable, and sustainable" (Sloboda 2015: 4) in a broader social field? How can music be(come) a concrete and useful tool for human rights (Dave 2015)? To my knowledge, such links have yet to be explored thoroughly in the field literature to date.

[17] Key portions from Pairon's thesis were also released as a book by Routledge in May 2020 (Pairon 2020).

Peace studies: A cultural turn

My presentation of various musicological perspectives has shown how music has been employed and studied for a diverse range of purposes in diverse contexts and historical periods. Above all, I have been interested in how music relates to "development," but since "reconciliation" was also a part of my research mission, I will complete this literature review by discussing recent links between art and peace studies.

Peace research has long been conducted as a general subcategory of "peace and conflict studies," the emphasis of which has generally been on the latter. In terms of problematizing and conceptualizing different variations upon peace, that is, Galtung's old notion of positive versus negative peace (Galtung 1969) has been remarkably persistent. However, a view of peace as the mere absence of violence has little to contribute to a culturally and contextually specific understanding of what peace actually is and how it works. During the past decade, there have been innovative attempts to develop new theory and research on practices contributing to conflict resolution, peacebuilding, and reconciliation (Davenport, Melander, and Regan 2018; Lederach 2005; Söderström, Åkebo, and Jarstad 2019; Wallensteen 2015). A longstanding trend among the major peace and conflict journals (such as *Peace and Conflict Studies*, *Conflict, Security and Development*, *International Peacekeeping*, *Peacebuilding*, and *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*) has been to favor macro perspectives and grand theories, but questions of identity and culture have also come to the fore of late. At Umeå University, a multidisciplinary research group for peace studies has since 2016 published several articles and working papers nuancing academic views of peace and its many forms. This group even initiated the Varieties of Peace network, by whom I was invited to speak at Jakarta University in October 2019. Another example is the Center for Culture and Violent Conflict established at PRIO, the Peace Research Institute of Oslo, in 2019. Anchored in the humanities, the center emphasizes interpretive research and focuses on the importance of language, history, philosophy, and cultural production to any understanding of the dynamics of conflict (PRIO 2020). The center also initiates joint research projects such as *Inspirational Creative Practice: The Work of Artists in Times of War*, or INSPIRE, a 12 million NOK project supported by the Norwegian Research Council from 2020 to 2023 on whose advisory committee I sit. Both the Swedish network and the Norwegian project encourage innovative approaches to designing and disseminating peace research and encourage increased collaboration between academics and practitioners in the field. Both also incorporate collaboration and dialogue between researchers from the Global North and the Global South.

Jarstad, Eklund, Johansson, Olivius, Saati, Sahovic, Strandh, Söderström, Wimelius, and Åkebo (2019) propose a theoretical framework and methodologies aiming to make peace beyond the mere absence of conflict into a researchable subject. Systematizing previous literature, the aforementioned publication, in tandem with Johansson and Saati (2020) and Söderström, Åkebo, and Jarstad (2019), offers a useful three-tiered approach consisting of peace as a *situation*, peace as an *idea*, and peace as a *relation*. The third approach—peace in terms of *relations* between actors or groups—has proven to be central to my research on music in conflict-affected areas such as Palestine and Sri Lanka. This approach builds on work in the field of international relations as well as sociological conflict-transformation literature to argue that the "quality and characteristics of relationships and interactions are fundamental for understanding peace" (p. 10).

John Paul Lederach also emphasizes this aspect of peace in *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (2005). According to Lederach, the possibility of transcending violence is advanced by the capacity to build a "moral imagination" that rests on four pillars: the capacity to imagine ourselves in a web of relationships that also includes our enemies; the capacity to embrace complexity without getting caught up in social schism; a commitment to the creative act; and an acceptance of the risk that unavoidably goes along with such an attempt (Lederach 2005; see also Maiese 2005). Throughout his book, Lederach emphasizes the role of art and imagination here, even likening the process of peacebuilding to the creation of poetry as he highlights *transformational process* rather than actual *resolution*. In this, he recalls Johan Galtung (interviewed in Urbain 2008: 4): "conflicts are part and parcel of the human lot," Galtung says, "not to be avoided, but to be transformed (. . .) [efficient peacebuilding is] the capacity to transform conflicts with empathy, creativity and non-violence." On the specific role of music, Riiser (2009 and 2010) has written about the constant negotiation of binaries in the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra in which young Palestinian and Israeli musicians play together. This process, Riiser argues, may eventually lead to a common identity and shared social values: "Music can influence, or even change people´s behavior (. . .) music has the effect of cultivation" (2009: 79).

To summarize the disciplinary strands of my work, then, I have drafted a schema to indicate the overlaps among development studies, postcolonial theory, musicological perspectives, and peace studies with regard to complex questions about the role of music in the context of international development and/or reconciliation (see table 1—the way in which each academic lens applies to my study is highlighted in red). Moving across these "academic tribes and territories" (Becher and Trowler 2001) and bringing them

together has been a journey with both frustration and reward, especially when the distances between them seemed so vast. Basic terms were understood differently by each academic camp, and methodologies and even writing styles varied as well. Nevertheless, I have attempted to introduce new perspectives to all of these disciplinary strands by tailoring each of my four articles to a different academic audience. One (Korum 2020) was written as a music-focused article for the *Asia Europe Journal of Ethnomusicology*. Another (Korum and Subramaniam 2020) was directed toward academics and practitioners in the development community. Another (Korum and Howell 2020) was originally written and accepted as a contribution to a special edition of the journal *Conflict and Society* but ended up being published by the *International Journal of Cultural Policy* instead.[18] The last, about Palestine, was conceived for *Kunst og Konflikt*, a general anthology about arts and conflict (Korum 2019).

	NOT APPLIED ACADEMIC FIELDS		**APPLIED ACADEMIC FIELDS**	
	Popular music studies	**Postcolonial studies**	**Development studies**	**Peace studies**
Nature of field	*Not an applied field. Includes cultural sociology, critical theory, semiotics, cultural studies, music anthropology, ethnomusicology.* *Two broad approaches have characterized PMS, musicology and sociology, and they have increasingly converged.*	*Not an applied field, with origins in literary criticism; associated with the humanities and often based in academic departments of language, history, and cultural studies (Sylvester 2006: 66, in McEwan 2019: 2).*	*An applied field of social science, with origins in economics; managerial in thrust, practical in orientation, and in thrall historically to economic theories and technologies (Sylvester 2006: 66, in McEwan 2019: 2).*	*An applied field based on a wide range of theories to explore the nature and causes of conflict, the possibilities for conflict resolution, and the foundations of peace.* *Includes political science, sociobiology, anthropology, sociology, social psychology, and economics (Thyne, ND).*
Aims	To gain a better understanding of musical cultures and music in culture. The aim is a **critical exploration of music's role in human lives**. The music itself (lyrics, harmony, rhythm, melody) is a central object of research, as well as **music/musicking in context**—i.e., the sociological and cultural signification of music.	To **reexamine the long historical, cultural, and spatial record that has depicted colonies and post-colonies** as the problem children of European history.	To **develop** theory and **practice that can assist poorer countries** in achieving higher sustainable standards of living.	To **develop** theory and **practice that can contribute to** current conflict resolution, peacebuilding, and **reconciliation**.

[18] We placed the article with the *International Journal of Cultural Policy* because the journal was willing to publish it in 2020. Gillian Howell and I are currently working on a new article for the *Journal of Peace and Conflict* on the concept of relational peace (Howell and Korum forthcoming 2022).

Focus	Analyzing discourses in and around music. Focus on musicianship, musical texts, musical contexts, music technology, music industry, creativity, musical production and **reception in historical and contemporary settings**. Current research questions are marked by an expanding range of perspectives and cross-disciplinary thinking, such as **music as culture/ subculture, globalization, identity formation, reproduction of inequality, and music's role in social movements**.	Analyzing discourses (that is, the social practices through which the world is made meaningful and intelligible), including narratives, concepts, ideologies, and signifying practices; **critiquing modes of representation** (that is, techniques of writing and speaking about the world). **Questions of identity and culture** are at the center of postcolonial studies, which tends to ignore socioeconomic inequality.	Measuring socioeconomic inequality/"poverty," gauging development needs, finding solutions. Concerned with socioeconomic issues rather than cultural ones. Ignores the question of identity (Baaz 2005, in McEwan 2019).	Analyzing contemporary conflicts to find out how evidence and theory can be effectively used to understand and improve conflict resolution and the promotion of peace. A trend among major peace and conflict journals is to favor macro perspectives and grand theories, yet **questions of identity and culture** have emerged and been recognized lately as key to relational and sustainable peace.
Perspective	Examines interconnections and **hybridities among music, space, and place**.	Examines **interconnections** and hybridities created by the world-historical experience of colonialism.	Creates spaces and distinctions between places deemed to be either developed or less developed.	Examines potential common ground and **surfaces of dialogue and unity** between humans.
Sources	Explores everyday lives, archives, and discursive representations through various texts including the following: - the structural analysis of music: formal, harmonic, pitch, and rhythmic analysis - textual analysis; hermeneutics/ interpretation - stylistic and technical codes - audiovisual analysis - studio production/ technology - **the sociological and cultural signification of music** - semiotics, intertextuality - **music and identity**	Explores everyday lives, archives, and **discursive representations through** diverse texts including novels, films, testimonials, official reports, media sources, and potentially **music/musical texts**, though this is still an under-researched area.	Generally conceives of the "third world" as a problematic of progress that can be understood and dealt with in statistical and/or technical terms. Lately, a "cultural component" (Stupples 2014) has also been recognized as a key factor for progress. Development studies explore progress through a number of angles including (but not limited to): - democracy and the state - **participatory development and partnerships** - **sustainable development** - gender perspectives and development	Explores (1) **why people, groups and states fight**, focusing on individual-, group-, and state-level violence. - conflict on the individual level - **culture, social behavior** - ethnocentrism - **civil violence** (wars and revolutions) - power and conflict And (2) **how conflict can** eventually **be resolved**: - questions of justice - violence and nonviolent actions - negotiation - **recognition**

Table 1 *Synthesis of disciplinary foundations (basic categories and content covering Postcolonial studies and Development studies from McEwan 2019: 2. Added references from Baaz 2005, Hawkins 2016, Stupples 2014, Sylvester 2006, Söderström et al. 2019, and Thyne ND).*

In the next section, I will focus on the geographical and contextual nature of my field and identify the social, political, economic, and cultural contexts of musical activities in my case countries of Norway, Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka.

3. Excavating the field

A great body of musicological work examines the role of *place* in identity formation, at the local, national, and international (diaspora) levels (Bennett, Shank, and Toynbee 2006; De Nora 2000; Feld 1990; Knudsen 2006; Langlois 2011; Raimondi 2012; Scott 2009; Shepherd and Devine 2015; Stokes 1994; Taylor 2004; Whiteley, Bennett and Hawkins 2004). This research consistently emphasizes the fact that individual and collective identities are formed in specific *places* and mediated across *spaces*. Musical skills, instruments, particular genres, and patterns of composition are therefore often culturally coded, yet, as demonstrated above, these cultural codes are never static. The ways in which we access, use, experience, and form emotional attachments to music are instead conditioned by the places where we grow up and live, and by the resources we have at hand. To further discombobulate us, traditions, and what we might consider the "local," have changed rapidly with the onset of globalization, which has given rise to, among other things, increased artist mobility and active online communities where music flourishes and evolves into new forms around the world. These conditions call for a new approach—even a "profoundly disorganized and ambivalent take on music and identities" (Negus 2006, Longhurst and Bogdanović 2014).

For this doctoral thesis, I conducted research on music activities initiated and implemented by CN in Norway, Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka. My home country, Norway, is where CN originated in 1968, and where its international engagement first saw the light of day a few decades later. This engagement happened in a particular context based on specific views of music and its potential contributions to individuals and societies, which this section shall describe.

Next, there is Palestine, where connections between Palestinian and Norwegian musicians in the 1990s led to a long-term collaboration between the two countries starting in the early 2000s. As a hotspot for international conflict and attention, Palestine is also a hub for music and for unique creative voices. Palestinian artists and music educators live and work in the midst of this region's scarred history of foreign colonialization, dispossession, and occupation, all mixed up with a strong and abiding indigenous culture. All of this context colors why and how people learn, compose,

perform, and listen to music. The main focus of CN's activities in Palestine involved music education and concerts for children and youth.

India and Sri Lanka represent two geographically and culturally close societies with distinct social, economic, and political realities. India is one of the world's largest countries (and economies!) with a population of close to 1.4 billion people, over half of whom are below the age of twenty-five (CIA 2020). Bollywood is the largest cultural industry in India, yet independent music is very much on the rise. During the last decade, the independent music industry has taken giant leaps forward, and foreign actors are looking at India with great interest to invest and reach large audiences, especially the sizeable and financially strong Indian middle class.

Sri Lanka, on the other hand, is a small island the size of Ireland situated about thirty kilometers off the southern tip of India. Its population of 21 million people is ethnically, linguistically, and religiously diverse, including divisions that sparked one of the longest running civil wars in Asian modern history when the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a Tamil militant organization, fought against the Sinhala military from 1983 to 2009 at the cost of between 80,000 and 100,000 lives (Charbonneau 2009).

The reasons why CN moved into these two countries in 2002 (India) and 2009 (Sri Lanka) were totally different. In India, the CN initiative was linked to cultural exchange and, later, "development," whereas, in Sri Lanka, it was linked to music for post-war reconciliation and the need to build up a cultural infrastructure.

As this introduction suggests, the role of *place*—that is, the cultural conditions, technologies, and musical infrastructure—in CN's projects in these countries differed vastly. We will learn more about these contexts in this section.

Norway

One of my fundamental research concerns was to map the Norwegian cultural context and values with regard to which CN initiated and developed its international musical engagement. I gave little space to this aspect in my articles, which is why the Norway part of this framing chapter section is considerably longer than the other three parts. I will first outline the main historical lines of CN and define the key features of CN's model of intervention in the Global South. I will then examine synergies between CN's national and international activities and show how international music exchanges,

combined with skills training, in the Global South contributed to the organization's domestic toolkit, multicultural portfolio, and artistic credibility, in addition to enhancing its domestic partnerships and public image-building in Norway.

Concerts Norway: The basics

Rikskonsertene (CN) was founded in 1968 upon a rights-based, dynamic, and democratic view of music. The idea of a countrywide music producer and promoter represented an important part of Norway's cultural state-building process following World War II. It followed upon a national traveling theater, which had been established ten years before, as well as the ongoing development of traveling art exhibitions. It was therefore unsurprising that music would receive a similar accommodation. Through CN-enabled access to school concerts, public concerts, and festivals all over the country, "all who could crawl and walk in Norway would be exposed to live music and enrich their lives and—through joint experiences—strengthen the national culture (. . .) [through] access to quality music for all" (Tom Gravlie, former CN director of international collaboration, interviewed in Oslo, November 2016). Despite a heated initial debate regarding whether folk music should be part of the scheme, CN Director Leif Braseth convinced the artistic council of CN that *all genres* should be included: "All musical genres, accessible to all people of Norway. The repertoire must be equal and diverse" (Vandvik 2018: 58, my translation).

Photo 1 *Folk musician Egil Storbekken performing the first CN school concerts in 1968. © CN/Rikskonsertene.*

According to the historical accounts of Sønning and Nuez (1982), Vandvik (2018), and Refsdal (ND), it took some years (and many regional reforms) before all municipalities joined the initiative, but, by the early 2000s, only one out of Norway´s 435 municipalities was *not* part of CN's touring circuit.

The World in Concerts Norway—Concerts Norway in the World

The concert portfolio offered by CN was initially designed to resonate with the culture of Norwegian society. Upon the arrival of numerous immigrants to the country during the 1970s and 1980s, CN administrators added repertoire from Asia, Africa. and South America as well. Arne Holen, CN director from 1983 to 1993, was instrumental in promoting these changes, as this story indicates:

> It was the day after the municipal elections in 1987. Arne Holen, director of Concerts Norway, had been up late the night before and followed the vote counting. That's why he took a later tram to work that morning. In the tram, he sat next to a neighbor he seldom saw otherwise. This neighbor was excited—very pleased by the results of the election—and uttered what Arne Holen heard as one racist statement after another. "When I came to work and met the then administration manager John Garsjø at the front desk," Holen would later recall, "I said, 'Now we are starting something multicultural.'" […] One year later, in September 1988, the board of Concerts Norway made a principled decision to launch a major musical initiative for immigrant groups in Norway. Money was allocated to specific projects starting already that same autumn. (Story shared by several informants; this version was recounted in Lindstad 2018: 105, my translation; see also Tømte 2016)

Two of the musicians taking part in Holen's pilot project were eleven-year-old Deepika Thathaal and eight-year-old Jai Shankar, both of whom are successful and well-known artists today.[19] Based on experiences with this tour and other similar ones in the Oslo schools, CN started a collaboration with the University of Oslo through the research project titled *The Resonant Community*, which was initiated in 1989 with the goal of mapping children's attitudes toward immigrants through music while conducting research on the changes that took place at the same time. The report garnered international interest as the first of its kind in Europe (Kleveland 2015). Its summary confirmed that the bullying tendencies in the selected classes diminished with the introduction of music, and that the students in these classes were much less inclined to subscribe to racist attitudes than their fellow students. In addition, the musicians who

[19] Jai Shankar works today as a professional musician, and Deepika (Deeyah Khan) is a recognized producer of documentary films and an ambassador for UNESCO.

participated in the research project reported that their own cultural identities had been strengthened (Skyllstad 1993, 2008).

Photo 2 *(From left) Shri Sahajpal Lal, Rohini Sahajpal, Jai Shankar, and Deepika Thathaal (known today as Deeyah Khan) performing for CN. Photo reproduced by permission of CN/Rikskonsertene.*

Around this same time, in order to increase their knowledge about musical cultures around the world, a team from CN traveled widely to countries in what is now called the Global South. The team members collected musical material, expanded their networks, and invited musicians into collaborative projects in Norway. In 1992, CN received funding from the MoC to establish a multicultural music center at its headquarters in Oslo called Norsk Flerkulturelt Musikksenter. Soon afterward, CN established the first world music festival in Scandinavia, Verden i Norden, in 1994. This festival still exists today with the moniker Oslo World.

Since its foundation in 1968, CN was strongly rooted in an aspirational "art world" (Becker [1982] 2008), with an added civic mandate. Its administrators took an active part in the "network of people whose cooperative activity produces the kind of art work that the art world is noted for" (Becker 2008: 2), and they possessed an "extensive knowledge of all the activities that must be carried out for any work of art to appear as it finally does" (Becker 2008: 2). This repertoire included expertise in concert production, tour planning, and musical communication skills, all adapted to various

target groups, as well as specialized professions such as sound engineers and multimedia technicians. Its multicultural music competency and international networks added domestic value to CN during the 1990s and 2000s (Knudsen, forthcoming 2021a and forthcoming 2021b; Knudsen and Berkaak 1998). Its in-depth understanding of the musical cultures of the biggest immigrant groups in Norway, as well as its praxis experience with international collaborations, not only enriched the organization's own toolbox but also gave CN a "new and important leg to stand on" (Åse Kleveland, former cultural minister and director of CN, personal communication).[20] The organizational goals for CN in 2005 included the following three aims:

- [CN] will work continuously to make itself appear to be an attractive partner for external associates and a center for excellence in international music collaboration.
- We want to make sure that [CN]'s partnerships and activities abroad strengthen its operations in Norway to the greatest possible extent.
- We strive for long-term agreements with partners such as NORAD, the MFA, and foreign institutions. (CN 2005, my translation)

In CN's annual report for that year, these goals have both ample space and a strong visual presence, and the organization committed to continuing to respond to them. In 2005, for example, CN collaborated on fifty-two concerts in the Global South.[21] Additionally, CN presented school concerts and public concerts in Norway with musicians from eighteen non-Western countries.[22]

Furthermore, multicultural activities in Norway and international partnerships abroad contributed to the *recognition* of CN by new circles of people and organizations. CN was no longer seen exclusively as an interesting and relevant partner for schools, musical venues, and official bureaucratic bodies such as NORAD and the two Ministries of Culture and Foreign Affairs; it was now welcomed as a partner for diaspora organizations, university milieus, business communities, and others that recognized and made use of its broad networks and high public profile in the many countries in which

[20] It was during Åse Kleveland's time as a director of CN that its international activities exploded. She headed the organization from 2006 to 2012, when the international department became a major pillar of the organization.
[21] Concerts were held in Bangladesh, Botswana, China, Eritrea, India, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal, Pakistan, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Vietnam, Zambia and Zimbabwe (CN 2005).
[22] These countries included Argentina, Brazil, Cameroun, China, Egypt, Iran, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Madagascar, Mali, Palestine, Senegal, Sri Lanka, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Tunisia and Turkey (CN 2005).

it had been involved. CN was also known for its high-quality musical performances and efficient processes leading up to these events. Tom Gravlie, director of CN's international section from its inception until 2015, was frequently asked to share his experiences in many different fora in front of a great variety of audiences. Norwegian arts organizations in other fields, such as literature and contemporary art, turned to CN for advice when launching their own activities abroad (Tom Gravlie, statement repeated in several interviews; MFA officer, January 19, 2018). In all, these international connections and networks served as strong image builders for CN during a period of organizational expansion that lasted until 2013, when a major policy shift took place at the MFA (see below for details of CN's collaboration with the MFA).

CN also offered job opportunities for artists in Norway and abroad and brought top-tier artists from the Global South to not only Oslo but also smaller towns and villages all over Norway through the concert series titled *World*—artists including Amjad Ali Khan (India), Omara Portuondo (Cuba), Anouar Brahem (Tunisia), Salif Keita (Mali), Hugh Masekela (South Africa), and Angelique Kidjo (Benin).[23] Through these concerts and collaborations, CN became well recognized in Norway and abroad, a reputation that Oslo World continues to benefit from even today, close to a decade after the Ministry of Culture decided to detach the festival from CN and make it an independent foundation starting January 1, 2012. The background for this decision was that many independent Norwegian festivals in the same (world music) segment were complaining that Oslo World was too strong and monopolistic while residing within CN as a state-run structure, so that conditions for competition were not fair (Eik 2011).[24] Other areas of CN's activity were also being attacked by independent actors who accused CN of taking too much of the total available funding. One of the organization's most ardent critics was Khalid Salimi, director of the Mela festival in Oslo, here quoted in the online newspaper Ballade:

> [Khalid] Salimi thinks the collaboration between Rikskonsertene and the Foreign Ministry is strange: "This year Mela has had the pleasure of having some artists from India and Sri Lanka. Funding was channeled through Rikskonsertene. Why on earth should contact with artists from India go via Rikskonsertene? It is time for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to reconsider its form of cooperation with Rikskonsertene. (Quoted in Eik 2010, my translation)

[23] See http://www.osloworld.no/en/artists-history/ for a full historical list of visiting artists.
[24] CN's public concert scheme was also discontinued at this time, following an external review in 2009 (DIFI 2009), not only due to CN's activities but also as the result of a larger debate concerning the role of grant schemes and administrative models in Norwegian cultural life.

To respond to these critics, CN (backed by the Ministry of Culture) drew attention to the synergy values that a large state actor could potentially bring with it, and to the way in which CN was a bridge builder to strengthen the music field and the Norwegian music business as a whole.

Collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

As shown above, CN possessed networks and competence that were perceived as attractive to NORAD and the Norwegian MFA. In 2001, CN signed an MoU with the MFA that outlined cooperation in four main areas:

> (1) consultancy,
> (2) coordination of collaborative musical projects in Norway,
> (3) coordination of MFA musical initiatives abroad, and
> (4) project responsibility for long-term musical development programs in the Global South. (CN/MFA 2001, my translation)

The MFA saw CN as a key advisor and "extended arm" to implement international activities in the cultural field (former MFA officer, personal communication at Voksenåsen Oslo, 2016; repeated in research interview on January 19, 2018). In 2006, the MFA assigned CN to "establish an arena for reflections on principles and strategic discussions related to music cooperation with developing countries" (CN/MFA 2006). The MFA later told CN to organize an annual conference in Oslo with and for actors who received MFA funding for cultural and development-related activities. The first such gathering took place at the CN premises in Nydalen in 2008; thanks to an ever-increasing number of participants (and grant recipients from the MFA), it was moved to Voksenåsen, a grand conference hotel in Oslo, starting in 2011.

During the first decade of the 2000s, then, CN saw its long-term contracts with the MFA multiply. Expanded projects were launched in South Africa in 2000, Palestine and India in 2002, Nepal in 2004, Pakistan in 2006, and several other countries from the later 2000s until 2012, the peak year of CN's activities abroad. In 2012, CN was present in nine countries at once, either as a direct implementer of music and development programs or as a technical advisor for cultural actors and NGOs in the Global South (CN 2013; see also appendix I). The *Evaluation of the Strategy for Norway´s Culture and Sports Cooperation with Countries in the South* (NORAD 2011: 102) shows that funding directly to CN or *via* CN to local partners between 2006 and 2009 added up to about 36 million NOK, a major part of the total MFA budget for culture and development in this period. In 2012 alone, CN and its partners were allocated 23 million

NOK, or approximately 2.7 million USD (CN 2013: 8–11). While CN and its partners defined the development goals of its various programs differently, based on local context and need, certain key features remained the same. Table 2 indicates the main pillars of the CN model for music intervention in the Global South, based on the systematic screening of relevant CN project documents and partner contracts between 2000 and 2018. CN never defined this as a "model" as such, but several informants consistently referred to it as "the CN way of operating in the Global South." I will return to this model in my concluding discussion.

TARGET GROUPS:
The overall target groups included musicians, technicians, children and youth/students, teachers, general audiences, festival organizers, cultural bureaucrats/ministries, educational institutions, and a wide range of other actors from the art and civic spheres.

THREE MAIN TYPES OF ACTIVITIES:

1. Exchange: Musical artists, students, educators, and scholars are given opportunities for musical exchange and collaboration between regions and countries.

Concerts and festivals: Children, youth, and adults are given opportunities to experience both their own musical artists and artists from the international music scene.

Internationalization of music life and regional exchange: Musical artists are given opportunities to perform for international audiences and participate in international networks and events.

Music education: The program supports music and culture within schools, including teacher training across borders, curriculum development, and writing of student manuals.

2. Transfer of skills: Artists, technicians, and sound engineers are given opportunities to draw on modern technologies and musical exchange to share their own work and enhance their performances.

3. Documentation and preservation: Local archives of music and dance are created, digitized, and made accessible to a wider audience.

Table 2 *The CN model for music intervention in the Global South.*

Over the years, these activities became increasingly standardized and streamlined. As the demand for CN's services and networks grew, so did the need for efficiency, better project performance, measurement, and analysis. In 2013, the central cultural section of the Norwegian MFA released White Paper 19 (MFA 2013) to announce a shift in focus away from a "twin-track policy" through which artistic exchange to and from Norway and cultural infrastructure development in the Global South were equally important and toward a more classic development model, the entire focus of which would be on the *recipients* in the Global South, and the results of which would be measured solely according to (development) industry principles in this setting. White Paper 19 emphasized a heightened commitment to the arts sector as an instrumental driver of both human and cultural rights, and to the role of artists and arts organizations in the Global South as "agents of change" (Brende 2013). All activity in the field was henceforth to be change oriented and framed by results-based management. Exchange activities with Norwegian partners were therefore progressively reduced starting in 2014, which profoundly altered CN's operations in the Global South. The new policy, that is, offered less opportunity for artists from partner countries to work in Norway and less opportunity for Norwegian artists to work abroad (see Korum and Subramaniam 2020). Instead of being an "equal" (though facilitating) partner to artists and arts organizations of the Global South, CN became, starting in 2014, a more traditional development organization wherein project planning, monitoring, and reporting in a result-based management cycle comprised the new modus operandi. Still, the *components* of the CN model for music intervention in the Global South remained largely the same. For a detailed description of this shift, see Korum and Subramaniam (2020) and the findings section below.[25]

Impact on Norwegian music life

CN's connections to artistic milieus in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America represented a rich range of musical expression, and a variety of sources attest to the fact that experiences and networks originating in CN's international efforts did have an impact also on musical life in Norway as well. The following elements are highlighted

[25] In terms of the Norwegian national context for this transition, it is important to note that, between 2005 and 2013, a left-wing coalition of the Labour Party, the Socialist Left, and the Centre Party was in power in Norway, only to lose the election in 2013 to the right-wing coalition government of Erna Solberg. This political shift led to major changes (and decreased funding) in the culture and development field. There was, furthermore, an attendant shift in emphasis between promoting Norwegian culture abroad and supporting cultural development in the South, as well as a generally strong commitment to technocratic approaches.

by Kleveland (2015), Knudsen (2013 and forthcoming 2021a), Lindstad (2018), Ryvarden and Gravlie (2016), Thoreby (2017), and Thunestvedt (2016) and were mentioned by informants during my field research as well.

CN ensured that a more diverse profile of school concerts was offered to children all over Norway.

According to Thoreby (2017), between 10 percent (in 2003) and 15 percent (in 2014) of all productions offered each year by CN to approximately 1.2 million pupils across Norway (CN 2015: 6) fell under the category "world music," here understood as performed by either immigrant musicians living in Norway *or* musicians hailing from CN's partner countries in the Global South. The proportion of musicians from the latter group increased considerably starting in 2003 as a direct consequence of the long-term contracts CN signed with the MFA. Apart from the music these performances shared with the general public (Knudsen 2013), they represented opportunities for many immigrant musicians and musicians from developing countries to work professionally in Norway and earn a living from the school concert scheme—something that might have been much more challenging without CN to open these doors.

CN presented both classical and traditional performances from its partner countries, as well as subcultural expressions such as post-punk rap from Bengal. In 2014, for example, the Indian electronica artist Dualist Inquiry created a clublike ambiance for schoolchildren at Cosmopolite in Oslo. Over the course of four school days, the artist gave eight concerts to between 350 and 650 pupils for a total audience of over five thousand young people. Between 2008 and 2013, artists from India gave a total of 574[26] such concerts in Norwegian schools or nearby cultural arenas (CN 2014).

[26] Between 2008 and 2013, SPIC MACAY and CN produced 574 school concerts in Norway and 251 school concerts in India (CN 2014). According to external evaluator Hege Larsen (2013a), the concerts reached a total of 234,000 people, though Larsen's report fails to distinguish between the audience numbers in India and Norway.

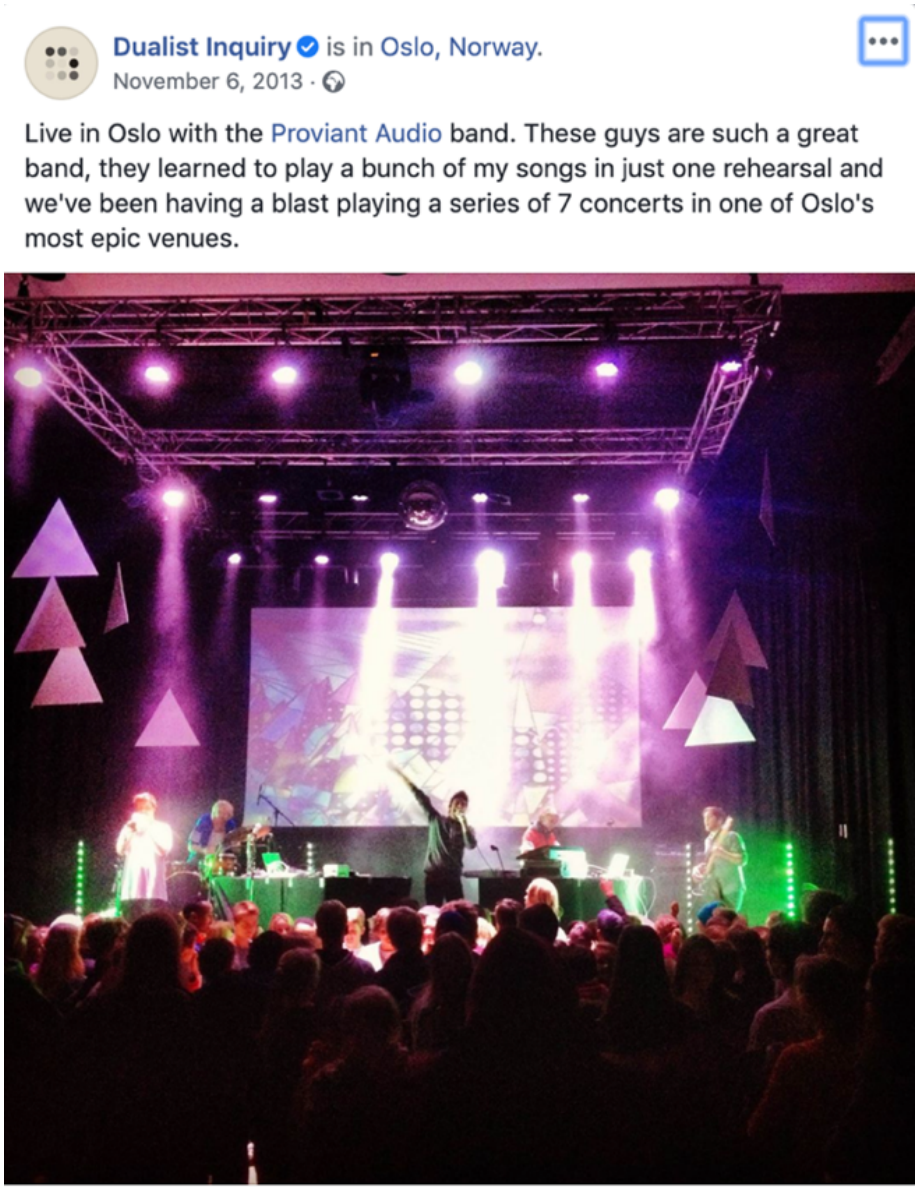

Photo 3 *Screenshot from a public Facebook post by Dualist Inquiry (IN) after joint school concert with Proviant Audio (NO) in Oslo.*

Through its international partnerships, CN enjoyed a unique opportunity to offer culturally diverse concerts to general audiences all over Norway.

CN's *World* concert series and annual Oslo World Music Festival exposed Norwegian audiences to unfamiliar forms of musical expression. People were not always familiar with the artist or expression beforehand, but because CN was the organizer and they trusted the quality of CN's programming, they bought tickets in high numbers. Through this exposure to new music and musicians, audiences gained experience with and knowledge about cultures that they would probably not have encountered otherwise, and perhaps some of their existing impressions about the world were changed along the way.

Another plausible effect of CN's international work was an increase in work and travel opportunities for musicians.

CN facilitated connections between musicians by offering opportunities for cross-cultural collaboration and (so-called) fusion projects in many formats. For example, TransJoik (NO) crossed the *Sami* music of an ethnic minority living in the north of Norway with the *qawwali* song of the Pakistani artist Sher Miandad Khan. These musicians first met in the early 2000s, and via CN's mobility programs, they received production support to hold joint public concerts and large-format school concerts together in 2013. Likewise, renowned Norwegian drummer Thomas Strønen collaborated with Indian slide guitarist Prakash Sontakke on the ECM album *Mercurial Balm* (Strønen and Ballamy 2012), as well as commissioned works for several international festivals, again demonstrating how networking and small-scale funding from CN opened doors for Norwegian musicians abroad and for outside musicians in Norway.

In 2015, the responsibility for artists' mobility funds (that is, funding for travels that were not part of a larger program) shifted to Music Norway, the Norwegian agency for music export. CN, represented by senior project manager Anne Moberg, had a seat on the advisory committee for these mobility funds, until the scheme ended three years later due to large financial cuts by the MFA.

By being active abroad, CN contributed to expanded international networks for Norwegian musicians and other actors in Norwegian music life, bringing Norway closer to the world.

CN's networks included accomplished professional musicians in many non-Western countries, cultural institutions, managers and agents of culture, resource people and "agents of change," stakeholders in festivals and club scenes, diplomatic staff, and general decision makers. One visible result of this networking is Music Norway and CN's joint "roadmaps" of the Indian and Chinese music industries, accessible at https://no.musicnorway.no/veikart/.

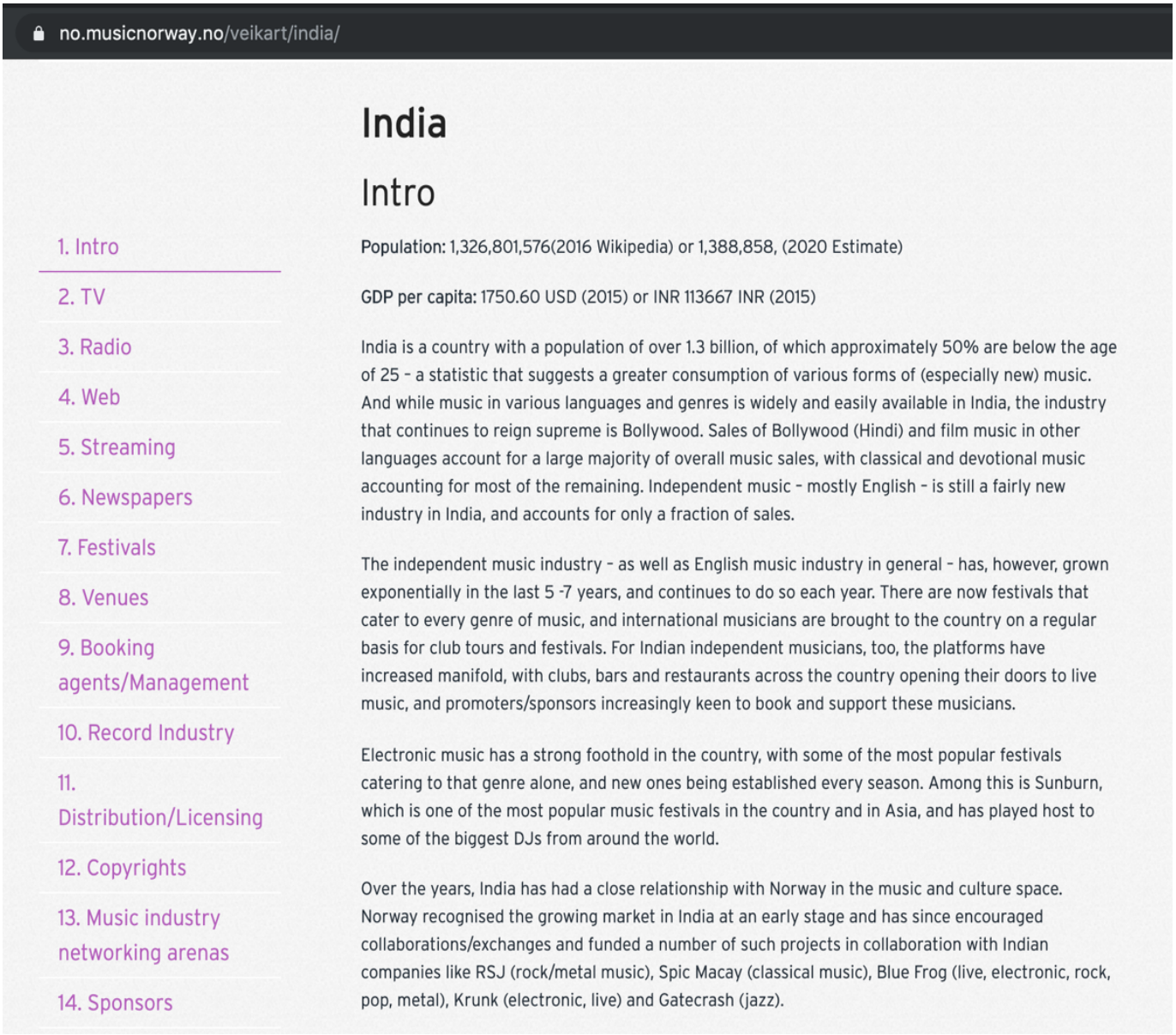

Photo 4 *Screenshot from Music Norway´s "Roadmap to India," created in collaboration with CN.*

Some even claim that CN has contributed to the normalization of cultural diversity in Norway.

It must be beyond question that the multicultural activities of the *Rikskonsertene* have been of decisive importance when it comes to positive trends in Norwegian opinion in relation to cultural expressions from the South. [Thanks to *Rikskonsertene*,] public and private institutions, the press, and broadcasting have shown a growing interest in non-European cultures. (Knudsen 1999a: 24, my translation; see also Knudsen forthcoming 2021a)

Norway, like many societies in the world, presents itself today as a multicultural space in which many expressions, musical and otherwise, both coexist and thrive. Variety is now the norm there. However, as the earlier account of Arne Holen's tram journey showed, things have not always been this way, and active measures against discrimination and racism remain necessary even now. CN was instrumental in this effort for decades and brought about some of the fluidity that now characterizes postmodern notions of culture and identity (Kleveland 2015, Vandvik 2018).[27]

Over the years, however, there have been critics of CN's multicultural work as well. "The process seems to have started with the intention to include artists and other external actors in the shaping of multiethnic policy. The actual process was, however, characterized by power being centralized. (. . .) The policy has created tensions in its relations with artist communities," argues Ellingsen in her doctoral thesis from 2008 (p. 170). Ellingsen's overall critique mainly concerns CN's relations with immigrant communities in Norway and is probably less relevant to the international work that I examine here, yet she, like me, questions *on whose terms* musicians are working when they perform so-called fusion and what the relevance of *place* is to debates about music and globalization. I will return to these issues in my concluding discussion.[28]

From Concerts Norway to Kulturtanken—Arts for Young Audiences Norway

Starting on January 1, 2017, CN received a new mandate from the Norwegian MoC (Kulturtanken 2017). Renamed Kulturtanken—Arts for Young Audiences Norway, the organization became a national resource center for *Den Kulturelle Skolesekken* [The cultural rucksack], a national scheme dedicated to all kinds of art expressions in schools,

[27] *Barnas Verdensdager*, or Children's Art Exploration, is a good example of how this road was paved. This program started at Grønland Cultural School as part of the Oslo World Music Festival in 1999, when each classroom was dedicated to the music of a specific region or country of the world. The concept involved decorating each room with paintings, objects, and textiles from these respective regions/countries and inviting children, with their parents, to watch small concerts in each room. The performers included Norwegian musicians, immigrant musicians living in Norway, and artists from abroad invited for this specific occasion. Children's Art Exploration was taken over by Oslo World in 2018 and has now grown into a network of annual events in sixteen locations all over Norway.

[28] Solomon (2016) confronts similar issues in the context of *Fargespill*, a multicultural performance initiative that, he argues, glosses over persistent Norwegian ideologies concerning black and white. At best, he says, it is a naïve but harmless spectacle. At worst, "*Fargespill* can be seen as a cynical manipulation that uses the voices and bodies of children to tell a story that, while reassuring for majority white Norwegians, grossly misrepresents the reality for, and experiences of, people of non-white, non-European immigrant background in Norway, sidestepping ongoing problems of racism and intolerance toward minorities and immigrants endemic in contemporary Norwegian society while providing a smokescreen that distracts from the Norwegian state's problematic treatment of child refugees and asylum seekers" (p. 201).

not only music (Bamford 2012, Breivik and Christophersen 2012, 2013, Hauge, Solhjem Knutsen, and Rosenvinge Ervik 2017, MoC 2007, Norsk Kulturråd 2011). The new mandate did not accommodate a continuation of CN's international activities. CN administrators conducted several in-house studies to remap the competencies and networks of the international department onto the new organizational structure (Ryvarden and Gravlie 2016, Thunestvedt 2016).[29] Nevertheless, primarily due to necessary personnel cuts, it was ultimately decided that all international activity would cease upon the expiry of the respective MFA contracts. Sri Lanka was the last one to expire in 2018.

The restructuring of CN into Kulturtanken happened in parallel with the aforementioned policy shift at the MFA. White Paper 19 (MFA 2013) represented the start of a new era in the Norwegian support of cultural actors in the Global South. Given the stronger emphasis on infrastructure and cultural rights in the Global South, the largely exchange-based CN model was simply not as relevant anymore (CN/MFA 2017; see also Korum and Subramaniam 2020 for details). In addition, the total amount of funding from the MFA decreased from 128 million NOK in 2012 to 100 million NOK in the 2020 state budget.[30] This CN restructuring therefore appeared to be not only about changing the model for MFA support but also about a strong governmental deemphasis of the importance of the field as such. Shrinking support to (art) development in the Global South represents a general trend among the rightwing governments in Europe (Yanguas 2018: 33), including, for example, Denmark—despite an excellent external evaluation in 2016 (Ljungman, Mikkelsen, Batenga, and Thapa 2016), the Danish Centre for Culture and Development (CKU) closed down on January 1, 2017.[31] In both Norway

[29] There were internal discussions about the transferability of competence and the exploration of new models wherein the experience and networks gained from the international activities could be used in Kulturtanken. The possibilities included collaboration with Chinese schools on music in relation to learning outcomes (Shanghai was at the top of the PISA rankings) and with other international partners who had expertise with culture and digitization, a topic high on the agenda for Kulturtanken's new leader team. Moreover, CN's Palestinian partners possessed valuable experience with ways to employ art as a *tool* to learn other subjects, such as English, Arabic, and math, something Kulturtanken could potentially implement in Norwegian schools at some point.

[30] The exact amount was not easy to locate in Norway's 2020 state budget, given the reorganization of cultural development aid within the MFA in 2019 and 2020. Up until 2019, funding for this purpose was located in chapter 160.70 ("Civil society and democracy"). In the budget structure for 2019, it was moved to chapter 152.70 ("Human rights"). Starting on 1 February 2020, MFA personnel working with cultural development aid were moved from the Culture Section to the Section for Human Rights, Democracy, and Gender Equality, whose current priorities are cultural rights, artistic freedom of expression, and measures to protect cultural heritage in developing countries (MFA 2020).

[31] This external evaluation demonstrated that CKU funded activities in thirteen countries had made a transformative impact at the individual as well as community levels. The evaluation team ultimately

and Denmark, there are presently very few funding opportunities for musicians from the Global North and Global South who wish to collaborate together. In terms of making a difference concerning cultural diversity *within* Norway and in Norwegian schools, CN's hard-won competence was lost with the dismissal of the relevant CN personnel in its restructuring as Kulturtanken. In spite of a specific *diversity* mandate in the Kulturtanken mission letter from the MoC (Kulturtanken 2020), only small steps have been taken thus far.[32]

In the previous section, I traced CN's transition from an administrative body of the Norwegian MoC and producer of live music concerts for a primarily national audience to an international actor in the field of culture and development between (and also prior to) 2000 and 2018. The following sections about the social, political, economic, and cultural contexts of CN's musical activities and partners in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka will be shorter, both because CN's values and history in itself constitute a large part of my research endeavor and because, as mentioned earlier, the other countries receive significant attention in my peer-reviewed articles, whereas the Norwegian history and context of CN does not.

Music in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka: Some overall perspectives

Despite the obvious differences between Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka, there are two significant—and interlinked—common traits that I wish to highlight before going into each case. The first is that, in all three countries, music in general is not distinct from everyday life but integral to it. The second is a general absence of institutions or poor infrastructure for educating artists. There are numerous opportunities for performing and learning music in these countries, yet most of them are informal. And, even in cases where formal institutions exist, there seems to be a constant struggle for resources and frequent conflict between actors in cultural life.

concluded that CKU had succeeded in strengthening the voices and creative expressions of marginalized groups.

[32] In 2020, Kulturtanken launched the grant scheme titled "Inclusion in Cultural Life: Grants to Strengthen Children and Young People's Opportunities to Participate in Joint Arenas within Art and Cultural Activities," and it has also concentrated on Norway's own minority group, the Sami population, since 2017 through thematic conferences and cultural production in schools. New initiatives to enhance diversity have been announced for 2021.

PALESTINE

General music life

> According to the map, there is no country called Palestine: it is the West Bank, under the Palestinian Authorities; it is Gaza, [ruled] by Hamas; and it is the refugees all over the world. And us, Palestinians living inside Israel, with Israeli passports, by force not by choice, because we were born here. (Ayed from Jazar crew music group, in Palestine Underground/Hip-Hop, Trap, and Techno Documentary Featuring Sama', Boiler Room 2018)

As indicated here, the Palestinian population is split across several territories, and people's freedom of movement depends on where they were born: 1.8 million Palestinians live in Israel and are generally able to move around freely, save for the Palestinians from East Jerusalem who have a special status and no passport; 1.9 million Palestinians live in Gaza under Israeli blockade and are generally unable to travel outside this territory; and 2.5 million Palestinians reside in the West Bank under Israeli occupation with heavy restrictions on their movements.[33] The Palestinian people clearly live under very particular conditions, and their lives are marked by decades of occupation and violent conflict. These conditions have a severe impact on the Palestinian musical life too, affecting everything from the musical repertoire to the complicated logistics of teaching music and playing concerts. Musical life in Palestine broadly exists at the nexus of two opposing extremes (Belkind 2014, Kanaaneh, Thorsen, Bursheh, and McDonald 2013, Stein and Swedenburg 2005): it represents a site of resistance and nation building for the Palestinian people, and it promotes coexistence and shared models of citizenship and creativity (Belkind 2014). Between these two poles, however, there are numerous examples of the misalignment between fixed ethnic, religious, and national divisions and individual identities and notions of physical space (Alajaji 2013, Andersen 2013, Karkabi 2013, Maira 2013). There is a large body of academic literature dealing with music and its significance in Palestine, much of which is cited above. Additionally, I wish to highlight Beckles Willson's significant research on the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra (2009a, 2009b; see also Riiser 2009, 2010) and, more broadly, on music education in Palestine and its relation to the West (Beckles Willson 2011, 2013).

[33] In addition, numerous Palestinian refugees who have lost their homes and means of livelihood in Palestine due to conflict reside in the neighboring countries of Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) for Palestine Refugees in the Near East estimates that around five million Palestinian refugees are eligible for their services (UNRWA website. ND).

Main partner: Sabreen

Sabreen, CN's main partner in Palestine, has maintained a significant position in Palestinian music life since it started in the 1970s as an informal hub for music artists and other creative individuals. It eventually became the Sabreen Association for Artistic Development, a formal Jerusalem-registered NGO, in 1987 with the stated goals of conducting non-profit musical activities related to community building and education (Said Murad, artistic director of Sabreen, interviewed in Jerusalem on February 28, 2017). In addition to its widespread artistic collaborations and performances, Sabreen organizes instrumental teaching and workshops and is involved in several educational projects in Jerusalem and the West Bank, in collaboration with the Palestinian authorities and international partners. Its slogan, "music and change," states the two main pillars of its work—music in and of itself and an activist interest in social progress. Sabreen has long been a hub for traditional music in Palestine (Millard 2015, also confirmed by numerous informants outside the organization) but also functions as an experimental creative space for younger generations of musicians, including John Robert Handal, founder of RJ Music in Bethlehem, and Yacoub Shaheen, winner of Arab Idol 2017, a megashow that reaches millions of people all over the Arab world. Bashar Murad, the eldest son of Said Murad, has also connected with large audiences beyond the Palestinian borders. He is featured along with other emerging artists in a recent BBC article describing the current explosion in popular music in Palestine:

> The landscape for Palestinian music, and, indeed, Arabic music as a whole, is richer than it's ever been. Larry LeBlanc, a leading Canadian music journalist and international consultant to PMX [the Palestinian Music Expo], tells BBC Culture: "As a Westerner, you hear [the phrase] 'Arab music' and you think of something you heard 40 years ago, but that's not accurate any more. This is commercial music, and it's extremely exportable." This would seem to have been behind Spotify's decision to become the first major streaming service to launch in the region last year. (Ralston 2019)

This evolution is inspiring, given the obstacles faced by Palestinian musicians, including the restrictions on their movement and the lack of local infrastructure—there are few music venues and concerts always run the risk of being shut down. Likewise, the Palestinian Authority (PA) is not allowed to conduct any activities in East Jerusalem, and Israel often forbids cultural activities by Palestinian organizations.

To sum up, there are indeed great hurdles to overcome in Palestinian music life, but there is also a lot of creativity, and the efforts of Sabreen and other organizations such

as Yabous Cultural Center and the Edward Said National Conservatory of Music ensure that cultural history is neither lost nor neglected (see also Boiler Room 2018 and France 2019). CN's cooperation with Sabreen focused on music education in schools and extending the reach of the project titled Music for All in Palestine (see Korum 2019 for further details).

Photo 5 *School concert in Bethlehem by John, Shafeek, and Munther, 27 February 2017. Photo by the author.*

INDIA

General music life

India is currently the world's second most populous country, with close to 1.4 billion inhabitants (CIA 2020). The Indian economy has expanded steadily over the last two decades, and a growing middle class and evolving standard of living represent further growth potential for an already sprawling leisure and entertainment sector across the country. The music industry is projected to grow at an annual rate of 15.8 percent between 2019 and 2024 (KPMG 2019: 15). Despite these trends and a consistent decline in poverty level, however, the number of people living in precarious conditions with little or no access to organized music activities or music education remains high.

Historically, India has been a crossroads for a number of civilizations and religions, something that is reflected in its rich cultural history of arts, crafts, dance, and music (for an overall view, see Bajpai 2020). Classical traditions, folk cultures, and more modern creative expressions all find room in present-day India, even as the Bollywood industry remains the largest film and music sector. Both Bollywood and other popular music expressions (electronic dance music, hip-hop, and rock, to mention a few) are mainly driven by sponsors and depend on a 100 percent sponsorship model. This support has driven the rapid growth of the music scene in a short period; for the last decade, there has been an explosion of festivals, music venues, professional musicians, and other professionals related to the field (KPMG 2019, Music Norway, ND). The Covid-19 pandemic of 2020 did hit the cultural sector of India, as elsewhere, quite hard. Despite all the recent growth, the Indian cultural professions are in crisis and the future is uncertain (this is true of Palestine and Sri Lanka as well).

CN's main partners

Rock Street Journal and Jazz Utsav

When CN entered India in 2002, popular rhythmic music that was not intended for Bollywood was limited. The indie scene consisted mainly of musicians who played Western cover songs in venues that were not well equipped for concerts, with audiences who came more for the drinks than the music (CEO of *Rock Street Journal* in interview in July 2018; CEO of Gatecrash and consultant for Jazz Utsav in personal communication). There were some exceptions, though. Festivals such as Great Indian Rock and Jazz Utsav had been around for a while and had their regular crowds. Pioneering indie rock bands such as Rock Machine (later Indus Creed), Orange Street, and Parikrama, as well as many metal bands, were propelled to fame by a magazine called *Rock Street Journal* that had been established and was run by Amit Saigal, whom the *Economic Times of India* (Dixit 2012) referred to as the "papa of Indian independent music" when he passed away in 2012. CN started a collaboration with Saigal in the early 2000s that resulted in numerous tours of Norwegian rock bands in India and the first-ever nationwide gathering of Indian independent music professionals in 2011. India Music Week was a combined showcase festival and conference that provided a platform for musicians in India and the people who supported them to engage in conversation and build up their knowledge base. It also offered networking opportunities between music professionals in India and their peers around the world (Wild City 2011). Given the potential in the Indian music market, these opportunities have mushroomed in India over the past decade, and the conferences *All About Music* and *The Exchange* are currently

key meeting and event platforms for Indian music industry professionals. Still, India Music Week, co-hosted by CN and *Rock Street Journal*, paved the way for the others.

SPIC MACAY

Outside of the popular music scene, music education and the promotion of classical music among young people were key CN focal areas in India. Here, again, there was little public funding for these efforts, which otherwise depended on voluntary support and sponsorship from corporate or other sources. Traditionally, Indian classical music, both Hindustani (North Indian) and Carnatic (South Indian), has been perpetuated through the *guru-shishya parampara* tradition. Here, the notion of passing down knowledge through one's musical lineage is central, and, in its most original form, the student (*shishya*) stayed in the house of their teacher (*guru*) as a member of the family. In modern times, fulltime residence in the guru's home is less common, but music students must still show reverence and loyalty to their teacher, and *guru-shishya* is both a music education and an education about life or a way of living (Dean of SaPa, personal communication in March 2018). Indian classical music is also closely related to classical dance, yoga, and meditation, aspects that several hundred thousand children in twenty-four out of the twenty-nine Indian states encountered through CN's collaboration with the Indian Society for the Promotion of Indian Classical Music and Culture amongst Youth (SPIC MACAY). Founded by Kiran Seth in 1977 SPIC MACAY has always worked to bring the intangible aspects of Indian cultural heritage to children and youth all over India. According to its website, SPIC MACAY

> seeks to inspire youth through experiencing the mysticism embodied in the rich and heterogeneous cultural tapestry of Indian and World Heritage, with a hope that the beauty, grace, values, and wisdom embodied in these arts will influence their way of life and thinking and inspire one to become a better human being. (https://spicmacay.org/about)

The organization has chapters in over three hundred towns all over the world, and, in 2009, Seth was granted the Padma Shree, the fourth-highest civilian award in India, for his achievements (Datta 2014).

Subramanian Academy of Performing Arts (SaPa)

Another recognized actor in Indian classical music life with whom CN eventually collaborated in the latter phase of the program was L. Subramaniam, founder of the Subramaniam Academy of Performing Arts (SaPa) in Bangalore. CN's relations with Subramaniam, India's most renown Carnatic violinist, go back forty years to when Tom

Gravlie, CN director of international collaboration, met Subramaniam at an embassy occasion. There, they established a professional relationship as well as a personal friendship that led to an MoU signed between CN and SaPa in 2014 that sought to enhance formal music education in Indian schools, especially those for disadvantaged children (CN/SaPa 2014). SaPa focuses on unique teaching methods for children and, in addition to instrumental classes, offers resources such as music theory lectures, music appreciation sessions, practice aides, and special classes by visiting artistes on global music. As of 2019, SaPa in Schools was working with over thirty thousand students in India every year through partnerships in five Indian states: Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, and Maharashtra (project data from in interviews with Subramaniam's children, Bindu Subramaniam and Ambi Subramaniam, who are currently running the school; see also SaPa's website or Wikipedia). After the cooperation with CN ended along with the financial support from the Norwegian MFA in 2017, SaPa continued to cultivate a relationship with the Norwegian Academy of Music (NMH) using external funds from the EU, through which teachers and upper-level students from Norway visit SaPa each year to learn about music education in India and hold workshops. Insights from this collaboration can be found in Brøske, Storsve, Sætre, Vinge, and Willumsen (2019).

Photo 6 *"Questionings" by Rukmini Chatterjee (IN) and Vreid (NO) at the Norwegian Opera House in 2015. Reproduced by permission of Lars Opstad/CN.*

SRI LANKA

General Music Life

Situated in the Indian ocean on the southern tip of India, Sri Lanka has benefited from the intersection of numerous musical cultures for centuries.[34] First colonized by the Portuguese (1505–1658), then by the Dutch (1658–1796), and finally by the British (1796–1948), it reflects many external musical influences in addition to the Veddah (Sri Lankan aboriginal), Sinhala, and Tamil musical cultures that were already established on the island when the Europeans arrived. There are also Arab influences (the Moors) and musical cultures of African origin (the Kaffirs from Mozambique). Demographically, the population is expected to reach almost 22 million people at the end of 2020 (CIA 2020), 75 percent of whom are Sinhala. The Tamils are the largest minority at 11.9 percent of the population. The Sinhalese are predominantly Buddhist, while many Tamils are Hindus. The next most popular religion is Christianity, especially among the Burgher population, a minority group on the island descended from the European settlers.

While the cultural diversity of Sri Lanka is evident at many levels of society, the Sinhala culture appears to dominate. In 2019, the Sri Lankan Embassy in Washington, DC, hosted a felicitation ceremony at which a group of iconic Sri Lankan performing artists and musical composers were honored and celebrated in recognition of their lifetime contributions to the Sri Lankan drama and music industries, and all of them were Sinhalese (Daily FT 2019). While there is also Sinhala dominance in the popular music field and in other genres of music as well, Sykes (2018) demonstrates that the cohabitation of musical expressions over centuries has also resulted in "musical gifting" among the communities on the island. Both Sinhala and Tamil musics display considerable influence from India that is observable in the classical music field but also in folk music and popular styles. Many popular songs are based on Hindi melodies or on general composition patterns from India or the West (Alawathukotuwa 2013). Baila music, which is the most common dance music at wedding parties and other social events, is a hybrid genre that mixes Portuguese popular music with the fast rhythms of the Kaffirs and, according to Walcott (cited in Donaldson 2001), a "quality of Sri Lankanness" in its emphasis on lyrics.

[34] This section is largely based on Alawathukotuwa (2013), Surya Sena (2008) and Sykes (2018), in addition to my own field interviews. There exist few academic overviews about general music life and cultural infrastructure in Sri Lanka.

The Civil War, the SLNMC, and Its Main Partners

Of course, the nature of musical Sri Lankanness or *authenticity* has been debated by many and remains unsettled on the island. Rambukwella (2018) published a rich and insightful book on the issue in which he describes, among other examples, the 2016 controversy surrounding *Danno Budunge* (2018: 1–4), considered by many to be the unofficial national anthem of Sri Lanka.[35] Cultural identity issues and power dynamics were exacerbated by the Sri Lankan civil war, which lasted from 1983 to 2009 and devastated the nation—the UN estimates that between 80,000 and 100,000 people died in what remains one of Asia's longest modern wars (Charbonneau 2009). Cultural life suffered in this period as well, needless to say. Like artists in Palestine, Sri Lankan artists and audiences faced restrictions on their movement and zones that could not be visited. Education in the arts also stalled (interview with Dr. Arunthathy Sri Ranganathan, former head of the Sri Lankan Broadcasting Cooperation Tamil section and artistic advisor to the SLNMC), and the Sri Lankan art council was, according to several informants, not very functional. Both during and after civil war, it has tended to "favor Sinhala artists" (Sri Ranganathan and one former Sevalanka project manager, interviewed in Colombo, October 2017) at the expense of Tamil musicians and other minorities.

The imbalance in creative opportunity among the religious and ethnic groups of the island was something the SLNMC set out to change. The project rationale was that a strong music scene in itself would be beneficial to a vibrant and creative Sri Lankan society, and it hoped that music could offer viable space for the restoration of peaceful relations between presently belligerent groups. A musical collaboration between Sri Lanka and Norway was proposed by Sri Ranganathan to the Norwegian MFA during the civil war itself, yet it only launched upon its conclusion in 2009. Sri Ranganathan was assigned to be CN's artistic advisor, and CN shared responsibility for implementation with the Sevalanka Foundation, then the biggest NGO on the island. Sevalanka had no previous experience in music, but it was well connected politically and had a large grassroots network all over the island (see more about Sevalanka and the critical voices that were raised against their involvement in the SLNMC in Korum and Howell, 2020). CN, Sevalanka, and Sri Ranganathan subcontracted with various cultural partners to strengthen different aspects of Sri Lankan postwar musical life. The project established a folk music conservation center in collaboration with the Sri Lankan Ministry of Culture to collect, digitize, and disseminate folk expressions from all over

[35] Reactions were heated after a rendition of the song in the Western operatic style, which Sinhala critics argued could not be reconciled with Sri Lankan traditions.

the island. The Symphony Orchestra of Sri Lanka, its Junior Orchestra, and the Colombo Chamber Music Society were all contracted to pursue Western (classical and contemporary) music education and performance, and an Oriental Music Orchestra, also established by the project, merged Hindustani and Carnatic musical forms. In addition, the SLNMC founded a multi-ethnic and multi-genre music festival that alternated annually between Jaffna in the Tamil-dominated north and Galle in the Sinhala-dominated south and a school concert series to improve communication skills among artists and enhance technical competence among sound professionals. Starting in 2015, the collaboration also included musical meeting spaces between performing arts students from four Sri Lankan universities. These activities, and the controversies surrounding them, are described in Korum and Howell (2020) and Korum (2020) and are briefly mentioned here to establish a direct link to the context in which they took place.

Before proceeding to the implications of CN's engagement in Palestine, India and Sri Lanka, I will outline the theoretical orientations of my research in the next section.

4. Theoretical orientations

In this section, I will present the theoretical orientations of my research. The two main strands—the new sociology of culture (Boltanski and Thévenot [1991] 2006) and the values and functioning of the art world(s) (Becker [1982] 2008, Van Maanen 2009)—derive from the intellectual premises grounding music research with regard to intervention (involving aesthetics, genre, style, culture, ideology, value, and impact) that were identified in my disciplinary foundations.

The new sociology of culture

The idea of a plurality of competing principles of justification is now emerging across sociological disciplines and the humanities. It tends to be referred to as the "new sociology of culture" (Larsen 2013b, 2016), even though Boltanski and Thévenot's foundational work on the topic was published in French in 1991 (English translation 2006). The range of ideas and studies building on this new sociology of culture continue to take innovative turns, as recently exemplified by cross-disciplinary "valuation studies" (Cefai, Zimmermann, Nicolae, and Endress 2015, Silber 2016, Vatin 2013) and by the application of its principles in areas as diverse as bidding for the Olympics

(Guilianotti and Langseth 2016) and the moral conceptions of health in global politics (Hanrieder 2016).

Luc Boltanski was a student of Pierre Bourdieu, and his pragmatic sociology offers both a reaction and an alternative to his teacher's theories (Larsen 2013b: 43). While Bourdieu focuses on power, class, and culture in a mainly Western European (French) context (Bourdieu 1993), Boltanski intended pragmatic sociology to offer the opportunity to capture the essentially local, detailed, contingent, and situation-specific acts (and the results of those acts) in *any* society. Even though Boltanski and Thévenot also draw most of their examples from France, their framework is less culture specific and Eurocentric than other frameworks for value analysis. Their study *On Justification: Economies of Worth* incorporates cultural signifiers and values as an inherent part of the justification process to be investigated and analyzed by the researcher, which is one key reason why Howell and I chose this framework to examine the Sri Lanka Norway Music Cooperation (SLNMC), an international collaboration that incorporates elements from both Western and South Asian cultures (Korum and Howell 2020). I also relied on pragmatic sociology as an analytical model (though not a theory as such) in my analysis of the Palestinian case (Korum 2019).

Howell and I did, however, encounter challenges when transposing this framework into a non-European context, in dialogue with our informants. As we sought to position SLNMC actions and situations into specific polities or *worlds* (table 3), we found ourselves diverging in our senses of where they belonged. At such moments, we returned to our informants and invited them to align their comments and priorities within one or more of the worlds. This additional work, in the end, deepened our understanding of the Sri Lankan cultural context and the many values and interests at play in this international music collaboration.

On Justification: Economies of Worth also represented an apt analytical tool with which to satisfy the postcolonial critique of the academy (see "Disciplinary Strands"). As two white, female researchers hailing from Australia and Norway, respectively, Howell and I brought both prejudices and experiences to our approach to the topic and analysis of the data (McEwan 2009: 122). By choosing a pragmatic form of contact with the research field, we hoped to avoid the conceptual and material consequences of the hierarchy imposed by our own cultural backgrounds and academic repertoires. Unlike much Western political philosophy and sociological theory, that is, pragmatic sociology

does not advocate for only one principle of justification or higher common good but rather offers six different worlds, each of which is based on its own internal logic of worth. Hence, there are (at least) six different opportunities for agreement concerning the higher common good; in addition, actors are not obliged to remain committed to one of them in particular but can switch things up as the situation demands.

World (polity, *cité*)	**Builds on principles of**	**B & T references ([1991] 2006)**
Inspired polity	Creativity, unmeasurable passion, and magic	pp. 83–89, pp. 159–163
Civic polity	Common objectives, participation, and solidarity within a larger ensemble	pp. 107–117, pp. 185–192
Domestic polity	Tradition, fixed codes of conduct, loyalty, networking, friendship, and family	pp. 90–97, pp. 164–177
Market polity	Competition, interest, opportunism, and the importance of money	pp. 193–201
Polity of fame	Public opinion, reputation, social recognition	pp. 98–106, pp. 178–184
Industrial polity	Efficiency and (project) performance, instrumental action, monitoring reports and documented progress	pp. 118–124, pp. 203–212

Table 3 *Summary of Boltanski and Thévenot's worlds of justification.*

In terms of the SLNMC study, a very relevant premise of pragmatic sociology is that the higher common good in two or more worlds cannot be achieved at the same time. The logics of two worlds might dialogue and reach compromises at lower levels of good, but the higher common good in one world is not compatible with the higher common good in another one. Howell and I illustrate and discuss this condition in the empirical part of our article, when we distinguish between lower forms of agreement and the higher common good. To apply the framework, we followed the "testing" model proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot ([1991] 2006: 133) to reveal the worlds at play in the SLNMC actions and discourses. First, we did a "monstration"—that is, we presented the underlying policies and active character of the program from 2009 to 2018 to understand the identifying features that aligned with the polity in focus. From there, we moved on to a "demonstration," where we discussed the program, zoomed in on selected data in order to critique it, spotlighted compromises, and debated about how this engagement with competing and sometimes contradictory worlds has affected (and arguably undermined) the final outcome of the SLNMC.

Not every society attaches the same importance to processes of justification, and not every actor within a given society is horizontally aligned so that arbitration will be fair and straightforward when divergent claims are made within the process of justification. In this regard, Boltanski and Thévenot have been criticized for not paying enough attention to questions of hierarchies, and to power more generally. They have also been accused of not having an accurate sense of temporality (Jacquemain 2008, Larsen 2013b: 46–47). I will return to this critique in my concluding discussion, but suffice it to say for now that I consider Boltanski and Thévenot's framework neither a general and defensible theory nor an especially complete approach to the problem. In fact, Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) later announced a seventh polity for their model: the polity of project. I nevertheless consider the system provided by Boltanski and Thévenot to be a useful tool for both identifying and making sense of inherent tensions in the intersection of music and development.

Art World(s)

Understanding the logics of and questioning the boundaries and interactions between the (inspirational) art world and the (industrial) development world are crucial aspects of my research. The notion of the "art world" was launched by Arthur Danto in 1964 and has since appeared in various guises in the English- and French-speaking literature, including the works of Becker ([1982] 2008), Bourdieu (1993), DiMaggio (1991) and Luhmann (2000) (usefully summarized in Van Maanen 2009: 17–148). Among these scholars, Becker's interactional approach is the least Eurocentric. He emphasizes the existence of several art worlds and defines the term as follows:

> the network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that art world is noted for. (Becker [1982] 2008: xxiv)

In contrast to Bourdieu's idea of a "field" (1980: 113)—that is, a confined space consisting of forces of various kinds that interact and develop strategies according to the amount of power they command—Becker's art worlds are more people centered and relational:

> [Art worlds] contain people, all sorts of people, who are in the middle of doing something that requires them to pay attention to each other, to take account consciously of the existence of others and to shape what they do in the light of what others do. In such a world, people do not respond automatically to mysterious external forces surrounding them. Instead, they develop their lines of activity gradually, seeing how others respond to what they do and adjusting what

> they do next in a way that meshes with what others have done and will probably do next (Becker [1982] 2008: 375)

Also unlike the field, the art world is not a confined, closed space but rather a space that encourages thinking outside the box and provides agency and opportunities to those who have less power and fewer resources as well: "Someone is monopolizing the field you want to work in? Move somewhere else and start your own field" (Becker [1982] 2008: 378). This approach resonates with postcolonial thinking and offers an enhanced opportunity to analyze how artistic milieus in the Global South assert themselves in both local and international scenes. Art worlds not only capture the narratives and actions of dominant actors but also advocate for a more nuanced understanding of reality—one that allows for (art) worlds in which people can find others with whom to collaborate even if the more powerful people in their discipline do not approve of or even recognize what they are doing: "The power to define what is acceptable does not rest stably with one set of actors" (Becker [1982] 2008: 379). Becker's theories are particularly useful to my topic of study, in that he elegantly opens up discussions of the *possible* (a hopeful postcolonial art world), not only the *present* (a forbidding and even forbidden status quo?).

I have engaged with the theory of Hans van Maanen, whose *How to Study Art Worlds: On the Societal Functioning of Aesthetic Values* (2009) proposes several schemas that have helped me to unpack the complex collaborative interactions and networks involved in CN's international projects, and to discern the ways in which creativity unfolds here through diverse forms of infrastructure and partner action. Below is a summary of the two most important schemas for my own approach (figures 1 and 2).

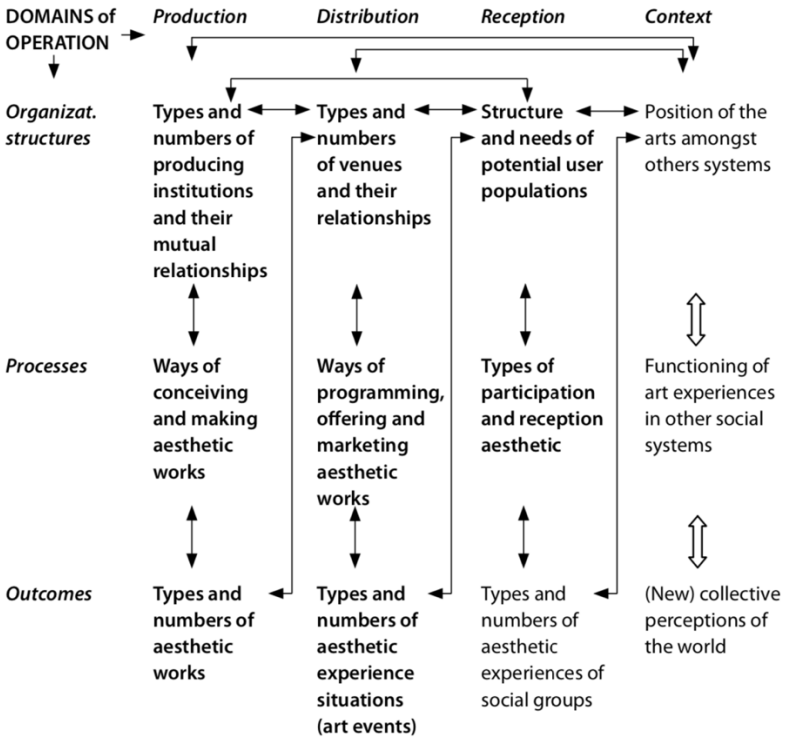

Figure 1 *Fields and relationships to be studied concerning the functioning of an art world at the societal level (Van Maanen 2009: 12).*

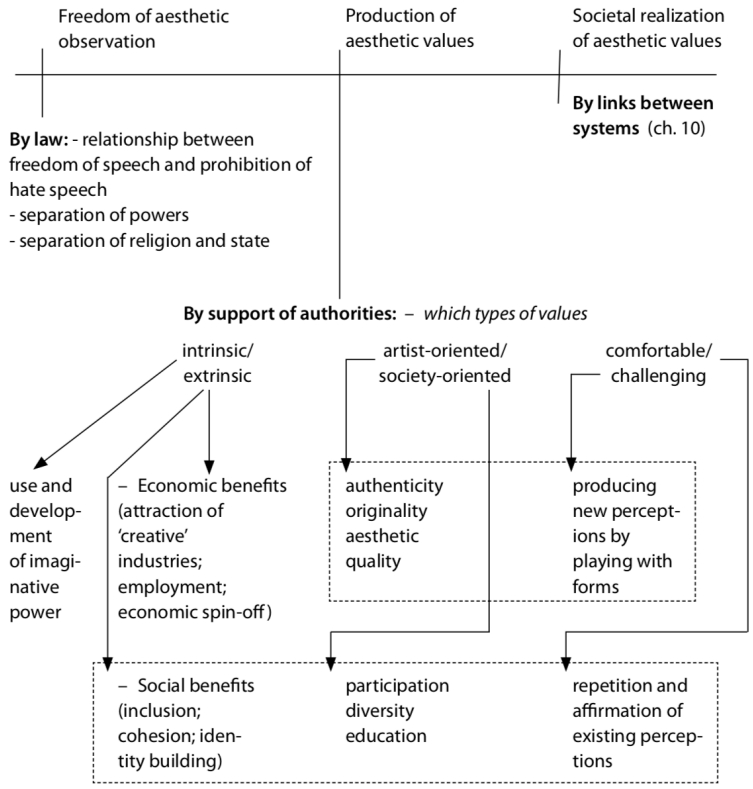

Figure 2 *Main choices to be made in art politics as conditions for the production of different values (Van Maanen 2009: 228).*

While the first schema was particularly useful for mapping the *infrastructure* in and around the CN projects, the second schema provided key notions of *value* (such as artistic values versus civic values or the intrinsic versus extrinsic functions of music, for example). Ultimately, Van Maanen provided the intellectual stimuli and inspiration for my papers and concluding discussion, while my analysis relied upon the model provided by Gillian Howell.

In her doctoral dissertation from 2017, Howell proposes a "critical junctures" framework (p. 294), summarized below, that starts with a linear temporal process (preconditions, process, outcomes) but also incorporates atemporal spaces of negotiation that determine the shape, relations, and sustainability of the music intervention in question. These spaces, in the center of the timeline, are "internal engagement," "external engagement," "organizational culture," "building and facilities," "pedagogy, materials, content," and "aims motivations and constructs" (p. 294). They are surrounded, in turn, by the "(post) conflict situation," the "urge to intervene with music," and the "availability of resources." Under the outcomes, Howell includes "impact," "perceptions of success," and "potential for sustainability." Her framework is quite comprehensive in terms of both musical matters and context (where she has drawn inspiration from Lewis, Bebbington, Batterbury, Shah, Olson, Siddiqi, and Duvall 2003, among others) and covers most of what my research suggests are the most important aspects of international musical interventions. Still, it does not adequately address what Howell refers to as "forces" (2017: 302), such as personal drivers, relationships, historical antecedents, predetermined constructs and beliefs, or political agendas. I will return to this gap in my findings section.

The word "juncture" also implies a crossroads of some sort, yet her work fails to make clear distinctions among the different paths it presents. But if it is not a clear map of what leads to (or departs from) certain concrete choices and actions, Howell's framework certainly captures and begins to make sense of the inherent messiness of such interventions.

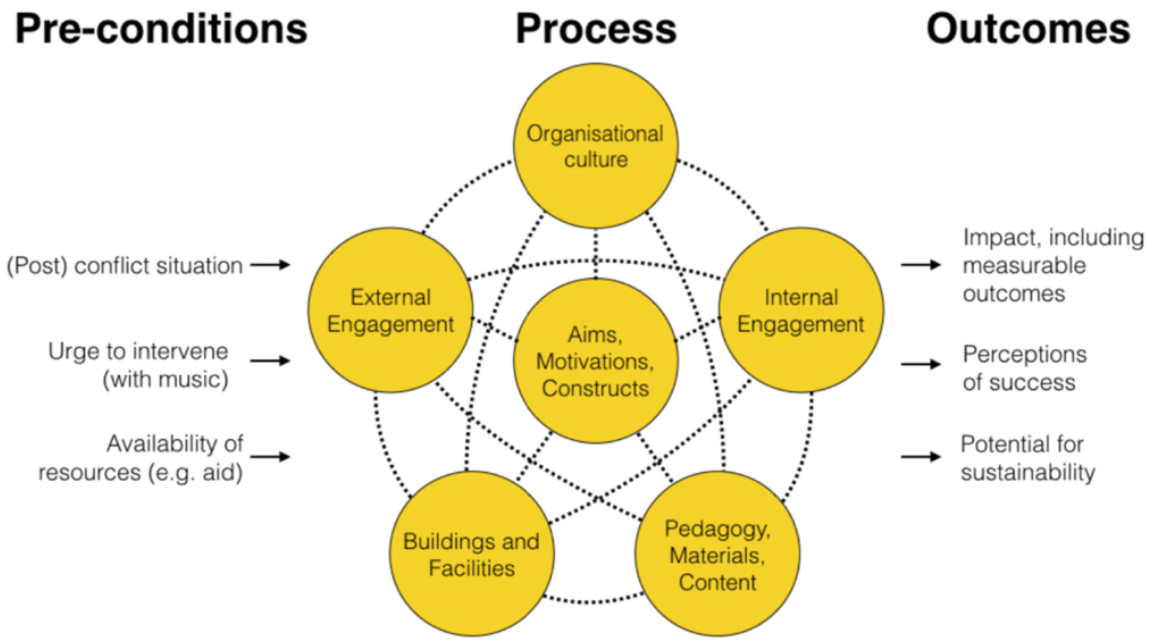

Figure 3 *Critical junctures of music intervention (Howell 2017: 294).*

Now that I have presented my theoretical strands of research, I will next elaborate upon the methods employed for collecting empirical data and the strategies I applied to analyzing them.

5. Methodology and data collection

General approach

In this section, I will present an "audit trail" (Rogers 2008) of my research—that is, the methodological orientations that shaped the development and content of this thesis. This discussion includes an evaluation of my choice of method and a statement about its limitations. I will critically consider why and how I selected my field, cases, and informants; how I conducted multisite field research in four countries; and what my ethical considerations were. I will conclude with some post-fieldwork reflections and analytical strategies and an assessment of the methodological implications of a postcolonial approach.

Justification of perspective

In his doctoral thesis, Bergh (2010) highlights four key gaps in research on music for social purposes. First, scholars must learn more about music programs for peace and/or development work, which, Bergh argues, "is best done by critical and in-depth research that looks at all aspects of the music intervention, not only the musical events" (2010: 56). Second, scholars must stop exaggerating music's impact or taking it out of context, as well as overlooking the power dynamics among the relevant actors. Third, scholars should avoid gearing their analyses and discussions toward claiming success for the music-development intervention rather than unpacking what took place and how the music worked within it. Finally, scholars too rarely account for (or even listen to) the participants' perspectives on these kinds of interventions.

Taking the first three gaps to heart, I chose to focus on the production and distribution side of the program in question, not on the recipient/participant side. I wanted to learn more about the intentions of the funders (MFA) and key stakeholders (CN, local partners) and their perceptions of how things ultimately played out. The reason why I (mostly) ignored Bergh's last gap—concerning the voices of program participants—is because CN's projects in the Global South had a confounding scope of (potential) audiences and participating artists and other stakeholders. Many hundreds and even thousands of people have been involved in or reached by these projects as participating musicians, sound engineers, teachers, students, researchers, and general audiences of adults, children, and youth. It therefore represents an enormous task in and of itself to map out what these experiences of musicking (Small 1998) might have meant in their lives and their *flourishing* (Hesmondhalgh 2014). Still, the recipient/participant

perspective is not entirely absent from my work, since many of CN's partners—key stakeholders in the Global South—are also considered by the MFA to be the "target groups" of such cultural intervention programs, and they are therefore represented in those programs' narratives. Strong cultural actors and organizations are needed in the Global South to build a healthy cultural infrastructure in societies where weak structures and little government support prevail. The CN-run, MFA-funded programs were intended to strengthen this infrastructure.

Qualitative ethnographic research

I have chosen a small-scale qualitative approach to my research questions rather than quantitative approach to a larger set of data responding to the same questions. I am aware that the latter approach might also have yielded its own set of important insights.

Qualitative ethnographic research is a soft science relying on the researcher's intellectual integrity and ability to generate convincing interpretations of the informants' beliefs, worldviews, and practices. With this type of research, scholars investigate not only *what* people think or do but also *why* they think or do it. This particular approach is well suited to describing complex social processes and exploring various levels of (sometimes contradictory) meaning-making, such as that involved with the translation of music into "development."

Karl Weick's theory of sensemaking sheds some light on how humans construct meaning (Weick 1995, 1999, 2012; see also Weber and Glynn 2006). It relies on the basic principle that human reality represents an ongoing negotiation that emerges from people's attempt to create order and make retrospective sense of what is happening in their lives (Weick 1995: 2–4). Weick sees both identity and identification as crucial to this negotiation and emphasizes narrative as a means of organizing experience and reducing complexity and confusion. He furthermore highlights the *social* aspect of sensemaking as a process through which plausible stories are collectively preserved, retained, or shared. Sensemaking is also *ongoing* in the sense that individuals react to cues and simultaneously shape and respond to the environments they face. Extracted cues then provide useful points of reference for linking ideas to broader networks of meaning—they form "simple, familiar structures that are seeds from which people develop a larger sense of what may be occurring" (Weick 1995: 50). What people *think* may be occurring, however, is not always so; there are numerous levels and layers to what they call reality. Weick also observes that people tend to favor plausibility over

accuracy in their accounts of events and contexts: "In an equivocal, postmodern world, infused with the politics of interpretation and conflicting interests and inhabited by people with multiple shifting identities, an obsession with accuracy seems fruitless, and not of much practical help, either" (Weick 1995: 61). With this in mind, I assimilated the idea of qualitative research as an inherently messy process of construction and reconstruction into my work early on, realizing that each new informant or data point was another piece to a complex puzzle.

Case studies

This qualitative research puzzle was nevertheless not a *random* puzzle based on my proclivities alone. It builds on scientifically rigorous methods through which I have systematically explored a phenomenon (music in international development) in multiple contexts across Norway and the Global South. I used the case study as a strategy to explore this phenomenon in its real-life context, because the boundaries between phenomenon and context were not always so evident (Yin 1981: 59). While I deliberately attended to context and placed the projects within their respective geographies, I used the associated blurriness as a means of learning more about the phenomenon itself. My selection of CN projects in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka responded to my research questions in that they were all long-running MFA-financed music and development projects implemented by CN in partnership with local actors in these countries. All three projects, in fact, had been in operation for more than a decade.[36] Finally, despite their distinct goals and links to different MFA policy agendas, the three cases shared basic features such as their debt to the CN model for music intervention in the Global South (table 2, p. 37).

In sum, I found projects with *similar basic characters*, I identified *similar informants* for each (MFA officers, CN project managers, and local partners; see tables 4 to 8, pp. 73-76), and I asked my informants *similar types of questions* (see appendices IV and V). Continuity across the case studies helped me to tease out the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context.

Positionality: Selecting and engaging with the field

"Doing fieldwork," write Cooley and Barz (2008: 23), "we weave ourselves (or are woven by others) into the communities we study, becoming cultural actors in the very

[36] The SLNMC was nine years old, but the initial contacts that brought it about go further back in time.

dramas of society we endeavor to understand, and vice versa." As a former CN project manager, I was already woven into the projects with which I engaged as a researcher. This demanded the acknowledgment of my own *experience* as potential research data alongside other research data. In what follows, I will present some critical reflections on my double role as researcher and onetime practitioner in the field. This duality offers opportunities for insight but also the risk of biases in both observation and analysis (Halvorsen, Johnsen, and Repstad 2009, Tønsberg 2009).

Critical autoethnography

About the method

> In the professional world of writing, we view with caution, even suspicion, the appearance of the personal, and lend a higher accent of legitimacy to models and skills, theory, well-documented case-studies, and the technical application of theory that leads toward what we feel is the objectivity of conclusion and proposal. In the process, we do a disservice to our professions, to the building of theory and practice, to the public and ultimately to ourselves. The disservice is this: When we attempt to eliminate the personal, we lose sight of ourselves, our deeper intuition, and the source of our understanding—*who we are* and *how we are* in the world. In so doing, we arrive at a paradoxical destination: We believe in the knowledge we generate but not in the inherently messy and personal process by which we acquired it. (Lederach 2005: viii; italics in original)

Etymologically, "ethno-graphy" means "culture-writing." Adding to this word the Greek prefix "auto," relating to the *self*, produces autoethnography, a scientific method that emphasizes the importance of personal narrative in research. Instead of simulating neutrality in social research, in particular, researchers must make themselves as transparent as possible to the reader—to closely and openly consider how and why we think, feel, and act like we do. By capturing and reflecting upon (and eventually also critiquing) their own backgrounds, privileges, and ideologies, autoethnographic researchers seek to penetrate as many layers of reality as possible and also to "diminish the space between the studier and studied" (Bryant 2020: 190).

Autoethnography first emerged in the 1990s but has proliferated in the past decade. Ellis writes that "we have moved from defending autoethnography as research to witnessing its explosion in many disciplines and applied research fields all over the world" (Holman Jones, Adams and Ellis 2013:10). Autoethnography as such has also diversified into several sub-methods, including *critical* autoethnography. Critical autoethnography avoids self-indulgent or confessional writing but closely examines the relevance of the

researcher's story as research data and, even more crucially, asks *How can this story be put to use?* (Stanley 2020: 10). Critical autoethnography, then, rejects navel-gazing but encourages researchers to critically and intellectually examine their own experiences and introduce them as data along with other sources of information. Bryant (2020: 190) likens this experience of the researcher to yoga:

> Yoga, in its truest form (which unfortunately has nothing to do with your leggings), forces you to hold a mirror up to your Self and shine a light on all the dark places until you feel like your world is upside down. I've found the process of engaging with critical autoethnography to be similar. In reading (and writing) these stories, I have felt discomfort, unease, curiosity, joy, and so much more that my language can't seem to account for (. . .) Critical autoethnography, like yoga, will ruin your life—but what comes after is so much better.

Contributors to the book *Critical Autoethnography and Intercultural Learning* (Stanley [ed.] 2020) collectively argue that what "comes after" leads us toward more authentic human experiences and relationships. Here, that is, autoethnography takes on an overt political agenda and seeks to "right ethical wrongs": "An autoethnography may both be compelling to read and well contextualized, but if it doesn't work towards making the world a better place, it is not autoethnography as such" (Stanley 2020: 11).

Description of my CN background and previous experiences in the Global South

I was involved as a volunteer at the Oslo World Music Festival (organized by CN) in 2006, and, the year after, I was offered a paid position at CN to do the same work. In 2008, the organization offered me another opportunity when one of the employees in the international section went on maternity leave, and, since that time, I have been involved in a range of music projects in the Global South.

Prior to my engagement at CN, I had grown up in a school environment with many cultures, as my primary school was situated next to an asylum center in Norway. I had also lived abroad for an extended period of time: I went to high school in France, living in a small town just outside Paris that faced many challenges related to immigration and integration. My best friend was from Mali, and I watched her suffer deep injustice because of her skin color and the colonial attitudes of the local French society. My interest in the "Other's perspective" was likely kindled at that time. I went on to study French history, specializing in the colonial era, and my academic trajectory brought me to the Universities of Caen (Normandy, France) in 2002 and Bamako (Mali) in 2003. I completed my BA in 2005, around the same time that the French parliament passed a

law requiring that all French teachers present colonialism in a positive light (Légifrance 2018). Following enormous public dissent, the lawmakers made significant amendments to it, but the debate itself had already done great damage by exposing the ugly remnants of colonialism that persist even now in France. This cultural and political moment made a strong impression on me.

My MA brought me to the University of Dakar, where I studied the teaching of history in Senegalese high schools (Korum 2007). My two best friends were young activist filmmakers, and I dated a PhD student in contemporary African history who was also active in politics on campus. After completing my own PhD at the university, I married the contemporary African historian and built a farmhouse with him. We then started NaCuHeal Senegal, a non-governmental organization that operates tree-planting programs in Casamance, a civil war–ridden region in the south of Senegal.

In terms of what is relevant about my past to the transparency of my researcher's role, I will conclude by summarizing what my experiences in France and Senegal contributed to my way of being in the world and, in terms of my work, to my ways of observing and interpreting what was going on in my case studies of CN's collaborations in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka. France and Senegal presented a steep learning curve concerning the practical mechanisms of (persistent) colonialism, (illusions of) postcolonialism, and various notions of and expectations about "development." At first, and for a long time, I could not see how I fit into the existing narratives. I was White in the culture of the "Other," but I was not a professional development worker. I brought a colonial legacy with me from my education in the Global North but refused to accept it as *the narrative* of the world around me. I was a curious and moldable individual in my early twenties who was eager to learn other types of history(ies) and local language(s), customs, and songs; I fell in love and imagined remaining in the Senegalese countryside for the rest of my life. This would not be my path; the contemporary African historian and I eventually parted ways five years later.[37] Nevertheless, this experience profoundly changed me as well, in the sense that I learned that other perspectives existed—and that they were as valuable as mine. I also understood firsthand that injustice was real and had to be combatted. And, last but not least, by being married to someone with a background so radically different from mine, I not only theoretically understood but quite practically experienced our common humanity—the way in which the "Other"

[37] The NGO we founded together, however, lives on.

was, in fact, myself, not in the sense of being alike as such but in the acknowledgment of shared emotions, vulnerability, and compassion for one another.

Translating my own experience to research data

Researchers' motivations to understand very often stem from their own experiences, and I began this study by acknowledging exactly that. The first step I took was to map my empirical experience at CN while trying to be as transparent as possible about what I knew and, as importantly, what I did not, including the possibility of bias. Instead of starting the research process from a disciplinary point of view—that is, heading to an "empty" field to work with a toolbox of theories and methods specific to a particular academic discipline—I let my selection of theories and methods be guided by what I (thought I) knew about the field already. This way of working can best be summarized as "empirical data seeking theory" (Aase and Fossåskaret 2014: 86). The advantage of this approach, according to Halvorsen, Johnsen, and Repstad (2009), is that it capitalizes upon the fact that researchers starting from the inside are already familiar with key people and events, including the context and atmosphere that surrounds them. There is thus a better chance, within the limited timeframe of the typical research project, that the researcher will be able to dig deeper and extract more from fieldwork if they are unfettered by disciplinary preconceptions.

The danger of conducting research this way is twofold: my preunderstanding of the field may not be diversified enough, and I might overlook important aspects of reality in order to make the field narrative fit the one I (think I) know already. Furthermore, the analytical distance of the researcher working from this perspective is undermined by the reality that one who is already familiar with a particular culture might find it hard to imagine what it looks like from other cultural viewpoints. While I acknowledge that my professional experience prior to starting my doctoral study and my predefined frames of understanding have impacted my selection and view of social action during my fieldwork, I have nuanced this impact by seeking strategies to understand and account for my past in relation to my scholarly present. The documentary *Right Between Your Ears* (Marshall and De Meyer 2016) helped me to become aware of my own prejudices and convictions as well. It describes the process through which people become entrenched in their views, not only as academics but also as humans functioning in society. Social psychologists Aronson and Tavris (2016) write about similar processes in *Mistakes Were Made (But Not by Me)*, and De Meyer used Aronson and Tavris's insights to develop a pyramid whose top is the starting point before one starts to develop

one's opinions, and the bottom is the endpoint when one is 100 percent convinced about a particular point of view.

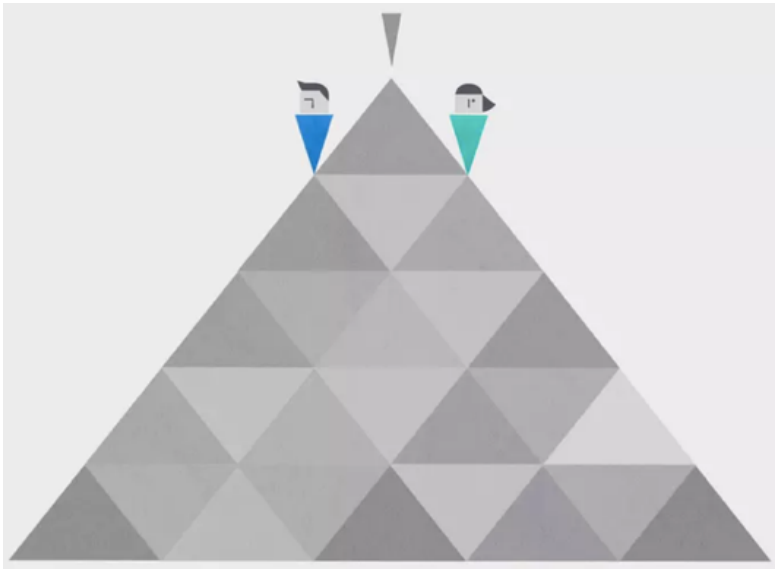

Figure 4 *The pyramid of polarization (Marshall and De Meyer 2016).*

For me as a young professional, the top of this pyramid was the question of whether music for development projects can make a difference in society or not. Before starting at CN, I was barely aware of "music and development" as a field, even though I had lots of personal (and positive) experience with music and other cultural activities in different stages of my life: I had played piano for many years; I had co-written a musical for children and youth; I had directed the school choir and contributed to staging concerts, festivals, and other musical events. Once I signed on to work for CN, my answer to that question became yes. This initial conviction amounted to a swerve off to one side of the pyramid—one that set in motion a cycle of self-justification to reconcile my later doubts to it ("I/we made the right choice because—"; "it is evident that these projects are important because—"). It also triggered a commitment to further actions in the field, further self/team-justification, and more vigorous promotion of CN activities to external partners ("the CN model is the most fruitful because—"). Through these actions, I worked my way down the pyramid, and by the end of 2015, after eight years of active project management in the music and development field, I found myself at the bottom, convinced that music for development projects did indeed make a positive difference in society.

Through my doctoral work, I set out to ask critical questions that would help me climb back up to the top of the pyramid and conduct my fieldwork apart from my professional insights. I might never be able to respond in the negative to the question—I must admit

that I continue to believe (and the research shows) that music has great potential to improve both individuals and societies. But by questioning the myths, logics, and models of music as a development intervention, and by critically examining the various values, interests, and operations of the field, I hoped to gain a more nuanced view. At best, my fieldwork experience and input from a broad range of people would enhance my intersubjective understanding and ability to identify and discuss process and alternatives even if my initial answer to the question held firm.

Joint renarrativization

In addition to deconstructing my modes of understanding on my own, I also involved other people—namely, former colleagues, friends, and specialists of the field—to discuss and strengthen (and, eventually, even reject) my arguments. One of them was Hasini Haputhanthri, the former technical advisor of arts and culture for FLICT (Facilitating Initiatives for Social Cohesion and Transformation), a German-funded program that focuses on reconciliation and social integration in post-war Sri Lanka. Haputhanthri headed the cultural component of the project, which dealt with history, memory, and education as well as arts, film, and theatre projects. She had no direct link to the SLNMC or any of my other cases but shared similar experiences and brought a valuable perspective to my own observations and analysis. Instead of formal interviews, we would talk freely over dinner or beer, after which I would jot down some of the key points upon my return to my room (way too late in the night). After my fieldwork ended, we continued our informal dialogue via the Skype and Messenger platforms. I eventually recorded one of our Skype conversations (from 10 August 2018) and received her permission to use the transcript as formal research data. It represented a successful attempt to address issues of reflexivity and positionality as both humans and scholars through a joint *renarrativization* (Dutta and Basu 2013: 143) of our experiences, which we agreed could be used to seed knowledge, hope, and compassion for cultural activities as part of the development aid or reconciliation process in the future. I also found this relationship to be significant for the liberation of my own past to inform my scholarly present and, at the same time, it served to liberate myself from that past (or at least some of its more convenient assumptions or excuses).

Data collection and fieldwork

The analysis presented in this doctoral study is mainly based on data collected from my multi-sited fieldwork. The goal of my physical presence in, respectively, Norway, Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka was to explore how the phenomenon in question (music

in international development) played out on the ground and to capture the formal and informal dynamics at work there. Because I had two small children when I started my doctoral work (the younger one was six months old; the older one had just turned two), I was only able to undertake this fieldwork periodically.

In Palestine, I spent two weeks in February–March 2017 and two weeks in September 2018 with the sole objective of conducting fieldwork for my doctoral study. I had previously visited the area as an employee of CN when I attended the Samaa´ international conference for music education in Bethlehem in December 2014.

I had visited Sri Lanka numerous times since 2009, but for this specific study I traveled to the island three times for a total period of five months between October 2017 and March 2019.

India is the country among my three Global South cases where I have spent the most time over the years. Before starting a family in Norway, I lived in India for stretches of time and had a home office in Delhi. Specifically for my research, however, I spent a total of fifteen days in India: 25–30 November 2017 (Bangalore), 28 February–4 March 2018 (New Delhi and Bangalore), and 28 October–2 November 2019 (Mumbai). I also conducted several online interviews.

Between 2016 and September 2020, when I was not traveling to the countries above, I mainly lived and worked in Oslo, where I conducted sustained participant observation at CN and, as of 1 January 2017, Kulturtanken—Arts for Young Audiences Norway.

Access to the field

According to the Norwegian *Guidelines for research ethics in the social sciences, humanities, law and theology* (NESH 2016), the general audience has a legitimate right to understand the decision-making processes of public institutions (art. 21). Happily, in turn, a wealth of relevant data was shared with me by most of the institutions and informants in this research process, both in Norway and abroad. I was also allowed to observe freely and participate in relevant meetings and events. There were, however, exceptions to this. Prior to my doctoral research, I enjoyed a close and friendly relationship with the central cultural section at the MFA. I had become a key organizer of its annual seminar for culture professionals working with projects in the Global South and stayed in regular communication with this team as part of my project manager job.

Several MFA officers even referred to CN as an "extended arm" of the cultural section at MFA (CN was by far the most frequent grant receiver of MFA project funds for culture in the Global South for many years). This close relationship dissolved when I transitioned from practitioner to researcher. It took a full year to arrange an interview at the MFA, and when I asked for access to the MFA archives, the central cultural section sent me a USB stick with preselected documents rather than permission to access the archives myself.

Fortunately, I already had access to most of the relevant documents through the CN archives or the Norwegian embassies in Colombo, New Delhi, and Al-Ram,[38] the staffs of which were eager and willing to help. Still, the secrecy I experienced at the central MFA came as something of a surprise to me,[39] especially after the openness I had previously enjoyed. The academic literature, however, indicates that this attitude toward researchers is common in an institution like this, in which concealment and withholding information is routine (Hegertun forthcoming, Leira 2011, Tvedt 2009).

> The rationale for foreign policy's distinctive character was that, in the relationship with other states, there was a need for extensive secrecy, and that it could be detrimental to the national interest if other states felt that there was no agreement on the diplomatic line. Within the study of international politics, this has been seen as a field where states cannot afford disagreement; one must stand together outwardly. Foreign policy was thus not something that was discussed; it has been the boundary marker for where debate ends. (Eggen, Leira, Ziesler 2015: 3; my translation from the original Norwegian)

While I do acknowledge the validity of these points and the inherent need for diplomats and civil servants in this sector to maintain a certain degree of confidentiality, my topic of development aid in the cultural field was both a very minor part of the MFA portfolio and considerably less sensitive than other foreign policy issues. Still, I never experienced any outright hostility from the central cultural section at the MFA and did not sense anything personal in its secrecy and distance. It would appear that, because any research on institutions like the MFA *could* have political implications, a certain skepticism automatically follows along.

[38] The Norwegian Representative Office to the Palestinian Authority (NRO) is not officially an embassy, due to the international status of Palestine, but it basically acts like one.
[39] My interview with two senior officials at the central cultural section of the MFA remains the only one where I was not allowed to record the conversation.

Selecting informants

Because this study was limited to the thoughts and actions of stakeholders and funders of CN's programs abroad, my group of *principal informants* consisted of professionals in such positions, and my *secondary body of informants* consisted of people external to, yet linked to, a given program in one way or another. The latter group included participants in musical activities launched by the CN collaborations; academics or opinion leaders in their respective societies who shared their views about the context and impact of the projects funded and implemented by the Norwegian organization; artists and teachers who took part in the program; and others whom I engaged in fieldwork conversations about ideas that would later inform my analysis. While the principal informants were carefully identified at the initial stages of the study, my secondary body of informants was assembled over the course of my research via two channels: (1) "snowball sampling" during my fieldwork (Cohen and Arieli 2011) transpired when previously identified informants would recommend other people whom they believed would enrich my analysis; (2) media or books supplied me with the names of people who had written critically about culture and development and the NGO sectors of my case countries to provide a critical outsider's view. Below is a summary of my informants.

Norway

Primary:	**Secondary:**
• Five **project managers** who worked in CN's international department after 2000. • Four other **CN employees** who did not work in the international department but were somehow involved in organizing musical activities in/with the selected case countries. • **Previous CN director** and dean of the Norwegian Arts Academy • **Current director** of Kulturtanken—Arts for Young Audiences Norway	• Several **musicians** who had been part of CN-directed programs abroad • **Members of the newly founded Forum for Kulturbistand** [Forum for culture and development in the Global South, recently changed to *Forum for Global Art Collaboration*], including the directors of the Oslo World and Førde festivals, Ultima, Hedda-stiftelsen, Kirkelig Kulturverksted, and more.

Table 4 *Summary of informants in Norway.*

India

All primary:
• One **previous Norwegian ambassador to India** and **consul general** in Mumbai. • One **local (Indian) senior advisor at the Norwegian Embassy** in New Delhi. • **CEOs or deans from each of CN's partner organizations** in India: SPIC MACAY, Flying Carpet Production (previously The Media Tribe, TMT), Rock Street Journal, and the Subramaniam Academy of Performing Arts (SaPa)—in addition to taking on the role of informant, the dean of SaPa is also a doctoral student at Jain University and one of the articles presented in this thesis is a joint project with her. • Several (mainly) Indian **musicians** who have taken part in the India–Norway Music Cooperation activities.

Table 5 *Summary of informants in India.*

Palestine

Primary:	Secondary:
• One current **Norwegian head of the Representation Office in Palestine** (equal to the status of ambassador but not recognized as such since the NRO in Al Ram is not a formal embassy). • One local (Palestinian) **senior advisor at the NRO**. • One **artistic head of Sabreen**, CN's main partner in Palestine. • One **administrative head of Sabreen**. • **Assistants at the Sabreen office** in Bethlehem. • Four **musicians who had toured extensively with Sabreen** in Palestinian and Norwegian schools. Two of them had administrative roles at Sabreen as well. One of them had also taken part in the Jaffna and Galle music festivals in Sri Lanka. • Two high-ranking **bureaucrats** at the Palestinian Ministry of Education. • Two **educational officers** at UNRWA (UN-funded) schools in the West Bank.	• One **social anthropologist** from Birzeit University in Ramallah who authored the book *Palestinian Music and Song: Expression and Resistance since 1900*. • One acclaimed Palestinian **filmmaker**. • One **director of an NGO** that works to improve education in (East) Jerusalem. • Several **local NGO employees** and activists in Jerusalem and the West Bank. • One **actress and cultural activist** from Jerusalem. • One **director** and one **employee from a cultural community center in Nablus**, close to the Askar refugee camp • One **"superstar" from Sabreen**—a rapper from the Shuafat refugee camp whose songs have more than 10 million hits on YouTube.

Table 6 *Summary of informants in Palestine.*

Sri Lanka

Primary:	Secondary:
• One **previous Norwegian ambassador** to SL and one **current Norwegian ambassador** to SL (2017). • One local (Sri Lankan) **senior advisor at the Norwegian Embassy** in Colombo. • One **artistic advisor to the SLNMC** who was the source of the initial idea of launching the collaboration. • One previous **chairman** (and founder) of Sevalanka Foundation (SLF) who had been a member of the advisory board since the collaboration started. • Two **artist members of the SLNMC advisory board** and one **academic member**. • One current and three former **SLF project coordinators** in charge of the music collaboration with Norway. • One **head of the Goethe Institute in Colombo**, also a former project coordinator of the SLNMC. • One **director of the Folk Music Conservation Centre,** a project initiated by SLNMC in 2010. • One **administrative head of the Symphony Orchestra of Sri Lanka** (SOSL), in charge of Youth Orchestra and SOSL outreach activities under the SLNMC. • One **independent researcher** engaged by the SLNMC to write an assessment of the reconciliation aspects of the cooperation in 2016.	• One **Western vocal teacher** at the University of Visual and Performing Arts in Sri Lanka • One **professor of music and choir director** who had taken part in SLNMC activities. • Several Norwegian **musicians** who had taken part in SLNMC activities. • One **director of a similar music project in Sri Lanka** focusing on the healing powers of music. • One **professor** with competence in Sri Lankan/Norwegian relations at the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History. • One **musician/producer** who had founded a Western music school in Colombo and had participated in several SLNMC festivals and been in charge of school concerts presented by the collaboration. • One **former coordinator at FLICT**, the German Embassy's cultural program, who is now an independent consultant in the arts field. • One **former SL diplomat** involved in SL–Norway peace talks who is a self-declared music lover. • The **founder and director** of the Colombo Music festival, an initiative that was not part of the SLNMC but happened during the same time period. • **One teacher of Tamil vocal music** at Oslo musikk- og kulturskole. • **Music students and teachers** in the Art Departments of Jaffna University, Colombo University, Peradeniya University, and the Visual and Performing Arts University who had taken part in the SLNMC university exchange programs in 2017–18.

Table 7 *Summary of informants in Sri Lanka.*

General MFA

- Two **senior advisors** from the central cultural section of the MFA.
- One MFA **senior advisor** to Saudi Arabia, formerly stationed in Palestine and India.
- One previous **director general of the MFA Department of Media, Culture and Information** (2001–2005), ambassador to New Delhi (2007–2012), and general consul to Mumbai (2017–2020).

Table 8 *Summary of informants in the central Norwegian MFA.*

Conducting interviews

In addition to establishing substantive facts, my purpose for doing interviews with the abovementioned informants was to explore their perspectives upon the phenomena they were describing (Kvale 1996, 1997: 41). I drafted an open interview guide that was mainly focused on the values and meanings each informant ascribed to the events and interactions of these musical collaborations (see appendices IV and V). In line with Kvale (1996), I saw these interviews first and foremost as conversations between me as the researcher and the interviewee—that is, as more of a discovery process than an excavation of information. Still, I remained cognizant of the impact of the broader social context on the participants and understood that only partial insights would be obtained (Sherman Heyl 2014: 370).

A key feature of ethnographic interviewing is *listening*, carefully and respectfully, both during the interview itself and later on, while reviewing and analyzing the exchanges (Sherman Heyl 2014: 375). Close listening to the recorded interviews as I carried out the project raised my awareness of how best to conduct them, and there is a large difference between interviews conducted early in the doctoral study and those conducted toward the end of the fieldwork. In the earliest interviews, I tend to refer to "we" and "us" a lot, because I had only recently been a part of the CN team and was struggling to set this identity aside. Even though the nature of my questions reflected my interests as a researcher and I had departed my previous role as a project manager, many of my informants still viewed me in light of my former function. The consequence was that these interviews came off as friendly interactions rather than formal, semi-structured exchanges—they are are long and conversational, and I talked too much. Happily, my later interviews during the data collection period are marked by my increased attention

to active and methodical listening—that is, to my "total attention" (Bourdieu 1996: 18–19) to the gestures, word choice, and sensemaking of the person before me.[40]

Triangulation of data

I further validated the information gleaned from my interviews and field observation with data from other written sources. The application and cross-checking of more than one source of data in the study of a social phenomenon is often referred to as "triangulation" (Rock 2014: 34). According to Reinertsen, as well, "aid is a field in which management tools in the form of documents proliferate" (2016: 22), and, indeed, there was a trove of relevant documents to study. I limited my scope to a handful of general MFA policy documents and reports, project documents for CN's programs, evaluation reports, media clips, and certain other written sources documenting the activities and musical choices of CN and its local partners. In rare cases, I make reference to emails and internal memos/plans (*beslutningsdokumenter*) and to the activity plans of embassies (*virksomhetsplaner*), but most of the documents to which I refer in this thesis are open and publicly available sources.

Practicalities of fieldwork I: Traveling with children

In an older but still very insightful article, Rosalie Wax describes how age and gender affect the conduct of field research, promoting the study of some groups and constraining (or prohibiting) the study of others: "Because much instruction about fieldwork ignores age and gender, it leaves the novice ill prepared to cope with the vicissitudes of actual research" (Wax 1979). In my case, though I had only visited Palestine once before traveling there as a researcher, I was already well acquainted with the cultural customs, social hierarchies, and relations between people in India and Sri Lanka. I knew pretty much what to expect and how to move around to gather research data in the field. What I did not foresee, however, was the unique opportunities for deeper cultural and relational insights that traveling to these countries with two young children could offer. Originally, I saw this condition as an obstacle: my youngest daughter was just eighteen months old when our family moved to Sri Lanka, and my son was three. My husband and mother-in-law came along to facilitate the transitional process of shifting from one country to another, including managing the financial issues,

[40] Such respectful deep listening implies attention not only to *what* was being said but also to *how*. Establishing culturally sensitive and plausible links between these two modes of information became a key task in my interpretation of the data. Useful strategies in this regard came from Holstein and Gubrium (1995) and the Kundalini Research Institute (2006).

taking a leave from the Norwegian kindergarten, finding day-care space in Colombo (which turned out to be very difficult, as Sri Lankan women are expected to remain at home with young children much longer than women do in the West)—in all, I had my work cut out for me in balancing the roles of the eager and ever-present field researcher and the caring mother of two toddlers in a very family new context. Despite the practical challenges, though, traveling with children also unlocked doors that would otherwise have remained closed. Family played a big part in all three case countries, and bringing children to the field sparked many small but informative conversations with people on buses, trains, and planes, in public offices or temples, at rehearsals with musicians (who always let the children try the instruments), and elsewhere. In addition, because I did not always have someone else to look after them,[41] my son and daughter sometimes played with the children (or cats) of informants while I conducted my formal interviews. Establishing familiarity with informants and building trust are highlighted in the methodological literature as keys to successful fieldwork (Aase and Fossåskaret 2014: 89), and I would definitely (and thankfully) say that my children were helpful in this regard.

Photo 7 *My son, Amund (age three), amidst an ensemble of musicians rehearsing in Colombo, 2017. Photo by the author.*

[41] My husband is a traveling musician, so he eventually had to return to Norway; in 2017, for example, I was alone with the children in Sri Lanka and India.

Practicalities of fieldwork II: Traffic, lockdown, and burning tires

As highlighted by Bliesemann de Guevara and Bøås (2020), there are numerous challenges associated with conducting fieldwork in the Global South and/or areas of international intervention. It is often not easy to plan anything, and unsafe situations arise as well. I faced frequent power outages and slow (or no) internet in Colombo, generally jammed traffic, and, at one point, an abrupt shortage of gasoline.[42] There was also a national lockdown following community violence in Sri Lanka in March 2018 that included no access to social media or other messaging platforms. Such events demanded flexibility and accommodation, including working in the vehicle during a traffic jam and always remembering an extra power pack for computer or cellphone. I also had to take safety precautions such as not entering certain areas of town at certain times of day.

There were a number of logistical challenges in India and Palestine too. On my way from Ramallah to the West Bank during my first field visit, we were suddenly surrounded by violent protesters and stopped by burning tires in the road after a Palestinian girl had allegedly stabbed an Israeli soldier at a nearby checkpoint.[43] I also experienced frequent roadblocks and the sudden closing of checkpoints between Palestinian and Israeli territories that took me well out of my way or otherwise changed my plans. Restrictions on movement also delayed informants or kept them home, though some shared stories of how they hid themselves in the trunks of cars that were permitted through checkpoints even if they did not have individual permission to move about. I would always ask them, of course, not to take such risks for our interviews and suggest that I would come and meet them at their location instead. I saw it as an ethical responsibility to make sure I was not putting my informants in unnecessarily risky situations.

Post-fieldwork reflections and ethical considerations

Ethnographic methods are based on the assumption that one can immerse oneself in the daily life of the participants of one's study and in this way investigate and comprehend the beliefs and meanings through which people construct their worlds (Hammersley and

[42] According to the Sri Lankan national newspaper *Sunday Observer* (2017), the petrol crisis emerged for several reasons ranging from the general failure to maintain supply to match the storage capacity to reports about the mafia illegally mixing petrol with kerosene during distribution.

[43] Such incidents were unfortunately quite common in this area, and incidents were reported online by both Palestinians and Israelis; see, for example, https://www.ochaopt.org/content/protection-civilians-report-7-20-february-2017 or https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/the-stabbing-intifada.

Atkinson 1983: 2, Hegertun forthcoming). The ethnographic present of such fieldwork, however, always becomes the ethnographic past, and in what follows I will share some of my post-fieldwork reflections and ethical considerations in retrospect.

The value of fieldnotes

During my fieldwork in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka, I carried my notebook everywhere. Even in my down time—that is, moments or settings where I was not wearing my researcher's hat—I jotted things down in my notebook, including general observations about people and places, small drawings and tentative frameworks of thought, and memories triggered by my surroundings. These notes turned out to be very useful messages to my "future self" (Rock 2014: 34), describing aspects of the work that seemed obvious *then* but not so evident upon my return to Oslo to write up my thesis. In the notes, I carefully explained to myself what I was doing, why I was doing it, and what relevance I perceived it to have. I filled four entire notebooks with my impressions and found that they triggered not only memories but also associations I did not have the time to make during the fieldwork itself. I am nevertheless aware that these notes have limitations as well—that they are ultimately just more pieces of a much bigger puzzle. Yet they helped as I wrote them and as I reconstituted them later on (Geertz 1973: 19), and they informed much of what I include here now.

The obstacle of language

I want to acknowledge the potential gaps in my account that result from accessing my data in Norwegian and English only. All three of my case countries have other official languages (such as Arabic, Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, and Sinhalese) that people use in addition to English. While all of my informants save one[44] were fluent in English and used it as their primary language at work, they all used other languages too, and while we understood each other very well during our interviews, I probably missed certain nuances by not communicating with them in their other official languages. The same is true of my document analysis, which involved articles and reviews in English alone.[45]

[44] The director of the Folk Music Conservation Centre in Colombo was interviewed partly in English and partly in Sinhala (with the assistance of a translator).
[45] I did look at media clips in other languages, and, with the assistance of a translator, I understood the content, but my use of such sources was more random than systematic.

General ethics and informed consent

The *Norwegian Guidelines for Research Ethics in the Social Sciences, Humanities, Law and Theology* (NESH 2016) provides values, standards, and institutional schemes to be considered in the research process. The guidelines build on carefulness, honesty, objectivity, and integrity and place particular emphasis upon the research subject's right to privacy and confidentiality. All participants must be well informed about the object and methods of the respective study and their rights therein, including the right to withdraw at any time from the project. This is called informed consent (NESH 2016: 15).

During my doctoral study, I dealt with informed consent in different ways. Prior to fieldwork, I sent emails to CN's partners in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka, and to the three Norwegian embassies in New Delhi, Colombo, and Al-Ram. A copy of one such email and some initial responses to it appears in appendix II. The recipients of these missives were generally positive and had no objections to the study as such, and I shared further relevant information with informants prior to all recorded interviews. I did not collect written consents in every case, partly because Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka tend to do business verbally rather than in writing, and partly because we were already familiar with one another and enjoyed a great deal of trust. The requirement, however, remains that consent is "freely given, informed, and in an explicit form" (NESH 2016: 15). The recorded versions of my interviews bear witness to the fact that relevant information was shared and that the research participants agreed to the conversation. I additionally sent emails to my informants in Norway, including the MFA officers and Kulturtanken Director Øystein Strand, to share important aspects of the project (including the option for informants to withdraw at any time), the timeframe of the interview, and the specific questions I would be asking (see appendix III).

Managing trust: Not all data can or should be used

I was fortunate in this research process to enjoy the personal confidence of several of my informants, including Norway's former ambassador to Sri Lanka, who actually also served as Norway's head of mission to Palestine while I was doing my research. She shared relevant information and introduced me to key people who granted me backstage access to the social world I was studying. While she never revealed anything confidential, our many conversations filled in the missing links and contextual gaps in my data.

Another informant, a (Sri Lankan) senior officer at the Norwegian Embassy in Colombo, was also a longstanding friend whom I first met in my early university years, when I was in charge of all extracurricular activities at the International Summer School (ISS) at the University of Oslo.[46] We had always enjoyed an open and trustful relationship and, in the context of my doctoral study, had very straightforward conversations about the functioning of the SLNMC. Her openness was very valuable to me as a researcher seeking to understand the mechanisms of CN's involvement in Sri Lanka, but it also represented a challenge, as not all of information we shared could (or should) be used.[47]

I generally regard interpersonal confidence between researcher and informant as a good thing—in this case, it offered me access to more layers of reality, and particularly the reality of my informants and *their* sensemaking in these projects. But I am also aware of the ethical responsibility that this confidence placed on me. For reasons of confidentiality and the protection of third parties with little recourse to respond to what was said in these interviews, I did not use all of the data I collected in the final published work. I did, however, weave it all into the *context* by talking about critical or personal issues (such as corruption, discriminatory structures, and more) in general terms, not with specific details that might target individuals or otherwise put people at risk.

Anonymity

Putting people at risk brings up another key issue of ethics in my research: anonymity. Because these specific music projects have been the subject of many reports and other publicly available information from the MFA, CN, and the project partners' websites, I found it pointless to anonymize any of that. In my four papers, however, I anonymize most of the relevant individuals by referring to them by their position titles and/or roles in the projects. There were two exceptions to this policy. First, there were people who explicitly asked me not to anonymize them so that they might receive recognition for their work, or for other personal reasons. Second, I did not anonymize easily identifiable "elite" people such as the CN and Kulturtanken directors, the ambassadors, and other public figures who, by occupying such positions, bear public responsibility and should

[46] In 2004, we organized an international cultural evening at the ISS where she performed a Sri Lankan dance on stage. This memory stayed with her and formed the basis of our relationship until we met again in 2009 as embassy officer in charge of the SLNMC and CN project manager for the SLNMC.

[47] I confronted this dilemma in interactions with certain other informants as well. Even after my standard introduction to my interviews, where I shared core information about the project and made the informants aware about the implications of their participation (and the subsequent recording), some informants seemed to forget it all that as we talked: "Only you will listen to this, yes?" (senior MFA officer, interviewed in Oslo on 26 May 2017).

have generally higher thresholds for exposure and critique than more vulnerable groups. None of the informants objected to having their names listed in appendix VI of this frame chapter.

Leaving the field

What began as multisite research on ongoing music activities turned into an experience of a relatively historical moment along the way. The restructuring of CN into Kulturtanken—Arts for Young Audiences Norway in 2017 and the conclusion of the organization's international engagement in music and development in 2018 mark important cultural shifts in Norway (and elsewhere).[48] Still, these events did not end my fieldwork—my final visits to Sri Lanka and India took place in 2019, for example, and throughout 2020, I continued to gather data via Facebook, Skype, phone calls, and texts with informants until the end of my analytical process. Unlike the era of early ethnography, when the researcher went to some faraway country for an extended stay, fieldwork today is less bounded by particular temporal or geographical borders (Boellstorff, Nardi, Pearce, and Taylor 2012).

Once I did stop gathering data and retire to write the thesis, though, certain ethical concerns persisted. First, I recognized that the *lives* of my informants were more important than my research data, meaning that, as mentioned earlier, it was important to weave individual information into the larger context rather than risk exposing specific informants. Second, the informants are the ones who will continue to live in the context that I had the privilege to move in and out of. It is therefore important to make sure that my research contributes to improving the lives of my informants, and especially that it does not do the contrary. These ethical concerns demanded from me a continuous, conscious, and compassionate dialogue with my informants about my findings until the

[48] The restructuring of CN into Kulturtanken actually made things easier for me as a researcher, in the sense that an academic study on one's own colleagues and partners, and on *ongoing* activities of the organization, is a delicate matter (Halvorsen, Johnsen, and Repstad 2009, Tønsberg 2009). In 2016, as I began my research (before receiving the message from the new Kulturtanken leadership that the organization's international activities would end), I had prepared strategies for dealing with potential dilemmas such as the tension between loyalty to the organization and the need for a critical research approach or the risk of being viewed as, and facing expectations from informants as, a representative of CN (even if I no longer formally occupied that role). I had also mentally prepared for conflicts in the field as a result of my investigations, wherein my scholarly values and the professional interests of my informants could clash. The fact that all parties knew starting in 2017 that these projects would conclude upon the expiration of their respective contracts diminished the risk of conflict as well as the issue of informants *telling success* (as a political tool and/or basis for future funding).

very end of my thesis process. I took the time to listen and incorporate their feedback as well—a process that I will describe in more detail in the next section.

Analytical strategies and verifiability

Abduction

To write up and present the findings of my research, I relied on abduction as an analytical strategy—that is, I drew my conclusions from the information that I knew, in keeping with the ethnographic heart of my study. As a soft-science method, ethnography is weak on prediction, generalization, and lawlike deduction, but it is well suited to making sense of the ways people live and present their lives.

In order to identify the major themes in the research material I had, I began with a grounded-theory way of working (Charmaz and Mitchell 2014): I highlighted words, sentences, and paragraphs from interviews, fieldnotes, and written documents, then categorized and assigned them to larger theme categories. I eventually coupled those theme categories with my theoretical alignments—Boltanski and Thévenot's polities ([1991] 2006), Howell's critical junctures (2017: 294), and the art world models of Becker ([1982] 2008) and Van Maanen (2009). I then started coding my texts using the software NVIVO, which allows the researcher to highlight words, sentences, or paragraphs and organize them into different "nodes." Thanks to a bad concussion in 2019, wherein doctors advised me to stay away from computer screens, I also ended up doing much of this work by hand. The polities ("worlds") of the SLNMC, for example, turned into a twenty-nine-page assemblage of informant statements coded according to the inspirational, civic, fame, domestic, market, and (development) industry worlds that eventually formed the basis of one of my papers (Korum and Howell 2020). For the other papers, I used similar techniques. In all, I cultivated a pragmatic analytical strategy—a way of reasoning that sought to balance my data with the "appropriateness of context, importance, relevance, similarity or explanation" (Givón 2014: 7).

Rigor and verifiability

As I acknowledged above, my findings and my presentation of them cannot be objective as such, yet I prepared work that remains verifiable, transparent, accountable, and unbiased towards the parties in question. To do so, I based my analysis on a combination of observations and formal interviews—transcribed and coded as part of my basic data collection—and publicly available written sources. In some cases, I also drew upon intersubjective verifiable sources, such as general conversations with former colleagues

and fellow researchers. I transcribed and coded some of this material as part of my basic data collection,[49] but some of it remains in the form of handwritten notes only. Citations in this frame chapter and in the papers come from both recorded and non-recorded conversations with informants that have been cross-checked and approved by the same. All of my data can be either directly (written sources, transcripts of interview from fieldwork) or indirectly (conversations confirmed by the informants) verified at any point.

I have also engaged with a wider research community in the relevant academic disciplines to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of my interpretations and findings. A list of my public presentations leading up to the completion of my thesis appears in appendix VII.[50] The blind peer-review process prior to paper publication also contributed to the scholarly rigor of my work.

Transferability?

Later in this frame chapter, I will present my "post-development framework for music and social change," conceived to make insights from my research more useful to both researchers and practitioners in this field. It is the reader, however, not I, who will determine *whether* and, eventually, *how* the findings of this study relate to new cases and conditions, and thus do the job of "transferring" its results (Polit and Beck 2010: 1453, Wethal 2018: 52).

[49] For example, I transcribed and coded the aforementioned Skype exchange with Hasini Haputhanthri.
[50] The list includes academic conferences I have attended, as well as details about radio and TV programs whose agendas have included my work.

A final note on postcolonial methods

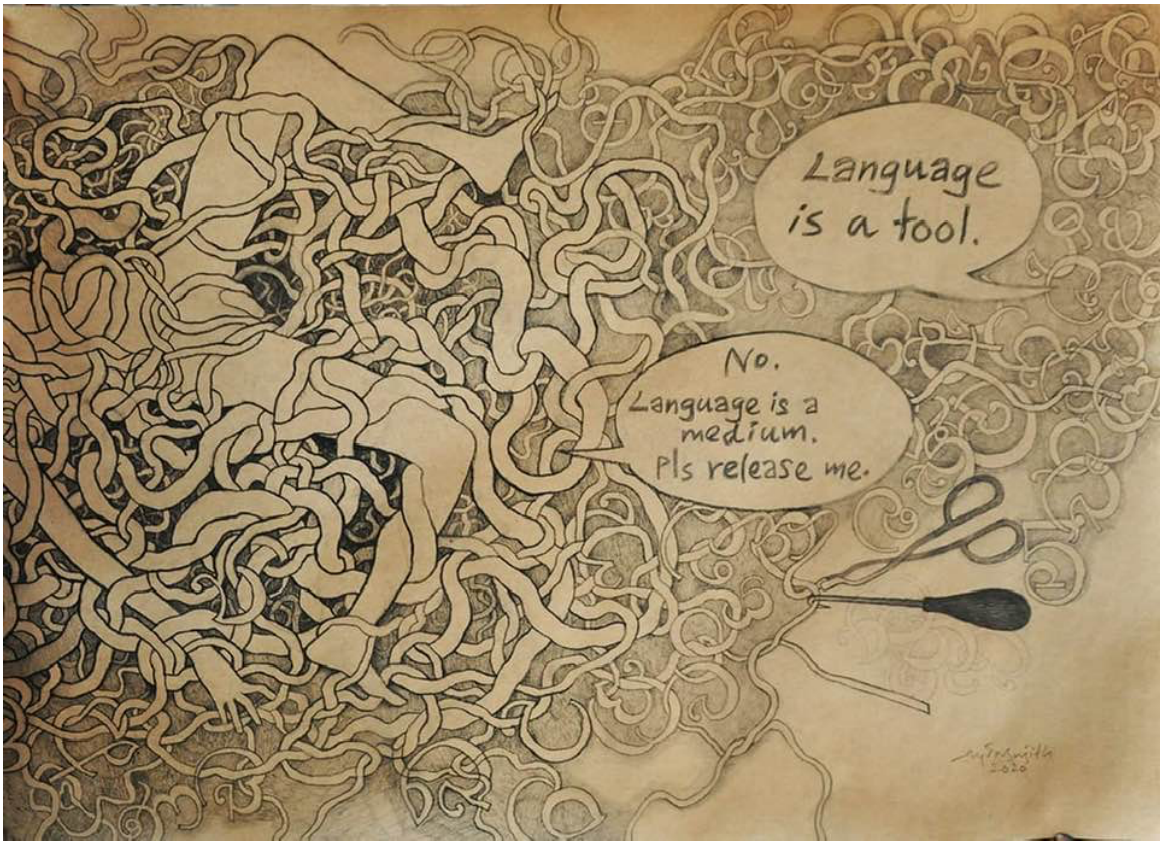

Photo 8 *Photographic rendition of the artwork "Drafting Desire" by Sri Lankan artist Sujith Rathnayake (2020). Reproduced with permission of the artist.*

This chapter has provided an "audit trail" of my methodology. I contend that I have designed the study and collected its data in a systematic and ethical manner that will result in a better understanding of CN's experiences with implementing development-funded musical interventions in the Global South. One last aspect remains to be discussed, however—namely, how the postcolonial (or *post*-postcolonial) mindset has been incorporated into my methodological choices along the way.

Andreotti (forthcoming 2021), Andreotti et al (2019), Said (1978), and Spivak (1990, 1993, 1999) all demonstrate that knowledge is power, and that it lends authority to those who have it. It is a deeply inequal world wherein Western researchers have for decades categorized and shared their ideas about how things work at the expense of alternative perspectives. Being aware of this imbalance and lack of holism, I always sought alternative ways of knowing and making sense of my subject and its context(s). In particular, I wanted to include the voices of other actors (academics, research participants) in the Global South in my research, not only as "informants" but also as

critics of my work and co-creators of knowledge (Horst and Bivand Erdal 2018). Spivak offers a framework for doing so (summarized in McEwan 2009: 275–277. See also Kapoor 2004):

First, we as Western scholars must acknowledge our position within power relations and discourses, then transform them from within.

Second, we must acknowledge our complicity. *Hyper*-self-reflexivity is needed in the form of our awareness of our personal and institutional desires, prejudices, and interests. After mapping these various aspects, we must display them to "reduce the risk of personal arrogance" and "geoinstitutional imperialism" (McEwan 2009: 276). We must strive for non-hierarchical encounters with populations and research participants in the Global South.

Third, we must recognize our privilege as loss (Spivak 1993, Kapoor 2004)—that is, we must understand how our (Western) knowledge restricts our capacity to imagine, know, and exist differently. We must "unlearn" this privilege and turn the gaze from "out there" to "in here."

Fourth, we must learn to learn from below. We must suspend our firm belief in concepts like democracy, money, citizenship, and nation as universal and incontestable goods. We must listen and adjust rather than "correct, teach, theorize, develop, colonize, appropriate, use, record, enlighten, speak and write" (Kapoor 2004: 642).

Fifth, we must acknowledge that a postcolonial (or *post*-postcolonial) way of doing research implies working without guarantees. The populations in the Global South are heterogeneous and have no obligation to reply to or take part in Western research. Their silence must be recognized as a form of resistance or agency.[51] In other words, as

[51] This idea is beautifully expressed in the form of a poem by the Indian sociologist and Adivasi activist Abhay Xaxa (2011): "I am not your data, nor am I your vote bank / I am not your project, or any exotic museum object / I am not the soul waiting to be harvested / Nor am I the lab where your theories are tested / I am not your cannon fodder, or the invisible worker / or your entertainment at India habitat center / I am not your field, your crowd, your history / your help, your guilt, medallions of your victory / I refuse, reject, resist your labels / your judgments, documents, definitions / your models, leaders and patrons / because they deny me my existence, my vision, my space / your words, maps, figures, indicators / they all create illusions and put you on a pedestal / from where you look down upon me / So I draw my own picture, and invent my own grammar / I make my own tools to fight my own battle / For me, my people, my world, and my Adivasi self!"

properly postcolonial researchers, "we can't know when we are playing the game or being played by it, but that is not a good reason not to try" (Andreotti forthcoming 2021: 11).

Finally, we must allow the Global South the possibility of "theorizing back" (McEwan 2009: 288) and use the theories emanating from these countries to pluralize the production of knowledge.

I transformed these overarching principles into my practical methodology in the following ways.

Collaborating with a researcher from the Global South

I cowrote the paper about CN's work in India with Bindu Subramaniam, a doctoral student at Jain University in Karnataka who is also a musician and songwriter who runs a music school for underprivileged children.[52] We started our collaboration in the context of both significant differences and similarities in our life trajectories. Most importantly, in terms of the latter, both of us hail from upper-middle-class backgrounds in our respective countries, and we both have experiences working with music among different social groups in the SAARC region. Among our crucial differences in this particular setting were our dissimilarities in academic training, the theories we relied upon, and, most importantly, the ways and types of knowing that our Indian and European societies valued. We had access to distinct bodies of literature, which we considered a strength of our collaboration, but it was unfortunate that Bindu could not access, for example, the journal articles that my Norwegian university library offered me for free, so that we could discuss their content. I eventually shared the most relevant documents with her, but the lack of free access to academic knowledge in institutions of higher education across India and other countries in the Global South represents an enormous obstacle to equality in education and international research that must be overcome.

Giving the researched an opportunity to speak, to object to my approaches, and to my comment on my conclusions prior to publication

Before proceeding to the final steps in the publication process for all of the texts in this dissertation, I not only checked citations but also shared complete copies with my central

[52] Subramaniam completed her thesis in 2020.

informants and offered them the opportunity to object to and ultimately correct my views (Mosse 2005, 2014). The end result and the final representations are, of course, my full responsibility, yet this exchange with my informants was an important postcolonial principle of my research process.

Organizing a forum dialogue

These two ways of being postcolonial were brought together in a research forum organized by the SLNMC in Colombo on 27 February 2018. International and Sri Lankan researchers attended, as did university students from four Sri Lankan universities, their professors, and most of the key actors who were part of the SLNMC. The dean of the faculty for visual and performing arts opened the session by addressing the role of music in Sri Lankan society and around the world, after which Gillian Howell presented her research about music and reconciliation in the SLNMC. I then shared my own research findings and preliminary conclusions with the local academics, who had received small grants from the SLNMC and who commented on and considered related issues that they had been studying. The forum ended with a workshop on community music that presented both international and local perspectives on music and music education.

I experienced the intellectual atmosphere of this forum as open and frank, and I received valuable feedback on my observations and preliminary conclusions. For example, the group discussed the six worlds of Boltanski and Thévenot ([1991] 2006) and considered potential new categories that would be more culturally relevant to Sri Lanka.

It is, in the end, a tricky task for a Western academic to conduct research in a manner that provides justice to the research participants and their respective societies in the Global South. Despite good intentions and postcolonial methodological strategies such as those described above, tensions between the desire to know and the limits of representation (Lather 2014: 483) remain. There is also a larger ontological issue always lurking in the background: How can we, as academics, even be sure we are asking the right questions? Is it actually a question of *knowing* or must we rather start to emphasize questions of *being*? Scott (1999) demonstrates and critiques the ways in which specific terms of intelligibility have become normalized in an intellectual economy of the privileged (that is, the Western academics). This situation severely constrains what can be imagined and talked about in the actual debate: “When a problem-space is normalized and questions are universalized, discussions tend to focus on methodological questions

that offer strategies to solve the allegedly universal problem that has been formulated," says Andreotti (forthcoming 2021: 3); she then follows up with a "cluster of illusions" that she argues drive our "inherently violent modern-colonial habit of being" (2021: 13; see also Andreotti, Stein, Suša, Čajkova, d'Emilia, Elwood, Calhoun, Amsler, Cardoso, Siwek, and Fay 2019).[53]

Instead of being discouraged by these difficult issues, I find that their exposure carries with it a power to transform research and discourses. Feminist ethnographer Kamala Visweswaran speaks about the "trickster ethnographer"—that is, the researcher who knows they cannot "master" the dialogical hope of *speaking with* (1994: 100), let alone the colonial hope of *speaking for* (see also Lather 2014: 483). Being open about these limitations rather than hiding them allows the Western researcher to confront the domination and hegemony in the politics of knowing. In my view, corresponding to Andreotti et al (2019: 5), we must face and embrace these tensions and develop the stamina to deal with them without falling into the trap of polarization or the false desire for consensus. Staying just out of trouble while always allowing for different perspectives cultivates the humility and compassion that, little by little, may enable us to conduct our research differently and understand human realities in new ways.

I will next briefly summarize my four papers before proceeding to my concluding discussion.

[53] The cluster involves (1) illusions related to *separation* (from land, other beings, and each other) and *superiority* (denial of entanglement); (2) illusions related to *human centeredness, merit, and innocence* (denial of systemic violence and complicity in harm); (3) illusions related to *linear progress* and the *possibility of continuity* (denial of the limits of the planet); (4) illusions related to *certainty, mastery, and control* that offer simplistic solutions to wicked problems (denial of the magnitude of the challenges we face collectively) (Andreotti, forthcoming 2021: 13).

6. Presenting the articles

The four articles in part II of this thesis explore the role of CN in the international arena based on its experiences in India, Palestine, and Sri Lanka.[54] Each academic text has a different analytical scope and empirical focus. As mentioned in the section on disciplinary strands, they were directed toward distinct academic audiences as well. The articles, as well as the subsequent concluding discussion, form the analytical part of my doctoral study, and the goal of the present section is to summarize them and tie them together.

Culture in International Development: The Role of Concerts Norway in the India–Norway Music Cooperation (2002–2017) (Korum and Subramaniam 2020)

The first article, co-written with Dr. Bindu Subramaniam, is about the India–Norway Music Cooperation (2002–2017), the CN collaboration with the Norwegian MFA and local Indian partners that spanned three policy regimes. The program was initially launched in an era of cultural exchange (2002–2005), and music in and of itself and exploration of the Other were its founding values. Musicians and musical milieus in the two countries realized numerous joint projects focused on shared artistic experiences and performances. Between 2005 and 2012, the so-called *twin track* policy took over (Korum and Subramaniam 2020: 5), through which artistic activity and the development goal of building up the cultural infrastructure existed together and were thought to mutually strengthen one another. Starting in 2013, White Paper 19 (MFA 2013) introduced a clear-cut development policy that provided less space for artistic exchanges across borders and more space for measuring results—that is, the *impact* the project was having on the Indian infrastructure and the target groups (Indian musicians, cultural organizers, teachers and pupils in schools).

Engaging with the academic concept of *brokerage* (Hönke and Müller 2018, Koster and van Leynseele 2018, Lewis and Mosse 2006, Lindquist 2015), this article analyzes how CN adapted its role across these policy regimes, shifting from rational via entrepreneurial to relational brokerage. This process of adaptation touches upon critical questions in my larger doctoral study about development assistance versus arts

[54] Three of the papers have been published in the form of articles. The text about Palestine was published as a book chapter in an edited anthology about arts and conflict (Böhnisch and Eidsaa [eds.] 2019: 207–226).

development and highlights the asymmetry between mainstream development models and the need to strengthen the art sector in the interests of its sustainability. This article also demonstrates the value and significance of long-term professional and personal relations, and especially the importance of trust building, in this kind of projects.

Bang Drums until the Cement Softens: International Music Cooperation in Palestine (Korum 2019)

My second paper is a book chapter about CN's collaboration with Sabreen in Palestine (2002–2017) that interrogates the importance of *place*—in this case, a territory under occupation. Balancing between history and tradition, innovation and change, power and resistance (Kanaaneh 2013: 1), CN's collaboration in Palestine supports many possible readings, which I examine by way of Boltanski and Thévenot's theory of justification ([1991] 2006). I ultimately identify and compare three main narratives (or worlds), as follows.

First, an international music collaboration in this context represents a strategy of (*civic*) relief and resistance: through its focus on sharing Palestinian identities and musical legacies with the next generation, the collaboration was a gesture of cultural solidarity against the external occupier. By teaching musical skills and building up the "capacity to aspire" (Appadurai 2004: 59), it provided teachers and students with tools to demolish walls inside their minds.[55]

The second narrative is rooted in an (*inspirational*) art world where likeminded artists and organizations connected over their artistic passion and musical professionalism. Palestinian and Norwegian partners collaborated on cultural production and aligned in the name of artistic excellence and performance and teaching opportunities rather than activist purposes.

The second narrative both contrasts and resonates with the third narrative—namely, a (*development*) industrial narrative whereby the musical collaboration took place within and was conditioned by an international development context and the bigger picture of Western foreign aid to Palestine.

[55] The evocation of walls and cement (see the title) refers to the Israeli fence in the West Bank, which the Israelis refer to as a security barrier against terrorism. For the Palestinians, it is an apartheid wall.

The paper ultimately concludes that these three narratives are not distinct or competitive but instead aligned. Music and music education in Palestine cannot be disconnected from resistance and, even though activism is not the main goal of CN, which remains rooted in the art world, the collaboration nevertheless fostered solidarity and political engagement, in addition to its musical outcomes.

Competing Economies of Worth in a Music and Reconciliation Partnership: The Sri Lanka–Norway Music Cooperation (2009–2018) (Korum and Howell, 2020)

The last two articles relate to the Sri Lanka–Norway Music Cooperation (SLNMC, 2009–2018), but from different angles. Here again, the centralities of *place* and *context* are hugely important, as the SLNMC was launched in the aftermath of an almost three-decades-long civil war on the island. The project, consisting of school and public concerts, music education, heritage documentation and digitization, and skills training for musicians and technicians, festival organizers, and other actors in cultural life, responded to the stated need to rebuild this fractured society and reestablish relations between the Sinhala and Tamil populations of the island.

I wrote this initial Sri Lanka article with Gillian Howell. Again, it relies upon Boltanski and Thévenot's ([1991] 2006) conceptualization of "economies of worth" and their accompanying "worlds" of legitimization. Yet whereas the Palestine paper drew upon these worlds to map values and situate actors and their means of justification in relation to one another, here they supply a fully-fledged theoretical approach. We assess the ways in which CN and the local actors involved in the SLNMC conceptualized, understood and performed competing versions of legitimacy in the different phases of the collaboration. Our findings confirm Boltanski and Thévenot's contention that the "higher common good" of one world of legitimization will be incompatible with the higher common good of another. Even when there appears to be complementarity and compatibility between competing legitimizing discourses, there will remain critical points of divergence that ultimately limit a program's capacity to reach any of the higher common goods. This situation places considerable constraints on such projects' capacities to satisfy the hopes and aspirations of their local and external stakeholders, which has implications, in turn, for cultural development policy and future collaborations between the Global North and South. We use the SLNMC as a case study and ideal laboratory for examining the gaps between rhetoric and reality, and the

competing ways through which different conflict actors and peace and cultural stakeholders understand and justify arts and cultural action as a way to replenish what the war destroyed.

The Sound of Reconciliation? Musical and Sociocultural Harmony in the Sri Lanka–Norway Music Cooperation (2009–2018) (Korum 2020)

The final paper is about the metaphor of "harmony" frequently used by CN and local partners in the SLNMC. It was also an excuse to go beneath the surface of the romantic view about music that was demonstrated and critiqued by Howell and me in the previous article. It offers a critical phenomenological approach to the concept of harmony and compares musical and sociocultural examples. I wanted to investigate whether harmony in the SLNMC was a taken-for-granted, "dead" metaphor or an actual creative principle or impactful tool for implementing musical activities in a post-war context. Theoretically, my point of departure was Howell's conceptual investigation of harmony in multicultural musical projects (Howell 2018), and specifically in the South Asian context (Howell 2020). I combined elements from her framework with the work of Sykes (2011 and 2018) as well as insights from my own research data to present a schema of three musical and three sociocultural definitions of harmony, which I then paired and discussed in relation to one another. The paper concludes that attention to these various types of musical and sociocultural harmony sheds new light on existing art-for-reconciliation practices and generates fresh and fertile perspectives on how to conceive, implement, and assess such initiatives in the future.

In sum, each of these papers, albeit from distinct angles, responds to my research questions about how music and models of musical activity were translated by CN and its local partners into three distinct environments in the Global South, where they were evaluated as "development" or "reconciliation" efforts. This process involves both possibilities and dilemmas to which I will return in my concluding discussion.

7. Concluding discussion

I started this dissertation by questioning how we translate our ideas about the value of arts—in this case, music—into development, or postwar reconciliation programs with societal impact. I narrowed this inquiry down by focusing on key stakeholders' perspectives—that is, how CN, the Norwegian MFA, and the local partners in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka dealt with opportunities and dilemmas that arose over the course of planning, implementing, and assessing collaborative music projects in the culture and development field. Finally, I set out to identify key factors for stakeholders to consider when designing and executing music-for-development programs in the future.

Each of my four papers looked at distinct aspects of the abovementioned research inquiry. In this concluding section, I will present an overarching critical discussion about the role of CN as an actor in the field of music and international development between 2000 and 2018. The centerpiece of this section is my *post-development framework for music and social change*, which I consider to be the main contribution of this study. I will conclude with some remarks on further research that could build upon from the findings of this thesis.

In line with Howell's linear temporal process (2017: 294), I have divided this analysis of my findings into three sections: (1) the preconditions, (2) the process, and (3) the legacy of the international music projects conducted by CN.

PRECONDITIONS

Why music? Understanding the motivations and tools behind CN's interventions

A key point of this doctoral study has been to identify and critically examine *why* and *how* CN decided to extend its musical activities into the international arena. Where did the urge to intervene with music in the Global South come from and what tensions were inherent in this endeavor?

CN's values and history in Norway

The *raison d'être* and mission of CN abroad must be understood in light of its history and activities in Norway since 1968. Through school concerts, public concerts, and (later) festivals all over Norway, CN provided music to people in their local environments all over the country, regardless of geography, class, economic conditions, or any other potentially distinguishing factors. School concerts were fit into a regular

school day as an educational and inspirational component. The CN concerts reflected Norwegian society and, starting in the 1980s, included musical expressions from Asia, Africa, and South America (Knudsen and Berkaak 1998, Skyllstad 1993, Sønning and Nuez 1982). This cultural expansiveness enriched CN in numerous ways that have been discussed elsewhere in this frame chapter.

From its earliest beginnings, CN revealed a commitment to multiculturalism. The aforementioned tram trip (p. 32) of CN's director in 1987 thus did not happen in an organizational or political vacuum—in fact, it occurred the morning after *Fremskrittspartiet*, a far-right party, had won many new seats in the municipal elections. One of this party's core issues in the election campaign involved restrictions on immigration and the protection of national interests. Using music to acquaint cultures with one another represented a deliberate response by CN—a counterpoint to the racist currents then running through Norwegian society (Knudsen forthcoming 2021a, Skyllstad 1993: 4) that was firmly rooted in the core social-democratic values of the Norwegian Labor Party. This work also converged with the world-music wave and multicultural ideology sweeping across Europe in the 1980s.

A dedication to global cultural rights

The idea that music should be made accessible to *all people* eventually underpinned CN's activities abroad and was strongly promoted by Einar Solbu, the CN director from 1994 to 2005, who, while leading CN, also served as president of the International Society for Music Education (ISME) from 1996 to 2002. Solbu was entirely invested in global solidarity and worldwide competence-building in the music field, and, under his guidance, a number of ISME projects in the Global South received generous funding from several Norwegian sources. Solbu's vision transformed CN into an organization that promoted a worldwide awareness of the value of music and tried to make music matter throughout the fabric of society and to uphold basic musical rights for all people, especially children and the youth. CN could not have cultivated this sense of responsibility and attention to cultural rights, much less garnered the necessary resources for these tasks, without political cooperation—after all, CN was a governmental organization directly under the Norwegian Ministry of Culture. The left-wing Labor Party in charge from 1990 to 1996 played a crucial role in politically supporting this kind of work. Åse Kleveland, who would later become the director of CN (2006–2012), was particularly influential as a cultural minister during this period, and it was Kleveland who granted the first formal support to *Norsk Flerkulturelt Musikksenter* in 1992.

Based on the values inculcated by Solbu, CN committed starting in the early 2000s to facilitating musical events and building cultural infrastructure in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka, countries that all suffered (and still suffer) from little internal political commitment to the public investment in culture, thanks to other pressing needs, such as basic education, health, and environmental issues. CN brought to these places a certain number of art world tools (table 9, p. 98) that were potentially useful for strengthening cultural rights and infrastructure. Below, I will return to these tools and how they were eventually adapted and molded to their respective contexts.

Emphasis on the intrinsic and extrinsic values of music

As a principal justification for producing and promoting international musical activities, CN archival sources (including project documents and internal memos) from the early 2000s emphasize intrinsic values such as listening to, learning. and performing music as valuable in and of themselves. Informants further shared with me that, during that time, there was much talk about how music opens up the human imagination; how people can experience pleasure while making music together; and how music is closely tied to social identity and offers a useful emotional release. To others, music was simply about having fun—something that corresponds to Knutsen's findings in a NORAD report titled *Music Cooperation between Norway and the South* (1999b).

Extrinsic or utilitarian values were also taken into account but only came to the fore about a decade later, starting in 2010, with revised project goals such as the fulfilment of cultural rights; the enhancement of cultural-sector infrastructure and economic value; the use of music for social cohesion and reconciliation; strategic nation-building through specific music repertoires; and the use of music to enhance freedom of speech and (political or business) networks. This shift in discourse represents a pragmatic adaptation of CN's international activities to the new policy at the MFA (MFA 2013) and the increased demands for accountability. It also corresponds to a more general trend toward a utilitarian view of the arts described by Belfiore and Bennett (2008) and Stupples (2011, 2014).

To sum up, while the same *types* of musical activity were conducted in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka throughout the period I studied, their *framing* and *vocabulary*—that is, the justification for doing them—changed from primarily intrinsic to primarily extrinsic in nature.

Contextual understanding

CN's model and tools: Adapting the "one-size-fits-all" approach

As previously highlighted, CN developed a model for music intervention in the Global South (table 2, p. 37). In order to promote equity between various localities and between social groups or classes, the model embraced regional, national, and international musical exchange; the fortification of cultural infrastructure in the Global South, notably in the concert, festival, and educational areas; the transfer of artistic and technical skills; and the documentation and preservation of intangible heritage.

The CN model can at first glance appear to be "one size fits all," meaning that its features were assumed to fit three very different contexts, which is highly problematic from a postcolonial point of view: *Where is the local agency?* After reviewing project documents and conducting interviews with organizers and participants in all three countries, however, I found that reality was more nuanced than the model suggests. Therefore, the model is better viewed as a toolbox, from which local partners, in dialogue with CN, would select what they needed for their contexts. Among those tools were the following:

- General knowledge about the planning and facilitation of music tours. Target groups were both organizers and musicians.
- The ability to adapt musical performances to various audience groups, with a special emphasis on children and youth.
- The ability to adapt musicians' communication skills to a range of audience groups.
- Suggestions for extracurricular activities connected to musical events.
- Pedagogical material to accompany the performances.
- A portfolio of different concert genres/formats/models that could be adapted to local conditions.
- An introduction to the role of the "producer"—that is, a specific kind of curator to match musicians with audiences.
- A range of models for how to involve external partners in concert planning.
- Direction on how to build up coordination competence among pupils to allow them to organize concerts in their local schools.
- A catalogue of diverse tools to assess quality and different evaluation models.
- A pilot project on digitization of music performances: the "Lyderia" project.
- A large international network of musicians and music organizations that the partners in India, Palestine, and Sri Lanka could connect with and use independent of CN.

Table 9 *Art world tools shared by CN with partners in the Global South.*

This toolbox or "menu" (dean of SaPa, India) was made available to the local partners. In Palestine, Sabreen chose to emphasize educational tools and the adaptation of performance skills to target groups of children and youth. In India, the focus was mainly on festival competence and branch networks, school concerts, different kinds of master classes (not only musical but also music-related in a broader sense, such as sound and light engineering). In both Palestine and India, all local partners were artists or artist organizations, movements, or festivals. In Sri Lanka, on the other hand, the main partner was Sevalanka, a large NGO with no previous experience in music. While there was an artistic consultant, Arunthathy Sri Ranganathan, and an artistic advisory board, factors described in Korum and Howell (2020) coupled with a general confusion about the primary goal of the SLNMC resulted in a certain perplexity among the Sevalanka staff about CN's toolbox. In the end, the Sri Lankan partner, in dialogue with CN, did a bit of everything in an attempt to respond to the mixed agendas of reconciliation and the fortification of the cultural infrastructure. The fact that the project scope of the SLNMC was so broad and relatively loosely defined was ultimately the main hurdle of the project, in fact—something to which I will return below. Suffice it to say for now that there was at least an *attempt* to adapt the CN model to the Sri Lankan context, but a mismatch persisted between what was proposed by CN and the partner the model was proposed to. One informant, a professional artist who was part of the project's advisory board for several years, put it this way: "Giving this responsibility to Sevalanka can be likened to offering a surgeon's tool to a carpenter" (interviewed in Colombo, October 2017).

Political or not? Real naivety versus chosen naivety

It appeared crucial for CN, in all of its international collaborations, to operate according to the philosophy of *listening before telling* (Quarry and Ramirez 2009): "It was never the intention of Concerts Norway to impose culture," said Anne Moberg, former project manager at CN, "but rather to allow the local stakeholders to be the experts of their own environment, to assess and express their own needs" (workshop in Oslo, 19 May 2020). CN and the local partner would typically look through the abovementioned toolbox together and consider the ways in which these tools could serve the needs to be met. This means of collaborating between the Global North and South is in line with the proposal called "Another Development" by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (1975), a now classic description of how participatory development would ideally work (see also Cornwall 2011, Quarry and Ramirez 2009).

When the local stakeholder is the *champion* (Quarry and Ramirez 2009) or only expert regarding its own context and development needs, however, it can twist the entire agenda in whatever direction it wants. This can impact the musical repertoire and the project itself by determining, for example, whether the musical collaboration should be considered *political* or not. CN project managers often emphasized the apolitical character of their endeavor: "We do music, not politics" (Tom Gravlie, former CN director of international collaboration). For several local partners, though, including Sabreen in Palestine and Sevalanka in Sri Lanka, just about "everything is political" (Sri Lankan project manager, interviewed in Colombo in December 2017; similar statements were made by Palestinian informants). For them, one cannot separate content from context. For Palestinians living under occupation, every cultural action, however small, is an act of resistance claiming nationhood or affirming cultural identity in a state that Israel insists does not exist.[56] In Sri Lanka, where an interethnic war had raged for almost three decades, it was also evident that a reconciliation project led by a Buddhist NGO could never be apolitical as claimed by Sevalanka, CN, and the MFA. Facing a critical inquiry from *Morgenbladet*, Norway's largest weekly newspaper, about the politics of CN's engagement in Sri Lanka, Tom Gravlie, CN director of international collaboration, responded as follows (my translation):

> Journalist: Do you consider it difficult to collaborate with an organization closely linked to the authorities (dominated by Buddhist nationalists and undemocratic tendencies)?
>
> Tom Gravlie: We have collaborated with Sevalanka since 2009, when the music collaboration started. Their role in music collaboration is the practical arrangement and implementation of the planned activities. They have done this in an excellent way (. . .) Sevalanka is an NGO that has an extensive network throughout the island, across ethnic groups and religions. Tamils, Sinhalese, Buddhists, Muslims, Hindus and Christians work for the organization - in 22 of the country's 25 districts. This gives us opportunities to spread the activities geographically and reach out to different groups of the population and make a small contribution to increased knowledge and understanding between the ethnic groups (…) CN's mission in the music cooperation is to convey live music to all groups in Sri Lanka, and also assist various actors in the field of music in Sri Lanka. We are constantly working from a professional standpoint to reach our target groups: the audience, especially children and young people, and musicians in the best possible way. We have had an entirely unproblematic cooperation with

[56] Cultural activism to affirm Palestinian identity takes many forms. One of my informants presently plays the lead role in "Cooking under Israeli Occupation", a short documentary about resistance to the Israeli colonization of the taste buds (Baladi 2020).

> Sevalanka so far (. . .) Our impression of the organization is that, in addition to carrying out the implementation of the activities in a good way, it appears to be a very neat and professional organization. They are very concerned with openness in all processes, and we have therefore established an advisory board consisting of distinguished Sri Lankan artists with different cultural backgrounds and different cultural views. (Email dated 2 May 2011; reproduced with permission of the informant)

It is hard to say whether CN was actually this naïve about its engagement in these highly sensitive and political contexts or if this official *no politics* line should be seen as chosen naivety—that is, a pragmatic strategy adopted by the organization so as to be able to do anything at all. "Doing music, not politics" seemed to fend off the critics,[57] and the projects were able to run for a number of years rather than collapse at their outset. Still, it was not easy to separate the activism or political agendas of the local partners from these projects at the local level. This finding resonates with Street's claim that "music does not just provide a vehicle of political expression, it *is* that expression" (2012:1; see also Hansen, Askerøi, and Jarman 2020: 1).

Availability of resources: The MFA paid the piper, but did it also call the tune?

My last point under "preconditions" likewise relates to the role of politics, but in terms of the foreign policy of the Norwegian MFA rather than CN and its local stakeholders' agendas and sensemaking. As the main, and often only, funder of these projects, the MFA was the one who paid the piper. Did it also call the tune?[58]

The point of departure in all three of this doctoral study's cases is the "humane internationalism" (Stokke 2005: 40) underpinning Norway's development interventions in many different fields, not just the cultural arena (De Carvalho 2013, Nissen 2019, Stokke 2014, Tvedt 2009). Norway is a relatively small country but generally acknowledged for its generous "oil wealth" pockets and promotion of social-democratic principles of equality. It has long cultivated the image of a "do-good" nation—a benevolent state in the international community and a nation of peace. While the accuracy of this image has been questioned both by activists and academic researchers (Nissen 2015 and 2019, Tvedt 2009) it remains a strong basis for the way in which Norway seeks to appear and act in the world. Norway also played a key historical role

[57] Morgenbladet eventually never published the article.
[58] "He who pays the piper calls the tune"—that is, if you are paying for someone's services, you can tell them what to do.

as a mediator in the struggles in both Palestine (the Oslo Agreement) and Sri Lanka (Norwegian representatives including Erik Solheim as mediators), which leads me to wonder whether these preconditions colored CN's musical collaboration with these countries as they did so many other things.

On the one hand, certain Palestinian informants did question whether the Norwegian cultural development aid to Palestine was anything but an effective excuse for the ongoing deferral of a just and enduring political solution in the region (Palestinian NGO leader, February 2017). Most of the others, though, did not seem to subscribe to this narrative and expressed their gratitude for any support at all to Palestine's critical cultural infrastructure. Informants also appreciated the cultural networks that had been initiated by CN abroad, an aspect to which I will return later in this concluding discussion.

On the other hand, the situation was somewhat different in Sri Lanka. Norway had been accused of partisanship and bias as a mediator during the war, and many Sri Lankans were suspicious as to why Norway would launch a musical collaboration with a Buddhist NGO right after the war had ended. A number of incidents that occurred within the SLNMC illustrate how problematic this was for local stakeholders (see Korum and Howell 2020). I will refer to another one here as an example of how the politics of the MFA created (pre)conditions that would complicate the project.

Because the SLNMC was a state-financed musical collaboration between two countries, its concerts or key events implied the attendance of Sri Lankan officials; in addition, the activation of SLNMC programming for relation building and public diplomacy was a particular condition of the MFA's support. In the early years of the collaboration, however, this almost went horribly wrong. A troupe of Tamil *koothu* performers[59] appeared at the Norwegian Opera House, and the Sri Lankan ambassador to Oslo, who was of Sinhala Buddhist origin, was invited. The invitation to this ambassador from the Norwegian MFA and CN, of course, did not properly take into account the raw emotions of the Tamil performing artists or the trauma associated with the Tamil diaspora residing in Oslo. Just a few hours before showtime, the news was shared that the Sri Lankan ambassador was coming as a guest of honor, together with high-ranking officials from the Norwegian MFA and the Norwegian Ministry of Culture. This led to a full-fledged

[59] Tamil *koothu*, or dance dramas, generally depict scenes from ancient Hindu epics or Christian stories.

crisis among the performers, who started crying and refused to go on stage, saying, "This ambassador has blood on his hands" (Tamil vocal teacher in Oslo, personal communication). CN also received threats from a radical Tamil political group then in Norway, and the police were alerted as a result. In the end, CN Director (and former cultural minister) Åse Kleveland went to meet with the Sri Lankan ambassador in person to advise him not to come. The ambassador was offended and reported the incident to his home ministry and also complained to the Norwegian MFA.

Instead of promoting reconciliation, then, this *koothu* event became a theatre of post-war Sri Lankan politics. By supporting CN's invitation of the Sri Lankan ambassador, the MFA had tried to call the tune but failed to take note of the particular audience. In a post-event exchange of emails between Tore Hattrem, Norwegian ambassador to Sri Lanka, and Tom Gravlie, CN director of international collaboration, the latter wrote: "Well, well, you welcomed me into the political sphere, Tore. I definitely think I prefer the music!" (email dated 10 June 2010; translated from Norwegian by the author and reproduced with permission of the informant).

The technical framing as "development"

One last issue of context, which I focused on in several articles as well, is how the MFA frames its funding and technical support of the CN musical collaborations as "development." Since I have already devoted considerable space to this discussion, I will share only a short summary of it here.

CN project managers and its partner representatives from the Global South have without exception expressed frustration about—and questioned the utility of—the development frameworks that prevailed after the release of White Paper 19 (MFA 2013). The precondition, through result-based management (RBM), of having to "plan what cannot really be planned" (Kjell Thoreby, former CN project manager; also referred to as the "x-factor of music" by other informants) was received as "reductive," "not very inspirational," and "against the logic of art." These professionals indicated that they openly searched for alternatives but the MFA remained stubbornly committed to its frameworks. For them, it was a paradox that development fundamentally meant the promotion of equity, yet the prevailing (systemic, results-oriented) approach to development made equity almost impossible to achieve.

PROCESS

Performing legitimacy: Common values and practices in a shared "world"?

Following upon the preconditions of these projects, the next section will highlight the *process*. Here, I will analyze how CN and its partners legitimized these projects—that is, constantly justified these music interventions to one another (within the projects) and to others (their funders and external audiences) in the course of their implementation. I will also comment upon the organizational culture between CN and local stakeholders and look at how a shared sense of professionalism and passion for music laid the groundwork for horizontal relationships between Global North and Global South actors—a relational equality that was nevertheless undermined by the hierarchies of the development system itself.

Compatibility and complementarity

In two of my four papers, I engage with Boltanski and Thévenot's ([1991] 2006) framework for justification. While writing about CN and Sabreen, I use this framework to map the discourses of justification that are present in the highly politicized and messy context in Palestine. Employed descriptively, it allows me to categorize and contrast the various discourses. In Sri Lanka, on the other hand, Gillian Howell and I take this analysis one step further, investigating which of their worlds are compatible with (and enriching to) one another and which of the worlds are opposed—that is, reveal divergent logics that destroy rather than strengthen on another.

The two major worlds in all of the case countries are the *inspirational* and the *civic* worlds—that is, the art world and the community. These two worlds can and do go forth hand in hand, yet the one with the most emphasis will dictate the content and process of the project. While the civic world is grounded in principles of collective welfare, equality, and solidarity among citizens and focuses on fundamental rights, the inspirational world is built on artistic imagination, creation, and passion as its defining principles. My study with Howell revealed that there were tensions between the two, but that they could coexist unless their differences were pushed to the extreme.

Divergent agendas

On the other hand, further inquiry revealed tensions between the modes of justification in the case countries as well, and most notably in Sri Lanka. These tensions are thoroughly discussed in Korum and Howell (2020), yet there are some additional aspects that I wish to highlight in this concluding discussion. The model of justification proposed by Boltanski and Thévenot ([1991] 2006) is linked to a *polity*, a limited world

of people who agree to share a notion about a higher common good. In CN's case, the people who agreed to share (through development contracts or MoUs) were CN, the MFA, and the local partners. Was there, among these stakeholders, a viable consensus about the higher common good—that is, a 100 percent commitment to the stated project goals? Or did these physical contracts instead represent the surface level of a situation whose depths included additional implicit agendas that were equally active, and that molded the projects from within?

Boltanski and Thévenot place certain limits on what can be justified as morally legitimate (Reinecke, Van Bommel, and Spicer 2017: 10). Illegitimate values, for example, are marshaled to support acts of racism, the persecution of specific groups, and ethnic cleansing. During the Sri Lankan civil war, such values were clearly at play—the Sinhalese army killed many Tamils on ethnic grounds alone (simply because they were Tamils). In 2007, they also expelled all non-resident Tamils from the capital, Colombo. Prior to the war, Sri Lankan history included illegitimately motivated acts such as the passage of Sinhalese as the only official language (*Sinhala Only Act* of 1956) and the denial of Tamil access to higher education following the introduction of a new system of standardized grades in 1971.

Critiques aimed at Boltanski and Thévenot's model of justification wonder about its relative lack of emphasis upon our common humanity (Jacquemain 2008); relatedly, in the context of this doctoral study, it is apt to examine Sevalanka's actual agenda in the Norway–Sri Lanka project. Sevalanka was apparently a countrywide NGO serving the *entire* population of the island, yet it also had close political connections to President Rajapaksa and his war-winning regime—one that openly discriminated against the Tamils. It also had close ties to radical Buddhist religious groups on the island (former Sevalanka employees X and Y, interviewed in Colombo in October and December 2017; Øyvind Fuglerud, professor at the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History, interviewed in February 2017).[60] After leaving Sevalanka in 2017, as well, founding chairman Navaratne became chairman of the board of the International Network of Engaged Buddhists.

It would be shortsighted to use this insight to pile accusations on Sevelanka, which, as a development NGO with this specific project, was recognized for their decent work by

[60] Identifying specific informants still residing in Sri Lanka is a delicate matter, hence the use of "informant X" and "informant Y."

both informants and formal evaluations (see, for example, Fernando and Rambukwella 2014). As a former SLNMC project manager for CN (2009–2013), my own impression of Sevalanka's professionalism was very good as well. Still, Sevalanka's profile and networks, and the interview data shared by my informants—some of them former Sevalanka employees—makes me question the NGO's interests and intentions, which may have been more complex than initially conveyed. Despite its announced adherence to the reconciliation agenda of the SLNMC, it seemed to have strong "side agendas" (former Sevalanka employee interviewed in Colombo, December 2017) that did not necessarily coincide with music-for-reconciliation as the (sole) higher common good.

Another example of the complexity of agenda is the Sri Lankan Folk Music Conservation Centre, or FMCC, which was established to document, digitize, an disseminate folk music and dance from all over the island. The FMCC sought to include traditions from all Sri Lankan ethnic and religious groups, and it has gathered an impressive 17 terabytes of data, disseminated across a wide range of channels. When I examined this material more closely, however, I found that most of it had Sinhala/Buddhist origins. When I interviewed the director of the center in Colombo (November 2017), he explained that the collection was currently like this because there were few technically competent Tamil producers in Sri Lanka who could collect material from Tamil populations and regions. This claim was subsequently refuted by several Tamil informants, among them SLNMC's artistic advisor, Sri Ranganthan, as well as S. Jeyasankar at the Swami Vipulananda Institute of Aesthetic Studies in Batticaloa, who claimed that this was yet another example of ongoing discrimination (interview in December 2017). Thus, despite the initially good intentions of the project in Sri Lanka, some groups were left out, which made it difficult—if not impossible—for the SLNMC to achieve reconciliation as a higher common good. Instead of truly promoting equity among ethnic and religious groups on the island, the center and the generally skewed weighting of the FMCC material introduced limits on what a "common humanity" in Sri Lanka might actually mean.

Organizational culture

In contrast to the divergent agendas in Sri Lanka described above, a general alignment of values, interests, and plans was more pronounced in both India and Palestine. Authenticity and an upfront openness defined the organizational culture of these two CN projects, which I will summarize below, and which occupy space, as well, in Korum and Subramaniam (2020) and the book chapter on Palestine (Korum 2019).

Building trust and strong relationships

In both the aforementioned papers, I highlight the impact of trust and open relationships—that is, the way in which an open mindset toward other cultures and people, a belief in our fundamental equality, and some sort of shared emotional basis are crucial for the successful implementation of international music projects like these. Getting to know the "Other" before moving on to "hardcore development" (Tom Gravlie, former CN director of international collaboration, workshop May 2020) is a condition of program success.

In Palestine, CN was commissioned by the MFA to provide production competence and artists for a major celebration titled *Bethlehem 2000*. Through this, CN and Sabreen had the opportunity to work together artistically and get know one another prior to the launch of the long-term development program.

In India, there was even a longer history of artist exchange, many involving very prominent and well-known musicians, that included both concerts and joint productions. The friendship between Tom Gravlie, CN director of international collaboration, and L. Subramaniam, founder of SaPa and India's most internationally acclaimed Carnatic violinist, went back forty years, and this relationship was hugely important when the MoU between CN and SaPa was signed in 2014. Several informants pointed to friendship as the key to success in CN's collaboration with India.[61]

> Through the music cooperation, we not only take music from one part of the world to another . . . we also become friends. Now that the program has ended, I realize how much I miss the CN guys and our deep discussions. (CEO, RSJ India)

It must be highlighted here that collaboration through friendship and kinship is much more common in my case countries than it is in Europe. I recognize the risk of corruption that is inherent in patronage networks, yet my data strongly indicates that this was not an issue in these projects. None of the partners were selected for the (domestic) reasons of familiarity and loyalty. They were selected on professional merits as well-established cultural actors that were often nationally recognized in their countries and sometimes beyond their national borders too. It is hence more accurate to say that these friendships enabled these collaborations rather than defined them.

[61] The musical collaboration between India and Norway has received uniquely positive external evaluations. For details, see Das and Sood 2020, Hauknes 2008, and Larsen 2013a.

CN and its partners furthermore emphasized the equal value of the musical contributions that each party brought to the table. Despite differing contexts and origins (see Korum and Subramaniam 2020: 7), there was always a shared sense of professionalism, passion, and voluntarism—and, last but not least, a great deal of *fun*—while working together on joint projects:

> When people from the world of music get together, it does not matter which country they come from (. . .) What matters is their passion, their commitment and their professional ability to understand music, make the music sound good . . . and to make people around the music feel good. (CEO, FCP India)

> Being a musician or running a music school is not a job you finish during office hours. We all put in many more hours than we get paid for; this is common in cultural activities worldwide, I think (. . .) We do this in India and I know that you work like that in Norway too. (Assistant director, FCP India)

Project managers from CN and the local organizations staged concerts and faced the unexpected *together*. They facilitated workshops as a team and danced together during festivals once the hard work was done. This mode of collaboration created strong bonds and a sense of shared humanity between CN and the local partners. Some of these bonds remain; even though the projects have ended, former CN project managers and their partners in the Global South are frequently in touch via Facebook, WhatsApp, or email. There are also several examples of joint projects and mutual counseling since the three musical collaborations concluded.

Photo 9 *The author (far right) on stage, dancing with Indian artist Ila Arun, Aru Sri Art Theatre (organizer), and other stakeholders from the SLNMC. This kind of interaction forged friendship and fun. © Photo by Daniel Nörbech, CN*

A questionable form of interculturalism

There is, however, one major critical point to be raised in relation to the aforementioned positive aspects of these projects' organizational culture. It concerns the question of interculturalism (or "intercultural collaboration"): *On whose terms did it happen*?

Interculturalism was launched as a reaction against the discourse of multiculturalism, which was ultimately indicted for focusing on cultural differences rather than cultural interrelations. Whereas multiculturalism was about "coexisting but separate" (Mantie and Risk 2020: 28), interculturalism was about *connection*, and every one of my informants, from the CN project managers to the local partners, qualified interculturalism as something uniquely positive and the work done in its name as enriching. What my informants strikingly fail to acknowledge, however, is the fact that these projects, in the words of Robert Aman (2018: 56–57), are "rooted in a request for action emanating from a dominant group [in the present case, the implementor, CN, and the funder, the Norwegian MFA] which makes a demand of the Other to respond, interact and follow suit." These projects were definitely overtures committed to participatory development (Cornwall 2011), but the initial impulse and the funding did emanate from somewhere else—in this case, Europe. This reality introduces profound complications to the *We all have something to learn from each other* discourse of project managers in the Global North and the Global South alike.

Aman proposes the South American concept of *interculturidad* as a non-Western alternative to established notions of and assumptions regarding the "goodness" of the intercultural (Aman 2018: 62–75). It implies a change in thinking and actions in order to avoid (re)producing the relation of "global Westerners, local others" (Aman 2018: 57). These CN programs and their project managers could have looked harder at these issues. While the local partners were always positive, highlighting the openness and flexibility of the CN team, they also shared contradictory sentiments:

> CN project managers often talked about the "CN model" and what they had achieved in other countries like China and Palestine. Even though this was interesting, and they [CN managers] showed the will to listen and adapt the model to our context, they did not really seem to "get it" when we pointed out that certain of these things would not work for us and why. (Assistant director, SaPa India)

> Some of it was very "Norwegian" and could well work there but not in India. (CEO, SPIC MACAY India)

Project managers from CN responded to these thoughts by pointing to the MFA's development demands:

> The music cooperation was designed in such a way that we had to state "problems to be solved" and propose solutions to that. This is what we write reports on. Yet, we all know that music plants seeds in the ground that no report can capture, seeds that grow beyond North–South relations, beyond what we can plan and measure here and now. (Tom Gravlie, former CN director of international collaboration)

Whether what was potentially seeded beyond the binary of Global North/Global South was enough to forge true *interculturidad* is something to which I will return later on.

Toward vernacular or alternative modernities?

My third theme concerning process in this concluding discussion involves vernacular versus alternative modernities. All three cases include elements of traditional as well as more contemporary musical expressions. What motivated the choices of musical genre and repertoire and selection of musical/educational target groups and arenas in these collaborations? Were these mainly based on local musical and pedagogical models (while incorporating aspects of global music style) or did imported models prevail? Were these choices mainly made by CN, the local partners, or both?

Building on the local

According to Tomlinson (2012: 5), culture was long understood in the West as "having a special and almost defining relationship to geographical space." Similarly, (national) identity has usually been linked to imagined cultural and political communities (Anderson 1991, Steger 2012). These issues have been much researched in various musicological disciplines under such headings as "traditional revival" or "authenticity" (Livingston 1999, Mantie and Risk 2020: 17–20, Ronström 2010). Hill and Bithell (2012: 10–12) look at music revival as a concept and a cultural process and propose four general motivational categories for working with traditional/local music as a medium of change:

1. Responding to a dissatisfaction with modern society.
2. Bolstering national, ethnic-group, or minority-group identity.
3. Supporting a specific political agenda.
4. Responding to a natural or human disaster.

My cases touch on all four categories. Supporting a specific political (MFA) agenda was particularly salient in Palestine, where the project was intended to culturally fortify the

Palestinian nation in the context of a political two-state solution. In Sri Lanka, the political agenda of reconciliation was key. Keeping alive national/ethnic-minority heritages was relevant in Palestine, Sri Lanka and India. In the first two places, as well, supporting traditional expressions furthermore represented a response to the human disaster of war (Sri Lanka) and long-term conflict (Palestine).

With regard to the first point, "a dissatisfaction with modern society," project managers from the Global North and Global South had differing views. While the former emphasized general heritage conservation and the need to understand the past in order to build up the future (Anne Moberg, former CN project manager, workshop in Oslo on 19 May 2020), the latter generally held to a much more activist viewpoint. They agreed that preserving and disseminating intangible cultural heritage through concerts, archival collections, and even radio programs would create an awareness of heritage among modern audiences. Yet, more than this, they highlighted the crucial importance of bringing forth their (living!) traditions on the world stage. According to them, Western cultural traditions and narratives had dominated in the global art world for too long. They saw these collaborations as an opportunity to bring their (local, national, or simply non-Western) musical expressions to a global audience as a means of claiming their importance (and sometimes their very existence).

Another postcolonial issue that arises in tandem with traditional revival is the question of who gets to define which traditions are worthy of preservation. Weitraub and Young ask, "Who has the right to make public policy that privileges certain kinds of music over others? What gives social institutions the right to make decisions regarding access, use, representation and ownership of music?" (2009: 5; see also Boeskov 2019). Ronström adds that the relationship between a society and its cultural heritage, its *roots*, is not "natural but symbolic" (Ronström 2010: 317). There are therefore inherent political and colonial dilemmas involved in the decision regarding which traditions and expressions are important, and, "in essence, revival is a process of traditionalization that goes on in the present, to create symbolic ties to the past, for reasons of the future" (Ronström 2010: 325).

This colonial question is valid to an assessment of CN's (external) involvement in the selection of traditional musics and musicians in these projects, but also with regard to the different musical milieus *inside* each of the case countries. Boeskov (2017b, 2019) reminds us that there is not one Palestinian tradition but many, each supporting a

different cultural identity. Which Palestinian actors, then, have the right to define the prevailing culture of the nation? The same is also true for the FMCC in Sri Lanka—its *Sannaada* album, released in 2019 (see Korum 2020: 62), included musical pieces mostly selected and performed by Sinhala composers. These unequal power relations were not adequately assessed by CN beforehand or even in the dialogues between the local partners and the Norwegian implementor.

Imported and exported models, music(ians), and genres

In a previous section, I discussed the term "interculturalism," and I will consider it in this current section as well, though from a different angle. According to Aman, "whenever interculturalism is framed in terms of cultural differences, its language inescapably reproduces the colonial difference" (2018: 82; see also Knudsen forthcoming 2021b, which builds on arguments from Agawu 2012 and Stasch 2009). It is striking that the construction of difference seems to be both problematic and useful at the same time. Through this doctoral study, I have found evidence that CN, in both its actions and its interactions in these music projects, at once reproduced and dismantled the "colonial difference." When CN emphasized or promoted difference—for example, by inviting Indian musicians to perform school concerts in Norway and presenting them as "very different" (Knudsen 2013) or highlighting Tamil *versus* Sinhala repertoire during the Jaffna and Galle Music Festivals—my data indicates that general notions of difference and images of a distinct Other were reinforced. In these cases, this led to simplified and further essentialized stereotypes, justified power imbalances that were already in place, and reinforced, rather than re*informed*, established categories and boundaries.

At other times, however, an emphasis on difference was necessary to making minority groups visible in important musical arenas and to the society at large (see also Lundberg, Malm, and Ronström, 2003). In order to empower these groups, the CN projects had to cultivate interactional fluidity and insist on their place in the art world—the strategy involved "routes," not "roots" (Clifford 1997 in Mantie and Risk: 11). In these cases, difference helped rather than hurt the postcolonial cause.

Cross-seeding of musical expressions and unexpected routes into the music, that is, promoted a *transformationalist* approach to globalization, as described by Sweers (2014) and also captured by Bhabha's *third space* (1994). Through regional and international exchange, the flow of a wide array of musical genres and expressions,

diverse pedagogical approaches to musical training, and new, sometimes unlikely, sites of performance (CN produced a concert involving Indian classical music and heavy metal at the Norwegian Opera House in 2012, for example),[62] CN and its local partners contributed to new musical forms, structures, and practices. They also managed, to some extent, to make differences in musical knowledge and repertoire a positive rather than a negative condition of cultural work (these findings correspond with Knudsen forthcoming 2021b, Das and Sood 2020, and participant feedback from the Sri Lankan University Musical Meeting Spaces, or UMMS).

LEGACY

Impact: The measurable outcomes

According to UN-Habitat (2017), a development project's "impact" revolves around the long-term changes in society associated with it. We use a wide range of evaluation tools to assess impact, because it remains a contested notion in both international development and (participatory) arts projects (Baker 2000; Dunphy and Ware 2017: 225). Project reports and external evaluations, for example, are continually questioned for their shortcomings and critiqued for not being adequately site- or community-specific. Up to 2013, CN and its partners completed their narrative project reporting without a clear baseline with which to measure concrete change. After White Paper 19 (MFA 2013), however, projects including the three cases discussed in this study were obliged to state a "development goal" and evaluate it using a result-based management model. White Paper 19 was also accompanied by a guideline document called the Ordningsregelverket in which the MFA detailed its expectations concerning the implementation of cultural development projects (MFA 2017).

The impact of CN's projects in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka was assessed by the aforementioned internal reports written by CN and local partners and by external evaluations written by outside professionals paid by the MFA (See Aruri-Boudart, Addad and Gangsoy 2006, Hilal and Millard 2012, Knudsen and Hilal 2009, Millard 2015 about Palestine; Das and Sood 2020, Hauknes 2008, Larsen 2013a about India; and Fernando and Rambukwella 2014 about Sri Lanka). With the exception of Millard (2015), these documents largely focused on output (the *activities* delivered by the project) and *outcome* (the development effect upon the target groups in the medium

[62] The performance *Questionings*, a fusion of Norwegian heavy metal and Indian traditional music and dance, represented one such meeting space where the particular of the local and the universal of the global intertwined. The performance was produced by CN in collaboration with choreographer Rukmini Chatterjee and the Norwegian band Vreid in 2012. "There are surprisingly many common themes in Indian dance and Norwegian black metal," said the performers in an interview in the journal *Utrop* (Castello 2011). See also photo 6 in the chapter subsection "Excavating the Field," p. 51.

term). This post-2013 practice fostered accountability and control by assessing whether the stated projects plans corresponded with the actual delivery and whether project funds were used in accordance with the agreed-upon standards. Furthermore, the reports and evaluations allowed the MFA to determine how (and eventually *whether*) these projects had led to structural change. These documents, however, have clear limitations as well—for example, they say very little about how the structural change might have affected the target groups and their societies in the long term. The project managers and external evaluators acknowledged this but insisted that such an evaluation would be too time-consuming and difficult to produce. While reports and evaluations offer fact-based insight into these projects, they rarely capture what was "in between": *How did music produce social change? Which kind of social change?* They generally fail to account for and support the intangible values and inspirational long-term processes that the given project funder and stakeholders claim for the project and continue to refer to in their discourse about it.

Millard (2015), however, provides a remarkable example of the opposite outcome of such a report. While her Palestine project evaluation acknowledges the difficulty of quantifying the available information about it, she uses interviews, focus groups with direct beneficiaries and observers of direct beneficiaries, and observations of the project events as her evidence of the following effects on the target groups and the surrounding Palestinian society:

> Music clubs, although decreased in number to only seven, provided opportunities for students in upper basic grades (5–10) in areas outside of main cities, mainly in refugee camps and less-advantaged areas, to experience singing, playing instruments, and dancing. All of these are activities that are not otherwise at their disposal. These types of activities also serve to generate jobs for freelance musicians and music teachers at public schools. The music clubs are intended to be the nucleus of a community hub that focuses on culture. Music clubs are intended to have the ability to change community perceptions of, appreciation for, and engagement in music culture. This is particularly important for girls in the targeted areas, as both teachers and parents highlighted the fact that music clubs were the only opportunity that girls had to engage with music and have a social persona. Indeed, many respondents highlighted the fact that, in the absence of music clubs, girls had no opportunities for social engagement or to support their own freedom of expression and development. (Millard 2015: 20–21)

Another limitation of the formal evaluation system applied to these projects is that it does not generally encourage reflection or insight after the fact. Several informants

noted that if one's livelihood depends on reporting "success," one reports success (former Sevalanka employee interviewed in October 2017). An honest account of what went wrong might jeopardize future funding—after all, evaluation does not take place in a vacuum but is always part of a larger political and organizational context. While project managers and evaluators clearly sought to contribute knowledge with regard to these projects, they constantly confronted other mechanisms and expectations that counteracted this goal. Responsibility, accountability, and a picture of success often trumped informed reflection in the eyes of the funding authorities.[63]

There were, however, attempts from within these projects to envision change and cultivate reflection, as we will see in what follows.

Alternative perceptions of success

Most significant change

The notion of "Most Significant Change," or MSC,[64] assigns value to the perspectives of all stakeholders. It is a participatory approach to evaluation that acknowledges different epistemologies, allowing for those who have been involved in a project to share their experiences in their own words according to their own sense-making process (Weick 1995). Without calling it MSC or even specifying a method, CN did something like this with regard to the collaborations in India and Sri Lanka. Categories such as "personal stories of change" and "stories of community change" were added to the indicators of the agreed-upon project document, and alternative sources of data were encouraged, in order to produce a more comprehensive view of the project's meaning for different people (CN/ MFA 2015).

[63] For an extended debate about the dual purpose of accountability and learning in development aid evaluation, see Bjørkdahl, McNeill, and Reinertsen (2017).
[64] See https://www.betterevaluation.org/en/plan/approach/most_significant_change.

Photo 10 *Screenshot from the implementation plan of the India–Norway Music Cooperation from 2015. My highlights in black.*

The example above is taken from a revised implementation plan for the 2015 India program. This CN-initiated supplement resulted in an addendum to the standard MFA reporting scheme in India. While a similar reporting process was also attempted in Sri Lanka, there turned out to be a big difference in the reception of these reports by the Norwegian embassies in New Delhi and Colombo, respectively. In the former case, the MFA indicated that it saw great value in the attachment to the standard report. In Sri Lanka, the Norwegian MFA asked CN to omit the attachment because it was overloaded with work and did not have time to read it (Norwegian MFA officer in charge of SLNMC between 2015 and 2017).

Evaluation for *learning*

An alternative evaluation model with relevance to these projects is Francois Matarasso's framework for evaluating arts programs. According to Matarasso (1996. See also Matarasso 2019), one must acknowledge not only the outcome but also the *process* in order to encourage *learning* about the given project. Attention to process is crucial for several reasons: first, for the immediate development of specific skills and competencies; second, for intermediate outcomes including engagement, productivity, and connection with others; and third, for long-term outcomes involving resiliency, self-efficacy, personal fulfilment, and community engagement (Dunphy and Ware 2017: 224; see also Boston Youth Arts 2009).

The CN project teams and partners were aware of these three levels, and informants used terms such as the "mushrooming of ideas" (internal email between CN project managers on 23 February 2015, inspired by professional exchanges with Gillian Howell) and the "capacity to aspire" (coined by Appadurai [2004: 59] and used by CN project manager in the already cited email correspondence). Stakeholders also emphasized *relationality* and *process* during my research interviews, though they never shared these thoughts with the MFA as such because the ministry did not seem interested.

A legacy of relational peace?

Only one of my three cases, the SLNMC, had a defined goal that was separate from music and musical infrastructure development though connected to it: "Stimulate the performing arts in Sri Lanka, *thus* contributing to the peace and reconciliation process" (CN 2011). This is an example of a very tough goal to evaluate. In the final project report (CN 2018: 4.1), the project team wrote the following:

> Musicians and students of different ethnicities have met several times. In 2017 . . . up to 5 times. These core people have developed friendship and built respect over time for the different expressions and traditions. Audiences in schools, universities, festivals have been exposed to Sri Lankan traditions which were probably less known or unknown. The Project is well known in Sri Lanka and regarded as an important tool in the reconciliation process. The Project has had an impact on society level in Sri Lanka. Contacts with Ministry of Culture is also a significant milestone. Goal reached but difficult to measure.

Similar statements arose in my conversations with informants, who all thought that the project had contributed to reconciliation but had no way to prove it. My data thus suggests that, rather than claiming reconciliation on the basis of (the number of) cross-ethnic activities and asserting an artificial causal relationship between these elements, CN and the partners seemed content to assert (in line with Jarstad et al. 2019: 3, Lederach 2005, and Söderström et al. 2019) the *relational* aspects of peace that this project was *likely* to have contributed to. According to Söderström and colleagues (2019: 5), the notion of relational peace includes components such as behavioral interaction, non-domination, cooperation, and mutual recognition, trust, and even friendship, all of which can be located in SLNMC activities.[65] While *possible*, these are by no means guaranteed outcomes of the SLNMC activities. Korum and Howell (2020: 9) highlight the tendency towards privileging and preferencing Sinhala Buddhist representations. So, in subtle (and also less-subtle ways), there was a dominance that reinforced the wider political dynamics and social ordering[66].

CN project managers stated that they felt pressured by the MFA's reporting system to claim that the project's reconciliation goal had been achieved. They acknowledged that goals involving the use of musical activities to build trust between people from different ethnicities and religions are very hard to evaluate in a general development report.

Elsewhere in this thesis I have argued that standard development frameworks narrow rather than expand the potential contributions of musical projects. In the final section below, I propose a new framework, one that seeks to capture the multiple dimensions of social contributions that musical projects can produce. I argue that if we set aside the current standard development framework, we can not only move forward but also assess

[65] Steven Mithen's (2005) research into music's integral part in human social life supports the capacity of music to improve relations: "Joint music-making served to facilitate cooperative behavior by adverting one's willingness to cooperation, and by creating shared emotional states leading to 'boundary loss'/'we-ness'/'coupling'/'in-group bias'" (p. 218).
[66] This privileging was particularly notable in the FMCC, see p.106 and p.112 of this thesis for details.

what already *is* in a different light. I will distinguish among aspects of CN's project legacy according to (1) what was directly observable; (2) what was less observable yet still acting to change minds and behaviors; and, finally, (3) what the society around project stakeholders and participants became, including transformation sparked by the project, the entire scope of which remains unknown.

What lives on?

I already shared UN-Habitat's definition of impact (p. 113). Due to the limitations of this concept, discussed above, I will now look at "legacy" instead. According to two well-established online dictionaries, legacy is "something that is part of your history that remains from an earlier time" (Cambridge Dictionary) or something "relating to, associated with, or carried over" (Merriam-Webster) from these projects. In group interviews with project managers from CN and also in conversation with my Indian and Sri Lankan informants, things took a turn when I started to use the word "legacy" instead of "impact." Below, I have categorized the distinct implications of legacy that I encountered into three categories: "we see," "we think," and "we become." I will conclude this discussion by proposing an extended version of Gillian Howell's critical junctures framework (2017: 294) that engages these three categories not only as endpoints but also—and more importantly—as new condition in and of themselves with regard to further change.

The legacy of what we see is relatively straightforward, and I have already shared examples of what my three doctoral cases delivered. Sometimes, when the project receives new funding, it carries on as well, with new deliverables. The collaboration between SaPa and the Norwegian Academy of Music is one such example, and the Folk Music Conservation Centre in Sri Lanka, which was ultimately taken over by the Sri Lankan Ministry of Culture, is another. Sabreen's strengthened position as an advisor to the Palestinian Ministry of Culture is an example as well.

The legacy of what we think is harder to pinpoint, as it involves the friendships, network and general internationalization of musical life that my case projects brought about in both Norway and its partners in the Global South. I tried using "we connect" in its place, but since the "we think" category additionally comprises individual learning and personal stories of change, "we think" was maintained – pointing to a change of mindset spanning from the individual to the collective. As I argued above, these projects were not unidirectional in either actions or ideas, and the ways in which the musical milieus

of these countries interacted led to a reorganization of the art world. The presence of Indian or Palestinian music business actors in the global music industry previously dominated by Western professionals has impacted the industry´s infrastructure and perceptions.[67] New performance arenas and audiences for artists from the Global South represent yet another example of how music-world thinking has changed. Jan Martin Jensen, director of the INFERNO festival, northern Europe's largest metal festival, and a long-term collaborator with Indian festivals and artists, exemplifies this fresh approach: "The Indian bands were always very popular at our annual festival. They had a different sound, but it was real metal—Mumbai style. The audiences loved them!" (personal communication at Music Norway's summer party, 11 June 2019). Jensen furthermore shared that, even though the formal Norway–India collaboration ended some years back, he still stays updated on the Indian scene and keeps in touch with actors and artists from the Indian music industry.

The legacy of what we become hints at these music development projects' true transformative potential at the collective, rather than individual or organizational, level. At a research workshop (19 May 2020), former CN project managers discussed the idea of music as a "postcolonial ethos for care" (McEwan 2019: 395 employs this term but does not link it to music):

> Care means taking representation slowly. Care means attending to the gaps, the ignorances produced by our knowledges, the subaltern holes and knots in the fabric. (Chakrabarty 2000: 106)

I find echoes of this complex and challenging notion in Sykes's *Musical Gift* (2018) and Escobar's *Designs for the Pluriverse* (2018; see also Demaria and Kothari 2017). Frith also points to something similar, though less activist, when he talks about the aesthetic experience of music as a way of being in the world—that is, as capturing multiple possible ways of making sense of it (Frith 1998: 272). Acknowledging and allowing for the pluriverse, "a world where many worlds fit" (Zapatista, quoted by Escobar 2018: 16), is, according to Demaria and Kothari, the only path toward a truly "equitable, just

[67] For example, this passage is taken from the final evaluation report for the India program: "Some of the partners were appreciative of the fact that the funding from RK/KT did not necessarily restrict them internationally to Norway. Members from TMT were supported to attend conferences in UK and USA, to understand the network better and find an opportunity for more partnerships and collaborations. SaPa, RSJ, and TMT were also able to establish connections within the SAARC network through support from RK/KT" (Das and Sood 2020: 23).

and ecologically wise world" (2019: 9)—a world where diversity is valued and the contribution of the Other is recognized:

> So many vibrant hybrid musics that day and night unfailingly keep so many worlds in movement with the indubitable conviction that there is still much in life that refuses to yield to the ontology of devastation that has become so pervasive with neoliberal globalization and its vacuous notion of progress. (Escobar 2018: xxi)

While such notions might be too grand to apply to this meso-level doctoral study, my findings show a clear alignment. Moving between the micro and macro, CN's international musical collaborations involved very concrete practices of care, hospitality, relationality, and (potential) non-duality in everyday life, all in the direction of *deworlding* (Escobar 2018:9—or the dismantling of worlds, to use Spivak's term) and sustainable *defuturing* (Fry 2017: 4)—that is, acting in such a way that we do not take away from ourselves and non-human others.

By focusing on the now as opposed to a development goal situated in the future—on immediate sharing, musical reciprocity, and a common ground in the art world—CN's projects represent exchanges of experiences and new opportunities for groups who have traditionally been at the margins of the so-called global Western art world. As has been demonstrated by my four papers and this frame chapter, these projects brought with them the potential to challenge the Western "audible empire" (see Radano and Olaniyan 2016) and counter epistemic and cultural violence through the cultivation of openness to all genres, and particularly the local traditions of the Global South. Some of this potential was realized, but, due to the limitations and hierarchies of the development system itself, much of it was not.

My findings show that these projects and the actions of CN changed both small and large aspects of the lives of many stakeholders, participants, and the surrounding societies. The collaborations initiated multiple transformative journeys that have yet to conclude. All stakeholders have remained cultural movers and activists in their respective societies. As Tom Gravlie, former CN director of international collaboration, said during the aforementioned workshop: "We are surely people of different cultures, but we share the same human goals. These projects financed by the MFA may be

finished, but our job is not done. We will continue to work together, towards cultural equity, building on the networks and knowledge that these projects have fostered."[68]

A post-development framework for music and social change

To conclude, I will present a critical junctures framework that I consider to be the major theoretical contribution of my doctoral research. It merges the larger issues discussed in the section on disciplinary strands with ground-level insights from my three case studies. This circular framework is a general expansion of Howell (2017: 294) enriched by the postcolonial thinking of Andreotti (2006: 46; Andreotti forthcoming 2021, Andreotti et al. 2019) and McEwan (2019: 399–424). The precondition involving music is mainly influenced by Frith (1998), Turino (2008), and Mantie and Risk (2020). Its embracing mantra—"Hold yourself, your friends and family accountable to whatever misconceptions and colonial modes of thinking you engage in. Don't be afraid to call each other out"—is a direct quote from the summary of a workshop titled Bring Your Privilege that I attended at the Goethe Institute in Oslo on 6 February 2019. This inspiring program brought together a group of cultural practitioners, educators, and academics to reflect on issues such as privilege, dominant narratives, and attempts to decolonize institutions and practices (PRIO/Goethe Institute 2019).

My framework considers human actors to be profoundly interrelated and encourages stakeholders as well as participants in projects of music and social change to engage in an ongoing and empathic yet critical dialogue centered upon local realities and epistemologies, joint exploration and learning, and project awareness.

[68] Gravlie is currently working on a book in which he will share historical anecdotes and stories of change from the international work of Concerts Norway. It is forthcoming (in Norwegian) in 2021 and will likely add more nuance and color to topics I have described and discussed in this thesis.

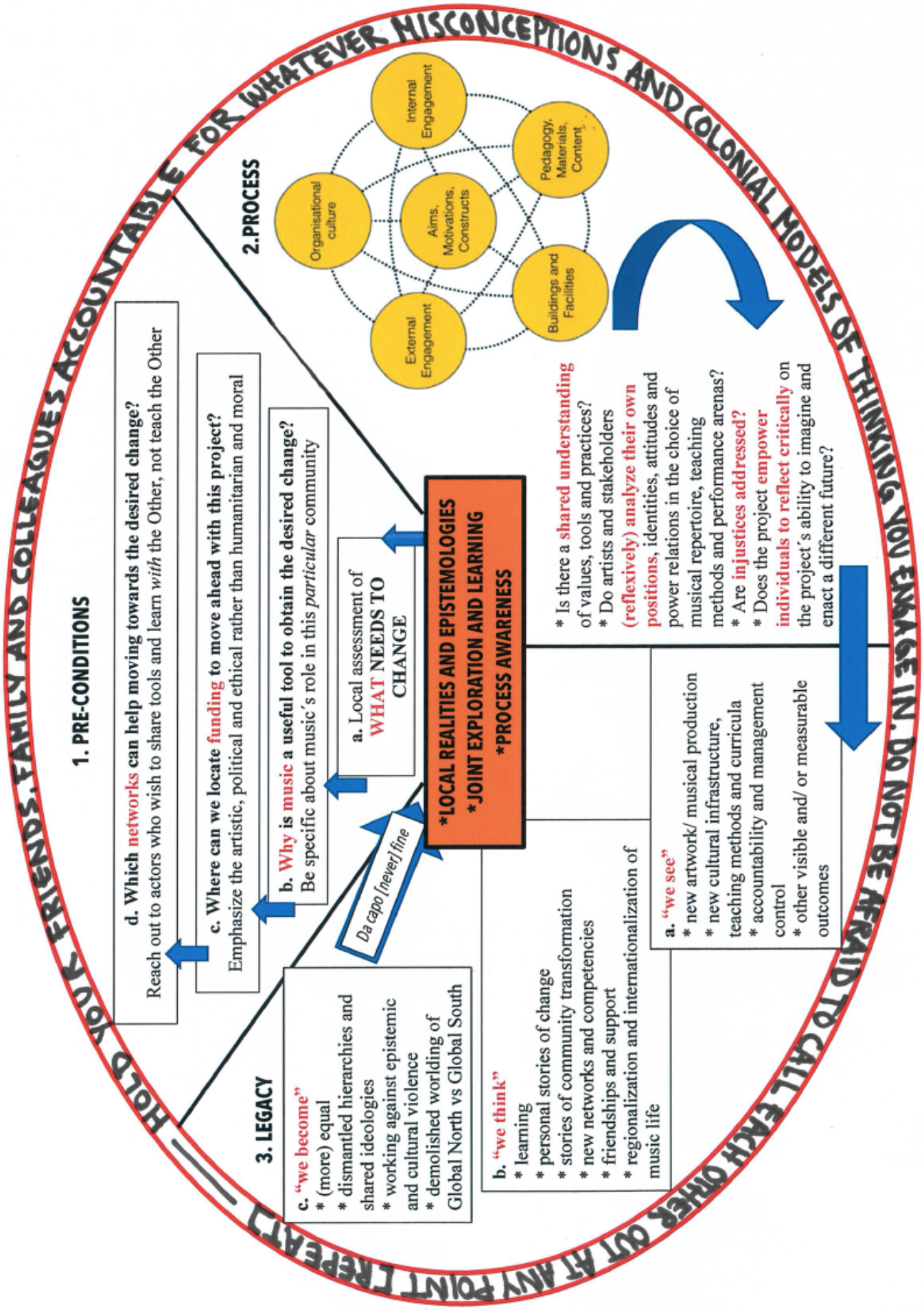

Figure 5 *A post-development framework for music and social change (by the author).*

Figure 5 depicts what I deem to be the critical stages in the process of planning, implementing, and assessing music as an intervention tool for social change—that is, the elements to be clarified and discussed jointly by the partners and donors who wish to conduct and assess such programs. This list is by no means comprehensive and would need to be adapted to the local context in any case, but it is a start.

The preconditions pay special attention to cultural values and ideological perceptions. The stakeholders and artists must be particularly aware of any potential colonial heritage involved in the project and of the ways in which binary conceptions of the Global North and South can skew ideas about what needs to change. Furthermore, the urge to intervene with music also implies a certain ideological view about *what* musical sounds and genres are best for the intervention in question. Planning a music intervention with a social impact thus requires an informed assessment of the role of the *particular* music in this *particular* locale. A good practice would involve learning from research and local, related practices about how various genres, musical arenas, and differences in subculture work in a given place, as well as understanding amateur versus professional competencies there. Finally, any response to the question of using music in the first place must center on the local in relation to the global, not the other way around. Stakeholders must not assume that "universal" discourses about music are necessarily valid.

With regard to funding (precondition 1c), the implementors of and participants in the project must not allow donors to simply dictate conditions and (development) language but rather negotiate with them about the potential of the given project to achieve *equity*. This is tricky, but if one departs from the humanitarian and moral arguments in favor of the artistic, political, and ethical aspects of the collaboration, one might succeed in this dialogue.

The last point in the precondition section (1d) encourages stakeholders to seek a mutually enriching dialogue with likeminded (arts) professionals, either locally, regionally, or globally. To facilitate post-development artistic work, it also makes sense to reach out to actors who wish to share tools and learn *with* the Other, not simply teach the Other.

Concerning the process, the six bubbles suggested by Howell (2017: 294) address the majority of the elements I deem essential. Yet, they do not adequately cover what

Howell herself refers to as "forces" (2017: 302) such as personal drivers, relationships, historical antecedents, predetermined constructs and beliefs, and specific political agendas. These forces have an enormous impact on projects where the reflexive analysis of one's own position as a stakeholder, organizer, or artist is crucial to ownership, co-determination, and eventual success. In my framework, I include a separate section about these forces, which must be confronted via a system involving *continuous process dialogue* to monitor the following:

- whether there is a shared understanding of values, tools, and practices among artists, key stakeholders, and funders;
- whether artists and stakeholders (reflexively) analyze their own positions, identities, attitudes, and power relations in the choice of musical repertoire, teaching methods, and performance arenas;
- whether injustices are being addressed and more equal grounds for dialogue and power are being created by the project practices; and
- whether the project empowers individuals to reflect critically on the project's ability to imagine and enact a different future, or whether they primarily act according to what has been described to them as a good life or an ideal world.

Regarding legacy, (1) we see, (2) we think, and (3) we become represent three levels of assessment of the impact of such projects. According to my research data, the results-based management models currently employed by the MFA do not value the cultural sector as a truly independent space and often relate the results to goals external to this field. The alternative legacy assessments proposed by my framework expand upon the visions, dreams, and potential of such music projects by pointing to the inherently empathetic and relational processes that take place through music—processes that are rarely captured by standard reporting or evaluation schemes.

Lastly, the circular shape of the model is not accidental. The "legacy" implies the creation of a new condition that will again be (re)examined for any potential need to change. Working toward equity is a continuous process—therefore, the outer circle brings with it a call for persistent activism and accountability and a requirement to restart at step 1 unless the world's conditions have truly improved regarding equity. This is not likely to happen anytime soon, so I would contend that questioning privilege and constantly repeating the motions of this circle are necessary to moving forward. I think that each time around this circle might bring us all closer to the pluriverse—to new levels of sophistication where mutual recognition and fairness prevail.

I also acknowledge, however, that change does not happen in a vacuum. We need political, economic, and ecological solutions in addition to cultural ones. Still, paying attention to cultural processes and the concrete, increasingly evidence-based ways in which cultural (musical) expressions can become tools for social change is a good starting point. This doctoral thesis is my contribution in this regard.

On the relevance of findings for popular music(ology) research

The *raison d´être* of my conclusion is a response to Simon Frith's earlier encouragement to move from a description of popular music as a social institution to an increased understanding of how we can and do value it (1998: 276). Musical value underpins my introductory quote by Amartya Sen (2004: 39), and it is the theme with which I close this dissertation.

For most of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, popular music (and popular music research) has been "an important way in which we have learned to understand ourselves as historical, ethnic, class-bound, gendered, national subjects" (Frith 1998: 276). I believe we have now reached a moment when it is pertinent to focus on how this understanding (and any eventual misunderstandings) can be put to use—how these insights might serve not only as descriptions of a situation or academic rationale of the status quo but also as a means of transcending the current narratives to see how music *is* or *can be* an agent for constructing new types of identities and relationships in a deeply inequal world.

Ultimately, engaging critically with these issues as a researcher is a political act; not in the sense that the researcher´s own political beliefs are being pushed, but because the evidence gathered through transparent and rigorous academic investigation is truthful rather than convenient: "You have some sort of public responsibility and that´s what should drive you" (Frith 2012). In other words, conducting critical research on musical activities, such as the study I have presented, "does not merely *suggest* political engagement, it *demands* it" (Cloonan 2014: 114, italics in original). Recent volumes *Popular Musicology and Identity*, (Hansen, Askerøi and Jarman, 2020), *The Routledge Research Companion to Popular Music and Gender* (Hawkins, 2017) and *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular* Musicology (Scott, 2009), offer rich perspectives on the politics of popular music research. Numerous PhD-dissertations have also paved the way forward into a more critical based and inclusive musicology, presenting studies

with a potential impact far beyond the "field" itself[69]. In this way, my doctoral research joins ranks with work in critical musicology that produces knowledge about text and context (Hawkins 2012, Moore 2007: ix-xxii) with both personal and collective implications.

Even though I acknowledge musical meaning as socially constructed (Clayton 2016; Cross and Tolbert 2016; Frith 1998; Hansen, Askerøi and Jarman 2020; Hawkins 2012, 2017), my research data suggests that we have a fundamental opportunity to move beyond the social, political, ethnic, and religious circumstances of music. While musical activity clearly situates us in a space and place (Whiteley, Bennett and Hawkins 2004), as it engages with cultural roots and triggers concrete emotions and bodily movements, it is also fundamentally placeless, in the sense that it makes other things *possible.* It takes the liberty of transcending established systems and common sense and allows us to (re)negotiate who we are and what we want to be: "Music is a coming together of the sensual, the emotional and the social as performance (. . .) it does not represent values but lives them," writes Frith (1998: 272). Mark Slobin agrees (1993: 55): "We all grow up with *something,* but we can choose just about *anything* by way of expressive culture."

In his preface to *Non-Western Popular Music* (2014), Tony Langlois characterizes popular music as an "increasingly deterritorialized field" (p. xxv). To this, one may add Frith´s argument about anti-essentialism as a key part of understanding the complexity of musical experience. This rings particularly true for popular music, which often has its origins in the margins with socially marginalized groups such as economically poor people, migrants, or LGBTQ communities (Buanes Djupvik 2014; Hansen 2017; Hawkins 2012, 2017; Sandve 2014). As a counterpoint to the postcolonial idea that only black people can speak for black people and only women can fully understand and express women's conditions (see Long 2018), musical activity in CN's international contexts offered a unique, *post*-postcolonial case for stakeholders and target groups to choose what they would like to be rather than remain restricted by what they *were* (or though they were). The CN projects were propelled by reciprocity, curiosity, and empathy rather than goal-chasing and anxiety instilled by the development system and its requirements. The international experiences and musical exchanges initiated and

[69] Askerøi (2013), Brock Ålvik (2014), Brøvig-Hansen (2013), Buanes-Djupvik (2014), Eilertsen (2017), Hansen (2017), Sandve (2014) and Størvold (2019) offer a thematic and geographical breadth from identity politics and urban space in Norwegian rap music (Sandve) to music and the global climate crisis (Størvold).

implemented by CN offer examples of how people can take pleasure in just about any kind of music. These collaborations' genre pluralism demonstrates how narratives and worldviews can be altered and transcended by allowing not only the *roots* but also the *routes* of the music come to the fore (Mantie and Risk 2020). By engaging in a musical and practical professional dialogue across art worlds in the Global North and the Global South, these projects neither entirely changed nor utterly rejected existing cultural narratives, which remained essential to linking people to the places and societies in which they were born. Instead, they offered alternative ways of seeing and experiencing these narratives. They challenged everyone's fixed view of the Other and offered ways to negotiate and engage in new relationships.

As my post-development framework for music and social change suggests, engaging with music as a tool for social change is inevitably a perpetual endeavor. Unless equity is achieved, it will always be *da capo al fine*, or "repeat from the beginning." As researchers and practitioners engage in such projects, they will constantly and simultaneously move in and out of them, and in and out of themselves, as they change and the world changes as well. While music alone is not likely to bring about radical change, its contribution remains essential: it creates beauty and optimism; it offers active and enacted hope in human resonance; it brings with it an embodied experience of emotional intensity that connects us to the core of being human and being together. They generate faith in what creativity, communication and shared cultural values can achieve (see Negus and Pickering 2004).

The international musical collaborations I have studied here are both fantastic and utterly real, in the sense that they, at their best, truly demonstrate what Jacques Attali contended many years ago: "For twenty-five centuries, Western knowledge has tried to look upon the world. It has failed to understand that the world is not for beholding. It is for hearing. It is not legible, but audible" (1985: 3). If we are ready to accept and live by this, equity may be somewhere around the corner. Not the very next corner, but surely some corner somewhere . . .

Photo 11 *Torbjørn Gaustadsæther, Norwegian Ambassador to Sri Lanka from 2015 to 2019, dancing with local artists at a school concert in Colombo. Reproduced by permission of Sevalanka Foundation.*

8. Concluding remarks and visions for future research

This doctoral dissertation has interrogated music as a tool for development by way of three collaborative music projects implemented by Concerts Norway and local partners in Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka that sought to promote equity between various localities and social groups and classes in the Global South.

In it, I analyzed how opportunities and dilemmas arising in the process of planning, implementing, and assessing these musical projects were handled by CN and its partners, as well as the nature of the dialogue these parties had with the Norwegian MFA.

I also explored how the stakeholders' ideas about the value of music were translated into general goals of development, or, in the Sri Lankan case, how music was employed in the interests of postwar reconciliation. I identified inherent tensions between "two opposing professional paradigms: the largely intuitive, practice-led world of the arts and the increasingly evidence-based, bureaucratically-driven approaches of international development" (Dunphy 2013: 3). My findings also suggest that the mere framing of these projects as development considerably reduces the freedom of stakeholders and the potential of these musical projects to mean things to people.

Jacques Attali wrote in 1985 that "music, more than theory, heralds the new cultural and political orders to come" (in Escobar 2018: 130). This research has shown that music carries the potential to engage people's individual and collective minds, bodies, and consciousnesses. Yet, despite of decades of music research about *why* music matters, and about its psychological, political, and sociological functions, there is no clear answer to the key question of whether some artistic practices or specific genres are better than others at fostering positive social change and enhancing human relationships. One key insight of my doctoral research, however, is that *diversity* of musical expression is needed more than ever—that the inclusion and recognition of what has up to now been considered peripheral cultural expressions are crucial to countering existing patterns of domination, detrimental divisions, and stubborn power structures within the world in general and the art world in particular.

Over the past two decades, there has been an upswing in public interest in funding, organizing, and participating in musical interventions for social change, and related research has begun to surface as well. In this dissertation, I have taken an analytical lens

to the values and practices of one organization involved in such work, yet I also see a number of different angles that can be identified for future research. As to possible lines of inquiry in the popular music(ology) field, I see the political ontology of music as the next level of inquiry, especially involving perspectives emerging from the Global South. The Colombian musician and researcher Ana María Ochoa Gautier has, for example, written about the politics of life and the politics of expression in *Aurality* (2014). The entanglements among musical, geographical, historical, and linguistic knowledge were also explored in Radano and Olaniyan's *Audible Empire* (2016), yet much remains to be discovered about the role of music in a new world order in which a growing wave of indigenous traditions and alternative value systems competes with existing multinational enterprises and modern capitalism itself to define the future toward which we are headed. Can contemporary musical fusions be considered to be effectively inter-epistemic and pluriversal, asks Escobar (2018: 136), and, if so, can they serve as a source of inspiration for novel cooperative practices? These are only a few of the possible musicological questions to explore here.

On a sociological note, if one wants to focus on the art world and its local and global structures, the role of women in the music business is a telling point of contention. A growing number of initiatives is empowering women (and underrepresented genders in general) to work as music business professionals and artists in developing countries where gender and sexual orientation constitute obstacles. *Keychange*, supported by the European Union, is one such initiative (www.keychange.eu). It is a global network and movement working toward a restructuring of the music industry that relies on a different approach from that represented by the CN projects and (non-development) narratives. Another recent example of a global network of art world professionals that aims to bring more equity to its infrastructure is the *Map the World* initiative by Oslo World (www.maptheworld.com). As a means of raising awareness of the global ecosystem of festivals that has been endangered by the Covid-19 pandemic, it invited festivals from all over the globe to share twenty of their favorite music tracks online and made them part of its festival programming in 2020. Oslo World was behind a similar *Utopian Manifesto* (2019) of actions, strategies, and goals for structural changes needed to realize a global cultural sector free of discrimination and racism and featuring gender equality. Research on the actual effects of such initiatives is a pressing need.

While children and youth appear throughout this dissertation as part of the social matrix, they are not treated as a distinct category of study. Music interventions involving

children and youth as the main target groups must be set up differently from those for adults and professionals, and this would be a fertile topic for research as well.

Last, but not least, it would be fruitful to finally transcend the dynamics of the music and development field in order to question ways in which arts acquires *meaning* in countries in the Global South. Preferably, this research would be conducted by academics and/or artists from these very countries, who surely have better (cultural and linguistic) competencies to conduct and publish insightful analysis based on local theory and methods that are closer to the art form in question. I also hope that we, in the future, will see more research on music and social change conducted jointly by researchers from the Global North and Global South.

EPILOGUE

the undefinable should be breathed in
but we are people marked by word
and with words we trace
the unimaginable
and we call upon fraternal sensibilities
and ask:
what was that fragrance
that texture of pause and animation
the flavor of cosmology and divinity
the music of something basic
something oceanic
the cell-form original
of our generation and regeneration,
our evolution and depreciation;
there must be a name for you
but we don't know it
and may never know,
but what's name and definition
neatness of capture
in things that are too soft
for word-framing,
we tell ourselves
perhaps for consolation
or for clarity.[70]

[70] Since 2017, I have experimented with word-weaving as a joint process with a Sri Lankan friend I will call M.S. The poem above was shaped as a result of this exchange and is published here with M.S.'s consent. Throughout this thesis, I have followed commonly agreed scientific rules and rigor in the study of my research subject, yet I do not think it is possible to do justice to my topic without including a contribution that speaks to a distinct set of senses. After all, the value of music is not something we can easily capture or measure. It must be lived.

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PART II

THE ARTICLES

DOI: 10.18261/9788215032344-2019-10

10

Bang drums until the cement softens[1]

International music collaboration in Palestine

SOLVEIG KORUM

ABSTRACT There are many possible readings of a music project taking place in a territory under occupation. By paying attention to the context, values and interests of actors involved in the Music Collaboration between Palestine and Norway (2002–2017), this chapter uses Boltanski and Thévenot's framework of justification to examine possible narratives of the project. Three main narratives stand out, namely, a civic, inspirational and (development) industry one, all of which are tightly interwoven.

KEYWORDS Palestine | music | multi-agency collaboration | legitimacy | international development

SAMMENDRAG Det finnes mange nyanser og mulige tolkninger av et musikkprosjekt som foregår på okkupert territorium. I dette kapitlet brukes Boltanski og Thévenots legitimeringsteori for å analysere musikksamarbeidet mellom Palestina og Norge (2002–2017). Tre fremtredende narrativer, som alle er sterkt sammenvevde, diskuteres i teksten: musikk som palestinsk motstand, musikk som inspirasjon og musikk som et verktøy i internasjonal bistand.

NØKKELORD Palestina | musikk | flerpartsamarbeid | legitimitet | internasjonal bistand

1. Hind Shoufani, in Habjouqa, 2015, p. 11.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the role of international music collaboration in a territory under occupation. The scope of my research is at the intersection of art practice, activism, and international aid and politics.

Art can be a strategy for survival in zones of conflict. It can serve as a coping mechanism and can renew lost hope; it can support resistance and rebellion (Urbain, 2008; Naidu-Silverman, 2015; Howell, 2016 and 2017). With constant oscillation between history and tradition, innovation and change, power and resistance, and individual expression and the interests of the collective (Kanaaneh, Thorsén, Bursheh & McDonald, 2013), there are many possible readings of an art project taking place in a territory under occupation. In this chapter, I present a study of a Norwegian state-funded music collaboration between Palestine and Norway (2002–2017, hereafter the Music Collaboration) where two organizations, Sabreen[2] and Concerts Norway (CN),[3] have spent more than 6.6 million USD[4] from the development and regional allocation budget of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) to provide music training to Palestinian teachers, concert opportunities for children and youth, and artistic development for local artists.

The main objective of the chapter is to map out how the backdrop of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, international development strategies and the humanitarian needs of the Palestinian people impact the organizational, educational and artistic content of this Music Collaboration. By paying attention to the context, values and interests of actors involved in the project, the study relies on ethnographic methods to examine and discuss possible narratives of the Music Collaboration. When considered through the analytical lens of Boltanski and Thévenot's framework of justification ([1991] 2006), three main narratives of the project emerge: The discernible music as resistance narrative is set against narratives of inspirational partnerships and arts in foreign (aid) policy. These narratives, tightly interwoven, impact the Music Collaboration in very distinct ways. The project offers opportunities for identity work and activism in Palestinian primary schools, and artistic partnerships as well as strategic organizational and civic development. Yet, this study shows that many tensions remain and, in the absence of a permanent political solution in Palestine, there is reason to question whether such projects *really*

2. Sabreen is a Jerusalem-registered NGO conducting non-profit musical activities related to community building and education.
3. Concerts Norway (1968–2016) is a Norwegian governmental organization whose main task was to provide live music to schoolchildren.
4. NOK at rate 8.5 to USD.

make a profound difference. This reality notwithstanding, the redemption – the soothing – provided by musical training and practice should not be underestimated in this context, nor should the stimulated relationship between Palestinian children and their heritage.

METHODOLOGY

I have approached my research question primarily from an ethnographic point of view. I have done fieldwork and conducted semi-structured interviews in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nablus and Ramallah on two occasions,[5] and I have interacted with musicians and administrative representatives of Sabreen who have toured in Norway.[6] As a previous employee of CN's international department, I have also followed this project closely through colleagues in the period 2008–2016, yet I have never been involved in project development or management myself. Before writing this book chapter, I have consulted all project documents, reports and external evaluations of the Music Collaboration.

A REFLEXIVE PROCESS OF ANALYSIS

My professional background from the music and development field has provided me with useful insights, but also created biases and blind spots in dealing with the mentioned material (Mosse, 2005; Halvorsen, Johnsen & Repstad, 2009). I am furthermore conscious that my gaze upon this project and understanding of its mechanisms can never be entirely free from the (colonial) images that we nourish about this region in the West (Said, 1978; Spivak, 1988; Bhabha, 1994). I can never escape from my white, Norwegian middle-class background that puts me in the position of being a potential coloniser; not in the physical sense of the word, but because of the conceptions on which I am basing my datacollection and analysis. In order to remedy this, I have exchanged drafts of this chapter with Palestinian colleagues prior to publication, and I am grateful for corrections and nuances received from them. Karl Weick's tool and theories of "sensemaking"

5. I spent two weeks in Palestine in February and March 2017 and two weeks in September 2018 with the sole objective of conducting fieldwork for my PhD. I have previously visited the area as an employee of CN, where I attended the *Saama* international conference for music education in Bethlehem in December 2014.
6. My main body of informants consists of twenty-three people with various links to the project. Nine of these are cited in the current text; see list at the end of the chapter.

(Weick, 1995) have also been of great use to me. Sensemaking emphasizes the *actor's own* creation of narrative – the way people *themselves* make retrospective sense of the situations in which they find themselves. By giving space to the voice of Sabreen, to other Palestinian cultural actors around this group and also to their Norwegian partners, I aim to highlight the complexity of this music project in a state of conflict.

THE CONTEXT

Palestine has been under Israeli occupation for more than seventy years. This shall not be regarded as mere context for the musical project, but rather, as suggested by Georgina Born (2012, in Boeskov, 2017, p. 1), the "context is folded into the musical experience". The context encompasses both the physical and intellectual landscape in which the project takes place, and establishing this landscape is the aim of this section.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In 1948, the majority of Palestinians were forced to leave their territory. This is referred to as *Al-Nakba* – literally, "the catastrophe" (Tuastad, 2014). The Nakba was followed by other defeats, and increased frustrations lead to riots, attacks and suicide bombings during the first Intifada from 1987 to 1993. After years of violent clashes, strikes and boycotts, the two parties met for negotiations. The Oslo Accords[7] seeded hope on both sides. Yet, unable to resolve some key issues, it became clear that lasting peace was not in sight. A second Intifada was launched from 2000 to 2005. The hopeless situation not only occurred because of the Israel-Palestine conflict, but was also caused by lack of unity between Palestinians themselves (Tuastad, 2014, pp. 70–84): The malfunctioning of the Palestinian Authority (PA) and divisions between the Hamas-led Gaza and Fatah-led West Bank constituted a deadlock to unity. Separate Palestinian governments are the reality even today, and Gaza is still physically closed off from the rest of the territory. The PA is regularly accused of corruption, and several of my informants complained about the confusion of whose interests they actually represent. This position is also reflected in Jakobsen (2010, p. 71), where the view is stretched to the extreme: "The next intifada will not be against Israel, but the PA". Tuastad (2014) largely attributes the explanation of this to the failure of the Palestinian Liberation Organ-

7. Oslo I was signed in 1993, Oslo II in 1995.

isation (PLO) and how, supposedly, they never managed the transition from being a resistance movement to becoming nation-builders. Building society takes a different mentality and different skills than fighting against the oppressor.

Hence, Palestinians have suffered under external occupation from Israel, but have also seen great divisions among themselves. These divisions are political, as well as economic, social and cultural. Additionally, they are divided by their attitudes toward the international community, who have played a significant role in the conflict since its inception.

NGO-IZATION OF SOCIETY AND DOMINANCE OF FOREIGN AID TO PALESTINE

Since the Oslo Accords, there has been a significant "NGO-ization" of the Palestinian society (Jad, 2007). The Music Collaboration must be read in this aid context, even though the Norwegian partner, CN, does not have the traditional features of an international NGO (Lewis, 2014). In the Palestinian territory, however, CN has taken roles and responsibilities similar to those of an international NGO, notably because project management and funding have been carried out within a *development* framework. The term "development" has traditionally been understood and measured in economic and structural terms (Schuurman, 2000; Escobar, 2001), yet the UNESCO report "Our Creative Diversity" (1996) offered fundamentally new perspectives in development thinking. It not only emphasized how culture conditions all human activity, but it also moved culture to the centre stage when meeting societal challenges of the post-Cold War era. As a direct consequence of this report and an increased focus on culture and development in international policy, UNESCO adapted in 2001 a Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity. This document was followed by a binding legal instrument from UNESCO (2005) in which it was stated that "Parties shall endeavour to integrate culture in their development policies at all levels for the creation of conditions conductive to sustainable development". In this framework, culture is understood both as a means and a goal in itself. The Music Collaboration between Palestine and Norway incorporates both these perspectives, and later in the text, I will return to the weighting of them.

FOREIGN AID: DESTRUCTIVE TO LOCAL IDEALISM?

Western powers have been particularly supportive towards cultural development in Palestine since the second Intifada. I will later explore potential strategies behind this investment and different ways of interpreting it, yet to give the reader

an idea about the amount of money put into the cultural development of Palestine from 2006 to 2010, Norway alone has granted 10 million USD to diverse cultural and sports-related projects (NORAD, 2011, p. xi). I have been unable to confirm the total sums of cultural assistance to Palestine from other Western countries, yet Jakobsen (2010, p. 94) states that "there are very few projects that are not in some way or another in collaboration with foreign NGOs or state departments […] It is my impression that there isn't much going on, at least in the cultural sphere, which is truly independent and locally controlled".

This needs to be understood in relation to a wider context of Palestine as one of the most donor-supported societies in the world. Much activity, i.e. provision of public services as well as social movements and civic life, is built on the support of foreign aid. At first glimpse, the proliferation of NGOs and inflow of foreign money may seem positive, yet Jad (2007) takes a different position and argues the contrary. According to her, the proliferation of NGOs and foreign support to Palestine possibly leads to a lower genuine civic engagement, an argument she illustrates by the progressive de-politicisation of the women's movement in Palestine: After the peace process in the 1990s, "the dual dynamics of statebuilding and NGO-ization led to more fragmentation and demobilisation of all social movements" (Jad 2007, p. 623). The post-Oslo agenda brought with it new structures, development discourses, projects and networks, all making Palestine more "donor-driven, reflecting a Western agenda and representing elite" (Jad 2007, p. 623). Looking to the field of music, this observation is confirmed by Moslih Kanaaneh in *Palestinian Music and Song* (2013, p. 7), who speaks about the "long-term negative impact on culture and socio-political situation of this shift in policy of Western aid to Palestinians" (see also El-Ghadban and Strohm, in Kanaaneh et al., 2013, pp. 175–200). A similar view is held by one of my informants, the director of a Palestinian NGO that works to improve teaching and learning in twenty public schools in greater Jerusalem:

> No one wants to give unless they are paid for it […] The consequence of this is possibly worse in the artistic field than other fields since the arts ideally should be the last stronghold of our [the Palestinian] people. Our culture shall not be dictated or paid for by foreigners. (Conversation in Ramallah, February 2017)

However, in spite of the Music Collaboration possibly being interpreted as destructive to local idealism, several informants add that funding for the arts is much needed in a context where the Palestinian government does not provide

huge finances in this field. They are hence positive to the support to artists and cultural infrastructure, but sceptical to the often-accompanying agendas of the funds.

MAPPING VALUES: INTRODUCING A FRAMEWORK OF WORTH

Where is Sabreen and its collaboration with CN situated in this landscape? To address this question, I find it useful to place the actions and discourses of the two partners into "orders of worth", a framework of justification established by the French pragmatic sociologists Boltanski and Thévenot ([1991] 2006). By employing six distinct categories, six "common worlds", namely, the *civic*, *inspirational*, *fame*, *industrial*, *domestic* and *market* worlds, I will discuss the partners' similarities and discrepancies in their way of apprehending the Music Collaboration and its value(s).[8]

SABREEN PLACED IN A FRAMEWORK OF WORTH

Sabreen started in the 1970s as an informal hub for musical artists and other creative individuals. It developed into Sabreen Association for Artistic Development, a Jerusalem-registered NGO from 1987 with the stated goals of conducting non-profit musical activities related to community building and education. In addition to widespread artistic collaborations and performances, Sabreen conducts instrumental teaching and workshops and is involved in several educational projects in Jerusalem and the West Bank in collaboration with the Palestinian authorities and international partners. Their adapted logo, "music and change", states the two orders where their discourse and activities are mainly rooted, namely, music belonging to the *inspirational* order, and societal change to the *civic* one. In all of Sabreen's endeavours, including the Music Collaboration with Norway, they have defined highly idealistic goals of how music activities can contribute to change in individuals and in society:

> *Learning by Music* will increase the cultural literacy of children in schools, an objective towards realizing greater personal identity development, character building, and creating platforms for free expression, all which contribute to the development of a learned, cultured and diversified generation who contributes to the building of the Palestinian nation, practices freedom and democracy. (Sabreen, 2016, p. 1)

8. This framework can serve either as a structure for mapping values or as a theory where the different forms of worth are set up against each other. In the current chapter, I rely on the former function.

Even though these claims are difficult to measure and might appear somewhat overly romantic, they find justification in academic literature (Catterall, 2009; Bamford, 2017) and in an external evaluation of the programme: "the project is relevant to the national priorities as stated in the MoE [the Palestinian Educational Ministry] strategy […] particularly promoting national identity and citizenship", a conclusion Millard (2015, p. ii) reached after in-depth interviews with teachers and educational supervisors in Palestine.

In addition to the mentioned justifications from the inspirational and civic worlds, there are also other values and interests in play: Sabreen needs to brand their organization, build a strong network *(fame* order) and engage with many donors in order to survive financially (*market*). The PA provides no state support to cultural NGOs; hence, Sabreen has to compete with similar organizations in the broader NGO landscape of Palestine. Some precision is, however, needed: Even though NGOs in general are "not for profit", it is not without a hint of truth that several informants (outside Sabreen) speak about "NGO-shops" (Palestinian NGO-leader; Palestinian social anthropologist, interviewed in Ramallah, February 2017). This relates not only to the high competition of funds, but also to the salaries of employees in the NGO sector. This includes the managerial team of Sabreen, where salaries are high compared to the general level of income in Palestine (Sabreen, 2016). The (development) *industry* order is also of great importance for Sabreen, as – in order to access Western project funds – they have to draft their projects according to the rules and policies of the development industry. It is key for them to master development discourse and the very specific concepts in use.[9] To assure balance and sufficient attention given to the different orders of worth, the organization has put in place a shared leadership structure: To handle the market and industry orders, they have a strong administrative director, George. He has been in this position since 1993 and holds expertise in dealing with large bureaucracies and international funding agencies. To assure legitimacy within the orders of inspiration and fame, they have a charismatic artistic leader, Said, who enjoys a high level of recognition among artists and musical institutions in Palestine (Palestinian social anthropologist; Palestinian actress and cultural activist, conversation in Jerusalem, March 2017). Said was until recently an appointed member of the Palestinian Cultural Fund, operating under the PA-run Ministry of Culture (MoC) in Ramallah. Additionally, both George and Said relate their activities to the civic order, yet from different angles.

9. See for example Cornwall and Eade (2010).

CONCERTS NORWAY AND THE MUSIC COLLABORATION PLACED IN A FRAMEWORK OF WORTH

In which "common world" did Sabreen and CN meet, and how did they go about drafting the Music Collaboration?

As a governmental organization promoting live music in Norway, CN was established in 1968 to serve the country's cultural rebuilding process after World War 2. At its core, it had a rights-based, dynamic and democratic view of music: By offering school concerts, public concerts and festivals all over Norway, "all who could crawl and walk in Norway would be exposed to live music. The goal was to strengthen national culture and unity through joint experiences and access to high quality music" (former director of international collaboration in CN, interviewed in Oslo, November 2016). The concerts organized by CN aimed at reflecting the culture of Norwegian society, and with the arrival of numerous immigrants during the 1970s and 1980s, the repertoire was expanded with musical expressions from Asia, Africa and South America. In order to build knowledge about these musical cultures, a team from CN travelled widely to countries in (what is now termed as) the global South in order to collect musical material, to network and to invite musicians to collaborative projects in Norway. In 1992, CN established a multicultural music centre in Oslo (*Norsk Flerkulturelt Musikksenter*), and around the same time, they established the first World Music Festival of Scandinavia, *Verden i Norden*,[10] in 1994. CN had good connections to the educational world: From 1989 to 1992, a three-year musical research project was conducted in collaboration with Oslo University, the *Resonant Community*. Based on exposure to various music cultures, they found significant results in identity formation and the activity level of immigrant pupils in the Norwegian school system (Skyllstad, in Urbain, 2008, p. 181). Launching around nine thousand concerts per year, CN had solid expertise in production and distribution of various concert formats, with a specific focus on children as the main target group. They furthermore enjoyed large networks in the arts and in education that were of interest to Sabreen. Hence, when the first project proposal was jointly drafted in 2002 after a visit by CN's director to Palestine, both parties expressed that this was done with the goal to mutually enrich each other in an inspirational "art world". The art world is defined by Becker ([1982] 2008, p. x) as "the network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produce(s) the kind of art works that art world is noted for". This perspective offered an opportunity for acting as equals in development, or rather

10. This festival exists as an independent foundation today under the name *Oslo World.*

"lifting the collaboration out of development" (administrative head of Sabreen, conversation in Bethlehem, February 2017), as the partners had mutual interest in artistic exchanges, education and civic dialogue. They were, of course, constrained by their respective contexts, stereotypes and the different positions in the MFA/development system, one being the "expert organization from the North" and "agent of the West", the other "a struggling art organization in an occupied territory" (administrative head of Sabreen), yet the joint values they saw in musical activities and music education and the expertise they possessed in the art world stood out as superior to their respective roles in the development system. Anchoring the project primarily in the art world, and not in the narrow framework of development, opened up a range of alternative doors for the collaboration, a perspective that coincides with what Stupples argues (2011, p. i):

> [T]he critical agency of art in the South lies in its ability to stand as an alternative imaginative space to development, one not reduced to development's crises and deficiencies, and one from which alternative cultural imaginings can be constructed by those usually framed as the "subjects of development".

In interviews, employees from Sabreen and CN have shared that they perceive music as a path to human flourishing and a tool to form and negotiate identities. Throughout the collaboration, the partners have been curious about each other and what music could mean in different (North and South and conflictual) contexts. They emphasize "music as a tool for positive change" (CN project leader of the Music Collaboration with Palestine, interviewed in Oslo, November 2017), yet exactly *what* this change may look like or *how* "musical systems offer the same rules for everyone" (administrative head of Sabreen) remains unspecified. At the risk of revealing cleavages between the partners, they stick to a general and somehow romantic language of music as an ultimate tool for creativity and unity. They seem to avoid speaking about music as resistance (see below), and highlight this art form as an aesthetic resource, a psychological, educational and relational tool. Sabreen and CN seem to make no distinction between high and low culture as propagated by, for example, Bourdieu (1984), and were open to include *any* musical genre in the Music Collaboration. The emphasis has nevertheless been on traditional Arabic music and folklore. I will come back to this choice in the last part of this chapter, yet my main purpose of bringing it up in this paragraph is to show that there seems to have been no agenda from CN's side to impose a musical agenda of the West, no specific "missionary strategy" (Beckles-Willson, 2013, p. 371) where musical forms of the West prevail against local forms of music.

THE VALUES OF PROFESSIONAL AND PERSONAL RELATIONS

In 2017, CN ended its engagement in Palestine due to a new mandate from the Norwegian Ministry of Culture (Kulturtanken, 2017). However, in spite of the organizational commitment ending, regular contact still occurs between individuals in the two organizations. Friendships and loyalties beyond the project parameters have been forged. The image of CN employees as faithful partners with "a strong heart for [their] friends in Palestine" (former director of international collaboration in CN; CN project leader of the Music Collaboration) is recurrent, both among project coordinators who have been involved over many years and among short-term staff who have either been on shorter professional trips to Palestine or worked with artists from Sabreen in Norway. There seem to be a strong sense of solidarity, in which no one – including myself after two fieldwork experiences in Palestine – is left unmarked by the situation. This corresponds with the highest good in the "domestic world", where loyalty and mutual respect are key values. CN's international director retired in 2016 but has remained in an unpaid advisory position to Sabreen. Here he explains the reason:

> Once you have been in those areas and seen the conditions under which the population live and make music, it is difficult to look at this as merely a job. I have seen the hopelessness of our partners and their families. I have seen how much great talent and huge potential that lay enclosed behind this big wall. I have seen their good and hard work […] I say to myself, whatever I can do to continue my support, I will do it. (former director of international collaboration in CN)

He further emphasizes that working with Sabreen, for him, is not a matter of looking at them as "underdeveloped". For the former director and other informants in CN, the real issue is to "relieve pressure […] showing that someone out there cares about their conditions" and, of course, as mentioned earlier, "to develop artistically interesting and relevant partnerships" (former director of international collaboration in CN).

It derives from this that, rather than being subjects of development (and development's crises and deficiencies), Sabreen and CN have established a relationship marked by respect, equality and recognition for each other's competencies in the art world. There is strong solidarity between the partners. Through the Music Collaboration, Sabreen has had access to CN's toolkit of skills and networks. CN gained valuable access to high-quality Arabic musicians who have toured Norwegian schools and participated in CN programs abroad since 2002. The "paternalism of partnerships" (Baaz, 2005), observed in varying degrees in most develop-

ment projects, is subverted by the reciprocity of the partners and the way the stakeholders of the Music Collaboration perceive each other and work "hands-on" together. More than a one-way experience where expertise is transmitted from the North to the South, the Music Collaboration appears as an exploration of human relationships, of musics (yes, in plural!), and can in this way be seen as an alternative and valuable addition to traditional narratives of development.

MUSIC AND THE CONFLICT(S)

Returning to Georgina Born's statement about the context being "folded into the musical experience" (in Boeskov 2017, p. 1), this next section will focus on the musical content of the programme, i.e., artistic considerations and genre choices of the Music Collaboration, as well as their intersection with political dilemmas faced in this specific context: How strong is the conception of "music as resistance" compared to the already mentioned narratives about inspirational partnership and art as a strategy for international development?

TO BE OR NOT TO BE AN ACTIVIST?

Prior to the collaboration with Norway and other Western donors, Sabreen functioned as an independent artist collective with one leg in the West Bank and one in East Jerusalem from the early 1980s. It was started during a decade marked by much disappointment among Palestinians. Lost hope and revolutionary spirit characterized their first CD release, "Smoke of Volcanoes" (1984). When the first Intifada started, Said, artistic director of Sabreen, was in his studio and immediately started to compose music. The turmoil eventually led to the release of a second album, "Death of the Prophet", in 1987. Their third album, "Here Come the Doves" (1994), was coloured by high hopes after the Oslo Accords. With the lack of political follow-up, however, a period of disillusion followed, and "Where to?" was released in 2000. After that, Said talks about "paralysis", both in musical sound and style: "When you are paralysed, you cannot do anything. This is why it was particularly good to start the collaboration with Concerts Norway in that period. We got new inspiration and musical friends" (artistic manager of Sabreen, interviewed in Jerusalem, March 2017).

Throughout their history, Sabreen has both delivered explicit political musical work against occupation and conducted educational and community music activities without explicit political content. Is it possible, then, to divide Sabreen's music into one strand that deals with resistance and another strand dealing with community music and education? To determine this, we need to take a closer look

at how resistance is understood and defined. For Karen Abi-Ezzi, "resistance addresses fixed, dominant structures, which through their hegemony constitute the status quo" (in Urbain, 2008, p. 99). Occupation has been the status quo of the Palestinian people for more than sixty years. For Omar Barghouti, a well-known choreographer from Ramallah, "resistance to occupation is the very mode of resistance of people under occupation, shaping and determining all aspects of their lives and all components of their culture" (in Kanaaneh et al., 2013, p. 9). Moslih Kanaaneh argues further in this direction and proposes that the life of an occupied population is inherently comprised of two interrelated components: Subjugation to occupation and resistance to it. "Resistance can be direct and active, or indirect and passive" (Kanaaneh et al., 2013, p. 8). This broad perspective implies that there must be a range of possible forms of resistance. Physically violent demonstrations, strikes, boycotts and refusals to pay taxes are the most visible ones, yet culture in general, and music in particular, are also seen by many as a powerful and symbolic means to stand up against the external oppressor. The following excerpts from the song "Ow Baaden" (which translates as "Now What?"[11]) exemplifies a musical work by Sabreen where they ask explicit political questions:

> You closed off the streets by the hundreds / you sprayed the youth with water
> You killed one thousand, two thousand and more / then what?
> You filled the land with walls, with settlements and arrested children, young men and women / every day new collusions, decisions, conspiracies / and then what? […]
> You are God's chosen people, you portray us as people who ride donkeys
> Oh donkey, help them understand we will not leave this land / and then what?
> We were a people at peace with ourselves / no one among us used to be rude […]
> The story carries on from one generation to the other / It's almost as if you were watching a movie / The same one, for one hundred years a hundred times a day […] And then what?
>
> (Sabreen, 2015)

The performance and use of this kind of activist music is, however, something that does not fall under the mandate of the Music Collaboration with Norway: "If this musical material was used in music education and spread in schools", says a CN project leader, "we would be taking a political role we do not wish to have. As a state-sponsored Norwegian project, we cannot be activists".

11. English subtitles are available in the video on YouTube (Sabreen, 2015).

This statement is interesting for several reasons, the main one being the distinction between the political and the non-political in this context. If we are to follow Barghouti and Kanaaneh's definition of resistance, there can be no such distinction as "music produced under occupation is inevitably music of resistance" (Kanaaneh et al., 2013, p. 9). Perhaps this is more about the fact that, as Beckles-Willson (2013, p. 254) suggests, the "political" in the Palestinian context has negative connotations, whereas "unpolitical" is seen as positive from a Western partner's point of view? Since the Norwegians have expressed their solidarity with the Palestinians on many other occasions, and officially support a two-state solution (Solberg et al., 2018), it seems surprising to write off the political aspect in the musical activities in schools, yet it is understandable if seen as a "product of a context in which anything political has become negatively loaded to the extreme" (Beckles-Willson, 2013, p. 254).

IDENTITY BUILDING AND MUSICAL SKILL TRAINING IN SCHOOLS

Identity-work (Stokes, 1997; Small, 1998; Biddle & Knights, 2007) and music education as skill enhancement (Catterall, 2009; Bamford, 2017), on the other hand, seem more palatable than politics, and eventually this is what is most emphasized by the Music Collaboration: "Palestine has a rich cultural heritage and Palestinian arts and culture play a significant part as markers of national identity. In the Palestinian people's struggle towards self-government and independence, a cultural expression plays an important role" (Sabreen, 2007). How is this translated, musically, to the Music Collaboration's activities in Palestinian schools? Let me share one example from a school concert I attended in Bethlehem in 2017:[12]

> There are three musicians in a room filled with about forty girls and their female teachers. They around eight years old and radiate expectations through their shy smiles. On the wall there is a large portrait of former PLO leader and Palestinian hero Yasser Arafat, there are letters and artwork that the pupils themselves have made. Shafeek (qanon), Mundir (vocalist) and John (percussion) from Sabreen ask for silence. The girls are obedient. The musicians start by showing their instruments. John, for example, states that the dharbuka is rectangular, not round. The children laugh and scream to tell him that he is wrong. The musicians then ask the kids whether they know what various traditional instruments are called.

12. I attended two concerts with the same three musicians. NG, assistant administrative director of Sabreen, was also present, in addition to AM from Concerts Norway and myself.

According to the new curriculum in Palestinian schools, the one the Music Collaboration has contributed towards making, there are certain traditional instruments that the pupils shall know how to name. The humorous exchange between John and the children serves as a test of whether they have learned what they were supposed to. The performance then continues:

> The musicians open the concert with a folk tune, telling the story of a "Girl waking up in the morning / rubbing her eyes / birds singing / she has to go to school / now, we are going to sing / handsome boy". It seems to resonate familiar images in the pupil's heads. The next song is about the olive trees of Palestine, also a traditional song. Everybody knows it. In addition to the forty girls in the classroom, there are now about forty more standing in the door, all joining the song. The teachers participate actively with the kids. Then follows a range of songs in the same genre, before "Ami Ba Masoud" (My uncle Masoud) closes off the session. This is a song that also involves physical exercise: "My uncle Masoud has a big stomach / He eats a lot, but will never get full / 50 eggs, 12 marmalades …" While the song continues, the pupils participate with movements, touching their stomachs, heads and so on.

This school concert reflects an effort to touch the pupils by presenting children's songs mixed with nostalgic images of family, daily life and nature in Palestine. Recognizing the ways in which musical practices are imbricated with social dynamics (Hesmondhalgh, 2014, p. 4) is a key to understand the logics behind the music class conducted by the three musicians from Sabreen. This is community and identity building in practice: Within the frames of national education, these musicians maintain tradition, and they pass on the Palestinian musical legacy to younger generations. However, things are not that simple. In the group of teachers and pupils, there are Palestinians of various backgrounds. Palestinians are, as pointed out earlier in this chapter, not a unified group. Not socially, not economically, not religiously or culturally. In spite of the common experience of being under Israeli occupation, their sense of identity differs, an experience that Boeskov (2017) accounts for in his writings about music education in a Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon:

> It is a clearly formulated goal for the Palestinian organisation running the music program that the Palestinian children through music and dance are taught what it means to be Palestinian, that they learn to be proud of their national and cultural identity and to identify with the fight for the return to

> the lost homeland. The musical practice contributes in this way to the reinforcement of certain ideas, values and attitudes towards important social and cultural issues. However, to an outsider at least, it seems that the musical practice also indicates rather narrow boundaries to what feelings and versions of Palestinian identity that can be legitimately expressed. (Boeskov, 2017, p. 2)

Against the backdrop of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, Palestinians have again and again had to emphasize their unity: "there was no such thing as Palestinians … They did not exist" (Golda Meir, Israeli prime minister from 1969 to 1974, cited by Alajaji, in Kanaaneh et al., 2013, p. 98). Yet, unless complexity is accounted for and integrated into musical activities, there seems to be a missed opportunity to capture nuances and integrate them into a future peaceful coexistence.

On the other hand, skill training in music, i.e., educational training happening in parallel to the identity work, provides concrete (yet very basic) competencies that can be used for many purposes. Mastering an instrument or reading notes are competencies that students and teachers can use to express their own creativity, manage emotional stress or enhance social interactions with others. These are tools that they, in their turn, can use to either align with the proposed version of what it means to be Palestinian or invent new versions that resonate better with how they feel about themselves and their community. By giving them skills to enjoy and create just *any* music, I argue, music education in this context builds the "capacity to aspire" (Appadurai, in Rao & Walton, 2004, pp. 59–84).

"YOUR CULTURAL RIGHTS ARE FULFILLED – YOU ARE FREE?"

The notion of sharing creative tools and providing the freedom to express oneself musically is the last point I wish to touch briefly upon in this chapter. There is something paradoxical (and slightly schizophrenic?) about this form of music intervention in the Palestinian society, paid by foreign aid. In spite of the notion of partner equality and all the benefits music education seems to bring to individuals and the community, one uncomfortable question remains: "Through cultural interventions and sponsorships, the Westerners tell us: Your cultural rights are fulfilled, you are free. They want to tranquilize us by supporting cultural movements […] drive youth into culture so that they don't protest or do politics" (Palestinian NGO leader).[13] Is this so?

13. Similar views are also expressed by two other informants: a Palestinian social anthropologist and a Palestinian filmmaker and producer.

This statement can be interpreted as an extension of the idea of development aid as an anti-politics machine (Ferguson, 1990), where the focus is shifted from development *per se* to the motives behind development: Who does it? On which grounds? Whom does it really benefit? A former NORAD[14] representative, who worked for Norway in Palestine when the Music Collaboration was launched in 2002, highlights that their main intention to support this project was to nourish contacts between Palestinian and international cultural actors. Building cultural competence, infrastructure and networks was considered an important part of Palestinian state building and for the two-state solution supported by Norway. She nevertheless acknowledges that the current criticism from the Palestinian cultural community has a certain validity, even though she does not recognize herself or the Norwegian MFA intentions in this: "Sadly, with the lack of a permanent political solution, possibly the best we can do is to work towards the fulfilment of Palestinian cultural rights. I consider the collaboration between Sabreen and CN successful in this manner" (former NORAD representative to Palestine, conversation in Oslo, February 2018).

CONCLUSION

The annexation wall surrounding the Palestinian territories is not only a geographical condition; it also "occupies a symbolic function inside people's heads" (administrative head of Sabreen). An international Music Collaboration in this context appears as a strategy for (*civic*) relief and resistance: By focusing on Palestinian identities and musical legacies passed on to the young generation, the Music Collaboration has contributed to resisting the external occupier. By teaching musical skills and building the capacity to aspire, the project has provided teachers and students with tools to address walls inside their minds.

A second narrative is rooted in an (*inspirational*) art world in which likeminded artists and organizations meet. Their motivations and justifications are primarily artistic in the sense that passion and musical professionalism are what unite them. Palestinian and Norwegian partners make cooperative efforts towards cultural production and are bound primarily by artistic excellency and opportunities, not primarily for activist purposes.

This stands both in contrast to and together with the third narrative, namely, a (*development*) industrial narrative where the Music Collaboration takes place in and is conditioned by an international aid context and a bigger picture of Western foreign policy.

14. Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation.

I argue that these narratives are tightly interwoven: Music and music education in Palestine cannot be disconnected from resistance, and even though activism was never CN's main intention, the collaboration has nevertheless fostered solidarity and political engagement. Framed by a Norwegian development aid policy, the project has aimed to fulfil Palestinian cultural rights. Yet, in the absence of a permanent political solution in Palestine, it is difficult to see how this project can *really* make a difference. The cement will probably not soften, and the wall will not fall even if drums are played day and night in Palestine. This reality notwithstanding, the redemption – the soothing – provided by musical training and practice should not be underestimated in this context, nor should the connection between Palestinian children and their heritage. The democratic state the Palestinians hope to build relies on an educated population, and using music in this regard offers education and skills that make this dream more possible (see also Millard, 2015, p. 29). In this perspective, for all its ambiguities, music appears to be a useful strategy.

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LIST OF CITED INFORMANTS (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE IN TEXT)

Director of a Palestinian NGO that works to improve teaching and learning in twenty public schools in greater Jerusalem.
Palestinian social anthropologist at Birzeit University.
Palestinian cultural activist and actress from Jerusalem.
Former director of international collaboration in CN (1993–2016).
Administrative head of Sabreen.
CN project leader in charge of the Music Collaboration with Palestine from 2016.
Artistic manager of Sabreen.
Palestinian filmmaker and producer.
NORAD representative who worked in Palestine when the Music Collaboration was launched in 2002. Current job as MFA envoy to an African country.

THE SOUND OF RECONCILIATION? MUSICAL AND SOCIOCULTURAL HARMONY IN THE SRI LANKA NORWAY MUSIC COOPERATION (2009-2018)

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Abstract

This article presents findings from the Sri Lanka Norway Music Cooperation (SLNMC, 2009-2018) launched immediately after a twenty-four year long civil war in Sri Lanka. The project responded to a stated need of rebuilding a fractured society and re-establishing relations between Sinhala and Tamil populations of the island. The SLNMC comprised school concerts and public concerts, music education, heritage documentation and digitalization, in addition to skill training for musicians and technicians, festival organizers and other actors in cultural life.

The article offers a critical phenomenological approach to the concept of *harmony*, where both phenomena of musical and socio-cultural harmony are displayed and discussed in relation to each other. I set out to investigate whether harmony in the SLNMC was a taken for granted, ´dead metaphor´ or an actual creative and impactful tool for implementing musical activities in a post-war context. Theoretically, my point of departure is Howell's conceptual investigation of harmony in multicultural musical projects (Howell, 2018) and specifically in the South-Asia context (Howell, 2019). I have combined elements from her framework with Sykes (2011 and 2018a) as well as insights from my own research data to present a schema of three musical and three socio-cultural definitions of harmony paired and discussed in relation to each other. In conclusion, I argue that attention to various types of musical and socio-cultural harmony can cast new light on existing art for reconciliation-practices as well as generate fresh and fertile views on how to conceive, implement and assess such initiatives in the future.

Keywords

Sociocultural processes, Harmony, Sound, Sri Lanka, Reconciliation

According to Lakoff & Johnson ([1980] 2003), metaphors are neither merely illustrative, nor purely poetic ways of designating a phenomenon, but they have materialistic consequences and are of key importance when we try to make sense and acting in the world. ´Harmony´ is one such concept, frequently employed to illustrate how the world is supposed to be. Originating from the musical field, the metaphor is commonly – and often uncritically – claimed to designate ideal relationships in the sociocultural realms. It is frequently connected to a multiculturalist conception of unity in diversity, of respect and acceptance of cultural differences in society.

In this article, I critically explore how the metaphor of ´harmony´ has played out in the Sri Lanka- Norway Music cooperation (2009-2018, hereafter SLNMC). Launched immediately after a twenty-four year long civil war in Sri Lanka, this development-funded project responded to a stated need of rebuilding a fractured society and re-establishing relations between the majority Sinhala and minority Tamil ethnic groups who had fought for decades. The study offers a critical phenomenological approach to the concept of harmony, where both phenomena of musical and socio-cultural harmony are displayed and discussed in relation to each other.

I set out to investigate whether harmony in the SLNMC was a taken for granted, ´dead metaphor´ or an actual creative and impactful tool for implementing musical activities in a post-war context. I have divided my findings into six categories, namely three musical and three socio-cultural notions of harmony, with pairs corresponding to each other. I argue that attention

to various types of musical and socio-cultural harmony can cast new light on existing art for reconciliation-practices (such as the SLNMC) as well as generate fresh and fertile views on how to conceive, implement and assess such initiatives in the future.

Before unpacking the metaphor and sharing my analysis, I start by giving some basic information about the SLNMC. Secondly, I present my research profile and methodological reflections prior to an overview of relevant literature crossing the disciplinary fields of musicology, applied ethnomusicology and sociology that I have used in the conduct of this study.

About the Sri Lanka Norway Music Cooperation

In 1983, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), a Tamil militant organization, waged a secessionist nationalist insurgency to create an independent state of Tamil Eelam in the north and east of Sri Lanka. This claim led to a civil war that lasted until May 2009, when the LTTE was eventually defeated by the Sinhala military during the presidency of Mahinda Rajapaksa (Sorbo, Goodhand, and Klem 2011). UN has stated that between 80.000 to 100.000 people died in what is one of Asias´s longest modern wars (Charbonneau 2009). Immediately after the end of conflict, the international community poured in development funding to the island. Donations mainly went to rebuilding of physical infrastructure and basic services to the population, but also aimed to support social and religious reconciliation between the previous belligerents. Between 2009 and 2018, through several successive project periods, the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) annually invested 211,000 USD (NOK at rate 9.4 to USD) in the SLNMC. They contracted Concerts Norway (hereafter CN), a Norwegian governmental music organisation, as the main responsible project owner, who again made sub-contracts with the local partners in Sri Lanka. The goal was to "… stimulate the performing arts in Sri Lanka, *thus contributing to the peace and reconciliation process*" (CN 2011). The programme included two flagship-festivals in Jaffna (situated in the mainly Tamil-populated north) and in Galle (in the Sinhala-dominated south), school concerts with Sri Lankan and international musicians, public concerts, open workshops, university masterclasses, international tours, study trips, training of sound engineers, regional exchange and last but not least; collection, documentation and dissemination of Sri Lankan folk music through a newly established Folk Music Conservation Center in Colombo. The project formally ended in 2018.

Research Profile and Methodology

The motivation behind this current study stems from my professional experience and background. As a previous employee of CN, I have been involved as a project manager in a range of music cooperation-projects with countries in the global South. At the end of my working period in CN, I sensed a growing discomfort with the notion of ´harmony´ in the SLNMC. Phrases such as "bringing together individuals and groups of different origin and working for peace and harmony" and "Harmony: Unity in diversity!" appeared and reappeared in project documents and media reports that we released. On the outside, it all looked great, but inside the project, the term was understood in ambiguous ways. In 2010, in Oslo, I recall a group of low-country Sinhala Buddhist drummers and mask dancers from southern Sri Lanka[1] were scheduled to share stage with Tamil singers and dancers residing in Norway. As

[1] The *yak tovil* tradition presented by this ensemble includes mask dancing and drumming to eradicate illnesses brought on by demons (Sykes, 2018: 21, Kapferer, 2005). The conducted several performances in Oslo, for example at the International Museum of Children's Art and at the Museum of Cultural History in addition to an outdoor concert at Oslo City Cultural Night along the prominent Aker river.

organizers, we were happy to offer a Sri Lankan cultural evening in the name of reconciliation; yet after the Tamil troupe had performed and the joint ceremony was over, they did not stay back to watch the Sinhala artists. For them, performing and then leaving was a way of respecting the organizers, while at the same time marking no will to communicate with and reconcile with the Other (Tamil vocal teacher in Oslo, personal communication 2018). I could have cited many such incidents in Norway and in Sri Lanka, both self-experienced and situations shared by informants in research interviews. I will come back to some of them in the findings section. Yet, my purpose of bringing the topic up here is to pinpoint some tensions of the SLNMC that sparked my interest in conducting this study.

My research data consists of field observations, interviews[2], program documents, reports, media clips and other written sources documenting the activities and musical choices of the SLNMC between 2009 and 2018. Through these sources, I sought to identify the discourses and actions of harmony in the SLNMC. Framing my study in a postcolonial context (McEwan 2019) and being conscious about my white, Norwegian middle-class background and the values, positionality and limits attached to that, I explicitly sought knowledge about the perception of harmony as an interrelated term in a cultural context (elaborated in section 5.3). Furthermore, it seemed obvious to involve the Sri Lankan stakeholders and participants in the *whole* research process, both as contributors of data as well as fellow investigators. In February 2018, we held a research forum in Colombo where my Australian colleague, Dr. Gillian Howell and I presented our preliminary findings from the SLNMC and asked practitioners, musicians, students and senior academics to share nuances and constructively discuss elements from our research that they would perceive differently[3]. I have also exchanged full text drafts with Sri Lankan academic colleagues and participants of the SLNMC in the process of writing this article. I do not claim this as a comprehensive study of harmony in the SLNMC, as I am well aware that given feedback is conveyed with a particular cultural backdrop consisting of a certain set of expectations, values and beliefs (Bass 2013: 17). I nevertheless hope that this article, by unpacking key significations of the harmony-metaphor in the SLNMC, can contribute to increased conceptual clarity and fruitful reflection on praxis.

Related Research

Before moving on to unpacking the harmony-metaphor, I will share a brief overview of what previous research says about harmony and its link to conflict transformation and reconciliation processes.

Academic interest in musical harmony as a combined metaphor cum tool in processes of conflict transformation is not new (Skyllstad, 1993 and 2008; Levinge, 1996; Cohen, 2005). In this last decade, the concept has however received increased research attention, with Urbain´s *Music and Conflict Transformation: Harmonies and Dissonances in Geopolitics* (2008) as a monumental contribution, crossing the disciplinary fields of musicology, ethnomusicology and sociology. Already in its title, the book plays with the fundamental concept we are here grappling with. Yet, instead of unpacking and problematizing the metaphor itself, it provides

[2] I was in SL with the sole purpose of conducting research for my PhD for a total of five months between October 2017 and March 2019. My main body of thirty-four informants consists of people who, in various ways, have been connected to the process of conceiving, implementing and reporting on this project. This choice is justified by empirical evidence that organizers are the key shaping force of music interventions (Howell 2018: 300). They are, however, not the only influential party, hence I have also included some participants (music teachers, music students and musicians) and other people from the Sri Lankan community with various links to the project.

[3] The forum was conducted on February 27th2018 at the Hector Kobbekaduwa Agrarian Research and Training Institute in Colombo from 9 am to 3.30 pm.

informative and though-provoking frameworks about music and empathy, music and its value in cross-cultural work and questioning music as a "universal language" (Cohen 2008, in Urbain: 26-39). The accounts of music´s link to politics and music as a tool for reconciliation in South-Africa (Gray, 2008: 63-77) constitute valuable inspiration for my subsequent analysis. Furthermore, Bergh (2010) eloquently writes about music in/ as conflict transformation to improve relationships between in and out-groups, yet he does not pick apart the harmony concept itself when analyzing his rich data sets from Sudan and Norway. Numerous studies about music and/ in /as social action have been published lately by members of the recently established SIMM[4] research network, where Geoffrey Baker is one of the founding members. In his study about El Sistema in Venezuela, one of the world´s most hailed and influential classical music education systems, Baker (2014: 208-209) argues that this organization is a prominent example of how the harmony-discourse masks power:

> The rather sinister idea of tuning up children to a single voice is hard to square with claims for democratic functioning, because democracies are not harmonious: they are diverse and discordant (…) The dream of a society that sings in unison, perfectly in tune, evokes the (mono) culture of conformity typically found in cults (Baker, 2014: 208).

Hence, the notion of harmony itself is pulled forward, discussed and challenged. Baker draws on scholars such as Jorgensen (2004) and Broyles (2012) to illustrate his point that not everyone must be fully in tune to achieve harmony: It is indeed of uttermost importance that the jarring notes also find their space in harmony. Last, but not least, one of the latest issues of the journal *Music and Arts in Action* is a special collection of articles that deals with keywords for music in peacebuilding. Here, Howell´s (2018) heuristic framework of harmony evoked in the context of conflict and social division offered important input for my analytical work. Howell proposes five core categories of harmony as (1) as order; (2) as balance; (3) as blend; (4) as moral behavior and (5) as conflict-avoidance, categories I will return to in my next sections.

To sum up learnings from the literature, one can say that mixing up the musical and sociocultural concepts of harmony up can at best be dismissed as a romanization. At worst, it can block genuine attempts of communication between people. Unless the concept is understood and integrated in all its complexity, poorly thought through attempts to create harmony can be counterproductive and even harmful (Cohen 2008, Harwood 2017).

HARMONY: UNPACKING THE METAPHOR

Metaphors are created when a term is transferred from one system or level of meaning to another. Yet, "metaphors are not only ornamental aspects of language, but also frame our thinking and doings in important ways" (Alvesson, 2017: 487). Metaphors are current in all kinds of languages, in all layers of society and fields. Yet, there are fields where the metaphors clearly have a more severe impact than others. Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 243) highlights the distinction between seeing a military attack as a 'rape', a 'threat to our security' and 'the defense of a population against terrorism' and, in a recent personal communication (23.08.2019) about metaphors in international aid and development, Desmond McNeill argues that the most frequent metaphors in development assistance lead to unjustified optimism; an optimism described as 'culpable' because it can foster bad policies and subsequent material practices on the ground.

When we transfer a metaphor directly and uncritically from one field to another, metaphors can give us tunnel vision. Instead of triggering creativity and encouraging counter-thinking, they

[4] The Social Impact of Making Music (SIMM) is an independent international scholarly association founded in 2015 at the University of Gent, Belgium. It includes a wide network of academic researchers and practitioners in the field of music and social research who meet regularly for symposia and conferences (SIMM 2019).

limit us by the fact that we give them a self-evident, literal meaning. As my research subsequently shows, the discourse of harmony in the SLNMC in some cases falls into this category, notably when it is referred to as something uniquely positive, easy and pleasant. Yet, I would also argue that the harmony-metaphor in the SLNMC is not definitively dead; I would rather (re)define it as *frozen*, justified by the fact that a conscious use of this metaphor still seems to have a vast potential. By engaging in a (self)critical and reflexive process, by questioning harmony´s very foundations, my aim here is to *defrost* the metaphor to lounge its critical potential for conflict transformation and reconciliation.

FINDINGS: HARMONY IN THE SRI LANKA NORWAY MUSIC COOPERATION

In this section, I present three musical and three socio-cultural definitions of harmony and establish a link between them based on activities and experiences of the SLNMC. Emerging from a grounded theory perspective based on my research data in dialogue with the above-mentioned literature, I have placed them in corresponding pairs that eventually constitute the structure of my analysis. These pairs are the following:

Types of musical harmony	Corresponding sociocultural model	SLNMC examples
Consonant (Western) harmony: "chords pleasing to the ear" (Shenasi, 2015: 12), "when notes blend together" (harmony, n.d.)	Harmony as sociocultural *blend* (Howell 2018: 5) where individuals or groups interact and blend in varying degrees with other individuals or groups (see also Barth 1969, Jenkins 2011: 1-19) Harmony as *conflict avoidance*: Glossing over difference (Howell 2018: 6, Leung et al. 2002)	Jaffna and Galle Music Festivals (JMF & GMF)
Dissonant (Western) harmony: Dissonant chords and notes foreign to the chord; which nevertheless forms a musical whole (Cohn *et al.* 2001)	*Critical engagement* with the Other (Higgins 2008, Gottesman 2018), educational dialogue and *reflexive inquiry* (Freire 2000, Reardon and Snauwaert 2011): Willingness to see, hear and interact with the Other.	University Musical Meeting Spaces (UMMS)
"Musical giving": Folk culture and ritualistic events where the harmony-conception is linked to the *function* (not primarily the sound) of the music.	Circulation of *gifts* between humans and gods (Sykes 2018a) to create harmony as *cosmic balance* (Howell 2018, Brindley 2012:16).	Folk Music Conservation Center

"AN EASY-LISTENING, PLEASING SOUND"

THE CONCEPT

Music Land is the name of a Disney classic from 1935. The short movie shows a map of Music Land before zooming in on the Land of Symphony. This is a classical-themed kingdom, where the princess, an anthropomorphized violin, gets bored with the slow ballroom music and sneaks out from the castle. Close to the Land of Symphony, across the Sea of Discord, lies the Isle of Jazz. This jazz-themed kingdom, with lively music and dancing, is led by the mighty King Baritone (sax). One day, his son, Prince Alto (sax), decides to cross the Sea of Discord and falls in love with Princess Violin. The story ends happily with a wedding presided over by a double bass minister, as the citizens of both lands dance on the newly built Bridge of Harmony and a rainbow with musical notes appears in the sky. This little gem of a cartoon exposes a condensed version of how we generally understand harmony, both in musical and sociocultural terms. In

music, harmony, i.e. playing more than one note at the same time, is what gives richness and texture to the music. Harmony is usually understood as chords pleasing to the ear, relying on a presumption of sweetness and pleasantness (Shenasi, 2015). By combining intervals in a scale "understood not as a series but a structure" (Cohn *et al,* 2001: 1), numeric proportions make the music appear blended and balanced. This is referred to as *consonant* sound.

A corresponding view within the sociocultural realm is a vision of harmony as *blend* (Howell, 2018: 5) i.e. a mix of diverse elements, such as different social roles, ethnicity, beliefs and opinions, towards a functional whole. This functional whole rests on notions of inclusion and multiculturalism, yet the obstacles to those ideals are manifold. I will come back to them in the discussion of my SLNMC example below. Harmony as *conflict avoidance* (Leung et al, 2002; Howell, 2018: 6) is also a relevant term as it implies that individuals subordinate their personal interest to those of the collective. Here, conflict is seen as a source of social disturbance rather than a constructive human process (ibid). This may contribute to uphold a certain intercourse and order, but as Leung et. al (2002) suggests, it risks creating a superficial type of harmony only, leaving unresolved disputes and emotions bubbling under the surface.

FIGURE 1: Stage performance JMF 2013 (Photography by the author).

JAFFNA AND GALLE MUSIC FESTIVALS

The SLNMC sought to create blended harmony by staging a multicultural festival, alternating between Galle in the (mainly Sinhala) south and Jaffna in the (mainly Tamil) north. This was multiculturalism at display with a strong symbolic effect: Pictures and live images from JMF and GMF went viral all over (and beyond) the island; yet due to unprocessed emotions and many things left unsaid, there is reason to question whether this model can actually lead to a just and sustainable peace.

The example I cited in my methodology section about the Sinhala and Tamil performers sharing (but not actually *sharing*) stage in Oslo can also be linked to this point: While the framing of the event was done in the name of harmony and "blend of cultures", what actually took place on stage that night was the diametrically opposite. All groups came, they did their musical parts, but the Tamils did not stay back to watch the Sinhala group perform. The musicians did not talk to each other, they did not socially mix, they only played their parts in the harmony show staged by the organizers (project manager notebook 2010; Tamil vocal teacher in Oslo, personal communication 2018).

Even though a stated intention of the JMF and GMF was to celebrate diversity, and that this was applauded by many, they also had to face a contradiction; the paradox of identity (Orjuela 2008: 51). After the war, there was a strategic need to name oppressed groups in order to fight subjugation. This "strategic essentialism" and has been criticized by postcolonial academics such as Spivak (1990) and Bhabha (1994) who says that this entails a risk of reinforcing stereotypes, not eliminating them; because the "… the subordinate group typically mobilizes around identity categories, which the dominant group has made salient" (Orjuela 2008). When naming and creating "boxes" for these groups in the setting of JMF and GMF, nuances seem to have been lost and instead of emphasizing the potential fluidity of the performer´s identity, a static version was confirmed.

Furthermore, the conditions of multiculturalism also, to a large extent, seemed to be defined by the majority, in this case the Sinhalese. In spite of Tamils (and other minorities) being involved, this sometimes appeared to be more for the sake of checking boxes of representativity rather than a genuine concern of blending the groups. Howell (2019) made the following observations during GMF in 2016, when she attended the joint rehearsals and performances of a female *thappu*-ensemble from Kilinochchi (north) and a traditional drumming ensemble from the national Performing Arts Academy in Colombo (south):

> The Kilinochchi group played a traditional Tamil drum, the thappu, traditionally played by a historically low-status caste. The young women (and one man) in the Kilinochchi group danced while playing. The Colombo group played a more diverse range of drums from the up-country and low-country traditions, including practices that enjoy significant state sponsorship as a 'national' representative artform of Sri Lanka. Therefore, there were some differences in the status that the wider social context attached to the groups' instruments (...) the Kilinochchi group did not travel with their own artistic director, while the artistic director of the Colombo group assumed a directorial role of the rehearsals and performance. The Kilinochchi group deferred most artistic decision-making to him, apart from their own drumming and choreography (...) there were moments of interaction and pairing taking place between the Kilinochchi and Colombo drummers, which could be said to be subverting the conventions of their performance traditions by mixing the distinctive Sinhalese and Tamil sounds together. However, it was a relatively superficial type of blending, highly suitable for a national festival but not attempting to signify a deeper form of exchange. (Howell 2019: 9-10)

Howell highlights how decision-making was dominated by the Colombo group's artistic director; how it was colored by the fact that the rehearsal space was the Colombo group's home base (and that the Tamils had to rehearse in a corner of the main room when they wanted to work on their own music) and how much of the performance time and the physical space on the festival stage was occupied by the Sinhalese drummers, something that do not suggest an equal or perfectly harmonious status between the two, even if this was the apparent intention.

"OH, THAT JARRING SOUND"

The violence of a civil war represents a human experience beyond apprehension. In this context, relying on an easy-listening version of the harmonic metaphor is almost like a mockery of the people affected by the conflict. The wounds are so deep, the trauma so profound. Even though it can function as a temporary relief; the artists and the audience truly seemed to enjoy joint musicking and dancing during the first editions of the GMF and JMF (confirmed by informants ASR, JRdS, SS and others during field interviews in 2017 and 2018), it seems obvious that a different kind of engagement with each other is needed to create more profound harmony and sustainable reconciliation after such dramatic events. My next section will introduce the reader to a notion of harmony that can potentially address these traumas. A *dissonant* understanding of harmony carries the prospective to name and integrate individual and sociocultural tensions and use them to improve relations between people from previously belligerent groups.

THE CONCEPT

In music there is not only consonant harmony; there are also dissonant chords where other, more complex intervals are used to create a jarring sound. The dissonance is produced by the simultaneous vibration of the air column at two frequencies that are not harmonically related – a timbral alternation. Dissonance adds richness and powerful tension to the music, but too much of it might make the piece hard to relate to. Finding the right balance is a fine task, frequently explored by avant-garde composers or by free jazz musicians, who commonly subvert the chords. There is also a distinction to be made between dissonant chords and notes foreign to the chord, a differentiation that gradually came to permeate Western compositional practice and music theory from the 18th century (Cohn *et al.* 2001: 4). The tension these elements adds to the music can immediately be heard by the listener, yet if their intended effect is to be understood, it somehow requires an awareness of the norms with which they conflict. The concepts of "harmolodics" introduced by saxophonist Ornette Coleman exemplifies this approach in the sense that he refused to relate to *one* tonal center, where tonal limitations, rhythmic pre-determination and harmonic rules would prevent music´s free expression. According to him, music in its free form holds the potential to heal suffering and pain: "when you are depressed, music seems to be a very good dose of light" (Coleman, 2008: 1:15-1:43). In the following, I will assess how this type of musical harmony eventually propagated light in the SLNMC.

UNIVERSITY MUSICAL MEETING SPACES

When a listener encounters an unknown musical expression, or a musical expression disliked, this can cause irritation or resistance. Yet, it can also lead to curiosity and an aim to explore and accommodate new expressions. Sociocultural relationships can be experienced in the same way. When we dear to deal with those unfamiliar sounds; dare to accept confusion, anger and resistance, it can indeed open us up to new perspectives and creative solutions we did not previously imagine

The University Musical Meeting Spaces is an SLNMC initiative that embodies such an understanding of harmony. The UMMS was launched in the last phase of the SLNMC as a direct consequence of an external evaluation report by Rambukwella & Fernando (2014). They recommended a more clear-cut vision of reconciliation activities as regular *meeting spaces* between citizens, hence the following was conceptualized by the SLNMC stakeholders in 2016: Selected undergraduate music students from four universities in Sri Lanka were scheduled to meet several times per year, alternating between four campuses in Jaffna, Kandy, Batticaloa and Colombo[5]. The host university was in charge of facilitating the meeting space and finding accommodation for the students, all of which, including food and transport, was paid for by the SLNMC. The meeting space itself comprised of a combination of lectures and a joint workshop based on a new theme each time. Examples of such themes were "life cycles" at Colombo University of Visual and Performing Arts in October 2017 and "festival songs and rituals songs" at the Swami Vipulananda College of Music and Dance in December 2017. The students were given ample time to socialize in between the work sessions and each weekend included one or several excursions in the city where the workshop was held. In Jaffna, for example, the students visited the renowned Hindu Nallur temple and in Colombo, they saw different landmarks of the capital. Cultural learning and friendship formation were at the center of the UMMS, something that, according to Howell (2016 and 2018) facilitate that reconciliation and harmony can be achieved. Through relationship molding and a recognition of what each individual/ university group brought to the table, the students found new ways to (re)harmonize. They relied on tradition, but similarly broke loose from it. In their workshops, their musical

[5] Colombo University of Visual and Performing Arts (UVPA), Jaffna University, Peradeniya University (Kandy) and the Swami Vipulananda College of Music and Dance (SVIAS, Batticaloa).

creations went beyond what was already known. According to Gottesman (2018), musical co-creation and dialogical practice of experimental learning aids the process of rehumanizing the other and encourages participants to take risks, "whether emotional, psychological, technical or physical" (Higgins, 2008: 391). By using methods widely employed in the community music field, the UMMS provided the students agency over their musical engagement and facilitated group debate to critically examine both musical and sociocultural issues. Creation of a common identity and common social values might gradually occur when such negotiation takes place and, as emphasized by Riiser (2010: 22):

> … music can have a formative role in identity creation while at the same time embodying prior identities in its production. In other words, there is a reproduction of identities, both ´new' and 'old'.

FIGURE 2: Screenshot of public Facebook-post from UMMS in Batticaloa, December 2017 (Reproduced by permission of Manoj Sanjeew).

The participants of the UMMS were selected on the basis of their motivation and skills of music and dance. Targeting these young future teachers and professionals in the music field, the UMMS created an opportunity to combine artform development (exploration of diverse harmonies in music) and stronger cross-community social relations (linked to sociocultural notions of harmony). Checking in with students who participated in one or several sessions of the UMMS almost two years after the last event, many of them are still in touch and have made

"friends for life" (UVPA student, personal communication. This was also emphasized by other students and teachers who took part in the project).

Steadily built on repeated encounters between young people eager to learn and share, musical skills and ample space for socialization, the UMMS stands out as a fruitful initiative of the SLNMC to promote in-depth, lasting relations in Sri Lanka post war.

MUSICAL GIVING AND RECEIVING: A SRI LANKAN TAKE ON HARMONY

This study about harmony in the SLNMC furthermore requires a critique of what we frequently term standard harmonic theory. Referring hitherto to a Western viewpoint with distinction between consonant and dissonant musical harmony, there is reason to question the relevance of this in the Sri Lankan context. Notwithstanding the fact that both Western classical music and Western popular music are present in the musical culture of the island, there seem to be an imbalanced cultural dominance of Western harmonic language when dealing with harmony overall. It is timely to raise questions about colonial/ postcolonial agency and heritage in harmony and how it might color such a project for reconciliation.

THE CONCEPT

Harmony may in fact be more than how the music actually plays out. This is not to claim that the sound has no significance; it does, but definitely not in the same way that we would evaluate it in the West. In Western harmonic language, we often speak about music as in or out of tune, yet this conception of "in tune" does not appear as particularly relevant to Sri Lankan traditional musicians who historically have operated according to a different system; a system that puts music's cosmic *function* and notions of *giving and receiving* first. The *berava*[6] drumming, for example (thoroughly discussed by Sykes 2018a), has ritualistic functions where music is used to get rid of evil spirits, sickness or to evoke blessings from the divine. It follows very distinct and complex patterns of grammar (Peiris 2018; Sykes 2018b, 2018c) that need to be carefully respected to achieve the desired purpose. In these rituals, the verbal or semantic aspects of the performance matter more than the actual "sound", but if the drum syllables or words are not pronounced (sounded) right, they lose their sense; they are incorrect. It literary makes sense to claim that the "devil is in the details" here, since any misperformance of the music risks angering the gods, i.e. creating disharmony: "the aesthetic or artistic symbolic processes are valued in accordance with their capacity to achieve balance and harmony in their formation or dynamic by means of their orientation to the Buddha Teaching" (Kapferer 2011: 132).

When we engage with Sri Lankan music on such ontological level, we also discover the importance of (percussion and voice) recitation in the Tamil *koothu* tradition, presented by the SLNMC on numerous occasions. These dance dramas, generally depicting scenes from ancient Hindu epics or Christian stories, are performed in village settings with no amplification technology used. The koothu artists are trained to cultivate the distinct sound of their own voice, employing no other singing technique than a high pitch in order to reach the entire crowd. For an untrained ear, the singing- and musical side of koothu can appear loud and monotonous, yet it holds very specific functions in the sense that it serves as communication and contributes to tying the audiences and deities together. It is entertainment, ritual harmony and historical awareness combined.

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[6] *Berava* is a caste which is considered as a low caste in Sri Lanka. Even if the rituals originally emanated from this caste, the drummers participating in these rituals today do not necessarily belong to the berava caste and Sri Lankans do not use the word 'berava' when naming the performance or the drummers. The performance is commonly referred to as 'Sinhalese traditional drumming performance', yet I consider this to be of too little academic precision in this article.

In this sense, both bereva rituals and koothu performances serve as a harmonic *gifts*; tools to bring humans closer to the gods, and also communities closer to each other, since the gifting of musical blessings have historically happened across lines of ethnic and religious enclaves in Sri Lanka (see Sykes 2011 and 2018a for useful accounts about this).

The Folk Music Conservation Center

Contrary to the music and identity-episteme current in today´s ethnomusicological and socially related music research, Sykes (2018a) contends that music in its essence is not about an internal self or a property of one´s own community; it is rather a gift *from* the gods or *to* the gods; from one community to another:

> Once we define some music as things that originated with and can (or must) be exchanged with nonhumans, and one we accept sonic efficacy as ontologically valid, certain musical traditions that the identity paradigm construes as belonging only to one ethnic or religious group emerge as having multi-ethnic or multi-religious history (Sykes 2018a: 48).

This is not the same as avoiding identity politics or denying the origin of a musical system. Based on Reed (2010) and various Sri Lankan sources (Kulatillake 1976 and 1991; Suraweera 2009), Sykes traces an authentic Sinhala musical style back over thousand years, clearly noting that it is *not* Tamil or Indian. Yet, he also contends that it is a "deeply heterogenous tradition that shows countless interactions with non-Sinhalas over the centuries" (Sykes 2018a: 35). The problem, according to him, arises when "music is conceptually taken out of exchange and reformulated as identity" (Sykes 2018a: 57). This has happened a lot over the years in Sri Lanka: The berava drumming, for example, has been appropriated by the Sinhala rulers to elevate Kandy as the cultural capital of the island and used to propagate the idea of an authentic Buddhist culture. Similarly, some Tamil musical expressions have been dismissed as "Indian", to say that the Tamils do not really belong on the island (artistic director of SLNMC, personal communication, 2017).

The Folk Music Conservation Center (FMCC), founded in 2011, set out to document, digitize and disseminate the variety and interconnections between the folk cultures of Sri Lanka. The center was based on an idea that musical roots play an important part in fostering pride and dignity among people of a *nation* (former CN Head of international projects, personal communication 2018, my emphasis), i.e. not only among members of distinct communities. As we have previously seen in this article, this same justification was also evoked when referring to the music festivals in Galle and in Jaffna. Why and how, in terms of harmony, was the FMCC initiative different from these festivals that also featured the traditional folk music and dances of the island? One key to interpretation here may be the how we understand and eventually emphasize the music and identity-episteme. In concerts and festivals, Sykes contends (2018a: 187), (cultural) "groups are defined first by difference and then put on stage and told to interact". He continues:

> While inter- ethnic collaborations through music are positive in the that they show to the world that supposedly opposing groups can respect each other enough to play music together, such collaborations may simultaneously project seemingly essential, insurmountable differences between them, even as they harness music to transcend those differences. The link between music and identity is part of the problem not the solution (Sykes 2018a: 186).

The FMCC was envisaged to accentuate the joint trajectories and similarities between many expressions of Sri Lankan music and dance. Its collection aimed to emphasize sameness in Sri Lanka rather than the division lines of its people. Digging into these archives and an interview with its chief producer Dilip Kumara (interviewed in Colombo, November 2017) reveal that this ambition largely seems to have been met: The employees of the archive have interviewed tradition bearers, documented ceremonies and rituals from all regions of Sri Lanka and have

also released several documentaries about the same. The basic collection now amounts to more than 17TB of sound and video material and is still growing. The FMCC is in fact the only SLNMC activity that has sustained after the end of contract with the Norwegian MFA in 2018, as the Sri Lankan Ministry of Culture has mobilized funding for its continued life and work. In March 2019, the FMCC released the CD "Sannaada" (translates as "music", but in a slightly broader sense than "sangeethaya"), where ten contemporary composers were encouraged to dive into the recordings of the FMCC. The process gave birth to ten pieces of newly made music, named by themes that can unite Sri Lankans across ethnic, religious, urban and rural boundaries[7]. In this album and its accompanying booklet, we can spot referential bridges between the material itself, its historical and contextual roots and its relevance for us today. Sometimes, these links are obvious, sometimes they appear to be more hidden; it is up to the listener to interpret the current signification of the music.

Regardless of which group you belong to, folk music and dance are rich expressions of joy and sorrow, hopes, aspirations and disappointments. This intangible heritage is closely related to routines of work, to religious rituals and key events in life such as birth, marriage and death. Folk music and dance also emphasize links between humans and nature, between earthly and heavenly forces, and in this sense, I argue that the FMCC seen through the lens of harmony as giving and receiving, harmony as *cosmic balance* (Brindley 2012, Howell 2019), offered more than a minor contribution to reconciliation in post-war Sri Lanka.

CONCLUSION

The fact that the metaphor of harmony is so little problematized may indicate that it has become a "dead" – taken for granted – metaphor that have lost its creative and imaginative meaning. Yet, my mapping and subsequent analysis of this metaphor has shown signs of possible internalizing and defrosting of the metaphor for implementing musical activities in a post-war context. It may have the potential to be a creative and impactful tool given the right circumstances.

The metaphor seems most fruitful for peacebuilding when stakeholders and participants engage with its critical potential and recognize the role of tension in both musical and socio-cultural harmony. Another relevant link between musical and sociocultural harmony, is the Sri Lankan "gifting" between communities and gods; emphasizing human links to nature and to a greater cosmos. It accentuates the importance of tuning in and turning towards and listening to each other to recognize that we share fundamental histories, conditions and challenges.

No matter which of these harmony-notions we choose to rely on, one primary condition for harmony as a living metaphor is certain: In order for harmony to function as a creative and impactful tool for musical activities in a post-war context, the *relational* aspect of the notes, the chords, the beats – the people – must not be ignored. We must exist in critical, yet compassionate, relation to each other; not in isolation, nor merely beside each other.

[7] "The villager´s life", "King of the Water", "Mother", "Earth and Freedom" are examples of titles from this collection (Folk Music Conservation Center 2019).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Summary of CN's international activities in 2012–2013

APPENDIX II

Information about the project sent to the Norwegian embassies and local partners and examples of consent

APPENDIX III

Individual information and consent: exchanges with Kulturtanken's director and questions shared prior to the interview

APPENDIX IV

Interview guide: Ministry of Foreign Affairs

APPENDIX V

Interview guide: CN project managers and local partners

APPENDIX VI

Summary of interaction with informants and key events attended for research purposes

APPENDIX VII

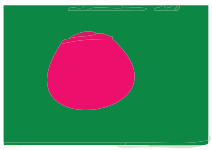
Arenas of pre-public presentation of research material

APPENDIX VIII

Short biography of the author

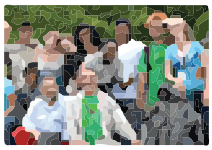
APPENDIX I: SUMMARY OF CN´S INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN 2012-2013

Aktivitetsoversikt og nøkkeltall

	Budsjett 2012	Nøkkelaktivitet
 RK tilstede fra: 2011 Aktuell kontrakt: 2011-2014 Landansvar: Solveig Korum (Anne Moberg)	1 250 000 kr	**Målsetning: "The goal of the programme is to promote cross-cultural understanding and strenghten the dialog beetween people through various musical activities."** Konserter og workshops i Bangladesh (2-3 norske turneer årlig) 1 årlig musikalsk besøk til Norge (folkehøyskole, festival eller skolekonserter) Utvikling av pilotprosjektet "Practice Space" i Bangladesh. Regional utveksling (musikalske grupper, ekspertise) i Sør-Asia. Digitalisering- og arkiveringsprosjekt i Dhaka Støtteordninger: (a) SUNO- baolsangere i nordområdene, (b) BITA: kunnskap og bruk av tradisjonell musikk i rurale områder. Studietur for ressurspersoner og partnere til Norge. Opplæringsprogrammer av RKs lokale partnere Årlig møte med ambassaden (MFA Dhaka)
 RK tilstede fra: 2012 Aktuell kontrakt: 2012-2014 Landansvar: Kjell Thoreby (Tom Gravlie)	2 492 000 kr	**Målsetning: "The goal of the programme is to strenghten the curtural cooporation and exchange beetween Brazil and Norway with a special focus on live music for children and youth."** Instrumentopplæring av ungdom i samarbeid med Barratt Due mus.institutt Skolekonserter til Brasil Skolekonserter og Barnas Verdensdager med brasilianske musikere til Norge (1-3 produksjoner årlig) Workshop og seminarer i begge land Utveksling av spesialister mellom landene Årlig møte med konsulatet (MFA Rio de Janeiro)
 RK tilstede fra: 2002 Aktuell kontrakt: 2008-2012 (2013) Landansvar: Solveig Korum (Kjell Thoreby)	3 829 170 kr	**Målsetning: " The overall goal for musical collaboration is to help create mutual understanding of and respect for our two countries' music traditions to help mutually strenghtening competance, infrastructure and exposure of both countries' music and music life."** Skolekonserter i India (2-3 årlige turner) Skolekonserter I Norge (2-3 årlig turner) Studieturer for musikere/ andre fagpersoner til India. Kulturskole-/folkehøyskoleturneer (1-2 årlig) Norske artister til indiske klubber og festivaler (Lakshminarayana Global Music Festival, Jazz Utsav, The Great Indian Rock festival, studentfestivaler, Blue Frog etc): 5-6 turneer årlig Indiske band til norske klubber og festivaler: 3-4 årlig Workshops i kombinasjon med turneer i begge land. Ekspert- og festivalbesøk. Traineeordninger. Kompetanseheving lydteknikk

	Budsjett 2012	Nøkkelaktivitet
		Oppstart av nye festivaler i India: India Music Week, Strings of the World Utvikling av India som regional hub for musikksamarbeidet i Sør-Asia. Konferanser for samarbeispartnere. Årlig møte med ambassaden (MFA Delhi)
 JORDAN RK tilstede fra: 2012 Aktuell kontrakt: 2012-2015 Landansvar: Kjell Thoreby (Tom Gravlie)	1 196 000 kr	**Målsetning: "The goal of the programme is to increase opportunities and environments for music-making and music learning within Jordanian schools as well as within the community, and enriching the society with live music with a specific focus on school concerts for children and youth"** Stimulere til og styrke musikkundervisning i grunnskolen i Jordan (samarbeid mellom Jordan Music Academy, Sabreen, RK) Skolekonserter i Jordan (5 UNRWA, 5 Latin Patriarch, 5 offentlige skoler) Utvikle eget skolekonsertteam (musikere) i Jordan. Skape eierskap hos utvalgte skoler til musikkprogrammet Musikalske sommerskoler for barn (1 gang i året, 1-2 ukers varighet) Opprettelse og drift av lokale musikklubber Skolekonserter i Norge (1-2 turneer per år) Årlig møte med ambassaden (MFA Amman)
 KINA RK tilstede fra: 2007 Aktuell kontrakt: 2012-2014 Landansvar: Anne Moberg (Kjell Thoreby)	1 700 000 kr	**Målsetning: "The goal of the program is to strengthen the cultural cooperation and exchange between China and Norway with a special focus on live music for children and youth and competance building".** Skolekonserter i Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzou – 3 turneer pr år Skolekonserter i Norge i regi av Akershus og Hordaland Fylkeskommuner og RK (2-3 turneer pr år) Children´s palaces i Beijing, Shanghai og Guangzhou i samarbeid med kultur-skoler i Akershus og Hordaland – musikerbesøk og workshops (1-2 besøk/år) Festivalsamarbeid, festivalbesøk Kompetanseoverføring lydproduksjon "Teachers in residence" program Nettverksamarbeid Workshops og seminarer Årlig møte med ambassaden (MFA Beijing)
 PAKISTAN RK tilstede fra: 2006 Aktuell kontrakt: 2011-2013 Landansvar: Anne Moberg (Kjell Thoreby)	823 000 kr	**Målsetning: "Enhanced cross-cultural understanding, based on the universal principles of peace, tolerance and harmony, revails between Norwegian and Pakistani people."** Skolekonserter i Pakistan (1 turné i året) Skolekonserter i Norge (1 turné i året) Familiekonserter i Norge Workshop i lydproduksjon i Pakistan Årlig møte med ambassaden (MFA Islamabad)

	Budsjett 2012	Nøkkelaktivitet
 PALESTINA RK tilstede fra: 2002 Aktuell kontrakt: 2009-2012 Landansvar: Tom Gravlie (Rådgivende rolle)	4 000 000 kr	**Målsetning: "The goal of the programme is increased opportunities and environments for music-making and music learning within schools as well as within the community, and an enriched national curriculum as well as enriched non-classroom activities with music and live performances for children in the Palestinian Territories."** Stimulere til og styrke musikkundervisning i 150 grunnskoler på Vestbredden i offentlige, UNRWA og Latin Patriarch skoler i samarbeid med Ministry of Education Teacher training program for lærerne i de deltakende skoleslag Utarbeide undervisningsmateriell og læremiddelpakker for 1-4.kl i de deltakende skoleslag Skolekonsertvirksomhet og community concerts (mer enn 400 konserter årlig) Musikalske sommerskoler for barn (1 gang i året, 1-2 ukers varighet) Opprettelse og drift av lokale musikklubber Regionale og internasjonale samarbeidsrelasjoner Årlig møte med den norske representasjonen
 SRI LANKA RK tilstede fra: 2009 Aktuell kontrakt: 2012-2014 Landansvar: Solveig Korum (Tom Gravlie)	2 000 000 kr	**Målsetning: "The goal of the programme is to stimulate the performing arts in Sri Lanka"** 2-3 årlige konsertserier med norske musikere på Sri Lanka. 1 årlig musikalsk besøk til Norge. Studietur for ressurspersoner (ekspertbesøk) og partnere til Norge. Regionale workshops og kartlegging av artister på Sri Lanka. Årlig festivaler: Galle Music Festival/ Jaffna Music festival. Støtteordninger: (a) Symphony Orchestra of Sri Lanka, (b) Chamber Music Orchestra of Colombo, (c) Oriental Orchestra Kompetansekurs lydteknikk Seminarer/ gjesteforelesning på universiteter og høyskoler på SL. Oppbygging av dokumentasjonssenter I Colombo. Årlig møte med ambassaden (MFA Colombo)
 SØR-AFRIKA RK tilstede fra: 2000 Aktuell kontrakt: 2011-2014 Landansvar: Anne Moberg / Tom Gravlie (Rådgivende rolle)	4 900 000 kr	**Målsetning: "The goal of the project is to stimulate live music in South Africa through collaboration and catalytic initiatives".** Concerts Circuits i Sør-Afrika Inkludere norske musikere og musikere fra SADEC regionen i virksomheten Skolekonserter i Norge og Sør-Afrika Kompetanseutveksling Nettverk- og partnerskapssamarbeid Årlig møte med ambassaden (MFA Pretoria)



TALENT

RK tilstede fra:
1995

Aktuell kontrakt:
2011-2013

Landansvar:
Anne Moberg
(Solveig Korum)

UTENRIKS-
DEPARTEMENTET

RK ansvar siden:
2007

Aktuell kontrakt:
2012 (Årlig søknad)

Ansvar:
Anne Moberg /
Solveig Korum

Budsjett 2012	Nøkkelaktivitet
600 000 kr	**Målsetning: "Prosjektets hovedformål er å hjelpe fram unge, dyktige musikere fra utvalgte land til å utvikle seg både musikalsk og menneskelig gjennom samarbeid med andre unge musikere under veiled ning fra profesjonelle ledere".** Samarbeid med Førdefestivalen om talentsamling for 9 ungdommer (3 norske, 6 utenlandske) + konserter under Førdefestivalen 1 årlig gjenbesøk til et land i Sør
100 000 kr	**Målsetning: "De årlige samlingene skal sikre kontakt mellom aktørene og gi mulighet for nettverksbygging og nyttige utvekslinger."** 1 årlig samling for norske aktører som driver musikksamarbeid med land i sør arrangeres av RK på vegne av Utenriksdepartementet.

APPENDIX II

INFORMATION ABOUT THE PROJECT SENT TO THE NORWEGIAN EMBASSIES AND LOCAL PARTNERS

Fra: Anne Moberg <am@kulturtanken.no>
Dato: onsdag 19. oktober 2016 15:00
Til: [two NRO-officers in Palestine and administrative head of Sabreen]
Kopi: [artistic head of Sabreen, two administrative assistants of Sabreen, Norwegian ambassador, two officers of MFA central cultural section and myself]
Emne: Information - PhD thesis Solveig Korum /Concerts Norway - 2016-2020

Dear partners and musical friends in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs,

As some of you know already, our previous Project Manager Solveig Korum has received a grant from the Norwegian Research Council to prepare a doctoral thesis about topics related to our activities. The working title of the thesis is "Practice and Power: A Study of Organizational Cultures of Two Multi-Agency Musical Development Projects in Palestine and Sri Lanka." Research will be conducted between August 2016–June 2020.

Apart from the official project documents, strategies, reports, and external evaluations, she will study the organizational cultures of these collaborative projects, looking into the *processes* that led to these activities. She will assess how different values and meaning have become apparent (and gradually changed) during the project implementation and also how these activities have eventually led to organizational change. See the attached PDF for a short summary of key concepts and research questions as they stand per today (still early in the research process).

To enable Solveig to gather data for her research, Concerts Norway has given her full access to our archives and premises. Solveig will also follow the project managers in our international department in their daily work and be involved in correspondence and meetings with partners.

Solveig is planning to do fieldwork in the two countries. As per today, she is aiming at visiting Sri Lanka/Sevalanka in November–December 2017 and Palestine/Sabreen in February–April 2018. These are just tentative dates that need to be further confirmed with the local partners.

What also needs to be clarified is a formal consent from you all that you accept that research will be conducted in the ongoing programs in Sri Lanka and Palestine and that Solveig will be given access to (written and oral) correspondence between the various actors in these projects. She will not be involved in any form of project management, but rather observe and take note of the conversations, activities, and work relations between parties in the projects.

As the new Director for International Cooperation in CN, I look at this as a unique opportunity to understand more about the work CN conducts outside Norway, how we relate to each other as partners, and how we are learning from each other in a collaborative process. I encourage Solveig in her work!

If you have any questions or objections against giving Solveig full access in these projects, kindly share this with me or with the Project Managers (Kjell and Monica) you relate to in your daily work.

Thanks and warm regards,
Anne Moberg
Director International Department

EXAMPLES OF CONSENT FROM NRO AND PARTNERS

On Thursday, October 20, 2016, [senior officer of the NRO in charge of cultural cooperation] wrote:

Dear Anne,

Thank you for your email. We are happy to understand that the project is of interest to your colleague Solveig Korum and we welcome the idea of having it as a topic for her doctoral thesis. We do agree that the project is unique in its approach, partnership arrangement and development. It is important to stress that the project at its inception was focusing on music and has evolved throughout the phases where the project now utilizes music as a tool in education.

We would like to inform of our formal consent to use the project as a case study in the doctoral thesis. We have no objection to give Solveig access to written documents. It will be our pleasure also to meet her to further discuss the project.

Regards,

[name]

Senior Program Adviser

Representative Office of Norway To the Palestinian Authority

Fra: [administrative head of Sabreen]
Dato: søndag 23. oktober 2016 10:19
Til: Anne Moberg <am@kulturtanken.no>, [artistic director of Sabreen]
Kopi: "[all recipients]
Emne: Re: Information - PhD thesis Solveig Korum/Concerts Norway - 2016-2020

Dear Anne
Solveig is most welcome and looking forward to having her in February.
Best
[administrative head of Sabreen] on behalf of Sabreen

APPENDIX III

INDIVIDUAL INFORMATION AND CONSENT AND EXCHANGES WITH KULTURTANKEN'S DIRECTOR

Details below are in Norwegian and can be translated to English upon request. Basically, I ask the director for a formal interview appointment and share relevant information about the project and his right to withdraw at any time.

Fra: "sk@kulturtanken.no" <sk@kulturtanken.no>
Dato: torsdag 25. juni 2020 14:34
Til: Øystein Vidar Strand
Emne: PhD-intervju?

Hei Øystein.

Er du villig til å stille opp i et kort forskningsintervju med meg i forbindelse med min doktorgrad? Du jobbet jo i departementet da Kulturtanken var i støpeskjeen og sitter sannsynligvis på relevante data om hvilke vurderinger som ble tatt ift mangfoldsarbeid og det internasjonale.

Det vil også være interessant å intervjue deg i kraft av din nåværende direktørstilling for å høre hva du tenker om du samme temaene.

Det haster ikke med en slik samtale, men om du finner rom til det en gang mellom (nå) og medio august ville det vært supert. Fra slutten av august entrer jeg forhåpentligvis sluttfasen for avhandlingen og da bør alle intervjudata ligge inne😊

Takk og hilsen
Solveig

Fra: Øystein Vidar Strand
Dato: torsdag 25. juni 2020 14:53
Til: "sk@kulturtanken.no"
Emne: Re: PhD-intervju?

Hei Solveig
Jeg kan godt stille som intervjuobjekt. Vi får bare passe på å trå rett i forhold til mine ulike roller de siste årene. Men det klarer vi.

Jeg har tid i neste uke fra tirsdag. Du kan bare sjekke kalenderen min i outlook og kalle meg inn.

Øystein

Fra: "sk@kulturtanken.no" <sk@kulturtanken.no>
Dato: fredag 26. juni 2020 11:19
Til: Øystein Vidar Strand
Emne: PhD-samtale med Solveig

Supert at du vil stille til intervju. Ønsker du å motta spørsmålene på forhånd eller tar vi det på sparket?

Hilsen Solveig

Fra: Øystein Vidar Strand
Dato: fredag 26. juni 2020 11:35
Til: "sk@kulturtanken.no"
Emne: Re: PhD-samtale med Solveig

Kikker gjerne på spørsmålene på forhånd.

Øystein

Fra: "sk@kulturtanken.no" <sk@kulturtanken.no>
Dato: mandag 29. juni 2020 12:57
Til: Øystein Vidar Strand
Emne: Re: PhD-samtale med Solveig

Hei igjen.

Her kommer noen veiledende spørsmål i forkant av onsdagens samtale (se under).

Et par formelle ting:
Det er frivillig å delta som i informant prosjektet. Du kan når som helst trekke samtykket uten å oppgi noen grunn. Alle dine personopplysninger og delte data vil da bli slettet. Det vil ikke ha noen negative konsekvenser for deg hvis du ikke vil delta eller senere velger å trekke deg.

Om det er ok for deg, ønsker jeg å ta opp samtalen. Jeg vil selvfølgelig behandle opplysningene konfidensielt og i samsvar med personvernregelverket og disse forskningsetiske retningslinjene: https://www.etikkom.no/forskningsetiske-retningslinjer/Samfunnsvitenskap-jus-og-humaniora/

Rammen for samtalen er ca. én time.

Hilsen Solveig

1. Spørsmål til Øystein, *avdelingsdirektør i Kulturdepartementet*:

Internasjonalt arbeid var et av Rikskonsertenes arbeidsområder som ikke ble omtalt i Kulturtankens nye mandat, men som ganske sikkert ble diskutert i styringsdialogen.

1a. Kan du si noe om hvordan styringsdialogen foregikk og hvilke elementer som ble vektlagt fra departementet sin side?

1b. Hvordan vurderte departementet verdien av internasjonale aktiviteter og nettverk i RK, samt organisasjonens kompetanse på flerkultur-/ mangfold i Norge? Ble det definert som viktig eller uviktig for departementet at denne kompetansen ble videreført i den nye organisasjonen eller sto ledelsen i Kulturtanken fritt til å gjøre slike vurderinger selv?

1c. Hadde Kulturdepartementet på noe tidspunkt dialog med Utenriksdepartementet om disse aktivitetene? Hvis ja; kan du si noe om hva som ble diskutert?

2. Spørsmål til Øystein, *direktør i Kulturtanken*:

I Kulturtankens tildelingsbrev for 2020 fremheves mangfold som et særskilt satsningsområde.

2a. Hvilke konkrete aktiviteter eller planer foreligger på dette feltet for 2020?

2b. Hvordan vurderer du Kulturtanken kompetanse for å levere på mangfold, samt etatens synlighet og dialog med fylker, kunstnere og andre nettverk rundt dette temaet?

2c. Hva tenker du om Kulturtanken i/og verden? Hvordan kan Kulturtanken bygge/ utnytte internasjonale nettverk og kontakter på en strategisk måte for levere gode resultater i forhold til mandatet i Norge?

APPENDIX IV

INTERVIEW GUIDE, MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

- **Discuss backdrop:** Status, strategies, and trends in the international culture and development field / MFA cultural assistance to developing countries. Current MFA guidelines, key players, budgets, collaborative models, etc.

- **Music as a tool:** Ask informant to describe the value of cultural expressions (music) as a development tool. How does MFA define "the power of music" and how is this relevant to "development"? How was this in the early 2000s? What is the current status? What characterizes a "good project" in the culture and development field?

- **Partnerships:** The collaboration with Concerts Norway—How would you describe MFA's collaboration with CN? What were the added values of using CN's expertise in this field? What were the drawbacks?

- **Case studies:** Music collaborations with Palestine, India, and Sri Lanka—What were the roles of the embassy personnel vs. central MFA cultural section in the selection of these projects? Describe the internal MFA dialogue about music vs. the overall sociopolitical context in these countries (ref. Norway's role as peace broker in SL, Oslo agreement / leadership role in donor country group in Palestine).

- **The road ahead:** Big changes in the culture and development field lately. Previously: many funds and activities through CN → Now: more directly to Global South partners. Talk a bit about these changes and the thinking behind it.

- **Competence in the music and development field:** Which competence in the culture and development field does the MFA consider important right now? Which competence, in your opinion, will be needed in the future? Is there a difference between what is valuable in the short and long terms?

Specific questions to MFA representatives at the embassies/ NRO:

- Why is/was general support to cultural activities in Palestine/India/Sri Lanka a Norwegian priority?

- Why is/was the cultural cooperation via CN important for the Norwegian MFA/Norwegian Embassy in Palestine/India/Sri Lanka?

- How does/did this specific culture and development program contribute to the overall Norwegian engagement in Palestine/India/Sri Lanka?

APPENDIX V

INTERVIEW GUIDE, CN PROJECT MANAGERS AND LOCAL PARTNERS[1]

Focus 1: Status of this specific music and development project

- State the most important project goals and how you currently assess the project in relation to these. Have there been any significant changes in the project?
- What do you consider to be particularly valuable in this music and development project? Is this valuable in the same way as it was five/ten/fifteen years ago? How do you observe the development of the project during this period?

Focus 2: About the value of music as a tool for development/ reconciliation

- What defines a *good* music and development project? What makes music a suitable tool to reach development (and/or reconciliation) goals in Palestine/India/Sri Lanka? What challenges do you observe can arise through using music in this particular context?

Focus 3: Organizational culture, working styles and -relations between CN/partners/MFA

- Which qualities are required to be a good project leader for this particular project? How do you evaluate your own efforts as a project manager? Can you describe your leadership and interaction style in the project? For CN employees: In what ways do you adjust your role in order to work efficiently and harmoniously with the local partner in Palestine/India/Sri Lanka?
- Kindly describe the division of tasks and the working environment (organizational culture) of the project. Who defined the initial project goals and suggested measures to reach them? Who made day-to-day program decisions and set the direction of the project?
- How would you describe your relationship to the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the project funder?
- Does the nature of your tool (music) affect the organizational culture of the project? If so, how?
  General follow-up questions about the (intrinsic and extrinsic) values of music.

Focus 4: Considering value inside the project versus communication to the outside

- What do you consider to be of particularly high value in the project? Of less value? How does this correspond to what is communicated about the project externally in, for example, reports, evaluations, and media interviews?
- What competence in the field of music and development (reconciliation) do you consider important right now? What, according to you, will be the competence needs in the future? Is there a difference between what is valuable in the short and long terms?
- Have you dealt with contradictory concerns in the project? Describe these. What strategies do you use to convince others to contribute towards what you believe is "good"? For CN employees: How do you mediate between different actors in the project—that is, local project managers in Palestine/India/Sri Lanka and the MFA?

Focus 5: Music and social change

- What characterizes (A) your individual contribution and (B) the project's contribution towards change in society? Do you enrich people's lives through music? If so, how is this contribution visible?
- How do you evaluate a "good contribution" from this project now compared to when it started?
- What are your hopes for future achievements in this field?

[1] This set of questions is directly inspired from a conversation in 2017 with Hilde Reinertsen, postdoctoral researcher at the project "Enacting the Good Economy: Biocapitalization and the little tools of valuation" (2015-2020) at the University of Oslo. The scope of this project and the academic disciplines involved are totally different from mine, yet I found that their approach towards assessment of *value* had large transferability value.

APPENDIX VI

INTERVIEWS, KEY CONVERSATIONS,[2] AND EVENTS ATTENDED[3]

1. Concerts Norway's (general) international engagement and culture, and the development policies of the MFA

a. Individual interviews and group sessions

Date/place	Name	Perspective	Medium	Trace[4]
2014[5] (Oslo)	Thore Hem	Head of NORAD's cultural office in the 1990s	In person (interview)	R
2014 (Oslo)	Anne Lise Langøy	Senior advisor, MFA central cultural section; former employee of NORAD's cultural office.	In person (interview)	HN
June 2016 (Oslo)	Tom Gravlie Anne Moberg Kjell Thoreby Monica Larson	Pre-research workshop with CN international director (Tom) and employees in the international section. Agenda: Go through general history of CN international. We defined key events and changes of interest to my research. I shared my research plan and asked for their feedback.	In person (workshop, 4 subjects)	R/HN
27 May 2016 (Oslo)	Full CN international department and other CN employees who engage in diversity work	CN employees	In person (workshop, 12 subjects)	HN
8 March 2017 (Oslo)	Ann Ollestad	Previous director general of the MFA Department of Media, Culture, and Information (2001–2005); ambassador to New Delhi (2007–2012); and general consul to Mumbai (2017–2020)	In person (interview)	HN

[2] I have had multiple and continuous conversations with some individuals, including core team members at CN and a handful of people in my case countries. These are mentioned on the list only when they involve longer focused sessions or recorded interviews.

[3] In addition to the listed events, I have attended numerous CN events in Norway and abroad prior to my PhD researcher status starting in 2016. These events are not listed here, but some of them are referred to in my thesis text, such as, for example, the Jaffna Music Festival in 2011 where the epiphany described in the introductory chapter took place. In terms of Palestine, I also make reference to *Samaa´*, an international conference for music education organized by Sabreen that I attended in December 2014. This conference included most of the international and Palestinian stakeholders in the project and was useful for understanding more about the complexity of the situation.

[4] Documented by handwritten notes (HN) or recorded (R)/transcribed.

[5] The interviews with Thore Hem (former head of NORAD's cultural office) and Anne Lise Langøy (MFA) from 2014 were conducted prior to my PhD period, yet I have included them among my research data. The conversations took place in the context of a book project about culture and development that Cappelen Damm akademisk issued me an intentional agreement to write. Following the MFA paradigm shift post–White Paper 19 (2013) and some major changes in my personal life, the book never materialized, but the material I gathered then has been useful both in the preparations for and actual writing of this thesis.

8 March 2017 (Oslo)	Marianne Kvan Helene Aastad Anne Lise Langøy (MFA) Anne Moberg (CN)	Acting director of the MFA central cultural section (MK) and two senior MFA advisors Director of Kulturtanken's international activities	In person (official meeting)	HN
6 April 2017 (Oslo)	Einar Solbu	Former CN director and dean of the Oslo National Academy of the Arts	In person (interview)	HN
19 January 2018 (Oslo)	Helene Aastad Anne Lise Langøy	Senior officers in the MFA central cultural section	In person (interview)	HN
7 February 2018 (Oslo)	Signe Gilen	MFA senior advisor in South Sudan, formerly stationed in Palestine and India	In person (general conversation)	HN
19 May 2020	Tom Gravlie Kjell Thoreby Anne Moberg	Results-workshop with former CN international director (Tom) and previous employees in the international section. I shared key research findings and asked for their feedback.	In person (workshop, 3 subjects)	R/HN
1 July 2020	Øystein Strand	Current director (2020) of Kulturtanken—Arts for Young Audiences Norway; former deputy director general, Norwegian Ministry of Culture	In person (interview)	R/HN

b. Key events attended related to music and development

- MUSIC 2020: Interdisciplinary music conference in Oslo, 13–16 June 2017
- SIMM-posium, the Social Impact of Making Music, session with a special focus on Music and Development, London, 7–9 June 2017
- Public meeting «Slutten på bistandsepoken?» [The end of the aid era?] in Oslo, 27 August 2018
- Jungeltelegrafen: A radio series broadcast on Norwegian national broadcasting (NRK) about culture and development, May/June 2018
- Founding meeting, Forum for Kulturbistand (later changed to Forum for Global Art Collaboration), Oslo, 7 February 2019
- SIMM-seminar in Finland, 5–9 November 2019
- ISME Asia regional conferences in Bangalore (27–29 November 2017) and Kathmandu (4–6 November 2019)
- Oslo World conference and delegate program, 26-27 October 2020

2. FIELD SITE Palestine

a. Interviews/group sessions related to CN's musical collaboration in Palestine.

Date/ place	Name	Perspective	Medium	Trace
August 2016 (Oslo)	Tom Gravlie (CN) Hilde Haraldstad (MFA)	(Former) CN director of international cooperation Norwegian representative to NRO in Palestine	In person (CN brief of Hilde before she started her mission in Palestine)	HN
3 November 2016 (Oslo)	Tom Gravlie	Former CN director of international cooperation	In person (interview)	R
24 October 2016 (Oslo) 7 December 2016 (Oslo)	Anne Moberg and Monica Larsson	Project leaders for Palestine in Kulturtanken	In person (interview)	R R
24 February 2017 (Jerusalem) 2 September 2018 (Jerusalem)	Hilde Haraldstad	Head of the Norwegian representation office in Palestine	In person (interview)	HN
27 February 2017 (Betlehem)	John Handal, Shafeek Alsadi, Munther Alraae	Sabreen musicians on school tour; John has done extensive touring with Sabreen in Sri Lanka, among other places	In person (interview)	HN/ video
27 February 2017 (Bethlehem)	George Ghattas, Nahida Ghattas, Iman	Core administrative team of Sabreen	In person (interview)	HN
28 February 2017 (Ramallah) 4 September 2018	Moslih Kananeeh	Social anthropologist in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Birzeit University in Ramallah; author of the book *Palestinian Music and Song: Expression and Resistance since 1900*	In person (interview) In person (interview)	HN HN
28 February 2017 (Ramallah)	May Odeh and Rami Moshasha	May is an acclaimed Palestinian film maker; Rami is director of Madrasiti, an NGO in East Jerusalem	In person (general conversation)	HN
28 February 2017 (Jerusalem) 3–11 September 2018	Said Murad	Artistic director of Sabreen	In person (interview)	HN

1 March 2017 (Ramallah)	Dr. Sheenaz and Murad	High-ranking officials at the Palestinian Ministry of Education	In person (official meeting)	HN
1 March 2017 (Ramallah)	Wahid Jubran and his colleague (NN)	Educational officers, UNRWA schools	In person (general conversation and visit to UNRWA school)	HN
2 March 2017 (Jerusalem)	Load Hammoud and his wife, Abeer Otman Alaa Mahajna	Load is a former Sabreen musician (oud) and PhD candidate in music who is living in Jerusalem; Abeer is a social worker in the Old City of Jerusalem Human rights lawyer in Jerusalem	In person (general conversation)	HN
2 March 2017 (Al-Ram)	Rima Tadros and Tor Erik Gjerde	Employees at the Norwegian MFA; Rima is senior advisor at the NRO and case officer for the music cooperation, and Tor Erik is in charge of development affairs	In person (official meeting)	HN
2 March 2017 (Jerusalem)	Wissam Murad	Musician in Sabreen studio in Jerusalem	In person (general conversation)	HN
2 March 2017 (Jerusalem)	Linda Bara	Local employee of USAID and friend of Sabreen artistic director Said Murad	In person (general conversation)	HN
March 2017 (Jerusalem)	Huda Al Imam	Palestinian cultural activist and actress from Jerusalem	In person (general conversation)	
7 February 2018 (Oslo)	Signe Gilen	MFA senior advisor in South Sudan, formerly stationed in Palestine and India	In person (general conversation)	HN
5 September 2018 (Bethlehem)	John Handal	Musician and former participant in Norway and Sri Lanka tours; presently owns a studio in Bethlehem	In person (interview)	R/HN
5 September 2018 (Bethlehem)	George Ghattas	Administrative director of Sabreen	In person (interview) + feedback on draft chapter "Bang Drums…"	HN
5 September 2018 (Al-Ram)	Rima Tadros	Senior advisor at the NRO and case officer for the musical collaboration	In person (interview)	R/HN
7 September 2018 (Askar, Nablus)	Hatem Hatef	Teacher responsible for the art club in the Askar refugee camp in Nablus	In person (interview) and visit to refugee camp	HN
9 September 2018 (Jerusalem)	Rami Moshasha	Director of Madrasiti in Jerusalem	In person (interview) + feedback on draft chapter "Bang Drums…"	HN
9 September 2018 (Jerusalem)	Izzeldin Naqshband	Director, Sacred Cuisine	In person (general conversation)	HN

b) Key events attended in Palestine

- Samaa´ international music conference, 2–4 December 2014
- "Slottet i sanden," a performance by Palestinian and Jordanian musicians (produced by CN) at the Norwegian Opera House, November 2016
- School concerts in Bethlehem, February 2017
- Annual meeting between CN and Sabreen, March 2017
- Social music project concert at the Ambassador Hotel in Jerusalem, March 2017
- Visit to Birzeit University and the Palestine National Museum, 28 February 2017
- Recording and jam sessions at Sabreen studio in Jerusalem (several times during fieldwork)
- Saladin Days at Litteraturhuset in Oslo, March 2017 and April 2019
- Public meeting about international aid to Palestine, Norwegian National Library, 29 August 2017
- Taybeh Oktoberfest (beer and music festival in Palestine), September 2018
- PAM-fest (Palestine independent music fest), September 2018
- Artistic community center activities in Nablus, including visit to the Askar camp and information about Sabreen's work in such camps, 7 September 2018
- Numerous Ramallah and Jerusalem hangouts with Said Murad and network meetings at the Ambassador Hotel in Jerusalem

3. FIELD SITE Sri Lanka

a. Interviews/group sessions related to CN's music collaboration with Sri Lanka

Date/place	Name	Perspective	Medium	Trace
22 May 2017 (Oslo)	Kjell Thoreby	CN senior advisor and case officer, SLNMC	In person (interview)	R/HN
21 February 2017 (Oslo)	Øyvind Fuglerud	Sri Lanka expert, professor at the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History	In person (interview)	HN
26 May 2017 (Oslo) 19 October 2017 (Colombo) 24 March 2019 (Colombo)	Malraji Wanniarachchi	Senior officer at the Norwegian Embassy in Colombo in charge of the SLNMC (A young MFA trainee also took part in the final interview in 2019.)	In person (interview)	R HN HN
17 October 2017 Colombo 25 March 2019 at Barefoot	Lakshman Joseph de Saram	Musician, orchestra leader, SLNMC advisory board member, key intellectual in Sri Lankan cultural life	In person (interview)	R/HN

22 October 2017 (Colombo) 25 March 2019 (Colombo)	Dr. Arunthathy Sri Ranganathan	Senior musician, academic, main artistic advisor to the SLNMC (We have had numerous informal conversations about the subject, but these are the formal interviews.)	In person (interview)	R/HN
17 October 2017 (Colombo)	Manoj Sanjeew	Western vocal teacher at the University of Visual and Performing Arts, Colombo; former participant in SLNMC workshop with Norwegian opera singers	In person (interview)	HN
20 and 23 October 2017 (Colombo)	Dinusha Wickremesekera	SLNMC program coordinator 2015–2018	In person (interview)	R/HN
Upon my arrival in October 2017 (Colombo) 5 November 2017 (Galle/ Colombo) 26 March 2019 (Colombo)	Kaushalya Nawaratne Pereira	Current director of Sevalanka Foundation (2020); former music program director from 2009	In person (interview)	R/HN
24 October 2017 (Colombo)	Aloka Weerasekara	Previous project assistant and head of Jaffna and Galle festival logistics; tour planner in charge of SLNMC children's festival + UNICEF music project in the eastern province	In person (interview)	R/HN
25 October 2017 (Colombo)	Thomas Caplin	Professor in music at the Inland Norway University of Applied Sciences; former participant in the SLNMC who conducted choir workshops in Colombo and Jaffna in 2013	In person (general conversation)	HN
30 October 2017 (Colombo)	Jan Ramesh de Saram	Former project coordinator Jaffna Music Festival (SLNMC); present head of Goethe Institute programming in Colombo	In person (interview)	R/HN
9 November 2017 (Colombo)	Shalini Wickramasuriya	Director of the Music Project—Healing Power of Music, supported by NGO Plan International	In person (interview)	HN

13 November 2017 (Colombo)	Dr. Sumudi Suraweera	Founder of Music Matters, a Western music school in Colombo; participant in several SLNMC festivals hired by the SLNMC to produce school concerts for children	In person (interview)	R/HN
31 October 2017 (Colombo) 10 August 2018 (Skype)	Hasini Haputhanthri	Former coordinator of the German Embassy Cultural Program—FLICT, now an independent consultant in the cultural field	In person (general conversation) Skype interview	HN R
6 November 2017 (Colombo)	Dilip Kumara	Project leader, Folk Music Conservation Centre	In person (interview)	R/HN
6 December 2017 (Colombo)	Haadia Galealy	Founder and director, Colombo Music Festival	In person (general conversation)	HN
10 December 2017 (Colombo)	Nirrosion Perera	SLNMC program coordinator 2009–2010	In person (interview)	R/HN
16 December 2017 (Batticaloa)	Dr. S. Jeyasankar,	Professor and functioning director of SVIAS, Batticaloa	In person (interview)	HN
22 December 2017 (Colombo)	Sarala Fernando	Former SL diplomat involved in Sri Lanka–Norway peace talks and music lover	In person (interview)	HN
December 2017 (Colombo)	Harsha Nawaratne	Founding (former) chairman of Sevalanka Foundation	In person (interview)	R/HN
December 2018 (Colombo)	Rashani Doranegoda	Former (Sevalanka) SLNMC program coordinator, 2010–2013	In person (general conversation)	HN
December 2017 (Colombo)	Sharmini Wettimuny	Main administrator of the Symphony Orchestra of Sri Lanka (SOSL), responsible for "Youth orchestra" + SOSL outreach to young audiences under the SLNMC aegis	In person (interview)	R?/ HN
9 March 2018 (Colombo)	Soundarie David Rodrigo.	Musician, founder, and director of Soul Sounds, an internationally recognized Sri Lankan choir; advisory board member; key intellectual in Sri Lankan cultural life; former SAARC deputy director for culture	In person (general conversation)	HN
9 March 2018 (Colombo)	Torbjørn Gaustadsæter	Norwegian ambassador to Sri Lanka, 2015–2019	In person (interview)	HN
Repeated occasions in Colombo, Oslo, Al-Ram	Hilde Haraldstad	Former Norwegian ambassador to Sri Lanka and present representative to NRO in Palestine	In person	HN

Repeated occasions in Colombo, Oslo, London, Baku, Jakarta	Dr. Gillian Howell	Independent researcher, author of the report *Music, Development, and Reconciliation in Sri Lanka: A Report on the Work of the Sri Lanka–Norway Music Cooperation* (2016)	In person (general conversation)	R/HN
27 March 2019 (Colombo)	Tanya Hettiarachi	First Sevalanka project coordinator for the SLNMC (2009–10)	In person (general conversation)	HN

b. Key events attended in Sri Lanka

- University Musical Meeting Spaces (Colombo): Folk-music based workshop for university students from four Sri Lankan universities, 13–15 October 2017
- Prime minister's Deepavali reception, Temple Trees (Colombo), 15 October 2017
- Attendance of vocal class at the Western Music Department, University of Visual and Performing Arts—interaction with teacher (Manoj) and three students, 17 October 2017
- Dinner with key cultural organizers and diplomats from Sri Lanka and Bangladesh at the Bangladeshi ambassador's residence, 17 October 2017
- Musical night out in Colombo, including reggae show at Goethe, charity show for disabled people at Nelum Pokona, intimate jazz concert at Music Matters, 17 October 2017
- Two-day training session titled Intangible Cultural Heritage, Sri Lanka Foundation, 25–26 October 2017; I was invited to give the inauguration speech
- Concert at Sooriya Village, a hub for young artists in Colombo, 29 October 2017
- University Musical Meeting Spaces (Peradeniya, Kandy), 19–21 November 2017
- University Musical Meeting Spaces (SVIAS, Batticaloa), 15–17 December 2017
- SLNMC research forum (Colombo), 27 February 2018
- "AHIMSA," a large stage production by Dr. Arunthathy Sri Ranganathan, 23 March 2019
- Book and CD launch, Folk Music Conservation Centre, Sri Lankan Ministry of Culture/Sri Lankan Broadcasting Cooperation, 26 March 2019

4. FIELD SITE India

a) Interviews/group sessions related to CN's musical collaboration with India[6]

Date/place	Name	Perspective	Medium	Trace
30 October 2019 (Mumbai)	Ann Ollestad (consul) Brenna, Linn Kjærnsmo (trainee)	Previous director general of the MFA Department of Media, Culture, and Information (2001–2005); ambassador to New Delhi (2007–2012); general consul to Mumbai (2017–2020)	In person (interview)	HN
28 February 2018 (New Delhi)	Ashish Manchanda, Ujjla Manchanda	CEO and assisting CEO of Flying Carpet Productions (previously called the Media Tribe, or TMT)	In person (interview)	HN
1 March 2018 (New Delhi)	Manu Arya, Arild Øksnevad Anne Moberg and Kjell Thoreby	Advisor and officer from the Norwegian MFA in Delhi CN staff	In person ([last] annual meeting between CN and the Norwegian Embassy in India)	HN
3–4 March 2018 (Bangalore)	Dr. Bindu Subrmaniam Ambi Subramaniam	Researcher, musician, and dean of SaPa Musician and assistant director of SaPa	In person (interview and general conversations)	R/HN
May 2018	Rashmi Malik	Managing director, SPIC MACAY	Skype interview	R/HN
5 July 2018	Manu Arya	Advisor at the Norwegian embassy in New Delhi and case officer for the musical collaboration	Skype interview	R/HN
10 July 2018	Anirban Chakraborty	CEO, *Rock Street Journal*	Skype interview	R/HN
13 July 2018	Ashish Manchanda, Ujjla Manchanda	CEO and assisting CEO of Flying Carpet Productions	Skype interview	R/HN
29 October 2019 (Mumbai)	Ashish Manchanda, Ujjla Manchanda	CEO and assisting CEO of Flying Carpet Productions	In person (interview) + feedback on draft article	HN
1 November 2019 (Mumbai)	Amit Gurbaxani	India music journalist (India Today, Scroll, First Post, Rolling Stones, and more)	In person (interview)	HN
29 October 2019 (Mumbai)	Emanuelle de Decker	Founder and CEO, Gatecrash/Jazz in India	In person (general conversation)	HN

[6] Of the three cases in this doctoral study, India is the country that I probably know best from my professional life prior to commencing my research. Since 2008, I have been in and out of this country several times per year and interacted frequently with all of the mentioned partners. That is why shorter stays in addition to Skype conversations were adequate for gathering research data in India, as opposed to the other two countries, where I made the effort to meet all interviewees in person. In addition to the interviews, Indian partners also responded to a small questionnaire shared by Bindu Subramaniam and me in preparation for our joint intervention at the World ISME conference in Baku and our cowritten article.

30 October 2019 (Mumbai)	Sohail Arora	Founder and CEO, KRUNK	In person (general conversation)	HN
30 October 2019 (Mumbai)	Anirban Chakraborty	CEO, *Rock Street Journal*	In person (interview) + feedback on draft article	HN

b) Key events attended in India during PhD period

- ISME South Asia Regional Conference in Bangalore, 27–29 November 2017
- Zakir Hussain memorial concert at Prithvi Theatre in Mumbai, including several musicians who had taken part in the India–Norway musical collaboration, 28 February 2018
- Visit to FCP studio in Mumbai, 28 February 2018
- Annual meeting between CN and the Norwegian MFA in New Delhi, 1 March 2018
- Closing dinner with CN project managers, MFA representatives, and principal Indian partners at the Lalith in New Delhi, 1 March 2018
- Holi cultural festival, New Delhi, 1 March 2018
- Dr. Prakash Sontakke group concert (previously involved in the musical collaboration) in Bangalore, 3 March 2018
- Visit to SaPa, including interactions with staff, teachers, and musicians, in Bangalore, 3 March 2018
- Prithvi Theatre and Music Festival (Mumbai), 2 November 2019

APPENDIX VII

ARENAS OF PRE-PUBLIC PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH MATERIAL

Courses and conferences:

- Critical Perspectives on NGOs in Development, Center for Development and the Environment, University of Oslo, 16–18 August 2017.
- Music 2020, Norwegian Academy of Music, 13–16 June 2017.
- SIMM-posium 2 London, Guildhall School of Music, 7–9 July 2017.
- ISME South Asia regional conference in Bangalore, 27–29 November 2017.
- ISME world conference in Baku, 15–20 July 2018.
- SIMM seminar on the possible role of music in social and community projects, Sibelius Academy, 5–9 November 2018.
- Exploring Artistic, Pedagogic, and Therapeutic Practices: Interdisciplinary Knowledges for Responsible Research and Innovation? International Fjord Summer School, University of Bergen, 17–20 June 2019.
- Arts in Education, OsloMet, 28–30 August 2019.
- Creativity, Resistance and Hope: Towards an Anthropology of Peace, 7th PACSA Conference, Queen´s University Belfast, 3–5 October 2019.
- Varieties of Peace, University of Jakarta, 22–24 October 2019.
- ISME South Asia regional conference, Nepal Music Centre, Kathmandu, 4–6 November 2019.

Other:

- Sri Lankan Broadcasting Cooperation, radio interview with Sharmin Sultana Sumi, 16 November 2017.
- Breakfast TV in Sri Lanka, 18 November 2017.
- University of Peradenya, University Musical Meeting Spaces (lecture and subsequent dialogue with students), 20 November 2017.
- Norwegian Broadcasting Cooperation/Jungeltelegrafen, 23 June 2018: https://radio.nrk.no/serie/jungeltelegrafen/sesong/201806/MKRM09002518.
- Kragerø Church Academy, 31 January 2019.

APPENDIX VIII

SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Solveig Korum (b. 1984) is a doctoral researcher at the University of Agder, Faculty of Fine Arts. She is also connected to the research school of the Centre for Development and the Environment (SUM) at the University of Oslo.

Solveig holds a master's degree in Asian and African studies from the University of Oslo and Dakar, majoring in history. She has been employed in the International Department of Kulturtanken—Arts for Young Audiences Norway (formerly Rikskonsertene, Concerts Norway) since 2008, where she has been in charge of musical development projects in India, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh. Solveig contributed to the planning and programming of the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs annual seminar for cultural cooperation with the Global South at Voksenåsen between 2009 and 2016.

Solveig is also the co-founder of NaCuHeal Senegal, a non-governmental organization that operates tree-planting programs in Senegal, West Africa. She has lived abroad for several periods of her life, including longer stays in France, Mali, and Senegal.