A world away from war

Music interventions in war-affected settings

Gillian Howell
M.Ed., B.A (Music), Advanced Certificate in Performance and Communication Skills (Guildhall School of Music and Drama)

Queensland Conservatorium
Arts, Education and Law
Griffith University

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

December 2017
Abstract

This thesis examines what happens when the worlds and knowledges of war, international development, and music education intersect. It investigates the practices and experiences of music interventions, a term used in this thesis to describe structured programs for music learning and participation in places that have been unmade by war, taking shape within the structures and funding arrangements of large-scale international aid and assistance. It explores the work of three specific music interventions—the Pavarotti Music Centre in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hadahur Music School in Timor-Leste, and the Afghanistan National Institute of Music in Afghanistan—with the goal of identifying how these kinds of projects are shaped, and their potential for sustainability in a volatile and mutable environment. These case study sites offer interesting contrasts of timeframe (longevity of the music intervention and retrospective distance from the wartime experiences); scale (of ambition, funding, and external drivers); and approaches to the teaching and learning of music, in particular their efforts to regenerate local music traditions.

The research was designed as an ethnographic, multi-sited, multi-case study project. Semi-structured interviews and document review were the principal data sources, offering diverse perspectives that bring both positive and critical voices of participants and local community members to the fore, alongside those of organisers and practitioners. Data were coded and analysed thematically, using grounded theory methods.

As a result of this process, the thesis argues that the phenomenon of music interventions can be understood as evolving across six critical junctures—sites of negotiation between the various actors—that produce decisions and actions that critically shape each project. The critical junctures—Aims and Motivations, Buildings and Facilities, Pedagogy and Learning Materials, Organisational Culture, Internal Engagement, and External Engagement—also have implications for sustainability, as they represent points of active interface between contrasting constructs and ideals, and therefore can generate instability and conflict as well as harmony and growth. The critical junctures model offers practitioners and scholars a tool for understanding,
planning, operationalising, evaluating, and handing over music interventions in war-affected contexts. It sheds light on internal practices, and helps to reveal the influence that the complex wider context can have on shaping and sustaining the music activities.

The model of critical junctures for shaping and sustaining music interventions is the central theoretical contribution of this research. In addition, the thesis makes methodological, empirical, and practical contributions to what is a nascent subject of inquiry, mapping three radically different music interventions in their achievements and their missteps, and presenting empirical data from multiple perspectives. In a world that is as much at war as ever, and an aid environment that is increasingly recognising the importance of cultural development and creative expression to human development, this study has deep and immediate relevance to an audience of music and development practitioners, policy makers, and scholars in the fields of (applied) ethnomusicology, music education, community music, music sociology, music therapy, cultural development, and international development.

*Key words:* music intervention, music education, community music, war, conflict recovery, international aid, cultural development, applied ethnomusicology, critical junctures.
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.

GILLIAN HOWELL

18 December 2017
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ......................................................................................................................... i
Statement of originality ................................................................................................. iii
Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................ ix
List of publications ....................................................................................................... xi

CHAPTER 1: Introduction: “Dreams in a dreamless world” ........................................... 1
  Rationale ....................................................................................................................... 1
  Research questions ...................................................................................................... 3
  Researching music and conflict .................................................................................. 9
  The aim and contributions of this research ............................................................... 14
  Overview of the thesis ............................................................................................... 16

CHAPTER 2: Approaches and Challenges .................................................................... 20
  Research Design ......................................................................................................... 22
  Research methods common to the three sites .......................................................... 26
  Analysing data .......................................................................................................... 34
  Writing this thesis ...................................................................................................... 35
  Ethical considerations ............................................................................................... 38
  Summary ..................................................................................................................... 47

CHAPTER 3: Three Music Interventions ..................................................................... 49
  Pavarotti Music Centre, Bosnia-Herzegovina ......................................................... 49
  Hadahur Music School, Timor-Leste ....................................................................... 58
  Afghanistan National Institute of Music ................................................................. 67
  Conclusion ................................................................................................................... 76

CHAPTER 4: Aims and Motivations ............................................................................. 79
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engagement of governments, institutions, and authorities</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donor engagement</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 9: Sustainability, a model, and future actions</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sustaining music programs in a changing landscape</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research outcomes</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional contributions of the study</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking ahead: Future research</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worlds away from war: Final reflections</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPILOGUE</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A: Interviews and other data sources</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B: Interview guides</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C: Ethics material</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant information and consent (English)</td>
<td>330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant information and consent (Tetun)</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant information and consent (Bosnian/Croatian)</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX D: Timelines of key events in the case study sites</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavarotti Music Centre, Bosnia-Herzegovina</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadahur Music School, Timor-Leste</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan National Institute of Music, Afghanistan</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# List of Illustrations

Figure 1: Map of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Source: http://ian.macky.net/pat/map/ba/ba_blu.gif, public domain) ...........................................51

Figure 2: Classroom in the destroyed Mostar Music School, 1992 © Teun Voeten, authorised use ..................................................................................................................55

Figure 3: Pavarotti Music Centre, before (1996) and after (1997). © LA Architects, authorised use .................................................................................................................57

Figure 4: Map of Timor-Leste (Source: http://ian.macky.net/pat/map/tl/tl_blu.gif, public domain) ..................................................................................................................60

Figure 5: Graffiti, State Secretariat of Art and Culture, Dili, May 2014. "Art and culture is sick, the Arts Academy is dead." (Author's photo) ...............................63

Figure 6: Skype vocal lesson. (Source: R. Dunlop, authorised use) ........................................65

Figure 7: RSDP music workshop, June 2014 (author's photo). ..............................................67

Figure 8: Map of Afghanistan. (Source: http://ian.macky.net/pat/map/af/af_blu.gif, public domain) ..............................................................................................................70

Figure 9: Students and staff of the Afghanistan National Institute of Music, Dubai, 2015 (author’s photo) .....................................................................................................76

Figure 10: Structural outline of chapter 4 ................................................................................81

Figure 11: Bessilau School, June 2014 (author's photo) .........................................................106

Figure 12: Structural outline of chapter 5 ................................................................................121

Figure 13: Symphony orchestra concert in courtyard, July 1998 (author's photo) .......123

Figure 14: View of rear exterior of Pavarotti Music Centre, showing block size and neighbourhood context, 1998 (author's photo) ....................................................133

Figure 15: Pavarotti Music Centre café-bar, 1997 © LA Architects, authorised use. .................................................................................................................................134

Figure 16: Temporary bridge replacing the 15th Century Ottoman 'Old Bridge' destroyed in the war, March 1998 (author's photo) .........................................................138
Figure 17: Structural outline of chapter 6 .................................................................150
Figure 18: Students in Bessilau School, July 2009 (Source: R. Dunlop, authorised use) .................................................................160
Figure 19: Structural outline of chapter 7 .................................................................194
Figure 20: Structural outline of chapter 8 .................................................................243
Figure 21: Structural outline of chapter 9 .................................................................280
Figure 22: The Critical Junctures model of music interventions .................................294

List of Tables

Table 1: Summary of data sources ............................................................................34
Table 2: Historical, political, and cultural contexts of the three case study sites ........77
Table 3: Summary of aims and motivations for Pavarotti Music Centre ..................99
Table 4: Summary of aims and motivations for Hadahur Music School .................107
Table 5: Summary of aims and motivations for ANIM ...........................................115
Table 6: Factors congruent with sustained independent music provision ...............304
Table 7: Key events in the history of the Pavarotti Music Centre .............................345
Table 8: Key events in the history of Hadahur Music School ..................................346
Table 9: Key events in the history of ANIM ............................................................347
Acknowledgements

Many people have supported and inspired me in this research project. First and foremost I wish to acknowledge and thank my supervisors, Professor Huib Schippers and Professor Brydie-Leigh Bartleet. They have guided me with wisdom and humour, and I have benefitted enormously from their wealth of knowledge and experience, and generosity of spirit. Their international leadership as researchers of intercultural music learning in diverse contexts attracted me to Griffith University, and they have inspired me with their high expectations, encouragement, and unflagging confidence in me and my project.

I have been fortunate and grateful to receive financial support for this research from several sources. I received an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship between 2013 and 2016. A grant from the Queensland Conservatorium Research Centre supported my fieldwork in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2013. A travel grant from the Cybec Foundation supported my fieldwork in Timor-Leste in 2014. The Society for Education and Music Psychology Research (SEMPRE) awarded me the Gerry Farrell Travelling Scholarship towards my fieldwork in Dubai in 2015, and towards conference presentations in the same year. Grants from Griffith Graduate Research School and the Queensland Conservatorium supported me to present my research at international conferences in 2015 and 2017. Lastly, a delightful and generous stranger named Peter Linton offered to contribute to my project expenses after a chance conversation on a plane from Melbourne to Brisbane in 2014. I have been immensely thankful for all of these financial supports, without which this multi-sited, international research project would have been far more challenging and debt-inducing.

I also had the honour of being awarded an Australian Government Endeavour Research Fellowship in 2016, enabling me to research music and reconciliation projects in Sri Lanka. While my investigation into the Sri Lanka Norway Music Cooperation was not part of my PhD research, the in-depth knowledge I gained about that program helped me test my PhD research findings in a different war-affected context and gain a clearer sense of the needs of the practitioners and development
workers for whom I was writing. I thank my colleagues in Sri Lanka and Norway for their hospitality and insights: Kaushalya, Dinusha, Saumya, Aloka, Sakuna, Ashanti, Manooj, Solveig, Anne, and Kjell.

My appreciation and thanks also go to the many people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Timor-Leste, Afghanistan, Australia, the Netherlands, and the UK who gave their time and intellectual energy to participate in this research as interviewees. Many of them were recalling events that took place during stressful times, and our conversations sometimes brought uncomfortable memories to the surface. The fact that nearly all ended our conversations with comments like “I hope I’ve helped you” demonstrates their generosity and desire to share their experiences with others in constructive ways.

I wish to acknowledge the group of fellow PhD writers that worked alongside me during the writing of this thesis. Thank you to Vicki Huang and the Law School group for the team spirit we conjured together. Thanks also to Benjamin Leske for his friendship and solidarity during some of the most challenging times, to Louise Godwin for her critical feedback on early drafts, and to Andrew Molnar for his proofreading.

Lastly, I thank my parents for instilling in us a love of learning, a deep sense of social justice, and an adventurous approach to life, and my sister Nicola and her family for making me so welcome on my many trips to Brisbane. I especially thank my partner Tony Hicks whose love, encouragement, and support has been a solid and stable anchor throughout the PhD years. Thank you for being there alongside me from the beginning of the study, through the unexpected and faith-rattling health challenges, until the day that I pressed ‘submit’. I am so lucky to be sharing my life with you.


This work is dedicated to Alma and Zarifa,

who never relinquish hope.
CHAPTER 1: Introduction: “Dreams in a dreamless world”

Rationale

As a young musician, not long graduated from postgraduate studies in community music, I read news reports of the work of the recently-opened Pavarotti Music Centre in Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and felt a strong desire to contribute to that mission. A music centre dedicated to using music to heal and bring divided people together held enormous appeal for me. I made contact, described my skills, proposed to work as a volunteer, and received a non-committal reply: “If you can get yourself here, we’ll see if there’s a role for you.” It was enough of an invitation for me.

Once I’d arrived, I was quickly absorbed into the Schools’ Outreach workshop program and the Music Centre’s performance development work. It was clear that for the young locals taking part, there was great meaning in the opportunity to make music, learn music, play with others, and engage in various kinds of creative expression. It seemed like a life raft in a surrounding ocean of sadness and uncertainty. The inner workings of the Music Centre were less straightforward, and I was aware of tensions between its idealised public rhetoric and a more fractious and tense internal culture. I also formed friendships with other international workers in the town, and found that being an ‘international’ in post-war Bosnia brought with it privileges akin to being a ‘big fish in a small pond’. I navigated the working and living environment with care and a willingness to learn, and threw myself into the work.

It was a transformative year that inspired me to build a professional practice around the potential social benefits of music-making in extreme and challenging settings. It led me to similar roles leading music projects in other war-affected places such as Republic of Georgia and Timor-Leste, in remote Indigenous communities in Australia, in prisons, and with newly-arrived refugee and immigrant communities in Australia. However, questions lingered from that early experience in Bosnia around the challenges and paradoxes inherent in the organisation of these kinds of projects.
They cast music as a form of externally-led assistance while simultaneously an expression of local culture, in a setting where cultural development is often in freefall, cultural identity is in flux, and where international assistance (with its often contradictory agendas and actions) is rapidly transforming the sociocultural and economic landscape.

Later, my work increasingly explored the multiple issues around power and sustainability that could be inherent in externally-led music projects. Working in Timor-Leste as a community musician, I saw how difficult it was for arts-based community projects to survive. Many found impressive initial momentum with the support of seed funding from international agencies, but struggled to maintain a funding base for continued work. Inevitably, core people would fall away, or conflicts would arise and tear groups apart from within. Similar existential challenges had afflicted the Pavarotti Music Centre when its international supporters moved away. I grappled with, and began to write about, questions of power distribution in relation to knowledge, perceived expertise, community relevance, and the challenges in working collaboratively when the roles of ‘insider/local’ and ‘outsider/foreigner’ are framed in ways that dictate the direction that resources should flow (Howell, 2012a, 2012b, 2013).

I embarked on this PhD project in order to more deeply understand these relationships between initiators, participants, and the wider context of aid and war, and the implications of these for the establishment and sustained delivery of structured music activities. My experiences suggested that music participation projects in war-affected settings were complicated projects in complex settings, but were often initiated with pragmatic and passionate faith in their uncomplicated nature. Music projects clearly had the potential to ignite support from people in far-flung places who saw music as a poetic response to the destruction of war. But little had been learned from past projects because so many initiatives struggled to survive or adapt to changing circumstances, and their efforts had commonly gone undocumented as a result, or were captured in uncritical rhetoric that gave little indication of the challenges of the work. I hoped to address this gap, and produce research findings that could aid future music endeavours in war-affected places.

At the outset, one might ask what music and other arts projects are doing in the extreme terrain of a war-affected place. Human development and care is usually
understood and prioritised in terms of basic needs: food, shelter, health, security, and livelihoods. When these are addressed, humans can develop and thrive, and thus these needs are the focus of local and international interventions and initiatives in the aftermath of a conflict or disaster.

However, many survivors of war or citizens living in places of post-war recovery would argue that they are more than their basic needs. They are whole, complex beings, with minds and souls that also need nurturing and a hunger for meaning in life beyond mere survival. Meaning draws connections between the present and the possible future, and is tied to aspects of identity, agency, and motivation. For some, it is found in creative and cultural expression. One arts activist in post-war Mostar described the turn towards arts and aesthetic expression in the aftermath of war as a reclaiming of humanity:

What [can you] dream in a dreamless world? . . . In the war we were animals. So we started to paint drawings on the walls of our caves. It wasn’t just about reproducing, eating and killing. It was about a cultural level of existence . . . it makes you different to just an animal. (Alen, co-founder of Apeiron de Art, 14/11/13, Bosnia-Herzegovina)

Alen and his friends’ claim to a ‘cultural level of existence’ is supported in Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as “the right to freely participate in the cultural life of the community, [and] to enjoy the arts” (UN General Assembly, 1948). However, the right to artistic and cultural expression is rarely a priority when it competes with urgent survival needs, in a context with complex political agendas and an entrenched framing of art and culture as luxuries.

**Research questions**

This brief autoethnographic account illustrates the rationale for a thesis that examines what happens when the worlds and knowledges of war, international development, and music education meet. The thesis investigates the practices and experiences of ‘music interventions’, sites for music learning and participation in places that have been unmade by war, and where large-scale international assistance is or has been underway. It seeks to answer the following question and subquestions:
What are the key factors that shape, help realise, and sustain music interventions in war-affected settings?

- What is the influence of the wider context, in particular the large-scale presence of aid and the recent history of war?
- How do organisers, participants, and external actors contribute to these processes?
- What is the influence of buildings, facilities, pedagogical approaches and repertoire?
- What other forces contribute to the shaping, realising, and sustaining of music interventions in war-affected settings?

To answer these questions I will examine three radically different examples of ‘music interventions’ in their contexts, with perspectives from organisers (those that initiate the projects), participants (those in the recipient community that get involved as learners and staff), visiting teachers (those that enlist in the endeavour as music teachers and leaders), and observers (those in the recipient community that watch and follow but do not participate).

**Definitions, concepts, and contexts**

I refer to these projects as *music interventions* in order to encapsulate the sense of a time-bound introduction of newness or revival that is characteristic of many of these projects. Derived from the Latin *intervenire*, ‘to come between’, *intervention* in contemporary usage can imply a response to a perceived need, determined by a set of present circumstances, with the intention of disrupting or innovating towards an intended transformation (Higgins, 2015).

The word intervention echoes the terminology of community music in a particularly Anglo-Irish construction (Higgins, 2008; Schippers, 2010, p. 95); it also reflects the language of international development (Long, 2001). However, I use the word thoughtfully and with care, for it also implies problematic power structures. Its connotations cast one group of actors as victimised, needy, and lacking in knowledge and capacity, and another group as all-knowing problem-solvers, even saviours. It can diminish the agency of one group of actors while augmenting the might of the other, reinforcing a paternalistic, colonial, or imperialistic worldview.
The choice of the word *intervention* is informed by my interest in the *sustainability* of these kinds of music projects. Indeed, while each of the case study sites began with hopes of long-term sustainability, as forthcoming descriptions will show, interventions are the least sustainable of music-making models, given that they are, “by [their] very nature artificial, prone to power imbalances, often event-focused, and mostly limited in time” (Schippers, 2018, p. 27).

Organisers of the case studies in this research may not recognise their project’s depiction as a time-bound intervention. Nevertheless, each came into existence as a result of financial, technical, and philosophical external support and there are invariably practical limitations to external support that mobilises in aid-dominated contexts. Emergencies fade, donors become fatigued, new emergencies arise, security is (for the most part) sustained, and local entities build the capacity to maintain services and provision themselves. The aid apparatus heaves its way to a new location, usually leaving an economic downturn in its wake (Pallas, 2015). The notion of *intervention* therefore seems useful to apply when considering how music projects ensure their future in such transitional and temporary environments, recognising that what ends up being sustained may not be the same as what was introduced. For this reason *intervention* is retained, despite its problematic hues.

In considering the factors and forces that shape and sustain these music interventions, these are conflations of environmental, relational, ideological, and personal elements that exert influence on the processes and activities of the music interventions in question. While the term *forces* often indicates a focus on macro structural and discursive factors, my interest is more actor-centric, recognising that a situation or experience may be perceived, interpreted and acted upon very differently by the different parties involved, according to their interests. In the power-laden environments I examine, agency is found among a wide range of actors; therefore structural forces are of interest as a result of the actions of individuals and groups within a specific context.

Describing sites as *war-affected* also necessitates further explanation, for what constitutes a ‘war”? Feminist and anthropological scholarship challenges the longstanding authority of the Uppsala Conflict Data Program that defines war
according to parameters such as a set number of “battle-related deaths”¹, arguing that war’s violent reach extends well beyond any notional ‘battlefield’ into the lives and homes of all citizens (Nordstrom, 2001, 2004). Determining when ‘war’ begins and when it ends is similarly problematic (Mundy, 2011), so that words like ‘post-conflict’ may serve political ends but offer an inaccurate descriptor of the lived reality. Significantly, conflicts may persist despite an end to politically organised armed violence. Furthermore, some protracted conflicts become cyclic and self-perpetuating, so that a period of ‘not-war’ is more usefully understood as a fluctuation in intensity than a stable end-point (Azar, Jureidini, & McLaurin, 1978). Therefore, ‘war-affected’ is a more accurate descriptor (but less clearly located in time) than ‘post-war’, and I use ‘war-affected’ and ‘conflict-affected’ when speaking across the three cases in this study.

There are a number of important debates in contemporary war studies that are also useful to summarise here. Kaldor’s (2001) paradigm-shifting analysis of contemporary warfare (the ‘new wars’ theory) argues that wars have moved away from the accepted ‘rules’ of state-based warfare to something more fluid and more violent in terms of civilian costs. She describes a shift to ideological goals based on identity (e.g. ethnicity, religion, tribe), rather than the geopolitical goals of earlier wars, accompanied by tactics of terror and destabilisation that target civilian populations, with a corresponding displacement of populations and massive human rights violations. New wars respond to the pervasive impact of globalisation and the socio-economic impact of weakening state influence, phenomena that increase opportunities for economic gain and, conversely, social vulnerability. The ‘new wars’ economic landscape thrives on informal criminalised economies: These are intrinsic to the functioning of war and promote the rise of warlords and other criminal elites. Transnational networks of profit and influence are also embedded within war economies (also Nordstrom, 2004). There is widespread use of irregular fighting forces that are a mix of local, state, and transnational actors. The combination of these

¹ 25 battle-related deaths per year for one side of the warring parties constitutes a conflict, 1000 battle-related deaths a year constitutes a war, along with the presence of a “contested incompatibility” and a dyad of warring parties that includes the presence of state actors and state-based violence (Uppsala Conflict Data Program, 2014).
characteristics ensures a qualitative difference in “[the new wars’] goals, the methods of warfare, and how they are financed” (Kaldor, 2001, p. 6).

The ‘new wars’ analysis found a degree of consensus among scholars but also drew contestation around definitions and distinctions between types of wars and other forms of social conflict. Some observed that the practices that Kaldor described had long historical antecedents, making the label ‘new’ ill-conceived. Others felt that many of the practices attributed to ‘new wars’ were more usefully labeled as criminal behaviour rather than war (Kaldor, 2013; Newman, 2004). These contestations also reflect longstanding conceptual and ontological debates in civil war scholarship (Mundy, 2011).

Most useful for this PhD study is the way that theorising around contemporary warfare’s hallmarks has laid bare the multiple ways that social, cultural, and economic concerns are intertwined with the functioning of contemporary wars. Where once a population may have bonded and found strength in unity in war against a common (interstate or external) enemy, the predominance of intrastate conflicts in contemporary warfare divides societies, destroying bonds and dividing people down ethnic, religious, or other identity-based lines (Colletta & Cullen, 2000; Kalmanowitz & Lloyd, 1999). This produces the sociocultural backdrop against which any future cultural activities—like music education or music development—must work (Thompson, Hughes, & Balfour, 2009).

My study also limits its scope to music interventions that began in the context of a large-scale influx of international aid. In war-affected places, this usually features humanitarian (or relief) aid, stabilisation and reconstruction aid, military aid, and development aid, each of which function very differently and assert sometimes contradictory policies in terms of objectives, timeframes and provision (Berrebi & Thelen, 2011, pp. 293, 301). An international aid response features a diverse array of actors and agencies. At the multilateral level these may include United Nations (or other international) Peacekeeping Forces; a U.N-led administrative or political mission; other United Nations agencies (e.g. UNHCR, UNDP, and UNICEF); and entities such as the European Union. Development banks such as the World Bank and its subsidiaries, and regional entities such as the Asian Development Bank are often present, interacting primarily at the state level. There are also international non-government organisations (or ‘INGOs’, such as Oxfam, Save the Children,
International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent); smaller international NGOs often with a single focus (e.g. Human Rights Watch); faith-based organisations; religious missions; and bilateral aid programs often administered through foreign embassies. Dependent somewhat on a country’s physical proximity to wealthier donor countries, ad hoc groups of well-meaning volunteers may arrive with donated goods from their home communities, or with the intention of contributing informally to the recovery effort. In addition, the increasing privatisation of aid in recent years has added profit-driven private contractors to this list of players in the world of international aid. Each of these entities represents potential assistance and a wealth of resources in the form of money, technology, and personnel from afar.

The accumulated impact of all this external assistance is extreme, and imposes rapid economic and sociocultural changes upon a society already navigating the combined challenges of wartime traumas and recovery. As much as it helps to provide essential services, structure, stability, opportunities, and a boost to people’s spirits, the aid apparatus can also create competition, confusion, distortions, and dependencies (Anderson, Brown, & Jean, 2012; Pallas, 2015). It promotes new priorities that can lead local organisations to shape their programs in response to donor interests, rather than locally-determined needs (Menike, 1993; Pallas, 2015). It also creates a project-based economic and employment environment, creating organisational and existential challenges for initiatives with long-term objectives. One outcome is the privileging of a particularly technocratic and managerial culture of planning, implementing, and evaluating work, and the creation of a new class of social elites with the competencies that a project-focused economy requires and rewards (Sampson, 2002). All of these changes can disrupt local community practices for self-organisation, distributive fairness, and security.

The inflow of aid and resources follows a fairly predictable pattern, reaching its peak within the first five years after the cessation of violence. The withdrawal of support generally takes place within ten years of the peak period (Pallas, 2015). The withdrawal of funds can be in response to various triggers, including the perception that a particular sector can now function independently; the withdrawal of international security forces or the end of a UN political or administrative mission; donor fatigue; a new ‘trouble spot’ opening up and capturing interest; or a resumption of violence that makes the terrain less safe for development workers.
The extraordinary proliferation and power of the international development apparatus when it enters a social environment and economy is of importance to this study, because of the sociocultural, economic, and political changes its practices impose on a population. In many cases, a music intervention will be part of the aid enterprise, initiated from within it, or with reliance on its funds and interest. A large aid presence also corresponds with a sustained international media presence, and the combination of these two forces is a further potential influence on the task of initiating a music intervention or other arts-based projects. The impacts of this multinational, intercultural influx are intrinsically connected to the interventions that are the subject of this study.

**Researching music and conflict**

Scholarship at the intersection of music and conflict has gained interest and momentum over the last two decades. A significant early contribution was the edited volume by Svanibor Pettan and colleagues *Music, Politics, and War: Views from Croatia in the 1990s* (Pettan, 1998), which examined both contemporary and historical perspectives of the interrelationships of music and conflict. Those chapters depicting everyday practices amid contemporary conflict experiences in disintegrating Yugoslavia described music as a tool for coping and affirmation, but also for manipulation and control. The book illustrated the inherent paradox of music in war-affected contexts, that it functions as both an instrument of social connection and a tool for inflaming or fuelling conflict, a means of drawing a divided society together, or of maintaining its divisions. This paradox was further explored through an ethnomusicological lens in the monograph *Music and Conflict* (O'Connell & Castelo-Branco, 2010), where the authors explored music’s potential to help understand conflict through examination of conflict’s presence in musical discourse and practice. Examples from the Caucasus, Indonesia, the Balkans, Uganda, Northern Ireland, Brazil, Iran, Germany, North Korea and South Korea, and the USA illustrated various permutations of those relationships, and underscored music’s utility as a discursive tool that can promote hegemonic positions, just as it can provide a counter-discourse and site for resistance.

A further significant area of music scholarship to build momentum in the last decade has been research into music and violence, where music is a tool for fuelling
conflict (Johnson & Cloonan, 2009; Kent, 2008) and for memorialisation of violent events (Naroditskaya, 2010; Ritter & Daughtry, 2007). This includes critical examination of the ways music has been deployed as a weapon of war, used strategically to fire up emotions, invoke an aggressive mindset and ensure solidarity in group aggression (Kent, 2008; Pieslak, 2009); undermine prisoners (Hogg, 2004); and as an instrument of torture (Cusick, 2006; M. J. Grant, 2013). From the field of sound studies, investigations into the experience of listening to war and the impact of sounds of warfare on individual auditors (Daughtry, 2015) and the jurisprudence of determining how popular songs became tools of genocide in Rwanda (Parker, 2015) offer a further perspective on the relationships between music and violence.

Others have focused more directly on music as a tool for conflict resolution. The edited volume *Music and Conflict Transformation* (Urbain, 2008) was the first major work on this topic. While its content is somewhat undermined by uncritical reliance on what music sociologist Arild Bergh has labeled “the ‘power of music’ discourse” (Bergh, 2010, p. 15), and a grounding in Western therapeutic models of healing, its coverage of varied cultural contexts and approaches to practice provided a useful starting point for later researchers exploring music, conflict transformation, and peacebuilding (Bergh, 2010; Bergh & Sloboda, 2010; Pruitt, 2013; Robertson, 2010; Zelizer, 2003). The construct of music as a ‘universal language’, popular in marketing and donor rhetoric, is critiqued and rebutted in some of this literature (Cohen, 2008; Dave, 2014), reinforcing longstanding scholarly arguments against this romantic notion (Campbell, 1997). Indeed, Brinner’s (2009) ethnomusicological exploration of Palestinian and Israeli musical collaborations observed that musical transformations of violent conflict were found in the task of constructing creative and innovative bridges across highly contrasting understandings of music, sound production, and ensemble music-making, rather than in presumptions of universality.

The complexity of working with music and other creative arts in a context dominated by international aid and development agencies is examined in the PhD dissertations of Haskell (2011), Woodward (2014) and Kochenderfer (2006), with all three studies situated in the intercultural mélange of post-war Bosnia-Herzegovina. Haskell examined the phenomenon of what she termed ‘cultural aid’ and its often-problematic interactions with the local arts scene in Sarajevo, given the tremendous power asymmetry and dominance of the international helpers compared to the local
cultural producers. Woodward’s autoethnographic account of leading a music therapy team in Bosnia-Herzegovina explores the challenges of cross-cultural leadership in a disintegrating professional context and highly complex lived environment. Kochenderfer’s work highlighted tensions in the working relationships between local and international staff; interestingly, the latter two theses analyse the same music therapy programs but from different perspectives.

Considered together, these dissertations provide valuable depictions of the interactions of arts, local people, and ‘interveners’, as well as the range of agendas inflecting these. Power, authority, and agency between local people and ‘internationals’ is a recurring theme across each, but while Haskell’s work focuses on the detrimental impact of international control of the cultural environment (through financial and cultural power), Woodward’s scholarship considers the messy and slippery status of power and authority that is locally contested. She finds that formal power means little if one’s authority is contested, and local agency has both resistant and supportive expression.

Power and agency are also central to Stupples’ research into financial support for arts development and education in international development, and the impact of this upon the creative agency of artists (Stupples, 2011). This research, like Haskell’s, engages directly with cultural development, positioning it as a strand of international and community development that occupies ambivalent ground in both fields. Stupples describes the reduction in artist agency that results from a donor- or government-imposed focus on a particular set of prescribed ideals or themes for creative work through the experiences of an exemplary contemporary art school in the donor-dominated terrain of post-war Nicaragua, and argues for a more emancipatory development agency approach.

My research continues these conversations, in particular through examining the ways that music interventions are realised in these highly complex and contested spaces as practices that encompass aspects of music, education, and community development. It brings tensions concerning power, authority, aspiration and expertise to the fore, and contextualises and analyses the empirical data with knowledge from international development, education, and anthropology.
The fields of Education and Conflict, and Cultural Development

The practice-oriented focus of this research topic has also revealed an intersection of the scholarly fields of Education and Conflict (a subfield of comparative education) and Cultural Development. Both education and cultural development have found wider acceptance of their importance to the global development project in the last two decades. Before that, they often fell outside the divergent epistemologies and priorities of humanitarian aid and development aid. Humanitarian aid is constructed around the trope of ‘emergency’, and works with relatively short timeframes, with a needs-based logic. Development aid, on the other hand, is about longer-term, gradual change, and ‘helping people to help themselves’ through needs- and rights-based approaches. While education may have found a natural home in the latter, the accumulative negative effects of delaying education for vulnerable young people in emergency settings, and the corresponding social benefits that early provision can yield, have seen it become a key programming strand in emergency responses in the new millennium (Burde, 2014; Paulson & Rappleye, 2007). Since September 11, 2001, support for education in so-called ‘fragile’ stages has also been seen as a strategic interest for global security (Burde, Kapit, Wahl, Guven, & Skarpeteig, 2016).

Education and conflict literature provides useful context for understanding learning-focused programs in conflict-affected settings, particularly those embedded within formal education systems, and some of the historical antecedents that have shaped the present opportunities and limitations. Like music, education in conflict-affected settings can be a force for peace, or a force that continues and fuels conflict (Burde, 2014; Bush & Saltarelli, 2000; Davies, 2004). It can also be manipulated or co-opted by those in power (states, but also foreign interests) for political purposes and to retain control of key spaces for messages and dissent (Burde, 2014). However, unlike music or other arts provision, debates and research around Education and Conflict are focused less on its value (this is now accepted, even if resistance to its inclusion as humanitarian action still occurs), and more on operational questions of how to ensure its quality and efficacy in complex operational environments. In contrast, the inclusion of arts education in settings of high need is frequently beholden to assessments of its value and impact. This PhD research takes inspiration from the
practice-focused approach of Education and Conflict research, and seeks to build understanding of how music intervention projects work.

Cultural development occupies a similarly ambiguous place in the delineation between humanitarian and development aid, although it finds a more natural home in development. It has emerged as a distinctive field of knowledge in response to the ‘cultural turn’ in development that occurred in response to the acknowledged widespread failure of the ‘one-size-fits-all’ structural adjustment programs of the 1980s. A critical period for cultural development as an explicit development priority was the UN Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997). This period, marked by frequent international gatherings that set the policy agenda, helped to usher in greater recognition of development as a cultural process, and the fact that culture as a site for action had been marginalised in development up until that point (Stupples, 2014). Admittedly, the slippery nature of the word ‘culture’ can create a confused advocacy field (Hawkes, 2001). ‘Culture’ is often used interchangeably to mean artistic and aesthetic creative practices, tangible and intangible cultural expression, cultural production as an economic opportunity, and the “historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols” (Geertz, 1973, p. 89) that inform the values and patterns of life within a given social group.

Since the UN Decade for Cultural Development there have been consistent efforts to argue for a culturally-informed approach to human development, with particular bilateral aid programs taking a policy and funding lead (e.g. DANIDA, 2013; SDC, 2003). A series of UN-led Creative Economy Reports (for example, UNDP & UNESCO, 2013) has further contributed to understanding of the ways that arts participation, creative industries, and creative cultural expression can both drive and enable development, generating human and economic development benefits. The World Bank has similarly produced several policy development papers on the role of creative arts in development (for example, Kabanda, 2014). However, the findings are some way from becoming standardised in mainstream development strategies.

The music interventions I examine in this study contribute to the cultural development of their countries, and position themselves in dialogue with other arts, education, learning, and youth-focused initiatives. As a result, they grapple with many of the challenges facing cultural development initiatives, and benefit from conceptual inclusion in these areas of development programming.
The aim and contributions of this research

The multiple conceptual and theoretical overlaps across diverse scholarly fields presented thus far signal the interdisciplinary nature of the subject matter. My study aims to make theoretical, methodological, empirical, and practical contributions to its continued development, with the central aim of understanding how the dynamics of people, international development practices, and war legacies interact to shape, sustain, but also potentially hinder, the work and experience of music interventions.

The first intended contribution of this thesis is theoretical. Based on the data gathered I have developed a model of critical junctures for music interventions (see Data analysis in Chapter 2) with potential application to other arts-based ‘intervention’ projects in settings where war, intergroup conflict (including those in otherwise functional, stable societies), or catastrophes have produced extreme sociocultural volatility, and intense but short-term funding environments. In addition, I have identified key factors that shape and sustain music interventions in war-affected areas, towards development of a theory of sustainability for music interventions. The model and associated influential factors are described in Chapter 9.

The methodological contribution of this thesis is in its quest for a balanced embrace of multiple methods, given the complex task of investigating three very different and somewhat unstable sites. The constraints on access and varied sources of data indicated that a single, pre-determined set of methods would not suffice. Rather, it demanded a flexible approach, and I combine a wide range of literatures, frameworks, philosophical and theoretical concepts, and data sources in order to make sense of the large volume of rich and contextual data. It follows a clear and consistent logic for negotiating the complications in the case studies.

The third contribution is in the study’s presentation of empirical data from three contrasting, contemporary war-affected environments that includes the voices of participants and observers alongside organisers, and that encompasses shortcomings alongside achievements. Much of the research in music and conflict research is overly reliant on the viewpoints of organisers (Bergh, 2010), which, although important, are often a little one-sided and aspirational rather than grounded in day-to-day experiences. The empirical, qualitative data I present from a range of actors helps to elucidate tensions, nuances, and anomalies, and engages with the potential negative
aspects of music as an intervention alongside benefits. In addition, my focus on the ways that music interventions interact with the aid agency presence gives analytical attention to an element that is similarly under-explored.

Lastly, through ‘mapping’ the processes and practices of music schools and community music centres in war-affected settings and building theory, I hope to bring operations and the interactions between internal actors and the external environment into deeper perspective. As a critical and reflective study, the findings and conclusions may help practitioners and organisers of similar projects to undertake this kind of work more effectively. This is what I consider to be the study’s contribution to the world of practice.

As one of the first multi-sited studies of the phenomenon of music interventions in war-affected settings, and the first considering music schools and community music centres in these contexts, this study contributes to (applied) ethnomusicological studies at the intersection of music and conflict, and to research into music education practices outside mainstream Western contexts. However, the justification for this research extends beyond the academy to real-world sites of current practice. The world is as much at war as it has ever been, and continues to debate models and modes of intervention, recovery, and how to respond to the needs and desires of survivors. This study does not resolve any of those dilemmas but it does produce knowledge and tools that could help future music responses to be more effective, well-planned and executed, and adaptive to the contexts in which they work. It starts from the premise that these kinds of music projects will continue to be initiated, for the sheer reason that music-making (and other forms of aesthetic expression) occupies a place of great significance in human existence. It satisfies something so “singularly important to the human condition” (Wigram & Gold, 2012, p. 164) that people continue to engage with it even during times of great duress and challenge.

Therefore, this research has pragmatic and action-oriented objectives. It is written with practitioners and practitioner-researchers in mind as the primary audience. This group includes music educators, community musicians and community music therapists, ethnomusicologists, community arts and cultural development practitioners, music enthusiasts, and international development workers, as based on documented projects and observable patterns of project initiation, these are the likely
candidates to develop future ‘music interventions’. I also hope that findings in this thesis will provide guidance for those in a position to initiate or fund more arts-based work in development contexts. In these pages they will find information that helps to expand understanding of how music interventions interact with the complex terrain of war-affected contexts. While the stance I take is critical, I hope that it is also encouraging and affirming of what is possible.

The context for this research is imbued with the contested and the collaborative, the personal and the political, tightly interwoven in projects that, on the scale of the disaster and human suffering that surround them, could be considered to be relatively unimportant. However, as the coming chapters will show, music interventions have tremendous importance for some in the community, and nurture intentions beyond creating musical opportunities. They represent efforts to make something ideal in an un-ideal space, what Alen (quoted earlier) described as ‘dreams in a dreamless world’. To actualise these dreams requires the capacity to recognise and understand the forces that shape, help realise, and sustain them in the complex and charged world of conflict and aid. This is the work of the remainder of this thesis.

Overview of the thesis

In Chapter 1, Introduction: “Dreams in a dreamless world”, I have established the context for the research, presenting a brief autoethnographic rationale and a review of scholarship that positions music interventions as operating at the intersections of music and conflict, education in conflict-affected settings, and cultural development.

In Chapter 2, Approaches and challenges, I explain how I have approached the research. I give considerable attention to the challenges associated with research in war-affected areas, from both a methodological and ethical perspective. The data analysis generated a framework of critical junctures—significant sites of negotiation, decision-making, and action—and the thesis is structured thematically according to this framework, with chapter titles denoting each juncture.

Chapter 3, Three music interventions, introduces the case study sites, outlining the recent history of war, developments in music education provision, and patterns of international assistance. This chapter also presents some of the tensions that competing ideals of national and local identity have produced in each site, establishing an important aspect of the sociocultural backdrop.
Music interventions find their shape as an expression of what the initiator believes music can do and bring to a troubled setting. In **Chapter 4, Aims and motivations**, I consider first the intentions that drive many post-war music interventions, presented according to a typology of intentions (Music Education, Cultural Regeneration, Social Development, and Healing, Health, and Wellbeing) drawn from literature on this subject. Using this typology as a framework, I analyse the stated aims and underlying organiser motivations associated with the three case study interventions. These are considered alongside the participants’ motivations for participation, informed by their own constructs of meaning, value, and the usefulness of music. The chapter discusses the different functions that organisers’ stated aims and motivational roots play within the music intervention and the external context, and prepares the ground for forthcoming considerations of what these aspirations and drivers produced, recognising that this does not always follow the idealised trajectory.

Another decision that may occur early in a music intervention’s implementation concerns its accommodation. **Chapter 5, Buildings and facilities**, examines the contribution of the built environment to the shape and sustainability of the music intervention, as a material resource, source of psychological safety, and manifestation of aspirations and relationships. I also explore the tensions around buildings and reconstruction in humanitarian contexts.

While the aims and motivations of a music intervention can be construed as indicating music’s *utility*, and actions around buildings and infrastructure suggest perceptions of the *needs* of music learning, choices of pedagogy and the musical materials to be taught are a reflection of constructs of music’s *value*, translated into actions on the ground. **Chapter 6, Pedagogy and learning materials** is the first of two chapters concerned with practices; in this case, practices associated with the methods and content of music learning and teaching. The intercultural nature of many music interventions can complicate decision-making around pedagogy, and residual legacies of colonisation and Eurocentric constructs of musical value also assert influence, although not always in the direction of intervener to local participant. The ensuing power dynamics mean that pedagogy not only shapes the content of the intervention, it can be a site of internal contestation and conflict. This chapter unpacks the factors that influence decisions around what music to teach and how to teach it in each context.
Chapter 7, Organisational culture, continues the examination of practices, turning the analytical gaze to the ways that power dynamics and organisational approaches are negotiated within the organisational culture of each of the case study sites. I examine cultural styles, how power is shared and retained, the key sites of agency for project participants, and the relationships between shared organisational narratives and internal fragmentations, with the latter potentially arising when the espoused desires described in Chapter 4 translate into actions.

Internal engagement is an important contributor to organisational culture but is also a significant component of the previous critical junctures, present in the data and discussions in each of these chapters. Given that internal stakeholders were the primary data source for this research, internal engagement as one of the six critical junctures is not examined separately, but integrated throughout the data-driven chapters and findings.

Organisational culture must also be understood within its wider context. Chapter 8, External engagement, examines the relationships that the three music interventions built with their local community, and donors and other funding partners, and the different obstacles to engagement the local environment may produce. I contextualise these with a detailed overview of the war-related sociocultural norms and behaviours that may impact the way arts and music endeavours are valued within a war-affected society. While donor relationships are assumed to hold the key to longterm sustainability, the case studies demonstrate the vulnerability of dependence on external partners.

The thesis concludes with Chapter 9, Sustainability, a model, and future actions. The chapter opens with consideration of what sustainability means in these projects, and gives a summary of the key issues that arose in the three case studies in their efforts to sustain activities. While not every music intervention is designed (or needs) to sustain itself beyond the period of external assistance, many will have established their value among participants, and therefore it becomes necessary to adapt to the changed social, cultural, and economic terrain. Across the three case studies, three models for future sustainability are identified and discussed. I then pull together the data to generate a theoretical model that captures the process of implementing a music intervention, built around the critical junctures that have formed the thesis architecture. This leads to an overview of factors that the case
studies suggest are conducive for sustainability in music interventions, as well as suggestions for future actions and research. The closing Epilogue is a brief reflection on the intrinsic human forces that underpin these music interventions.
CHAPTER 2: Approaches and Challenges

There is a wealth of work that examines music and conflict, education and conflict, and cultural development in contexts dominated by international aid and development (see also Chapter 1). This literature has provided insights and contextual detail that have informed the research design. For example, the work of Baker (2014) and Bergh and Sloboda (2010) focused on music as a vehicle for social change, and demonstrated the importance of gathering different actor perspectives. Both studies illustrated the discrepancy that can grow between organisers’ rhetoric and participant experiences. Recent research approaching music practices as eco-systems (Schippers & Grant, 2016) steered the research design to approach the music interventions as operating within the forces, constraints and opportunities of their wider contexts, corroborating conceptualisations of aid interventions in conflict-affected places more generally (Anderson, 1999).

Post-development and critical anthropology of development literature reinforced the significance of inquiry into the power structures between interveners and recipients that Haskell (2011) and Stupples (2011) highlighted in their work. Post-development thinking encompasses arguments, theories and perspectives that generally seek alternatives to development (as opposed to development alternatives). It critiques development as a Eurocentric construct and an extension of colonial discourse, with authoritarian and technocratic implications (Escobar, 1995; Ziai, 2007). Post-development reading steered me towards actor-oriented approaches to research in development settings. Developed by Long (2001), and espoused by De Vries (2007), Lie (2008), Lewis et al. (2003) and others, actor-oriented approaches emphasise agency and see intervention recipients as engaged in pragmatic negotiations rather than being passively ‘acted upon’, and thus mediating the power of remote or external structures (Long, 2001, p. 13).

Additionally, my earlier professional experiences as a musician in war-affected areas had attuned me to several other questions of practice that I found to be under-examined in existing research into similar projects. I wanted to understand how
the interculturality of music interventions dealt with differing philosophical constructs of music. The tensions that these could create had been evident during my experiences as a community music project leader in Timor-Leste and remote Indigenous Australia. Further, I wanted to address some of the contradictions that could emerge when the ambitions for long-term existence that many music interventions hold coincided with the project-focused funding environment of international aid.

In order to capture these complex social realities, this research is constructivist in approach, with people’s views, understandings, interpretations of experiences and interactions with others forming the backbone of the study (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In addition, in order to critique and problematise the power- and value-laden structures of wars and international development, a certain level of critical theory has been valuable, in particular from the scholarly fields of critical pedagogy and critical development studies. The critical theory lens has helped me to unpack aspirational claims and build a more nuanced understanding of what is taking place and the competing interests at play.

In many studies that examine arts-based work in development or conflicted settings, the intervention’s stated intention forms the analytical framework for the research. This pre-determination ensures a focus on expected or probable outcomes, which are useful when determining effective use of donor funds, for example, but which can limit producing understanding of the possibilities that could arise (Hunter & Page, 2014). Arguably, it may also increase the possibility of ‘demand effects’, where interviewees respond to a question with the answer that they sense the questioner is seeking (Rosenthal, 1967). This study has tried to ensure methodological space for unexpected and emergent (in the sense of emerging from interrelationships between parts of a complex system) findings related to the experience of participating in a music intervention.

My hope is that this helps to progress the conversation from one of impact (which becomes a key determinant of worth in funding environments focused on measurement) and toward practices and meaning. It shifts focus away from often-circular arguments of impact and value and instrumentalised justifications for including arts in programming, to the generation of new understanding around how to do the work better: more effectively, and more meaningfully. These ideals and approaches to inquiry have guided the study’s research design and methods.
Research Design

In order to capture the social phenomenon of music interventions within their context, I used a multi-sited instrumental case study design. This enabled exploration of music interventions as a distinctive practice, where the cases would be deployed to illuminate and provide deeper understanding of the phenomenon in action (Stake, 1995, p. 3). I found strong support for the choice of case study in social science analysis of post-conflict intervention research and epistemology, where multiple scholars had found data-rich, contextually-grounded qualitative case studies to yield the most useful and accurate insights (Berrebi & Thelen, 2011; Davis, 2011; Woodward, 2012).

The instrumental case study design also enabled me to approach the topic with both depth and breadth (depth within each of the three case studies, and breadth through the examination of three contrasting war-affected sites). My goal was to achieve “particularisation, rather than generalisation” (Stake, 1995, p. 8), using the three cases to illustrate the particular, peculiar, and distinctive ways that the music interventions interacted with their wider contexts, and the interplay and interrelationships of the actors and structures involved. Having three cases to investigate has also allowed me to think laterally across the three at different points in the analysis, revealing common patterns, and hopefully producing deeper understanding of the phenomenon of music interventions in war-affected settings more generally.

The focus on generating understanding (rather than producing an evaluation) and my interest in theory development also called for a design that would embrace grounded theory approaches. These will be described in more detail in the forthcoming ‘Analysis’ subsection.

Conceptual mapping

Early conceptual mapping of this topic revealed multiple overlaps and interconnections between the music interventions, the actors involved, and their respective wider contexts. This led to a conception of forces playing an influential role on the decisions made and the priorities of various actors. ‘Forces’ in this context referred to a conflation of influential factors and variables within various decision-making spaces (such as decisions about pedagogy, or of buildings and facilities). The
factors and variables were not necessarily structural (although some were); they included environmental and relational factors, personal worldviews and ideologies, political agendas, competing cultural norms, and institutional loyalties. I conceptualised the forces as underpinning decisions and processes within the music interventions in ways that would shape the activities, and potentially contribute to their longer-term sustainability.

The expansive web of connections and interrelations between the various components and the wider context also suggested compatibility with complex systems. There is increasing support for a conceptualisation of war-affected and aid-dominated sites as complex social systems (Berrebi & Thelen, 2011; Coleman, 2006; Hendrick, 2009; Ramalingam, 2013; World Economic Forum, 2013). While it was not the goal of this research project to analyse the three case studies according to a complexity theoretical framework, it has nevertheless been helpful to be mindful of the ways that complex systems function, and to view the sites through a complexity lens. Important characteristics of complexity for this study are: non-linear relationships between events and outcomes; interrelationships between entities (including the music intervention, the people it gathered, and their interactions in and with the wider local context) as a source of emergent properties and unexpected changes; and the likelihood of disproportionate responses within the system, so that small actions have the potential to trigger much larger reactions.

**Site selection**

The three case study sites were selected to represent diverse environments and sets of circumstances, as well as representing contrasting approaches to the task of implementing and delivering a music intervention. The geographically and culturally dissimilar sites with their contrasting socioeconomic and political profiles, conflict histories, and cultural traits also supported the goal of theorisation. The diversity and scope inevitably added a further layer of complexity to my research project, particularly given the limitations of doctoral research in terms of timeframe for research, an individual researcher, available funding, and the requirements of the final thesis report. However, the value of analysing empirical data from contrasting war-affected sites outweighed the challenges, as it added rigour to the analytical process and weight to any commonalities and patterns that emerged. Additionally, I was
aware the contrasting empirical data would make a valuable contribution to the field at this stage in its evolution.

Site selections were made according to four criteria, with each step reducing the number of options. I looked for sites with:

1. A recent history of war and/or civil conflict (post-Cold War, due to the key shifts outlined in Chapter 1) and a large-scale presence of aid agencies;
2. The presence of music-based initiatives that could be considered music interventions due to the involvement of external funders providing a form of ‘cultural aid’ (as termed by Haskell, 2011);
3. Music activities that were delineated to some degree, with scheduled times, and some kind of organisational structure supporting them, and where the primary purpose for the activity was distinct from larger community celebrations or religious ritual; and
4. A focus on participatory music-making and learning rather than the promotion of concerts and presentational events involving professional or highly-skilled performers.

A further factor that emerged in the selection process was to take advantage of my prior lived experience in two of the short-listed countries, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Timor-Leste. My pre-existing networks of contacts, language skills, and cultural familiarity facilitated the data gathering process and reduced some of the challenges of international research. These prior experiences enabled more informed and context-sensitive interpretations of the data.

The three sites I selected were the Pavarotti Music Centre, Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Hadahur Music School in Timor-Leste and the Afghanistan National Institute of Music. Together, they reflected the transience and mutability of conflict-affected places and the sustainability challenges that music interventions may face. The Pavarotti Music Centre is still in existence, but has experienced a number of existential threats in the years since its inauguration; the Hadahur Music School closed within eighteen months of opening; and the Afghanistan National Institute of Music is still in its first decade of operations. Their foundation narratives are provided in Chapter 3.
The three sites also offered valuable contrasts in retrospectivity. Research participants in Bosnia-Herzegovina were describing music activities that took place fifteen years earlier, and therefore the meanings they ascribed to events were informed by a long-range view. This gave them distance from the rhetoric of the time, and meant that they were offering perspectives that had retained salience across the life-transition from youth to adulthood. It also presented the possibility of capturing changes attributed to the music intervention that had taken some years to emerge. Timorese research participants described events that took place within the last five years but were short-lived; again, this produced commentary that was informed by the key events that were the most significant in their memories. The Afghan participants, in contrast, were describing experiences that were predominant in their lives at the current time, with limited opportunities for review over time, and subject to constant internal reinforcement and external contestation. Methodologically, this introduces variables associated with memory and reliability, but also gives additional perspective on how experiences and meaning evolve over time.

**Sample of research participants in each site**

In each of the case-study sites purposeful sampling was used in order to gather a wide range of viewpoints about how the music intervention impacted and influenced highly-involved participants, as well as those more distant or opposed to it (Maxwell, 2005, p. 72; Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 27). A total of 69 individual and group interviews were held (see Appendix A), with some informants taking part in multiple interviews. Informants included:

- Participants in programmed music activities;
- Participants in music activities that were also (or went on to be) staff members of the music program;
- Other local staff;
- Local people who were part of the target demographic but were *not* participants in the activities;
- Foreign staff (paid employees and volunteers);
- Organisers (those responsible for establishing the intervention/initiative, including NGO staff);
- Local community members (cultural leaders, spokespeople, politicians).
These groups were clustered into four perspectives: Participants, Staff, Organisers, and Observers. I used my knowledge of the cases to make initial approaches to key individuals associated with the music interventions in each site. I then used snowball sampling to build the sample, asking research participants and interpreters, “Who else do you think I should talk to?” in order to access divergent points of view and experiences (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 28). The hope was that, as data accumulated and gaps were revealed, the opportunistic approach would generate a diverse sample with maximum variation. However, in the Bosnia case study, it yielded a sample that was less diverse than intended. The reasons for this, and the implications, are discussed below. In Timor-Leste and for research participants beyond enrolled students in the Afghanistan case, snowball sampling was effective. The methods used in each case are detailed below.

**Research methods common to the three sites**

The study is predominantly an ethnographic study, albeit with a greater emphasis on interview data than participant observation given limited opportunities for the latter, and complemented with data from extant texts and documents. The primary method of data gathering was in-depth, semi-structured interviews across a purposeful sample of research participants. These were primarily one-to-one with durations between 45 and 120 minutes, and were recorded and later transcribed. I also conducted several interviews with groups of two or three which I have classed as interviews rather than focus groups, as their small size did not yield the kinds of cross-group discussions that are characteristic of focus groups or group interviews (Krueger & Casey, 2009; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Only two group interviews in Bosnia (with 3-5 people) broke with this pattern and engaged in cross-group conversations. Interviews enabled me to explore the experiences of individuals in detail, and the semi-structured approach accommodated flexibility in the conversation, with space for probes and tangents as new ideas or issues emerged. Interviews also enabled me to retain a degree of direction over the data, which suited the short timeframes for data gathering and the limited opportunities for other forms of ethnographic data (such as participant observation) in each site.

I followed a qualitative interviewing approach, with a focus on experiences, actions, processes and meaning, probing as necessary to ensure my understanding of
their experience was as complete as possible. The semi-structured approach allowed me to follow a structured but conversational path that the participants would find engaging and relaxed (see interview guides in Appendix B). As data gathering progressed in each site, questions were focused towards particular topics of experiences, processes or events that were emerging in the concurrent data gathering-analysis process as having particular theoretical interest, consistent with grounded theory methods (Charmaz, 2003).

In each of the sites, some interviews were conducted in the local language with the assistance of a professional interpreter. This added an extra layer of interpretation and potential filters to the conversation (Nesbitt, 2000). At the same time, I was aware that my interpreters also provided valuable cultural insights and brokerage, offering interpretation of cultural nuances and non-verbal communication that I as an outsider was less likely to register or understand. I therefore engaged my interpreters less as passive conduits of language and more as culturally-sensitive agents playing an active role in generating understanding (Beaudry, 2008; Hsieh & Kramer, 2012).

Participant observation was a secondary source of in-person data. I observed a small number of classes that were connected to the music interventions in their current iterations in Bosnia and Timor-Leste. They provided insights into the social interactions between learners, teachers and the wider environment that have been maintained over time. Observations were documented using a matrix focused on elements such as pedagogy, interpersonal relationships, personal motivations, and meaning, but that also allowed for “unanticipated happenings that reveal the nature of the case” (Stake, 1995, p. 55).

In addition to human sources, the study included a considerable range of printed and media texts as data for analysis in each case. These ranged from annual reports and internal documents to publicly available print, video and audio materials. Field journal entries in each site explored early patterns, recalled ethnographic detail, informal conversations with contacts and strangers, emerging leads and connections, and included early analytical memos. Beyond this general approach, the specificities of each fieldwork site ultimately demanded a tailored approach to data gathering. The following three subsections address these, and the methods adopted to accommodate them.
Methods in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Bosnia-Herzegovina was my first fieldwork site (November 2013). I had maintained contact with acquaintances in Mostar from my time working there in 1998, and therefore my initial interviews began with those people, and I grew the sample through introductions that this initial group facilitated. As patterns in the early interview data emerged, more specific experiences of the music intervention in question were targeted. The network of contacts and my familiarity with the site meant that I could complete the fieldwork in three weeks.

Given that one of the Pavarotti Music Centre’s aims had been to help draw youths from both sides of ethnically-divided Mostar together, I prioritised inclusion of perspectives from both sides of that divide. I also sought out interviews with individuals that lived as a member of a minority ethnic group on either side of the town. Local informants agreed that the ethno-religious division in the town was important to capture in the sample. However, after the fieldwork period had ended and I had begun to analyse the transcripts in depth, I realised the town also featured other significant sociocultural divisions that I had not accommodated in the sample. Most significant among these was the marked social divide between ‘pre-war Mostarians’ (i.e. those that had lived in Mostar prior to the war), and the town’s large population of wartime and postwar internally-displaced people. An attempt to address this gap during a short return visit in June 2016 was unsuccessful. The significance of this gap is discussed in Chapter 8, with regard to community engagement with the Pavarotti Music Centre.

I disclosed my ‘insider’ status as a former staff member at the Pavarotti Music Centre in each of the interviews. I did not register a shift in the tone or content of the interview as a result of this disclosure. Informants most often found it a passing curiosity and little more; several did not appear to register it at all and would take care to name individuals and events in their narratives, assuming they would be unfamiliar to me. I wondered if it might mean informants would avoid making critical or negative statements, assuming a continued loyalty on my part to the Centre. However, this did not appear to cause people to choose their words with caution. Even those with a continued close association with the Music Centre spoke openly and critically about their experiences. This may have been because most of the events
were long in the past. I noted that the critical reflections they shared on their experiences of war, aid, and foreign interventions were similarly unrestrained.

Throughout the three-week fieldwork period I based myself in Mostar where the majority of interviews took place, and travelled to two rural areas to seek out former participants. I also interviewed three people in Sarajevo, one in Amsterdam, and three via Skype. I engaged a local translator to assist with the Mostar interviews and the translation of the plain language statement. In all, 31 individuals and three groups participated in the research in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I also sought and received the support of the current Director of the Pavarotti Music Centre for the research. He and his staff assisted me with access to archival documents. These documents were analysed, along with a business plan created by an external consultant in 2003, a small set of media publications about the Pavarotti Music Centre, and my personal journal from the period I lived and worked in Mostar in 1998.

**Methods in Timor-Leste**

In Timor-Leste, I was researching a music school (Hadahur Music School) that no longer existed. While this posed challenges in terms of finding people that had been involved at the time, the case appeared rich with ideological tensions and characteristics common to many grassroots development settings (faith-based actors and independent individuals eager to contribute in a place of need) that suggested potential transferability of learnings to other settings. However, the fact that the project had struggled to realise its stated goals meant that it provoked feelings of sadness, disappointment, or embarrassment for some of those involved. An early challenge was to elicit responses about a disappointing project in a culture that avoids direct criticisms and speaking frankly about negative experiences, particular to people from outside their community. Data gathering was further complicated by the fact that two music school participants still worked within the organisation that had initiated the music intervention in question. Their loyalty and obligations to their employer needed to be considered a factor in their responses, and in my ethical obligations to them regarding their employment security, privacy, and comfort.

Here, my prior experience working in Timor-Leste provided helpful insights. I was aware of the Timorese preference to speak indirectly about uncomfortable subjects, and to avoid speaking critically about others. Interviews were planned to
move obliquely towards the more challenging aspects of the music school. While the interviews were essentially semi-structured, I used open-ended probes (“What happened after that?”) so that any mention of difficulties came first from the interviewees; focused on actions rather than specific people involved with difficult events (“What do you think should have been done differently?”); expressed empathy and humour (“Aargh, stressful!”), and focused first on achievements and successes before discussing what went wrong. I listened for self-interruptions and pauses that might indicate when a topic was venturing into uncomfortable territory (Rogers, 2005), and ensured interviews finished on a positive note (Charmaz, 2003).

My Timorese fieldwork took place across three weeks in May-June 2014. I based myself in the capital city Dili where most of my research participants lived, and travelled to outlying rural areas as required. I engaged a local interpreter for interviews in the local language Tetun. I invited each of the research participants to nominate their preferred language for interview, and three interviewees chose to be interviewed in English, given their fluency and experience working in that language. Further interviews were conducted in person and via Skype with informants in Australia. Two people across the informant group asked that a pseudonym be used.

In locating former participants to include in the research, I began with those still working with the music school’s parent organisation (the “Religious Sisters’ Development Program” or RSDP, a pseudonym used at the request of the organisation), and asked for their assistance in locating other former students. RSDP staff facilitated my visit to the remote and rural Bessilau School that had been the pilot school for the classroom music teacher training. In hindsight I realised this created an impression that I was associated with RSDP, which may have pre-disposed the teachers and students focus groups to emphasise their sadness at the music program’s demise in case I might be an influential person that could see it re-instated. I attempted to debunk this perception with explanations (via interpreter) of the purpose of my visit and my lack of connection with RSDP; however, in a context where the appearance of new resources has historically followed the sudden arrival of foreign people asking questions about needs or provision (Anderson et al., 2012, p. 22), such an explanation probably had limited credibility. Where data from these focus groups appear in the thesis, I acknowledge this tension.
Two former participants in the music school were found by chance, through friends of friends, and through my attendance at local concerts during the fieldwork period. This was a benefit of being able to spend 3 weeks in the field.

The lack of an existing school precluded observational data; however, I watched video footage of several events from the school’s operational period (classroom music workshops, a violin lesson, and two public performances). I was also a participant observer in several RSDP classroom music sessions during the fieldwork period, which provided an example of how RSDP had continued the music program since the closure of the school.

In total, the Timor-Leste data comprised five interviews with Hadahur adult learners and local trainee teachers, five interviews with Australian organisers and former teachers, four interviews with local observers, and two small group interviews at Bessilau School (with two students in one group and three teachers in the other). I also accessed internal planning documents, promotion materials, and the annual reports of the parent organisation.

**Methods in Afghanistan**

I had hoped to travel to Afghanistan in early 2014 in order to visit the Afghanistan National Institute of Music [ANIM]; however, a dramatic deterioration of the security situation in Kabul from January of that year created understandable duty of care concerns for my university and the proposed fieldtrip could not take place. I therefore resolved to meet students from the school during one of their international tours and waited for such a tour to be confirmed. An opportunity arose a year later when a choir and traditional music ensemble from ANIM took part in the ‘ChoirFest Middle East’ event in Dubai, March 2015. I travelled to Dubai and accompanied the touring group throughout their stay, attending rehearsals, workshops, performances, and sharing meals and leisure time.

At just three days, this ‘fieldwork period’ was brief in comparison to the fieldwork periods in the other two sites, and I remained with the group throughout their stay in Dubai in order to maximise my access. I had hoped to engage a local Dari-to-English interpreter for the fieldwork duration; however, a suitable person could not be found. I therefore needed to rely on the two staff members travelling with the ANIM group to interpret for me, namely, the schools’ founder and director.
(who translated one interview), and the school administrator (who translated four interviews). This posed two challenges: it restricted interview times to when those two people were free during a demanding three-day tour schedule, and it opened the possibility of filtered conversations, where interpreters might adjust the interviewees’ words in order to reflect the school’s desired messages and statements, or where students might speak less freely in the presence of a teacher.

I was alert to these possibilities during the interviews and later during analysis. The student interviews that took place in English provided a useful yardstick: Did they contain markedly different statements to those interview responses given via interpreter in Dari? I found that all the student interviews contained similar descriptions of experience and meaning, regardless of the language of interview. This could have been due to a number of reasons (e.g. like experiences; personal engagement with ANIM’s in-school messaging; and media training); however, it suggested that any interpreter embellishment, if present, had little impact. Rather, given the school’s high international profile and regular stream of visiting journalists, it is likely that students are aware of what is appropriate or inappropriate to say to a visiting researcher. In addition, demand effect, where interviewees give the responses that they sense the interviewer would like to hear (Rosenthal, 1967) was a possible factor. I saw the consistency as indicating something particular about the school culture and therefore an interesting object for analysis, rather than indicating corruption of data.

Given the brevity of the fieldwork period, I also analysed mass media interviews with students and staff, and other media profiles of the school alongside the interview transcripts. There is ample supply of this material and it enabled me to access additional insights about the in-school experience of students and visitors and further triangulate the student interview data I gathered in Dubai. It also helped me track changes in the school over time. The documentary film of ANIM’s first eighteen months, Dr Sarmast’s Music School (Watkins, 2012), was a particularly valuable source of additional data.

Throughout the Dubai fieldwork I gathered participant observational data, as I witnessed the students at work and play. While this did not replicate life in the Kabul school, it allowed me to observe student interactions with each other and their teachers, and build a picture of how these relationships work in the context of public
concerts, and student-staff expectations. Later, a former teacher described the intense degree of ‘stage management’ that accompanies visitors’ tours of the school in Kabul; in which case, gathering data at some distance may also have provided advantages.

In total, data gathering for the Afghanistan case comprised interviews with seven students (six in Dubai in March 2015, with two taking part in a paired interview; one via Facebook Messenger in October 2016 and October 2017), one graduate/junior faculty, two former staff, and five interviews with the school’s Director (including notes on conversations that were later verified with the informant). Extant texts in the form of school promotional publications, mass media interviews, profiles, and documentaries complemented this primary data.

The periods of relatively short but nonetheless intense ‘exposure’ to ‘the field’ and use of additional tools such as online connections for the gathering of data are indicative of what Cooley and Barz (2008) refer to as “the new fieldwork” (p. 14-15). Combined with my earlier transformative yet ultimately unsettled experiences as a musician working in ‘music interventions’, I understand my fieldwork and data gathering as attempting, as Rice (2008) describes, to mediate “between the epistemological, methodological work of explanation . . . and the ontological understandings of human and musical experience in the field” (p. 47). In this way I am very much present in the written account.

Table 1, below, gives a summary of the data gathering in each site. A full list of interviews—noting date of interview, the perspective from which the informant spoke, pseudonyms (where applicable), the medium and language of interview—and other data sources is provided in Appendix A.
### Analysing data

Data analysis was thematic and inductive, and followed grounded theory methods as described by Charmaz (2006), Creswell (2007), and Glaser (1998). Grounded theory provides well-established analytical tools in studies where there is no theory available to explain a process or people’s experience of a phenomenon, and is a logical method for generating theory. In particular, these tools were a strong match for the open-ended analytical focus I wanted to maintain, and the high volume of data I was handling (Charmaz, 2003). As I was investigating a nascent research subject, I found great value in using an iterative process, where each progressive fieldwork stage builds upon the themes emerging in the previous one(s), with the possibility of generating theory or a framework for future research (Creswell, 2007, p. 63).

This meant that I conducted data analysis concurrently with data gathering, maintaining a reflexive journal, notes on interviews, documenting emerging meanings and ideas, and writing memos on the most salient of these (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). I then followed an inductive and iterative coding process (Charmaz, 2003), working from the specific upwards to the general, beginning with the data set from Bosnia. It involved the following steps:

- Transcription of interviews
- Close reading of the text, observing patterns as they arose
- Line by line open coding of three sample transcripts
- Batching these codes to make six categories: Local context (with subcodes pre-war and post-war); Provision and Pedagogy; Organisation and Leadership; External influences; Outcomes; and an emic code, “Because this is Mostar” that gathered together comments about the patterns of life in the local context. I coded remaining transcripts according to these categories.
- Within each category I separately assembled the excerpted comments of three groups of internal stakeholders (participants, staff, and organisers), and external observers.
- Memo-ing on patterns and tensions emerging within each of these categories, leading towards compiling of the complete ‘case’.

---

Table 1: Summary of data sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Data set from Bosnia</td>
<td>Local context (pre-war and post-war), Provision and Pedagogy, Organisation and Leadership, External influences, Outcomes, Because this is Mostar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td>Notes on interviews, documenting emerging meanings and ideas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>Coding process, inductive and iterative.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When I undertook the first fieldwork period in Bosnia-Herzegovina, I intended to foreground the experiences of local people, and examine local perceptions of impact and change. However, by mid-2014, with the Afghan data gathering in doubt (the possibility of joining a group from ANIM on tour had not yet emerged) and only a small number of former Hadahur participants accessible in Timor-Leste, I made an analytical turn away from the outcomes and impacts that these participant experiences described towards operational and cultural processes, which absorbed the categories of ‘local context’ and ‘external influences’ into one, ‘External Engagement’, and added ‘Aims and Motivations’. The final set of categories were those that were the most salient in shaping and sustaining activities across the three case studies: Aims and Motivations; Buildings and Facilities; Pedagogy and Learning Materials; Organisational Culture; and External Engagement. *Internal* engagement also played a role in shaping and sustaining the music interventions but was integrated throughout the other categories.

With each iteration it became clear that these categories were more than descriptive labels for the purpose of analysis; they also outlined a set of what I came to call *critical junctures* in the experience of initiating and sustaining a music intervention in a war-affected setting. Each critical juncture represented a key site of negotiation for the actors involved, where the choices, action, and processes that occurred were significant for shaping the music intervention and its potential sustainability. The intensity of these negotiations meant that they were also sites where vulnerabilities could be exposed and the project destabilised.

Together, the critical junctures formed a framework for analysis and a thematic structure for the thesis. I present them in a loose chronology; however, they are not necessarily linear, nor are they as neatly divisible as this implies. Each of the critical junctures can occur concurrently, or feature very malleable indistinct boundaries, and may be closely coupled to a juncture that does not precede or follow it.

**Writing this thesis**

Close examination of the data determined that a thematic structure for this thesis was far more enlightening than presenting findings from each of the cases consecutively. While the latter approach would have allowed me to keep the narrative threads within
each of the cases intact, and enable the reader to enter those worlds uninterrupted, it was less accommodating of cross-case comparisons and observations. The thematic structure with a chapter for each critical juncture enabled a focus on the phenomenon in question, that of music interventions. I felt that this approach would effectively demonstrate the heterogeneity of the sites and contexts while illuminating those elements that favour similar or divergent functions. Ultimately, this proved a more useful way to answer the research questions, although I was aware of the demands it could impose on the reader, particularly the task of keeping the particulars of the three cases clear and separate.

The internal structure of each chapter is determined by the data. In the critical junctures where each case yields data to a similar level of detail, I take a case-by-case approach, examining each consecutively according to a given analytical framework. However, in some critical junctures, the data indicated a thematic approach. In order to orientate the reader in this structural variation, each chapter is introduced with a diagram outlining the overall structure, themes, and analytical frameworks and typologies engaged. I use the word ‘sections’ to refer to the main chapter divisions (i.e. the cases, or the themes, introduced with Level 2 headings), and ‘sub-sections’ to refer to the divisions within these (e.g. components of a framework, or cases within a theme, Level 3 headings).

The difference in scope across the three music interventions means that in some chapters, one or two of the cases may predominate. For example, in Chapter 5, Buildings and Facilities, the Pavarotti Music Centre’s purpose-built home illustrates many of the issues that can arise in reconstruction projects in war-affected settings, and is the dominant example in much of the discussion. This unevenness is reversed in Chapter 6, Pedagogy and Learning Materials, where the Hadahur Music School commands more of the spotlight.

When writing about processes and individuals at ANIM that are ongoing in the present time, I use the present tense. In contrast, I predominantly use the past tense when writing about the Pavarotti Music Centre (even though the entity still exists), because the period of particular interest in its history for this thesis is its first two years.
Nomenclature

There are several debates around how to name the countries and peoples with which this thesis is concerned. The country of Bosnia-Herzegovina (*Bosna i Hercegovina*) is made up of two geographical regions, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The town of Mostar (where the Pavarotti Music Centre is located) is in the geographical region of Herzegovina; the capital Sarajevo is in Bosnia. The correct and full name of the *state* is Bosnia-Herzegovina. However, in common with standard usage in English I abbreviate this to ‘Bosnia’ to refer to the state rather than the geographical region.

In the ethnically-divided town of Mostar there are many local variations on how to describe its partition. In current times, those that resist and challenge the town’s ongoing partition avoid legitimising its division with identifiers such as ‘East Mostar’ and ‘West Mostar’ or with reference to ‘sides’. Most of the informants in this research belong to this group. However, given the centrality of the geographic division and ethnic segregation to the music intervention, and to aid reader clarity, I describe the Bosniak-held eastern half of the town as ‘East Mostar’ or ‘the eastern side of Mostar’ and the Croat-held western half of the town as ‘West Mostar’ or ‘the western side of Mostar’.

The country of Timor-Leste occupies the eastern half of the island of Timor in the Indonesian archipelago. It has been known by different names as a result of its history of colonisation and occupation. During the Portuguese colonial era it was called Portuguese Timor. Once occupied by Indonesia it became known as East Timor (*Timur Timor*, distinguishing it from the other half of the island, West Timor). Following the popular referendum on independence in 1999 and the transfer of government from the UN Transitional Administration in 2002, the country’s official name became the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste, or Timor-Leste. I use the name ‘East Timor’ when writing about events during the Indonesian occupation, and ‘Timor-Leste’ for events following independence. For simplicity, I refer to the people of East Timor as ‘Timorese’ (rather than ‘East Timorese’), in common with usage in the CIA World Factbook (CIA, 2017) and the Government of Timor-Leste’s official
website\textsuperscript{2}, as the thesis content does not necessitate differentiating between East and West Timorese people.

Historically, the term ‘Afghan’ was synonymous with members of the Pashtun tribe, the most politically dominant ethnic group in modern Afghanistan. However, more recent usage of the term accords with the Constitution of Afghanistan, where it denotes a national affiliation with the state of Afghanistan, regardless of the ethnic or tribal group the individual belongs to. I use it in this contemporary sense.

\textbf{Ethical considerations}

In every research project there is the potential for both benefits and harms. This PhD research was undertaken with the intention of producing useful knowledge about little-known projects that could help similar projects be undertaken more effectively, and with appropriate resources. Every effort was taken to minimise any risk of negative impact on research participants through their involvement in this research project; nevertheless, the potential for harm to be caused inadvertently was present. Griffith University’s Human Research Ethics Committee approved the research in October 2013 and assessed it as low risk, given the subject under discussion, the age of the participants, and their self-selection (see Appendix C). However, the contexts for fieldwork were complex, and the backdrop to the music interventions under discussion was one of recent violence and potential trauma.

The project involved human research participants talking about a subject that, for the majority, was of particular interest to them. Indirect benefits of participation included the chance to talk at length and in depth about experiences that held particular meaning or importance to the informants with someone who had a detailed knowledge about the subject. Some were describing experiences that had been challenging at the time. One person, at the end of the interview, admitted that feelings of “agitation and frustration” had arisen as a result of retelling her music intervention experiences; however, she still deemed it worthwhile because “others will hopefully learn from it”. Interviewees in Bosnia frequently ended the conversation by saying, “I hope I’ve helped you”, or “I hope this has been useful for you”. Former teachers from Afghanistan spoke at length, and all commented that their interviews felt almost

\textsuperscript{2} http://timor-leste.gov.tl/?lang=en
cathartic. They considered the interview helpful in assisting them to process their experiences from a distance, and expressed surprise at how freely they had spoken with me.

At the same time, there were risks present due to talking about events that had occurred in a wider context of upheavals and challenges. The extent to which these were war-related challenges varied—for example, the Hadahur Music School opened during a relatively peaceful time in Timor-Leste, in comparison to the contexts of the Pavarotti Music Centre and the Afghanistan National Institute of Music—but distress and defensive responses can be triggered many years after a traumatic event (Ajduković, 2013; Summerfield, 1991), and I therefore remained alert to this possibility. Prior to interviews in each site I familiarised myself with the support networks and services available, and watched for subtle shifts in demeanour in interviewees as interviews progressed, asking: “Are you happy to keep talking? Would you like to take a break?” and encouraging people to speak generally about difficult experiences rather than specifically.

These concerns were particularly relevant for the Afghan students. An event that three students nominated to talk about in response to a question about challenging times in their education was the suicide bombing attack on one of their performances a few months earlier, when their Director had been seriously injured. The first time it was raised, the student was speaking in English.

My bad time was just when I go to the concert, at that place, I will just try to [breaks off] where Dr Sarmast [inaudible] the imploshmen, impolosioment . . . [Mimes an explosion, and does a sound effect]. Yeah, that was my bad time [he says “ti-i-ime”, dragging the word out]. Yeah but, I’m [pauses] not happy from that. [Laughs slightly, looking at ground, shaking his head, sucking at his lips]. Yeah, I didn’t [breaks off] I can’t talk about that because, uh [pauses] yeah.

I assured him that he didn’t need to continue talking, and held eye contact, looking for an indication that we should stop the interview. But he smiled at me, so I asked a question about his future ambitions, and his happier demeanour returned. He answered in the enthusiastic manner that had characterised the interview to that point,
and we ended on a positive note. I let the school chaperones know what had emerged in the conversation, so that they could follow up further with him.

The second time this topic was raised was in an interview with two girls and their chaperone, a trusted member of the school team. Again, the subject of the suicide bombing came at the interviewees’ instigation. On this occasion, the presence of the interpreter, a woman who had lived through the event alongside the students, was important. After translating the students’ answers, the interpreter then told me, in English, more details about the event—how she had learned of it, how news had spread through the school community—and as she talked, her eyes welled with tears and her students looked on gravely.

I felt that this disclosure was important to the students and their teacher, and that my role in hearing them was to actively listen and create a space in which they could talk about this trauma as an element in their lived experience. They wanted me to know, and therefore they chose to talk about it. Perhaps the situation may have been different if the interpreter had been a stranger, a hired professional. It might have been different if I had not already spent such an intense amount of time with the group, or if I had not had such an easy rapport with their Director and other teachers that indicated their trust in me. Then again, it might not have been. Not every culture sees the disclosure of difficult subjects as a very private thing, and where collective traumas have been experienced, the freedom to talk about them becomes part of the social environment, dealt with in a matter-of-fact way. This has been my experience in working as a musician in conflict-affected settings, and also my experience of personal trauma.

Interviews in an immersive social environment can become extensions of conversations, and difficult topics can arise, particularly if the interviewer is skilled in creating rapport and psychological comfort (Eisner, 1998, p. 218). While in a Western context, a research ethics protocol might include referring people to counselling services if their participation in research caused distress, this is a far more problematic proposal in countries where there is already large-scale collective trauma (Ajduković, 2013), where support services are rare and overstretched (Dunphy, 2013, p. 164), and where accessing such services may carry stigma (Lang, McIreney, Monaghan, & Sutton, 2002). In my assessment of the different situations that arose where interviews conversationally veered into difficult terrain, I kept care for the participants.
uppermost in my mind. While I had a specific role and a specific job to do throughout the Dubai tour, I needed to be present foremost as a thinking, compassionate, emotionally-intelligent adult and offer a container of support where that seemed to be what the research respondents required of me. However, this needed to remain within the boundaries of sympathetic researcher, and not slip over into a quasi-therapeutic role (Eisner, 1998). The brevity of the fieldwork period and presence of the teachers helped to ensure these boundaries remained firm.

A further area of ethical concern is in writing this thesis and related publications. It has been essential to acknowledge the vulnerability of these programs, and others like them. Dependent to varying degrees on external and internal support, and vulnerable to perceptions of their utility or value, negative portrayals of the idea of a music intervention could have dramatic repercussions. In particular, I was highly alert to the possibility that my research could be used to argue against the initiation of future music interventions. One of the interviewees voiced this concern.

I’m in a dilemma about talking to you. I’m getting the picture from the flow of questions that this could be a very valuable analysis of a process that could be very useful. My fear is that it could stop anyone trying to do anything like it ever again! (Nigel Osborne, 27/8/2016)

I was also aware of causing harm to individuals through the reporting of events that could cast particular protagonists in a negative light. There were a number of difficult stories I was told that I have opted not to include in the thesis for this reason. For some, entrusting me with negative stories was a risky proposition: One person took part in the research and then withdrew consent entirely, fearful of the personal repercussions of being quoted, even under a pseudonym or following de-identification of the data. Others spoke only obliquely about conflicts, offering few details and taking care not to incriminate others. Later, when invited to review the manuscript for accuracy, they expressed concern that the written depiction of what had been highly stressful and heated events was too mild, or that the role of particular protagonists had been downplayed to the detriment of others. I addressed these concerns in the final document, but it highlighted the immense challenges of writing about conflicted events that are rife with gaps and contradictions, and where residual hurt still lingers for participants.
Mindful of these concerns, throughout this thesis I maintain a focus on learning for the future, rather than on the things that went wrong in the past. I de-identify data where this was requested, or where doing so ensures the dignity and respectful portrayal of those involved. I have tried to avoid representations of any of the cases as overly negative, while still maintaining the critical stance that will help to clarify the work and position it realistically in its context. Above all, I recognise that the music interventions in this study are ambitious projects operating in extremely complex and complicated environments, where small events may be easily magnified to have dramatic repercussions. The useful learning is in recognising this complexity, rather than incriminating individuals for what they didn’t know or recognise at the time.

Despite these risks, it was noteworthy that all but nine research participants across the three case study sites wished to be identified in the written report with their own names. Where a participant was already a publicly known personality, or where their involvement in the project was already a matter of public record, I have used first names and surnames. For other participants I have used first names only. For those that requested a pseudonym, I have matched these to the gender of the informant, apart from four that requested further de-identification. For these people I have used randomly generated initials and removed indications of gender from their statements. In addition, the charitable organisation that founded the Hadahur Music School requested anonymisation and was assigned a pseudonym.

Again, the Afghanistan case requires some further explanation regarding the use of pseudonyms. While the Taliban’s violent proscription of music creates a justified perception of risk to students being publicly identified as music students through participation in a research project, this is countered by the fact that ANIM students already have a sizeable local and international media presence. All students have taken part in multiple televised performances and media interviews, using their real names as identifiers. Those students that wish to keep their music education secret from their family are adept at managing their own exposure, for example, covering their face in a group photo, or not participating in televised performances (Radio National, 2015).
ANIM students that participated in the research interviews expressed a preference to use their own name. Zarifa, for example, saw anonymity as an extension of the shame that many in her society thought she should feel about studying music.

Researcher Usually I change people’s names so that if somebody reads the research they don’t know who said which things. Do you want me to change your name?

Zarifa Actually I don’t want, but if you want, you can. For sure, I love my name!

Researcher Okay. It’s just for privacy. For example, you said about your family not knowing [that you play music].

Zarifa Yes, but I told you that I’m going to be in the [TV music video] recording soon, so everyone is going to know what I’ve been doing. So I’m going to face a lot of problems for that. And I’m ready for that now . . . Because it’s time to live how I want. And um, yeah. I just want everyone should know that music is not something that I should be shy of. It is something that I’m proud of. (Zarifa, 12/10/16)

I have therefore respected the students’ stated preferences and assessment of their situation in my use of identifying material in this thesis. The school’s Director endorsed this decision, observing that the students’ names are already well known in Afghanistan. The complete list of interviews in Appendix A indicates where a research participant has been assigned a pseudonym.

**Informed consent**

In addressing the ethical necessity of informed consent I engaged deeply with the discussions surrounding standard university ethical requirements and the realities of undertaking fieldwork in developing countries, countries with a history of punitive authority, colonisation, or occupation, or settings where there is a well-established distrust of state authorities and internal security. Written communication tools such as Plain Language Statements and consent forms are designed to ensure clarity, transparency of intention, and well-informed research participants; however, they also correspond to Western ways of thinking (Ellis & Earley, 2008) and can provoke discomfort, distrust and unwillingness to participate for people living in non-Western or complex settings such as those listed above.
I took guidance from the reported experiences of other researchers investigating arts programs in Timor-Leste, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and other conflict-affected areas (Bergh, 2010; Dunphy, 2011; Kochenderfer, 2006). Each indicated the desirability of alternative mechanisms for establishing informed consent, and the importance of a flexible approach. They recommended working collaboratively with local advisors to identify the appropriate strategies for each site, seeking local advice on managing cultural norms of social hierarchies through which permission should be sought, and being aware of individual realities such as illiteracy, or the well-founded avoidance of signing one’s name.

I therefore adopted different approaches in each context. In Bosnia-Herzegovina and Timor-Leste I translated the plain language statement into the local language (see Appendix C). In Bosnia, where literacy levels and familiarity with research processes mirror European norms, I began by presenting the information sheet and consent form, explaining the purpose and allowing time for these to be read. However, it quickly became clear that the local preference was to talk first, and discuss the consent process second. Bringing out what some referred to as “The Paperwork” at the beginning of the meeting disrupted rapport and introduced a greater degree of formality than the majority preferred. Acquiring consent after the interviews also meant that the participants knew what they had said, and therefore what they were consenting to being used. Even when introduced at the end of the interview, the consent process was seen as a necessary but bureaucratic burden that was far less persuasive than factors such as the appeal of the conversation topic (music participation posed few threats), the links to trusted friends (via the snowball sampling approach), and the rapport that we were able to build between us through the interview.

In Timor-Leste, where literacy levels are low among the general population, and where qualitative research processes are unfamiliar, my interpreter explained the contents of the information sheet to the interview participant(s) following an approved script, and then obtained a verbal consent. This took place prior to the interview. For the research interviews conducted in English, I gave a brief explanation of the research objectives and process at the start of the interview, then at the end gave a copy of the translated information sheet and consent form. Those that were happy to sign then returned the signed consent form to me. I also submitted a fieldwork permit
application to the State Secretariat for Culture, which was formally approved following an initial meeting once I arrived in Timor-Leste for the fieldwork.

In Afghanistan, the process for obtaining informed consent was complicated by the fact that data gathering took place when students were not in their home country. I sought and followed the advice of the school’s Director (Dr Ahmad Sarmast, a scholar familiar with the requirements of university human ethics procedures) regarding the best way to proceed. At his request I completed ANIM’s Media-Research permission form in which I committed to respect student preferences to participate or not, to share final edited materials with the ANIM directorate prior to publishing, and to not transfer any materials to third parties.

Parental involvement in school matters is a very novel concept in Afghanistan, and one that ANIM works hard to encourage. Nevertheless, even at ANIM, senior teachers (such as a Director or Principal of a school) are seen as acting in loco parentis (where teachers assume parent-like responsibilities of care) and proxy guardians, and therefore trusted to decide what is in students’ best interests with regard to school-related activities, such as participation in a research project or media interview. A similar notion of guardianship or in loco parentis applies in excursions and tours and functions as a standing parental consent. Parents only expect to be notified when something has gone badly wrong involving their child.

I wanted to complement the standing consent with a more targeted approach, and Sarmast suggested holding a parent information meeting prior to the tour, in order to inform parents and create a mechanism for their expression of dissent for this specific project (pers. comm., August 2014). Several events then transpired. First, Sarmast was severely injured in a suicide bombing attack in December 2014, and came to Australia for hospital treatment and recovery, leaving his team to run the school and deal with the aftermath of the attack in his absence. Then, the Dubai tour (planned for March 2015) took many weeks to be confirmed. Delays in issuing invitation letters, student passports, and visas created doubts about whether it would take place. This caused considerable administrative stress at the school. Consequently, the tour was only confirmed as happening mere hours before the student group departed Kabul, Sarmast only joined the group once they arrived in Dubai, and the associated uncertainty made it impossible for a parental consent meeting to be held.
Therefore, students were informed about the research at a meeting soon after I joined the tour. Following the content of the information sheet, Sarmast explained who I was, what I would be doing, and the purpose of the research, and their right to choose to be involved or not. The verbal approach was deemed preferable for the students in the context of a fast-paced tour that offered few opportunities for quiet reading of information sheets or retention of pieces of paper.

This research project satisfied ethical requirements for young people aged 15 and above to be the primary consenting agents. Students were not obliged to participate in interviews with me (indeed, many showed little interest in my presence). The atmosphere and pace of the tour was such that there were ample opportunities for students to simply avoid the researcher in their midst if they chose. I waited until I had established a rapport with a student before asking if they would be interested in talking with me. One of those I approached demurred; all others responded with interest.

While there were some students younger than 15 taking part in the tour, only those aged 15 and over were invited to take part in research interviews. My observation of activities necessarily included students aged 14 and younger; however, I noted those in this younger age group and did not include them in any notes taken.

Reciprocity

The ethic of reciprocity and sharing the fruits of the research was also important to consider. People in developing countries and indigenous contexts such as Timor-Leste are often over-researched, and frequently receive little or nothing of value in return for their participation (L. T. Smith, 1999). For those that have taken part in multiple research projects, this can leave a sense of having been used.

I discussed the ideal of reciprocity and mutual exchange with the organisers and potential research participants in each of my three case study sites at the time of initial contact. Requests that supported exchange of skills and mutual learning included giving presentations of findings, or leading workshops for local music learners. I was able to offer these in both Bosnia and Timor-Leste, including for the State Secretariat for Arts and Culture.

Additional informal opportunities also arose during the course of fieldwork. One of the ANIM students asked me to share copies of the photos I’d taken, which I
did before the group left Dubai. In Timor-Leste I made appointments to play chamber music with one of the research participants, given his great love of this, and the few collaborators he could access in Dili. Many research participants were eager to have longer conversations with me in which I shared my findings and talked more generally about music education in different parts of the world, and these conversations enabled them to put their own work into a larger global context. I conducted myself without haste, allowing time for these possible exchanges to emerge in an organic way that honoured the local communication preferences.

It was essential that these reciprocal gestures were not interpreted as coercive. I managed this by involving a broader population for the reciprocal gestures than that of the research participant group (so that the reciprocity was shared with the community in general), and ensuring a time gap between the research event and the reciprocal event, sometimes reversing the order of these.

**Member checking**

Periodically during the analysis and writing process, I made contact with particular informants in order to clarify details of events or experiences. As the written thesis neared completion, I sent copies of the chapter sections pertaining to each case to those informants that had indicated a desire to see it before publication, inviting them to comment on the content and analysis. Some did not reply, but others strongly engaged with this process, clarifying particular details, and offering further context for events where they felt I had missed important points. I integrated their feedback into the final document, finding that it added further depth to the analysis and interpretations.

**Summary**

The methodology I have employed in order to answer my research questions therefore aims to achieve breadth across three contrasting sites, and depth within each of the three cases. Undertaking research in war-affected sites produced a number of particular challenges and ethical considerations, and this chapter has detailed how I planned for and responded to these as they arose. The fieldwork and associated extant texts and documents produced rich and abundant empirical data, and through the grounded theory processes of concurrent gathering, analysis and inductive coding, I
have generated a theoretical framework of critical junctures. This is used throughout the remainder of this thesis.

However, before turning attention to the critical junctures and the findings and ensuing discussion, it is necessary to establish the histories and contexts of the three case study music interventions. The next chapter describes how each of the three cases came into existence, and the key events in the wider social, cultural, and political contexts that form the backdrop to each.
CHAPTER 3: Three Music Interventions

This chapter provides background on the Pavarotti Music Centre, the Hadahur Music School, and the Afghanistan National Institute of Music. Each of these music interventions came into existence against a backdrop of social, economic, and urban recovery from war. Each setting diverges from the others in historical and cultural context, experiences of colonisation, imperialism, or occupation, wartime experiences, political machinations, international responses, and aftermath of aid interventions.

The accounts I present here are intended to contextualise the data and analysis that appears in the forthcoming chapters. I consider some of the historical events and pre-war precedents for music education and participation, and outline the cultural debates that the war-affected social context invariably produced in each site. As such, it is necessarily limited, and does not aspire to cover the depth and complexity of the conflicts and their cultural contexts. Rather, it foregrounds the key events, debates, and actors that influenced the shape and sustainability of the three cases. Appendix D provides timelines that summarise the key events for each site.

Pavarotti Music Centre, Bosnia-Herzegovina

Mostar had been one of the main tourist attractions of pre-war Yugoslavia, famed for its fifteenth century Old Bridge that was the town’s namesake (Most(ar) = bridge). The distinctive combination of densely-packed Ottoman architecture in its Old Town and the wide tree-lined Austro-Hungarian avenues of the more modern western side made Mostar a symbol for many as the crossroads between Europe and the ‘Orient’ (Dobbs, 1995; Makaš, 2007). It was the birthplace of beloved Yugoslav poets and leaders, and a recognised liberal haven, and centre for literature, arts, and intellectual life (Makaš, 2007). It was also noted for its ethnic plurality, with the highest percentage of interethnic marriages of anywhere in Yugoslavia.

However, in the Bosnian wars of secession between 1992 and 1995 these characteristics became liabilities and targets. Some of the war’s most vicious and relentless fighting and environmental destruction took place in Mostar (Bose, 2002; Makaš, 2006) across two successive conflicts. The first, in 1992, saw Muslim and Croat fighters defending the city against the heavy artillery of the Serb-dominated Yugoslav National Army (JNA). Then, as hostilities between Bosnian Croat and Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim) forces came to the fore in 1993 (Silber & Little, 1996, p. 297), intense fighting broke out in Mostar that quickly divided the city between the eastern side (held by the Bosniaks) and the western side (held by the Bosnian Croats). The Boulevard of the National Revolution, previously Mostar’s widest avenue and a major thoroughfare, was the frontline between the two conflicting sides.

This second war between the Bosniaks and Croats was marked by vicious expulsions of citizens, systematic rape, detention camps, use of human shields (prisoners of war and civilians) and summary executions (Amnesty International, 2006, p. 42; Bose, 2002). There was a clear disparity of firepower between the two sides, and an intensive ten-month bombardment of the eastern side of the town rendered 90% of it to rubble (Yarwood, 1998). Damage on the western side was less widespread, and occurred predominantly in the first war with the JNA.

The use of heavy firepower ended with the signing of the Washington Agreement in March 1994 (the Dayton Agreement, that brought the larger Bosnian war to an end, was signed in 1995). This functioned as a ceasefire between Bosniak and Bosnian Croat forces, but the city nevertheless remained divided along its frontline (which had become a de facto border). Expulsions of families and individuals from the West side of Mostar to the East continued after the ceasefire, as did sporadic outbreaks of shooting until early 1998.

Although the ceasefire ended the war, the entrenched division of Mostar fuelled and maintained the conflict. Initially, checkpoints installed along the former frontline controlled who could cross from one side to another. By the time these were dismantled in 1996, psychological barriers were firmly in place that made the idea of crossing from one side of Mostar to the other an extremely stressful and risky notion. The two sides of the town functioned independently. Parallel institutions—separate
police forces, hospitals, currencies, postal systems, social services, and schools—were created. The two sides of town used different currencies⁴ and telephone systems: calling from one side to the other required an international dialing code. Car registration plates indicated which side of the city (East or West) vehicles were registered on, making genuine freedom of movement impossible. This maintenance of extreme segregation was retained until international agencies implemented the introduction of a new Bosnian currency, telephony, and national number plates in late 1998, as part of the Dayton Peace Agreement (Bose, 2002). Significantly, the political support for ethnic division meant that few desegregated inter-ethnic spaces existed in Mostar, making it challenging for people from the two sides to meet and interact.

Figure 1: Map of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Source: http://ian.macky.net/pat/map/ba/ba_blu.gif, public domain)

---

⁴ During and after the Bosnian war, the West side of Mostar used Croatian currency in common with the other Croat-held areas of Herzegovina, the Eastern side of Mostar and other Bosniak-held territories used Deutschmarks, and Serb-held areas (Republika Srpska) used the currency of Yugoslavia, which in 1995 consisted of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro.
Aid agency presence

Mostar had a sizeable international aid agency presence. The first NGOs to enter East Mostar while the war with the Bosnian Croats was still raging were small, maverick organisations. One was an ad hoc aid convoy named the Serious Road Trip; another was a British NGO named War Child that negotiated its way through Croat roadblocks to bring mobile bakeries into East Mostar, providing the only dependable food source for the besieged population at that time.

Following the ceasefire in March 1994, the European Union installed a temporary City Administration, tasked with facilitating the reintegration of the two sides of the city and the reconstruction of the city’s physical infrastructure and institutions (Makaš, 2011). Other international agencies (e.g. UNESCO, Aga Khan Trust for Culture) also contributed funds and personnel to efforts to rebuild the Ottoman Old Town (Calame & Pasić, 2009). Other multilateral agencies included the UNHCR, UNICEF, OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe), and INGOs such as the International Committee of the Red Cross. The population of East Mostar in particular was highly dependent on assistance from foreign agencies in the years following the ceasefire, given the extent of the physical destruction and infrastructure, large numbers of refugees, limited capacity for economic development, and the deprivations the population had suffered during the war. In addition, NATO-deployed Spanish, German and Ukrainian troops maintained bases on the outskirts of Mostar and elsewhere in the Herzegovinian region.

Cultural contestations

The social fabric of Mostar was transformed as a result of the war. The town’s division was the most obvious manifestation of this, but there had been many other population changes. Thousands of Mostar residents had died, including combatants and non-combatants. Around 30,000 people were expelled from their homes and forced to the other side of the city, while around 40,000 fled the town at the outbreak of war (Calame & Pasić, 2009, p. 6). For a town with a pre-war population of around 100,000 people, these were significant losses.

There was also a large-scale transfer of population, with displaced people from rural parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina taking up residence in the town, often occupying the homes of others that had been expelled, killed or had fled (Bose, 2002;
As former rural dwellers, the newcomers diluted what many pre-war urban residents felt had been a dynamic and cosmopolitan urban culture.

The war years transferred considerable political and economic power to these new arrivals (Dobbs, 1995; Grandits, 2007), bringing about a corresponding change in sanctioned expressions of culture and identity. In the musical sphere, a commercial form of ‘neo-folk music’ began to dominate the cultural and media spaces controlled by nationalist elites. Known as turbofolk, this brand of dance music with folk elements, sexualised lyrics, and gangster-inspired imagery became the highly popular mainstream soundtrack among the dominant social group in Mostar and elsewhere in former Yugoslavia. Sociologist Eric Gordy has traced the political underpinnings of the rise of turbofolk in Serbia (1999), and a similar trajectory can be observed in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This link to political messaging meant that music preferences became a signifier of important social distinctions, including between urban and rural culture, and orientation towards the politics of nationalism and ethnic division. Alternative music like rock and roll moved to the margins, and became identified with liberal and progressive politics and the revival of urban culture.

Compounding the loss of pre-war urban culture was the drastically different way that cultural identity was now expressed and understood. Ethno-national identity in post-war Mostar impacted every social interaction in both public and private life, overriding other forms of identity such as shared interests or history. Mostar had a long history of mixed marriages and secularity, but the war destroyed many familial relationships and pre-war friendships (Knežević & Ovsenik, 2002; Kolind, 2007). Bosnian society became more visibly religious after the war, with often ostentatious displays of piety among political leaders (Bougarel, 2007). Many pre-war urban dwellers mourned the loss of what they felt had been the core values of their city and country (Stefansson, 2007).

Lastly, psychological suffering was ongoing. Debilitating symptoms of post-traumatic stress abounded (Osborne, 2009), with children and parents reporting multiple traumatic experiences, particularly on the eastern (Bosniak) side of the town (Knežević & Ovsenik, 2002; P. Smith, Perrin, Yule, & Rabe-Hesketh, 2001). Feelings of claustrophobia, restlessness, and passivity were commonplace (Carabelli, 2013), and levels of family violence and dysfunction were high (Woodward, 2014, p. 62). Drug trade was rampant on both sides of Mostar (Calame & Charlesworth, 2006;
Dobbs, 1995; Hedges, 1997) and many people—in particularly Mostar’s young people—sought escape in illicit drug use and alcohol.

Several local and international aid and non-government organisations attempted to address these deficits for the youth of Mostar, offering activities and safe spaces where young people could gather. One of these was the Pavarotti Music Centre, which built on a strong local tradition of music education and participation.

**Music education provision**

Music education was a part of urban life in pre-war Bosnia-Herzegovina. As a part of the Austro-Hungarian empire from 1878 to 1918, the country was assimilated into European musical practices alongside its diverse folk traditions. Bosnia’s Academy of Music in Sarajevo was founded in 1955, following the conservatory model already in place in the other capital cities of Yugoslavia, with specialist ‘feeder’ schools of music at the secondary level of education (Almeida, Beynon, Gennaoui, Kolouh-Westin, & Uvalic-Trumbic, 1996). These municipal music schools were part of the formal education system in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and offered Western classical music education in instrumental, vocal, and theory studies, with provision for both full-time students working towards a specialist high school diploma and part-time students who enrolled to study for leisure.

In addition to formal music education in the municipal music schools, classes in folk music traditions and more informal, contemporary music lessons were available. Folk music and dance was taught and promoted during the Yugoslav era through cultural-artistic societies (kulturno-umjetnička društva, or KUDs) in every region. Those interested in casual music classes for instruments like guitar could enroll in a course at a youth centre setting known as OKC Abrašević (Omladinski Kulturni Centar or Abrašević Youth Cultural Centre), also a site for social dances and other informal cultural gatherings. This centre was destroyed during the war, but re-opened as a multi-ethnic, youth-run, non-government space in 2003.

Mostar’s original municipal Music School had been located in Musala Square in the town centre, but its building was destroyed in the first war against the JNA. Following the Washington Agreement ceasefire and the town’s ethnic division in 1994, music schools were re-opened on both the West and East sides of Mostar. The new West Mostar Music School occupied the top floor of a secondary school
building, while the East Mostar Music School borrowed classrooms from a local primary school until the Pavarotti Music Centre opened in December 1997. At that time, the East Mostar Music School relocated into a wing of the newly-opened Pavarotti Centre.

Figure 2: Classroom in the destroyed Mostar Music School, 1992 © Teun Voeten, authorised use

**Founding the Pavarotti Music Centre**

The Pavarotti Music Centre was an initiative of the British NGO War Child. War Child positioned itself as a different kind of aid organisation, having formed in response to what its founders saw as inhumane government inaction and “calculated neutrality” (Vulliamy, 2010, para. 8) towards the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The founders intended to create an organisation that would focus on action and “can-do” spirit with minimal bureaucracy (War Child, 2013, para. 9; Wilson, 2016)

After initially providing food and medical aid in East Mostar, War Child saw the need for some kind of “food for the soul” (Daly, 1995; Pavarotti Music Centre, 1998), and believed that music activities could offer powerful healing, and contribute to the cultural and social recovery of the city. War Child already supported a number of music activities in Mostar during the immediate post-ceasefire period (1994-1996), and the proposed music centre would house and expand these.
The idea of a community music centre in a war-torn and divided city captured the imaginations of many people internationally. It was funded entirely through private rather than government support. High profile, influential celebrities like Brian Eno and rock band U2 actively supported War Child’s work, and Italian operatic tenor Luciano Pavarotti (of ‘Three Tenors’ fame) signed on as the major donor for the Music Centre building project, giving it his name. The organisers cited the potential of music-making to build social connections and bridges, in support of the timing and location of the project.

War Child attempted to engage both municipal governments in their multi-ethnic music proposal, but received little interest from West Mostar’s hardline nationalist government (Wilson, 22/2/15). The East Mostar municipal government was more accommodating, and offered War Child the ruins of a former primary school in the neighbourhood of Luka, some distance from the former frontline on the eastern side of the town, as the site for the proposed music centre. War Child did not need to pay for the land, and the building was to be owned jointly (51% East Mostar government, 49% War Child).

Building work began in mid-1996. At the time it was one of the most visible reconstruction projects in Mostar, and the largest construction project in all of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Nickalls, 1997). It was completed and formally opened in December 1997, and music celebrities such as Pavarotti, Brian Eno, and Bono Vox (from U2) attended the launch event. The opening event received considerable international attention.

The new Music Centre also housed the East Mostar Middle Music School, the government-owned municipal music school that had been operating out of shared and extremely constricted premises since the end of the war. The East Mostar Music School continued to provide formal music education in Western classical music for Mostar’s youth, with a parallel counterpart on the west side of the town. The rest of the Pavarotti Music Centre housed community music workshops, performances, and other cultural activities, programmed by Centre staff. The two entities (Pavarotti Music Centre and the East Mostar Music School) maintained a cordial relationship but worked independently, offering very different approaches to music learning and teaching.
Following a triumphant first year of operations, many problems emerged. These were initially due to the Centre’s increasingly difficult relationship with its parent organisation, War Child, which reportedly deprived it of essential operational funding. However, they were compounded by Mostar’s belligerent political environment, in particular the reluctance on the part of governments to support endeavours that did not demonstrate strong allegiances to a national (i.e. ethnic-nationalist) party. The Pavarotti Music Centre’s commitment to being a desegregated, multi-ethnic space stood in direct opposition to the political status quo. Additionally, as aid interest and media attention moved away to newer crises and conflicts, external financial support for projects in Bosnia-Herzegovina became difficult to secure. Therefore, within a very short period of time, the Pavarotti Music Centre went from being a well-funded entity to having an extremely precarious existence.

Eventually, the municipal government agreed to include the Pavarotti Music Centre on its annual budget as a cultural institution in 2004, providing it with a degree of financial security, and sufficient funds to pay its skeleton staff a meagre wage. The building remains in poor condition, desperately in need of major repairs. Nevertheless, its activities continue, and it remains one of only a handful of desegregated public spaces and cultural institutions to defy the nationalist norms of the town.
Hadahur Music School, Timor-Leste

Timor-Leste (East Timor until 2002) is a half-island nation 600 kilometres north-east of Darwin, Australia. As a far-flung outpost of the Portuguese colonial empire, the half-island was plundered for its sandalwood and utilised as a convenient place of exile for dissidents and delinquents, but scarcely developed by its colonial rulers.

Then, after 500 years of Portuguese rule, and a short and tumultuous period of independence marked by civil conflict and violence, Indonesia invaded the half-island in December, 1975, with the tacit approval of Australia and the United States (Chomsky, 2001; Cristalis, 2009; Tanter, Selden, & Shalom, 2001). The invasion was violent, involving executions and large-scale population displacement. The ensuing occupation subjected the Timorese people to 24 years of punitive military rule. It was a period marked by constant human rights violations, starvation, massacres, ‘disappearances’, and the proscription of any markers of Timorese culture and national identity, including its indigenous music traditions (Post-CAVR Technical Secretariat, 2013).

The Timorese people resisted the occupation. An armed resistance of guerilla fighters, supported by civilian clandestine networks, worked to disrupt and damage the occupier’s military apparatus. Student activist networks also mobilised from the 1980s (Pinto, 2001). A third arm of resistance worked internationally, bringing the attention of other states and their citizens to the Timorese cause (Niner, 2001; Scott, 2005).

Resistance to Indonesian occupation and assimilation was also expressed in more subtle ways. For example, at the time of the Indonesian invasion, only 30% of the population identified as Catholic (Cristalis, 2009, p. 61). Imposition of the Indonesian national ideology of Pancasila, which required all citizens to identify as following one of six recognised world religions, saw Catholicism in East Timor rise dramatically. The Timorese people turned to Catholicism as an affirmation of Timorese identity and way of asserting they were not Indonesians, even if their religious conviction remained a veneer over centuries of animism (Cristalis, 2009; post-CABRN Technical Secretariat, 2013).

By 1994, 90% of the population identified as Catholic, making it the largest per-capita Catholic population in Asia (McGregor et al., 2012). During this period, Catholicism and Timorese national identity became inextricably bound.

The fight for independence from Indonesia gained momentum and an increased international profile following a massacre of students in a protest in 1991. The Dili massacre, as it became known, sparked solidarity movements for East Timor around the world and kept a spotlight on the small country. In 1999, following political change in Indonesia, the United Nations sponsored a popular referendum, and the Timorese people voted for their independence from Indonesia.

Angered by this result, pro-integration militias and elements of the Indonesian military retaliated with vengeance, massacring those sheltering in churches, forcing thousands over the border into West Timor, and destroying more than 70% of the country’s infrastructure, including 95% of its education infrastructure. Roads, public and private buildings, essential services, telecommunications, and more were dynamited, burned, and rendered unusable (Chomsky, 2003; East Timor Government, 2008; Kingsbury & Leach, 2007a), and the landscape was scattered with “deserted towns and villages that reeked of death, a penetrating stench of rotting corpses” (Cristalis, 2009, p. 252). United Nations peacekeepers, led by Australian military personnel, arrived to secure the country, and the UN installed a transitional administration, commencing the largest and most comprehensive project of state-building in the UN’s history.

In 2002, the transitional UN administration formally transferred its authority to the fledgling government of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste. The government’s task was vast—to literally rebuild infrastructure and institutions of state and civil society from the ground up; to invest in and build the professional capacities of its population where previous education provision has focused on producing low-level functionaries (H. M. Hill, 2007); and to shape a national narrative and shared sense of identity in a highly diverse and multilingual country (Kingsbury & Leach, 2007b; Taylor-Leech, 2007).

The enormity of this challenge came to a head in 2006 when the country imploded into identity-based civil conflict. The violence between people from the east
(lorosae) and west (loromonu) of the half-island triggered memories of the traumas of the Indonesian departure and many people fled their homes once again. Temporary camps for internally-displaced people only closed in 2010. Since that time, there has been an assertive government effort to rebuild the sense of shared Timorese identity that had prevailed during the resistance to the Indonesian occupation. Slogans such as “Good-bye conflict, hello development” encourage ordinary people to move forward from the wrongs of the past towards a better future. However, this has arguably been at the expense of sweeping aside the deep injustices of the past, with many of the recommendations of the Timor-Leste Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR) still to be implemented.

Figure 4: Map of Timor-Leste (Source: http://ian.macky.net/pat/map/tl/tl_blu.gif, public domain)

Aid agency presence

International agencies have been present in Timor-Leste since the lead-up to the popular referendum. Following the violence of the Indonesian departure, an international project of stabilisation, state-building and reconstruction ensued, led by the United Nations. Australian forces led the UN Peacekeeping effort. Multiple UN agencies, other government and development bank agencies, non-government organisations and faith-based agencies have been an active and ubiquitous presence in Timor-Leste since that time.
While the United Nations’ political mission ended in 2012, there remains a considerable international aid agency presence across the country. Timor-Leste’s complex raft of human development needs—low rates of education, high child mortality, poor access to essential services, high unemployment—has ensured these agencies remain a pervasive influence and provider of assistance and employment opportunities for Timorese people. At the same time, much progress has been made in little more than a decade of independence, and the Timorese people are strongly invested in the future prosperity and stability of their country. Australia, Portugal, and Japan have been the three largest donors in Timor-Leste in the post-independence era, although in recent years, Chinese infrastructure aid has been an increasing presence.

**Cultural contestation**

The task of rebuilding a country brings into sharp focus the existence of conflicting ideas around national identity and sanctioned cultural markers. In Timor-Leste, these cultural contestations can be seen in public discontent and political disagreement about leadership (with the political sidelining of the resistance generation by the older, Portuguese-educated older generation, known colloquially as *Generação 75*), language (of schooling, law, and parliament, and therefore of power), moral claims (for recognition of resistance acts during the Indonesian occupation), and about who receives the greatest benefits of the nation-state and its development trajectory (Bexley & Nygaard-Christiansen, 2014; Leach, 2008; Trindade & Castro, 2007). These debates reflect the “difficult cultural legacies of consecutive colonial occupations and the way mixed cultural identifications may inform divergent understandings of national identity” (Leach, 2008, p. 405).

In the words of one research informant, ongoing debates over what constitutes national identity and Timorese values take the form of a “culture war between those who want this kind of ordered, controlled society, and those, like [many of the independent and self-taught artists] who would like it to be more open, progressive, and democratic” (Y. Yorke, pers. comm. 20/5/14). The latter embraces a popular culture that takes its influences from many sources—including indigenous art forms, and Indonesian popular and alternative culture—and has a strongly regional focus (Sloman, 2009). The former represents the residual values of the ‘old world’, and while it arguably serves the interests of the current political and economic elites (which includes some members of the Catholic clergy), much of the population also
finds meaning and value in markers of Portuguese heritage, including the church music traditions introduced by Portuguese Catholic missionaries centuries ago.

**Music education provision**

Many people in Timor-Leste accept (or offer without qualification) the statement that “the Timorese are talented for music”. Those considered by others to be especially talented in music are hungry to build proficiency and deepen their knowledge. More generally, Timorese people see formal schooling as a vehicle for social mobility (Basáñez, 2010), and a way to contribute to the development of their nation. The government’s motto, “Good-bye conflict, hello development”, adopted on the 10th anniversary of the popular referendum on independence (Gusmao, 2011), has helped promote a shared emotional investment in the country’s improvement among the population. Helping others to develop themselves (such as through sharing knowledge and teaching) holds moral and national value.

However, formal education infrastructure and curricula in Timor-Leste is still developing. During Portuguese times, only a very small percentage of the population had any access to formal schooling and no more than 10 per cent of the population identified as literate (Beck, 2008, citing World Bank 2001, p. 13; Cristalis, 2009, p. 76). Access to education became widespread during Indonesian times but teaching quality was poor and strongly inflected with an assimilationist agenda (Beck, 2008; H. M. Hill, 2007). Formal music education during the colonial and Indonesian periods was mainly available through a handful of seminary schools, and parish priests and nuns were the most frequent source of basic Western music knowledge for young music enthusiasts (Howell, 2018b). Church choirs were widespread, and several achieved very high standards singing choral music of the Western canon.

Since the founding of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste in 2002 there have been two significant processes of curriculum reform. The second reform was underway during the fieldwork period in 2014, and was a collaborative effort between Timorese teachers and international advisors to develop materials that reflected contemporary Timorese life and culture rather than that of Portugal or Indonesia. Timorese music traditions were included in the ‘Arts and Culture’ strand of this new curriculum and represented the first significant attempt to bring this knowledge into state education classrooms (interview with M. Quinn, Curriculum Reform Director,
There are also documented plans for a national Academy of Arts and Creative Industries (Government of Timor-Leste, 2009); however, little progress had been made at the time of fieldwork, and local artists had little faith it would eventuate.

Figure 5: Graffiti, State Secretariat of Art and Culture, Dili, May 2014. "Art and culture is sick, the Arts Academy is dead." (Author's photo).

In the absence of formal government provision, churches, local parish priests, faith-based organisations, and a handful of other non-government agencies perform a central role in providing opportunities for music learning and participation throughout the country. They provide access to musical equipment and rehearsal space, create local performance opportunities for bands, support the establishment of church choirs, and use music in ways that offer an important emotional outlet for many people, or to foster collective psychological and spiritual healing following traumatic events (Howell, 2018b). Music education and development remains important to Timorese people, and opportunities to learn more are “[taken] with both hands” (Howell & Dunphy, 2012) as a valued part of education.
Founding the Hadahur Music School

In 2008, Bishop Ricardo da Silva of the Diocese of Dili requested to the “Sisters’ Mission in East Timor” (SMIET, a pseudonym) that they begin a music school in Dili, “to give Timorese people opportunities to learn an array of instruments and repertoire, and to encourage them to engage in and be proud of their musical heritage” (SMIET Annual Report 2007-2008, p. 5). A faith-based, not-for-profit organisation with its roots in education provision in Timor-Leste, SMIET saw that a music school could be a natural complement to their work in affirming Timorese culture through language and literacy, as well as an area of learning and development to which the Timorese people attached tremendous importance.

The Sisters’ Mission in East Timor was a project of the Religious Sisters, an Australian Catholic congregation with international missions in East Timor and Peru. SMIET began working in East Timor in 1993 in order to help address the country’s needs around literacy in Tetun language, public health, and other community-based education initiatives. The Sisters’ Sydney community was similarly involved in the East Timorese cause, advocating for Timorese self-determination, supporting the Timorese refugee community, and facilitating music-making (particularly choral singing) as a key mechanism for their engagement. Moved by the impressive choral singing of church choirs in Indonesian-occupied Dili, the Sisters were eager to include opportunities for music development in their programming. Following the UN referendum on independence, the Sisters sponsored a celebrated Timorese youth choir (Anin Murak, comprising singers from the Santa Cecelia Choir of Balide Church) to undertake a tour of New South Wales, and then funded four members of this choir to pursue further music studies in Sydney.

SMIET invited Australian musician and educator Ros Dunlop to be the lead consultant for the new Music School project. Dunlop had a long association with Timor-Leste, and had built an archive of recordings of Timorese traditional music. She founded the not-for-profit organisation Tekee Media to support this and other

---

6 In order to maintain the organisation’s anonymity, the in-house publications and web-links used in this research are not included in the reference list. I use the pseudonyms the “Religious Sisters”, “Sisters’ Mission in East Timor” (SMIET), and “Religious Sisters’ Development Program” (RSDP) throughout this thesis.
music and media projects in newly-independent Timor-Leste. Dunlop worked closely with the SMIET’s Deputy Director and designated project manager, Sister Susan Connelly, to develop the plans for the school.

The Hadahur Music School was an ambitious undertaking for the small religious congregation. It was funded primarily through SMIET fundraising in Australia, supported with a grant of AUD$35,000 from the ISME Gibson Community Music Fund in 2009 (SMIET Annual Report, 2008-2009). They acquired a collection of instruments for use in its programs, through a combination of purchases and donations.

Dunlop and Connelly developed a model for the new music school that would blend online learning (using the video conferencing platform Skype) with face-to-face contact, the latter taking place in bi-annual two-week intensives. The first lessons that remotely linked Timorese students with consultant teachers in Australia took place in November 2008 (Dunlop, 2009).

The first consultant visit for face-to-face lessons in Timor took place in July 2009. During that visit, the Early Childhood music education program (involving teacher training and a pilot ‘model’ project in a rural school) also commenced. A team of four Australian teachers travelled to Dili (Ros Dunlop, piano; Ella Bennetts, violin; Wendy Dixon, voice; Sarah Walters, Early Childhood Music). The second consultant visit took place in January 2010. Both periods included high profile events: the

Figure 6: Skype vocal lesson. (Source: R. Dunlop, authorised use)

Following the second consultant visit, the SMIET Commission (the organisation’s governing body) instigated an internal Review, prompted by concerns that will be examined in this thesis. The reviewer recommended closing the school and retaining the Early Childhood music education program and its consultant, and the piano lessons that could be taught by a local SMIET staff member.

Over the next years, music remained an area of interest for SMIET, who by 2011 had incorporated their international ministries into a single organisation, the Religious Sisters’ Development Program (RSDP). In 2012, RSDP’s new ‘home base’ in Dili, a Learning and Development Centre, was completed and included dedicated provision for music activities and instrument storage. The Early Childhood music program continued, with consultant Sarah Walters visiting Dili bi-annually to train a small group of trainee teachers until 2013. At the time of fieldwork for this research in 2014, only one member of the trainee team was working as a music teacher; the others had left RSDP, or been absorbed into the literacy training team. A busy program of music workshops in schools and kindergartens was underway during the fieldwork period.

In 2015 RSDP rebadged the music program as ‘Music for Life’, with a new objective of enhancing student engagement and well-being to support general education goals, rather than development of specific music skills and knowledge (RSDP website, ‘Timor-Leste Music for Life program’, accessed 12/1/16). By 2016, music provision had been absorbed into RSDP’s flagship literacy program as part of a Mobile Literacy Bus delivering workshops in schools (RSDP website, ‘Mobile learning’, accessed 15/10/17). In this way, while Hadahur Music School closed as an entity, the knowledge and resources that the project produced have continued to be used towards RSDP’s broader development goals.
Afghanistan has been in a state of war for over four decades. A landlocked country bordered by Pakistan, Tajikistan, Iran, China, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, its history of conflict is dominated by four recurrent themes: a long tradition of tribal allegiances; regional rather than centralised rule, with a deep distrust of the latter; its geographic position between expansionist and conflicting countries; and the Islamic faith as a pillar of Afghan identity.

Prior to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 (the pre-conflict period), the country had enjoyed decades of relative peace and prosperity, within a norm of autocratic rule. The dynasty of Zahir Shah ruled from 1933, and by 1966 had proposed a number of modernising reforms, such as the introduction of a constitutional monarchy, and greater press freedoms (Baily, 2001; Wahab & Youngerman, 2007). However, it was also a period of increasingly polarised radicalisation towards Islamic and communist ideologies among the youthful population (Wahab & Youngerman, 2007, p. 123). This sowed the seeds for the violent coup d’état in 1973 that deposed the king and installed a communist regime, bringing the peaceful times to an end.

When the Soviet Union invaded in 1979, many people fled to live in exile in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. The communist era prompted the rise of mujahideen
forces (forerunners of the Taliban) around the country and in the refugee camps in Pakistan, a movement that the anti-communist, Cold War-era Western governments supported with provision of funding, weapons, and educational propaganda (Burde, 2014). Then in 1992, communist rule collapsed, marking the beginning of an era of warlord-ism and factional fighting between political rivals, under the coalition government of President Rabbani and the mujahideen leaders (Doubleday, 2007).

The period between 1992 and 1996 was one of extreme instability and insecurity for the country’s population. Civilians were the primary victims of the firepower exchanged between the rival factions in both rural and urban areas. When the Taliban movement emerged from Pakistan and won control of Kabul in 1996, its severe form of religious conservatism repressed many freedoms, but also brought a much-desired sense of law and order (Baily, 2001). Continued support for Taliban-affiliated factions responds predominantly to the latter, and testifies to the importance that the majority of Afghans place on security and stability (Asia Foundation, 2015; Miakhel, 2011).

The Taliban imposed a brutal interpretation of Sharia law, with frequent and public use of corporal and capital punishments to subdue the population. Women lost the freedoms of education, dress, and employment that they had enjoyed in the communist and pre-communist era between 1959 and 1989. The Taliban’s heavy censorship of nearly all forms of music, intensifying a number of restrictions that the earlier Rabbani government had imposed, was widely publicised around the world. Many musicians fled the country, and musicians that remained were unable to earn a living. Those caught defying the laws had their instruments destroyed, were beaten and imprisoned, or worse (Baily, 2001, p. 39; 2009; Doubleday, 2007).

Following the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York on September 11, 2001, a US-led military invasion of Afghanistan deposed the Taliban rulers. The United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan was established in 2002, and installed an interim government, with Hamid Karzai as its leader. Karzai remained as President until the elections of 2014, when the Presidency transferred to economist and intellectual Ashraf Ghani.

The year 2014 marked the beginning of downturn in security, economic conditions, and public sentiment in Afghanistan (Asia Foundation, 2015). The
electoral campaign attracted insurgent violence; attacks on foreigners escalated; and the planned reduction of foreign troops was accompanied by the departure of many aid agencies, creating a corresponding economic depression due to the reduced employment opportunities and foreign expenditure.

Feelings of despair and hopelessness rose across the population. Record numbers of Afghans applied for passports in 2015 (Moylan, 2015a, 2015b) and left the country, many through unofficial (i.e. people-smuggling) routes. By 2017, Afghanistan was in the throes of a large-scale humanitarian crisis as a result of forced repatriations of asylum seekers from Europe, the expulsion of long-term Afghan refugees from Pakistan, and the aforementioned political uncertainty and stalled economy (International Crisis Group, 2016).

Life in Afghanistan remains precarious for the majority of civilians. While there are notable improvements in provision of education and women’s rights, particularly in urban areas, the economy has yet to recover from the downturn of 2014. An increasing number of Afghans believe that conditions in their country are deteriorating (Asia Foundation, 2015, 2016). The United Nations political mission remains in place. The Western military presence became a NATO-led military training mission as of January 2015; however, since that time, violence has increased, attacks on government security forces have escalated and Taliban-affiliated fighters have taken control of 40% of the country (Faizy & Bengali, 2017). NATO members have declared their commitment to the country until 2020, a mandate that may well be extended (NATO, 2017), but which ultimately depends upon continued support for the military presence in Afghanistan among NATO member governments and their voting citizenry.
Aid agency presence

Aid to Afghanistan is comprehensive and complex. Since the US-led military invasion of 2001, international agencies and donor-funded projects have become ubiquitous in every aspect of Afghan life. Five broad areas receive aid: security, governance, civilian operations, counter-narcotics and humanitarian aid, in descending priority. More than half of all aid funds are spent on security (humanitarian aid was allocated less than 3% of the 2002-2016 aid expenditure of USD$115 billion), and much of the funding comes from the United States (Poole, 2011; SIGAR, 2016).

In addition to multilateral agencies (such as the various UN agencies) and development banks (such as the World Bank), INGOs (e.g. International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent; Save the Children) and single-issue organisations (such as Human Rights Watch), there are many national NGOs and civil society organisations working to improve conditions for the Afghan people. However, all are dependent on international donors, and their programming therefore must align with
frequent shifts in donor priorities. Furthermore, international aid is often targeted to ‘problem’ localities, creating resentment among those that miss out, which can plant the seeds for later inter-communal conflict (Anderson, 1999; Burde, 2014). When combined with longstanding distrust of external actors who appear to assume control of local affairs, documented high levels of corruption and wastage, worsening living conditions, and the fact that the insurgent Taliban and ISIS factions target individuals and organisations perceived to be collaborating with international agencies or the national government, many Afghans view the international community’s involvement in their country with ambivalence and resignation.

**Cultural contestation**

Contemporary Afghanistan features many contestations of Afghan identity between “traditionalists . . . and liberals who embrace change and want to participate in twenty-first century globalised culture” (Doubleday, 2007, p. 305). These contestations are not new; many were also present during previous periods of imposed modernisation, such as during the 1960s rule of King Zahir Shah (Wahab & Youngerman, 2007, p. 122), and the communist period.

At one end of the spectrum of contestation are extremists, characterised by puritanical religious orthodoxy and violent and coercive tactics. At the other end are liberal minded people who embrace change and desire the freedoms and rights that the international community is trying to instil. In between these two extremes are the so-called ‘ordinary Afghans’: a group that is far more difficult to isolate, but that is frequently evoked in news media and reports from government and non-government agencies.

The preferences and behaviours of ordinary Afghans can often seem contradictory. They arguably align with the general trend towards increasingly progressive ideas depicted in the Asia Foundation’s annual attitudinal surveys, which map changes in national mood with regard to issues such as security, governance, corruption, and women in society (Asia Foundation, 2015, 2016). However, conservative values and social controls remain close to the surface. Mob attacks

---

7 Entering the phrase “ordinary Afghans” into a search engine produced over 123,000 hits in 0.54 seconds, [www.google.com](http://www.google.com), 15 October 2017.
against individuals (such as the frenzied killing of the female religious scholar known as Farkhunda in 2015) are perpetrated by ‘ordinary Afghans’ with modern haircuts, modern clothes, and mobile phones, rather than extremists (Malikyar, 2015). The international community models similar contradictions between espoused values and actual practices, appeasing war-lords and fighting terrorism with often indiscriminate military apparatus in the service of promoting peace and improving security (Mason, 2011; Schmeidl, 2007). Such contradictions legitimise intimidation and violence, and undermine efforts to build a more informed and liberal-minded citizenry.

The tension between the desire for modernity and the pervasive pull towards conservative values has particularly contradictory impacts on music development in Afghanistan. Music consumption (via Radio of Afghanistan in the mid-twentieth century, and via the private media broadcasters that proliferate in present-day Afghanistan) has always been an important part of ‘ordinary Afghan’ life (Baily, 2001; Doubleday, 2007; Sakata, 2012). Engagement with the diverse musical offerings on private media broadcasters is one of the ways that contemporary Afghans access globalised twenty-first century culture (Mashal, 2017). However, music has also always been a site for political and religious control, and is stigmatised as an ‘un-Islamic’ and shameful practice among some religious adherents. Hereditary musicians belong to a low caste, historically associated with other illicit or impure activities, which traditionally relegated music practices to a similarly undesirable status among groups with higher social status (Baily, 1979, 2001). Accordingly, while ordinary Afghans may enjoy consuming music, they may feel threatened by others (such as family members) learning music or working as musicians, seeing it as un-Afghan behaviour and a potential source of shame.

Such contestations are dynamic. It is likely that consumption of music and other performing arts will lead in time to reduced stigma and more widespread embrace of the practices. For example, watching television (the source of access to most local performances of music and other arts) is strongly correlated with increasingly progressive and critical attitudes (Asia Foundation, 2016), suggesting that it plays an important role in shaping the values and attitudes of ordinary Afghans. However, such an attitudinal shift was embryonic at best during the period of this research.
Lastly, cultural contestation exists in Afghanistan’s relationships with the outside world. Centuries of rural-urban tensions have produced great suspicion of outside influences (Burde, 2014). Extremist factions and warlords exploit this long-held anxiety around cultural imperialism when they label organisations and activities as belonging to the ‘corrupted Western non-believers’ and therefore un-Islamic or un-Afghan. This creates a degree of suspicion towards externally supported initiatives (such as education programs) that may ultimately threaten long-held traditions and Islamic faith (as well as local mullahs’ control of schooling), even while there is strong desire for education and other life improvements (Burde, 2014). Ordinary Afghans are therefore navigating their lives, values, and identity between the progressive and conservative extremes and the competing and conflicting messages about what it means to be a good Muslim and therefore a good Afghan.

**Music education provision**

Afghanistan’s traditional music comprises a rural folk tradition and a classical art music tradition closely associated with urban environments (Sakata, 2012). These traditions had never been taught in schools, apart from a 2-3 year period in the early 1920s within a context of state-driven educational reforms around secularisation (Sarmast, 2004, p. 309). Rather, they were transmitted aurally, with skills passed from master to student often through family lineages over an extended period, in a system known as Üstād-Shāgird or master-student (Baily, 1979; Kippen, 2008). In Kabul, the neighbourhood known as Kharabat was home to many of these hereditary and master musicians. The traditions and links to place were severely damaged through the decades of war and the proscription of music during the Taliban era.

Instead, formal music education in Afghanistan has primarily focused on Western classical music. The introduction of Western classical instruments and notation in Afghanistan is connected to the creation of the first Afghan national army and its cohort of military bands at the end of the 19th century, when brass instruments were added to more traditional, court-based ceremonial ensembles (Sarmast, 2004, p. 299). British military bands inspired the model, and instruments were imported from nearby British India. Western harmony and notation was a later introduction; it was first included in Ministry of Education-sponsored short courses taught by visiting Austrian musicians in the 1960s. Later, the Ministry of Education made this provision
more permanent with the opening of the music department of the vocational school of the arts (p. 306), the lycée honari.

With the repeated international media attention given to the Taliban’s ban on music, many external observers attached a certain symbolic importance to its revival in the post-Taliban era. In the years following the US-led intervention, international civil society organisations initiated several music education projects (Doubleday, 2007; Sakata, 2012). These built upon earlier practices, but introduced new structures and programs, not least aiming to include girls, in acknowledgement of the Taliban’s denial of their educational rights. However, many of these initiatives struggled to maintain provision over a long period, and faced resistance from local authorities in the form of long-held suspicions of the imperialistic agendas of foreign actors.

Some exceptions exist. The Aga Khan Music Initiative (AKMI) began in 2002 and was the first NGO-led music initiative to employ the most celebrated ustads to teach young people, present concerts, and strengthen knowledge and appreciation of this musical heritage (Baily, 2015; Doubleday, 2007; Sakata, 2012). External donors (primarily the Goethe Institute) were also instrumental in rebuilding the Music Department of Kabul University. Kabul University’s co-educational policy is significant for Afghanistan’s future music development. Women have been accepted as students in all faculties since 1961 (Wahab & Youngerman, 2007, p. 122), making it an important venue for women who wish to learn and play music in contemporary Afghanistan (Doubleday, 2007).

A third example was the Polish Humanitarian Mission’s efforts to refit and re-open the music department of the School of Arts (the aforementioned lycée honari), a multi-arts vocational high school that had operated in the 1970s. This became the forerunner of the Afghanistan National Institute of Music.

**Founding the Afghanistan National Institute of Music**

The founding of the Afghanistan National Institute of Music built on these earlier initiatives and historical antecedents. While it was an initiative of the Afghanistan Ministry of Education, its existence and shape is largely the work of one individual, Dr Ahmad Sarmast, an Afghan musicologist who studied in the Soviet Union and sought asylum in Australia during the Rabbani and Taliban eras.
As a PhD candidate in musicology in Australia, Sarmast produced a landmark study that surveyed the history of Afghan music from ancient to modern times (Sarmast, 2004). Following this, he initiated the Revival of Afghan Music project [ROAM], a postdoctoral research project that assessed the current state of Afghanistan’s musical culture (Sarmast, 2006). The ROAM report gave nine recommendations towards the “revival of a multicultural and multimedia music tradition and industry in Afghanistan” (p. 1), one of which was the establishment of a vocational secondary school for music.

The facilities, staff, and students of the music department of Kabul’s vocational School of the Arts (the aforementioned lycée honari) formed the foundations of this new National Institute of Music. Sarmast secured substantial financial support through the World Bank’s Afghanistan Skills Development Program [ASDP] and a sizeable donation of musical instruments from the German Association of Music Merchants, enabling him to establish the project at an ambitious scale. These early donor-funded works included building renovations, commissions for local instrument makers, provision of sufficient Western classical instruments, and student scholarships. The period was vividly documented in the film Dr Sarmast’s Music School (Watkins, 2012). In addition, the World Bank’s investment went towards employing expert teachers from around the world to deliver a high quality, skilled, and student-centred music education program.

One of the reasons that ANIM was able to attract this large-scale external support was Sarmast’s inclusive enrolment policy, as this aligned with the international donors’ desire to address various forms of disadvantage through education. Sarmast recruited students from disadvantaged backgrounds, including orphans and street vendor children who had had no prior access to schooling, and children from families with low levels of education. ANIM enrolled boys and girls together, and did not discriminate between the different ethnic groups of Afghanistan. As a multiethnic, co-educational, vocational school, ANIM was a model of reform in the eyes of the international community (World Bank, 2014). However, in the wider Afghan context, ANIM’s contribution to the grander task of reviving Afghanistan’s music culture remains complex, as it is working in a setting where the social value of music is highly contested.
Conclusion

While sharing common goals and motivations around the reintroduction of music learning after a period of war, the three case study sites illustrate radically different historical, political, and cultural contexts. They occupy environments that have considerable cultural distance from each other, from the European and modernist heritage of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to the mix of post-colonial and indigenous inheritances in Timor-Leste, to the tribal and highly contested cultural identities of Afghanistan. The wars encompass occupation and resistance, insurgency, and battles of secession and independence. One striking similarity between the three cases is the presence of heated cultural debates around identity and nationhood, bound up with global culture and access to the opportunities that a wider world may offer. For many people, the world contracts in wartime. Life becomes about survival; consequently, imagining oneself as a participant in a cultural expression that is not bounded by the national imaginary can be an empowering experience. For others, global culture represents threats to local expression, and perhaps to local control. These different positions on the
boundaries of identity represent a tension between music as a connective force, and music as a way to reinforce local cultural expression and identity.

The music interventions themselves are strongly contrasting. The forthcoming chapters of this thesis will explore these contrasts across five critical junctures in particular, but at the outset, the situatedness of the cases and the distinctive demographic and cultural elements are noteworthy, and one of the empirical contributions of this research. It demonstrates the limitations of presuming likeness between similar projects, without recognition of the influencing aspects of the wider context. Table 2, below, summarises the key findings of this chapter:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Pavarotti Music Centre</th>
<th>Hadahur Music School</th>
<th>ANIM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History of conflict</td>
<td>War of secession following the break-up of socialist Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Civil conflict following end of colonial rule; war of resistance against foreign occupier (1975-1999); pro-Indonesian militia violence (1999); civil conflict (2006-7).</td>
<td>Four decades of war from 1973: Political coup; Soviet invasion and local resistance (1979-1989); tribal conflicts and warlord-ism; rule by force (Taliban); US-led military intervention fighting local insurgents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural and political heritage</td>
<td>European and Ottoman heritage; socialist country during Cold War era.</td>
<td>Colonial heritage (Portuguese colony) and military occupation (Indonesia; Japan during WW2)</td>
<td>Central Asian heritage; some cultural influences from 'British' India following British territorial incursions in the late 1800s/early 1900s; modernist influences from Soviet occupation (in urban areas especially).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of music intervention</td>
<td>Community music centre</td>
<td>Community music school and service provider</td>
<td>Formal education institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implementing organisation</td>
<td>International NGO</td>
<td>International faith-based organisation (Catholic mission)</td>
<td>Government in partnership with multilateral agency (World Bank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music education forerunners</td>
<td>Tradition of Western classical music education in urban areas, a legacy of the Austro-Hungarian era; conservatories in the Yugoslav capital cities; few opportunities in rural areas.</td>
<td>Western classical music education (rudimentary) in seminary schools during the Portuguese era. Indigenous music traditions transmittedaurally, and in context. Proud tradition of (Western) Church choral singing.</td>
<td>A vocational high school teaching Western classical music (1970s; re-opened in 2002); Afghan traditional music education through NGO provider (Aga Khan Music Initiative) from 2002.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Historical, political, and cultural contexts of the three case study sites
With the contexts and origins of the three cases now established, the forthcoming chapters of the thesis are organised according to the *critical junctures* framework introduced in Chapter 2. Each chapter examines a site of active negotiation that had implications for the shape and realisation of the music intervention, and its potential to be sustained beyond the period of external funding and interest. The first critical juncture, Aims and motivations, is the subject of Chapter 4, and it examines the words, ideals, and forward momentum that accompany the imagining and communicating of a music intervention.
CHAPTER 4: Aims and Motivations

Much of the initial momentum for a music intervention is found in the words its initiators use to communicate the project, through statements concerning their aims, motivations, sense of mission, and vision for the future. With these words, initiators and organisers evoke a picture of what they hope to create and what it will achieve, and position their proposed efforts into a particular space and time. This is a key early step in imagining the project and building a support base for its existence. It represents the first critical juncture of this study because the momentum that is generated sets a number of important dynamics in motion that have implications for shaping and sustaining a music intervention.

Examination of aims and motivations is also a useful starting point for understanding the work of music interventions in complex and charged environments. Early aspirations indicate the intended ‘roadmap’ of actions and priorities, thereby providing an ideal against which later practices can be measured. Furthermore, documentation of initial aims and motivations establishes an indication of the meanings that different actors hold about purposes and values, knowing that these can also impact a project’s internal coherence as the work gets underway (Lewis, 2003, p. 213).

Obviously, stated aims are only part of the picture when considering how music interventions are shaped and sustained in donor-dependent settings. Aims and motivations in their various expressions are required to serve diverse audiences and purposes, audiences that are partly defined by the general structure of NGO action. In order to ensure its existence and operations, any donor-dependent NGO must secure support from a range of sources: donors, governments, a target cohort that is easily identified, and appropriate staff. “Each partner must be given a plausible rationale for cooperation with the NGO” in order for the entity or project to come into existence (DeMars, 2005, p. 7). Stated aims and motivations work to build this support, and while their formulation does not vary greatly between audiences, their function may.
One essential function is to establish the proposal’s (and by extension, the NGO’s) legitimacy. Stated aims communicate something about perceptions of the world and position the interveners as actors of integrity who know what action is required, implicitly citing their “global moral compass” as justification for their supporters’ trust (DeMars, 2005, p. 8). They simultaneously self-authorise, and create the justification for the proposed actions (Cornwall & Brock, 2005; DeMars, 2005, p. 8).

Stated aims also signal the values and beliefs of the intervening organisation. They form part of its ‘visible artefacts’ (Hawkins, 1997; Schein, 1985) that position it publicly, and with particular audiences. Later practices will build upon, reinforce, or subvert these espoused values, but at the early stages, the stated aims and their implicit values may be the most concrete thing on display.

As aspirational and hopeful evocations of a better future, stated aims work to inspire their target cohort of participants to feel curious—even optimistic—about the proposed work, so that they embrace it when it begins. Host and home country governments must also be persuaded of the utility and credibility of the approach and the intervening actors through the presentation of aims. Importantly, if the interveners can create a sufficiently compelling vision of the possible future that their actions will produce, they will help to attract the necessary financial and moral support that will start and hopefully sustain the work. Therefore, stated aims are deployed to “evoke a progressive future and make that present today” (DeMars, 2005, p. 3). Above all, stated aims for music interventions must also convey assertions about music’s utility, in particular what it can contribute to a society recovering from war.

How then do the various stated and implied aims and motivations interact with each other and the wider context to shape and sustain music interventions? To examine this I consider three dimensions through which aims and motivations were expressed in the data: stated aims (produced by organisers), motivational roots (also produced by organisers but less concretely stated), and participant motivations. While **stated aims** form a kind of “textual commitment” from organisers to their community of supporters, observers, and participants (Bebbington, Lewis, Batterbury, Olson, & Siddiqi, 2007, p. 598), examination of **motivational roots** reveals the underlying beliefs and inferred or expressed motivations and drivers for action of the individuals involved. These are important for the internal coherence of a project, particularly the
extent to which they align with stated aims (Hawkins, 1997, p. 427; Lewis et al., 2003). Research informants sometimes explicitly outlined their motivational roots; however, motivational roots could also be interpreted through people’s personal histories, asserted priorities, and other rationales for action. **Participant motivations** provide a further reading of the stated aims by showing how participants re-frame them to better reflect to their lived reality.

I analyse these three dimensions using a typology of intentions for music projects in war-affected settings that is introduced in the next section. The review of literature pertaining to music programming in war-torn contexts revealed that in constructing aims and motivations, interveners and intended participants call upon arguments and beliefs around the social value and efficacy of music. These follow particular themes that can be grouped under four predominant ‘types’, which although arguably Eurocentric, proved useful for analysing my data: *Music Education, Cultural Regeneration,* Social Development, and Healing, Health and Well-being.

Following the presentation of the typology, the chapter examines the three case study sites in turn, examining their stated aims, organisers’ motivational roots, and participant motivations using the typology as an analytical framework (see Figure 10, below).

**Figure 10: Structural outline of chapter 4**

Considered together, the three dimensions give a multilayered picture of what is intended of music (and music learning) in a war-affected environment, and start to reveal the early congruence and tensions that can shape and sustain music interventions as they evolve. These are explored in the Discussion. While the aims and motivations of teachers also play an important role in shaping the work of a
music intervention, these will be discussed in later chapters (Chapter 6, Pedagogy and learning materials, and Chapter 7, Organisational culture) and are therefore not included here.

**Constructing the value and utility of music in war-affected contexts**

If one of the purposes of stated aims is to secure the support of donors, then it is understandable that the aims will be couched in language of problem-identification and responsive action. The vast majority of donors operate in a politico-economic environment where the funding of arts is often required to deliver against more pressing social needs than a lack of arts provision. This creates a context where the arts are ‘instrumentalised’ in the service of non-arts goals (Belfiore & Bennett, 2007; Stuppes, 2015; Yúdice, 2003) rather than funded for their ‘intrinsic’ value, a situation that has prompted strenuous debate among policy-makers, arts practitioners, and cultural policy scholars.

These debates about the social value of art, public funding, and the appropriation of culture for politico-economic means have received extensive consideration elsewhere (for example, in the AHRC 'Cultural Value' project by Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016), and it is outside the scope of this thesis to engage with the conceptual and philosophical arguments that underpin them. Indeed, they are arguably peripheral to the subject that this chapter examines, because existing literature on music projects started in war-affected areas indicates that the majority of projects stem from acceptance of the widely-held view that music and other arts can have beneficial effects on human life, at both the individual and the communal level. Attempts to sever the art from the social context in which it is created and to which it responds (as an argument for intrinsic value seeks to do) makes little sense when the wider context is so central to the project’s existence. At the philosophical level, the concern that artistic value is somehow reduced when the arts are employed in what

---

DeQuadros and Dorstewitz (2011) refer to as “practical problem contexts” (p. 60) depends upon a worldview of arts and aesthetic experiences as circumscribed and autonomous of (rather than subordinate to) the wider context, which has its roots in a Western philosophical paradigm (Belfiore & Bennett, 2007). This does not always hold in a global context.

Instead, arguments that recognise music and other arts as experiences that are an important means for shaping human existence have greater currency in these kinds of projects. Scholars such as Crossick and Kaszynska (2016), DeQuadros and Dorstewitz (2011) and Vuyk (2010) observe that the arts do this in ways that are unique to the arts, and that their value to both individuals and society lies in this capacity to shape human existence. This is a value construct that embraces and entwines both the intrinsic and the instrumental. In addition, for many organisers of music interventions and their donors, there is something intuitively logical about bringing uniquely human experiences into contexts where acts of extreme inhumanity have prevailed.

As stated in the introduction to this chapter, across the literature pertaining to music projects in war-affected settings, the arguments and ‘theories of change’ for music referenced a discernibly consistent set of intentions or interests. I have drawn these into a typology of four broad categories of intention: Music Education, Cultural Regeneration, Social Development, and Healing, Health and Wellbeing (Howell, 2015, 2018a). These ‘types’ form a framework for analysing the aims and motivations presented in this chapter.

Music interventions with primary intentions towards Music Education work to build music-specific skills and experiences, most often in response to an absence of organised, structured music education—as opposed to informal music provision—within the local curriculum or education provision. They respond in part to the severe disruptions to education provision that occur in the context of war and following the cessation of violence, due to destruction of infrastructure (through direct combatant targeting or requisition), loss of teachers, and population displacement that leaves people undocumented and therefore unable to access services (INEE, 2011; UNESCO, 2011).
In environments where even basic education struggles to fulfill its remit, formal education provision for music and other arts is less likely to gain any kind of toehold. Non-state and external agencies (and sometimes individual actors) may therefore initiate music interventions with a strong music education agenda in order to supplement the constrained educational environment. They may reinstate music education programs that were underway before the outbreak of war, or may offer entirely new activities, designed with the post-war needs of the community in mind.

Music education interventions are not limited to a single music genre. However, many of those that I have included in this grouping have a focus on teaching Western classical music. This preference could be indicative of the legitimacy that a time-tested and respected model has; colonial legacies (where the cultural knowledge and artefacts of the coloniser are held up as superior); or perhaps the persistence of a Victorian conception of Western music education as edifying and civilising (Mantie, 2018). However, the situation is more nuanced than simply the replication of entrenched or imposed values, as will be explored in Chapter 6.

Among the music interventions that I group as ‘music education’, most adopt an approach that resembles the Western model of instrumental lessons, a predetermined curriculum, and ensemble experiences. However, this is often modified to fit the realities of the environment and participant interests (such as infrequent or remotely-linked one-to-one teaching, or use of culturally-diverse teaching materials). Of course, music education can also be delivered informally (Green, 2002); however, in war-affected contexts, such projects align themselves more immediately with other intentions, as shall shortly be shown. Formal music schools and structured music programs can be found in conflict-affected settings around the world, including Colombia (Booth, 2013; Rey, 2008), South Africa (Sara, 2014), and in the occupied Palestinian Territories (Allen, 2012; Beckles Willson, 2011; Frierson-Campbell, 2016). Some employ Western music knowledge (e.g. use of notation) but integrate it with flexible learning and facilitation approaches, as in the Rashedie Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon (Boeskov, 2017; Storsve, Westby, & Ruud, 2010). Structured education programs for rock music and hip-hop also exist, such as the Mitrovica Rock School in Kosovo (Hassler-forest, 2014), and the Arte Moris rock music courses in Timor Leste (Howell, 2018b).
Music education is rarely presented as a goal in isolation of other intentions. A frequent overlap is with Cultural Regeneration, where music education provision works to revive music traditions or practices associated with the country or region that the recent war has disrupted. As described in Chapter 1, tangible and intangible markers of cultural identity are often targeted in contemporary warfare as a form of psychological terror (Nordstrom, 2004, p. 61), and artists and arts educators may be subjected to persecution by combatant or occupying forces (J. Hill & Bithell, 2014, p. 12; Kaldor, 2001, p. 99). Additional war-related factors that endanger traditional music practices are the loss of rituals through displacement of populations; loss of significant knowledge bearers through death and displacement; destruction of performance spaces and other infrastructure and resources; and the sweep of hegemonic and globalised culture that accompanies the arrival of international aid actors apparatus (C. Grant, 2014, p. 2; Schippers & Grant, 2016, p. 341).

Cultural regeneration music interventions often engage with traditional methods of transmission, engaging expert elders to transfer their knowledge of repertoire, performance and instrument-making to a younger generation. NGO-run music schools in Cambodia are examples of these (C. Grant, 2017; Kallio & Westerlund, 2016). Organisers working within the practical and ethical framework of applied ethnomusicology may also include recording cultural knowledge with film and audio, creating community-owned archives and greater visibility for the traditions and knowledge-bearers (Pettan, 2010). Some projects link themselves to larger processes of regenerating a particular music ‘scene’, for example, the cross-border rock music scene of the former Yugoslavia (Hassler-Forest, 2014), rather than ancestral traditions. Cultural regeneration in music may also include industrial and economic goals, where the music intervention encompasses new opportunities for employment and income generation for skilled local musicians, harnessing the development potential of the creative economy (UNDP & UNESCO, 2013).

In these projects, music education is a means towards a larger cultural transformation. The educational processes of learning and transmission become mechanisms for regenerating and valorising local musical knowledge, rebuilding cultural assets, and revitalising cultural life.

Organisers’ goals of transformation through music may also extend beyond the realm of culture. One of the most enduring ideas in debates about the social value
of music is that of music’s perceived ‘power’ to act upon participants (and listeners) in ways that can promote desired social outcomes (Hesser & Heinemann, 2010). I group music interventions that seek to effect some kind of intentional transformation on the social environment under the broad heading of Social Development. Projects in this group are diverse with regard to their goals, targeted participant groups, and intended dimensions of transformative development. Certainly, conflict-affected environments are replete with social challenges requiring targeted attention, from the entrenched social divisions around ethno-religious-tribal identity that wars mobilise and perpetuate, to the way that the cultural dynamics of war can reinforce and exacerbate social disadvantage and discriminatory behaviours (UNESCO, 2011).

There is thus a wide range of social ‘developments’ that music projects are charged with effecting in war-affected areas. This can include conflict transformation and peacebuilding (Bergh, 2010; Jordanger, 2008; Pruitt, 2011; Robertson, 2010; Search for Common Ground, 2013), human rights (Dave, 2014), and social cohesion (The Music Project, 2017). These projects more frequently engage in informal learning and community music approaches than formal music education, with flexibility in content, facilitation, and enrolment processes. There is also the phenomenon of orchestras formed of players whose nations are in conflict, with the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra being the most prominent of this type (Beckles Willson, 2009; Riiser, 2010), although the claims of ‘social development’ arising from these are contested between organisers and independent scholars. Marginalised groups within a community or living under occupation may use music as a mechanism for exploring and reinforcing identity (Boeskov, 2017; Frierson-Campbell, 2016). Music may also help to draw at-risk or disaffected youths into diversionary, productive leisure activities, helping them to build skills in an area that they value, and offering alternative pathways into civic participation and community leadership (e.g. Ba Futuru, n.d.; Howell, 2018b).

The fourth set of music intervention intentions can be grouped under the heading Healing, Health, and Wellbeing. Health needs in a conflict-affected setting are multiple and complex. They include symptoms of post-traumatic stress resulting from wartime experiences and other mental illnesses, diseases of poverty and disadvantage that may have been present before the crisis and that can flourish in its aftermath, and illnesses related to the compromised living conditions of temporary
camps or emergency housing. These are in addition to the usual healthcare needs of any population, including maternal and infant health care, and public health promotion.

Music interventions focused on health, healing and wellbeing respond to these needs both directly and indirectly. Therapeutic use of music in conflict-affected areas may be employed to heal trauma (Heidenreich, 2005; Ng, 2005) and provide a safe and self-regulating form of non-verbal expression (Bolger, 2012; Osborne, 2009). It works on three levels simultaneously—biological, psychological, and social (Hassler & Greenwald, 2009)—contributing to an increased overall sense of well-being, efficacy, and relaxation for individuals recovering from traumatic experiences.

When thinking about healing, health, and wellbeing in relation to music-making, it is useful to differentiate between treatment-oriented practices, such as music therapy, and more general therapeutic uses of music and musical healing. The former is a contemporary practice that involves the intervention of qualified practitioners working with clients, using music to treat specific psychological or physical conditions. In clinical settings the work is often one-to-one, while the emerging subfield of community music therapy examines the practices of music therapists working with groups and in community settings (Ansdell, 2002; Stige, Ansdell, Elefant, & Pavlicevic, 2010). More general, non-expert kinds of musical healing utilise the therapeutic and health-promoting effects that can occur through participation in music whether as performer, participant in group music-making, or audience (Ruud, 2012). Musical healing of this nature has a long history across cultures and eras, often deeply embedded within traditional community practices (Gouk, 2000). It is this latter approach to healing through music that is often found in war-affected areas; projects involving trained creative arts therapists are more likely to be piecemeal and short-lived (Woodward, 2012).

Additionally, music interventions may address the health needs of a community through the use of music to communicate public health messages (Barz, 2006; Bingley, 2011; DeQuadros & Dorstewitz, 2011). In such interventions, music recordings and live performances are the delivery methods, and they can be particularly effective in places with low levels of literacy and limited access to electronic media. Such interventions often reference local music-making traditions and thus have strong potential for local sustainability. The impact of music
participation for the message-deliverers can also have therapeutic or healing impact: Bingley (2011) and Barz (2006) both describe the positive psychosocial benefits that group music participation and song-sharing has on the health-messengers.

There are frequent overlaps and synergies between these four broad intention groups (Music Education; Cultural Regeneration; Social Development; and Healing, Health, and Wellbeing). This is because music intervention organisers often hope to work (and demonstrate benefits) in multiple areas, but it is also because their aims must speak to multiple audiences. Additionally, the transformations that they and the participants attribute to music-making may fall across these four areas, rather than into only one, because this is how music works in a social context. For example, in the overlap between Music Education and Cultural Regeneration, provision of music education may, over time, generate changes that amount to a regeneration of cultural practices. The link between music projects and the exploration and affirmation of cultural identity (noted with regard to Palestinian identity in Boeskov, 2017; and Frierson-Campbell, 2016) is included in the Social Development section above, however, it could also be considered a task of Cultural Regeneration. Research into the social determinants of health similarly demonstrates the interconnectedness of the social and health dimensions in human life, so that interventions in the social dimension are often found to trigger changes in health and wellbeing. The arts can be an effective vehicle for these (Parkinson & White, 2013).

With this typology of intentions retained as a framework, and the possibility of overlaps and multiple aims accepted as part of the realities of music interventions, the following section now turns attention to the three case study sites. The typology of intentions is applied to stated aims, motivational roots, and participants’ motivations. These are then compared for their alignment or inherent tensions. As the first of the critical junctures that provide the architecture for this thesis (as introduced in Chapter 2), the implications of the findings will become more apparent in subsequent chapters and during examinations of day-to-day practices. Therefore much of what is presented here is descriptive rather than interpretive; it observes patterns and apparent tensions that have implications in the chapters to come.
Pavarotti Music Centre

In order to understand the layered nature of aims and motivations related to the Pavarotti Music Centre, it is useful to recall its foundations. The charity War Child, which conceived of the Music Centre project and fundraised successfully to bring it into existence, was both a programmer and a grant-making body. This meant that it funded other people’s projects as well as producing its own projects under the ‘War Child’ brand.

Prior to construction of the Pavarotti Music Centre, War Child began funding a number of music programs in Mostar. The intention was that, once the Music Centre was built, these various independent programs would form its core activities. This history made it difficult during fieldwork to ascertain how the ‘ownership’ of different projects should be attributed (whether to War Child, Pavarotti Music Centre, or to the artists that ran them). One Mostar informant challenged my presumption that once the different projects came under the ‘Pavarotti’ auspice they became ‘Pavarotti’ projects; however, for the majority of my informants, that presumption was acceptable. Significantly, the ‘consortium’ of partner projects that later became program strands of a single entity—the Pavarotti Music Centre—also created a ‘consortium of aims’.

Stated aims

When the Pavarotti Music Centre was launched, its founders declared two main aims. The first was that it be a place where the community of Mostar and the surrounding area could take part in music and other arts and cultural activities. It was to be a place for the town’s youth in particular, “regardless [of] their nationality or religion”. Music and arts were seen as “the most effective and acceptable way to reach all areas of the community and to create safe environment and friendly atmosphere for children and young people led by professionals”. The founders wanted this to be an alternative education provision to mainstream schools and formal music education, “applying new methods” (Pavarotti Music Centre, 2012).

Next, it intended “to bring clinical music therapy as a new approach to traumatised children and young people of B&H, especially in Mostar area” (Pavarotti Music Centre, 2012). There was growing recognition of the compounding impact of traumatic events on young people, and early post-war psychological studies indicated...
that children in East Mostar had experienced multiple highly traumatic events (Knežević & Ovsenik, 2002; P. Smith et al., 2001).

In addition, the earliest statement of aims clearly identifies the music centre as responding to needs arising from the war:

The object of the institution is to bring relief to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina (and in particular to the people living in and around the city of Mostar) who are suffering hardship and distress as a result of war and bring such relief through the provision of a music centre in which will be provided (amongst other things) music education and training, music therapy, and recreational and cultural activities. (le Cosquino de Bussy & Esser, 2003, p. 6, citing "one of the original starting documents")

With these stated aims, the Pavarotti Music Centre was positioned as contributing to music education and healing, health, and wellbeing. The explicit reference to targeting youths “regardless [of] their nationality or religion” suggested a goal of social development through challenging the entrenched social norm of segregation; however, social goals beyond this were not a feature. The reference to “new methods” with regard to both music education and music therapy indicated a desire to introduce innovations to the locality, rather than to simply regenerate cultural practices from the pre-war era.

These aims can also be contextualised with consideration of the aims that consortium partners attached to their music work in Mostar. Scottish musician and composer Nigel Osborne was an important early partner. Osborne had come to recognition in Bosnia and abroad as a result of his work leading children’s music projects in Sarajevo while it was still under siege. War Child UK had approached him to be involved in music in Mostar as a result of this work. Osborne was enthusiastic; earlier visits to Mostar following the Washington Agreement ceasefire had given him an understanding of the region’s needs. His aims were to implement . . . the bigger version of the children’s program . . . that I’d begun in Sarajevo, and wanted very much to develop properly. . . . To work with the Music School in East Mostar, [so that] maybe they could become part of the Music Centre; and finally to work slowly towards creating a clinical music therapy department. (Osborne, 27/8/16)
The War Child directors agreed with this proposal, recognising that the children’s program in particular “would create the ground for the Music Centre and would give [War Child] an activity” (Osborne, 27/816). These aims aligned well with the Pavarotti Music Centre’s stated aims, which similarly highlighted music education and healing, health and wellbeing.

An important local partner organisation was an artists’ collective called Apeiron de Art. Apeiron had formed in the aftermath of the war to help young artists access equipment (particularly paints and guitar strings) “so that people can express themselves artistically” (Alen, 14/11/13). This was their initial aim, but it proved to be a spark that [led] to other ideas, such as who else can we help? Not only artists but also some kids. Lots of kids had traumas after the war. Some were orphans, saw terrible things. And also there was kids with the special needs. Everybody forgot about such things during those [immediate post-war] times. (Alen, 14/11/13)

Therefore, Apeiron’s aims were initially in cultural regeneration of the local arts scene, but extended into health and healing when the young artists recognised the benefits that their arts workshops could bring to forgotten young children. Social development did not feature among their priorities. They had little interest in the international community’s project to integrate the two sides of the city, for which much funding was available: “The people in Apeiron never really cared about those [political] things. That was the first thing. The other thing was, people on the other side [in West Mostar] didn’t need any help” (Alen, 14/11/13).

Another ‘consortium’ member was Community Music Sarajevo [CoMuSa], a sub-group of a DIY aid convoy called the Serious Road Trip that had delivered aid during the war. The Serious Road Trip team included artists and musicians and in Sarajevo they connected with the underground music scene to put on concerts and events. These efforts evolved into an independent organisation, Community Music Sarajevo. CoMuSa had links to Nigel Osborne and began to lead some of the workshop programs he had established in residential care institutions closer to Sarajevo than Mostar. Then, with funding from War Child, CoMuSa began to travel to Mostar each weekend to lead African drumming workshops in the cultural centre.
on the east side of town. The drumming workshops then became part of the Pavarotti Music Centre’s programming.

CoMuSa’s aims were focused on cultural regeneration (through creating public cultural events) and health, healing, and wellbeing (through the work in care institutions that they took over from Nigel Osborne’s project). Their work in community centres in different parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina also suggested an additional interest in social development (through empowering young local artists and working outside the entrenched ethno-religious social boundaries).

Across these different groups and interested actors, all four intentions in the typology were evoked in various statements of aims. Perhaps because of the heterogeneous set of interests and goals, the Pavarotti Centre’s founding director (and War Child co-founder and director) David Wilson felt that the Pavarotti Centre’s overriding aim was just “music generally” (22/2/15).

The Mostar audience for the stated aims interpreted them in ways that reflected the particular interests of the informant. People with a close involvement as Pavarotti Centre staff members were strongly committed to the Centre’s role as a place for young people. Those that saw it as a place for developing young musical talent and showcasing bands and events were generally those that had gone there for specific events, and wished to participate in alternative arts and culture in their town as consumers. Youthful attendees who liked to ‘hang’ there and take part in workshops, or that identified as musicians and music learners, were more likely to emphasise its potential as a safe space for youth from both sides of the city to gather. Many people referenced Music Centre’s commitment to providing music education and therapy for young people with disabilities or war-related trauma. Those that felt it was supposed to be a ‘much bigger story’ and have a global profile tended to be involved in the remnants of the local music industry and music media. These variations demonstrate the shifts that stated aims can undergo as they are received by different audiences.

Similarly, the different organisers weighted the different aims and programs according to their personal convictions. Nigel Osborne believed the main work of the Centre was its “musical social mission”, characterised by the outreach work and music therapy; consequently, things like the rock concerts were “ancillary” and “add-
ons” (Osborne, 27/8/16). David Wilson considered music therapy to be important, but believed that more could be achieved therapeutically through group drumming and other less formal practices.

Lastly, there was an ambitious international goal for the Pavarotti Music Centre that its founders harboured: to be a model for future post-war music interventions around the world.

I’d always hoped—and I was joined in this by the Bosnian people as well—that it should become the centre of a spider’s web of music that could then become an ambassador of music therapy and music healing, and work with children in other countries. That was our intention, a totally original idea that would be an inspiration for the rest of the world. You know, we had grand ideas! (Wilson, 22/2/15, emphasis shows expression)

Given the original structure of the Pavarotti Music Centre as the new home for a number of pre-existing independent music projects, these differing constructions of the Pavarotti Music Centre’s aims are probably unsurprising. While they could indicate seeds of disharmony, they also reflect the multiple areas of intended action that converge when a project (the Pavarotti Centre) is made up of several smaller projects. More noteworthy was the uniformity at the level of motivational roots.

**Motivational roots**

While the various programming partners (Osborne, Apeiron, CoMuSa, Wilson and War Child) held different ideas of what they believed the priority work of the Music Centre should be, there were a number of shared motivational roots that helped the different parts to cohere.

The first was a belief in the essential importance of music and the arts to community recovery from conflict. Quite simply, music and the arts mattered as expressions of life and humanity, rendering the work at the Pavarotti Music Centre valuable and useful, and therefore highly meaningful. For some, this belief enabled them to use their expert skills in the service of others. Luciano Pavarotti, for example, “thought it was a beautiful thing to make a music centre instead [of] something else. Of course there are other needs, but for musicians like us I think it will be remembered that we made something very good” (Luciano Pavarotti speaking in Pavarotti Music Centre, 1997).
Others, more music enthusiasts than professional musicians or producers, were motivated to act through a belief in music’s capacity to connect people to each other and their humanity, and a positive way for traumatised people to escape the darkness of their war experiences (Wilson, 2003). “It [started] from the premise that none of us can, or should be, separated from the web in which we live” (para. 32) and with recognition of the importance of “[addressing] the larger questions of physical, spiritual and psychological reconstruction which minimise the possibility of future wars” (para. 40).

A second important motivational root was a commitment to action, activism, and justice. War Child UK’s and Wilson’s anti-establishment mindset was in part a reaction to what they saw as politicians’ and diplomats’ “stumbling impotence and connivance with the killers” (Vulliamy, 2010, para. 4). The Mostar citizens that gathered at the Pavarotti Music Centre concurred with this assessment and desire for action.

That was the point at which I started to like the idea, beyond just doing the job itself. I saw that the Centre could be for the benefit for the children of the community, and I also admired the people from abroad, trying to provide help in, in my opinion, the right way. Not talking about helping but actually doing something about it. (Mustafa, first Deputy Director, 6/11/13, emphasis shows expression)

Key members of the Pavarotti Music Centre group of partners had activist histories: Wilson, a self-described “lifelong activist”, had been active in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and other counter-culture movements (Wilson, 2016); Osborne was a human rights activist for Scottish Action for Bosnia; CoMuSa was a subgroup of the activist and trade union-affiliated Serious Road Trip aid convoy; Apeiron de Art was a self-described artist activist collective. None of the Music Centre’s international staff were career aid workers, and none of the Bosnian staff were established music producers. This was a place where the community would undertake the humanitarian and life-affirming work that governments could not be relied upon to deliver.

The activist mindset meant that the organisers and program leaders saw themselves as working in solidarity with Bosnian people, in contrast to the
dependence-inducing work of many other aid organisations. Wilson, for example, criticised the top-down approaches to aid work that he saw, and their lack of awareness of “the history, economics, culture and politics of the people they have come to help” (Wilson, 2003). Osborne similarly saw aid as “an arm of late capitalism” with “an imperialistic way of dealing with other people’s problems” (27/8/16). Wilson considered that “a passion for justice and . . . an understanding of the need for political change” (2003, para. 41) were essential conditions to achieving anything of lasting value. In this way, the work of the Pavarotti Music Centre was positioned within a politics of social justice.

The third motivational root was the unified rejection of the town’s entrenched ethno-religious division. No one involved with the project supported the continued division of Mostar. Rather, the Pavarotti Centre leadership maintained a message of hospitality and welcome to the whole community—particularly to youth, music educators and musicians—from both sides of the town. Divisive rhetoric within the Pavarotti Music Centre occasionally arose, but was not tolerated (Haris, 7/11/13).

These shared commitments to music as an essential part of human existence, to activism and solidarity, and to desegregation had drawn the various actors towards each other in the first place. They were “friends as well as colleagues” (Osborne, 27/8/16), and while they recognised their different interests, their trust in each other’s good intentions was more important.

**Participant motivations**

The Pavarotti Centre’s unique mission and its stable of international rock star supporters gave it a pervasive ‘cool’ factor that helped draw the first young visitors through the doors. Brian Eno was a regular visitor to the recording studio, UK band Dodgy had recorded there, Bono Vox attended the Centre’s opening, and War Child’s ‘Help’ album (featuring artists like Paul McCartney, Oasis, and Radiohead) had fundraised specifically for the youth of Mostar. Novelty, normality, and the creation

---

of a desegregated gathering space were the three most cited motivations for Pavarotti Centre participants.

Regular participants from its opening period recalled the novelty and appeal of “so many people coming from different parts of the world” (Ines, 14/11/13), and “speaking English all the time with strange accents” (Marko, 12/11/13). Given that Mostar was already overwhelmed with international aid workers from different parts of the world at that time, all ‘speaking English with strange accents’, the important variable here was the nature of the project being planned (a music project) and the optimistic energy that accompanied the work. Marko recalled the “big excitement when they were talking [that] something like this was going to open”. He observed that “the city needed some kind of energy from outside”, and that this provided a palpable contrast to the heavier, passive energy of the rest of the town (Marko, 12/11/13).

For Ines, the presence of such a diverse and cooperative group of people provided a powerful contradiction of her town’s ethno-religious division.

Suddenly, in one part of your town that has had such a story with war . . . you’re discovering a completely new picture of the world. You learned for so many years that you cannot even live with your neighbour just across the hall or the road, and then suddenly there are so many people from different nations, different races, different whatever, right in front of you and I was so eager to meet them all. (Ines, 14/11/13)

A further novelty was found in the possibilities for creative agency that the Pavarotti Centre offered. “Most of the people who were coming there were people who wanted to do something, who had ideas to do different things” (Marko, 23/9/14). The Pavarotti Music Centre was seen as providing a space where youths could meet like-minded others and make new projects happen.

Kenet was similarly attracted to the possibilities that Pavarotti Centre offered for active, youth-led participation, and the rejection of the war-imposed norms of who could and couldn’t be your friend.

So there was an aspect of togetherness about it, and making and creating something that appealed to me. But another part is that it really offered an idea
of normality, that you can do these things even in the worst of situations.

(Kenet, 20/10/13, emphasis shows expression)

Kenet’s reference to “normality” raises the next significant motivation for Pavarotti Centre’s participants—the desire to recreate semblances of ‘normality’ in what otherwise felt like very abnormal lives. However, ‘normality’ in its vernacular usage requires some contextualisation.

For many citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina, ‘normality’ has become a very layered concept since the time of the war. The pre-war cultural life of Mostar (and of the former Yugoslavia more generally) represents ‘normality’. The war unmade the world as they had known it, destroying and devaluing the patterns and norms that made life recognisable. In the post-war world, the indignity of poverty, displacement, enforced identification with ethno-religious labels, and the extremities of economic and political dysfunction and corruption are ‘not normal’, despite their quotidian banality; to see them as normal would be to accept them. ‘Normality’ therefore also includes a moral claim (Carabelli, 2013; Kolind, 2007; related discussions of ‘normality’ in post-war Bosnia can be found in Maček, 2007; and Robertson, 2010). Rejection of this new normal is a way for people to assert their affiliation with the ideals of the past when normality meant living peacefully together.

The ‘normality’ that Pavarotti Music Centre represented was also grounded in the pre-war past and a recollection of ‘normal’ life that was part lived experience, and part a picture of the future selves they had expected to become, had the war not disrupted their lives so completely. ‘Normality’ thus can be read as a rhetorical code for ‘who I was, who I could have been, and who I want to be, in a world that doesn’t currently exist’. For many of Mostar’s pre-war inhabitants, access to “a cultural level of existence” (Alen, 14/11/15) through music lessons, dance lessons, concerts, and poetry evenings were elements of their pre-war normality that were afforded little value or space in post-war existence.

By going to the Pavarotti Centre, young people could re-declare their own interests and priorities about what ‘normal’ should entail—mixing across ethnic groups, and engaging in arts and culture.

That’s the thing that was the most beautiful about [the Pavarotti Centre], that there you could talk about something so maybe unimportant in the world
where you live—like music, you know, who cares [what happens with music]?! But that was a rest from all the other negative things that you were hearing about. (Ines, 14/1/13, emphasis shows expression)

People came to the Pavarotti Centre to play music, and to have fun—indeed, to avoid the town’s politics. At the same time, its provision of non-political, non-religious ‘hang out space’ created the possibility of social experimentation with inter-ethnic mixing. The music was the initial attraction and a useful ‘cover’ that gave people an external focus and purpose while they settled in (Bergh, 2010), but that would without doubt put them in proximity to the ‘other’. As Oha pointed out, the music alone could not have succeeded in gathering people from both sides.

It’s not like we were presenting the Rolling Stones, so that everyone wanted to see them and nothing would stop them. If they didn’t want to come nobody would make them. It wouldn’t be the music. But young people want to experiment. [Pavarotti Centre was a place] where they will maybe come even if they don’t have best feelings at the start. But they will come for some reason, for the good conditions that they have here maybe, to play music or to sing or to dance. And when they come they will like it, because it has quite a good infrastructure. And they will meet somebody. And they will realise by that time that nobody is that spooky, that other people can become your friends. (Oha, 28/10/13)

These three themes of novelty, normality, and desegregated social experiences sit across the four broad types of intention that form the framework for this analysis (rather than aligning with the types), but this is unsurprising, given the typology is drawn from organise intentions rather than participant motivations. Rather, the participants’ motivations reflect the experience of living in post-war Mostar. They reveal the elements that were in deficit, and that they felt a dedicated music centre might be able to provide.

Overall, there was a strong degree of congruence between the organisers’ aims and their motivational roots. The main divergences were in the different beliefs about what music was needed, and the respective emphases that should be placed on music education, cultural regeneration, musical healing, and music therapy. The participants’ motivations were indicative of the ways the war had disrupted their lives
and limited their access to cultural learning and ‘a cultural level of life’, a life that
their pre-war experiences had told them was worth valuing. Table 3 summarises these
findings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>Organiser stated aims</th>
<th>Motivational roots</th>
<th>Participant motivations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Music Education</strong></td>
<td>Music education (especially through Schools’ Outreach); and promoting new approaches</td>
<td>Activism towards the right to access arts and cultural learning</td>
<td>Access to new people, instruments and skills (novelty)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural Regeneration</strong></td>
<td>Cultural regeneration through spaces for events, and new artist development.</td>
<td>Solidarity, and commitment to action to reconstruct cultural life as ‘part of the web in which we live’</td>
<td>Creative agency to initiate and drive their own projects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Development</strong></td>
<td>Social development through bringing youths from the two sides of Mostar (and other parts of ex-Yugoslavia) together</td>
<td>Rejection of nationalist rhetoric and ethnic segregation</td>
<td>Mixing, social experimentation, and a gathering place for like-minded youth (‘normality’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Healing, Health and Wellbeing</strong></td>
<td>Healing, health and wellbeing (musical healing, therapeutic music-making)</td>
<td>Music and arts as part of community recovery and reconstruction of spiritual and psychological wellbeing.</td>
<td>Provision of ‘normality’ in terms of a cultural level of existence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other (outside the typology)</strong></td>
<td>International opportunities, global connections</td>
<td>Widening participants’ sense of the world through world musics and people.</td>
<td>‘Cool’ factor of foreigners and new instruments an attraction (novelty)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Summary of aims and motivations for Pavarotti Music Centre

**Hadahur Music School**

The Hadahur Music School began operations slowly in its first year between 2008 and 2009. Early conceptual and planning work for the school began in 2008; this was documented in SMIET’s Annual Reports, and summarised in two key documents: a five-year Plan of Action, and a promotional brochure. These texts are important sources of data in this chapter, along with informant interviews with the two lead organisers (Sr Susan Connelly and Ros Dunlop), the consultant teachers, and four instrumental/vocal students.

**Stated aims**

Each of the early publications gave the same set of aims, expanded upon to varying degrees in the different documents. At their most succinct (in the school’s promotional brochure), the aims were:

1. To give Timorese people opportunities to learn an array of instruments and repertoire, including European, Timorese traditional, and
contemporary/popular; (2) To encourage the Timorese people to be proud of
their musical heritage, to enjoy it for themselves and preserve it for future
generation through learning the traditional Timorese music and instruments.
(Hadahur Music School, 2009b)

These aims indicate Hadahur Music School’s work was orientated towards
Music Education and Cultural Regeneration. The Five-year Plan of Action offered a
more detailed description on the aims, and included two further aims that confirmed
the intention to build and strengthen Music Education in Timor-Leste, and intentions
towards self-sustainability through preparing Timorese people to be music teachers:

- To train early childhood and school classroom teachers in music and
  music pedagogy and to assist them to include music instruction in their
daily classroom activities
- To prepare Timorese to a level of excellence to establish professional
careers in music as composers, performers, teachers, entrepreneurs or
in other capacities (Hadahur Music School, 2009a, p. 2)

There was thus apparent consensus on the school’s commitment to offering
three specific strands of learning: European (referring to Western classical and church
music); Timorese traditional; and contemporary/popular (which referred to the
burgeoning independent and alternative music scene in Timor-Leste, with many self-
taught musicians achieving considerable recognition). In addition there was an
intention to train music students to be music teachers in the future, with Early
Childhood and primary music a fourth learning strand. They maintain the twin focus
on Music Education and Cultural Regeneration.

Unlike the stated aims of the Pavarotti Music Centre, Hadahur’s aims were not
contextualised in relation to the country’s recent history of war and civil conflict, nor
to the wartime suffering of the population. The links between post-war needs and
music learning were referenced elsewhere in the more detailed Plan of Action, but do
not appear to have informed or shaped the decision to start the school. This absence of
the war in the formulation of aims will be discussed later in this chapter; its
significance will be considered in Chapter 8.

Those outside the organisational leadership team understood the aim of the
school as one of building a future generation of Timorese musicians and music
teachers. The music school would eventually “employ the people I was teaching, so [it] would then go on to be self-sufficient” (Wendy Dixon, vocal consultant, 24/5/15). Sarah Walters joined the project to “run a music program and also to train the teachers who are there, the generalist teachers, how to keep the project going” (Walters, Early Childhood consultant, 8/5/14). Ella Bennetts understood that this handover to Timorese teachers was to happen “as early as possible”, and was therefore a major focus of the work (Bennetts, violin teacher, 22/5/15). Therefore, there was consensus on Hadahur’s long-term capacity-building intentions across the consultant group.

The Hadahur students’ impressions were more diffuse. The first cohort of Timorese adult students understood the aims of the school in three ways: to build on the Timorese people’s talent for music, and help them develop; to teach people how to read music according to staff notation; and to create a structure through which children could begin their music education in classrooms and as private learners (António, 25/5/14; Milka, 27/5/14). Three of the adult music learners referred to the goal of training them to be future teachers; a fourth, singer Jakob, did not mention this aspect. In their descriptions, they presumed Western classical music was the music knowledge to be taught; only one former staff member acknowledged an initial intention to include other music genres in the Hadahur Music School’s work (Kiera, 5/6/14). The depiction of notation and other markers of Western classical music as ideal and “real music education” (António, 25/5/14) is one that requires interrogation, and this happens in Chapter 6. Here, the objective is to establish how learners set their goals and compare them with the school’s stated aims.

In contrast with the other learners, guitar student Aurelio wasn’t sure what the main aims of Hadahur School were. He had the impression during his participation in the school and the two high-profile concerts that “each one of them has their own mission, Ros and the nuns” (Aurelio, 11/6/14). Similarly, the Review of Hadahur Music School undertaken in 2010 revealed that “many people [did] not know the aims of the music school” (p. 13).

Therefore, while the stated aims indicated consensus on the commitment to deliver several strands of music learning (Western classical, Timorese traditional, contemporary/popular, and Early Childhood music), the recollections of teachers and students diluted these, producing a shift in emphasis towards Western classical music and Early Childhood education. This shift may have occurred in the intervening years,
as a result of which elements of the stated aims became actual practices and which did not.

**Motivational roots**

How did the stated aims for Hadahur Music School align with the motivations for action of its two constituent partners, SMIET and Tekee Media, the not-for-profit founded by Dunlop? Exploration of this begins with the original Plan of Action document (Hadahur Music School, 2009a). That document included a ‘Background’ section that contextualised the school’s origins in relation to the work of the two organisations, and close reading revealed some implicit contradictions of motivation and purpose.

The document states that the Hadahur activities were intended to build on each party’s respective prior work in Timor-Leste. However, this prior work occupied different practical and ideological space. SMIET wanted to integrate music education with their successful Tetun literacy program (Hadahur Music School, 2009a). This program had a prescriptive curriculum and used a ‘Training-of-Trainers’ model, whereby a team of teacher-trainers trained teams of classroom teachers throughout the country in short, intensive practical sessions to use the methods and curriculum materials. It was a very structured and successful program, refined over almost a decade of operations by the time of Hadahur’s establishment. It was designed to fit within the structures of a modern state education provision (indeed, the Timorese Ministry of Education later adopted it for the first Tetun literacy curriculum).

Tekee Media, on the other hand, was committed to “the preservation of the traditional indigenous music of Timor-Leste” (Hadahur Music School, 2009a, p. 3). This mission responded to the endangered state of many of the country’s music traditions after 24 years of Indonesian occupation, and five hundred years of colonisation. Having built a sizeable archive of recordings, and strong networks with traditional musicians throughout the country, “the obvious next step” for Tekee Media was a classroom music program for traditional Timorese music, using materials collected through the archive project over the previous five years (p. 3).

The compatibilities between these two motivations were in their interest in the classroom-based delivery of music knowledge, and in the affirmation of two key tenets of Timorese identity, its national language and its music traditions. However,
the two motivations intended to build upon two very different types of knowledge transfer: modern literacy pedagogy and indigenous music transmission. This suggested that finding compatibility across the *music school* content would need to be carefully negotiated, if the contrasting motivational roots were to find mutuality.

The organisers’ contrasting motivational roots also suggested that the *real* work and purpose of the music school would be defined differently. For example, indigenous Timorese music teaching was included in the school’s stated aims, but whereas for Dunlop and Tekee Media it represented a central pillar of the school’s reason of existence, for SMIET it may have been more of a desirable than essential criterion. A similar tension of priorities is implied in the Plan of Action in relation to the instrumental and vocal teaching and the early childhood teacher-training program. The adult instrumental and vocal learners were key to the realisation of the stated aim of creating a generation of Timorese music educators that could gradually replace the Australian consultants. However, the ‘Background’ section’s declaration that Early Childhood music education was the key to building a sustainable music culture ([Hadhur Music School, 2009a, p. 3]) suggests that the music school’s real purpose lay in the Early Childhood strand of its program, which did not commence until July 2009.

Interviewed nearly five years after the school’s demise, Dunlop and Connelly retained these divergent emphases of purpose and interest in Hadahur’s original aims. Dunlop emphasised the school’s four intended program strands, and the intention that the first group of (instrumental and vocal) students would become the first generation of local Hadahur Music School teachers (Dunlop, 21/4/14). Connelly emphasised student experiences that developed their pre-existing interests and skills in Western classical music and choral singing, and that integrated music with “education in general”:

[The aims were] to build on what had already been done and to give a structure to the people’s obvious potential. To provide opportunities for Timorese musicians’ development. To underline the integral link between education in general and music. To allow students the experiences of joy which come from music. (Connelly, 25/5/15)
Then, while Dunlop’s earlier work in Timor-Leste had a long-term goal of reversing the endangerment of Timorese music traditions, SMIET’s motivations were informed by a desire to “present opportunities for access to what we in the West have” in terms of music education, and to give recognition to the importance of church music in Timorese culture (Connelly, 25/5/15). Both intended to develop what they considered to be significant local cultural assets (indigenous music practices, and a long history of Western choral singing), but their interpretations of these stemmed from different ideological positions and projections for the music school project, and perhaps about development action and goals more generally.

Interestingly, both parties had strong activist roots and long histories as supporters of Timorese self-determination and therefore of its cultural identity. For Dunlop, music was the object of her activism, believing that preservation of the country’s unique music traditions was essential for its cultural identity. For Connelly, with her support for Timorese choral singing in Sydney and in Dili, music was a source of healing, communion, and fellowship, and a form of cultural expression that was similarly deeply rooted in Timorese identity.

Examination of the organisers’ motivational roots casts the apparent consensus of the stated aims in a different light. It suggests that the seeds of later conflict can be found in the different ideological and practical constructs of music revealed in the subtext of the ‘Background’ section of the original planning document. While, like at the Pavarotti Music Centre, a love of music and shared commitment to the Timorese people brought the two Hadahur leaders together as friends and colleagues, their ideological differences about the kind of music school the Timorese people wanted and needed could prove to be a far more powerful force.

**Participant motivations**

Learner motivations at Hadahur Music School need to be placed within the context of the scarcity of opportunities for specialist education across the whole country, and particularly in rural areas. Two of the Hadahur adult students had already received SMIET scholarships for short-term music studies in Australia, and therefore had a clear sense of how much more there was to learn. Others, such as those in rural areas, had little or no access to people with formal music education, and in 2009-2010, scarce access to the internet. Consequently, specialised knowledge was highly prized.
and the associated fear of missing out could be immense, given the constraints on access that the small scale of Hadahur’s operations produced.

The adult participants were motivated to build on their pre-existing knowledge of Western classical music. Milka was a soloist in the Santa Cecelia Choir. She loved Schubert’s *Ave Maria* and other arias from the Western canon, but “didn’t know how to read Western notation. I was just memorising”. She nominated herself as the first violin student and trainee teacher “because that is one instrument that is not easy to play. . . . [and] I am someone who likes a challenge!” (25/5/14). Therefore her motivations were strongly linked to her ambitions for continued learning, and desire to develop an area of her life that was important to her.

Singing student Jakob was similarly motivated by the opportunity to develop his recognised skills. He knew that he “needed more study for myself. I am a singer. I looked [to] it to help me, for my voice” and for his group, who he believed “really need a professional teacher. Because our group [are] professional singers. We need *more* learnings from this quality professional teacher” (Jakob, 24/5/14). Such training could help the group build their local recognition.

A second motivation was of the possibility of future work as music teachers, motivated by the possibility of sharing knowledge with others rather than of securing paid employment. Aurelio hoped that Hadahur would help him “to find the youth to teach, and to share that knowledge”. António was pleased to learn a method for teaching music in schools because he wanted “to teach in a remote area . . . Because [children living outside of Dili] also have a right to have access to music. (António, 25/5/14.

Certainly, opportunities to study music formally and play classroom percussion instruments are scare in rural parts of Timor-Leste. For participants in the pilot classroom music program in the rural town of Bessilau, the hunger for quality education was linked to the promise that education can bring a more prosperous future. For example, students there declared that they wanted to learn music “because music is good for our life in the future” (Bessilau students’ focus group).
However, like many things in Timor-Leste, opportunities that are scarce are highly-valued, and this creates anxiety. The students I interviewed had not taken part in the project, and the most important thing they wished me to know in this interview was that they “really, really want to learn music”. Their enduring memory of the earlier pilot project when their siblings performed at the Presidential Palace was not of community pride, but of the way that “some of us feel sad because we didn’t get to go” (Bessilau students’ focus group, 6/6/14).

Their teachers elaborated on this message, explaining, “When you played them the video just now [of the pilot Early Childhood project], they felt really sad, because they thought, why don’t we have that opportunity like our brothers and sisters had?” (Bessilau teachers’ focus group, 6/6/14). The students and teachers may have strategically emphasised their sadness in the interview in the hope that I—a foreigner somehow connected to RSDP—might be able to reinstate the lost music program. Nevertheless, the fact that scarcity and absence were the key messages they chose to relay indicates something important about motivations to participate in music learning. Milka and António similarly recalled the frustration of prospective students when there were no places left in the piano and violin classes, and the need to manage people’s ‘fear of missing out’.

Overall, therefore, the aims and motivations at Hadahur Music School centred in particular on Music Education and Cultural Regeneration, with the other two intentions in the typology (Social Development and Healing, Health and Wellbeing) not mentioned. While there was congruence between Hadahur’s stated aims and
motivational roots that positioned Music Education as a common intention for action, these had divergent ideological underpinnings. Meanwhile, the motivations of learners responded primarily to the limited opportunities available for formal music education. However, some informants raised concerns about access and fairness in the delivery of these opportunities, suggesting that their motivations were in part underpinned by a fear of missing out. These findings are summarised below (Table 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>Hadahur stated aims</th>
<th>Motivational Roots:</th>
<th>Participant motivations:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Music Education</strong></td>
<td>Music education (instrumental, vocal, early childhood, Timorese, contemporary &amp; popular); training future music teachers</td>
<td>Music education (early childhood; assimilation with Western norms by “sharing what we have in the West”)</td>
<td>Quality education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Music education (local and Western)</td>
<td>Quality education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>New skills and development of talent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural Regeneration</strong></td>
<td>Cultural regeneration through affirmation and integration of local music knowledge into the music school.</td>
<td>Building on local talent for music (particularly as demonstrated in local church choirs)</td>
<td>Employment, teaching others, and sharing knowledge and cultural experiences more widely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Strengthening of indigenous music traditions</td>
<td>Fairness of access</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Summary of aims and motivations for Hadahur Music School

**Afghanistan National Institute of Music**

The establishment of the Afghanistan National Institute of Music followed a very different trajectory to that of either of the previous case studies. Three key differences are useful to note. Firstly, it was initiated as a government school under the Afghanistan Ministry of Education and therefore as a formal education provider. Secondly, this made it a local initiative, rather than the work of international actors, even though it received crucial funding from sources outside the Afghan government. Lastly, it was a music school in an environment where music learning and performance was (and still is) strongly stigmatised.

These factors underpin its stated aims, but are also important context for what will become apparent in this section, that ANIM is a step towards larger national goals, and its aims are therefore nested within a project of wider cultural transformation.
Stated aims

ANIM’s website describes its aims and mission as follows:

- ANIM provides a dynamic, challenging, and safe learning environment for all students regardless of their gender, ethnicity, religious sect, or socio-economic circumstances. We focus especially on supporting the most disadvantaged children in Afghanistan—orphans, street-working vendors and girls.

We aim to

- Assure Musical Rights
- Transform Lives through Music
- Revive and Preserve Afghan Music
- Train Future Music Educators
- Lead Cultural Diplomacy between Afghanistan and the International Community (Afghanistan National Institute of Music, 2016)

The first four of these align with the four types of intentions proposed in the introduction to this chapter: Social Development (‘assure musical rights’); Healing, Health and Wellbeing (‘transform lives through music); Cultural Regeneration (‘revive and preserve Afghan music’); and Music Education (‘train future music educators’). The fifth aim sits outside the typology and will be returned to in due course.

The four areas of intention that the typology represents are also evoked in public statements of intention, such as in the following:

Music is much more than entertainment. It’s a force that can enormously contribute to the establishment of a just and civil society [and] to the healing process of the Afghan nation [and] create opportunities for Afghan children and youths to develop and to get a skill and vocations that allow them to develop a prosperous life, while at the same time they will be contributing to the cultural revival of Afghanistan. (Sarmast speaking in Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2015)

These kinds of statements link the school’s aims for its students explicitly to society-wide changes and benefits. Indeed, ANIM is sometimes rhetorically positioned as a ‘model’ of
the future Afghanistan, [which is] an Afghanistan which embraces diversity, and creates equal opportunities for everyone regardless of their ethnicity, gender, or social circumstances. If you look at our orchestra, you can see the future . . . it shows the future of Afghanistan—boys, girls, Uzbek, Tajik, Hazaras, Pashtun will live in harmony and unity, and jointly contribute to the building and development of Afghanistan. (Sarmast speaking in NATO, 2014b)

ANIM’s stated aims therefore may be understood as contributing to a wider agenda of national needs and goals. It is a project of cultural development as well as a music school, and the target for the former is the whole country. ANIM as an entity becomes a strategy for the realisation of these larger goals.

It’s not that we are just a music school and we are only focused on music education and general education, but we see our role as an institution can enormously contribute to the various aspects of life in Afghanistan, including the establishing of a just and civil society. (Sarmast, 5/8/15).

ANIM’s educational provision and the achievements of its students therefore link directly to Sarmast’s cultural development goals for the nation. These include tangible additions to the cultural landscape, and society-wide transformations of values and norms. For example, among the more tangible (and actionable) aims related to ANIM is the goal of creating the first National Orchestra of Afghanistan, “capable of playing the national anthem”, anticipating that the first of ANIM’s graduates will be its founding members (Watkins, 2012). Another goal that was touted during the first period of World Bank funding was to open branches of ANIM in three other Afghan cities. Again, ANIM graduates would be well-placed to be the first teachers in these schools. A third external aim is to see music education included in the curriculum for all Afghan schools.

The society-wide transformations occupy more abstracted space. These changes relate to the acceptance of music as a public good and valued part of Afghan society and cultural identity. Other changes relate to Afghanistan’s social divisions, entrenched through decades of war, and discriminatory practices that create a highly unequal and unjust society. ANIM acts upon these aims through its inclusive
enrolment policies; however, the implication is of the desire to see such changes become the norm across the whole country, rather than an anomaly in one school.

Each of these changes contribute overall to the grand goal, the “revival of a multicultural and multimedia music tradition and industry in Afghanistan” that was detailed in Sarmast’s *Revival of Afghan Music* research report in 2006 (Sarmast, 2006, p. 1). This report provided a baseline for the current cultural change agenda related to music.

In external or public discussion of the school (accessed in this research through mass media and social media sources), ANIM’s intended mission is most often characterised as Cultural Regeneration and Social Development through Music Education. The former connects ANIM’s existence to the Taliban’s ban on music and extreme approach to cultural expression (Baily, 2001; Lev, 1996; Wroe, 2001). The latter acknowledges the challenge that ANIM’s inclusive enrolment policy poses to Afghan cultural norms of gender discrimination and strict social hierarchies and divisions. These two familiar narratives of Taliban oppression and social inequality help to situate ANIM as an object of interest within the mainstream international discourse about Afghanistan.

ANIM’s final aim, “lead cultural diplomacy” sits somewhat outside the typology of predominant intentions of music interventions. The articulation of ANIM’s fifth aim has evolved over time from “promote intercultural dialogue” (Afghanistan National Institute of Music, 2012) to the more high-level connotations of diplomacy (Afghanistan National Institute of Music, 2016). Rather than being a formal assignment, the aim expresses an intention

to show to the international community that there is a lot of positive things happening in Afghanistan and Afghanistan can also speak the same language that can be understood by everyone around the world, which is the universal language of music. (Sarmast, 13/12/16)

Arguably, this kind of international profile for Afghan music may also support Cultural Regeneration intentions, because external admiration for traditions can help raise the esteem in which they are held locally. Moreover, as Chapter 8 will show, an international profile and role for ANIM helps it to secure fiscal support. The positive
media representations of the school (and by extension, the country) enable it to demonstrate value beyond its educational remit to the Government of Afghanistan.

As with the previous two case studies, aims for the ANIM music intervention are underpinned by the experiences and expectations of key individuals. The motivational roots are important shaping dynamics, as are the motivations of the learners. How do these align with ANIM’s espoused aims?

**Motivational roots**

To understand the motivational roots of Sarmast’s aims for ANIM it is useful to consider some of his formative life experiences. As the son of Afghanistan’s most celebrated conductor and composer, Ustad Salim Sarmast, Sarmast grew up in a very different Kabul to that of current times. From the 1950s to the 1970s, Afghanistan was peaceful and stable, and experienced what some have described as its “Golden Age” of music (Sakata, 2012). Sarmast’s family home was filled with artists and intellectuals. He attended the *lycée honari* vocational school for music, the forerunner of ANIM, and then received a scholarship to study trumpet and musicology in the Soviet Union (Sardana, 2017). A strong motivational root for him is to recreate the vibrant cultural life of that period (Sarmast, 13/12/16). ANIM’s goals around assuring musical rights, reviving Afghan musical traditions, and training future music educators directly respond to the loss of these cultural norms following four decades of war.

In seeking to transform the lives of young people from all backgrounds through music, Sarmast is also drawing inspiration from his father’s legacy: Ustad Salim Sarmast “was an orphan, whose life was changed thanks to music” (Watkins, 2012). His father’s musical achievements and subsequent celebrity ensured significant social status and respect for the Sarmast family (Egger, 2011; NATO, 2014b). For them, music provided a path to social mobility, and Sarmast believes that it can do the same for his students.

To this end, Sarmast is also determined to raise the status of musicians in Afghan society. Traditional hereditary musicians come from ethnic minority groups with particularly low social status in Afghanistan. Frequently poorly educated and non-literate, their livelihoods during the Taliban era were almost eradicated, with limited options remaining available to some (Baily, 2001). More problematically, but
in keeping with the aim of ‘transforming lives’, in addition to raising the status of music and musicians generally Sarmast wants ANIM graduates to be recognised as a different class of musician, entitled to greater consideration and higher social value by virtue of their formal education:

One of the issues we are fighting and that I constantly speak to my students about is, “Guys, when you play outside of ANIM, anything you do should be different to the ordinary hereditary musicians. The way you speak, the way you play, the way you dress—everything will affect your social status.” (Sarmast, 5/8/15)

He also has a desire to ‘give back’ to his country. He lived in exile during the war years and was able to get an education and raise his family in safety. He believes that he has an obligation to contribute to the rebuilding of his country, and is doing so with his particular skills and knowledge (NATO, 2014b). Along with other scholars of Afghan music, he is concerned that the country’s rich and diverse musical culture remains threatened as a result of orthodox Islamic associations between music and loose morals and behaviour (Baily, 1979, 2001; Sakata, 2012). He has a “secret dream that I could help to change the minds of thousands of young Afghans towards music. Many of those who grew up under the Taliban regime were completely brainwashed against music” (Deutsche Welle, 2010, para. 7).

These motivational roots extend into broad-based beliefs about ‘the power of music’, in particular the belief that music and other art forms are fundamental elements of civil society, and that it is impossible to build a just and civil society without ensuring people’s cultural rights (Sarmast, 5/8/15).

How do Sarmast’s motivational roots align with those of the Government of Afghanistan, its founding body? ANIM is a government school, and could be seen to represent—through its many reforms and cultural statements—the progressive goals of the government (which in turn are aligned with the objectives of the international community’s intervention in Afghanistan). The government has recognised the role of music in building a nation; for example, in 2004, President Karzai commissioned a new national anthem for the country, in order to symbolise the new national era (Sakata, 2012). Notably, the Ministry of Education supported the idea of a vocational music school before it engaged Sarmast to direct it, suggesting there was national
and/or political value attached to the re-introduction of music education in the country. Furthermore, the Minister of Education has supported the many educational reforms that ANIM has introduced (World Bank, 2012), which may indicate motivational roots around radical change in education provision.

There is therefore strong congruence in the alignment between ANIM’s stated aims and the underpinning motivational roots found in Sarmast’s many public statements and the Ministry of Education’s support for the National Institute of Music. Cultural regeneration and social development are the primary goals, but music education is the vehicle for realising these. The stated aims espouse values and priorities that are reflected in the desires of both Sarmast and his government to create a progressive future Afghanistan with a diverse arts-rich cultural life. Consequently, ANIM’s aims represent milestones and stages in a larger and longer-term process of change, helping to establish the necessary conditions for more ambitious aims of societal change at the national level.

**Participant motivations**

Support for a particular vision of the future Afghanistan, love for music, and desire for education were the recurrent themes in the students’ responses to questions around their motivations to become music students. Some described the way they (or their parents) had made an active choice to engage with music education. Ahmadsamim and Ahmadullah, for example, both come from families with long musical lineages. They were eager to attend ANIM in order to develop their musicianship and continue their ancestral traditions (Ahmadsamim, 13/3/15; Ahmadullah speaking in RT Network, 2017). Others described themselves as music lovers, always listening to music at home. On learning “that a Ministry [of Education] school was here on music, where I could learn and I could play myself” (Feroza, 13 March 2015), such students wanted to enroll.

In contrast, students from more disadvantaged backgrounds, such as those working as street vendors selling plastic bags and chewing-gum, had had very little prior experience or knowledge about music education. For many of this group, access to even a *general* education was a dream rather than a realistic prospect.

In my life at that time [*working as a street vendor, aged 10*], it was very dangerous for me. I am just thinking about my future, how can I improve my
future and myself? Because of that, sometimes I am like a very sad man, and I am crying . . . And I wanted to have a teacher. A music teacher, sure, but just other subjects, like Dari [Afghan Persian]. (Wahid, 13/3/15)

In this context, being offered a place in a school that provided a uniform, transport, and lunch, that had foreign teachers, and that taught English and computers as well as the standard Afghan education curriculum, was an extraordinary proposal. Assured that this unusual music school endeavour would “give [him] opportunities to ensure [his] future” (Sarmast speaking in Watkins, 2012), Wahid was one of the first students from a disadvantaged background to enrol.

Students chose their instruments according to their perception of Afghan society’s needs. Ahmadsamim, for example, chose to study the traditional Afghan *rubab*, because he “[wanted] to improve [status, knowledge of] our traditional instruments” (Ahmadsamim, 13/3/15). Several girls described being motivated by the idea of being the first Afghan woman to play a particular instrument. The attraction of ‘being the first’ also indicates a desire for recognition and visibility, countering the Taliban edicts that rendered women invisible and unable to contribute to community or country beyond a very narrow prescribed role. Fikriya intimated the significance of this in her choice of cello: “Most people in Afghanistan don’t even know what cello is! That’s why, for the introduction of cello and for the future of ourselves, I liked it. [I want] to be the pioneer” (Fikriya, 14/3/15).

Students were also motivated by the sense of possibility that this unusual school could offer them. One young violinist imagined that “one day my name and my art will be famous amongst other girls. I want to be the angel of the art of music” (Freshta speaking in Watkins, 2012). Several declared they wanted to emulate Sarmast, a musician with a doctorate who commands respect and authority in hierarchical Afghanistan (Wahid, 13/3/15). Many were inspired by the idea of teaching music to others in the future, and sharing the joy and importance of what they were learning.

I want to be a teacher at ANIM after I finish being a student there. As I was a child that came into ANIM, I’ve grown up there. As an honest and committed person, that’s why I want to stay at ANIM and to teach the younger students
the percussion, that they should also become good percussionists. (Laila, 14/3/15)

Therefore, as with the school’s stated aims, ANIM’s students’ motivations are intertwined with their desire to contribute to progress in their country. Indeed, connecting their music learning to a wider purpose and mission helps give meaning to a project that, in the short-term at least, carries potential risks alongside its opportunities.

Across the three dimensions of aims and motivations, strong congruence can be seen. Table 5 summarises the findings of this section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>ANIM’s stated aims</th>
<th>Organiser’s motivational roots</th>
<th>Student motivations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Music education</strong></td>
<td>Train music educators; train future members of the National Orchestra</td>
<td>Ensure all Afghans have access to engage in whatever music attracts them.</td>
<td>Access to a quality education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural regeneration</strong></td>
<td>Revive Afghan music practices and traditions</td>
<td>Revive liberal and progressive Afghanistan, including Afghan music traditions and vibrant cultural and intellectual life.</td>
<td>Continue family traditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social development</strong></td>
<td>Assure musical rights; counter discrimination; represent multi-ethnic Afghanistan in performances.</td>
<td>Use music to help build a “just and civil society”</td>
<td>To be pioneers and agents of change for the next generation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Healing, health, and wellbeing</strong></td>
<td>Transform lives through music</td>
<td>Continue his father’s legacy and example of a transformed life.</td>
<td>To love music and find joy in the discipline of playing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other (outside the typology)</strong></td>
<td>Cultural diplomacy: create a positive image of Afghanistan abroad</td>
<td>Secure ANIM’s fiscal future and ensure value to government</td>
<td>Travel internationally; learn from what happens elsewhere.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Summary of aims and motivations for ANIM

**Discussion: Implications for shaping and sustaining music interventions**

This chapter sheds light on *beginnings*, and in particular on the early energy that is produced through the communication of aims and motivations. These can give a new endeavour much of its initial momentum and have implications for shaping and sustaining the work, but they are aspirational in nature at this juncture. Their significance is revealed at later critical junctures, when aspirations are transformed into practices and required to interact with the wider context.
It is therefore valuable at this point to reflect upon the trends that emerge in relation to shaping and sustaining when stated aims, motivational roots, and participant motivations are decoupled from practices. For example, if the stated aims are understood as performing a functional role to engage donors and other supporters in the possible future that the music intervention intends to create, then they are implicated in the (financial) sustainability of a music intervention, rather than working as a shaping force. This may indeed be their primary function and significance. How the conversation with donors and other external actors unfolds according to the ‘routemap’ provided by the stated aims is explored in Chapter 8, External Engagement.

In contrast, organisers’ motivational roots provided insight into the personal drivers, beliefs, and histories of those implementing the music interventions. Forthcoming chapters will show that these motivational roots more strongly influence the evolving shape of the music intervention than the stated aims.

Projects are also shaped through the meaning that different individuals ascribe to them. This is where the significance of participants’ motivations is found. This chapter has shown the different ways that participants rework and interpret the intervention’s stated aims to better reflect their lived reality, its deficits, and their subsequent priorities. However, this chapter has only presented the participants’ initial motivations, when the music intervention was a set of ideas and ideals in conversation with their own desires for change. Participants’ production of meaning is dynamic, mediating between lived reality, experiences within the music intervention, and beliefs about the wider context. It is thus interwoven throughout each of the forthcoming critical junctures.

Mapping participants’ motivations onto stated aims has also demonstrated the ways that a music (or other arts) experience produces value in multiple ways, further confirming the limitations of the instrumental/intrinsic dichotomy. Organisers may emphasise instrumentalised value in their stated aims in order to build a compelling argument for donors, but simultaneously remain committed to the delivery of music opportunities as their raison d’être. Conversely, participants are often motivated to participate because of the immediate (intrinsic) appeal of the artistic undertaking; for them, the arguments around social development or healing (for example) provide little
initial persuasion. One does not need to see oneself as damaged or victimised to have the desire to be artistically creative and connect with new people.

The aims and motivations documented here accords with the typology of intentions found in the literature, with one exception: two of the three cases introduced a fifth type of intention, around international profile, intercultural exchange, and global links. This kind of intention was correlated with a more ambitious project scope; that is, the two cases with more substantial international funding and grand program ambitions were also the two that declared an intention towards internationalisation.

In addition to these observations around shaping and sustaining, there are three aspects of the various expressions of aims and motivations in this chapter that benefit from further commentary, as they will go on to have significance in later critical junctures. They concern long-term intentions, idealised pasts, and politicisation.

First, it is important to note the inferences towards intended long-term existence that can be found in the aims and motivations of each of the three case studies. The Pavarotti Music Centre inferred this with the intended permanence of its purpose-built building; Hadahur Music School and ANIM inferred this with their intention to gradually replace international teachers with locals, trained through the music intervention. ANIM further infers long-term intentions through its position within a broader agenda of cultural changes that will likely take a generation or more to be noticeable. In an environment that is unstable due to the political and economic ramifications of war, and where most new endeavours can only access short- to mid-term project funding from external sources, goals of longevity immediately call to mind questions of sustainability.

The evoking of an idealised past in organiser and participant motivations at ANIM and the Pavarotti Music Centre provided both motivation and legitimacy for the music interventions. However, in a war-affected setting what may have been ideal for some was quite possibly creating the pre-conditions of conflict for others. Therefore intentions to revive or recapture an idealised past have a political aspect. Revival of a musical milieu may evoke an aspect of class identity, where its re-inscription benefits a particular group, or enables them to reclaim some of the markers
of social class that the war destroyed or cast in a negative light. Livingston, for example, observes that music revivals tend to be a “middle class phenomenon” that play a role in class-based identity maintenance (1999, p. 66). Therefore, the recreation of an idealised past raises the spectre of future conflict or opposition.

This relationship to an idealised past has implications for the shaping of the music intervention, in particular choices around pedagogy and public representation of its work, and for its sustainability, as connection to an idealised past may help to lend appeal and authenticity to the music intervention in the wider community. These will be considered further in Chapters 6 and 8, respectively.

The third aspect that is interesting to observe at this point is the extent to which the music interventions evoked the recent war as a justification for their introduction, and how this could lead to the music intervention’s politicisation. The stated aims of the Pavarotti Music Centre referenced the recent war unambiguously, depicting the Music Centre as a place for post-war healing and recovery. ANIM’s aims do not refer to the war directly, but position the school as working to reverse a number of Taliban-enforced cultural norms, such as the curtailment of musical rights, destruction of Afghan music traditions and music education opportunities, and the extreme disadvantage of some social groups. In contrast, the recent history of war or civil crisis did not feature in Hadahur’s stated aims, motivational roots, or participant motivations, despite the fact that a major civil crisis had taken place just 2 years prior. Rather, Timor-Leste’s under-development and the fragility of its music traditions were the rationales for action.

In the international context, rhetorical connections to war-related needs help to make a compelling case for the project and engage appealing emotive tropes of universal languages or replacing weapons with instruments. However, in contexts where the conflict underlying the war remains unresolved (such as in Bosnia-Herzegovina) or is still being fought by insurgent elements (as in Afghanistan), declaring the project’s aims as a response to war frames it in political terms, and thus may inadvertently politicise it. The issue of politicisation will return in Chapter 8 but has its roots in the critical juncture of Aims and Motivations.
Conclusion

This chapter has established the beginnings of the three case study music interventions, and the transformations they aimed to generate in war-torn locales. After establishing the primary functions of statements of aims and motivations in NGO action, it outlined the ways that earlier music projects in war-affected settings have framed their work, introducing a typology of four intentions: Music Education, Cultural Regeneration, Social Development, and Healing, Health and Wellbeing. This typology was then applied to the three case studies in turn, providing a framework through which to compare the different expressions of aims and motivations and illustrate the internal alignments or tensions within each. As befits a chapter about beginnings, much of the work has been to establish the early rhetorical and aspirational foundations upon which the various actors will build, and to highlight tensions and projections that will go on to play an influential role in shaping the music intervention, and contributing to its potential for sustainability.

Aims and motivations are aspirations in the form of words and ideas, establishing legitimacy, authority, and values as well as an ideal ‘routemap’ for actions on the ground. Where those actions will take place is the subject to which attention now turns. The housing and accommodating of a music intervention is a critical juncture that incorporates both espoused values (for its communicative power in a symbol-laden landscape) and practices (for its influence on programming and activities). Chapter 5, Buildings and Facilities, examines the negotiations and decisions around the accommodation of the three case study music interventions, exploring the tensions within the built environment in humanitarian contexts and the ways that space and place can both shape and sustain music work.
CHAPTER 5: Buildings and Facilities

The way that a music intervention is housed and the facilities it features play an influential role on both the shape of the intervention and its sustainability. There is a (fairly self-evident) mutual relationship between the provision of particular facilities and the capacity to offer programs that utilise those features: Physical space imposes upon and shapes content in multiple ways. But buildings and facilities also interact with people’s experience in ways that are entangled with the wider context, and these more intangible and subjective aspects of the built structure also contribute to the shape of the project and its potential for sustainable provision.

Each of the three case studies in this research addressed the challenge of housing their programs and activities in different ways. In Mostar, War Child and its program partners were keen to make a permanent and lasting contribution to the town, and had a donor who was eager to fund a building project. As the only one of the three cases to have a purpose-built home, and where the construction of the building was as much an outcome of the intervention as its subsequent musical activities, the Pavarotti Music Centre illustrates many of the issues around buildings for music in war-affected settings. Consequently it predominates in this chapter. In Afghanistan, linking the National Institute of Music to a major World Bank funding initiative provided for a substantial refurbishment of a pre-existing music school building. This process introduced new facilities and improvements, but the building and its purpose did not undergo a significant physical or symbolic transformation. In contrast to the other cases, the organisers of the Hadahur Music School in Timor-Leste were never able to secure dedicated premises for music learning, and accommodating the needs of the music school remained a source of stress and instability throughout its short existence.

Negotiations at this critical juncture revolve around questions such as “What do we want to do?” and “What do we need in order to accommodate what we want to do?” Given the many likely constraints on building availability in war-affected places, the question “What is possible?” may also be part of the negotiations.

This chapter aims to explore the different dynamics of buildings and their facilities in the provision and experience of music interventions. It is structured
thematically, examining in turn the relationships between buildings, facilities, and programming; buildings, facilities, and participant experience; and buildings and the wider context, and unpacks the tensions within each of these. The resources associated with this critical juncture also represent a sizeable injection of wealth into struggling communities, and the discussion section probes the ethical and justice implications of building construction in humanitarian contexts. Figure 12, below, outlines the chapter structure:

**Buildings and facilities shaping programming and content**

This first section is focused on physical features and facilities, and the ways that these worked to shape the programming and content on offer in each site. Accommodation is critical. Provision of or access to particular facilities creates the capacity for action, and therefore directly influences the content of what takes place. Without key facilities and resources, many activities simply would not be able to happen.

**Pavarotti Music Centre**

Most informants agreed that in post-war Mostar there was very little for young people to do.

I was going to school . . . but you know, beside that, nothing. There was really nothing in the town. There were no theatre shows, there was no cinema. You could read books. [Pause] You could use drugs. You could just waste time on the streets. But there was nothing for the youth at that moment. (Alma, 29/10/13)

War Child’s founders (David Wilson and Bill Leeson) and principal fundraisers (Brian Eno and Anthea Turner) wanted their efforts to do more than fill these gaps with a few activities. They wanted to “leave something permanent” in Mostar (Wilson, 22/2/15). The town’s bombardment had destroyed most of Mostar’s
pre-war cultural infrastructure. The hope was that the activities would be more likely to continue long-term if they had their own dedicated, purpose-built space.

There was already a discernable interest among local youths for initiating and participating in arts processes. Arts-interested youth made efforts to self-organise and apply for aid funds for concerts and exhibitions—the artist collective Apeiron de Art was an example of this—and international volunteers initiated several small-scale arts projects on minimal funding (for example, Kufinec, 2003, describes a theatre project from this era). Local music teachers on both sides ensured the pre-war municipal music schools re-opened as soon as possible, albeit in temporary and compromised premises (Vesna, former director, West Mostar Music School, 6/11/13).

Nevertheless, these efforts struggled to offer much more than temporary diversions in an otherwise difficult and depressing existence. In contrast, the Pavarotti Music Centre, purpose-built for young people’s music participation and performance, introduced facilities and resources that dramatically changed young people’s access to cultural life, through provision of performance venues, rehearsal space, workshops, and informal space for socialising.

For example, its concert hall and outdoor courtyard were the first large public performance spaces in the (east side of) town after the war. They gave the Centre the capacity to regularly present a diverse range of performance events, including rock bands, DJ nights, and symphony orchestras (Figure 13).

At that time Mostar was lacking these kinds of concerts and cultural things, so this was like a place where you could hear some new bands, watch some movies or you know, see some shows, different things, alternative things.

(Vanesa, mixed focus group, 6/11/13)
The Centre provided rehearsal space for aspiring Mostar rock musicians, and a ‘rock school’ program of coaching and performance opportunities quickly became a strand of programming. In Mostar at that time there were no other venues that provided free rehearsal space with specific music equipment like drum kits and amplifiers, as well as more rudimentary elements like electricity, doors, walls, and a roof, and where you could make noise without disturbing others. The recording studio, built according to the specifications of acclaimed producer and musician Brian Eno, gave local bands a means of recording their music at low or no cost. In these ways, the unique facilities at the Pavarotti Centre made programs possible that enabled aspiring young musicians to “evolve from being a band in a garage, and have opportunity to show some broader audience what they have” (Gordana, mixed focus group, 6/11/13).

Some of the Pavarotti Music Centre’s facilities were highly specialised. The Music Therapy department—the first in Bosnia-Herzegovina—was housed in a separate wing, and featured two soundproofed rooms, an observation room with video recording facility, and a ‘therapy garden’ filled with aromatic plants. Like the recording studio, the wing had been designed to the specifications of an expert international advisory group.

Other spaces had more flexible use. The CD library, courtyard and atrium, the café-bar, and the corridors and small garden areas all served as un-imposed,
unscheduled, ‘hang-out’ space, and shaped visitors’ interactions with the space and each other accordingly. Many informants noted the importance of the CD Library, for example, which was adjacent to the bar and reception area of the Pavarotti Music Centre and stocked with recordings of music from around the world. Young people could sit for hours in comfortable chairs and listen to a range of music from around the world while ‘hanging’ and chatting. In a pre-internet age, and at a time when there was limited access to new music, the CD Library “was the only window through which to see what’s going on in the world” (Alma, 29/10/13).

These facilities had an immediate link to programming and content, and the combination of that content with the building and its facilities changed people’s access to cultural life in Mostar. For some informants, the Pavarotti Centre’s purpose-built spaces and resources made things happen that would not have otherwise occurred.

I know lots of bands were started there, were rehearsing there, doing concerts after that. And if there wasn’t Pavarotti, and if there wasn’t the space in Pavarotti for them, they wouldn’t be anywhere. They wouldn’t be into the music at all. (Haris, 7/11/13)

Others felt that the Pavarotti Centre’s critical contribution was less one of unique provision than of expediting the process of reviving cultural life and making events more appealing, professional, and feasible.

Edita – Maybe this building and this project gave the opportunity to speed up things, to realise projects and activities maybe sooner than it would happen if there was no Pavarotti Centre . . . [they were] bringing people together, giving opportunities to these bands whether they are from the East or West side . . . [and] speeding up the process of creating this music scene of Mostar. Or cultural scene.

Elvir – Yeah, and if nothing else it was making it easier for all these things . . . they had this big room for hundreds of people, a movie projector, it was warm, [there were] staff with technical skills. (Mixed focus group, 6/11/13)

In summary, the wartime destruction of cultural infrastructure placed significant restrictions on cultural life and arts-based activities in Mostar, despite young people in particular being eager to initiate projects and participate. The
Pavarotti Centre’s provision of bespoke facilities and resources enabled the programming of particular content, thus being a significant shaping force for the music intervention.

**Afghanistan National Institute of Music**

The building refurbishment of the Afghanistan National Institute of Music similarly intended to make a higher quality and volume of musical activities possible than was otherwise available in Kabul. The impact of the Taliban ban on music had left Afghanistan with only a handful of skilled artists of high calibre, an impoverished and insufficient array of instruments, and extremely limited facilities in which music-making could occur. Earlier music education initiatives in Kabul had offered opportunities for learning but (with the exception of the Aga Khan Music Initiative) were never sustained long enough to produce a significant change in local music capacities (Sarmast, 2006). ANIM was to deliver a “proper music education” (Sarmast, 5/815), where ‘proper’ referred to a structured approach to provision and curriculum that would closely replicate specialist music learning institutions in the Western world, and deliver a cohort of graduates equipped to meet a future Afghanistan’s musical needs.

If I want to have 500 students, I should have sufficient practice rooms, musical instruments, very rich musical library, and of course, music teachers, expertise, to train students . . . If I really want to ensure that in the next five to ten years Afghanistan has its national orchestra, its musicians for the film industry, slowly, musicians for the various army barracks, for various radio and TV stations, musicians playing Afghan instruments and Western instruments, I should have the right expertise, equipments, resources, and musical instruments. (Sarmast, 5/815)

Sarmast was supported in this vision by the World Bank’s Afghanistan Skills Development Program [ASDP], a funding program designed to address multiple deficiencies in Afghanistan’s vocational and technical training provision, from staffing and curricula to dilapidated infrastructure and a norm of “obsolete and non-functioning equipment” (World Bank, 2008, p. 3). Students recalled the limitations of ANIM’s forerunner, the music department of the lycée honari:
We had just two pianos but sixteen people! Two violins but eleven people! You can’t practise! You can’t! It is not there! . . . And now we have, uh, [counts mentally] one-two-three-four, eleven or sixteen, seventeen pianos. And also we have many violins, cellos, contrabass. At that time we didn’t have contrabass [double bass]. (Wahid, 13/3/15)

Therefore, ANIM’s first period of capital works and acquisition of instruments intended to fill sizeable gaps in local music provision. The initial renovations, completed in 2010, enabled Sarmast “to upgrade from school to institute level and institutionalise both Eastern and Western music education in a modern way” (World Bank, 2014, p. 41) and included a music library, recording studio, instrument repair workshop, a new rehearsal building with practice rooms and large ensemble rooms, and high speed internet throughout.

For both ANIM and the Pavarotti Music Centre, dedicated premises with specific infrastructure and resources for music education shaped their program content. What these facilities should include was shaped in part by community consultation and expression of interest and needs (as seen at the Pavarotti Music Centre) and the presence of external norms and ideals to which the program content would aspire (as was the case with the Western music education facilities at ANIM and the Music Therapy facilities and recording studio at the Pavarotti Centre). In these ways, the building and facilities were central to shaping the provision of activities and therefore of the initiative as a whole.

**Hadahur Music School**

In contrast, the Hadahur Music School did *not* have a dedicated building in which to base its activities. In 2009, Dili was still recovering from the widespread destruction of infrastructure that occurred in the post-referendum violence and Indonesian departure, and there was a severe shortage of intact buildings. During the two-week consultant visits it procured temporary teaching and rehearsing spaces from willing businesses and parishes that sometimes could only be confirmed at the last minute. During the periods of online lesson delivery, venues for Skype lessons needed to be found. Skype lessons required places with reliable Internet, where the sounds of music learning would not disturb others, and where the Timorese students would feel comfortable to visit. Hosts were found, but due to the transient nature of people,
NGOs, and businesses in Timor-Leste at that time, “the Skype lessons were really haphazard” (Dunlop, 21/4/14).

Hadahur’s consultant teachers also recalled the way that the lack of stable premises compounded an already-fluid approach to timetables, schedules, and project coordination. With activities dispersed across multiple venues, one unexpected event (such as a car breaking down, or a student arriving late) could have a cascading impact on all remaining activities for that day, and even into subsequent days. This could then jeopardise the goodwill and support of those making their venues available. “Things were made more difficult by the fact that there wasn’t a school” (Dixon, 24/5/15).

The Hadahur example illustrates that the absence of a building also works to shape the activities and the project at large. It dictates what can be taught (resources need to be portable if they are to move between multiple venues, robust enough to withstand constant mobility, and have suitable, accessible storage between sessions; activities must be designed to suit the available space in terms of room dimensions and the activity’s audibility), and determines consistency of delivery (due to dependence on other people’s spaces and timely availability). It also impacted the student experience, as the next section discusses.

**Buildings shaping psychosocial experiences**

There were other benefits that informants ascribed to their respective music buildings that were more subjective and intangible than the provision of particular facilities or the enabling of activities. Participants described the two case studies in this research project that were housed within dedicated buildings as providing support for their psychological and emotional wellbeing, through offering a sense of safety, and giving access to an alternative social world that embraced diversity and difference.

That safety should emerge as a theme in both the Bosnia and Afghanistan case studies is unsurprising. In both sites, research participants’ lived experiences featured navigations of their home terrain as a potentially hostile and volatile place, both in relation to the continuation of conflict and ethnic division, and (in the case of Afghanistan) as a result of public perceptions of music and musicians, education, and perceived ‘un-Islamic’ influences.
The notion that an unfortified building would be experienced as significantly safer than other community spaces requires some contextualisation. The experience of conflict alters a person’s world – the physical, but also the socio-cultural-political environment – in dramatic and complex ways. In one’s imagining of the landscape, once-neutral or insignificant features may be re-cast as dangerous or safe, divided, contested, ‘ours’ or ‘theirs’; and incursions into space that is understood as “owned” by an opposing group risk provoking some kind of violent retaliation (Pruitt, 2013). Others become known as sites of trauma and horrors, “traumascapes” where “the past is still unfinished business . . . [and] events are experienced and re-experienced across time” (Tumarkin, 2005, p. 12). In such places, physical distance affords a corresponding degree of psychological distance, and the ‘safety’ a building affords is produced by its capacity to circumscribe itself from external realities (creating an alternative world), or to neutralise its semiotic or physical associations with war-time divisions and experiences through the liminality of the activities it offers.

At the Pavarotti Music Centre, the psychological safety that participants experienced rested on three factors. The first two echo the shared motivational roots and beliefs described in Chapter 4: the explicit commitment to non-nationalist values that meant social interactions within its space were not defined by ethnic identity, as they were in the world outside (“suddenly there was a place where [divided people] could meet that was not politicised” (Kenet, 20/10/13)); and the fact that these meetings took place in a delineated physical space, enabling people to enter ‘another world’ when they crossed its threshold. The third factor was musical, found in the sense of escape and asylum that group music-making offered (“it was really like going on a really good session with a psychiatrist, where you can take out every negative thought you had at the moment and just let it go” (Ines, 14/11/13)).

Music and that world offered me a different and much happier world than I was actually living in. At some point I was falling, I couldn’t actually bear my world in the physical sense, but there wasn’t one day that I decided not to go there [to the Pavarotti Centre]. At that point it was everything to me. Everything. It was my sanctuary. And I think it was important like this not only for me but also for all kids who were involved in Pavarotti. (Almira, 12/11/13)
The Pavarotti Centre’s policy of welcome to people from all ethnic groups meant that anyone could come. This is suggestive of risk, rather than safety. However, the wider political environment meant that in practice, its participants were those who were open to the idea of being “social with people who were potentially from the other side” (Kenet, 20/10/13), while those that agreed with the local politics of nationalism and division kept away. It made the Pavarotti Centre one of the first explicit “contact places”, a term used by one research participant (Jelena, 12/11/13) to describe a place that was a meeting point for people from either side of the town. The scarcity of such places in post-war Mostar made them extremely significant for those that desired this contact (Hromadzić, 2011). It was “a great place to just be who you are, and not really thinking about your nationalities or whatever, because you had a mixture of everyone and everything there” (Ines, 14/11/13).

Other resources also contributed to the safety of desegregation: for example, Pavarotti Centre staff regularly drove Centre vehicles over to West Mostar to pick up or take home participants that were fearful to cross the inter-entity border between the two sides of the town in order to participate in Centre activities. This transport support was a critical contribution to building an inter-ethnic community in the Pavarotti Centre in its first year (Oha, 30/10/13).

At ANIM a similar sense of the school building as a kind of contemporary fortress against external political threats was evident in student and staff testimonies. There, the safety provided by the school building represents both safety from the outside world’s criticisms about music, stern interpretations of Islam, and demands for social conformity, and safety from the physical dangers of the outside world, at least psychologically, if somewhat limited in actuality.

Students described the freedom they had within the school to develop friendships with people of the opposite sex (ANIM is one of the only co-educational schools in Afghanistan where boys and girls study in the same classes) and to build an identity that was separate to their ethnic or tribal affiliation (school rules forbid any ethnic labeling of others, and racial slurs are dealt with as major transgressions, according to ANIM’s Director). Sarmast intended that “when students are coming inside the school it’s a family place. It’s their home, it’s their fortress, and they should be getting different values [than those imposed in other settings]” (Sarmast, 5/8/15).
This sense of safety has been reinforced by the physical fortifications and security features that have been added to the school building since the Taliban attack on an ANIM student performance in December 2014. Before that, students were aware that “the doors are not guarded . . . Everyone can just enter. [They might say], ‘Ah, this is good – Aha! Music school! Try to tell to the Taliban that we can go to there.’ Some of them [might do this]” (Wahid, 13/3/15). Recent fortifications and additional security guards mean students like Wahid have stopped thinking that “the explosion man is coming” (Wahid, 13/3/15), although other accounts suggest the security provisions remain inadequate defenses against the potential threats, and that the school community “[stays] safe by chance” (Ayres, 2017, p. 215).

For students at both ANIM and the Pavarotti Music Centre, ‘safety’ is also a result of the internal culture that has evolved at each site. Questions of internal culture are considered in greater depth in Chapter 7; here, the subject of interest is the extent to which the physical building is implicated in the psychological experience of safety and community. Once again, the Hadahur Music School example offers a useful contrast. Without a physical building, the work of the staff and students failed to generate an internal culture or strong shared sense of community, or indeed, a sense of public identity. Each informant spoke only of the strand of activity with which he or she was involved (instrumental and vocal teaching, Early Childhood workshops) rather than of the school as an identifiable entity. While such difficulties may not have been resolved by housing the Music School and its activities within a building of its own, the author of the Review into Hadahur Music School (2010) observed the way the lack of a building or dedicated premises made the school as an entity far less tangible.

Context also plays an important role in psychosocial impact of buildings. The benefits that informants have attributed to their respective buildings for music—feeling safe, being able to meet like-minded others and expand one’s social circle—have much to do with the ways the ‘bricks and mortar’ interact with the wider environment in a particular place and time. These first two sections have examined aspects of buildings and facilities that help to shape the music intervention, but as the gaze widens to include the broader socio-economic, historical, cultural, and political context, an indirect relationship to its future sustainability also emerges.
Experiencing the building in context

Buildings ‘speak’ in their contexts through the relationships they communicate between place, design, function, and people. This is arguably even more the case in contested or conflicted environments, which has implications for generating an ongoing sense of community ownership and responsibility, and the potential for sustainability that such outcomes signal. Factors such as the building’s design and scale in relation to the intended beneficiaries and the local environment, and the semiological meanings it acquires in relation to the recent history of war, can influence the extent to which members of the public feel this is a building that welcomes or includes them. Buildings may be designed to blend in, or to dwarf their neighbours (Cesal, 2015). They may impose particular behaviours and relationships on the users (Small, 1998, p. 20). Design and materials may also be a heritage concern, where the planners in charge of the urban reconstruction prioritise use of those elements of the built environment with heritage value (Seebacher, 1998).

The building’s location will similarly communicate much about whom the building is for, and the sociopolitical value of what takes place inside (Small, 1998, p. 20). This is always the case in mainstream (i.e. non war-affected) contexts; however, in a war-affected environment, locations carry additional meanings, as discussed in the previous section. In addition, the land upon which the building stands may have been acquired through dubious or unjust processes, given the fraught and contested norms of land tenure and transfer in many war-affected places (Goddard & Lempke, 2013; La'o Hamutuk, 2010).

A building reconstructed with international aid may also evoke additional subjective meanings, depending on the local population’s experience of aid and post-war reconstruction at that time. If limited community consultation has taken place, or if there is suspicion of corruption or graft benefitting powerful individuals (e.g. through opaque processes for awarding lucrative contracts for building or materials) rather than the community, these can taint the building and its contents as someone else’s interest. The tendency towards corruption that exists in the building industry in high-income countries is intensified in settings where corruption is a normal part of doing business and where restrictive regulations are often coupled with inadequate oversight, as is the case in the vast majority of developing and conflict-affected states (Hors, 2000).
Conversely, the reconstruction of the built environment as part of a larger international stabilisation and recovery effort can be an important source of optimism for a war-weary community. It marks an end to relentless destruction and is a sign of faith on the part of outsiders. The contrast between a reconstruction project and the surrounding environment can signify that things are improving, and peace is coming.

Finally, the extent to which a population embraces a new building as ‘theirs’ may also be influenced by the extent to which the building becomes accessible as public space, and a site for community development. Grodach (2009, p. 489) contends that this transformation occurs through both the activities a building offers and the interactions and conversations it supports. This functioning is not automatic; it is connected to the ways a building’s facilities and infrastructure catalyse social gatherings (including in non-arts ways), and to the partnerships that develop with other local organisations that generate new and interesting projects. This contributes to the process of community ownership and investment in the building, which is critical to its longer-term sustainability.

The factors at play in a community’s sense of ownership of a music construction project are illustrated in different ways in each of the case studies. In particular, the Pavarotti Music Centre depicts how these tensions may play out in action, given the fact that construction of a building for music was central to the intervention. It consequently leads the following discussions of design, location, optimism, and community development. However, the physical building or lack thereof in the cases of ANIM and Hadahur also produce useful insights, and these are woven into the discussion where pertinent.

**Design and scale**

Of the three music intervention case studies in this thesis, only one—the Pavarotti Music Centre—was a purpose-built centre for music, and therefore was the only one of the three that went through a design stage. Renovations at the Afghanistan National Institute of Music responded to a brief to refit the existing school building with the necessary facilities (rehearsal and teaching rooms, and storage) for music education. The Hadahur Music School did not have a dedicated building at all.

The Pavarotti Music Centre was designed by a group of British architects with a reputation for radical design and a willingness to work pro bono (Wilson, 2016).
Their brief was to transform the ruins of the Luka primary school in East Mostar into a modern music centre, finding solutions to the relatively small block size, and the need for the building to serve multiple functions as a cultural and community space.

Figure 14: View of rear exterior of Pavarotti Music Centre, showing block size and neighbourhood context, 1998 (author's photo)

From the early conceptual and design stages, the architects met periodically with local musicians and youth, inviting their feedback and touring the site with them (Mustafa, structural engineer for the construction project, later Deputy Director, 6/11/13; Alma, 30/10/13; Kenet, 20/10/13). The subsequent design prioritised open and accessible space and natural light, with multiple uses for many of its spaces. The front doors led visitors first into a light-filled café-bar (Figure 15, below), and then through to a tiled courtyard open to the sky. The courtyard functioned as public space and outdoor performance space. A glass-walled atrium flanking the right side doubled as an extension of the courtyard, or a separate performance room. The second storey included a long performance hall, a mirrored dance studio, art room, teaching and rehearsal rooms, and offices. A third storey housed two self-contained apartments. It was contemporary, flexible space that communicated multiple uses.
Its scale and choice of materials were in line with the heritage overlay of the original Habsburg building and retained key original features, such as the Austro-Hungarian façade and two internal marble staircases. Furthermore, it was eye-catching work. Mostar’s pre-war architecture featured an evident socialist aesthetic alongside its Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman legacies, and the sophisticated, contemporary design of the Pavarotti Music Centre made it one of the most modern structures in the country at that time. Notably, this cutting edge architectural creation was to be a place for Mostar’s youth, rather than for the city’s elites, and this became the source of later contestations about its ‘true purpose’ (see Chapter 7).

The outcome produced some further concerns. Its tight street frontage on a narrow footpath was often crowded with parked cars, which made it difficult for passers-by to glimpse the activity inside. Staff expressed frustration with design choices that made insatiable demands on maintenance budgets, citing the elevator and courtyard tiles that stained too quickly as prime culprits, and agreeing with Grodach that this “deflect[ed] funding away from programming, education and outreach”
Others queried the quality of work, pointing to the roof that began leaking not long after the building’s completion.

For one observer, the design and scale of the Centre prioritised grandeur over the mission:

[There was] too much marble! . . . I would personally not have built something this grand. The building process and the management of such a process is such a large amount of time and effort, and for me that is not the most effective way to support children in war, which was our mission. (Willemijn Verloop, former Director, War Child Holland, 15 July 2016)

Indeed, the question of whether building and construction is the best way to realise a musical mission in a humanitarian context is one that requires comment beyond the implications for design and scale. It will be returned to later in this chapter.

Other, more disinterested commentators observed that the Pavarotti Music Centre satisfied several key criteria for post-disaster urban planning and reconstruction. It was the restoration of a structure with both useful function and historical importance in a part of town that had sustained severe and widespread damage. It was stylistically in sympathy with the surrounding built environment, retaining (and restoring to former grandeur) key features of the original structure. Its construction generated opportunities for local employment and capacity-building, while simultaneously creating a new public institution (Calame & Pasić, 2009).

The Pavarotti Music Centre continues to be used as a music and arts centre for young people. This may indicate that, while in some ways imperfect or controversial, choices made at the design and conceptual stages succeeded in producing a building that has remained fit for purpose and an accepted part of the local built environment.

**Location**

In a war-affected environment, location and space can be highly politicised. In Mostar, the post-war political intransigence between the two sides of town made the location of the Pavarotti Music Centre a contentious issue. Initially, War Child had hoped to acquire a site in Mostar’s ‘central zone’, an area with shops and cafes close to the frontline that was jointly controlled by both municipal governments and where
the construction of buildings aligned exclusively with one ethnic group was forbidden (Makaš, 2006). Instead, the East Mostar government offered them a site that was what one informant described as “deep in the East” (Oha, 29/10/13).

The parcel of land that the East Mostar government offered was not historically contentious, but positioning the Music Centre in the eastern sector of the town meant it was automatically seen as a “Muslim” or “Bosniak” site among many of those living in West Mostar (Eno, 1996, p. 105; Wilson, 2016, p. 160), and this limited who would choose to access it.

I think one of the disadvantages for Pavarotti was being deep into one side. If it was closer to kind of a borderline then it would be much more accessible for people from-- [breaks off]. I hate to call Mostar by sides, but it would be more accessible for people to come.” (Jelena, 12/11/13)

Its location acted as a deterrent for many West Mostarians. “They didn’t necessarily see [it] as their Centre” (Kenet, 20/10/13). The lack of interest was both politically- and self-imposed. People’s dependence on the hardline West Mostar government for welfare support, and the links between party allegiance and employment made it challenging for individuals (especially adults with dependents) to defy the political status quo (Amnesty International, 2006; Grandits, 2007; also Vesna, 6/11/13).

Misalignment between the location of the music activity and the target beneficiaries can also occur in less politically confrontational settings. The Hadahur Music School needed to access various venues for its music teaching. Violin lessons were offered in a parish hall of an outlying and relatively disadvantaged suburb of Dili. Meanwhile, the Hadahur local teachers recruited their first cohort of students from among their pre-existing networks of family and friends. As beginner teachers, they wanted to build their confidence by working with children they already knew, and their networks were based in the areas they lived in, which were closer to the centre of town.

This led to a situation where the students attending violin lessons did not live in the neighbourhood where the lessons took place, but they took up all the available places. Children living in the vicinity of the parish hall venue who wanted to learn violin could not. In response, those that missed out demonstrated their jealousy and
resentment of the newcomers by throwing stones at them when they arrived for lessons (Milka, 25/5/14; Sarah Walters, 8/4/14). While there may have been additional sociocultural factors at play concerning recent histories of cross-neighbourhood conflict or class differences between the student cohort and the local parish children, it nevertheless illustrates the way that poor alignment between targeted students and the location of activities can promote a sense of exclusion rather than access.

These challenges were avoided in Kabul, where the new Institute of Music opened in the location of a pre-existing school for the arts. It therefore provoked few if any challenges to its location, and was a project of renovation and refurbishment, rather than the introduction of something new. The three cases indicate that tensions around choice of location are not necessarily avoidable—scarcity of viable accommodation is an issue for many projects in a war-affected context—and that locations are significant for the messages they may communicate about whom the music project is for, and therefore how it will be embraced locally.

**Buildings as optimism**

There are many kinds of violence in war. In a chapter about buildings, it stands to reason that the focus will be on physical destruction and issues of rebuilding and repair. Yet to understand what a new building may mean for the people that use it, it is necessary to also acknowledge what it is to experience violent destruction of one’s lived environment.

Nordstrum (2004) observes that violence in war is the means to an end, where the intended end is one of terrorising in order to destroy hope and a sense of the future (p. 65). The destruction of the built environment therefore intends not only to obstruct or violently curtail the patterns of daily functioning, but to create crises of existence and the loss of the imaginable future. It is to remove tangible traces of cultural and civic identity, such as markers of place, civic pride, and belonging (Connor, 2015).
Because of this, the clearing of rubble, the laying of foundations, the appearance of scaffolding and the building that subsequently emerges can be powerful metaphors for the end of the war and the beginning of a better future. The rebuilding of public services and homes indicates that people’s lives and futures may (be allowed to) matter once again. There is a relief that at least some human needs may now be met. The restoration of significant edifices to their former, pre-war grandeur can also bring psychological benefit to the local population (Yarwood, 1998).

The rebuilding of schools and other sites for education adds a further layer of optimism. The provision of education and new learning opportunities is often correlated with increased feelings of hopefulness. Schools signal the return of the future as something that can be imagined or invested in (Dryden-Peterson, 2011). Therefore, the rebuilding and reopening of facilities for education can represent a critical turning point for the community.

Of the three case studies, only the Pavarotti Music Centre was a new entity in its context, and for many of the research informants, its construction communicated reasons for hope and optimism. At the time it was the largest construction project underway in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Nickalls, 1997), which gives some indication of its likely visibility and the contrast it represented to the surrounding landscape.
When I saw that everything is new inside, full of light, it was very positive to see. It was something quite new inside a city that just one or two years ago looked like Hiroshima. It was a very positive feeling. (Nečko, 3/11/13)

Furthermore, it symbolised the interest and attention of the rest of the world. There “were periods during the war when people felt very abandoned” (Mustafa, 6/11/13), but the construction project gave people the sense that Mostar had a right to be included once again in the world’s interest. The Pavarotti Music Centre “[put] Mostar on the map” and “confirmed that the city can offer something, that the city can attract somebody who is relevant in the world of music. (Elvir, mixed focus group, 6/11/13)

The optimism that young people recalled was not just to do with the newness of the building, but because of the building’s purpose. It was a centre for music! In that time, music for many people represented an escape from the problems and all the dark things that had happened and were happening in Mostar. Music gave you opportunity to relax, to have fun, to talk to your friends, to meet with your friends from the other side, [particularly] when we are talking about the Pavarotti. (Ella, mixed focus group, 6 November 2013)

People’s feelings of optimism connected to the construction of the Pavarotti Music Centre were in contrast to feelings of frustration and disappointment with the process of reconstruction being undertaken by the European Union Administration in Mostar [EUAM] at the time. While the EUAM had committed millions of Deutschmarks to the town’s reconstruction needs, rebuilding bridges, homes, government services, and infrastructure (Yarwood, 1998), many in the town saw the process as politically compromised, open to corruption, and inadequate (Calame & Pasić, 2009; Seebacher, 1998). In contrast, the Pavarotti Music Centre was not a government initiative but a project of citizens from the UK and further afield, working together with world famous musicians, to bring something pleasurable to the citizens of Mostar. It reaffirmed people’s humanity in a way that the EU reconstruction program somehow did not.

Once again, the town’s ethno-nationalist division meant that this optimism was one-sided. In West Mostar, only those that self-identified as potential users and
participants felt excited about its construction and what this represented about the future (Alma, 30/10/13; Kenet, 20/10/13).

Optimism about the future is also correlated with the other two case studies, but is less directly attributable to building construction and infrastructure. At the Hadahur Music School, the optimism that accompanied the school’s launch responded to the music learning opportunities that were now available, and the corresponding pathways that these potentially opened up, rather than the construction of a building for music in a ruined town.

At ANIM, the building renovations and acquisition of instruments coincided with many other reforms, such as the enrolment of girls, orphans, and disadvantaged students, a revamped curriculum, and promises of new future pathways. The students experienced all of these as significant events in their lives. However, the optimism among the students was not necessarily shared in the wider community, where ANIM was just one renovation project among hundreds in Kabul, and where social stigma attached to music required the school to maintain a low public profile (an issue portrayed in Watkins, 2012). Therefore, the optimism attached to ANIM had more in common with that which is typically attached to education provision (Dryden-Peterson, 2011) than to the building and what it symbolised as a cultural edifice.

Buildings as public space and sites for community development

Design, location, and positive symbolism of change all contribute to a building’s ‘fit’ in its local environment, which has implications for the sustainability of what is intended to take place within its walls. One further way that ‘fit’ and a sense of local ownership and embrace may be generated is through a building’s capacity to function as public space. Grodach (2009) observes that when buildings provide access and space to a wide range of community users, they begin to function as a kind of public space, and can help to develop community. In a war-destroyed urban environment, such public spaces are typically in deficit, placing great demands on those that exist. The challenges that organisers faced in securing appropriate teaching spaces for the Hadahur Music School program is testament to this.

The Pavarotti Music Centre was conceived as a community space from the outset, given its intention to accommodate a number of pre-existing community-based music projects (in addition to the municipal music school), and the priority it gave to
community consultation at the design stage. These practices encouraged a sense of local ownership and influence. Accordingly, informants proposed two main ways that felt the Music Centre functioned as public space and facilitated the formation of ‘community’: through providing access to its facilities and support for locally-initiated events and programs; and through an emerging role as a ‘hub’ for alternative and rock music in the region.

The Pavarotti Music Centre’s staff welcomed cultural initiatives from local people. Informants recalled being able to use Pavarotti Centre infrastructure to organise their own events, such as poetry nights, band performances, electronic music nights, film festivals, community recording projects, and performance events. It also hosted meetings, performance events, roundtable discussions, exhibitions and conferences for outside organisations. Its ample “hang-out” spaces and inclusive ethos, described earlier in this chapter, further encouraged people to drop by.

Pavarotti Centre was a place where we could all hang—Muslim, Catholic, Orthodox, Jews—we were all hanging, there was actually a place [to do that]. . . . I remember sitting on the stairs talking about all those sorts of things. . . . We felt that we were belonging to a different part of the world, a different part of the world in Mostar. (Almira, 12/11/13)

In addition, the uniqueness of its facilities for music and arts and the technological expertise of its staff meant that it attracted visitors from outside Mostar, functioning as a hub that could connect arts-interested people across the country (Dinko, 13/11/13). Bands and other ensembles from outside Mostar performed concerts at the Pavarotti Centre, and recorded in its studio. Some believed that this hub of activity was the reason “why in Mostar there is still alive some kind of rock n roll scene” (Faruk Kajtaz, radio director and journalist, 11/11/13). One informant credited the Pavarotti Music Centre with helping to revive what she called Mostar’s “urban culture”.

What happened here after the war is complete decay of urban culture. And actually by opening Pavarotti, it was revived at least in that space . . . For me, I grew up in former Yugoslavia, and the way people have fun, the music they listen, and so on [was lost in the war]. After the war was like absolutely
cultural shock. The standards fell down. And somehow Pavarotti was keeping those standards. (Jelena, interview, 12 November 2013)

For Jelena, the “standards” that she associated with a strong urban culture referred to a shared mindset with commitment to critical thinking and progressive ideas as much as to cultural activities. Arguably, the Pavarotti Centre’s accessibility to a wide range of users, avoidance of local nationalist politics, and willingness to share its facilities beyond an exclusive arts remit created space for those critical and progressive conversations to happen and for a community-driven ‘urban culture’ to emerge.

In contrast, ANIM’s potential to function as a public or community space is far more restricted, due to both internal and external factors. ANIM is first and foremost a Ministry of Education school. While there are a number of activities designed to engage with the general public and a community interested in music, it was never part of ANIM’s mission to be a public community space, or to serve a wider community than its enrolled students. Plans exist at ANIM for a future evening program offering music classes to interested citizens, but this is some way from being realised in ANIM’s current institutional form. Moreover, security concerns impact all public spaces in Kabul in the current volatile environment, particularly those that in some way represent ‘Western values’ like education or music, and this further inhibits ANIM’s capacity to function as a public or community space. Therefore, in the current times ANIM is less well-positioned to generate the kind of cross-community gathering space that the Pavarotti Music Centre was able to generate.

Each of these elements—design, location, optimism, and capacity to build community and function as public space—contribute to the extent to which the host community may embrace the music intervention as ‘theirs’, and this has implications for its long-term sustainability. They underscore the reasons for care and local consultation when considering the advisability of constructing a building for music in a war-torn setting and the need for context-specific decisions.

Discussion: To build or not to build?

The evidence thus far could be interpreted as supporting a contention that the existence of a dedicated building in which to locate a music intervention helps to ensure the sustainability of activities. Certainly, if the cases of the Pavarotti Music
Centre and the Hadahur Music School are compared, the presence of a purpose-built music centre has thus far enabled nearly two decades of music activity (despite periods of extreme financial and organisational hardship) for the Pavarotti Music Centre, while Hadahur Music School closed within its first two years, with the absence of dedicated premises cited as a factor in its demise.

But while the arguments around the benefits afforded by music buildings may be compelling, the case for constructing new buildings in humanitarian contexts is anything but clear. Buildings and infrastructure for music activities may indeed enhance an organisation’s capacity to offer its activities with consistency, and with fewer compromises due to inadequate facilities. This in turn can boost the esteem in which the project is held. However, the volatility and complexity of conflict- and aid-affected sites, compounded by the power resources that aid represents (Anderson, 1999; Ramalingam, 2013), can mean that reconstruction projects can be a source of conflict, and open up new avenues for corruption and shadowy struggles for power. One informant with long experience managing projects in humanitarian contexts noted that construction projects were often highly problematic.

[There is always] conflict . . . around the bricks and stones. . . . A building project in a fragile, conflicted country is kind of putting a big bag of carrots, and everybody wanting to get part of the carrot. . . . Such a prestigious project pulls in the best and the worst of people. (Willemijn Verloop, former Director, War Child Holland, 15/7/16)

Therefore, interventions involving infrastructure and property development require particular scrutiny and care (Goddard & Lempke, 2013).

The construction of the Pavarotti Music Centre produced a notable set of conflicts. Bribery and corruption allegations raised between 1997 and 2001 generated internal crises in its parent organisation War Child UK, and led many of its celebrity patrons and supporters to resign in protest (Hencke, 2001a; Wilson, 2016). These internal conflicts and scandals within War Child UK severely impacted morale and capacity at the Music Centre as the employees were frequently implicated by inference. This limited their ability to generate funds from other sources. One scholar, recalling this period, described the Centre as “the best example of an institution losing respect because of its culpability in corrupt practices. Centre staff have struggled in
the last few years to gain official status and support by the local government because of corruption allegations” (Haskell, 2011, p. 246).

A central consideration when debating the advisability of building in humanitarian contexts is that of the project goals, and as was shown in Chapter 4, these are underpinned by beliefs about what matters, and what is needed. This is useful to keep in mind when considering the arguments given in favour of building. For example, as quoted earlier, the Music Centre instigators were committed to the building project because they saw the need for international assistance to “leave something permanent” in Mostar, and believed that a dedicated building would ensure the programs and music provision could continue after the international community had left (Wilson, 22/2/15; also Wilson, 2016). However, the decision to build was also partly donor-driven: Luciano Pavarotti wanted to use the funds he had raised to build something “big and visible” (Verloop, 15/7/16), and the building project was only possible with his commitment of funds. These goals were mutually compatible, and made the prospect of a music centre far more assured.

This raised concerns for Willemijn Verloop, an onlooker to the construction project. In hindsight, Verloop felt that the presence of an eager donor for the building project brushed aside some important debates.

You don’t build something because your donor wants it. You build it because it’s necessary . . . because it’s the best and most effective way to achieve your goals. Whether building the big music centre was the best way to achieve the goal of War Child—which was children affected by war in Mostar—is something you can question. However, the money was there, and the money was only there for the building, because that’s how Pavarotti had stipulated it. (Verloop, 15/7/16)

Humanitarian construction projects also raise questions about the ethical obligations of interveners. Contemporary principles of aid and humanitarian assistance ask that interveners examine who will benefit from their intervention—including those benefits that the interveners can control, and those that are more indirect—and who might be harmed (Anderson, 1999). These harms can also be indirect, or take time to emerge. For example, a permanent building may be appropriated by the powerful elites of a community for their own personal gain, once
the outside intervener has left. A donor’s desire to leave tangible evidence of their support (perhaps with their name attached to it) could lead to the donors’ interests being prioritised over the needs and desires of the community. Something “more permanent” will oblige the community to commit to it, find the resources to maintain it, and generally be responsible for its ongoing management. This may be experienced as a burden (as much as they may value what the building and its programs offer when they are being run by the interveners), particularly if they do not feel a strong sense of ownership of the building or its programs. Nigel Osborne, leader of the Schools Outreach Project, noted that “the major reconstruction job on the Music Centre was a great thing to do symbolically. But as we have seen, Mostar has not been politically or economically capable of sustaining it. It’s getting really run down now” (27/8/16).

Several people close to the Pavarotti Music Centre construction project recalled having reservations about the desirability of a building (e.g. Osborne, 27/8/16; Verloop, 15/7/16). Others, such as the Centre’s first Director and War Child UK founder and co-director David Wilson and several Pavarotti Centre staff were adamant that the “bricks and mortar” of the Music Centre had been essential to the sustained provision of its programming (Wilson, 22/2/15). This is ambiguous in the funding record: During the Pavarotti Music Centre’s funding crisis between 2000 and 2004, the Centre survived on the strength of program (rather than organisational) funding from external donors (Verloop, 15/7/16; Amela Sarić, 5/11/13; Selma, 11/11/13). However, it is possible that the permanent, purpose-built Music Centre building added value to those funders’ investment in programming and content. The building enabled donors to fund programs while simultaneously filling an iconic site with music activities, potentially amplifying the total impact of their contribution.

However, donors and organisers are unable to control how buildings may be used in the future. When War Child UK transferred full ownership of the building to the East Mostar government administration, several informants wondered if it would be merely a matter of time before the new owners repurposed the Music Centre as an office building (Selma, 11/11/13; mixed focus group, 6/11/13), thus claiming all of its benefits for a select group of people. On this matter, the continued international interest in the Pavarotti Music Centre—substantially reduced but still existent, particularly in the UK among influential individuals and news media—may provide
additional protections for the Pavarotti Music Centre. This will be considered further in Chapter 8.

In contrast, government ownership of the Afghanistan National institute of Music and its formal status as a Ministry of Education school are a source of security for the school site. As a formal school, ANIM’s premises and the renovation and improvements to facilities occurred in the context of nation-wide, internationally-sponsored efforts to improve education infrastructure. In a country where corrupt and opaque practices in government and public service are the norm, little can be interpreted from the fact that ANIM’s building works produced no public scandal; nevertheless, none have tainted it thus far.

In Timor-Leste, it is worth speculating on the timing of the Hadahur Music School. Perhaps the organisers of Hadahur were too hasty in their efforts to respond to the Bishop of Dili’s request for a music school. They were aware of the need for permanent premises and initially hoped that a permanent Church-owned building would be made available (Dunlop, 2009; also SMIET Annual Report 2008-2009). At the same time, SMIET was fundraising strenuously for a building of its own, and the building plans for that project included music facilities. Had the music school initiative been postponed two years, SMIET’s Learning and Development Centre (opened in 2012) would have been an ideal home for the school, and its trajectory might have been very different.

When asked to reflect on the scandal surrounding the Pavarotti Music Centre construction process, and if that funding could have been better spent, Mostar informants were generally in agreement that overall, the building project had been beneficial for their town. Current Pavarotti staff regretted the damage the War Child financial scandal caused, but felt the Music Centre was nevertheless a worthy project, recognising the incongruity of condemning the corrupt practices that nevertheless produced the building that has made their work possible.

We are still suffering for that. We are very grateful for the Pavarotti Music Centre but I’m sorry it wasn’t better. It could have been. . . . But in spite of all that, it’s really important, this place. We have so many programs . . . and not enough space. (Mili Tiro, staff member and founder of Mostar Blues Festival, 8/11/13)
Perhaps the symbolic and actual contributions of the Pavarotti Centre to life in Mostar have outlived concerns about corruption and prioritisation of resources. For many commentators, Pavarotti Music Centre was a project that got built, and didn’t cause any long-term harm. In a town that is wearily familiar with high levels of corruption across many aspects of life, and that has considerable cynicism about the work of many aid agencies in their country, this was an imperfect project that nevertheless did what it said it would do.

If the money is from the local [government] budget and let’s say somebody wanted to make a school or kindergarten and someone else said, “No, don’t build a school, build a music centre,” then we could talk about this as a problem maybe. But . . . it was [War Child’s] idea and their option and you can’t say it’s bad, or that it’s a waste of money (Elvir, mixed focus group, 6/11/13)

In different ways, the three case studies produce compelling arguments for the benefits that a permanent or dedicated building can bring to a music intervention. However, these should not override the complexity of humanitarian construction projects. Buildings for music must navigate their way through the semiological and cultural meanings assigned to them in that space and time. Such meanings reflect relationships, agency, power dynamics, and narratives of the past, present and future in ways that have less to do with the building’s physical manifestation, than with what it represents for the community aesthetically and symbolically (Connor, 2015).

**Conclusion**

Buildings and facilities for any aspect of humanitarian provision can help to bring stability and consistency to the activity in question. However, they can also be problematic. This chapter has not attempted to resolve the debates; rather, it has explored what buildings may provide (in terms of content and experience), what they may communicate about the projects taking place within, and their accessibility to the wider community. The relationships between buildings, facilities and content, the building and psychosocial experiences of participants, staff and visitors, and how the building, its facilities, and intended purpose ‘speak’ in the local environment and to the local community each help to determine the shape of the music intervention, with the latter in particular having implications for sustainability.
Much of this chapter has focused on the Pavarotti Music Centre. War Child’s inclusion of a construction project as the centerpiece of its music intervention provides useful illustrations of some of the dilemmas and challenges of introducing a building for music into the urban environment. However, it also revealed the potential benefits: Participants and observers described the many ways that the Pavarotti Music Centre and its facilities contributed content and experiences of immense value to Mostar during the early years of its recovery from war. This was not necessarily because of its unique provision; some commentators valued the way it expedited the process of rebuilding cultural life through provision of particular kinds of space, services, and technical competence.

In contrast, the absence of dedicated premises for Hadahur Music School illustrated the challenges this can pose to content, participant experience (particularly in terms of recognition, and belonging to a community of learners) and wider community connection (due to a lack of visibility and ‘official’ existence).

The experiences of the three case studies correlate the existence of a dedicated building with continuation of music activities, from which one may infer a direct relationship between the physical building and the sustainability of the music intervention beyond the period of external support. However, this is unlikely to be a linear cause-and-effect. This chapter has examined some of the contestation or negative reception that buildings may produce in war-affected and humanitarian contexts, and these are also critical to the music project’s potential sustainability. Examination of the tensions inherent within choices around design, scale in relation to the wider environment, the symbolic meaning attached to aid-funded reconstruction, and the building’s capacity to function as public rather than private space showed that community embrace of a music intervention will be connected to more than just the content and activities it offers.

The data and associated literature suggest two important factors shape a building’s local acceptance: what the building communicates about its intended users (“Who is it for? Who benefits?”); and its capacity to function as public space or develop community (“What will grow from this? What else is being developed or produced?”). Chapter 8 will explore the links between local acceptance and music interventions in more detail, but an important contention in this chapter is that, once shaped by the two factors above, community embrace of a music intervention has
implications for its sustainability. Buildings and infrastructure are a critical juncture in the shaping and sustaining of music interventions because they provoke these necessary and difficult negotiations around space, place, invitation and ownership.

The examination of buildings and facilities in music interventions has provided an account of the spaces for music making in each of the three case studies, but leaves them thus far void of sounds, learners, and teachers. The musical sounds and pedagogies that will fill these spaces—music of all kinds, and the varying ways of teaching and transmitting it—form the next critical juncture and are the next subject for discussion.
CHAPTER 6: Pedagogy and Learning

Materials

In *Facing the Music* (2010), Schippers observes that people teach what they believe about music (p. xvi). In the war-affected contexts with which this research is concerned, this observation is potentially more laden with implications than in other contexts. The interculturality of music interventions, and the different constructs of music that the various participants will hold—learners, teachers, organisers, external supporters, and donors—can make choices about pedagogy and materials a critical juncture for both shaping what takes place, and sustaining it. The shaping influence is evident, for the pedagogical choices will essentially inform the activities that are offered, and the activities make up the content, and therefore shape a large part of the endeavour.

However, the entwined relationship between ‘what we teach and what we believe’—in other words, the constructs of music ‘we’ as organisers, teachers, learners, or interveners hold—suggests that pedagogy and material choices could also be a site of ideological contestation. As an early point of active interface across and through diverse constructs of music, combined with actors’ will and desire to effect change, they represent a potential flashpoint for conflict, which in turn may jeopardise stability and sustainability longer-term.

This chapter investigates how these dynamics played out in the three case studies. It follows a case-by-case structure, examining three important components of action and choice in relation to pedagogy: program strands, teaching approaches, and repertoire, materials, positioning, and recontextualisation (Figure 17, below). A discussion of the relationship between expertise and sustainability follows the presentation of findings.

![Figure 17: Structural outline of chapter 6](image)
This chapter and the next also pay close attention to the power dimensions of practices in music interventions, recognising power as a key variable in the transition from external support to self-sufficiency, and therefore sustainability. It is thus useful at the outset to consider the ways that power dynamics can be embedded within choices of pedagogy and materials.

Pedagogy in its broadest usage refers to the art, craft and science of teaching, and encompasses skills, processes, and curricular materials. Pedagogies considered to be emancipatory or empowering build upon the principles espoused by Paolo Freire in his seminal work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 2000/1970). Pedagogies of possibility and transformation focus on learners as agents, aiming to recognise and build on prior knowledge, reduce the sense of authority and hierarchy between learners and teachers, and accommodate students’ construction of new knowledge through problem-posing, rather than using a ‘banking’ or behaviourist model in which knowledge is ‘deposited’ into students according to external demands (Freire, 2000/1970; Hempel-Jorgensen, 2015; Jocson, 2012; Mackinlay & Barney, 2014; McLaren, 1999). Such pedagogical approaches may also aim to raise critical consciousness of and reflection on the power relationships embedded in the production and transmission of knowledge, a process Frere referred to as conscientisation. In contemporary practice, these pedagogies share much common ground with constructivist approaches, developed according to the theories of learning and construction of knowledge of Vygotsky (Brooks & Brooks, 1999; Garnett, 2013; Moll, 1990).

Such approaches are designed to open up possibilities, engage with hope, and empower individuals to determine their own direction. In volatile and unpredictable contexts, pedagogies of possibility provide learners with the tools with which to imagine an alternative future to the one that the structures of their current lived experience are creating (Jocson, 2012). In the transition from war to ‘not-war’ and onwards to stability and peace, such a pedagogical approach could be an appropriate match for the needs of a conflict-affected environment.

At the other end of the spectrum are pedagogies of compliance and control, in which authority remains with particular parties (usually teachers and associated structures, such as educational, religious and state institutions), where the learning is one-directional, and the teacher individual remains in control of what knowledge is
shared, and how it is transferred (Meighan & Harber, 2007). Students are seen as passive recipients, expected to absorb knowledge as it is transmitted and then regurgitate it on demand. Pedagogies of control in authoritarian settings—and many war-affected contexts are or have been politically and socially authoritarian—may also constrain student outcomes, preparing them for pre-determined roles such as low-level functionaries, schooled to submit to others higher in the social hierarchy (H. M. Hill, 2007). Such pedagogical approaches are unlikely to share power or authority with learners, therefore limiting possibility and rendering the future less malleable to alternative imaginings.

Another useful concept when exploring the power dynamics of pedagogy is that of the ‘culture of power’. First arising in the scholarship of Delpit (1988), it refers to the codes, behaviours, and processes that characterise the cultural lifeworlds of the dominant social group. This cultural knowledge may be positioned as assumed knowledge in constructivist education settings, making them environments that inadvertently reinforce the power status quo (Bailey & Pransky, 2005). For learners outside the dominant power structure, these codes must be explicitly taught, if the learners are to be able to access the benefits of the dominant power structure. Failure to do so leaves them doubly disadvantaged, Delpit argues.

Mapped onto this spectrum of approaches is the culturally-informed nature of music-making. All music-making is a human and social encounter that reflects in some way a set of values, relationships, practices, and beliefs about ideal relationships, represented in the relationships between sounds organised in a certain way, the context, and between the people who are taking part (Small, 1998). Mans (2009) reminds us that “musical cultures, like societies in general, are guided by systems of moral and ethical values and beliefs that are historically and culturally derived” (p. 86). These values and beliefs can affect musical practices as a form of ideology, so that they appear convincing and beneficial and therefore common sense (Green, 2003, p. 7). Indeed, music is a way of teaching the values of a society (Flolu, 1993), and a potential vehicle for demonstrating these values to others (Mans, 2009, p. 86).

The music initiatives that are the subject of this research take place in value-laden and complex intercultural spaces; therefore, if music-making reflects the values, practices, and beliefs about ideal relationships for its particular society, whose values,
practices, and beliefs will be reflected? Two important influences should be considered: the often contested concepts of cultural identity and national values in a state recovering from war or a protracted social conflict (particularly identity-based conflicts); and the fact that in an economy dominated by international aid and development, ideas about what kind of music-making is needed may be informed by the cultural worldviews and agendas of those actors with the greatest (financial, social, and political) power, with perhaps only minimal connection to local music practices. In addition, stakeholders far beyond the site of activities, such as donors, may have a strong emotional and psychological investment in the music intervention (based on their own constructs of music and its social value), which could in turn influence or drive decisions about what music is taught, and how it is delivered. There is therefore a multitude of opportunities for different and potentially opposing cultural constructs of music to collide or compete in a music intervention in a war-affected setting.

Even if local actors are responsible for pedagogical decisions, local constructs of musical value may still defer to external traditions and cultural knowledge, informed by their perceived power that positions them as being of greater educational value. There may be many indoctrinating or persuasive forces that promote this positioning; arguably the most pervasive are the varying forms of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, coupled with globalisation, that position the cultural markers of the former (European) colonial and imperial rulers as superior to those of the indigenous and colonised (Bradley, 2012; L. T. Smith, 1999; Vaugeois, 2007). Such presumptions of superiority (of knowledge, process, and product) and power invariably continue with the influx of aid, development, and humanitarian interventions into crisis contexts (Easterly, 2006; Rieff, 2002), so that this too perpetuates a hegemonic set of cultural value markers, consensus production, and decision-making that may position the local practices as being of lesser intrinsic worth.

If musical meaning and values are socially constructed, then the nominated musical materials will also have the potential to exacerbate (or override) difference and divisions. In identity-based social conflicts, the delineated meanings of music (Green, 1999) that identify certain music or instruments with a particular ethnic group can impact its capacity to attract or repel potential participants. Tension around
identity-based musical delineations has been an issue in music-as-peacebuilding programs in Northern Ireland, for example, due to the association of particular instruments with nationalist political positions (Odena, 2010; Pruitt, 2011). Such a scenario lends support to arguments for music practices such as rock, hip-hop, or Western classical music that are less instinctively aligned with a particular national or religious group. This does not outweigh issues of cultural hegemony, but recognises the potential for delineated meanings to be problematic, necessitating careful assessment of the context and the local desires for music development.

This establishes some of the competing agendas for what is taught in a war-responding music initiative and how it is positioned, which leads to the question of how it should be taught. Ethnomusicologists have long recognised that just as constructs of music are contextually-bound, so too are the transmission processes that have evolved with each music practice. “Transmission relates not only to learning musical material but also to the enculturation of approaches to a musical style or genre at large” (Schippers, 2010, p. 62). It varies considerably across cultures and genres in relation to the nature of learning processes, such as transmission via oral or written forms of material, or the extent to which it is taught with an atomistic or holistic approach; the corresponding relationships and social distance between learners and teachers; and the original context for the music and the recontextualisation it must undergo in a new context (Schippers, 2010).

Strictly speaking, every performance of a piece of music that takes place away from its original locus is a recontextualisation (Schippers, 2010). However, if a more general presumption of music traditions having an ‘original’ context is accepted, the concept of recontextualisation offers particularly useful insights for exploring the encounters of music between learners, teachers and organisers. Here, recontextualisation can refer to the processes of sense-making, adjusting, modifying, and other adaptations that occur when a particular music and its layers of knowledge is transferred from its ‘original’ context to a new environment (pp. 54-56).

These necessary adaptations make transferring music (and its associated traditions, practices, and underlying values) from one context to another a complicated process. Conflicts of divergent expectations and goals, and incompatibility of ‘fit’ between educational structures and pedagogies are likely to arise. Which materials (instruments, musical works) will be used to teach the
concepts and theories of the music must also be determined, and again, these may form an intrinsic part of the music genre, or may have been adapted into it for teaching purposes (such as the use of Hungarian folk material in Kodaly pedagogy for teaching Western classical music).

While the decision around what is to be taught is likely to be made by organisers or key instigators of the music initiative, decisions around how it will be taught and the materials used are more frequently made in situ by teachers, particularly when there is no formal syllabus to follow. Teachers will arrive with particular sets of values and beliefs about music already in place that drive their selection of learning and teaching approaches. Factors such as their personal experiences as music learners, political orientation, professional training in specific pedagogical approaches, and prior teaching experiences, particularly in cross-cultural or socially disadvantaged sites, will each shape their pedagogical decisions. Teachers may be accustomed to working in responsive ways, seeing their students as co-constructors of the curriculum and taking their lead from student interest, or they may adhere to a particular ‘school’ of music pedagogy.

Finally, all of these efforts towards creating structure and support for music learning and participation are taking place in a wider context of aid and donor-dependence that is highly asymmetric in terms of power, and where the interests of one group inevitably dominate the interests of others (MacLachlan, Carr, & McAuliffe, 2010, p. 23). Sampson (2002) conceptualises development activity as a series of projects constructed as flows of knowledge, resources, and people, operating according to a set of hierarchical concentric circles of power. Power is found in the form of (access to) knowledge, resources, and people, but also in relation to one’s position within the circles of power. In an educational setting, organisers and funders are typically in the central circle (as the primary decision-makers and controllers of funds), with learners at the periphery, and the inner circles containing local and international teachers, staff, powerbrokers and gatekeepers. Pedagogy that is intended to support learner agency and program self-sufficiency therefore needs to move those at the periphery towards the centre.

In development settings, agency exists in both productive and resistant forms (Ortner, 2006, pp. 145-147), rather than only the spaces that development planners have designated for user agency. It is a “field of negotiation” rather than something
that is bestowed, and it may be realised, produced, and claimed through shifting and
dynamic processes that may accept or challenge the established power norms
(Stupples, 2011, p. 179). Most importantly for this chapter’s findings and discussions
is the recognition of development subjects (in this study the music school
participants) as interested agents rather than mere beneficiaries, agents who are
cognisant of the constraints and opportunities that an intervention affords, and who
are constantly mediating between its resources and the realities of their lifeworlds
(Lie, 2008; Long, 2001).

Therefore, the critical juncture of decisions about pedagogy and learning
materials is replete with tensions around what to teach, how to teach, which learning
materials to include, and how to accommodate the challenges around the positioning
and recontextualisation of musical practices. How each of the three case studies
addressed these questions occupies the body of this chapter, with findings presented
on the program strands (what was taught), the teaching approaches (how it was
taught), the repertoire and learning materials used to transmit skills, concepts, and
cultural norms, and what arose in the effort to position and recontextualise particular
practices. Throughout, the choices made defined how the roles and opportunities for
agency associated with expertise, learning, and compliance would be assigned, and
these will be more fully interrogated in the discussion section.

**Hadahur Music School**

The Hadahur Music School is the most modest in scale and scope of the three case
studies, yet features a confluence of actors and factors (missionaries, activists,
institutions, cultural influences from the European colonial period, and indigenous
cosmologies and knowledges) that make it a particularly compelling case to consider
from the point of view of pedagogies and learning materials. As described in Chapter
5, it had no dedicated premises, and eked out its existence in temporary and rented
rooms. It was instigated and propelled with a tremendous amount of goodwill and
energy from its organisers, Sr Susan Connelly, working on behalf of the Sisters’
Mission In East Timor [SMIET] and Ros Dunlop, musician and director of Tekee
Media, each driven by love for and commitment to the people of Timor-Leste.

However, this love and commitment did not ensure compatible goals, and
tensions emerged once actual practices were underway. Divergent constructs of
music, and subsequent understandings of what the Music School’s priorities should be, led to conflict and resistance between various players. There “was a lot that was good” in the school’s practices and provision (Wendy Dixon, 25/5/15), but many cross-cultural challenges in the task ahead.

**Program strands**

As outlined in Chapter 4, Hadahur Music School’s stated aims proposed four program strands for the delivery of music learning and teaching: instrumental and vocal lessons in the Western classical tradition, traditional Timorese music, contemporary/popular music, and Early Childhood music education in kindergartens and primary schools.

At the time of the school’s launch in July 2009, two of these four program strands were underway: instrumental music teaching (violin, voice, guitar, and piano) and a teacher-training and classroom pilot program for the Early Childhood music program. The Early Childhood music program was the most substantial and resource-demanding strand. It consisted of model workshops in schools (offered in the rural village of Bessilau, 2 hours drive from Dili), and training sessions for young music teaching candidates that taught them how to deliver music classes so that they could then become teacher-trainers and lead similar training sessions for other teachers in schools. In addition, the Early Childhood consultant created curriculum documents for an ongoing classroom music program that the Timorese trainees would continue to deliver in her absence. The instrumental music teaching program operated through a mix of live online lessons and intensive face-to-face teaching blocks.

The school’s other two program strands, contemporary/popular and traditional Timorese music, were never fully realised. While Heads of the respective departments were appointed at the outset, disagreements around scheduling, curriculum, and teaching personnel—as well as, according to some informants, ideological differences at the heart of different actors’ conceptualisations of the music school—meant that these teaching programs did not commence.

In addition to the above teaching strands, the two consultant visit periods also featured informal, one-off music workshops and concerts presented in a range of community settings, including in high-profile venues. These did not correspond with the intended program strands or stated aims, but they arguably supported the intention
among some of the consultants to share the benefits of the fledgling music school with a wider community and help to build its profile.

Therefore, Hadahur Music School’s program strands raise questions, as the espoused goals (to teach Western and Timorese music) were not realised at the level of practices. The implications of the absence of Timorese music, and the privileging of one type of music over others, will be interrogated more fully in the discussion section of this chapter.

**Teaching approaches**

In its earliest iteration, Hadhur Music School’s teaching was ad hoc and informal. Its lead consultant, Ros Dunlop, had a background in Western Conservatoire teaching. She offered basic musicianship lessons to interested Timorese musicians and enthusiasts during short visits to Timor-Leste on several occasions in 2008, with the goal of supporting a small group of eager students with their music development. She taught whatever aspects of musicianship that she (as a professional clarinetist, music educator, and pianist) felt would be helpful (breathing techniques for singers, piano lessons, early childhood classroom lessons), according to the availability of people and premises (Dunlop, 2008, 2009). This was a way of building some momentum for the idea and potential of the music school while developing the intended delivery model of instrumental and vocal lessons via video conferencing and face-to-face lessons.

As explained above, only the instrumental/vocal program, and the Early Childhood classroom music program were instigated. The team of four Australian consultants who taught these program strands used similar approaches to those they would use in private teaching studios and classrooms in Australia. The general direction followed the standard practices of much Western classical music teaching, working with music that was matched to the learners’ current technical and reading abilities, often using musical materials written specifically for learners. They also adjusted the learning program to work to the strengths and interests of the Timorese learners.

For example, in the violin program, consultant Ella Bennetts made greater use of aural learning in her Timor-Leste teaching than she would in a similar studio setting in Australia, given the Timorese students’ “quite incredible” abilities to play
by ear (Bennetts, 22/5/15). While she exposed her students to staff notation, she preferred to let their well-developed aural skills drive the choice of learning materials, rather than their nascent reading abilities. Bennetts was a fluent Tetun speaker, able to switch between explanation and demonstration with ease.

Vocal consultant Wendy Dixon had a pedagogical approach that emphasised the natural voice. Like Bennetts, she relied on aural learning and built a vocabulary in the local language that included words for various body parts in order to help the students engage with the embodied nature of singing (Dixon, 24/5/15).

As is common in studio teaching in Australia, the instrumental and vocal teachers tailored their teaching to each individual student, rather than working from a uniform curriculum of activities and materials. In addition, mindful of the goal that the adult learners would eventually become music teachers themselves, the Australian consultants aimed to incorporate pedagogical skills in the lessons with their adult learners. During the timeframe of Hadahur’s existence, the violin and guitar students (Milka and Aurelio, respectively) became teachers of local beginners and were supplied with instruments for their students to play.

The Early Childhood program employed a more pre-determined approach. Consultant Sarah Walters was asked by SMIET to base the program on her prior work in Australia, teaching foundational (Western) music concepts through active participation, primarily singing, body percussion, and playing classroom percussion instruments (chime bars, triangles, shakers, tambourines, cymbals and claves), and using a structured and sequential approach. Informed by Kodaly methods of teaching rhythmic and pitched notation, it incorporated “some note-reading . . . a lot of pulse-work, and . . . a lot of percussion pieces with backing tracks, so they might be playing along to Western pieces with backing tracks from the Nutcracker” (Walters, 8/5/14).

Her remit included the development of a comprehensive set of lesson plans and training materials, which she wrote prior to arriving in Timor-Leste, and then modified in response to her experiences over subsequent visits. This structure and prescription proved to be a strong match for the needs of the Timorese trainee teachers, who had had very little experience of how to structure and plan an engaging classroom program in any subject.
Before, when the people came here to tell us that we will have a training [in music], we felt scared because we didn’t ever learn about music before. And how would we learn? I mean, we don’t know anything! [laughs]. But then the trainer [Walters] came and said, “These are the steps for learning music.” (Bessilau teachers focus group, 6/6/14).

Importantly, across the two program strands (Early Childhood and instrumental/vocal), the Hadahur learning experiences gave the Timorese learners an explicit example of “what good teachers do” (Connelly, 25/5/15). Each of the consultants demonstrated in different ways that teaching could be playful but still structured and focused, and that teachers could be kind and encouraging while still retaining control of class behaviour.

I really think that my job wasn’t actually to teach music. Music was a very secondary thing. It was all these other things like, it’s okay to be joyous, it’s okay to be a little bit silly – that sort of stuff I think was more important than ‘I can now read tas and ti-tis’. (Walters, 8/5/14)

Figure 18: Students in Bessilau School, July 2009 (Source: R. Dunlop, authorised use)
This was a significant thing for the Timorese learners to experience and reflect upon. Their education experiences in Indonesian-occupied East Timor had taught them that school-based learning was a fear-filled and negative experience. The transmission-based authoritarian approach and ‘hidden curriculum’ of creating docile, low-ranking Indonesian citizens offered few opportunities for applied engagement with the subjects or critical thinking (Beck, 2008; H. M. Hill, 2007). Furthermore, the Indonesian teachers routinely used student humiliation and corporal punishment as methods for ensuring obedience and discipline, reinforcing teacher-student distance and vertical hierarchies. These practices were simply an unexamined and unquestioned part of school life (H. M. Hill, 2007). Therefore, Hadahur’s child-centred approach brought great benefits to the [Timorese trainee teachers] and the students. The involvement of students in happy, focused and well-planned lessons, with discipline procedures that were consistent, logical and respectful brought a very different approach to the usual. (Connelly, 25/5/15)

Repertoire, materials, positioning and recontextualisation

For each of the consultant teachers, Western classical music was the starting point for their teaching at Hadahur Music School, as this was the tradition they themselves had trained in. The extent to which they then deviated from this repertoire varied with each individual. In the instrumental and vocal program, violin consultant Bennetts selected music with a lot of melodic interest, preferring Suzuki teaching materials as these suited an aural learning approach (Bennetts, 22/5/15). Aurelio, the classical guitar student who worked with Sydney-based teacher Raphael Agostino (who did not travel to Dili as a consultant and did not take part in the research) had already undertaken earlier studies in classical guitar while living in Indonesia, and wanted to continue developing skills in that idiom. Aurelio recalled that his lessons focused on technique, and dexterity. And then Raph [Agostino] sent music to me via Ros [Dunlop]. Things like the Cavatina. And music by an Australian guitarist – I can’t remember his name. Books with arrangements and CDs. I mean, it wasn’t really difficult music. I have listened to the music many times and learned by listening. But now I was also learning by reading. (Aurelio, 11/6/14)
Vocal consultant Dixon had hoped to help her students build their technical foundations through “music that was based on their culture.” This required her to become familiar with local songs and vocal traditions with her students’ help, and then “[find] a way of helping that be turned into a tool that would help them become better singers.” Dixon had found through years of teaching that “if you really want to do something with people’s musicianship and their sound, you’ve got to go to where their grassroots are, because that’s where they are most honest as performers” (Dixon, 24/5/15).

However, her students’ preference was to follow a program that retained focus on musical materials from the Western classical tradition (Dixon, 24/5/15). This did not always work to their strengths:

As soon as you put [the students] into Western-centric, which was something that they hadn’t been brought up with, that wasn’t in their bones, [there were] many basic rhythmical issues, which were frustrating for them. I wouldn’t have cared [about such issues] if it didn’t frustrate them, but it did. (Dixon, 24/5/15)

However, it did work to their interests, and Dixon therefore sought out songs and materials that fell within the Western classical genre, in particular responding to their desire to have new music to sing in their church services.

The vocal program illustrated a tension in how different music practices were positioned. Dixon had hoped to use musical materials familiar to the learners (but unfamiliar to her) in the service of (Western-informed) vocal development, in a sense recontextualising them into a formal learning context. However, this disrupted the students’ desire to position ‘Western-centric’ music as the primary focus of their studies.

The vocal students wanted what they perceived to be an ‘authentic’ vocal training that would help them improve their skills in the style of singing they most cherished. One of the students explained that “because our group [is made up of] professional singers, we need more learnings from these quality professionals” (Jakob, 24/5/14). They perhaps equated ‘Western-centric’ music knowledge with prestige and ‘quality professional’ music knowledge; in any case, they wanted to take the most direct route to this specialist music knowledge. Dixon observed that they
“found it hard to understand that part of the path was to go sideways, and to not always have to be correct . . . [But it had] to be Western-centric. Otherwise it wasn’t good enough” (Dixon, 24/5/15).

The concern to be ‘good enough’ raises the important issue of Western culture as a hegemonic force and the related attachment of notions of superiority to Western classical music. A number of influential forces may have reinforced this perception, including the country’s colonial history, the community’s admiration for choral singing (which also enjoyed the approval of both the Portuguese and Indonesian rulers), and the relationship between Hadahur’s learners, the Religious Sisters, and the Timorese Catholic Church. These layers will be interrogated in the discussion section.

Dixon was the only consultant who described efforts to integrate local music knowledge into her teaching program. Otherwise, the musical materials and pedagogies in the instrumental and vocal teaching essentially followed the mainstream methods and materials of Western classical training, albeit with a greater emphasis on aural transmission methods. The instrumental and vocal consultants worked with autonomy, and little if any external scrutiny from SMIET.

In contrast, repertoire and materials in the Early Childhood music program were the subject of considerable scrutiny and contention. Hadahur’s lead consultant and International Coordinator Ros Dunlop believed that the Early Childhood curriculum needed to include Timorese music and instruments as a way of embedding and asserting its value within the Music School structure, and therefore positioning the local traditions as legitimate forms of music knowledge. This was a similar recontextualisation task to Dixon’s, whereby an external specialist would use (unfamiliar) local music materials to teach concepts of Western classical music.

However, for Early Childhood consultant Sarah Walters, the proposed inclusion of Timorese traditional music posed two obstacles that potentially compromised her intended program. Firstly, she felt a professional obligation to teach what she had delivered successfully in multicultural and Indigenous schools in Australia. These included children’s songs from Africa, and materials created for learners in this age group from Kodaly and Orff pedagogies, all of which were tried, tested and honed over many years (Walters, 8/5/14). She felt she had not had access to suitable Timorese songs, and the process of matching musical materials to musical
concepts required greater familiarity with the material than she’d been able to develop. The second obstacle was practical: Walters’ program used backing tracks for the various classroom activities, and these took many months—and further commissioning fees—to prepare. Introduction of new musical materials would either require more time and money, or risk the effectiveness and professional delivery of her program.

My point was, well, I’m teaching, I know this [Western and African music] works, I can deliver this confidently to teachers, and you haven’t provided me with anything else. So until you do, I will keep going with what I have. And I stand by that as a music educator. In hindsight I probably wouldn’t have done it any differently. (Walters, 8/5/14)

SMIET supported this decision. While they appreciated Dunlop’s concern that, as in SMIET’s approach to teaching Tetun literacy, new concepts should be taught in a ”language already familiar to them, otherwise you are setting them up for failure”, they were not convinced that this rule applied in the case of music (Connelly, 25/5/15).

This tension between the inclusion of Timorese music knowledge in order to validate and strengthen its continued transition and the effective delivery of a classroom music education program is in part a tension between the work of Music Education and Cultural Regeneration (Chapter 4). Music education contributes towards wider cultural regeneration, but the respective timeframes for desired change and their indicators for effective practice follow divergent paths. For example, Dunlop was concerned for the long-term impact on the local people’s esteem for their own music that its absence could have.

I’d signed up for something that was going to be all-inclusive and embracing, and they were leaving it too long now. This was now nine months after the initial music was started so if you start to introduce their music now [the locals are] going to see it as second-best. And that’s not right. (Dunlop, 21/4/14)

However, these concerns were of minimal interest to the Timorese learners, who were anxious to fulfil their personal music education goals, or to the Early Childhood consultant anxious to ensure effective delivery of the project she was being paid to deliver (Walters, pers. comm. 30/11/17).
Looming over all of the questions around which materials should be used to teach which concepts is the larger recontextualisation question of the very idea of traditional music’s inclusion within the formal structure of a school. Schippers (2010) cautions against optimistic presumptions of compatibility. He cites Blacking (n.d.) as stating that “different systems of education cannot be combined; that is, the educational distinctiveness of each cultural system is automatically eliminated as soon as they are presented within a single education system” (p. 102). Schippers also notes that efforts to introduce a musical culture that is traditionally taught in holistic, non-linear, community-based ways into a structure more typically concerned with atomistic, sequential, highly-structured teaching and learning creates “an increased risk of friction and unsuccessful transmission processes” (p. 125). For the Timorese people, whose experiences of schooling had emphasised curricula and learning materials imposed from afar, the idea of integrating the knowledge systems and materials of traditional life into the structures of a ‘school’ may have generated considerable cognitive dissonance.

At the time of the Music School’s existence, these debates had not been raised. When reflecting on the whole Hadahur project with the benefit of hindsight and a more recently acquired depth of understanding of the complex social interactions within Timorese music transmission, Dunlop recalled the endeavour with a certain amount of disquiet.

What were we thinking? You can’t teach traditional music like you teach Western art music or classroom music. That’s not what the purpose of it is for . . . There needs to be a way to pass it on, to make sure that tradition continues, but the school structure was not a good idea [emphasis added]. That’s a Western concept, and traditional music doesn’t work like that. (Dunlop, 21/4/14)

Other challenges may also have arisen, had the school leadership begun to grapple with the question of what and how to teach Timorese music within a school structure. For example, Timor-Leste’s music and dances are strongly tied to particular regions and villages, with strict rules governing who can learn and perform them. Similarly, only a small number of instruments have national usage; the majority of instruments are specific to regions and clans. These issues have been grappled with in the more recent efforts to include Timorese music in the ‘Art and Culture subject of
the reformed National Curriculum (E. Lemos, music curriculum consultant, 27/5/14), and they reinforce Schippers’ and Blacking’s caution of the complexity that recontextualisation of music traditions from their ‘original’ context can entail.

Therefore, Hadahur’s transition from espoused aims to actual practices revealed some significant obstacles around the challenge of positioning and recontextualising music traditions. In terms of its pedagogical provision, the Hadahur Music School resists categorisation. The ad hoc structures underpinning the instrumental and vocal lessons (with no formal enrolment processes, and an opportunistic approach to scheduling) shared characteristics in common with an informal community music project. Meanwhile, the learning and teaching approaches suggested similar operations to a more structured community music school or other not-for-profit music education enterprise, and SMIET’s desire for written curricula suggested even greater formality. The latter models imply minimal if any social or instrumental goals, which aligns with the lack of reference in Hadahur’s stated goals to music learning as an instrument for other social changes.

**Afghanistan National Institute of Music**

*At ANIM, the teachers are very fantastic” (Wahid, ANIM student, 13/3/15)*

At ANIM, delivery of teaching and learning programs is structured within an institutional model, as the school is a government school within the Ministry of Education and Deputy Ministry of Technical and Vocational Education and Training. As such, it must record and report on its students’ attainment, and deliver an academic program in addition to its specialist music subjects. It enrolls students in Grade 4, and graduates them from Grade 12 (with a high school diploma) or Grade 14 (with an advanced diploma in music performance, equivalent to the first 2 years of a Bachelor’s degree at the University of Kabul), and gives half the day to music studies, and half to standard academic studies.

ANIM’s staffing model generates considerable pedagogical diversity. The teaching staff includes local faculty (teaching general academic subjects, Afghan instruments, some Western instruments, and some music academic subjects) and expert faculty (predominantly teachers from outside Afghanistan teaching Western classical instruments, directing ensembles, composing and arranging, and music academic subjects). There are also international guest teachers that visit for periods of
1-3 weeks throughout the year, giving instrumental lessons and supporting the school’s ensembles. This diversity of backgrounds and experiences and the frequent changes of personnel defy efforts to neatly characterise the pedagogical offerings; hence, much of the coming analysis focuses on teaching approaches.

**Program strands**

ANIM offers two strands of music learning: Western classical music and Afghan classical music. Following a year of foundational music studies in Grade Four, students choose an instrument to specialise in, and follow a pre-determined vocational program for that instrument that includes individual lessons, ensemble, music theory and history, music pedagogy, and music business, alongside their general academic studies (ANIM, 2012). Students are examined in each subject. The curriculum is therefore standardised, but what takes place in individual lessons follows an instrument-specific path, with pedagogical approaches in line with the instrument and the musical tradition in which it sits.

**Teaching approach**

As indicated above, ANIM’s faculty brings a wide range of experiences in music learning and teaching, and this is reflected in the diverse pedagogical approaches found within the school. The faculty teaching Afghan classical instruments includes predominantly Afghan and occasional international teachers. The local teachers “have been professionally trained from generation to generation through an aural tradition” (Sarmast speaking in Ayres, 2013), according to the Üstād-Shāgird tradition of aural transmission used among Afghanistan’s hereditary musicians, in which a master musician transmits knowledge to a dedicated apprentice through an extended period of immersion and time (Baily, 1979; Kippen, 2008). These teachers adapt this traditional approach to their group and individual lessons at ANIM. International specialists also teach some of the Afghan classical instruments. For example, ANIM’s first sarod and sitar teacher, Ustad Irfan Khan taught sarod and sitar in Kabul in the 1980s as head of the Indian Cultural Centre, and returned in 2009 to help Sarmast revive the playing of sarod in Afghanistan (Ayres, 2013).

Teachers in the Western classical music strand include expert international faculty with formal qualifications in music performance and education, and local faculty that Sarmast “inherited” when he took over the Music Department of the
former School of Fine Arts to create ANIM (Sarmast, 14/3/15). The latter group has considerable limitations in their Western musical skills and understanding. They have had limited opportunities for formal education in music; some came to their government-employed roles through routes such as family connection to a skilled musician (even if those skills hadn’t necessarily been passed on). At the time ANIM opened, they had “been away from music for many, many years during the Taliban time” and therefore “need[ed] to be trained also” (Sarmast speaking in Watkins, 2012).

Teacher roles and accountabilities in the school have been the subject of radical reforms. When Dr Sarmast took over the running of the Music Department of the School of Fine Arts to reform it as the National Institute of Music, he found that he had inherited a “culture of work” (Sarmast speaking in Ayres, 2013) that was at odds with the student-centred program and engaged, accountable teaching faculty that he wished to create. Some of the inherited staff displayed a lack of interest in the students, no commitment to students, coming late, going early, not teaching, not knowing what to teach, not providing care for the school property, and bringing their own friends—singers and musicians—to use the students’ property. (Sarmast, 14/3/15)

Therefore, in addition to the local Western music faculty’s limited music knowledge and unfamiliarity with effective pedagogies for instrumental, aural, and theory teaching, the reforms that Sarmast introduced in 2009 to curb the problematic culture challenged their expectations of what their role entailed. Perhaps as a result of these reforms, and the fact that as government employees, their monthly salaries are low in comparison to those of international teachers’, some of the local faculty appear disengaged and not fully invested in the school (XD, 11/7/16). Turning this attitude around is an ongoing challenge (Sarmast, 13/3/15; also evident in Watkins, 2012).

Consequently, Sarmast recruits international and expert faculty members to assume the major responsibilities for providing specialist training in Western classical music. Expert teachers are contracted for 12-month periods. While some stay at ANIM beyond this initial commitment, others choose to leave at the end of the contracted period, or sometimes end their contracts early for various reasons. This transience, exacerbated in some ways by the additional use of international guest
faculty that visit for short periods at a time, has two pedagogical implications: the issue of inconsistent provision of lessons, and that of divergent approaches to pedagogy, particularly with the task of helping students to establish the beginner foundations on their chosen instrument. A change of teacher can lead to a student having to return to the basics of technique in order to re-establish their foundations; for some instruments, this can happen multiple times in the life of a student at ANIM.

How do the students experience this repeated ‘back to the beginning’ approach? One teacher admitted it echoed the country’s history of resigned compliance to outside authority:

[Afghanistan] has a very long history of people coming in and saying, “No, now we’re going to do it this way”, and then leaving. And then somebody new comes in and says, “Now we’re going to do it this way”. And so for the kids, this is not a jarring experience. This is just how things are. [They] don’t know any different, they just know that a lot of people come and go . . . [Which is both] good and it’s bad. It teaches flexibility. These kids are so adaptable! Just like all Afghans are so adaptable. [But] I think that what they need most is just consistency. If they could just have consistency in their studies and in their lives, then that would be much to their benefit. (WL, 18 August 2016)

Therefore, ANIM students of Western classical instruments experience pedagogical care and expertise but limited consistency with their international faculty, and they experience consistency but pedagogical limitations from some of their local faculty. In time this is expected to change as more students graduate and become teachers in the school, replacing ineffective local staff and expert international faculty; however, it is a realistic portrait of the school’s pedagogical constraints for at least the first eleven-year span of its existence, as this is the time required for the first cohort of Grade Four enrollees to complete the program and graduate with an advanced diploma of music performance.

These operational challenges are compensated by the ethic of care and commitment that ANIM’s expert teachers offer their students. For many teachers, their relationships with students have been the central motivation keeping them in the school, eclipsing other ideals of music as a transformational force or essential humanitarian mission (e.g. William Harvey speaking in Watkins, 2012). ANIM
students correspondingly value the caring and dedication of their teachers. The ANIM experience presented a pleasing contrast with their prior schooling experiences, where unskilled or disengaged teachers could be a major impediment to learning.

For me, there is a lot of difference between ANIM and Rokhshana [school]. At Rokhshana school the teachers are not concerned about the lessons and they didn’t take them very seriously. Whereas at ANIM, the teachers are strong and the lessons are serious, whether it is practical or general. (Feroza, 13/3/15)

In addition to using words like “wonderful” (Feroza), “very fantastic” (Wahid), and making emphatic declarations of appreciation (Zarifa) to describe their instrumental teachers, the ANIM student informants acknowledged teacher strictness and their limited tolerance for laziness or absenteeism. These qualities gave the students confidence that they were learning and progressing towards their goals. For example, Feroza recognised the way that her first piano teacher showed her students how to work and build the necessary mental discipline and persistence for instrumental learning:

She never became angry, saying “Why you haven’t practiced, why you didn’t do your work?” She was very patient with the students, if someone didn’t know how to do it the first or second time. Repeatedly, continuously, she was telling us how to work on the piano, how to learn our lessons, and how to play at the free [practice] time, just to know more about piano and to do our practice well. (Feroza, 13 March 2015)

Ensuring that their students have sufficient knowledge and tools to continue developing their skills independently is a priority for teachers, given the likelihood of periods in the future without a specialist teacher for their instrument (Ayres, 2017, p. 178).

A combination of encouragement, humour, and mutual respect between teachers and students was evident during fieldwork, and in documentary footage of the school in action. In the Watkins (2012) documentary, we see international teachers using a range of verbal, visual, and gestural strategies to communicate with their students. Humour and lightness are key components. Mime, halting Dari, and hastily-drawn sketches help the violin students understand the instrument and the task at hand. A brass teacher encourages his students to breathe “like Darth Vader”, and a
piano teacher uses wall charts with stickers to monitor and motivate her students’ gradual progress through their technical work requirements. Playful interactions, warmth and care are also evident in students’ interactions with their Director, Dr Sarmast (fieldwork journal, 14/3/15), whom all of the student informants nominated as central to their positive school experience.

Given the intention to gradually replace the international expert faculty and inadequate local faculty with ANIM graduates, Sarmast is concerned to ensure that his Junior Faculty is aware that the example they are to follow is that of the conscientious and caring teachers, rather than the disengaged Afghan norm.

I’m very tough with the Junior Staff, very tough, to make sure that they are committed, to make sure that they are delivering, to make sure that they are not indifferent to the future kids. I constantly remind them, “Guys, do you remember how you have been treated in the School of Fine Arts? . . . You should not repeat your own experience to others.” Therefore I’m trying to teach them better values. Make them more committed, more disciplined, more hardworking. That’s what Afghanistan needs. (Sarmast, 13/12/16)

The final observation to make with regard to the reform of teaching approaches at ANIM is of the reduced distance between teachers and students. ANIM’s school culture promotes human rights, and within that, student rights, mutual respect, and accountabilities; this discourse reduces some of the social distance between students and their teachers. Teachers play alongside students in the ensembles (Afghanistan National Institute of Music, 2012), and students witness their teachers ‘rolling their sleeves up’ and getting involved in some of the more low-status work in the school, such as helping to carry furniture (Watkins, 2012) and cleaning the school interior in an impromptu working bee (WL, 18/8/16). Initiatives such as the Student Council (through which students can raise grievances and lobby for in-school change) and the proscription of corporal punishment within the school have caused some local teachers and observers to accuse ANIM of “promoting immorality” among students (Sarmast, 13/12/16). However, Sarmast explains the central intention of his reforms as putting the interests of the students ahead of the interests of the teachers, and this upending of the traditional power dynamics of Afghan schools has created greater scrutiny for teacher-student relations.
**Repertoire, materials, positioning and recontextualisation**

As a result of the ANIM faculty’s array of backgrounds and pedagogical approaches, and because of the institution’s overall commitment to ‘assuring musical rights’ and with that, musical diversity (Sarmast, 5/8/15), the repertoire and materials that make up ANIM’s music curriculum attempt to both promote and bridge the Western and Afghan music traditions, positioning them as equally valuable. While the music in instrumental lessons and small ensembles includes the standard repertoire for that instrument or type of ensemble, there is also a commitment to creating links between Western classical music and Afghan musical traditions in the repertoire and musical materials used.

Individual ANIM teachers bring sets of experiences and knowledge to the school that are distinctive and not necessarily uniform. Some make efforts to incorporate Afghan traditional songs in the curricula they write for the school. ANIM’s first violin teacher described his approach:

I want my students to grow up knowing that “Western” music need not only be Western. So I design a 10-year curriculum that includes works by Juilliard’s Behzad Ranjbaran and Giti Razaz, both from Iran. I study more than 200 Afghan melodies and select 10 to arrange for my first-year violin students to learn. (Harvey, 2010, para.11)

International faculty in the school’s first years had the task of creating curricula and syllabi for their instruments (Williams, 2012), but subsequent teachers have also adapted and modified these in response to changing student needs and their own professional experiences (Sarmast, 13/12/16). Arguably, this process of ongoing revision risks diluting some sequential logic, and may be why, despite the existence of formal curricula materials, some teachers felt like “there [wasn’t] really an established curriculum in place through which the kids were going step by step” (XD, 11 July 2016).

In addition to instrumental learning and ensemble playing, emphasis at the senior levels is placed on developing students’ composition and arranging skills, which are then applied to the task of producing repertoire for ANIM’s performing ensembles. This supports the performance program, but also begins the process of building a canon of works for the future National Orchestra of Afghanistan, thus
contributing to a stated national goal. The hybrid musical material also has symbolic appeal for ANIM’s donors, creating a metaphoric representation of a more cooperative future relationship between Afghanistan and the countries of the West, with the more familiar Western orchestral model as the default (to be discussed in Chapter 8).

Two recontextualisation tasks are in evidence at ANIM. The first is the task of transferring traditional music practices into the structure of a formal school; the second is in the introduction of an unfamiliar music tradition (Western classical music) and the necessary efforts in acculturation and pedagogical adjustment that accompany this.

Restrictions on fieldwork for the Afghanistan case study (outlined in Chapter 2) limited the possibility of gathering first-person data about the work of transferring Afghan music traditions from their holistic, community context into a school environment. However, media interviews with Sarmast (Ayres, 2013) and documentary footage of teaching and learning in the school (Baily, 2013) indicate that the intention is to adapt the traditional master-apprentice transmission system (described earlier) into the school context. This is likely to require a degree of navigation for the teachers and students. Transmission processes that have evolved in holistic concord with the music, its social use and role, the social structures that surround it, and the values embedded within and around it must necessarily undergo some kind of recontextualisation when they are taught in a new context (Schippers, 2010, p. 117).

One significant change is already on the horizon. It is a Ministry of Education requirement that state-employed teachers have formal education qualifications. This has implications for the traditional music stream, given that its faculty “don’t have any educational certificate, they learned music by heart from generation to generation and inherited music from their families” (Sarmast, 13/12/16). This effectively means that part of the recontextualisation process of moving traditional, holistically-taught practices into a formal context requires the faculty to be gradually replaced by ANIM’s first generation of Afghan music graduates who will have formal qualifications. According to Sarmast, this is a decision prompted primarily by concern for financial sustainability:
[In the current time] it’s ANIM that employs them . . . But I can’t keep them forever. I want to replace them with ANIM graduates, people who will be educated with an Associate Diploma. They can be employed by the government, and that also ensures the sustainability of Afghan traditional music in the school program . . . by the time of 2020 when the [ASDP II] funding is finished. (Sarmast, 13/12/16)

Therefore, while the institutional environment may be able to accommodate and adapt the main structures of the Üstād-Shāgird transmission system, its existence within a wider government bureaucracy imperils the future of the traditionally-trained faculty. What impact this has on the transmission process remains to be seen.

The inclusion of the Western classical music stream is informed through a desire to assure and restore the musical rights of the Afghan people. Sarmast contends that musical rights cannot be restored without knowledge of other musics (and their instruments, theories, and canon of works), and Western classical music is part of this diversity.

Bach, Beethoven and Mozart, they don’t belong to Europe. They don’t belong to America. They belong to all the world and I want Afghan kids to have access to the musical heritage of the world. (Sarmast speaking in Watkins, 2012)

However, for learners and teachers at ANIM, Western classical music is a foreign tradition, and most have had minimal tacit exposure to its codes and systems of sound organisation. ANIM’s Western classical students are engaged in a process of acculturation, that is, “becoming literate in a culture other than one’s own” (Schippers, 2010, p. xvi, emphasis in original). As a result, the task of learning to play and perform on a Western classical instrument requires them to grapple with many concepts beyond the technical demands of the instrument.

International teachers in the Western classical stream observed that their students’ tacit and accumulated knowledge of music through their exposure to local music presented both strengths and impediments to their Western classical music learning. Prime among the strengths was the students’ acute aural perception and ability to quickly learn and memorise new music by ear. As former faculty member WL explained, “[Afghan] kids have a natural ability to play by ear, because that’s just
how things are done. So you play a piece to them and they’ll just whip it out.” But, WL continued, the same music notated could seem incomprehensible. “They can sing it, they can play it, but as soon as you put it in front of them it’s like, ‘What in the world is that?!’” (WL, 18/8/16). Consequently, learning via staff notation was far slower. In order for the school’s ensembles to produce their repertoire for public performances in the first four years of ANIM’s existence, ensemble directors relied heavily on rote learning and repetition, to the detriment of the acquisition of strong musical foundations (WL, 18/8/16; XD, 11/7/16).

Similarly, Western tonal harmony, built around relationships between triads that give it a sense of linearity and orientation around a tonal centre (Small, 1977, p. 13), is a feature of Western classical music that has had limited influence in Afghanistan’s musical palette. Western-style orchestration and triadic harmony are not features of Afghan music, and few skilled musicians are familiar with Western harmonic theory (Sarmast, 2004, p. 306). ANIM’s students’ and local teachers’ struggles to conceptualise sound vertically (as in, two or more sounds played simultaneously to create a particular harmonic effect) created challenges in other aspects of their performance work, such as intonation and ensemble work (XD, 11/7/16; WL, 18/8/16). Foreign faculty members therefore needed to be “really heavy on the music theory in order for [the students] to understand anything that they were already doing” (WL, 18/8/16).

Teacher informants emphasised their willingness to find imaginative and engaging ways to assist the acculturation process, taking pride in the fact that “what makes a good teacher is being able to communicate to each student in whatever way they need, regardless of where they are” (WL, 18 August 2016). These challenges do not appear to diminish learner enthusiasm for playing Western classical music or notated music in general. However, it is noteworthy that many ANIM students opt to commence second instrument study on an Afghan traditional instrument once they reach the middle years of schooling (Sarmast, 8/5/15).

Considering the findings related to program strands, teaching approaches, and choices regarding repertoire and materials, ANIM’s pedagogical approach and structure is formal and institutional, rather than community-based. The teaching approaches within the school are heterogeneous, reflecting the diverse experiences of
the various faculty members, and the frequent changes of international staff; however, the values that Sarmast wishes to inculcate remain consistent across this diversity.

**Pavarotti Music Centre**

*I don’t know if it was a musical skill that I obtained, really. For me it was also about exploring being social and working with other people. And making something together, trying something together, exploring something together. So when I say it changed my life in a way, all I mean is, it gave me an idea that things can be different, and that you yourself can drive that, which is a huge thing for someone to learn.* (Kenet, 20/10/13)

If ANIM occupies the formal, institutional end of a spectrum of music interventions, the Pavarotti Music Centre arguably hovers towards the opposite end as an informal, community-based initiative, despite the grandeur of its building. In its first year of operations, the program at the Pavarotti Music Centre was an ever-expanding mix of workshops, classes, rehearsals, and performance events. Formal music tuition in Western classical music was already within the remit and provision of the East Mostar Middle Music School (located within the Pavarotti Centre building but operating autonomously), and given the desire of its founders to embrace informality and access, the Pavarotti Music Centre’s programs, pedagogies, and methods promoted a flexible set of ideals and musical approaches, reflecting the community music backgrounds of its international facilitators. There was no formal ‘curriculum’ but a program of workshops and services that offered varied ways for people to engage with music, and with each other through music and the arts.

**Program strands**

The Pavarotti Music Centre offered both in-house and outreach programs. In the Centre’s first year, this included an in-house schedule of classes—all free of charge—that individuals could enroll in and attend weekly, including ballet, a children’s choir, contemporary dance, DJ workshops, art workshops, and guitar courses. Local arts teachers and performing groups could also use the spaces for public workshops and rehearsals (Wilson, 1998). These learning programs combined with the public performance program, drop-in spaces for listening to music, and other community-focused activities to create a vibrant atmosphere that offered a diverse group of people ways “to be part of that musical world” (Almira, 12/11/13).
The drumming and percussion classes were similarly open to all and did not require any enrolment. These classes became a signature offering of the Pavarotti Centre (Wilson, 2006). In addition to the in-house programs, the staff musicians—locals and internationals—provided an outreach program of workshops, attending around twenty schools, kindergartens, and residential homes for psychiatric patients each week.

When short-term international visitors were in residence, additional workshops and spontaneous ‘happenings’ also entered the Pavarotti Centre’s program. These unscheduled events emerged from a confluence of people and timing, suddenly filling the courtyard with exuberant, almost anarchic improvised music-making that was open to anyone present as audience or participant. They rewarded those that liked to hang around at the Centre, and encouraged a culture of dropping by to see what might be going on.

No single cultural tradition dominated. Rather, the diverse range intimated a desire to promote plurality, through the programming of contemporary expressions of ‘global’ music such as African and Latin percussion, electronic music, and DJ-ing. Importantly, each of the workshop programs had multiple entry points with minimal (if any) pre-requisite knowledge required for participation.

**Teaching approaches**

The mix of accessible learning strands was reinforced through flexible and responsive teaching approaches as the most common ‘house’ style. At the time of its official opening, the Pavarotti Music Centre teaching staff included international staff (predominantly from the UK and Germany) with backgrounds in community music leadership and non-formal music education. Therefore, the teaching approaches for the various courses and programs bore many traits of those practices, with an emphasis on facilitation, participatory and experiential music learning (with minimal focus on theory), and the use of playful activities and games to encourage social interaction, relaxation, and improvisation (Higgins & Campbell, 2010).

The Schools’ Outreach program had been operating in Mostar since 1995 and had gathered a team of local musicians (from the rock and pop tradition) and prospective teachers to work in the classrooms alongside the small group of international facilitators. The latter were predominantly graduates of Nigel Osborne’s
postgraduate course in ‘Music in the Community’ at the University of Edinburgh. The local team members were employed initially to help with interpreting and musical accompaniment; however, by the time of the opening of the Pavarotti Music Centre, they were assuming leadership roles within the schools (Nećko, 3/11/13). Of an age where their formal schooling had been severely disrupted by the war, none had had the chance to complete a tertiary degree; several had not finished high school. Therefore, their knowledge of teacher behaviours and practices was from pre-war Yugoslavia, but their work as workshop leaders was strongly shaped through their practical experiences in the Schools’ Outreach program, and the methods modeled by the international staff.

Several workshop participants recalled the patience and encouragement of individual teachers.

There was one time where we were learning to play something, and I needed time to get it all. And someone – Peter, or another - would sit with me after the class, for an hour or hour and half, just doing just one basic thing, you know, and trying to [help me] improve. So they really had a lot of patience . . . They were so nice. There was something so peaceful about them, so open, so willing to transfer that knowledge to us. (Ines, 14/11/13)

Students in schools that the Schools’ Outreach team visited weekly recalled the emphasis in those workshops on fun and laughter, singing together, and introducing new things—people, instruments, and songs—that made the children’s constricted worlds feel a little larger.

They were positive. They were trying to connect us with the music, to find a positive side . . . in all that [war] situation. And it was a new thing for us . . . It was really interesting and nice, and they were really cool and fun. (Blagaj School focus group, 7/11/13).

A distinctive creative fluidity and spontaneity was a characteristic feature of the Pavarotti workshop experience. This style was introduced with the workshops of Nigel Osborne and his team of musicians and became embedded as a ‘house style’ with the appointment of Eugene Skeef, a South African master drummer and activist, as Director of Music Development. Skeef had grown up in a family of traditional healers and storytellers, and this background contributed an additional therapeutic
aspect to the drumming program. He encouraged his participants and protégés to explore ways that synchronous rhythm and spontaneous expression could connect people on a spiritual and meditative level (Skeef, 2011).

[I remember] an incredible drumming workshop. Every one of us had a djembe, and then we were exploring rhythms and playing with rhythms and clapping our hands, and– [breaks off] incredible! It was so inspiring and so elating. You would come out of it feeling like your lungs were bigger and expanded and you were breathing a different air. (Kenet, 20/10/13)

Skeef in particular introduced a dimension of spontaneous music-making to the Pavarotti Music Centre, such as the workshop experience that Kenet describes above. Skeef’s role was deliberately informal and responsive. He was to play “a sort of Pied Piper role, with activities . . . that would form and take place without a 'timetable’” (David Wilson, email to author, 6/3/15).

This spontaneity and the Director’s willingness to embrace new and unexpected ideas also shaped young people’s learning about themselves as creative individuals. New initiatives from local youths—such as the Rock School instrumental tutoring, the contemporary dance classes, the electronic music program, and various activities connected to poetry and literature—were encouraged.

International teachers frequently took a personal interest in their students, recognising their vulnerability (for example, to drug addiction, which was a tremendous problem among young people in Mostar at that time), and encouraging them to make positive choices in their lives. Perhaps because of this personal involvement, some of the regular Pavarotti Centre attendees came to love their teachers as significant adults in their lives. Love in intercultural arts work, social activism, and development action is rarely named as such, and yet it can play a significant role in shaping interactions and practices, and inform the work at a deep level (Bartleet, 2016; Godden, 2016). Love in this context refers to platonic love, an other-regarding that is compassionate, and bound up in care for the other’s flourishing. For some, being on the receiving end of this kind of caring was transformational. Alma reflected that her interactions with Pavarotti Centre staff demonstrated
that it’s okay to love people. And that love is really what matters, giving love and this kind of energy. . . . I was really lucky to have all these beautiful people around me that gave me all of it [at such a young age]. And that I have it somehow inside myself, that this is right and this is how I should be, and I should give it to others as well. (Alma, 29/10/13)

Alma’s experience echoes what Paolo Freire has observed, that transformative learning occurs when teachers risk acts of love (2000/1970, p. 50), and that it is through such acts of love that education can lead to “the creation of a world in which it will be easier to love” (p. 40). This is not to deny that acts of love may also be bound up with motivations to satisfy other human drivers, related to ego, fear, guilt, desire to control, or to be seen in a certain light. Nor is it to downplay the power dynamics that can be embedded in loving care for others, as might underpin a charitable or benevolent model, or ‘saviour’ discourse. But Bartleet (2016), citing Underwood (2009), reassures that these mixed motivations do not “take away from the genuine motivation . . . to respond to the needs and desires [of others]” (p. 98).

At the time, this ethic of care was something that the international teachers could and would offer as part of their role. Here I can reflect on my own experiences and recollections of working at the Pavarotti Centre in its first year of operations. Firstly, my international colleagues and I were in Mostar as eager volunteers, receiving only a monthly living stipend in exchange for our work. We did not have formal job descriptions and threw ourselves into the work and the friendships, and gave these all our energy. We were barely a decade older than the young people we were working with. Furthermore, we were not suffering the deprivations of war-related trauma and grief, chronic illness or under-nourishment that the local adults were suffering. The teaching role could be demanding: many of the young people we worked with shared extreme vulnerabilities with some of the team, such as suicide ideation, recollection of traumatic wartime experiences, ethnic victimisation from authorities, and other concerns. The risk of burn-out or vicarious trauma for staff was considerable. Later, the first team of music therapists described the way Centre staff would often initiate ‘therapeutic’ conversations with them, given the dearth of alternative kinds of debriefing (Lang et al., 2002). Youth, idealism, the professional competence we had with community music facilitation techniques, and belief in the
overall mission of the Centre, served some protective functions, as did the friendships formed with local people.

The combination of non-formal community music pedagogies, minimal teacher-student social distance, and opportunities for participants to set the learning agenda were part of the Pavarotti Music Centre’s espoused aim to apply “new methods” in music education and participation. These were in marked contrast to the teaching and learning approaches at the government-run East and West Mostar Music Schools.

Pavarotti was alternative. Because these [municipal music] schools were official, regular schools . . . they have a yearly plan, and they learn what they learn in the music schools. It not so much a place for creating these alternative bands, creating this kind of space. And [at Pavarotti] there were some courses for learning guitar, and some different instruments [like the African drumming]. So [interested individuals] could go there and just do it for free at that time. (Gordana, mixed focus group, 6/11/13)

Some East Mostar Music School students suggested that this difference was a source of conflict for their music teachers. Ines recalled her piano teacher’s irate response when she learned Ines was going to drumming workshops. “She was really, really angry”, and told Ines that she had to choose between piano and drums; she could not do both (14/11/13). The Pavarotti Centre’s ethos of informality and activism and its obvious appeal may have threatened to undermine the status of that more formal pedagogy, and the legitimacy it carried as a European inheritance from Bosnia’s Austro-Hungarian history.

Considered together, the teaching approaches at the Pavarotti Music Centre offered an alternative to other music learning opportunities, and an expressive and creative outlet for those wishing to work in more informal or exploratory ways. In particular the Centre embraced a non-formal style of music leadership and approach to music participation. The teachers prioritised encouragement, and patience over authority, participation and action over theory or passive reception, and invited student initiative and ownership over the programs. These practices had many traits in common with what Higgins has called ‘community music as an intervention’ (2012),
where a skilled senior musician assumes the role of facilitator and leader but where there is considerable input from learners.

**Repertoire, materials, positioning, and recontextualisation**

In keeping with its informal approach, the repertoire and musical materials in use at the Pavarotti Music Centre were not aligned with any pre-existing curricula or programs of study. Some programs were focused on music creation (such as the electronic music program, and elements of the percussion programs) while those that taught through repertoire and given materials (such as in the Schools’ Outreach project) used their choices to communicate the values and ideals of the Centre.

For example, organisers and teachers wanted to help their learners feel connected to the rest of the world, and to demonstrate that they were part of a community of music-makers that stretched beyond Mostar’s boundaries (Wilson, 2006). This was communicated through the instruments and genres (African and Latin American percussion, instruments of rock and pop, experimental electronic sounds), and the musical materials (songs, melodies, instruments) used in the Schools’ Outreach and community-based workshops. These drew upon an extensive collection of ‘world music songs’, in particular short chants and songs from oral traditions that were highly suitable for rhythmic and vocal extemporisation (Osborne, 2009). Local songs—pop and folk songs from pre-war Yugoslavia—were interspersed with these. Children and young people participated using their voices, body percussion, hand-held percussion instruments in the school and community workshops.

In addition, repertoire selections in the Schools’ Outreach workshops were strategically aligned with the energetic extremes of the children taking part, in order to create a trauma-informed, healing-focused environment. For example, gentle and predictable musical materials would be matched to groups displaying extremely withdrawn, passive energy, while high energy music and rhythmic work would be matched to hyperactive and aroused energies. Subsequent choices in the workshops worked to entrain the children’s collective energy towards the middle of the spectrum of musical energy, in order to facilitate a more balanced and functional bodily, respiratory, and emotional state among the participants (Osborne, 2009).

The work also intended to *transcend* repertoire as the primary indicator of achievement or success. Teachers valued the quality of learner engagement and the
productive and positive relationships between students and teachers as highly as the transmission of musical knowledge and skills, in common with a community music ‘intervention’ ethos (Howell, Higgins, & Bartleet, 2017) and with traditional music cultures that prioritise participatory over presentational modes (Turino, 2008).

Interestingly, the global outlook and pluralist intentions of the Pavarotti Music Centre’s programming did not face the same recontextualisation or positioning challenges as the other two case studies. Several factors may have contributed to this, such as the fact that these were new cultural practices that were free of any local delineated meanings. The lack of barriers to participation in terms of pre-requisite music knowledge, the focus on youth participation, and the desire to participate in global youth culture helped draw participants that were attracted by informality and possibility rather than ethnomusicological ‘authenticity’. The communication of values of solidarity and anti-establishment activism also indicated a break with the more formal music learning structures of the pre-war era, while at the same time building on the town’s pre-war norms of arts and cultural participation.

To this list could be added the existence of a dedicated building, unencumbered with precedents or history, within which the rules surrounding arts practices could be written anew. The confluence of these factors allowed for a disruption of earlier practices, so that loose recontextualisation was a taken-for-granted feature of the Pavarotti Centre project. As one informant described, “[at Pavarotti] suddenly I felt that the rules didn’t have to be really strict . . . I could explore a bit more” (Ines, 13/11/13).

Overall, and considering its approach to programming, teaching, repertoire and musical materials, the Centre functioned pedagogically more as a community music centre than as a formal music school. Staff understood their role as one of initiating and supporting a range of projects and events that evolved in response to participant and teacher interest rather than a pre-determined curriculum, with an underpinning commitment to music as a healing force.

**Discussion: Local assets, expertise, and sustainability**

Pedagogy and musical learning materials are evident shaping forces in that they determine educational content, and the concepts and materials with which learners will engage. They also shape the music intervention through the associated
inculcation of norms and values in the methods used to teach, and the relationships that develop in conjunction with the learning and teaching activities. While organisers and donors tend to be the dominant actors in setting the pedagogical vision for the school, this chapter has shown the way that in pedagogical practices, teachers are the ‘first responders’ to students’ aspirations and organisers’ intentions.

The commonalities and divergences of pedagogical approach across the three case studies suggest that such decisions are often highly specific to actors and contexts. Where some were eager to adapt their approach and materials to suit the new learning environment, others felt less able or willing to deviate from tried and trusted methods. These decisions were taken predominantly at the teacher level rather than initiated as top-down directives. Teaching and learning was delivered along a spectrum from formal to informal, with ANIM at one end as a state educational institution, the Pavarotti Music Centre with its ‘drop in’ culture and workshop format at the informal end, and the Hadahur Music School occupying a position somewhere between these two extremes. An important commonality was the contribution of international teachers in modeling more progressive and student-centered approaches to teaching. These offered a striking contrast to the more authoritarian and punitive methods that most learners had experienced in their general education. The music interventions demonstrated the compatibility of these approaches with maintaining an orderly learning environment, and gave their learners an experience of “what good teachers do” (Connelly, 25/5/15).

As a contributor to future sustainability, however, pedagogical choices require further interrogation. A key issue is expertise and knowledge. Choices made around pedagogy and materials will determine who ‘the experts’ will be in any learning program. Expertise that remains situated outside the local environment poses a challenge to sustainability, because it indicates a likely dependence on external interest and support for delivery of the chosen content.

This might imply that the best solution for sustainability is to prioritise work with what is local: knowledge, practices, and people. Such a stance would accord with one of the principles of pedagogies of possibility and emancipation, to recognise and actively build on prior knowledge and cultural assets (Hempel-Jørgensen, 2015). It would also heed what some scholars have observed to be an inverse relationship between change and sustainability in aid and development more generally. According
to MacLachlan et al. (2010), “the more you change, the less you can sustain” because you “move further away from the current supporting social infrastructure” (p. 143). ‘Change’ resulting from music interventions includes the introduction of knowledge, practices, and constructs that are new in that context.

However, an eschewal of externally-based practices and knowledge in favour of local practices and knowledge would presuppose that there is consensus on what constitutes the local cultural assets to build upon, that there are no push or pull factors towards external knowledge in this environment, and that such knowledge offers no benefit to the community. The three cases in this study indicate the incongruity of and tensions within such a stance. A further issue is the scope of the objectives that different actors have attached to the music intervention, in particular the extent to which it is intended to contribute to a wider program of cultural development. In the nationwide task of post-war recovery and establishment of place in the international order, these projections of desired futures may well extend beyond the boundaries of local knowledge and practices.

These factors are highly non-linear and invariably feed into one another. For example, examination of the ‘cultural assets’ pathway of pedagogical choice that prompted Hadahur’s pedagogical debates reveals a wide array of factors influencing the stances taken and choices made, including contrasting values (Harrison, 2015). At the outset, determination of what constituted the local cultural assets was disputed between non-Timorese actors. One party considered traditional music knowledge to be the significant asset, a cultural eco-system with its own experts and processes. This conception was radical in nature for many locals as well as for other Hadahur collaborators, as indigenous knowledge—particularly in music—had been afforded low status during both the Portuguese colonial period and the Indonesian occupation and had never been taught in a school setting.

The other party saw the Timorese people’s general talent for music, strong choral tradition, and the Santa Cecelia Choir’s aptitude in performing works from the Western canon as the primary assets for investment. Many of Hadahur’s learners also agreed that these were the assets on which to build.

However, these assets corresponded with other interests and agendas, some of which produced influential push and pull factors. Implicit within the definition of
indigenous knowledge as the primary asset for development was a (self-authorised) moral authority that recognised earlier harms to the local music traditions through colonisation and occupation and attempted to reverse these. Implicit within the recognition of Western-centric music knowledge as the significant cultural asset was wider community support for development of such skills, given their high intrinsic value in Church life; the value that community members place on skills that might bring international recognition to Timor-Leste; and as a cultural marker of the former colonial power. As outlined in Chapter 3, the privileging of Portuguese language and Eurocentric culture is one of the ways that unequal power relations and social divisions are perpetuated in contemporary Timor-Leste.

The Hadahur adult learners’ preference for Western classical music studies, and their resistance to the integration of indigenous materials within this, responded to these various societal influences. Considered through a post-development, Foucauldian understanding of development as a discourse that produces colonial power relationships and subjects (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson & Lohmann, 1994), the learners’ preference might be explained as the development recipients’ internalisation of development’s hierarchical worldview, through which development’s subjects “reproduce the very discourse by which they are shaped” (Lie, 2008, p. 122). Such an interpretation positions the learners as somewhat powerless against these larger structural forces.

However, the learners explained things differently, claiming far greater agency. For violin student Milka, for example, there was pragmatic appeal in the international currency of Western classical music, and its symbolic representation of a break with the recent past.

We know how to read [music] in Indonesian by numbers [the Indonesian notation system]. But the international music reading is Western notation with lines. And as Timor-Leste is now not part of Indonesia, it is an independent nation, as the nation of Timor-Leste we need to develop more knowledge on that something new. So we already have that talent in singing, but we need to learn also singing in this international way, like in education. (Milka, 25/5/14)

Milka and her peers had learned from experience that in contemporary Timor-Leste, the aid-dominated economy gave “international” knowledge such as languages,
administrative and technological skills the greatest value. Acquisition of international knowledge enables individuals to benefit from the economic opportunities of an intercultural and ‘Western-centric’ environment. This has also been their experience with music. For example, it was Milka’s involvement with the Western music-focused Santa Cecelia Choir that gave her opportunities for foreign travel, and led to her current employment with SMIET.

In aid-dominated Afghanistan, students at ANIM similarly expressed hopes and goals around the recognition that achievement in Western music practices might bring to them and their country. Indeed, across much of the post-colonial or ‘developing’ world, music learners often display a great desire for “uniformity with the education systems of other countries” (Flolu, 1996, p. 165) because there is a desire to have their educational attainment validated and recognised beyond their own isolated locality. They are aware of the opportunities that can arise through acceptance of the “terms of recognition” of the dominant power (Appadurai, 2004, p. 66), even while this requires them to accept those terms and the power embedded within them, and thus concomitantly accept (and not challenge) the limited power of their own terms of recognition.

The Hadahur adult learners’ relationship with the Sisters and lay staff at SMIET was a further push factor towards Western classical music. A shared love of music appears to have functioned as an experience of communion and fellowship within the organisation, just as it played a role in SMIET’s relationships with the diaspora Timorese community in Sydney (Connelly, 25/5/15). Preferring Western classical music could be a way of strengthening bonds and displaying loyalty to their employers and mentors.

Lastly, there were personal aspirations and desires for development in Western classical music, which the learners clearly saw to be of benefit to them. Milka and António had already begun their formal music education in Australia and knew how much more there was to learn. Jakob and his fellow singers similarly knew there was knowledge and expertise that could help them progress towards their musical goals. Their learning thus far held great meaning for them, and their skills as performers had high community value, bringing them recognition. As educated young members of Timor-Leste’s emerging middle class, classical music may also have formed an important part of their self-perception.
These factors demonstrate the ways that the wider social environment reinforced the social value of Western music knowledge. Furthermore, significant to this discussion is the way that defining cultural assets relative to a Western default at Hadahur necessitated the involvement of international teachers, and ensured that the international organisers and teachers at the school would remain in positions of ‘expert’ while the Timorese learners would occupy the more subservient ‘learner’ role. This is not to deny the speed with which the Timorese learners progressed in their music studies, nor to downplay the significance of their work as teachers. António in particular achieved considerable independence as a classroom music teacher in the years following Hadahur’s closure. Rather, it acknowledges the many years required to build competence in Western classical music. There would always be a foreigner (particularly within SMIEET and the Religious Sisters) who would assume the role of expert and authority within this music tradition. Such a model ensured that the concentric circles of power in Sampson’s (2002) conceptualisation of development practices retained the foreigners in the centre, and the Timorese learners at the periphery. Furthermore, it risked perpetuating conceptions of local music knowledge as lower status and less valuable, a mindset that those agitating for its inclusion in the Hadahur program had hoped to subvert.

Conversely, the identification of traditional (and contemporary/popular) music knowledge as the primary cultural asset for inclusion would have ensured an abundant local supply of expertise. This may well have brought about Timorese movement from the peripheral concentric circles to the centre. However, the challenges around recontextualisation of informal, holistic, place-specific practices into a school structure meant that this would have taken considerable time and careful navigation to be realised. Given the apparent distance between the Timorese people’s understanding of ‘music education’, ‘school’, and the compatibility of (their perceptions of) the local music practices in relation to these constructs, we can also speculate that such a program model may have struggled to find broad-based local acceptance in the short-to-medium term.

In their different ways, these competing definitions of cultural assets referenced divergent macro visions of society-wide cultural development, and thus had a political component. They reflected what their protagonists hoped (or anticipated) would be the norms of a future Timor-Leste. This connection between the
present and a future projection ensures that definitions of cultural assets will be entangled with political interests. Efforts to introduce indigenous (rather than Eurocentric) knowledge into other areas of Timorese education provision in the recent past have been highly politicised, such as occurred with debates around language of instruction (Taylor-Leech, 2007), mother-tongue literacy (Marx & Pinhero, 2013), and curriculum reform (Shah, 2012). These debates grapple with the extent to which Portuguese culture should influence expressions of Timorese identity, and remain unresolved in present-day Timor-Leste. The lack of resolution, or of successful hybrid models of indigenous and external knowledge systems, offered Hadahur’s music learners little reassurance of the legitimacy of a hybrid or integrated educational approach that included local music knowledge as equally valuable. In their absence, macro visions that privilege external knowledge may offer the clearest path to legitimacy.

At the macro level, these are debates that cast the benefits that increased cultural capital may offer against the symbolic violence that occurs when social agents become complicit in de-valuing their own cultural markers. However, at the individual level these debates may take second place to agents’ own aspirations and sources of subjective meaning, and the desire to access education in that which they cherish. The Hadahur learner aspirations illustrate the “entangled, hybrid, and symbiotic relationships” (Bradley, 2012, p. 410) between colonised and coloniser in determining what is valued and sought after in that society. Given this complexity, pedagogical choices based on perceptions of cultural assets are fraught with tensions.

Sidestepping questions of local assets, the Pavarotti Music Centre adopted a very different approach in its pedagogical choices. These can be characterised as disruption, where the intention was to introduce newness in order to make a clear break with past practices. Rather than building on local musical assets, the Pavarotti Centre’s leaders identified the local youths as the primary local asset in which to invest. It made a virtue of its new methods and approaches, introducing unfamiliar ‘world’ music practices and working collaboratively to develop local expressions of these. Multiple entry points for learners to engage musically and a commitment to training meant that while the knowledge and expertise remained with international teachers initially, the negotiation and co-creation of the overall approach delivered
emancipatory outcomes in which learners quickly became teachers and cultural producers. Chapter 7 and 9 examine this outcome in more detail.

This pathway also interacted with societal push-pull factors that influenced how smoothly the practices might transfer from external to local experts and authoritative voices. An important factor was that of cultural distance, or the similarities and differences between the norms and values of two distinctive cultural groups (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). The underlying logic of the Pavarotti Music Centre’s pedagogical offerings found congruence with the European heritage, secularity, and previous education experiences of the Bosnians, even while the practices themselves were new. This calls to mind MacLachlan et al.’s (2010) warning about change and sustainability. While the offering was new and disruptive, it was not so new as to demand a reconfiguring of worldviews, as was arguably required for some of the students and wider community at ANIM and Hadahur (regarding inclusion of indigenous music at the latter). Therefore the existing social infrastructure could help to sustain it.

The third pedagogical pathway that determined how Western and local music practices would be positioned and where expertise would lie was the ‘rights-based’ approach that ANIM employed. From the outset, ANIM framed its inclusion of twin program strands in Western classical and Afghan classical music within the school’s stated goals of assuring cultural rights through provision of musical diversity. If it is within one’s rights to participate in culture freely, including in practices outside one’s place of origin, then the choice of Western classical music is the exercising of a right, rather than a higher-status choice. The discourse that links musical diversity to cultural rights does not resolve the challenges around sustainability that arise from pedagogical choices that situate expertise outside the locality. However, it has enabled a relatively non-competitive and non-hierarchical co-existence of traditional Afghan music and Western classical music within the Institution, as well as a degree of integration and hybridity in its musical outputs.

Indirectly, the rights-based frame begins the important work of neutralising potential debates around the relative value and positioning of different musics. This reduces the power differential between musical practices, which has possible benefits for sustainability. It arguably lays the groundwork for what was a missing element in the pedagogical choices of the pro-indigenous and pro-Western music parties at
Hadahur: a critical and explicit engagement with the power dynamics of cultural practices. Friere’s *conscientisation* (2000/1970) would invite reflection on the arbitrary nature of hierarchies of knowledge and its production. Learners and experts could work together to explore and discover ways of delivering music learning and participation that supported students to realise their aspirations, while recognising the inherent value of other ways of musical knowing. Such processes, however, require time to develop, and the full commitment of all parties. These conversations never managed to gain a foothold at Hadahur Music School. Importantly, neutralising the power differentials may help reduce *psychological dependence on external expertise*, even while a pragmatic dependence is still present.

The three case studies indicate that there are no simple solutions to making pedagogical choices with positive implications for sustained and self-sufficient provision in music interventions, reinforcing the fact that this is immensely complex work. Attempting to build pedagogical content on local assets is problematic because of the ways that different actors will define these assets, and the multiple, pervasive forces that work to valorise and privilege external musical practices and expertise. Some of these are deeply entrenched through historical legacies of colonisation; others are produced or reinforced through the inherently unequal social structure of development; and others are relational. Learners are engaged in a complex navigation of furthering their interests in an environment that offers both constraints and opportunities, and competing messages about musical value. The three cases illustrate the necessity of actively identifying and navigating the multiple values systems around music that are present in a community (Harrison, 2015).

Pedagogy can be approached as a disruption but cultural distance may influence the extent to which disruptive newness will be adopted and internalised by the host community. Rights-based arguments help to neutralise possible perceptions of hierarchies of musical practices, but if the practices are new, expertise will necessarily reside elsewhere until such a time as local learners can assume that mantle for themselves.

**Conclusion**

While music pedagogy is ostensibly a set of decisions around what is taught, how, by whom, and with what materials, war-affected sites can produce a wide array of forces
that render these decisions a source of intensified debate and contest. This chapter has identified many of these forces, including personal practices and preferences, worldviews and constructs, competing agendas for cultural development, ideals of national and cultural identity, self-perception, and learners’ desire for education that will help them to progress their own interests. These intersect with a similarly diverse array of well-intentioned actors—missionaries, social activists, institutions, and aspirations—in contexts where the legacies of colonisation, occupation, aid, and external influence have made cultural expression a matter of debate and contestation. It is these intersections and sites of interface that make choices of pedagogy and learning materials a critical juncture of negotiation. As the set of practices with which the music intervention will be most strongly identified, pedagogy forms an early site of active interface for the actors and institutions involved, and the different constructs of music and agendas for change that they bring.

Pedagogical choices generate opportunities, challenges, and potential instability. They create dynamics that shape music interventions in the content that is offered, but also through the relational dynamics that are a product of processes of teaching and transmission. The influence of pedagogy and learning materials on the sustainable potential of a music intervention is found in part through the extent to which it enables expertise (and therefore power and authority) to be embedded locally, either through direct engagement with local music knowledge or through a gradual transfer of expertise to local actors.

The relationship between expertise and power foreshadows the main subject of interest in the next critical juncture, Organisational Culture. It extends the gaze beyond the manifestation of power (in the form of expertise) through musical and pedagogical content to consider the structures, practices, and human interactions that surround and support a music intervention’s core mission. Chapter 7 will continue some of the threads raised in this section, including the emerging correlation between organisers’ motivational roots and the shape that music interventions take at the level of practices.
CHAPTER 7: Organisational Culture

There are many cultural influences that determine the organisational approach that the initiators of a music intervention will adopt. Cultural development scholar Kim Dunphy observes that the task of introducing arts projects into development contexts necessitates finding congruence 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, p. 3). Not unsurprisingly, these contrasting paradigms may produce different organisational approaches and cultures, and underpinning assumptions about how things work best. Organisational culture offers a useful lens through which to examine how these opposing paradigms are negotiated, alongside values and worldviews. Particularly in projects that bring together contrasting cultural backgrounds, or that involve multiple agencies, organisational culture can have implications for the shape of a project, and its sustainability (Lewis et al., 2003), and the interplay and negotiations of people, power, practices, and the wider context constitute another critical juncture.

The differences in scope and approach between the three case studies and the interest of this research in implications for sustainability required an analytical framework that would illuminate components of organisational culture concerned with power transactions between various actors. Guidance was found in a framework from the field of critical anthropology of development (Bebbington et al., 2007; Lewis et al., 2003). Developed for multi-agency projects with a focus on empowerment, it recommends analysis of areas such as practices (including the ways that different actors interpret the mission, determining the meaning and sense of purpose they find within it), power and agency (and how these are negotiated in practice), and context (in particular understanding organisations as sociocultural systems and recognising the constant negotiation between internal culture and the wider external context). The framework responds to the distancing discourse of aid critiqued by postdevelopment scholars (Escobar, 1995; Ferguson & Lohmann, 1994), and examines the agency of aid recipients and local staff, amidst the power dynamics at play between donors, NGOs, and host communities.
Applied to the cases in this research, elements within these three broad areas came to the fore. Consequently, in this chapter I examine organisational culture as manifested through three components: cultural style; power distribution and transfer between actors; and shared narratives of meaning. The influences of the wider context are considered within each of these. The chapter is structured thematically, with the case studies employed to illustrate how aspects of these three components played out in practice (Figure 19, below).

**Figure 19: Structural outline of chapter 7**

The first component, *cultural style*, reveals itself through practices. It is tangible and observable, and is the aspect of organisational culture where Dunphy’s opposing professional paradigms will meet at an active interface. Consideration of cultural style helps to bring the dynamics of *power distribution*—the second component of interest—to the fore. Power distribution and agency also dwell within practices, but are in constant interplay with the wider context. They are strongly implicated in questions of sustainability, particularly regarding the transfer of power from external to local actors. The *shared narratives of meaning* that are the third component result from organisational practices, but evolve dynamically among actors and through interactions with the wider context. Shared narratives may play a constructive role in determining what various internal actors believe about what they are doing, and play an important role in shaping and sustaining practices in development contexts (Lewis et al., 2003).

These three components—cultural style, power distribution, and shared narratives—progress the focus from practices specific to the learning and teaching of music (Chapter 6) to those that organise and (intend to) progress that mission. Given the level of detail that each component generates, summaries at the end of each section highlight the key findings.
Cultural style

Many arts-based interventions are started by artists, community cultural development producers, and arts enthusiasts, rather than by experienced aid workers. This where competing paradigms of practice-led, intuitive ways of working and evidence-driven, bureaucratic methods meet and potentially clash. The current trend for aid and development sectors to adopt practices and systems from the world of business and private sector corporations (Anderson et al., 2012, p. 35) has entrenched a perception of one ideal system of organisation, and one way of being organised and ‘professional’. However, Charles Handy’s work on organisational culture suggests that this misunderstands the human nature of organisations:

If organisations are communities, mini-societies, rather than machines, then it is natural to expect that each community will have its own taste and flavour, its own ways of doing things, its own habits and jargon, its own culture. (Handy, 1988, p. 85)

Handy identified four broad ‘cultural styles’—club, task, role, and person culture—that offer a useful entry point into an examination of an organisation’s values and practices, and expectations of working processes. These to some extent can be planned, but they also evolve as a result of environmental, historical, and human factors. Preference for a particular style is “often more a matter of faith than of logic” (Handy, 1988, p. 86).

Club culture has a charismatic leader at the centre of the organisation, surrounded by like-minded individuals that extend the leader’s capacity and reach. Handy likens the structure to a spider’s web, “because the key to the whole organisation sits at the centre, surrounded by ever-widening circles of intimates and influences” and “the closer you are to the spider, the more influence you have” (p. 86). Club culture favours quick, intuitive responses, short lines of communication, informality and instinct. It can feel like a family. However, it tends to replicate the strengths and weakness of the leader, and the dominance of the central individual makes succession a critical issue for sustainability.

Task cultures share traits of flexibility and rapid response with club culture, but do not have the individualism or central personality. Task cultures are problem-focused, drawing together teams of talents and resources to address a specific project
or task. They feature collaborative work, with cooperation rather than hierarchy, and bespoke solutions rather than standardised procedures. However, task cultures spurn the mundane or repetitive, and require a constant stream of new problems to solve.

In contrast, role culture is an approach to organisation and management in which distinct roles work according to assigned responsibilities, and as components of a larger workflow. Role cultures are hierarchically structured and more formal and slow in their systems. Role cultures thrive when the work required is routine and follows predictable patterns, but do not respond well to sudden change, unexpected initiatives, or individual exceptions to the rules.

Person culture, Handy’s fourth cultural style, exists where individuals (their skills and personalities) are the primary resource of the organisation, drawn together by only minimal structures. Collectives of artists, doctors in a medical practice, or barristers in chambers are examples of this style.

Individuals within an organisation will also display differing levels of what culture theorist Hofstede (1991) has termed ‘uncertainty avoidance’. This phrase refers to a comfort threshold for ambiguous, unstructured situations, which Hofstede identified as a significant variant across corporate cultures. In this research it emerged as an individual and institutional trait of some influence.

The cultural style of an organisation will be influenced by multiple factors beyond the personal preference of the leader. For example, the size of the organisation, the interdependence of elements within the workflow, external norms and their ‘push or pull’ influence, contrasting institutional logics and norms, the worldviews of different social and educational classes, and historical antecedents may each bear influence upon the cultural style that evolves. Furthermore, an organisation’s cultural style can evolve over time, or shift abruptly in response to internal crisis, fast-paced growth, or financial constraints. Most organisations feature a cultural mix.

The first section considers the cultural styles of the three case study sites, weaving observations about thresholds for uncertainty into the discussions.
Pavarotti Music Centre

As described in Chapter 4, the programming and organisational content of the Pavarotti Music Centre grew from a group of projects that had been operating independently with funding from War Child UK, but that moved into the Pavarotti Music Centre once the building was open. This meant that the different programs within the Music Centre (e.g. Schools’ Outreach Program, drumming workshops) operated with a high degree of autonomy. Director David Wilson prided himself on rarely intervening in the pre-existing War Child-funded programs—“Why interfere with something that was already successful?” (Wilson, 22/2/15)—and therefore the independence the programs had enjoyed in the days before the music centre was built was largely maintained, akin to a federal structure (Handy, 1988).

Reflecting this autonomy, Wilson instituted a predominantly horizontal organisational structure and was a visible and accessible Director. New staff members were recruited through personal recommendations, social networks, or casual encounters in cafés or at cultural events. Wilson maintained a cheery disdain for formal organisational processes and decision-making, and demonstrated a high threshold for uncertainty and change.

At the same time, as Director of the Music Centre (while still co-Director of the parent organisation War Child UK), Wilson retained executive control over programs, finances, and artistic direction, and therefore some decision-making was very top-down. This was in evidence when he decided to “put the stoppers” on the original music therapy program (Wilson, 22/2/15), for example. Autonomy within programs first required what Nigel Osborne termed a “transition of control” from the original program leaders (e.g. Osborne, CoMuSa) to the new Music Centre Director (27/8/16). Tensions that arose from this transition were keenly felt by some of Wilson’s international collaborators; however, the impact was minimal for the local Bosnian staff and participants who were Wilson’s primary relationship-building concern.

Wilson’s commitment to informality and less structured ways of working manifested a welcoming environment for the local community at the Pavarotti Music Centre, and produced a programming model that could accommodate new initiatives and opportunities. Some local staff (such as those with pre-war professional
experience in the private and public sector) attempted to systematise some operations within their particular administrative roles: Mustafa, for example, observed that the Pavarotti Centre’s “musicians and artists are people who are not disorganised, but organised in a different kind of way. I saw that my way of organisation could be a plus for this kind of place” (Mustafa, 6/11/13). However, overall an organisational culture prevailed that prized intuition and improvisation, and that was “not very business-like” (le Cosquino de Bussy & Esser, 2003, p. 12), suggesting strong correspondence with Handy’s ‘club culture’, with task culture predominant within each of the program strands.

The informal style also reflected the activist roots and anti-bureaucratic ethos of War Child UK and Wilson. It established a preference for non-hierarchical grassroots action over ‘establishment’ norms. At the same time, the reactive and improvisatory decision-making was due to the fact that the Pavarotti Music Centre was the first of its kind (a community music centre, with substantial international funds and profile) to be built in a war-torn area so soon after a ceasefire (Wilson, 22/2/15). There were no templates to follow, and “the whole psychosocial way of working was new at that point” (Willemijn Verloop, 15/7/16). Therefore, there was a necessary amount of trial, error, and learning through doing.

Early local success and enthusiastic funders and supporters created additional pressures to quickly increase the scope of activities. The organisers were thus always reacting to opportunities (Wilson, 22/2/15), which in turn precluded the possibility of building their programs gradually and strategically. They had “all these ideas but [they] never actually wrote [them] down!” (Wilson, 22/2/15).

The Pavarotti Music Centre was also a complex venture, with income-generating streams in addition to its provision of free workshops and performance events. The state-of-the-art recording studio and modern café-bar/restaurant were the primary income-generating elements. However, these required a different approach to business planning and marketing than the psychosocial work. There was optimism that international supporters from the rock music industry would help to promote and secure bookings for the recording studio, for example, but no other business plans or marketing materials beyond that (le Cosquino de Bussy & Esser, 2003).

Some staff members were aware of this gap between aspiration and strategy:
You cannot be just sitting down and waiting for somebody to come in and just give enough funds to run all the projects, you know? This place, Pavarotti Music Centre, was built to be able to have a strategy. There is a huge recording studio maybe worth 1.5 million Euro, which can generate money. Same as the restaurant could generate some money. And they didn’t have any strategy for this. (Oha, 30/10/13)

The disadvantages of a reactive approach were not evident initially, when funding was plentiful and the Centre was overflowing with activities. In-house reports and promotional materials from 1998 testify to the expansive program of workshops and events during the first year of operations (Pavarotti Music Centre, 1998; Wilson, 1998). The crisis period came towards the end of founding director Wilson’s tenure in late 1999, which coincided with depletion of the initial exploitation budget and an abrupt loss of technical and financial support from the parent organisation War Child UK. While these events receive further examination in Chapter 8, of interest to the current discussion is the way that the crisis prompted the newly incumbent director (previously the Centre’s Administrator) to grasp control of the organisational culture through imposition of a contrasting cultural style. The new Directorate instated a highly centralised role culture that some staff found reminiscent of pre-war Yugoslavia’s organisational norms, with far more regulations and controls than the program staff were used to. In particular, austerity measures were introduced that took budgetary control away from program leaders.

The frustration that this loss of autonomy produced led the Schools’ Outreach and Music Therapy project teams to leave the Music Centre and reconstitute as independent NGOs. As a result, by the time Mostar’s local government administration assumed full ownership of the building in 2008 (to be discussed in Chapters 8 and 9), a ‘federal’ structure had returned to the Pavarotti Music Centre, albeit with a business model in which the Centre housed independent programs as tenants rather than as part of its own stable of programming and activities.

As Handy’s (1988) analysis indicates and the Pavarotti Centre demonstrates, club culture often replicates both the strengths and weaknesses of the central figure. Wilson’s anti-bureaucratic mindset, politics of solidarity, and preference for informality and spontaneity helped to foster a welcoming and open community space. However, the Centre also replicated his lesser interest in systematic operations and
controlled growth, resulting in insufficient space for or competencies in the strategic forward planning that could help to establish the foundations for a more secure future. Additionally, while a task culture thrives on the adrenaline of new challenges and initiatives, it often begins to present risks during times of crisis or flux. Both of these challenged staff ability to anticipate and plan for a long-term future that would gradually become independent of major external (i.e. international) support.

Whether early and sturdy forward planning would have been sufficient to withstand the financial pressures following War Child UK’s departure is a matter for speculation. A strategic plan to follow might have helped the newly incumbent leadership ensure continued public support for the Music Centre at a time of reduced activities. Instead, much goodwill was lost during that period, as Chapter 8 will show.

In short, Pavarotti Centre’s predominant cultural style of ‘club’ culture produced a high volume of activities and exciting start-up energy and ambition. However, when the initial funds were exhausted, the disadvantages of fast growth on shallow foundations became apparent. Efforts to impose a more hierarchical and controlling cultural style (role culture) resulted in key teams of staff leaving in order to reconstitute as independent entities, leaving the Pavarotti Centre as a venue for hire, but open nonetheless. The second section of this chapter—on power distribution—will consider how the power relationships within the organisational culture also contributed to these challenges of succession and survival.

**Hadahur Music School**

In its first months of existence, the Hadahur Music School was a very small and informal endeavour. SMIET had appointed Australian musician Ros Dunlop as their lead consultant, and in addition to developing the school’s teaching model and applying for funds and instrument donations, Dunlop began to teach the school’s first students. There was no timetable and little direct oversight (in terms of content or coordination) from SMIET. The flexibility suited Dunlop, who squeezed in the music lessons and school development during ethnomusicological fieldwork trips to Timor-Leste. The aim was to begin the work of the school and build the learner cohort.

This early provision established a cultural style that corresponds with Handy’s task culture, with a focus on problem-solving and experimentation, and aiming to realise the vision with the resources available. An informal club culture also prevailed...
during this period, with Dunlop in the central role. While SMIET’s organisational style for their long-running literacy program, scholarships provision, and health training followed a more ordered path (akin to role culture), the staff and sisters were unanimously excited about the music school and thrilled to have a professional musician to help them set it up. They were therefore tolerant of what was a very different, more spontaneous organisational style.

In 2009, SMIET engaged a further three Australian consultant music teachers to give lessons to the Timorese learners via Skype. These lessons, too, could accommodate a degree of change and spontaneity, given the small number of people involved and the erratic internet provision in Dili at the time.

In contrast, the intensive periods when the Australian consultants travelled to Dili for face-to-face lesson produced significant organisational challenges for the fledgling music school. The consultant visits (in July 2009 and January 2010) involved lessons, rehearsals, performances, and workshops. They lasted two weeks, and involved all of SMIET’s staff in some way, with several Timorese having multiple roles of learner, interpreter, coordinator, teacher, and performer. With no music school building, venues needed to be found for music lessons, and vehicles commandeered for group travel. In addition, each consultant visit period included a number of public performances, sometimes in high-profile, prestigious venues. Meanwhile, the Timorese learners’ everyday lives—with their family commitments, choir rehearsals, and liturgical obligations—continued as normal.

The sudden and extreme expansion of activity during the consultant visits tested the capacity of the established club and task cultures. The club culture around Dunlop began to disrupt the established lines of authority in the pre-existing role culture of SMIET. In particular, confusion arose around who was in charge and therefore whose instructions had precedence across the mix of potential leaders (which included Dunlop; Sr Susan Connelly and SMIET in Sydney; SMIET’s in-country manager, also a Religious Sister; and the appointed local ‘Director of Hadahur’, who was also a Hadahur student and SMIET staff member). A lack of induction into SMIET’s established practices for the Australian consultants compounded these issues (Connelly, 25/5/15). This produced
ad hoc events and visits being planned and not always well executed, last minute changes to plans which have affected a wide variety of people and have often caused embarrassment, a stretch on resources both human and practical (cars) and ultimately, strained relationships. (Review into Hadahur Music School, 2010, p. 11)

The Music School’s initial staffing structure ultimately proved insufficient to deal with the complexity of the project. “On reflection, someone with major wads of time to oversee the venture, i.e. a manager, was needed” (Connelly, 25/5/15). This lack of management was reflected in the erratic communications among the various actors. For example, the teaching and organisational team “didn’t ever have a big formal meeting with everyone involved . . . that would have been really helpful and we would have got around a few of these awkward encounters” (Bennetts, 22/5/15). Communication styles also favoured the Australian preference for directness and speed, rather than the Timorese style of indirectness and conflict avoidance (Review of Hadahur Music School, 2010). Leaders assumed that they could “do things from our [Western] perspective” (Dunlop, 21/4/14), and that this could happen “in a short time and even that the Western mindset was better” (Connelly, 25/5/15). Fast-paced decision-making also created fast-paced action, including on occasion in vehicles, creating serious concerns for people’s safety. A sense of urgency, enthusiasm, and optimism initially masked these fundamental operational issues.

Some of that optimism may have been the result of an uncritical admiration for the musician-consultants “because they were musicians” (Connelly, 25/5/15, emphasis in original). Connelly wondered if this admiration had led her and her colleagues to defer to the musicians and to expect them to work in ways that accorded with a construct of the musical world as ordered and rational, even peaceful. This deference also presumed that high-level musical skills would be replicated as high-level operational skills, and that a shared love of the same kind of music would, as a matter of course, produce a consensus on approaches to its delivery.

Rather than consensus, the different practices that emerged during the consultant visits demonstrated divergent conceptions of what successful organisation should look and feel like. SMIET’s Sydney-based staff and Timorese employees felt distress at the growing lack of control, which felt for some like “a runaway horse” (Connelly, 25/5/15). In contrast, Dunlop and others in the consultant team enjoyed
and were even energised by the fast pace and spontaneity. They were ready to “[work] as [they] were needed,” vocal consultant Wendy Dixon recalled (23/5/15), which meant responding to unexpected interest and chance invitations as well as their planned activities, and sharing their expertise wherever it was welcomed.

In addition, the religiousity of the Sisters and Timorese learners and the secularity (even ‘anti-Church’ feeling) of the majority of consultants was a point of difference that added to organisational tensions. An aspect of life—faith and Catholicism—that was integral for some in the school community was unimportant or even (implicitly or explicitly) dismissed by others, and this contributed to the growing internal divisions.

As tensions grew, these contrasting organisational preferences and beliefs combined with the opposing approaches to pedagogical content (Chapter 6) to divide key actors (SMIET leaders, the team of consultants, the Timorese staff) into oppositional factions. Those that felt comfortable in a spontaneous, intuitive and adaptable working environment were also those wishing to integrate the less familiar local music practices into the school. They had a high threshold for uncertainty, and favoured the styles of club culture and task culture that had characterised the Hadahur project in its earliest incarnation. On the opposing side, those that desired organisational order, predictability, and clearly defined roles in their working environment also preferred the familiar building blocks and repertoire of the Western classical tradition. This group’s threshold for uncertainty was much lower, and they preferred to work within an overriding role culture with embedded task cultures at the project level. The first group’s preferences were experienced as chaos and disorganisation among the second, while the second group’s preferences were experienced as stifling and unnecessarily controlling among the first. These differences came from cultural preferences determined at the level of worldview and motivational roots, making it difficult for either group to understand or accommodate the preferences of the other. Consequently, the organisational culture fragmented, rather than evolving into a coherent whole.

Overall, opposing cultural styles and thresholds for uncertainty can be—but need not be—destructive. Strong leadership or a unified artistic vision can be sufficient to help draw different approaches into a coherent and constructive whole. However, leadership at Hadahur was also contested, and as discussed in Chapter 6, no
single artistic or pedagogical vision of the music school predominated. The combination of these meant that almost every aspect of Hadahur’s operations was under contestation. This ultimately had implications for its sustainability, in particularly in relation to the ways that the Timorese staff—who remained outside the most fiery contests—were enabled to exercise authority and agency within the school’s operations. This will be discussed in the second section of this chapter.

**ANIM: ‘An NGO inside a GO’**

Unlike the Pavarotti Music Centre and Hadahur Music School, ANIM operates with a great deal of formal structure. This reflects its status as a state secondary school within the Ministry of Education and Deputy Ministry of Vocational Education and Training (DMTVET) that receives substantial funding through the World Bank and other external agencies. Its staff includes government employees (non-music teachers, a small number of Western music teachers, the School Principal, administrative staff, cooks, maintenance staff, and cleaners) and a group called ‘project employees’ (expert music faculty who are primarily expatriates and local master musicians in Afghan music, with some local administrative, Information Technology, and English teaching staff). The latter are also government employees but are funded through the World Bank funding, and ANIM’s Director is able to advertise and select the candidates that he wants. In contrast, he has little say in the government appointments and many have been in position since the pre-ANIM era.

Many of the expatriate and some local project employees also make up a group known as the ‘Development Team’, which works closely with Sarmast on ANIM’s broader cultural and structural goals. The Development Team is responsible for diverse project tasks such as internal policy development and organisational structuring, curriculum development, proposal and policy writing, promotional materials such as the school website and brochures, and coordination of performances, tours, and events (WL, 18/8/16). This mix of government bureaucracy and not-for-profit development work led former staff member WL to describe ANIM’s structure as

\[
\text{a little bit like having an NGO [non-government organisation] inside a GO [government organization]. Officially, my job title was ‘music teacher’, but}
\]
unofficially, my job role includes do whatever needs to be done! [laughs] And that is the case with all people on the Development Team. (WL, 18/8/16)

Development Team members are therefore crucial to keeping the large and complex ANIM organisation running. The high levels of commitment and skill required, the problem-solving nature of the work, and the loosely-defined roles in which they ‘do whatever needs to be done’ indicate a task culture. In contrast, those members of staff employed by the government are required to operate within a more formal and bureaucratic role culture.

Cross-cutting both these two cultural styles is a strong club culture and hierarchy in which the school’s founder and director is central to all operations. Sarmast’s formative life experiences in the Soviet Union and during the communist era in Afghanistan may have left a legacy in the form of highly centralised ways of working and managing. However, club culture is also reinforced through the wider social context of Kabul, with its constant production of a sense of urgency and quick, intuitive decisions, interspersed with high levels of passivity and complacency. These are compounded by the pervasive norms of ‘strongman’ political culture following four decades of war. Informant WL recalled the paradox of trying to work in an environment where there was “no sense of time, no sense of responsibility, where people go months without being paid” but where activities could be added or changed at short notice, demanding a quick response (WL, 18/8/16). Club culture’s preference for reactive decision-making and prioritising of personal relationships and connections finds a degree of congruence both inside and outside the music institute. Therefore, while the general in-school norms of centralised authority suggest a low threshold for uncertainty, the external environment challenges this and demands a willingness to work within a certain amount of flux.

There are some tensions between the project team and the local government employees. The two groups do not always share a common spoken language, which hinders the formation of bonds and trust. The project team receives higher salaries than the government employees, which attracts strong local candidates with qualifications and contemporary skills. They arguably hold greater moral authority within the school environment, partly because their values accord with the school’s reformist aims, but also dependent on their closeness to the Director, rather than to their employment basis (as per club culture, and the ‘concentric rings of power’
referred to in Chapter 6). Local employees from the pre-ANIM era have also been required to navigate a number of significant reforms within the school (detailed in Chapter 6), which have generated some resistance. Many continue to display a work culture of disengagement that is widely entrenched among Afghan civil servants and that makes complete reforms of the school environment very slow (Sarmast, 5/8/15).

Similarly, there are two groups of students in the school: those that were already enrolled when ANIM was formed from the music department of the School of Fine Arts in 2009, and those that have enrolled since then (including students from disadvantaged backgrounds). The first group “[has] been brought up in an environment of total lack of commitment to the country, with a faculty totally indifferent to everything and everyone”, while the second group has had consistent messaging from the outset about ANIM’s larger objectives of cultural change, and their role in the “rebuilding of Afghanistan, and in improving the status of music and musicians” (Sarmast, 13/12/16). The first group is somewhat less amenable to the school’s expectations of responsible citizenship and obligations, as the third section of this chapter will show.

The task of navigating these structural layers and tensions, when coupled with the volatility and insecurity of daily life in Kabul, can make ANIM a stressful place to work. There are high expectations on some staff to make up for the inadequacies of others; and the extreme difficulties that students face in their outside lives (e.g. physical violence, marriage pressures, family poverty) also contribute to stress within the school. ANIM is like “a microcosm of the whole country”, featuring many of the same challenges of discipline, consistency, and corruption, as well as its joys (WL, 18/8/16). There are few outlets for external support or debriefing for those most affected by stress. Sarmast admits that it is “a very complicated task working in Afghanistan and dealing with all the different people: Afghan politicians, international community, local faculty” (13/12/16).

In contrast to the Pavarotti and Hadahur cases, ANIM has prolific and detailed documentation, planning, and curriculum development. This difference may be ascribed to the presence of a “demanding sponsor” in the World Bank (Forrest, 2013, p. 78) and various foreign embassies, each of which require detailed reporting and accounting for donations and evidence of outcomes and impact. ANIM also came into existence in an era where management processes had been mainstreamed across all
sectors (public, private, not-for-profit). In this era, public funding brings expectations of detailed strategic plans, documentation, and evidence of measurable outcomes.

Like the Pavarotti Music Centre, the Afghanistan National Institute of Music is a complex endeavour. Its differentiated staffing and funding structures and the contrasting expectations of the different groups shape interactions within the school, particular in the relationships between different groups of teachers, students, and the Director. The centrality of club culture’s ‘spider’s web’ keeps these differences tightly contained; however, there may be limits to the sustainability of the model, as the next section of this chapter will discuss.

**Summary: Cultural style as a force for shaping and sustaining**

What do these findings reveal about how the music interventions are shaped and sustained? Cultural style is an obvious *shaping* force. Preferences toward a particular style determine how ideas are implemented, who feels at home in the working environment, and how the endeavour is operationalised, which in turn informs something of the collective spirit, energy, and ambience of the venture. Cultural style also has implications for how the project may be realised and *sustained*, because of the way that the practices associated with a particular style can lay the seeds for future events. For example, the disinclination towards forward planning and formal systematisation in some cultural styles had later ramifications for the organisation’s capacity to steer a steady path in times of change.

The volatility of the wider war-affected environment may also amplify aspects of cultural style. For example, an ad hoc approach to scheduling might cause minimal disruption in a setting where messages can be relayed quickly to all involved, where people have reliable transport, and where the road systems offer a degree of predictability. In Dili, however, changing the time of a music rehearsal was found to have cascading impacts on a wide circle of people because both the internal and external environments were unstable, making arrangements precariously balanced. Therefore, the external environment interacts with the shaping and sustaining potential of different cultural styles in non-linear ways.

The prevalence of club culture demonstrates the central role that charismatic individuals play in each of these projects. This is not unexpected. The task of persuading others to support a music intervention in a context with numerous
competing needs relies upon the ability to inspire others with a compelling vision of what the project can deliver (Chapter 4). Charismatic individuals are likely to possess the requisite interpersonal and communication skills to succeed in such a task. However, they also bring idiosyncrasies, and as has been shown, organisational cultures tend to replicate both the strengths and weaknesses of central individuals, so that projects may falter on their idiosyncrasies just as they will simultaneously be shaped by them. The case studies demonstrate an array of idiosyncratic approaches: anti-establishment, anti-elite solidarity and avoidance of formality and regulation; self-authorisation; grassroots activism and anti-colonial politics (while still preferring to be in charge); controlling and centralised leadership; convictions towards (formal, Western) music education as the ideal set of practices; and positioning oneself (through conviction and institutional support) to change the cultural landscape of the entire country. These beliefs, values, and emotional investments are both strengths and potential faultlines when the practices that shape the music interventions begin to interact with the wider context.

Just as the pedagogical preferences at each of the case study sites could be connected to the organisers’ motivational roots in Chapter 6, in this chapter the motivational roots foreshadow the cultural style that the projects will adopt. Motivational roots are a more dominant force for shaping the practices of a music intervention than the stated aims. This underscores the value of separating aims statements from their motivational underpinnings, and demonstrates the different function that stated aims serve.

It is with the question of organisational culture as a sustaining force that our attention remains. Cultural style indicates something about the human interactions within the project, and power dynamics are an inherent aspect of human interactions. If the sustainable potential of a music intervention rests upon its ability to continue operations beyond the involvement of external actors, then how those external actors transfer power and authority to local actors is critical. This transfer can happen in various ways, and is the next aspect of organisational culture to be examined.
Power distribution

*If you made it for them, then have in mind that it is theirs, it’s not yours.*

(Oha, Pavarotti Music Centre staff member, 31/10/13)

While there is an enduring discourse that positions the “gift” of international aid and assistance as altruistic, the power dynamics of the exchange taint the picture considerably. As Marcel Mauss’ 1923 treatise on the system of gift-giving examined (1990), gifts are a mechanism for the catalysing, maintenance and manipulation of social relationships, and it is the giver, rather than the receiver, that enjoys greater benefits (of recognition, personal loyalty, or prestige). A gift that is not reciprocated becomes a lasting obligation (Kowalski, 2011; Stirrat & Henkel, 1997). Gifts can therefore reinforce hierarchy and power asymmetry.

Aid may also be discursively framed as benevolence or salvation, but again, this produces power dynamics that privilege saviours, while disempowering the saved (Vaugeois, 2007). Freire labels this the “false generosity of paternalism” as it reduces beneficiaries to “the objects of [others’] humanitarianism”. Such dynamics reinforce oppression and inequalities (2000/1970, p. 54).

Power is therefore immediately implicated in the respective roles of giver and receiver. This differential is reinforced—or subverted—through organisational practices that establish where authority lies and how decisions are made. For example, there is a strong culture within aid and development of service delivery that, despite growing critique, is resistant to change (Anderson et al., 2012; Wild, Booth, Cummings, Foresti, & Wales, 2015). Such a model displays top-down decision-making where ultimate authority remains with the service deliverers. Bottom-up approaches, on the other hand, are locally-driven and developed, ideally by those that will be directly affected by the changes the project promises, and aim to build on local assets. They find concordance with ideological values of social justice and empowerment. Debates on the relative merits of these approaches appear in scholarship from various fields in the aid and development sector (e.g. Bloomfield, 2006; Cleaver, 1999; Menike, 1993; Wild et al., 2015).

While rhetoric around participation, partnerships, and empowerment has abounded over the last two decades in international aid and development (Stirrat & Henkel, 1997; Wild et al., 2015), in practice the norm remains that “those with the
money usually call the shots” (Foresti, 2015; Martin, 2016, para. 9). This creates major impediments to local ownership and the transfer of actual authority because ‘those with the money’ tend to be non-local actors, living in the host community for the purpose of delivering the project, but not expecting to stay there indefinitely.

Each of the three case studies implied in their stated aims and program design a desire to sustain their activities long-term. The power dynamics of aid-dominated environments suggest that this can only happen if the entity can find a way to ensure self-sufficiency and longevity beyond the period of ample external funding and support. Aside from the practicalities of ensuring continued funding, self-sufficiency requires a conscious, corresponding transition of skills, and most importantly, power and authority. Such a transition requires attention to many details, and the case studies offered illustrations of three of the most critical: capacity-building for succession; local voice and ownership; and external support for the transition of authority to a new person. This section considers each of these in turn with reference to the Pavarotti Music Centre, Hadahur Music School, and ANIM, respectively.

Pavarotti Music Centre: Capacity building and succession

Founding Director of the Pavarotti Music Centre David Wilson had a political commitment to local empowerment and ownership. He had “always taken the view that if anything works it works from the bottom up, not the top down” (Wilson, 22/2/15), and felt strongly that talent should be supported, regardless of the person’s age or experience.

Right from the start I regarded the young people in Mostar as the key to Pavarotti Music Centre’s success . . . I was always looking for the people who are the future, not the people like me [laughs] who are now very distantly in the past. I realised . . . that they should be running the place. (Wilson, 22/2/15)

He wanted the Music Centre to work in solidarity with the less powerful in society, rather than with the town’s elites or those that felt their prior cultural work and social status should entitle them to a senior role. This drove his approach to building the organisational team at the Pavarotti Centre.

Local people of varying ages were employed in senior roles from the outset. The young members of the local arts collective Apeiron de Art formed the core of the Schools’ Outreach team, and several were promoted into prominent Centre-wide
roles. Wilson also initiated the ‘Guardians’ program, where local youths were employed to greet visitors and look after the building during the day (Wilson, 1998). The local staff was supplemented with four international volunteers in the Schools Outreach and studio programs, three qualified music therapists, and occasional visiting artists from the UK. The access bias that often privileges job applicants from high-income countries (seeing them as more suitable or effective employees) in many international development contexts (MacLachlan et al., 2010, p. 50) was not in evidence at the Pavarotti Music Centre.

Within the various music program strands there was an early effort to train young locals for music leadership roles. In the Schools’ Outreach program, musicians from Apeiron de Art initially took on roles as interpreters, but with the intention of gradually developing their teaching skills and leadership responsibilities. By 1998, Apeiron musicians were leading the schools’ workshops, with international team members in supportive roles (Oha, 30/10/13; Necko, 3/11/13; Nigel Osborne, 27/8/16).

A similar transfer of leadership took place in the Drumming workshops and CoMuSa programs in residential facilities for adults with disabilities. International master drummers initiated the workshops and identified talented individuals to train as apprentices, and by 1998, leadership of those programs had transferred to the local musicians.

After Eugene [Skeef] I took over. Then Peter [Vilk, CoMuSa] was coming also because we were playing together in the Sarajevo Drum Orchestra, so Peter was coming here also for us to rehearse together . . . I mean, we were all helping each other. I don’t see that it’s a matter at all, who was leader of the workshops, you know. It was actually a few of us. (Oha, 30/10/13)

In contrast, transfer of leadership from internationals to locals in the Music Therapy program did not occur and was a source of considerable frustration for the locals employed as Music Therapy Assistants (Danijel, 4/11/13). The program structure required music therapists to have formal qualifications and registration as music therapists, making those roles (and their international salaries) inaccessible to the local people. Wilson had vetoed a proposal to train Bosnians as music therapists from the outset, declaring its costs too high and believing more people could be
reached through community music programs (Wilson, 22/2/15; Osborne, 27/8/16). Unhappiness with the consequent lack of local authority and high expenditure on international salaries led the Music Therapy Assistants to dismiss their international Program Leader in 2007 (Woodward, 2014).

Indeed, leadership transfer in the music programs also created a culture in which international mentors were seen as temporary, and were on occasion distanced or dismissed by the protégés they had nurtured. The factors leading to such events included increasing confidence and desire for greater independence among local workers, and interpersonal tensions between organisers and international mentors, and mentors and local staff. However, these were exacerbated by a growing suspicion and resentment in the wider Bosnian community that foreigners were taking advantage—financially and professionally—of the war economy rather than working altruistically (Sampson, 2002). During this period, suspicion of foreign employees at the Pavarotti Centre increased, resulting in abrupt ejections and refusals to collaborate (Kochenderfer, 2006; Woodward, 2014).

At the management level, capacity development received little attention. In part this was because many of the Pavarotti Centre’s senior administrative appointees were highly-qualified individuals (e.g. civil and aeronautical engineers) working with considerable professional competence, albeit outside their areas of formal expertise. Furthermore, Wilson himself had come to the role of co-Director of an international NGO and post-war community music centre via initiative, chance encounters, and timing rather than a career pathway; he therefore had little specialised knowledge or competencies in arts and education administration or business management to impart beyond what he had learned through doing the job. Lastly, War Child UK’s founding philosophy of doing things differently to the aid establishment and Wilson’s political leanings towards solidarity and collaboration meant that the idea of ‘training’ or ‘developing’ local staff in administrative and management skills was a highly dissonant, even patronising notion.

Ultimately though, this meant that the challenges of succession that often befall a club culture (Handy, 1988, p. 87) were difficult to avoid at the Pavarotti Music Centre.
I think that at the same time they were running this place, the international management had to educate somebody in parallel to take over. They didn’t do that. I think that was the big mistake. That was why this place had such big problems when the internationals left and locals took over. (Oha, 30/10/13)

Little planning and few actions took place to ease the process of transition from the founding director to his replacement (Amela Sarić, Wilson’s successor, 5/11/13; Verloop, 14/7/16; Osborne, 27/8/16). External stressors related to the ongoing hostilities between Wilson and War Child UK (detailed in Chapter 8) and the growing awareness that the initial exploitation budget was dangerously low meant that in the months leading up to the succession, the Centre leadership was “flying by the seat of our pants. It was ‘Bye bye Amela [Sarić], good luck!’” (Wilson, 22/2/15).

Two main problems became apparent. The first was fiscal: with War Child UK no longer passing on funds that had been expected (and, according to Wilson, earmarked and promised, Wilson, 22/2/15), the Pavarotti Music Centre no longer had the means to pay its staff and maintain the facilities.

At the beginning we had a lot of money. Bosnia was the centre of interest in the world community. It was a piece of cake to find money for our project in 1995, 1996 . . . That was our mistake, to say, ‘Oh we have a lot of money!’ . . . [But then] we had a huge financial problem. All the money [from] War Child in London was gone. We had just a small amount of money to work with, and lots of employees. We had to find how to find enough money to keep the centre open. (Sarić, 5/11/13)

The financial pressures were compounded by the second problem, the Centre’s lack of experience in marketing, forward planning, including generating new funds, or developing programming that could attract new funds. “We were not thinking about our capacity to make money, like for example with the studio, renting the space” (Sarić, 5/11/13); consequently, they did not develop even the basic tools such as a promotional brochure to help advertise their studio to potential hirers (le Cosquino de Bussy, personal communication, 14/7/16). Staff at the Music Centre “had good ideas but we didn’t have the experience to make a business plan” (Sarić, 5/11/13). The intransigence of the local political environment compounded these issues, as it created a very opaque and unpredictable environment in which to plan for future likelihoods.
In addition, there was a need for greater scaffolding from War Child UK, with a gradual rather than abrupt removal of its technical support. Here the term ‘scaffolding’ refers to the provision of technical supports (in the form of knowledge transfer, assistance, guidance and mentoring) that can be reduced incrementally to enable eventual independence. However, that was not what happened.

When [War Child] pulled away, they totally pulled away. They didn’t have any contacts anymore to anyone in here. Even when you educate someone and you place them to that position, basically it’s best when you pull out that you don’t pull out totally. You still try to raise the funds and guide them to run the building practically. You don’t just get in the plane and leave. (Oha, 30/10/13)

The crisis that ensued placed the Centre’s survival in jeopardy and ushered in a dark period between 2000 and 2004 where little took place and many employees left or worked without payment. While the pressures exerted by the external environment should not be downplayed—and are examined in Chapter 8—all former and continuing Pavarotti Centre staff members agreed that more preparation and capacity building was needed for the transition from external support to local independence.

The Pavarotti Music Centre’s experience of succession therefore reveals both successes and inadequacies of capacity building. Within the music programs, talented youths were invested in to take on leadership roles, and did so with increasing confidence, recognition, and authority. However, the more complex task of transferring knowledge, technical skills, and effective systems at the managerial level received inadequate attention during the first Director’s tenure, and left people poorly equipped for the challenges of independence in an unsupportive sociopolitical environment. Power in the form of authority and seniority was thus shared with local people from the outset and ownership fully transferred, but the ground was ill-prepared for a smooth transition to local leadership.

**Hadahur Music School: Nurturing local voice and ownership**

Beyond the building of capacity, a second significant component of power distribution is in the way that local people’s ideas are invited, listened to, and acted upon. If emancipatory development and independence from aid is the goal, projects need to feature collaboration, consultation, and a gradual pace of change. Top-down and unilateral decision-making, on the other hand, creates dependency, passivity, and
a sense that project ownership remains with the givers rather than the receivers (Anderson et al., 2012; MacLachlan et al., 2010; Rowlands, 1997).

It is often in times of crisis that such ideals are tested. As earlier chapters have shown, the Hadahur Music School was the site of contest pedagogically and conceptually. These contests played out amongst the interveners rather than between interveners and local participants. This sub-section examines the accommodation of Timorese voices within the Hadahur project, the implications for local ownership, and what can be learned about power distribution from this.

Ostensibly, leadership was shared from the outset. The Hadahur organisers appointed Timorese people to key leadership roles: António de Padua, an employee of SMIET, was designated ‘Director of Hadahur Music School’, and ‘Head of Western Music Program’, Eduardo ‘Kiera’ de Soares was ‘Head of Contemporary/Popular Music’ and Manuel Pereira was ‘Head of Traditional Music’. Milka Pinheiro, at the time the Program Manager for SMIET’s flagship Tetun literacy education program, was invited to be the first violin student, with the intention that she would also become the Music School’s local violin teacher.

However, two particular events indicated that “those with the money”—SMIET—would “call the shots” (Martin, 2016, para. 9). One incident took place at Hadahur Music School’s formal Launch Concert at the Presidential Palace. During the final rehearsal for the concert, an argument over amplification erupted between the Australian organisers and a Timorese fusion band featuring traditional and contemporary instruments (led by Hadahur’s Head of Contemporary/Popular Music, Kiera). While the details of the altercation varied in different actors’ recollections, amplification and related expectations of how the sound space should be controlled were common to all retellings.

For Kiera, the argument revealed that the foreigners presumed the right to control the sound space, and expected a corresponding Timorese role of compliance. It suggested conflicting ideas about whose voices (opinions and ideas well as sounds) should be privileged in this project, and whose authority was supreme. As a result, he questioned whom the music school—represented by the concert, in this prestigious and formal location—was really for. To whose ideals was it conforming? At this point in the school’s existence the pedagogical debates discussed in Chapter 6 about
the place of indigenous music in the school had not yet begun, but the ‘turning down’ of contemporary Timorese music indicated that a particular set of boundaries had already been established.

I could see already when we started. We’d been given these titles [e.g. ‘Director’ or ‘Head of Program’], but we hadn’t ever really had an opportunity to really have our say, on what we can do, what we cannot . . . [We] had no authority . . . We tried to go through it slowly and discuss and find a way out. But we failed. (Kiera, Head of Contemporary/Popular music, 5/6/14)

The second event that illustrated the sidelining of Timorese voices occurred later, in the communication around SMIET’s decision to close the school. This was a two-step process that began with an internal Review (led by a senior SMIET employee from Sydney and involving interviews with Timorese and Australian participants), followed by a subsequent announcement of the imminent closure. It is informative to note that during that period in 2010, a major organisational restructure was taking place in SMIET’s Australian head office that preoccupied staff and Board attention, and likely had some bearing on the swiftness of this decision. Furthermore, the decision to close the school was in part a reaction to incidents not detailed in this thesis in which unauthorised actions had put people’s lives at risk (Connelly, 25/5/15). Nevertheless, for the majority of informants, the announcement of Hadahur’s closure was unexpected, and a shock. While they were aware of problems within the school, they had assumed a shared commitment to its ongoing existence.

The abrupt nature of the announcement and lack of adequate consultation removed the possibility of negotiating alternative solutions for Hadahur’s teachers and learners. Local and online teaching programs ended immediately. SMIET recalled loaned instruments that the Timorese guitar and violin teachers had used with their students, collecting them within days (Aurelio, 11/6/14). Australian consultants were told Skype was no longer available (Ella Bennetts, 22/5/15). Staff at the rural Bessilau School only realised their participation in the classroom pilot program had ended when the percussion instruments were not returned to the school after the Presidential Palace concert, and the music teachers never returned (Bessilau teachers group, 6/6/14).
Several informants spoke of what they would like to have proposed as solutions to the problems that the Review had uncovered, had they been given the opportunity. Milka, for example,

could have kept teaching [the children] violin in my home, and they would still have been able to continue their lessons, and I also would have been able to continue having lessons, and also time, a chance for me to do learning things. (Milka, 25/5/14)

However, the informants felt they had no authority to challenge the decision: as the initiators and funders of the program, the decision was SMIET’s to make.

The top-down delivery triggered further negative repercussions. As part of the fall-out in the conflict over pedagogy and local content, relationships between the Timorese students and their Australian teachers were damaged (Sarah Walters, 8/5/14). Both Bennetts and Wendy Dixon found that their students broke off contact with them once the Music School was closed. According to Dixon, “the people that we’d worked with were told they couldn’t communicate with [Dunlop], [and] they weren’t allowed to communicate with me either” (Dixon, 24/5/15).

The suggestion that this was a directive from SMIET to their employees was challenged during member checking (Connelly, pers. comm., 30/11/17). It may have been a choice that the Timorese learners had made to avoid angering their employers, to demonstrate loyalty, or because they felt awkward and voiceless (Bennetts, 22/5/15). Certainly the majority of the adult learners at Hadahur had a somewhat unequal relationship with SMIET as employees and/or recipients of travel opportunities and scholarships from SMIET in the past. It is also possible that they wished to distance themselves from an unpleasant and heated conflict. Claiming an employer directive to break off communications could have been a way to save face and avoid giving offense to their teachers. The damage to the teacher-student relationships never fully recovered; friendships via social media were tentatively resumed only after some years had passed, and they never engaged again as teachers and learners (Dixon, 24/5/15).

Often in a music learning environment, the relationship between the musician-teacher and students is privileged above other relationships because it is so central to student learning and outcomes. These relationships at Hadahur may not have been
proscribed following the school’s closure, but nor were they consciously protected from the conflict and its fall-out. The cessation of communications ultimately made the student experience subordinate to the resumption of order and control, creating a disjuncture between the school’s stated intentions and actual practices for the learners and their teachers.

Based on these testimonies, the Hadahur project showed many of the hallmarks of a service delivery model of assistance, rather than one that would evolve in tandem with mutual learning and local ownership. Anderson and colleagues (2012) observe that a “delivery system turns [recipients] into “objects” of others’ decision-making and planning” (p. 135), thus reducing agency and opportunities to shape and influence the work. The alternative, more cooperative model “sends the message that there are many potential paths toward positive change and that international assistance exists to help people explore possibilities and choose from among them the one(s) that will most directly accomplish their priorities” (Anderson et al., 2012, p. 137).

While the early intentions for the school may well have had a collaborative model in mind, once challenges and conflicts arose, SMIET as the parent organisation reverted to a model of decision-making that privileged only ‘one path’—and therefore one voice—rather than the “many potential paths” that Anderson and colleagues recommend. Within this model, the Timorese people were to be followers and learners rather than collaborators. This was apparent even for the school’s nominated leaders:

The Sisters came to me and said, “You’re going to set up the Music School, you will be the Director of the Music School” and I was thinking, “Oh my God, what’s going on?” And then I didn’t have a clue of what’s going to happen, but I just go with the flow, I just go ahead with that. I said yes from the very beginning. (António, 25/5/14)

‘Going with the flow’ and ‘saying yes’ is more suggestive of a pattern of compliance than of collaboration. While building the professional capacities of their Timorese staff was an ongoing area of priority for SMIET, given the legacies of colonisation, occupation, and inadequate education among the Timorese population (Review of Hadahur Music School, 2010, p. 12), the role of their chosen local
Director seemed to be reduced during the time of crisis, with very little sense of his ownership of the project or the authority of his voice.

The irony was that the Western way of doing things didn’t work, and the top-down model removed the possibility of learning from local knowledge and alternatives.

Looking back, it would have been better had we [SMIET] invited the Timorese to teach us how to run a music school . . . [What advice would I give someone else?] Look to the people for guidance before rushing in. Learn from what is already there. Take time to talk with them and listen to them, ask them what they want, then think and discuss, then plan, and then do it with them. (Connelly, 25/5/15)

Connelly’s assessment recognises in hindsight the pragmatic and ethical value of a mutual learning model, and the limitations of an approach that presumes the answers lie outside the host community. It shows the way that even in organisations with exemplary and extended track records in development projects, the service delivery model can be entrenched, or may return in times of stress. When coupled with the enthusiastic desire to share with the host community the musical opportunities that you yourself have enjoyed (perhaps seeing them as the ideal), it can lead to a top-down approach.

The Hadahur employees’ experiences of being ‘turned down’ and denied a voice highlights the way that the development of local voice and local ownership requires deep recognition of the power asymmetry that is standard in development contexts. Job titles and appointments to senior roles are affirmative steps, but become tokens if not accompanied by a willingness among power-holders to defer to local knowledge or engage in collaborative problem-solving, even in times of crisis.

However, sometimes there may be additional forces at play that impede the transfer of power—and therefore succession of authority and leadership—beyond the task of making substantive changes in practices. This is the case at the Afghanistan National Institute of Music.
ANIM: External resistance to succession

As noted earlier, organisations that develop a club culture are often formed as a way to replicate and expand the reach of the skills and commitments of the central charismatic individual. This can mean people both inside and outside the organisation are deeply invested in that single individual’s leadership, and are likely to be protective of what has been established.

Such a situation surrounds the leadership at ANIM, and the challenges that accompany efforts to delegate power to others from the central ‘spider’, Director Ahmad Sarmast. Contrary to the usual pattern of music interventions being initiated by individuals who come from outside the local environment, Sarmast is a Westernised Afghan (having lived in exile for many years), with a unique set of skills and personal influence. He assumes numerous roles in the school’s operations, negotiating at the highest level with politicians, visiting dignitaries, sponsors and the like, but also problem-solving and decision-making in the school’s day-to-day operations.

The considerable respect, influence, and deference he commands is due to a combination of his recognised music expertise (“I’m a professional. There’s no-one else with a PhD in music in Afghanistan, not even a Masters in Music. That makes me very crucial”), his family links (“I come from a family which is well-respected”), his commitment to the students and the school, and a reputation as a fighter and canny negotiator:

I’ve got the skills, abilities, and bravery to speak and stand for the students and the interests of music against anyone. And put forward an argument that is based on reasons, not just empty words . . . [These have] enabled me to raise millions of dollars, develop a program, get everyone behind this program, and the success of the school. (Sarmast, 5/8/15, emphasis shows expression)

The combination of these factors, along with being an authoritative male in a deeply patriarchal society, has helped him to garner external support and bring his dream into existence. However, this unique set of attributes also makes it very difficult for another person to replace him, or for his deputies to progress things on his behalf.
I know that the moment I’m out of Afghanistan no-one is going to take seriously any of the leadership of the school, regardless whether it’s an expert faculty, or the local faculty. Even in the time when I’m not in Afghanistan, slowly the doors are closing and shutting for all of ANIM’s needs and activities. (Sarmast, 5/8/15)

His ubiquity is also reinforced internally through discursive and organisational practices. Students identify Sarmast as the person that has “brought about all these changes that made us what we are today” (Samim, Junior Faculty, 14/3/15), including leaving street work, receiving a stipend, accessing computers and English classes, and travelling overseas. Staff members similarly believe that “these kids and the staff and faculty owe that man a lot” (brass teacher John Leggett quoted in Stewart, 2014). There is a culture of gratitude within the school that explicitly thanks Sarmast for making their music education possible (XD, 11/7/16).

For the students, Sarmast occupies a central role as a promise-bearer and protector. They trust him to fight for their interests. Several interviewees described with appreciation his interventions in their personal circumstances. He therefore becomes “the one thing [the students] can rely on, in this crazy country where you cannot rely on anything” (WL, 18/8/16). The power that his centrality affords is intrinsically bound with this promise to the students and their families, and he admits that having so many people depending upon him “makes him more responsible” (Sarmast, 8/5/15). Arguably, it also makes it more difficult for him to step away from this role.

Lastly, Sarmast is strongly identified with ANIM internationally. He is its most frequent spokesman, and recipient of multiple prestigious international recognitions (across fields such as human rights, musical rights, change leadership, services to music, services to the regeneration of culture, and humanitarian work). The school’s promotional materials and first-person statements on the school’s website and concert programs re-affirm his central role in the school’s existence and achievements. Consequently, for many people around the world, he “is the face of ANIM [and] the saviour of music in Afghanistan. And from the beginning he has embodied that persona . . . The story of ANIM is often the story of Dr Sarmast” (XD, 11/7/16).
The perpetual cycle of this centrality makes it difficult to know whether it is generated internally and communicated outwards, or generated through increasing external recognition and reinforced internally. Either way, the critical implication is one of risk to ANIM’s future, because the more the school’s success and existence is tied (internally and externally) to a single, central individual, the more challenging it becomes for the institution to exist without that person. In such a situation, sustainability is threatened.

**Summary: The implications of power flows for shaping and sustaining**

As with cultural styles, the power flows within a music intervention are a shaping influence. They inform interactions between people, and the processes around initiating, implementing, and evaluating activities. At the Pavarotti Music Centre, local voices were foregrounded through meaningful employment opportunities, and a sense of local ownership evolved through increasing opportunities for local people to take charge, initiate projects, and be trusted with content and direction. Gaps remained with regard to administrative or managerial capacity, but these arguably reflected the same strengths and weaknesses of the original international Director rather than being the result of an incomplete transfer of power and authority. Meanwhile, the absence of local voices shaped the Hadahur Music School to be a confused and conflicted space that overlooked the solutions that local knowledge could bring. Local people felt excited by the idea of the endeavour, but stood back as conflicts overwhelmed activities, recognising the lack of space for their voices.

Power distribution in the music interventions in this study is more strongly implicated as a factor influencing their sustainability. There are both technical (capacity in the form of skills, knowledge, and experience) and subjective (perceptions of ownership and authority) components to the transition of power from a ‘giver’ to a ‘receiver’. Without the presence of both, a self-sufficient model for continuing some kind of music provision becomes threatened. A lack of local technical capacity and subjective feelings of ownership invariably creates dependence (MacLachlan et al., 2010), so that people’s interest (as it exists) becomes tied to the presence of international actors, whose commitment to the project is often temporary. More concerningly, it risks colonising the endeavour, positioning outsiders as decision-makers and legitimisers, locals as compliant, and potentially limiting the
extent to which the endeavour can be absorbed into participants’ life-worlds and adapted as desired.

Importantly, authority requires external as well as internal acceptance and endorsement, as the situation at ANIM illustrates. The sociocultural environment surrounding ANIM generates and feeds back multiple forces that help maintain power and authority around a single actor. Outside insistence, however indirect, on maintenance of the status quo can make the task of succession (whenever it is required) or attempts to create a more diffuse power structure a threat to the Institute’s sustainability.

The first two sections of this chapter have been concerned primarily with actions as a constituting aspect of organisational culture. Organisational culture also has a subjective component made up of the “internal cognitive constructs and values of the collective group” (Hawkins, 1997, p. 419). This leads into the third aspect of organisational culture for consideration in this study: that of the cultivation and maintenance of shared narratives of meaning and purpose among the various actors and the role this can play in the shape and sustainability of internal practices.

**Narratives of meaning, experiences of disjuncture**

In addition to the external practices of an organisational culture considered thus far, internal aspects also play a role. They are found in the narratives of meaning and purpose that individual participants apply to their experiences: what they are doing, why they are doing it, what their actions do, and who they are for.

Meaning has particular currency in war-affected settings. Writing about post-conflict cultures, Demaria and Wright (2006) observe that “meaninglessness [is] one of the more enduring existential legacies of conflict” (p. 5). Like hopelessness, meaninglessness destroys agency and any individual or collective motivation for constructive, positive action. Therefore, the cultivation of a shared sense of meaning and purpose can be an important strategy for building strong internal engagement in any kind of group endeavour, but particularly in settings where trauma and conflict have disrupted the meaning that derives from cultural continuity (Demaria & Wright, 2006).
Cultivating a narrative of meaning and purpose is a process of sense-making that provides an ideal version of the value of one’s actions and the likely effects or outcomes, providing justification and future motivation, and a sense that one’s actions contribute to a higher purpose. When shared collectively, narratives of meaning can contribute to organisational coherence, which is a significant shaping quality, as well as a potential influence on sustainability.

However, narratives of meaning are also dynamic, and as people and practices interact with the wider context, initial project meanings may shift or lose clarity. These shifts may take place as a result of internal contradictions—such as when espoused aims and intentions are not matched with practices, or when there are differing interpretations of the same events (Lewis, 2003)—or external contradictions, where the wider environment poses challenges to the official narrative. Both kinds of contradiction create what Lewis and Mosse (2006) refer to as a disjuncture, meaning the gap between the ‘ideal world’ of what is supposed (or intended) to happen, and the actual reality. Such gaps can produce disillusion, disconnection, or even a sense of betrayal.

The cultural fragmentation that results from these gaps can be an important reason why projects struggle to realise their goals, or fail entirely (Lewis et al., 2003). Therefore, the presence of disjuncture and fragmented meanings are implicated in the sustainability of projects. This section examines the shared narratives of meaning and purpose that formed within each of the case studies, and the ways that disjuncture could also emerge. As the case study that engaged most explicitly with developing a shared narrative, the section opens with the example of ANIM.

**ANIM: Unambiguous and strategic messaging**

Unlike a hidden curriculum, where expected behaviours and beliefs are inculcated discursively through the structure and social practices of the setting (Boostrum, 2010), a strong organisational or school culture can be cultivated through more overt and unambiguous signals. Statements of belief and ideals, whole-community ceremonies and rituals, collective maintenance of the school’s public image, narratives and foundational myths, and the types of student achievement that are acknowledged and celebrated, all work to communicate and reinforce the mission, values, and expectations that make up the school’s culture. These then guide interactions between
all the members of the community, and help to shape the meaning and purpose of their work in relation to the wider context (Jerald, 2006).

ANIM has engaged in this kind of explicit and strategic cultivation of a shared sense of meaning and purpose since it began. The narratives cluster around three themes: music and cultural diversity as a cornerstone of civil society; individual rights; and student responsibilities to Afghan society. The first two represent things students can claim, and the third outlines their obligations. The narratives also function as a form of public education and advocacy, frequently broadcast outside the school as a counterweight to the decades of cultural attacks against music and diversity that the Afghan people endured from the Taliban and conservative religious leaders.

We talk about everything that relates to music including musical diversity, and also about musical diversity from the point of view of human rights. That every Afghan child and . . . eventually every Afghan, should be able to have access to whatever type of music is close to their heart, through which they can express themselves. (Sarmast, 5/8/15)

Student informants identified strongly with this ideal. They claimed their right to play and study music with statements such as: “In our country people say that only men can play music and can choose the music field for study . . . So I chose music because I think women can also go with the music” (Laila, 14/3/15).

Sarmast speaks with pride about students who are “very loud and [who] know their rights” (5/8/15). Students also acknowledge how they have flourished in a rights-based environment. Feroza, for example, recalled:

[Before ANIM] I was sitting aside not talking too much with anyone. I had no friends, and I didn’t like to talk with someone. But [now] I have friends, I talk with all the girls and the boys at school. And now I’m not a quiet girl who is sitting aside and not thinking about anything and not talking to anyone.

(Feroza, 13/3/15)

The rights of individuals are then mapped upon a set of “social responsibilities, national responsibilities, and also accountabilities” towards Afghan society (Sarmast, 5/8/15). Students are cast as likely agents of change in the larger sociocultural project of building a modern, cosmopolitan Afghanistan. They are
encouraged to be “pioneers in this mission” (Sarmast speaking in Watkins, 2012), “revolutionaries” (Sarmast, 5/8/15), and courageous fighters who are prepared to be the first to explore and tame unfamiliar territory. The courage that accompanies the decision to study music is acknowledged and praised: “In spite of all the stigma, you bravely join the music school . . . you are the ones that are opening the way for the next generations that are coming after you” (Sarmast, 5/8/15).

The willingness to serve and contribute to future generations is encompassed in the word ‘commitment’. The importance of commitment is rhetorically reinforced when talking about student achievements:

Last year we graduated five students who are capable to be employed as junior faculty and who are committed [emphasis added] to further develop themselves and to continue to be useful for the country and for the school. (Sarmast, 5/8/15)

Commitment of this kind brings meaning to students’ studies beyond pleasure and pride in their own aspirations or challenges. For example, most of the student informants described their musical goals as helping to bring music to the rest of the country through teaching others. This desire to ‘give back’ was described by one student as her responsibility “as an honest and committed person” (Laila, 14/3/15). Others, such as piano student Elham, hope to use their musical skills to give the rest of the world an alternative image of Afghanistan than that of war and destruction (Montagne, 2016).

A riskier form of commitment is students’ potential role in challenging the Taliban and religious edicts that ban music and depict musicians as shameful and immoral. Some hope to “change the attitude that music is unlawful in Islam” (Samim, 14/3/15). Others find themselves confronting their detractors directly. “I’ve had threats on Facebook 3 or 4 times. No-one said, ‘I’m from the Taliban.’ They say the music I play is banned in Islam. I reply, “Where is it written that it’s banned?” They couldn’t answer me” (Wahid speaking in RT Network, 2017). A suicide bomb attack at a student performance in December 2014 that killed one person and severely injured ANIM’s Director demonstrated with chilling effect the risks that could accompany detractors’ perceptions of ‘un-Islamic’ behaviour (Bezhan, 2015; RT Network, 2017).
While this danger is acknowledged, the school’s narratives of meaning frame ANIM’s existence and students' continued music learning as a part of the fight against violent extremism and its targeting of culture:

Many cultural figures are leaving Afghanistan once again . . . When the struggle continues between the Goods and the Evils, it’s important that the good forces of the country should be united and stand on the side of the people. The departure of every cultural figure of Afghanistan, in a way it’s a victory for the extremist elements who want to silence once again Afghanistan. (Sarmast speaking in Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2015)

Therefore, ‘commitment’ also means being willing to sacrifice oneself for the greater national good, which includes standing strong against the ‘extremist elements’ in Afghan society, and not letting them win. Bravery, courage, and willingness to fight are not only celebrated, they bestow considerable moral authority. Sarmast has modeled this kind of commitment in his decision to return to the school following the serious injuries he sustained in the suicide bomb attack (CNTV, 2015; Rasmussen, 2015). Teachers model their commitment by turning up to school the day after a suicide bombing plot is discovered (Ayres, 2017). The school community members remind each other that “Afghanistan needs [us]!” (Zarifa, 18/10/16), and that “life is not just the comfort of oneself. We all are here to help others” (Sarmast speaking in Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2015).

The final element within ANIM’s narratives of meaning is that of the valorising of positivity and hope. Negativity of any kind has a toxic potential to destabilise the school community (WL, 18/8/16; Sarmast, 5/8/15), and there is a conscious effort to articulate all that is working well within the school, and to present a positive and optimistic face to external supporters (XD, 11/7/16). In a wider social setting where hopelessness and negativity about the future are endemic, cultural maintenance of hope and positivity also serves a protective function, helping to keep students motivated, focused, and progressing towards their goals.

Positive attitudes, assertion of rights, and the assigning of a role for their music learning in the grand project of Afghanistan’s transformation are important strategies in supporting student wellbeing and motivation, in common with music-making projects in other conflict-affected areas (Ruud, 2012; Storsve et al., 2010).
However, while the narratives help to sustain the internal coherence of the school, they have also created disjuncture. These stem from environmental factors that undermine the credibility of internal narratives around post-school opportunities and Afghanistan’s changing culture more generally.

Students are encouraged to aspire towards a future life as musicians in Afghanistan. However, as they progress through the school and their graduation approaches, they are forced to appraise the available options more realistically. The employment options described within the school are yet to be fully realised. They include work as a musician in the National Orchestra of Afghanistan (not yet formed, although Grade 14 graduates are retained as players in ANIM’s youth orchestra, expected to be the forerunner of the National Orchestra when it is formed); work as Junior Faculty in ANIM (likely to become more restricted in future years when the school’s needs cease to align with the instrument specialisations of graduates); work in ANIM’s branch schools (touted in the early years of ANIM for the cities of Herat and Mazar-e-Sharif, but plans are currently shelved for reasons of security); and work as a musician or private music teacher elsewhere in Kabul or Afghanistan (piecemeal and unsalaried opportunities currently).

Former teacher XD recalled students who as they got older were like, “This is a great school and I appreciate the opportunity to be here, but there’s no work for me in music after I graduate. How can I be expected to be able to be employed as a musician in Kabul? We all know the reality.” (XD, 11/7/16)

Additionally, students become aware that they need access to further, higher level music education. With the music department of Kabul University presented as insufficient for their level of vocational training, they become dependent on finding a scholarship for undergraduate study overseas, something ANIM’s teachers work to secure but that cannot be assured in an era of increasing competition, a preference among foreign universities to offer scholarships primarily at Masters and doctoral levels, and travel barriers for people from fragile and war-torn countries.

In response to these limited options and the continued stigmatisation of music, some students in the senior years admitted to transferring their ambitions to professions and further study outside of music. “The thing that the [young people]
want, and extremely they need, I don’t think they can get it in Afghanistan” (Zarifa, 12/10/16).

A second source of disjuncture arises as a result of the mismatch between the school’s promises of impending sociocultural change around music (and its attendant opportunities) and the actual pace of change in Afghanistan more generally. Despair and hopelessness pervade the wider Afghan community. National attitudinal surveys in Afghanistan show that the national mood is on a downward trajectory, with the 2016 survey recording the lowest levels of optimism since 2004 (Asia Foundation, 2016). This is in sharp contrast with the optimistic rhetoric in the school. Disillusion and loss of hope have seen a number of senior ANIM students and Junior Faculty members seek asylum abroad (WL, 18/8/16; Sarmast, 13/12/16), following the wider social pattern of paying intermediaries for access to unofficial routes (Moylan, 2015b). For Sarmast, it was significant that these students were from the cohort he had “inherited” when ANIM took over the music department of the School of Fine Arts; he believes that their earlier, inadequate educational experiences made it difficult for them to fully trust in an alternative narrative of impending change (Sarmast, 13/12/16). The students’ decisions to run away deeply shocked the school community, destabilising its internal culture and undermining its promises.

Consequently, embedded within the school’s sanctioned narratives of courage, optimism, and service, is a corresponding disapproval of *not* fighting, and succumbing to the waves of fear, negativity and despair that frequently engulf the country. Narratives are generated around those that are *not committed enough*.

[Former student] was . . . very discouraged about the future of musicians in the country . . . That’s why, in spite of all the support that he had, he eventually left the country and ran away. Because of being, uh- *[breaks off]*. Because he was not ready to fight for his development, for his progress. (Sarmast, 5/8/15)

Disapproval and disappointment frames the loss of hope or desperate choices as selfishness or a kind of weakness, even while students and staff alike acknowledge the challenges of life in Afghanistan.

I feel sorry about them. Because they are the ones who lose [out] themselves [by wanting to have] the comfortable life – something like that? They want everything just for themselves. But maybe they have some family problems,
and they need to do it. It depends on each person, so we should not blame anyone. (Zarifa, 12/10/16).

This doubles the disillusion for those that see few options for themselves, as the feelings of pessimism about Afghanistan’s future are compounded with the criticism of such thoughts within the school.

ANIM’s clearly articulated and reinforced narratives of meaning and purpose are an effective strategy for helping the school and its student and staff cohort sustain motivation, purposefulness and confidence in the significance of their efforts. However, disjuncture arises in response to incongruence between the school’s promised future, the external lived reality, and the likelihood of change. While it is certain that students benefit from viewing the future optimistically and suffusing their learning with meaning, the picture created within the school of Afghanistan’s possible future loses clarity as graduation approaches and the very real limitations of the outside world come more sharply into focus.

**Pavarotti Music Centre: An implicit but consistent narrative**

The central narrative of meaning and purpose at the Pavarotti Music Centre, on the other hand, was communicated far more implicitly. Its key messages were that the Pavarotti Music Centre was a place for children and youth; that it was open to all (i.e. ethnicity was of no interest); and that it pursued an overriding mission to “spread art” (Mili Tiro, Pavarotti Centre staff, 8/11/13).

Centre staff affirmed and reinforced these central narratives through actions, rather than explicit messaging. Former Deputy Director Mustafa recalled an early example of this:

Over a period of a year we were talking about how to deal with children who were vandalising the building. And most of the people were saying the Centre should be open for them to come. *It was built for children* [emphasis added]. So we encouraged them to keep coming, and they started to get involved in the work of the Centre, especially the drum and percussion workshops. And after a year I noticed that nobody was doing anything bad to the gardens or building. (Mustafa, 6/11/13)
Similarly, its multiethnic ethos was communicated through Centre staff’s disinterest in ethnicity, noteworthy in a wider context when one’s ethnic identity was “the main thing, the main principle of who you are” (Ines, 13/11/13). “We don’t keep this information and we don’t ask [participants] for it,” former Director Amela Sarić explained. “They get enough of that. We all do” (5/11/13).

The proactive efforts to include those that had expected to be rejected (such as the youthful vandals of Mustafa’s story) and the underlying ethic of solidarity and equality that handed one of the most modern buildings in the country over to the unschooled youths of a divided town generated a shared narrative among the Centre’s young users that this building and its programs were indeed for them. Employment programs like the Guardians scheme (described earlier in this chapter) further facilitated this. Local observers cited the Centre’s work with orphans, young children with disabilities, and fledgling rock bands as further evidence of the Centre’s commitment to the young and least advantaged (mixed focus group, 6/11/13; Džemila, 5/11/13).

There were nevertheless times when distrust or hatred of people from ‘the other side’ found their way into the Centre. Two informants recalled an episode where a local staff member declared that ‘people from the West’ (i.e. Croats from West Mostar) were unwelcome. Alma recalled challenging this person directly, and while she and the other informant agreed that the Centre Director “dealt with it” promptly (Haris, 7/11/13), it marked the end of her regular engagement with the Music Centre. She drifted away, thrown by the feeling of disjuncture, and disappointed that the toxic divisions of the outside world had infiltrated this space (Alma, 29/10/13).

Being a place for young people meant that the Pavarotti Centre was “not a place for the people that are already famous . . . [It was a place] for the people who weren’t established” (Mili Tiro, 8/11/13). This narrative created a disjuncture for those with ambitions that projected beyond the confines of Mostar. For this group, the Pavarotti Centre’s professional-level facilities and infrastructure, high international profile and involvement of globally influential artists like Brian Eno and Luciano Pavarotti signaled that “the project was imagined as a part of the international context,” and should provide “an opportunity for the local people to present themselves on the global scene” (Faruk Kajtaz, former radio director, 11/11/13). Some argued that things like guitar classes, children’s art groups, and other kinds of
low-key, non-expert programs did not require a state-of-the-art music centre and were a waste of the music world’s investment. Co-founder David Wilson was vehement in his rejection of this interpretation of the Music Centre’s mission: “I just regard it with scorn” (22/2/15).

As a disjuncture that disrupted the ideals of a relatively powerful group (the established music elites), it did not lead to cultural fragmentation, as the affected individuals found other places to socialise and hired the Pavarotti Centre’s facilities as and when they needed them. Local artists and musicians were still welcomed, but as contributors and collaborators, rather than elites. This including bands from throughout former Yugoslavia, and the multiethnic musicians of the Mostar Sinfonietta, a chamber orchestra representing all of Bosnia’s ethnic groups that established its home in the Pavarotti Music Centre in 2000 (Waterman, 2008).

The shared sense of meaning and purpose was highly motivating for some staff. There was a dark time in the Pavarotti Music Centre’s history (2000-2004) when War Child UK had left, many staff had resigned due to the loss of leadership direction and external support, and there was no more money to pay the remaining staff. During those years, several workers continued in their roles unpaid, ensuring the Music Centre remained in operation when otherwise it would have closed (Haris, 7/11/13; Amela Sarić, 5/11/13; Mili Tiro, 8/11/15; Wilson, 22/2/15). They did so “because of the mission” (Mili Tiro, 8/11/15).

The Pavarotti Centre experience indicates consistent actions are effective in producing a shared narrative of meaning and purpose. It is apparent that this can splinter into alternative narratives if it is not directed and controlled from the top; however, in the case of Pavarotti Centre, this potential for cultural fragmentation did not have a strongly destabilising effect, and the central narratives of its mission as multi-ethnic youth arts centre remain well-known in the town nearly two decades later.

**Hadahur Music School: A contested sense of mission**

In contrast to both ANIM and the Pavarotti Music Centre, the various challenges at Hadahur Music School already discussed in this thesis—contested aims, opposing motivational roots and ideological convictions, disagreement and conflict over pedagogical content, no formal premises where all could meet, and poor
communications—were major impediments to the generation of a single narrative. The school’s small community found shared enthusiasm for the idea of a music school, but they lacked agreement on the content upon which a shared narrative might be built, and the platforms (physical, or systems for whole-school communications) through which a shared narrative could be delivered.

Given these multiple challenges, it is significant (and commendable) that work got underway, that lessons and learning took place, and eager young people were able to commence formal music studies where few other options for this existed. It suggests that in the absence of a single shared narrative, personal and institutional narratives of meaning and purpose will flourish, and can shape the music intervention in constructive ways. The single narrative, on the other hand, may demonstrate its value in times of crisis, where it functions as an anchor, or a beacon that draws people forward towards a collective goal.

**Disjuncture and fragmentation: Teachers’ narratives of meaning**

This section on shared narratives has thus far described student experiences of disjuncture created by emerging gaps between the school or music centre’s promises of change, its expressed values, and the reality presented by the outside world. Another group that was vulnerable to experiences of disjuncture in this study was the expatriate teachers.

Disjuncture for teachers arose as a result of a gap between not only the shared narrative and reality as practices got underway, but their personal meaning-making and motivations, which drew upon idealistic imaginings of their role and their intended contribution. Teachers frequently understood their role in the music intervention as one of mentor and change-agent, with the learners the primary beneficiaries of those changes. Beckles Willson, writing about music teachers in the occupied Palestinian Territories, likens this to a sense of mission, connected in concept and construct to the work of historical religious missionaries (2011). Music teachers in that study—as in this one—were likely to hold strong beliefs about the transformative power and value of music, and a compelling desire to contribute in a place of great need. Indeed, these beliefs were what made it possible for them to reconcile the risks of the environment with the decision to work there. Former ANIM teacher Eddie Ayres, for example, found his belief in the importance of ANIM’s work...
to be a powerful driving force, even during frightening and stressful times. “I believed that what I was doing was helping some sort of greater good—maybe not in Afghanistan, but somehow. How can the world possibly be a worse place with more musicians in it?” (Ayres speaking in Fidler, 2017).

This study revealed three main areas of disjuncture for teachers, each of which eroded the strength of the shared narratives and produced a degree of cultural fragmentation. Time orientation (or preferences for working towards comparatively long- or short-term goals) arose as a source of tension between teachers and organisers; pressures from the dysfunctional external society challenged teachers’ personal sense of purpose; and idealism that cast students as similarly committed agents was strongly challenged through particular events. Perhaps because of the intensity of the teaching environment and the unambiguous mobilisation of idealism in its in-school messaging and narratives, ANIM examples predominate in this discussion.

Cultural theorist Hofstede (1998) has identified long- and short-term orientations as a values spectrum of some significance in organisations. Long-term orientation privileges actions that will reveal their rewards in the distant future; this can clash with a short-term orientation that is more pre-occupied with realising rewards in the short- to mid-term.

Disjuncture due to opposing time orientations could be seen at both ANIM and Hadahur Music School. At ANIM, the expatriate teachers interviewed were attracted to the school because of its espoused values promoting education and learning as the pathway to future prosperity, and in response to calls for “music teachers who wish to make musical history in this troubled part of the world”\textsuperscript{10}. They understood this as a long-term goal that was best reached through slow, deep, incremental work. However, ANIM’s emphasis on external performances demanded a repertoire of performance pieces that were often beyond the learners’ technical capabilities. It required rote learning over several years (WL, 18/8/16), which was prioritised at the expense of student development. Teachers experienced these

external performance obligations as a *contradiction* of the school’s espoused values and a “[distraction] from what I was really there to do” (XD, 11/7/16). XD observed that ANIM

wasn’t really a teacher’s type of school, focused on step-by-step learning . . . It’s terrific to have a lot of performance opportunities, but if it interferes with your curriculum and long-term learning development strategies, then it can ultimately create obstacles. (XD, 11 July 2016)

Similar experiences of disjuncture between stated aims and practices occurred for instrumental and vocal consultants at Hadahur Music School, beyond the already-discussed absence of Timorese traditional and contemporary/popular music programs. The goal of “[setting] up something in Timor where the Timorese themselves could sustain it” (Bennetts, 22/5/15) was understood by the consultants and agreed in the school’s founding documents. However, the instrumental and vocal consultants formed the impression that this relatively long-term objective was downplayed or even unrecognised at SMIET headquarters.

I’m *assuming* that Milka’s [violin] lessons were taken seriously by everyone involved. But perhaps they should have been seen as something more important . . . It was a great shame that the project was left at the time it was, because it takes a few years before you can really see some development. (Bennetts, 22/5/15)

A Timorese Hadahur staff member described this as the tendency to think in terms of ‘projects’, rather than ‘education’:

I realised that [Hadahur was] more of a project, rather than education . . . For a project, you can just run it for several years or period, and get money for your interest, and then you leave it. You will not care who is going to continue with it. Everything in this country has been driven by project ideas. (Kiera, 5/6/14)

However, it is also a difference in priorities between those needing to account for actions in the short-term, and those whose indicators of progress (and therefore sense of meaning and satisfaction) are more likely to be found in the long-term. ANIM’s teachers, for example, recognised and sympathised with the performance imperative—
[ANIM needs] funding. This is a very expensive project, it’s a very necessary project but it’s expensive. Which means we have to put forth a good face at all times . . . [because] we are dependent on donors giving us lots of money. (WL, 18/8/16)

—but were frustrated with the way it disrupted the “focused, systematic learning that . . . ultimately results in real change” (XD, 11/7/16, emphasis) that was the source of the teachers’ meaning and purpose.

Organisers, on the other hand, must balance the espoused intentions and deliverables with the needs of the venture, and its interactions with the wider sociocultural and economic environment. They are required to ensure activities can continue in the immediate short- to mid-term. ANIM’s Director needed to maintain mutually beneficial relationships with a range of sponsors and supporters; for this group, student performances function as a reward for their support, a way to demonstrate the school’s effectiveness, and an argument for future support. The mutuality of this arrangement is discussed further in Chapter 8.

Compounding these concerns was the way that the country in which the teachers were working could undermine their efforts to generate positive change, creating disjuncture between their beliefs of what ‘should’ be possible, and the reality. At ANIM in particular, the extreme conditions that students had to navigate in their daily lives invariably infiltrated their lives at school and could render their teachers’ best efforts and faith in possible change somewhat meaningless. For former teacher Ayres, the sudden disappearance from school of his hardest-working, most committed and talented student was “the first chink in the wall of my belief in the school, in Afghanistan’s bright future . . . no matter what I did, [students] could, would, disappear” (2017, pp. 140-141). Students running away to seek asylum overseas was experienced as a ruinous betrayal of the school’s and teachers’ investment in them, and of their obligations to fellow students (p. 190). A lack of fitting consequences for cheating and even graver offences among students suggested that the moral guidance the music teachers had hoped to give would be a veneer at best over far more deeply entrenched tactics of dominance and manipulation. This kind of disjuncture was profoundly disturbing for teachers because it disrupted so thoroughly their deeply held beliefs about the meaning and purpose of their work: that music could change their students’ lives and help bring positive change to Afghanistan.
These sources of tension between teachers, organisers and students produced cultural fragmentation of various kinds, where the sanctioned narratives of meaning ceased to ring true, placing distance between individuals and the collective. An important outcome specific to music interventions is the way that organiser-teacher tensions can result in damage to teacher-student relationships and the creation of alliances. Recalling the factions that emerged in the Hadahur conflicts over pedagogy and organisational matters, and organiser-teacher conflicts at ANIM (described by informants but not detailed in this thesis), it appears that in times of internal conflict, student loyalty becomes prized collateral. Organisers, more often than teachers, may work to secure this loyalty through explicit messaging and rewards. This speaks to the fact that for the students in a music intervention, the organisation or institution represents the most secure form of support. The relationship with international teachers, while essential to their learning, is temporary, because international teachers ultimately leave. Students may therefore judge their interests as best served through demonstrations of loyalty to the institutional players (usually organisers) rather than their teachers. Teachers, despite their expertise in music, are unlikely to prevail in a contest with those that invariably control more resources and hold greater power.

Summary: Meaning and disjuncture in shaping and sustaining music interventions

Shared narratives of meaning and purpose work to draw the potentially disparate interests within a music intervention together under a set of constructs that encompass beliefs, values, attitudes, and justifications, in order to generate a coherent and united organisational culture. They may be explicitly taught and reinforced, as at ANIM, or implicitly learned through observable actions, rituals, and reward systems, as at the Pavarotti Music Centre.

The narratives engage strongly with an ideal version of likely effects, recalling the typology of intentions introduced in Chapter 4, and the constructs of music and musical value that helped create compelling arguments for early funding and support. Deployed at the heart of the music intervention, they help to generate collective motivation and courage, and pride in achievements that goes beyond personal progress. They shape the experience for all actors (organisers, teachers, learners, even external observers) by contextualising all that is taking place within the music
intervention within the needs and extremes of a wider setting, including a possible and desired future.

The example of ANIM also suggested that the more unambiguous and prominent the narratives, the more exposed they could be to contradiction through practices. In a similar vein, the more idealistic or ambitious the claims of possible change, the greater the emotional investment among particular actors, and therefore the greater potential for disillusion when internal and external events re-route practices from the promised path.

However, narratives of meaning can also be a source of instability if contradicted or undermined by other events or narratives. The disjuncture created when a narrative confronts lived reality can produce cultural fragmentation, making the organisation less coherent, and therefore less stable. The pathway from shared narratives of meaning and purpose to cultural fragmentation is not always within the organisers’ control; the case of ANIM, for example, illustrates the way that the wider environment can contradict and destabilise internal messages.

This research found three sets of relationships were most vulnerable to encroaching disillusion or fragmentation: the relationships between (predominantly) expatriate teachers and (local and international) organisers; relationships between students and the sanctioned narrative; and relationships between teachers and students (first raised in the previous section on power dynamics). These underlined the potential fragility of the human dynamics in complex ventures set against volatile sociocultural backdrops. It points to the importance of modifying official narratives of meaning to ensure sufficient congruence with external realities, if the protective aspects of the shared narrative are to be preserved.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has examined three components of organisational culture that had clear implications for both shaping and sustaining the three case studies. As befits a critical juncture at the heart of practices in a complex endeavour, the forces at work within and around the organisational culture of music interventions overlap and resist isolation; they include interculturality, idealism, and charismatic individuals and their motivational roots.
Examining organisational culture reveals just how *intercultural* these projects are. Their interculturality extends beyond the traits of national or ethnic cultural identities into those associated with worldviews, institutional affiliations, and political orientations. These are revealed in preferences of cultural style and ways of being organised, and affinity with top-down or bottom-up approaches to decision-making and management. Interculturality is also the norm externally, where the agencies and actors of international development occupy positions of considerable financial and political power. Interculturality is a shaping force, and because cultural differences can generate contestation and division, it is also a sustaining or destabilising force.

As seen in earlier chapters, one of the ways that these cultural leanings are revealed is in actors’ motivational roots, and motivational roots continue to exert a *shaping* force at the critical juncture of organisational culture. This is particularly evident in the case of the Pavarotti Music Centre, where motivational roots around activism, anti-establishment values, and social justice led to an organisational culture that prioritised bottom-up organising and power-sharing, but more nebulous practices with regard to more formal aspects of organising. At Hadahur, motivational roots towards a universalist ideal of music, institutional loyalties and familiar Western practices clashed with a more activist-oriented, social justice sensibility to produce a clash of organisational approaches. However, strong personalities on both sides allowed little to no space for local Timorese voices to influence decisions, and therefore little real power was shared or transferred.

The critical juncture of organisational culture demonstrates the tremendous significance of charismatic founding figures for both shaping and sustaining, but shows them to be sources of both strength and instability. For example, the twin forces of centralised organisation and heavy public investment in the involvement of a particular individual at ANIM threaten the ease and acceptance of genuine leadership succession.

Similarly, the idealism and optimism that propel the shared organisational narratives can be a source of both strength and instability. At the Pavarotti Centre strong shared narratives helped keep the Music Centre in operation when its financial resources were depleted. At ANIM they provide a powerful counter-narrative to that imposed by the outside society and help keep participants motivated, courageous, and
committed. At Hadahur their absence was a further reason why the small music school struggled to cohere organisationally during the time of crisis.

Idealism was implicated in other aspects of organisational culture. The desire to realise one’s ideal version of events can be a reason why external actors struggle to transfer power or share decision-making. Ideals are closely linked to self-perception and can be retained long after their incongruence in the current context is exposed. The term ‘disjuncture’ depicts the tension or sense of disconnection or disillusion that such incongruence creates. At its most extreme, disjuncture between ideals and reality can be felt as deeply personal and destabilising, with an accompanying feeling of betrayal. This may be why the cultural fragmentation that eventuates can be so heated, and so absolute. It is profoundly confronting to have the ideals that form part of your self-identity challenged by other people or events.

Two key supports for sustainability that actors recognised in hindsight were the importance of building an organisational culture and structure that could facilitate mutual and iterative learning between external and local actors, and the value of gradual rather than fast-paced growth. Mutual and iterative learning supports the transfer of power from external to local actors; however it is also a pragmatic objective, as many music projects in war-affected contexts are likely to be new initiatives, working without reference to a pre-existing template. They therefore provide an opportunity for disruption of past practices, and the possibility for the work to evolve over time, with expertise evolving across the group rather than being retained by one set of actors. Meanwhile, a more incremental and controlled pace of growth would support time for documentation, planning, and relationship-maintenance, as well as organisational learning. Both of these practices could help to establish resilience and local solutions when conflicts or crises arise.

The focus in this and the previous chapter on practices (such as those that pedagogy and organisational culture generate) has revealed many effective strategies and a great deal of personal commitment. However, it has also revealed internal conflicts and divisions. These might be attributed to inadequate skill or foresight among the actors involved; however, it is more important—and more useful—to recognise that conflict and divisions occur because these critical junctures represent sites of interface and negotiation between deeply-held beliefs, assumptions, cultural systems and processes. All actors are involved in dynamic processes of navigation,
adaptation, and meaning-making, in response to an external environment that is similarly contested and dynamic, but also volatile and replete with competing political agendas.

It is to this external environment that attention now turns. Having established something of the internal dynamics of music interventions, the task is now to examine how they are supported (or not) in their external contexts. The wider local community, government and other institutions, and the international community are each invited to engage with these projects to differing degrees, and this engagement is thus the next critical juncture to consider in how music interventions may be shaped and sustained.
CHAPTER 8: External Engagement

While the last chapter was concerned with examining the internal aspects of music interventions, focusing on practices, power, and meaning, this chapter casts its gaze externally and examines the wider context in which the music interventions operate. This too, is a discussion of power and meaning, but as expressed through relationships and mutuality between the music interventions and their communities of supporters and detractors.

All aid interventions sit within wider contexts that have political, cultural, economic, and historical dimensions. Geographies can also exert influence, through regional links, shared histories, and distinctive social practices. These may interact with a music intervention in gestures of support, dismissal, and transaction. The negotiations at the critical juncture of External Engagement determine how that external interest and support is secured and retained. It is a process—likely ongoing—rather than a point in time, that lays the groundwork for sustainability beyond the initial injection of external support. It is closely linked to the work that takes place in the critical juncture of Aims and Motivations (Chapter 4) around projecting a set of aspirations, justifications, and claims that help to build external interest and visibility, in particular among potential supporters some distance from the project. Meanwhile, the practices that shape the music intervention on a day-to-day basis and render it visible (Chapters 5-7) play an important role in determining how it is received by its wider community, including among those that are not taking part directly. The ‘fit’ that a music intervention finds within its context has implications for its long-term sustainability.

This chapter explores manifestations of external engagement across three dimensions—community, government, and donor engagement—and analyses each in terms of social, cultural, environmental and political factors. It examines engagement with the music intervention, and the challenges or obstacles that hindered its reception locally or its access to support from further afield.
However, it would be naïve to imagine that the extent to which outside agents engage with a music intervention is completely within the intervention’s control. Many factors may converge to hinder or steer the shape that external engagement and support takes. By way of setting the scene, I first establish the likely sociocultural impacts of war on a community, and the implications of these for establishing arts and cultural initiatives in war-affected environments and building strong local and international engagement. The chapter follows the structure outlined in Figure 20.

Figure 20: Structural outline of chapter 8

War-affected terrain and arts engagement

In order to understand the ways and reasons that communities, governments, and external donors engage (or not) with music interventions, it is necessary to first establish the context in which that engagement must occur. Much has been written about the sociocultural conditions of life during wartime, and their invariable continuation in the ‘post’ war society. While this body of literature (across areas such as feminist conflict analysis and political science, masculinity studies, psychology, international relations, and anthropology) covers a diverse range of countries, cultures, and wars, it nevertheless produces a fairly consistent set of values, behaviours, and norms pertaining to war-affected environments. And while the literature rarely makes direct mention of cultural and arts-based practices, the cultural composite that forms offers a basis from which to speculate on the likely engagement with arts-based endeavours more generally and factors that may hinder this.

According to this literature, wars produce a behavioural ideal that valorises attributes such as toughness, emotional distance, competitiveness, ‘strongman’ styles of leadership, hierarchical practices, and demonstrations of loyalty to a particular network (Ceribašić, 2000; Enloe, 2004, p. 107; Helms, 2007; Ni Aoláin, Cahn, & Haynes, 2016). Individuals that conform to or embody this ideal are privileged and accorded social and even financial benefits (Bougarel, 2007; Niner, 2011, pp. 424,
while behaviours that do not conform become correspondingly stigmatised and devalued. These wartime norms become entrenched in the post-war environment, and as a result, war-affected societies frequently display expressions of dominance and a persistent normalisation of violence across all aspects of society (ITCilo, 2010, pp. 25-26): what Enloe (2004) has characterised as an embrace of the assumptions and values of militarism (p. 219).

In contrast, behaviours associated with art-making and creative cultural expression tend to be less about asserting power and dominance, and more concerned with dialogic, reflexive, collaborative, and nuanced processes. This positions them at the weaker end of the above behavioural spectrum, potentially trivialising both their social contribution and political appeal, and isolating them in the social environment. These values may constrict societal disposition towards arts engagement.

The aid-dominated environment can further undermine engagement with arts and aesthetic expression. Firstly, much of the international aid and development apparatus displays similarly militarised and hierarchical practices as found in the host community (Andreas, 2008; Joshi, 2005; Rieff, 2002, p. 308), further reinforcing the behavioural norms and values described above. Furthermore, aid agencies traditionally operate within a construct of need and emergency (Burde, 2014) within which the arts—as non-essential to basic survival—are seen as luxuries and therefore a low priority.

Other residual wartime values may compound this maintenance of inhospitable terrain for engagement with arts projects. The social value of arts artefacts and collective pride in markers of urban culture, heritage, and intellectual endeavour (such as cultural institutions, public intellectuals, artists, and other representations of cultural identity and aesthetic life) may be drastically reduced followed their targeted derision and destruction during times of war (Kaldor, 2001, p. 99). Furthermore, what is considered a ‘public good’ often remains contested due to the cultural and identity dimensions of contemporary warfare, and the continuation of these conflicts in the post-war political and cultural environment. Chapter 3 of this thesis gave an indication of how these ‘culture wars’ can be framed.
While these traits and social norms do not preclude the possibility of community, state, and donor engagement with post-war arts and cultural endeavours, they suggest it may be a low priority. Government engagement with the arts relies upon its political expedience, or the ways that artistic expression can be mobilised to reinforce political interests and narratives (Vuyk, 2010; Yúdice, 2003). Such expedience exists in a far narrower frame in the ‘new wars’ era. The benefits that can flow from the maintenance of a militarised environment to those with the greatest political and economic power, and the murkiness of the wartime economic landscape, with its observed links between government officials and shadowy economic arrangements (Andreas, 2008, pp. 119-126; Chene, 2012), can produce authoritarian post-war governments that are highly controlling of the cultural space (Siapno, 2006). Closer government ties with religious conservatism (seen for example in Timor-Leste: McGregor et al., 2012) may accompany the authoritarian tendencies, and further stifle creative expression of alternative perspectives, such as those inspired by animist cosmologies, or that claim a civil society platform for critical commentary. It may be that state interest in the arts becomes limited to those endeavours that endorse and reinforce the power base of the elites, for example through promoting the sanctioned narrative and construct of nationhood. Such support may still be intermittent or whimsical, and limit artists to ornamental or decorative roles (Siapno, 2012; Stupples, 2011).

The combination of government disinclination, aid agency priorities and practices, widespread cultural contestation, and sociocultural norms and values that devalue artistic behaviour suggest that engagement with arts and aesthetic expression may be fleeting or socially constrained in the cultural environment that wars produce, and post-war life maintains. This does not make arts and cultural initiatives impossible—indeed, culture may be an area of social life in which government authority is less complete—but it does make their sustained operations more challenging (Gordy, 1999). These conditions may work to limit the level of engagement that members of the public and state actors show.

As a result, engagement (in the form of financial support) with arts programs and the cultural sector in war-affected contexts often comes from external donors and partners as a part of a cultural development agenda. The forms of this support vary considerably. Examples include NGO and bilateral donors with explicit arts and
cultural policies (such as the Prince Claus Fund, the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, the international arm of Norway’s state multi-arts agency Kulturtanken, and until 2015, the Danish Centre for Culture and Development, and Dutch NGO Hivos); arts programs offered through national cultural institutes (such as the French Cultural Institute or the Goethe Institute); and arts and cultural programming included as part of larger NGO development programs, albeit in ad hoc ways without robust policy underpinnings (Hunter & Page, 2014; Marsh & Gould, 2003). However, constraints accompany this support in terms of local artist agency, as noted in Chapter 1 (Haskell, 2011; Stupples, 2011, 2015).

The combination of these conditions (sociocultural and political-economic characteristics, reduced political expediency, and limitations of external funding) suggests that building a music project with which local and international communities engage long-term is a complex and unpredictable undertaking in a war-affected environment. With this general terrain in mind, this chapter examines the ways that communities, governments and other authoritative institutions, and external donors engaged with and supported the work of the three case study projects. It is organised thematically, with the three cases illustrating particular practices or distinctive examples across the three dimensions of engagement.

**Community Engagement: Visibility, value, and politics**

‘Engagement’ has many forms. At the community level, it is most visible in those that choose to participate in the activity in question. However, ‘community engagement’ must also encompass those living in the locality, navigating the daily terrain and not necessarily taking part in the arts activities on offer. Their engagement begins with awareness and perceptions of relevance or value, and then takes the form of more active positive engagement and support, or the opposite.

Engagement in the form of awareness and interest (or awareness and disinterest) has political and cultural dimensions. The context provided in Chapter 3 gave some indication of the debates around cultural and national identity that form the background to each of the music interventions in this research. Far from music being able to transcend these debates, it foregrounds and sometimes even enacts them.
Community Engagement with Pavarotti Music Centre

Several social and political factors influenced who engaged directly with the Pavarotti Music Centre and its work, and how they elected to engage. Firstly, as this thesis has established, the town’s ethno-religious spatial division, and the building’s location “deep in the east” side of Mostar (Oha, 30/10/13) impacted its public profile and acceptance. On the rare occasions it attracted attention in news media and social discourse on the western (Bosnian Croat) side of town, it was depicted as a place for Bosniaks, and those living in East Mostar (Eno, 1996, p. 105; Wilson, 2016, pp. 159-160). Accordingly, despite the building’s considerable international profile and visibility in the Bosniak areas of the partitioned country, its profile on the west side of Mostar remained low. People “didn’t know and possibly didn’t want to know . . . They didn’t see necessarily that Centre as their centre” (Kenet, 20/10/13). It became an exhibit in a body of evidence that the international community’s aid and reconstruction in Mostar favoured the Bosniak side over that of the Croats (Bose, 2002; Yarwood, 1998).

This ethnic framing proved difficult to shift, despite efforts from Music Centre staff to promote an inclusive ethos and facilitate participation from the west side of town, including invitations to perform in special events such as the Music Centre’s opening (Wilkinson, 1997). The political environment in West Mostar was a significant generator of obstacles to participation, according to a former director of the West Mostar Music School.

People from the [Pavarotti] Centre invited us to be in the opening ceremony all together, both music schools [East and West]. But [it] wasn’t possible for us, because of politics. . . . We had to ask someone who was above us, from the Ministry, and they said “No”. . . . I was disappointed and angry not to take part, but not all of my colleagues felt this way. (Vesna, 6/11/13)

During the early post-war era, ‘crossing sides’ was heavily discouraged and self-policed. Many people admitted they didn’t feel safe, noting that the threats could come from their own ethnic group as well as from the other.

At that time, everyone [on the West] was too afraid . . . afraid what they will find when they come, and how will they be welcomed, and probably more afraid what their friends or family or everybody will say to them—“Why are
you going to Pavarotti?”—because there was lots of problems, inhibitions, especially at the beginning. (Haris, musician from west side of Mostar, 7/11/13)

Therefore, the ethnic division of the town was a discernable impediment to engagement and participation at the Pavarotti Music Centre for all but the most determined or defiant young people and musicians on the western side of town.

However, there were other post-war divisions that influenced the Mostar community’s engagement with the Pavarotti Music Centre. Chapter 3 detailed the dramatic shifts in Mostar’s demographic makeup that the war produced. The transformation from its pre-war demography dominated by educated, middle-class professionals to one where the majority was made up of “dispossessed people, less educated and trained, typically of rural or small-town origins . . . [turned] its pre-war social fabric upside down and inside out” (Bose, 2002, p. 106). Importantly, the war years transferred significant economic and political power to the newcomers (Dobbs, 1995; Grandits, 2007).

The post-war prevalence of what many informants labeled ‘rural mentalities’ (as opposed to an ‘urban mentality) was frequently offered as a reason for lack of interest in, and support for, the arts in contemporary Mostar. This construct of differing mentalities predates the Bosnian wars and signifies a local discourse that emphasises differences of cultural and social distance, education, religiousity, and ‘competence in how to behave in daily life’ between urban and rural dwellers (Allcock, 2002; Stefansson, 2007). Informants declared that ‘rural mentality’ people rarely saw music or arts learning as valuable, even when it was easily available or offered for free. For these newcomers, “it was not normal to send children to the music school” and would be considered “some kind of nonsense” (Almira, 12/11/13). It therefore followed that Mostar’s demographic changes would have had an impact on how the Pavarotti Music Centre was received.11

Young people from the outlying village of Blagaj (whose parents and extended family had only ever lived in remote villages) concurred with this

11 As explained in Chapter 2, the research sample represented the town’s ethnic division, but not the rural-urban divide. All of my research participants identified as pre-war Mostarians, which may have pre-disposed them to a particular point of view on music learning, and on the political situation.
assessment, recalling their parents’ intransigence on the subject of music learning and participation, and surmising that their rural origins were the main reason for this:

It depends on your parents, how open they are. And the problem is, people are usually very closed-minded. So you can’t beg someone as your parent who grew up in some village and he doesn’t have any clue about music . . . My father used to say, “Nobody in my family was a musician so why should you be a musician? . . . You don’t have [i.e. couldn’t have inherited] any talent!” (Enisa, Blagaj focus group, 7/11/13; the others laughed and nodded, relating to this experience).

Consequently, according to many of those interviewed, community engagement with the Pavarotti Music Centre was most pronounced among those people with stronger connections to a pre-war urban culture, than those whose social expectations reflected a pre-war rural existence. Younger people of rural origins may have been interested in participating in music learning, but could be obstructed through parental disinterest or distrust.

The Pavarotti Centre’s outreach programming that took teams of musicians out of Mostar and into rural and semi-rural areas (such as the Schools’ Outreach and Music Therapy programs) helped to counteract entrenched perceptions of who would and could engage in music. For example, young rural people who had the musicians visit their classrooms each week felt more confident to visit the Music Centre independently because of this initial contact and encouragement (Blagaj focus group, 7/11/13). Additionally, for music enthusiasts of all ethnic groups living outside Mostar, the Pavarotti Music Centre was an important place to visit. Musicians and artists from all parts of the former Yugoslavia valued its inter-ethnic ethos, its recording studio and performance facilities, and were regular visitors (Dinko, 13/11/13; Ines, 14/11/13).

Some informants felt that a disinterest in learning music was indicative of other social divisions. From her point of view as a career music educator, Vesna declared that she “would love more students to be in music. But the people who want to live together, they think this way” (Vesna, 6/11/13). For Vesna, disengagement with music learning correlated with nationalist politics and the desire to maintain ethnic segregation.
Similarly, for many of those interviewed, the Pavarotti Music Centre and its programs represented interests and values that were the opposite of the politically-endorsed ‘turbofolk’ popular music genre that dominates mainstream commercial music in Bosnia. Accordingly, fans of that particular brand of dance music with its folk inflections, gangster-inspired imagery, and electronically-produced beats (Gordy, 1999; Haskell, 2011) would be less likely to engage in a non-mainstream cultural venue, as well as be more likely to support the political status quo.

These particular characteristics—former rural dwellers, nationalists, disinterest in arts, fans of turbofolk—could also be interpreted as insinuating social stratification, following Bourdieu’s observation that “nothing more clearly affirms one’s class . . . than taste in music” (1984, p. 18). War’s destruction of social fabric also destroys people’s markers of social identity, particularly those of ‘middleclassness’ (Maček, 2007), and it is conceivable that music participation might be a vehicle through which individuals assert or claim a pre-war identity as middle-class, cosmopolitan and progressive, while simultaneously delineating themselves from the barbarism of war. However, those influences are complex and beyond the scope of this study.

Music Centre staff were less inclined to make these social distinctions. They saw community engagement with the Pavarotti Music Centre as dominated by “people who were involved in the art. It didn’t really attract those other people who weren’t involved in the art. I don’t know what they would find here, what they would do here” (Mili Tiro, 8/11/13). This might seem obvious, but it is important to include: It acknowledges that interest in music is not necessarily universal, that some people are drawn to participate in music while others engage in other things. The Pavarotti Music Centre was not trying to be all things to all people. It was a place for the arts.

Notably, the local community’s initial positive engagement began to falter from 2000, when the international staff left and the Centre was engulfed in financial crisis. Its volume of activities reduced substantially, and initial supporters and observers expressed criticism and disappointment in this.

When the international funding was there, it was very interesting for all of us because that was a place where things were always going on. You had reason
to go. Now, there is very little going on, unless you have a child attending some activity in the Centre. (Selma, 11/11/13)

In this period of discontent, criticisms of practices and culture began to surface. The Pavarotti Music Centre wasn’t doing enough activities (Selma). Employees were complacent and not trying (Adela). There was a monopoly on who could access its spaces or organize events where once it had been open to everyone for free (Jelena, Haris; a perception that was also reported in le Cosquino de Bussy & Esser, 2003, p. 6). There was a permissive attitude to drugs and alcohol (Samir, Elvira). It had poor promotion (Jimmy). It was too far away from the town centre and other similar facilities (Crni, Jimmy). There were conflicts between the local and international staff (Marko; also reported in Kochenderfer, 2006; Woodward, 2014). It was a depressing place to visit because it was in bad repair (Alma, Selma).

Public trust in the Pavarotti Music Centre was further undermined when a financial scandal emerged in 2001, revealing corruption and bribery at the highest levels in War Child UK (Hencke, 2001b). While the scandal did not incriminate the Pavarotti Centre, it made it a target of suspicion at a time when its existence was already under threat. Haskell (2011) described it as “the best example of an institution losing respect because of its culpability in corrupt practices” (p. 263).

In that period, the Pavarotti Music Centre had high visibility in the form of notoriety, and low community engagement. It had fallen from being a source of civic pride that had “put Mostar on the international map” for culture and arts (Faruk, 13/11/13) to being “a typical Bosnian corruption story” (Ines, 14/11/13).

This accumulated negativity predictably reduced community engagement with the Music Centre. It also mirrored, in timeframe and intensity, a swing in mood across the Mostar population from early post-war optimism when the reconstruction program was booming and international agencies were providing services and employment, to disillusion and pessimism due to Mostar’s intransient political structure. The failures of power-sharing democracy were writ large in Mostar, producing a paradoxical lived environment that was forever on the edge of political crisis yet simultaneously stagnant and unable to progress (Carabelli, 2013; Hromadzić, 2012).

Throughout this period, the municipal East Mostar Music School (an independent entity housed in the Pavarotti Music Centre) continued working, which
ensured the Centre remained open. Meanwhile, despite the loss of key programs (Chapter 7), the remaining Pavarotti Centre staff remained committed to “the mission” of providing arts and cultural opportunities for Mostar’s youth (Mili Tiro, 8/11/13). On shoestring budgets, they created the first Mostar Blues Festival (annually from 2003), and later, the Mostar Rock School (from 2012), independent projects that were housed in the Pavarotti Music Centre and that gradually revived its participant groups, audiences, and public profile. By the time of fieldwork in late 2013, informants (observers and participants alike) agreed that community engagement with PMC was rising once again. This indicates a correlation between provision and community engagement, rather than one of promise and engagement.

Looking back across its history, informants took pains to contextualise the Pavarotti Music Centre and its work as occurring in a dysfunctional political and economic setting. They credited it for existing and trying, even if they couldn’t always be effusive with praise. Interested non-participants on both sides of the town expressed an overall sense of engagement with and appreciation for its mission, and its presence in a town where “young people don’t have many options” (Jimmy, 31/10/13). Moreover, in a context where, twenty years on from the end of the war, millions of aid dollars have been spent for limited qualitative improvements in daily life, the Music Centre represented something that did happen, and a promise that was kept: “We need money for a million things, and they don’t spend. This is good for education, for children. [Shrugs] Why not?” (Amela K, 4/11/13).

The twenty-year timeframe of the Pavarotti Music Centre demonstrates the range of influences on community engagement with the Centre, and how these have fluctuated over time. Initially, its high international profile generated early local curiosity and visibility on one side of the town, as did its high volume of activities. From the outset this engagement was tempered by two factors: the potential for differing sociocultural value accorded to music learning due to social divisions in the town, and the impact of a negative political framing of the music intervention, assigning it to one ‘side’ of the conflict. However, whereas in Mostar this negative political framing produced disinterest and disengagement, in Afghanistan its implications are far more severe, as the next section describes.
Community Engagement with ANIM

In Afghanistan, community engagement with the Afghanistan National Institute of Music is both polarised and simultaneously equivocal, reflecting the intense contestations at play in contemporary Afghanistan around Afghan identity, as detailed in Chapter 3. The source of the more equivocal engagement is the group described in Chapter 3 as the ‘ordinary Afghans’, a group that occupies the space between the two polarised positions of full support and full condemnation, and which is claimed by both. Mapping community engagement requires understanding the mechanisms and motivations of engagement for these three groups.

ANIM’s community of overt supporters is diverse. The audiences for its live performances in Kabul include members of the international community (expatriate staff of embassies, NGOs, UN agencies and development banks)—organisations that are also ANIM’s financial supporters—and of Afghanistan’s intellectual community. The latter group includes many government officials and is a group that is working to build a modern, progressive Afghanistan. Many among them came of age during Kabul’s golden age of liberalism and modernity in the 1950s and 1960s and for them, ANIM’s performances are reviving the vibrant cultural life of Afghanistan prior to the Rabbani era (Sarmast, 13/12/16). Some of this group, like Sarmast, lived in exile in the West for many years. The ANIM musicians embody their hopes for a future Afghanistan.

Parents of ANIM students are also among the school’s supporters. Their reasons for supporting their students to attend this school are multiple. Some want their children to get a modern education that is not constrained by “archaic and obsolete norms” of gender separation, or that declare music shameful. Others simply see music education as being as good as any other, and are relieved to have their children in a school that provides a uniform, daily meal, transport and other materials (ANIM parents speaking in RT Network, 2017). Some want their children to have freer lives and more opportunities “to become someone” than their parents had (Freshta's mother speaking in Watkins, 2012).

The Afghan diaspora is another constituent group that engages positively with the work of the school. Their engagement takes place online, through supportive and proud comments on ANIM’s music videos, and online news stories about the school,
but also in person when ANIM ensembles tour to their countries of settlement (WL, 18/8/16).

More difficult to map from a distance are those whose support is not contingent on ANIM delivering direct benefits to them; rather, it reflects their desire to live in a politically and economically stable Afghanistan, and to participate in a globalised world. For Sarmast, the main evidence of this group’s existence is “because otherwise we could not survive in Afghanistan. We could not establish in the first place a music program, if not for the support and encouragement of the ordinary Afghans” (Sarmast, 5/8/15).

However, for the conservative end of community spectrum, ANIM and other Western-supported schools represent a dangerous version of progress that undermines traditional Afghan values. In particular, this group sees music as “not authorised and impermissible . . . If the government was truly Muslim, it wouldn’t let this school stay open even for a day. In Islam such a school can’t exist” (Mullah speaking in RT Network, 2017).

It was this interpretation of Islamic obligations that underpinned Afghanistan’s bans on music in Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan from the time of the communist coup d’état in 1973 through to the Taliban period (Baily, 2001). In a country where the majority has only had access to mosque schools and local mullahs for their education (Burde, 2014), reversing these beliefs is challenging.

We have those extremist elements, given the fact that a generation of Afghanistan has been brainwashed by the Taliban. Now those kids are grown-ups. Now we have to change the attitude also . . . However, [the extremists] are in the minority. (Sarmast, 5/8/15)

ANIM’s “small group of enemies” is “very loud and very dangerous” (Sarmast speaking in RT Network, 2017). Threats against the school and against individual students have steadily increased since 2014. Many students have the support of their parents, but receive threats from their extended families (uncles, grandparents, cousins, brothers) because of their decision to study and play music (NATO, 2014a). In December 2014, an ANIM performance was the target of a suicide bombing in which one person died and Sarmast was critically injured (Rasmussen, 2015; RT Network, 2017). Similar threats have been made to other
prominent music providers and participants in Afghanistan, such as contestants and judges on the popular Afghan Star talent program (Mashal, 2017).

The constant risk of violent attack limits ANIM’s capacity to engage “the ordinary Afghans” through live public performances. ANIM’s public concerts are only open to those on a carefully-vetted invitation list, rather than advertised and promoted in mainstream media (Sarmast, 13/12/16; WL, 18/8/16), and plans to tour ANIM musicians to other parts of Afghanistan have been cancelled due to security concerns (Sarmast, 13/12/16). Similarly, since 2014 the annual Winter Academy festival has curtailed its public concerts (which were weekly occurrences prior to the 2014 suicide bombing) and instead presents outreach concerts in shelters and community centres run by other trusted NGOs (WL, 18/8/16) or invites children from orphanages to attend in-house concerts (Ayres, 2017).

Consequently, most of ANIM’s efforts to engage its local community and invite their support and reciprocal engagement take place in recorded and televised formats, such as its advocacy-focused music videos produced in partnership with INGO Save the Children. The original songs in these videos, such as the Afghan Children’s Anthem, were created to be shared and sung across the country, but are also shared worldwide on social and mainstream media.

For ANIM, community engagement hinges on generating visibility through an online and televised presence, and through public education with the support of private and state media broadcasters. The school uses the different media platforms to show “that music is not merely an entertainment”, and the different ways that music contributes to creating “a just and civil society” (Sarmast, 5/8/15). Visibility is therefore one of the main vehicles through which the school can address the larger project of changing Afghan society’s attitudes to music, and build engagement and support for ANIM’s existence in the process. However, the contested social value attached to music means that ANIM’s visibility simultaneously antagonises those in the community that are hostile to its work and goals, and who believe music is the work of infidels (RT Network, 2017). It is impossible for them to avoid the political dimension of their work, because the ongoing censoring of music makes any musical act a political act (Baily, 2015, p. 200). Visibility consequently brings risks along with its rewards, and positive community engagement has an equal and opposite negative expression amidst the cultural contestations of present-day Afghanistan.
Community engagement with Hadahur Music School

The Hadahur case offers interesting comparisons with the other two cases on three critical factors for community engagement. Firstly, unlike either the Pavarotti Music Centre or ANIM, there is no social stigma in the community around the idea of learning music. Music knowledge has high social value in Timor-Leste, among isolated rural communities and urban populations alike. There are strong choral traditions “with each Parish having at least one choir” (Hadahur Music School, 2009a, p. 8) and musical aptitude is a source of pride. Furthermore, communal music-making has a valued and ubiquitous role in community life (Howell, 2018b). Lastly, Hadahur Music School did not have any specific connection to the recent history of war and civil conflict and the divisions that they had created. It could not easily be politically framed, whereas the Pavarotti Music Centre had an implied political role because of its location on one side of the divided town, and ANIM’s work is interpreted by a proportion of the Afghan community as a political statement because of previous religious and state censorship, and because of its close affiliations with the international community (to be examined shortly).

In spite of this supportive environment for music, Hadahur Music School had very low public visibility. This was due to a combination of factors, such as its lack of permanent premises that the public could identify with the music activities, its ad hoc beginnings and overall shortness of existence, and its shallow participant pool built around the Santa Cecelia Choir and SMIET’s staff group (with considerable overlaps between these two groups). Those outside these networks that wished to join the music school (such as the would-be violin students described in Chapter 5) were told they would need to wait for more places to become available. The one-off music appreciation workshops and concerts that the consultant team held in several schools and community settings helped to raise awareness that the Australian musicians were in town, but offered no opportunities for continued engagement. Its formal Launch concert received media attention, and ‘warm-up’ concerts in local bars were well-attended; however, as with many non-commercial concerts in Dili, expatriates and government officials were the majority audience. The lack of recognition was so complete that, by the time of fieldwork for this research four years later, a senior official in the State Secretariat of Culture had never heard of the school, and could not recall its existence (ADS, 13/6/14).
Therefore, community engagement with Hadahur Music School was fleeting and short-lived at best and limited to those ‘in the know’. For the majority of people that lived in Timor-Leste during its limited existence (November 2008 – February 2010) it was a promise yet to be realised.

**Discussion: Visibility, value, and framing**

Examination of community engagement across the three case studies reveals four influential factors for community engagement: the music intervention’s degree of local visibility (which is in part influenced by its provision of activities); the sociocultural value of music within that society; the wider political environment; and community access. These can be seen to interact in specific ways in each setting, along with specific aspects of its provision, such as the scope of activities on offer and the extent to which the organisational structural accommodates new participants.

High *visibility* (due to media attention and/or the scale of activities and provision) can increase community engagement. If music (and music learning) has *high sociocultural value* and is widely accepted as a public good, this is an additional ‘pull’ factor. High levels of provision and *access* (wide range of regular activities, specialist learning opportunities, facilities and technical expertise) and a segment of the community that placed high value on music and music learning also correlated with high levels of community engagement for the Pavarotti Music Centre. Meanwhile, a lack of genuine access for the community meant that Hadahur Music School generated low community engagement despite the high value accorded to music and music learning across the general population.

However, the presence of a *negative political framing* of a music intervention (where the music intervention is politicised as supporting one side of the conflict, or as defying the hegemonic political position and therefore framed as a subversive or unpatriotic initiative) can override the ‘pull’ of these factors, producing obstacles to people’s engagement. This occurred on the west side of Mostar for the Pavarotti Music Centre. Similarly, high visibility can become a risk factor when it co-exists with a low or contested sociocultural valuing of music, rather than protective of the project’s community relevance and therefore prospects for sustainability. The latter dynamic is at play in the example of the Afghanistan National Institute of Music.
The overriding influence of a negative political framing is indicative of the extreme politicisation of war-affected societies more generally. Political loyalty is a prize that is fought for on many fronts by those in power, and music interventions are vulnerable to these machinations, regardless of their efforts to create an internal learning space that is depoliticised. Therefore, community engagement is susceptible to local political manoeuvres. The next section outlines the dynamics of government engagement with each of the music interventions.

**Engagement of governments, institutions, and authorities**

Mapping the engagement of government or institutional authorities with each of the three music interventions reveals the very different circumstances under which they came into existence. Government engagement can ensure essential supports, and help to give legitimacy and status to a music intervention; however, the factors that lead to this engagement are context-specific, and thus difficult to generalise.

Unlike the other two case studies, ANIM has always existed as a government-owned program. It is a public school within the Ministry of Education, and has evolved from the remnants of the former music high school of the pre-Taliban era. Additionally, it is a source of pride for those in the Afghan government that wish to promote a modern, liberal, forward-looking Afghanistan (XD, 11/7/16).

Its performing ensembles provide two key services for the Government of Afghanistan. First, as the country’s only orchestra, the school is frequently called upon to perform the national anthem and other music at formal government events. For example, students proudly recalled their performances for President Karzai at the Ringing of the School Bell, a national ritual that marks the start of the school year (Fikriya and Feroza, 13/3/15). In addition, ANIM’s ensembles perform internationally, travelling on government service passports and helping the Afghan government promote a more positive image of Afghanistan and Afghan culture than that of war. Successive governments have shown pride in the school, and have protected it in times of funding cutbacks (Sarmast, 13/12/16).

However, Afghanistan’s National Unity Government (a coalition) includes conservative political factions and religious clergy who oppose many of the values that ANIM embodies. The conservatives contest the inclusion of music education for Afghan youth, oppose the co-education of boys and girls, and are determined that an
austere interpretation of Islam remains the Afghan norm. These groups threatened girls’ enrolment in the school following the US tour in 2013 (Stewart, 2014), although this threat was later downplayed as unrepresentative of the official government position (Sarmast, 5/8/15).

The political contest playing out within the National Unity Government between progressive and conservative forces makes ANIM’s performances (in particular those for government audiences) a proxy battleground, with opportunities to ‘win’ against opponents. For Sarmast, ANIM’s performances at formal government occasions become a particularly satisfying act of political opposition when the government’s ultra-orthodox factions are among the audience. Such performances are “an opportunity to deliver strong messages”, not merely through the music, but also through the mix of boys and girls performing together, and even the sound of girls’ heels on the floor. They are “a victory for art, a victory for culture, [and] for the progressive forces of the country” (Sarmast, 13/12/16).

It is therefore conceivable that progressive factions may on occasion deploy ANIM’s performances to antagonise political opponents. At the same time, as already noted, it is the history of music’s censorship in Afghanistan that politicises ANIM’s performances, regardless of where the performances take place. Baily (2015) contends that “the mere fact of music, the mere act of music-making, become political statements” in such a contested space (p. 200). Government engagement with ANIM both sidesteps this (because ANIM is a government school and therefore within its purview), while simultaneously benefitting politically (because of the potential for music performances to be deployed in support of progressive political interests). In this way, ANIM’s performances and the school’s existence have the capacity to function as an extension of factional apparatus and site of political contestation.

Post-war Mostar also featured two highly antagonistic government factions. These were the two municipal governments: the Bosnian Croat government on the west side, and the Bosniak government on the east side. War Child UK had hoped to negotiate a site for the Music Centre in what was known as the Central Zone, close to the former frontline, and jointly controlled by the two municipalities. However, this proposal met with intransigence from the hardline government on the west side (Wilson, 22/2/15), so when the East Mostar government offered them the site of a
ruined primary school in a suburb outside the Central Zone, War Child was happy to accept. Wilson explained,

We were very dependent on the East Mostar authorities . . . It wasn’t the ideal site but it was the site they gave us . . . [And] we didn’t have to find income for the actual site, only for the building. (Wilson, 22/2/15)

Wilson knew that “the Centre would only work if it had support from both of Mostar’s communities” (Wilson, 2016, p. 158). The West Mostar Mayor attended the opening with his East Mostar counterpart; however, his concert attendance did not encompass an actual endorsement. As described in the previous section, music teachers from West Mostar were forbidden to participate in the concert with their students, and media representatives did not promote the Centre or share news of its activities (Eno, 1996, p. 105; also Alma, 29/10/13).

The Bosniak government for the region (kanton) had already built a positive relationship with Nigel Osborne’s Schools’ Outreach program. When plans for the Pavarotti Music Centre were first evolving, Osborne had approached the Minister of Education for the region to propose that he and his team would take the currently unused timetable allocations for arts and music in the region’s schools, and teach the national curriculum for music, as well as “something else that maybe the children might benefit from, in terms of enlivenment, and happy, joyful activities” (Osborne, 27/8/16). The Minister agreed and thus Osborne’s Schools’ Outreach program operated in government schools with the full support of the regional education ministry.

In its current status, the Pavarotti Music Centre has ties with the municipal government. In 2004, after intensive advocacy on the part of the Pavarotti Centre’s Director at the time, it was included in the town budget as a public cultural institution. At that time, War Child UK still retained 49% ownership of the building. This was formally and fully transferred to the local authorities in 2008, removing a final layer of external ownership.

The experience of the Pavarotti Music Centre suggests that government involvement provides a degree of security for a music intervention; however, few informants felt this to be the case. In addition to those that were fearful that nationalistic political interest and ownership could affect the Pavarotti’s non-
nationalistic structure and operations, some felt that it rendered the Centre vulnerable to changes in political whim. They feared it being ‘taken over and turned into offices’. Many asserted that the current government support for Pavarotti was tokenistic at best, ensuring its survival, but little more.

Town government doesn’t care about anyone, including Pavarotti Centre. They don’t care about people they have an obligation to! Like the kindergartens, like the schools . . . [It] was supposed to be sorted and run by local government many years ago, not now. Now it is not the time because our local government is not functioning, so basically you have no-one to talk to [to resolve problems like the building needing renovations]. (Selma, 11/11/13).

There is a sense too, that the local government will only act in order to ‘save face’ with influential people. For example, it was only when Luciano Pavarotti’s widow announced she would visit in July 2016 that the PMC Director was able to successfully negotiate funds from the municipal government for the most urgent of the building’s repairs (E. Nezirović, pers.comm, 13/6/16). Support for the multi-ethnic music centre also helps the Bosniak political party more generally maintain an image in international media of reasonableness, ensuring a sympathetic international image (in comparison to a more negative international image of Serbian groups, for example (Gordy, 1999)). There are thus grounds for speculation that there is a degree of political expedience in keeping the Pavarotti Music Centre open, but weaker evidence of government engagement in its actual work.

In contrast to the other cases, government connections to the Hadahur Music School were never particularly strong. The country’s emergent public education provision did not offer any kind of music or arts curriculum, and the government recognised the Church (and its subsidiaries such as religious orders and missions) as a partner in “[serving] the people in all aspects of education and human development” (Ramos Horta in Hadahur Music School, 2009a, p. 11). Timor-Leste’s President and Nobel Laureate, José Ramos Horta, was International Patron of the school, indicating government endorsement; however, additional funds did not accompany this patronage. Rather, it was evidenced through in-kind support such as providing the Presidential Palace for Hadahur’s Launch concert in July 2009, and the attendance of government officials at that formal event.
The school was initiated following a request from the then Bishop of Dili to SMIET, which suggests that the music school had the support of the Church, the second (and in many ways more powerful and trusted) authority in Timor-Leste. However, as with the government, this support was limited to moral support and some assistance with venues. Initially, SMIET and Dunlop had hoped the Church would provide a building for the school (Dunlop, 2009), but with large numbers of internally displaced people still occupying many Church compounds in Dili in 2009 following the civil crisis of 2006-7, this did not eventuate. Significantly, neither the Government nor the Church was able (or willing) to make a permanent building available for the school. Hadahur activities moved between temporary and rented Church-owned premises without ever establishing a single ‘home’. No other mention of government or Church engagement with the Hadahur project occurred in the interview data or extant texts, and as already mentioned, a senior member of the State Secretariat for Culture could not recall the music school at all.

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, post-war government engagement with music and arts-based activities tends to be constrained and somewhat minimal. The three case studies demonstrate a range of ways that governments (and other official authorities) staked a claim in the music interventions, from the entwinement and political capital that the National Unity Government of Afghanistan finds in ANIM, to the morally supportive but materially scant engagement of the Government of Timor-Leste in Hadahur Music School. Between these two, the East Mostar municipal government may have acted with a view to political expedience, but nevertheless provided the essential support in the form of a venue and location that allowed the Pavarotti Music Centre to become a reality. At the same time, the presence of enthusiastic international support (at least initially) in countries far from the host community diminished the need for government action in each case. These forms of potential donor engagement, and the substantive funds, human and material resources, and technical knowledge that they can produce, often provide the crucial difference between a music intervention coming into existence, or not.
Donor engagement

As established in Chapter 1, it is the presence of donors and time-bound funds that led me to refer to the three case studies and other like projects as ‘music interventions’. Moreover, donor funds were essential in making each of the three music interventions a reality. However, donor engagement extends beyond simply providing necessary funding to bring a new music project into existence. It can influence other dimensions of local engagement, enlisting support and advocating for the music intervention, and in these ways is an important element in the project’s future sustainability. Importantly, external donor engagement can also impose conditions or create very specific working environments, and therefore is also a shaping force. This section examines these variations.

The link between a music intervention and external donors is often mediated by what international development literature calls an implementing agency, but what this study terms a ‘parent organisation’. A parent organisation is a body that exists separately to the music endeavour but that initiates it and retains a degree of ownership over it. Parent organisations are therefore not necessarily the donor; rather, they are the intermediaries through which donated funds are channeled. Two of the three case studies had parent organisations, but all three case studies had external donors, and that support and interest shaped and sustained the interventions in both direct and indirect ways.

The relationship between donor and recipient is one that receives a considerable amount of scrutiny, for it represents an enormous power asymmetry. Chapter 7’s discussion of gifts (Kowalski, 2011; Mauss, 1990) established that gifts of aid are never disinterested, but are instruments that establish and set the parameters of the ongoing social relationship between the two parties. Consequently, they impose obligations upon receivers, further cementing the power asymmetry between them. In the international aid system, the extent to which donors issue directives to recipients depends on various contextual factors, but one outcome of gift ‘conditions’ is that recipients (in this case parent organisations) become accountable to distant donors, rather than to the (local) constituents that the organisation or program exists to serve (Easterly, 2006; Hancock, 1989; Menike, 1993; Rieff, 2002).
The degree of distance between the giver and the end receiver often determines the conditions attached to a gift. For example, in private charitable giving, individuals and groups choose to give to an organisation they trust, or whose mission they support. Usually, their involvement in how their money-gift is spent ends at the point of transfer; therefore, their gift can be seen to have been given with a certain amount of disinterest (Stirrat & Henkel, 1997), as there is little expectation that the beneficiary will reciprocate directly back to the giver.

In contrast, a gift from an institution or government agency carries far greater interest and expectation of reciprocity within it. Such gifts set in motion a value-chain where “the act of receiving is hedged with conditionality at best, while at worst the gift may become a form of patronage and a means of control” (Stirrat & Henkel, 1997, p. 72). The conditionality is often explicit and particular; however, it may also be implicit, exerting its force through recipient anxiety to offer value for the investment and anticipate its conditions in order to secure future support. Donor relationships therefore both shape and sustain music initiatives in war-affected areas.

In this section, three types of donor-recipient engagement will be explored: the parent organisation relationship, the more distanced but reciprocal donor relationship, and relationships built on shared convictions. Parent organisations are considered through the cases of Pavarotti Music Centre and Hadahur Music School. Both are examples of music interventions that started with funds raised through a high volume of small-scale donors (members of the public, and philanthropic foundations), giving them a degree of independence from the original donors. However, for both of these cases, independence from donors was accompanied by dependence on the parent organisation that administered the funds. The vulnerability inherent in the music intervention-parent organisation relationship is important to explore.

The second type of engagement with donors to be discussed is more reciprocal. This can be seen in action between ANIM and its international community of donors, where the relationship compels ANIM to deliver a range of outcomes that ultimately shape the school’s activities, as well as sustain its existence financially.

The third relationship is less structural, but useful to include as it is a recurrent factor in the music intervention/parent organisation/donor triumvirate. In this subsection I describe what I have analysed to be donor engagement relationships built on
a shared conviction that music is important. I shall show the way that this can catalyse projects that might otherwise struggle to find sufficient funds.

**Parent organisations, private donors, and dependence: Pavarotti Music Centre and Hadahur Music School**

Both the Pavarotti Music Centre and Hadahur Music School came into existence as projects of pre-existing NGOs. These NGOs functioned as ‘parent bodies’ for their musical offspring: for the Pavarotti Music Centre, War Child UK was the parent organisation (with War Child Holland in a ‘godparent’ role); for Hadahur Music School, the parent organisation was the Sisters’ Mission in East Timor (SMIET; later known as the Religious Sisters’ Development Program or RSDP). This section examines the relationships between the case study projects, their donors, and the parent organisations, and the implications of these relationships for potential sustainability.

The Pavarotti Music Centre enjoyed substantial funding in its first years, all of which came from private, rather than government, donations. As previous chapters have shown, it ensured the project was housed in modern, purpose-built premises, and had access to international interest and support while it was still ‘a glint in the eye’ of its parent organisation.

This independence was the result of large-scale public mobilisation to their cause. The Music Centre was an initiative of War Child UK, a relatively new and youthful charity that captured the public imagination with its straight talking, bold plans, and criticism of government inaction. War Child UK’s fundraising for the Music Centre benefited from close ties with the commercial music industry, positioning it as a successor to the Live Aid phenomenon of the 1980s. Fundraising efforts such as charity CDs from the most popular artists of the day, high-end galas and auctions with artworks donated by world-famous stars, and the public advocacy and visibility of its celebrated music industry supporters raised millions of pounds in a very short period of time (Eno, 1996; Wilson, 2016). The financial contribution of Luciano Pavarotti (through concerts, CDs, and perpetual royalties) was the most sizeable of these. The donors, all private individuals, believed in the cause and those among the general public were undemanding in terms of accountability and reporting.
According to Founding Director David Wilson, War Child UK’s independence from conditional donors such as governments was crucial to the Pavarotti Music Centre’s success.

The first golden rule is to try and get what we did: independent money—which we got from Pavarotti and the music business—and not have to go cap-in-hand to governments . . . because that gives you independence. You can build your own programs, you can speak out politically. Because one of the problems that I saw existed in Mostar and exists today in international aid, is that if you are dependent for your next grant from a government, you can’t speak out about what is causing the problem [i.e. the need for aid] in the first place. (Wilson, 22/2/15)

For Wilson, “speaking politically” meant being free to critique the British government (and others) for their humanitarian inaction, and to be able to speak plainly and unambiguously about the political machinations at play in the host community. He gave the example of being able to use words like “fascism” when describing the political environment in Mostar (22/2/15). For him, this was an important part of his and War Child’s contribution, and an act of solidarity with those suffering in Bosnia.

Hadahur Music School similarly enjoyed independence from donor conditions. Like the Pavarotti Music Centre, its parent organisation successfully fundraised to cover the bulk of the music intervention’s costs. A one-time grant from a philanthropic music education foundation covered the Early Childhood music program, and energetic fundraising efforts in Catholic parishes in Australia provided an even greater amount for the remainder of the school’s budget.

Hadahur was particularly dependent on its parent organisation. While the music school existed in name as an independent entity, it remained umbilically attached to SMIET, utilising that body’s administration staff, vehicles, temporary premises, and communications systems. The improvisatory mode of its earliest activities meant that it never established formal policies for enrolment or other structures that might have helped build its credentials as an independent entity. SMIET, as the initiator and primary funder of the Hadahur project, was its owner, and therefore the determiner of its fate. And while conflict and a sense of chaos led to the
decision to close the school, SMIET’s lack of adequate consultation and total ownership ultimately reduced the other stakeholders’ options for recourse or voice.

The Pavarotti Music Centre enjoyed far greater financial and executive autonomy from its parent organisation than its Timorese counterpart. A much larger project, it had control of its own budgets, an in-country director and administrative team, and an international profile with many individuals invested in its existence. Initially too, it benefited from the fact that its director was also the co-founder and co-director of the parent organisation. However, a series of internal conflicts and changed priorities within the parent organisation ultimately left the Pavarotti Music Centre abandoned, and without parental scaffolding or supports.

This breakdown in relations with its parent organisation happened gradually, and as the result of several internal factors. The first was a growing antagonism between Wilson and War Child UK’s London office (22/2/15). Wilson had learned that the charity’s other co-director and a second senior staff member had accepted financial inducements during the tender process for the Music Centre’s construction. Wilson was agitating for the pair’s removal, and they were in turn agitating for his resignation (Wilson, 2016). Suspicion and hostility abounded, with an irretrievable loss of trust.

During the same period, War Child UK began to distance itself from the Pavarotti Music Centre, and formally severed its ties in September 1999. Monies raised by War Child UK through a commercial CD release and associated royalties that had been earmarked for the Music Centre—over a million pounds (Hencke, 2001a)—never arrived, allegedly “starving it of funds” (Wilson, 22/2/15). London staff that had been involved in the Pavarotti Centre project resigned, and their replacements—career aid professionals—were less invested in the Mostar project (Verloop, 15/7/16). Then, when news of the corruption scandal reached the international press (Hencke, 2001a, 2001b), War Child UK also lost most of its celebrity patrons and Trustees, many of whom had been key drivers and supporters of the Music Centre project. This effectively deprived the Music Centre of a further layer of protective oversight. While War Child UK survived the scandals, it never resumed its interest in the Pavarotti Music Centre, and to this day, the Pavarotti Centre has struggled financially.
War Child Holland assumed responsibility for funding three flagship projects, thus ensuring the Pavarotti Centre’s short-term (albeit bare) survival. However, War Child Holland’s support was also vulnerable to changes in internal priorities. The organisation began to shift its Balkans projects to Kosovo in 1999 in response to the growing humanitarian crisis there. New internal expertise in psychosocial provision saw a tightening of programming priorities that the Pavarotti Centre projects did not meet. Lastly, their planned commitment of ten years of post-war support to Mostar came to an end in 2006, and thus so did their financial support for the Pavarotti’s remaining music programs (Verloop, 15/7/16).

What happened after that will be discussed in Chapter 9; here, the key learning is what the Pavarotti Music Centre’s experience reveals about the ways that internal changes within a parent organisation can destabilise and threaten the existence of a dependent music intervention. Parent organisations are often the project’s financial lifeline; but this single point of failure renders an autonomous but dependent music initiative vulnerable to changes in staffing, policies, interpersonal relationships, new agendas, and power structures. Both Hadahur Music Centre and Pavarotti Centre experienced several of these changes, and their experiences highlight the range of ways that this vulnerability can be tested.

Therefore, while Wilson’s recommendation of financial independence from external donors assures freedom from donor-imposed conditions, it may remove a layer of protective interest for the music intervention. Having external parties invested in a project’s continued existence and therefore maintaining a line of outward accountability can work to protect a music intervention when the relationship with the parent organisation goes through change, a likely occurrence in the mercurial, project-based world of international development. When a parent organisation becomes the sole means of survival, survival concomitantly becomes more difficult to ensure, and this has obvious implications for sustainability.

**ANIM donor engagement: Conditions, reciprocity and optics**

The most layered and reciprocal donor-to-school relationship of the three cases is that of ANIM and its community of international donors. International financial support has been fundamental to ANIM’s existence. Despite being a program of the Ministry of Education, ANIM has always been dependent on external donors and sponsors for
its existence (Sarmast speaking in Forrest, 2013, p. 77; confirmed in interview 5/8/15). A critical early coup was securing the inclusion of ANIM in the World Bank’s Afghanistan Skills Development Program [ASDP] funding for vocational training institutions in 2009. Further donations and sponsorship came from various foreign embassies, the US State Department, the national cultural institutes of several European countries, and associations of music merchants. Private donations were also sought, but the larger gifts have most significantly shaped and sustained the school thus far. This group of donors can be referred to as forming part of the ‘international community’.

While the collective label ‘international community’ carries with it a great many problematic assumptions of a unified and normative ‘international’ voice (Lindberg, 2014), it is the term most commonly applied to the expatriate community in sites with a large-scale aid presence, or to refer to the world community. Inside Afghanistan, it refers to the community of expatriate employees of various government and non-government agencies, such as diplomatic staff, military personnel, foreign aid workers, and government advisors. Outside Afghanistan, while the phrase ostensibly includes all the countries of the world, its usage specific to Afghan aid most commonly refers to the member countries of NATO, led by the United States, as the ‘community’ that has invested most heavily in Afghanistan’s development and desired transformation. Both groups comprise the ‘international community’ within ANIM’s cultural discourse.

The international community’s agenda in Afghanistan is one of stabilising the country and neutralising the threat from armed insurgent groups like the Taliban. Stabilisation works across several spheres, including security, provision of government services, social wellbeing, and humanitarian relief (Burde, 2014; Davis, 2011). In Afghanistan a key goal has been to increase government legitimacy through ensuring its provision of essential services (such as education, healthcare, and security); this in turn is intended to decrease the local population’s willingness to support the insurgency (Burde, 2014).

There are several reasons why ANIM holds such appeal as a recipient of the international community’s ‘gifts’, given the overall remit of their interest and the many competing problems in Afghanistan. Firstly, the school’s rights-based values, inclusive policies for enrolment, and progressive educational practices put many of
the international community’s goals into immediate action. ANIM’s commitment to addressing inequality and disadvantage through affirmative enrolment policies was a deciding factor in its inclusion in the ASDP funding (World Bank, 2014), but the school’s appeal extends beyond this:

They really see the difference and the role that we can play in everything that the international community is in Afghanistan for. Human rights, gender equality, education, cultural diversity, building a nation, educating people—we’re doing everything that perfectly fits within the policies of the government and also with the policies of the international community. But we’re not doing that to keep them happy and to get their money. We believe in what we’re doing. (Sarmast, 5/8/15)

Furthermore, Sarmast has proved to be a highly effective partner for donors. His social authority, life experience outside Afghanistan, expertise, and negotiating skills positioned him to realise many of the core governance goals of the ASDP funding. He is singled out for praise in the ASDP Implementation and Completion report for his reform achievements at ANIM (World Bank, 2014, p. 22).

It is also important to donors that the ANIM project is a government project, rather than a private endeavour. Supporting a pre-existing government program ensures international donors are aligning their work with the recipient country’s own priorities, a key principle of the 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (MacLachlan et al., 2010, p. 84). Furthermore, bolstering part of a government education program in visible ways contributes to the international community’s larger goal of building local faith in the government.

This alignment of policies and practices, combined with Sarmast’s effectiveness as a partner and ally, creates a value-chain that contains the following links: International community supports the school and its ambitious goals → ANIM delivers education and social outcomes (e.g. supporting disadvantaged students, undertaking public advocacy) → This supports the international community’s agenda to tackle entrenched social disadvantage and rights abuses in Afghanistan, helping to weaken discriminatory practices that stifle development and access to opportunities. This is the least reciprocal of ANIM’s value chains.
A second value-chain is built upon ANIM’s local performances, many of which are private concerts for members of the international community and Afghan government officials. These concerts are prioritised within the school.

If [a supportive embassy] wants us to play a concert then yeah, we’re going to play that concert . . . because that’s where the funding is going to come from. And because people have to see that we’re still doing stuff . . . We can’t say “No”. (WL, 18 August 2016)

This suggests a tight cycle of reciprocity between performances and donations within Afghanistan: \textit{International community donations ensure ANIM’s existence} \textit{⇒ ANIM ensembles perform for the donor community in Afghanistan} \textit{⇒ Performances help to encourage future donations as well as ‘thank’ supporters for past donations.}

The third value-chain that this study has identified is also the most ambiguous, and is tied to the interests of ANIM’s powerful international supporters. It is built upon ANIM’s \textit{international} performances. ANIM receives frequent invitations to perform abroad, often in prestigious venues like Carnegie Hall and the Kennedy Centre (2013), Royal Festival Hall (2014), and the World Economic Forum (2017). In these contexts, its unique brand of ensemble music that blends Afghan and Western traditions becomes a metaphor for hope, progress, and change in Afghanistan.

Nothing could demonstrate more clearly the sweeping changes that have taken place in Afghanistan over the last decade . . . There is more to Afghanistan than the violence reported on the news, and . . . Afghans and their many friends in the international community together are bringing the country back to life. (US Ambassador Cunningham speaking at a concert in the US Embassy Kabul, quoted in Ayres, 2013)

The metaphors are carried through both the visual language, and the musical sounds. They are communicated through what Christopher Small refers to as a paralanguage of gesture. According to Small, a music performance uses the “language of gesture to explore, affirm and celebrate one’s concepts of ideal relationships” (Small, 1998, p. 98), relationships that “model in metaphoric form those which [the performers and audiences] would like to see in the wider society of their everyday lives” (p. 46). ANIM’s appeal lies at least in part in this metaphoric and gestural
depiction of desired relationships, and its key messages are communicated to and experienced by the audience.

ANIM’s flagship ensembles feature players of both Afghan and Western instruments, dressed in colourful Afghan costumes, performing arrangements of Afghan traditional music and works from the Western canon. This music integrates two cultural worlds that are currently unequal and often at odds. It blends familiar and unfamiliar elements with the reassurance of tonal harmony, notated sounds, orchestra-like formations, and conductors at the helm. The performers represent a “beautiful mosaic of Afghan ethnicities” that offers a picture of “tomorrow’s Afghanistan . . . which embraces diversity and creates equal opportunity for everyone” (Sarmast speaking in Rasmussen, 2015, para. 20). In a country long besieged by ethnic and tribal violence, few such symbols exist, so this is a potent imagining of the future nation.

The inclusion of girls alongside boys—including as conductors—represents the changing status of women (and a challenge to the traditionally restricted social roles). The youth and demeanour of the players is a metaphor for a future Afghanistan that is attractive, understandable, and ready for intercultural cooperation. The power and emotion of these metaphors is enhanced when placed in the recent historical context of the Taliban’s ban on music and the invisibility of women during Taliban rule.

Just as orchestras combined of people whose nations are in conflict (such as the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra) are rhetorically framed as “as symbolising hope for reconciliation and conflict transformation” (Riiser, 2010, p. 20), an orchestra that ‘harmonises’ the distinctive sounds of two musical cultures offers a tantalising vision of geopolitical cooperation between the same countries. Musically and visually, these can be interpreted as representations of “ideal relationships” between Afghanistan and the West.

ANIM also symbolises progress on other political goals. In particular, ANIM’s performances and existence have been rhetorically constructed as part of the fight against the Taliban, a goal that speaks to the international community’s original reasons for being in Afghanistan. The forum titled “Fighting the Taliban with Music” at the World Economic Forum (World Economic Forum, 2017) featuring Sarmast and
two students, and several media stories with similar headlines (e.g. Harooni, 2016), are examples of this rhetorical frame. The school’s existence directly defies the Taliban’s austere interpretation of Islam that sought to silence music and other cultural production and consumption.

For international audiences, ANIM’s existence shows “that hope in Afghanistan is alive, and Afghanistan in spite of all challenges is moving in the right direction” (Sarmast speaking in Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 2015). This message of hope and change is important for non-Afghan audiences as it can help to generate all-important political capital by reviving public support for the long overseas intervention (Druzin, 2013; Turner, 2013). Continued aid and engagement benefits the Afghan government in its fight against armed insurgency, thus supporting the overall objective of the international community in Afghanistan.

Here, the reciprocity is in the value of the optics, a word used in politics that refers to the way an event or decision looks to the general public. ANIM offers its donor governments strong optics by providing an appealing and emotional visual representation of change in Afghanistan, and a musical metaphor and embodiment of the desired future. It provides counterweight to Western media imagery of war and instability, the repeated stories of government corruption, the thousands of lives lost and the billions of dollars invested (Mason, 2011). As one commentator observed, “If a music school is a major victory, things must have been really bad” (Turner, 2013, para. 8). Importantly, the optics from ANIM provide support for international action in Afghanistan in general, not merely for the music school.

Of course, ANIM’s touring can also be framed as a project of intercultural engagement, cooperation and learning, particularly through their partnerships with youth orchestras in the countries they visit. This falls within the school’s stated aim of engaging in cultural diplomacy. However, as intercultural engagements generate the same East-meets-West imagery (along with Western tropes of ‘the universal language of music’ and the civility of Western classical music), they enhance the optics from a political point of view. Indeed, the two frames are mutually compatible.

The third value chain informing donor engagement with ANIM can therefore be summarised as follows: Donors give money to ANIM ➔ ANIM performs ‘hope, change, and future Afghanistan’ in return ➔ Donor governments deliver ‘hope’ to
their domestic audiences ➔ Domestic audiences (via public endorsements and support for government development and military aid) support continued intervention in Afghanistan ➔ Donors support ANIM and its international performances.

These additional layers of interest raise a number of important questions about learner obligations and agency. Former teacher WL described the transactional and political nature of ANIM’s performance obligations as “a vicious circle.” The multiple agendas at play across national and international arenas leave “so many obligations resting on the shoulders of these little kids” (WL, 18/8/16). For WL, the students are the end-bearers of the ‘gift’s’ conditions and burden. It ties an overt political message to the artistic process and product, and makes performers the visible embodiment of larger political goals, possibly to their detriment.

This is happening in an international military and aid context where education in general is increasingly positioned as a ‘soft power’, or a ‘hearts and minds’ tool for fighting the war on terror, linking its delivery to a foreign military presence and foreign military goals (Novelli, 2011). It continues a pattern established during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, when US aid funding produced and distributed educational materials with unambiguous jihadist messaging, as part of the fight against communism (Burde, 2014).

Moreover, in countries like Afghanistan where there is already ideological opposition to education, when education projects are discursively positioned as justifications for the intervention and demonstrations of its success, they can become perceived as partisan and connected to the organ of Western power, which makes them a target (Winthrop & Kirk, 2011). This has already been demonstrated at ANIM, where one of its performances was the target of a suicide bomb attack.

As already observed, it may be impossible for music to transcend politics in Afghanistan because of its long history of being the subject of political control. It is important, too, to acknowledge that many of ANIM’s students support the international community’s goal of neutralising the Taliban and bringing security and stability to their country. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 7, many students find great personal meaning and comfort in constructions of their work as beneficial for the future nation, or as activism that defies the regressive forces in their country. They are willing to play a change-maker role. Similarly, some display a growing
willingness to speak out publicly (for example, in social media) in defense of music in Islam.

However, even if every student agrees with the (politicised) claim of music and education as fundamental cultural rights, not everyone welcomes this degree of political engagement. Some remain fearful (with good reason) of the wider socio-political implications. The risks are therefore considerable, and this raises many questions. Is it possible for the school to balance the needs of both these groups of students? Can students enjoy the extraordinary benefits and opportunities that ANIM offers while still being sheltered from the larger political battles? In the volatility and cultural contestation in Afghanistan, and the political realm of gift-giving and reciprocity, this seems uncertain.

Ultimately, the politicisation of music ensures that learner interests are placed in the service of more powerful interests, reducing their agency. They might enroll as music students, but they are simultaneously being enrolled as revolutionaries, and pioneers in a mission (Watkins, 2012). They need to bravely face their opponents, and be fighters for a cause that stretches well beyond their desire to play music and have a better future. At the same time, in a context that offers such limited opportunities for education and a better future, the benefits of association with ANIM may outweigh the risks, and be the best of the options available to them.

Reliance on shared convictions about music

As described in the introduction to Chapter 4, stated aims in a donor-driven context signal intent, rather than a description of actual practices. Implicit within them is a causal claim that connects the proposed actions to a particular set of outcomes in this context. The causal claim needs to conjure a version of the possible world that the proposed intervention can create; moreover, it needs this version to be recognisable to others.

This is because the evidence-base with which actors might argue the case for music lacks legitimacy in the bureaucratic development world. The arts are rarely well-served by the quantitative measures that are most widely accepted as evidence of efficacy (Belfiore & Bennett, 2007; Galloway, 2009), and there are longstanding disagreements about how the social value of the arts should be assessed (Crossick & Kaszynska, 2016). Theories of change—an increasingly standard component of a
fundraiser’s toolkit in international development and other social change endeavours—around the impact of participatory arts in development contexts remain under-developed in general and are rarely explicated (Dunphy, 2018). Therefore, organisers of music and other arts-based interventions are particularly reliant on audiences accepting their version of cause and effect.

In this environment, the most valuable audiences to find are those that already hold similar beliefs about the utility of art to produce the proposed change or address the identified needs. This is because “no one believes in the transcendental power of art more than those who have felt it. They know how it has changed their life and they want to convince others that it can do as much for them” (Matarasso, 2017, para. 15). This is the basis of shared convictions about the power of music.

The challenge is to find these receptive audiences and capture them with a story that confirms their own experiences and beliefs. For War Child UK, this audience included the British and European music industries, music consumers, and a general public of music consumers who were horrified by the images of wartime Bosnia on their TV screens and wanted to help through a medium (youthful, irreverent, with rock’n’roll values) that was meaningful to them. Hadahur’s donor audiences of Catholic parishes in Australia and an international music education foundation were strongly sympathetic to a rationale of providing music education where it didn’t currently exist, to bring joy to people’s lives and share ‘what we in the West take for granted’. This message could also attract (without explicit statement) those among its audience that might adhere to an uncritical ideal of the universal value of Western music norms, or even Victorian tropes of music education as a way to bring spiritual and moral transcendence in settings of social deprivation (McGuire, 2009). There may be traces of Christian charity and salvation within this construct.

The self-described “boring economists” of the World Bank (Venkatesh Subrararaman speaking in Watkins, 2012) who decided to include ANIM in the Afghanistan Skills Development Project (the school’s most substantial and ongoing source of funding), were a less likely audience for Sarmast’s theory of change that music education could help to build a just and civil society, given their faith in economics metrics and quantitative measurement. The key turning point was “[Sarmast’s] chance encounter with a World Bank consultant and a passionate lover of the arts [emphasis added]” (World Bank, 2012, para. 9), and the subsequent efforts
a further senior World Bank economist made to reflect on his own personal use of music to heal and soothe (World Bank, 2012, para. 10). According to Sarmast, the congruence that these influential individuals found between ANIM’s aspirational claims and their own personal experiences of music was a decisive factor in ANIM’s success in securing World Bank and ASDP support (Sarmast, pers.comm., August 2014).

In the absence of robust theories of change, beliefs-as-evidence depend upon the proposed project’s causal claims finding resonance with the listener. The audience needs to be able to agree with the belief, or recognise its potential and accept the given causal relationship between music and the claimed outcome. This is a key step in engaging the support of donors. Following Matarasso’s observation (quoted above), music and arts lovers are more likely to have experienced the transcendental potential of arts experiences, and therefore more likely to wish to see these shared with others, particularly with those living in extreme circumstances. These ‘true believers’ are therefore a key audience for bids for donations and support.

**Conclusion**

This chapter opened with an examination of the sociocultural, economic, and political realities of war-affected contexts in order to depict the kind of terrain this creates for engagement with arts-based endeavours. This established the context for consideration of three dimensions of external engagement in the case studies, with the goal of illuminating the factors that influence external engagement, and how such engagement can shape and sustain the music work over time.

The subsequent examination allows several general observations to be made. The first is that external engagement predominantly influences the sustainability of a music intervention, ahead of influencing the shape of its content. However there are exceptions to this generalisation, depending on the degree of donor ‘interest’ that a gift represents, and the conditions and expectations of reciprocity that may be attached to it. For example, donor engagement at ANIM has had a shaping influence through the prioritisation of public performances.

At the community level, engagement responded to factors such as the music intervention’s public visibility and the general value afforded to music and music learning within that society. An abundance of activities was correlated with increased
community engagement and approval in the case of the Pavarotti Music Centre. However, the influence of these factors could be reduced dramatically through a negative political framing of the music intervention. The examples of the Pavarotti Music Centre and ANIM illustrated how this could play out.

Across the three dimensions of engagement discussed, visibility has both protective and precarious implications in war-affected contexts. As a protective measure, visibility helps to cultivate emotional investment and pride in the music intervention. However, in settings where the music intervention could be framed in politically negative ways, high visibility increases the risk of becoming a target. The cases showed that there was considerable difference in the expression of that political negativity, from disinterest or disregard (Pavarotti Music Centre in West Mostar) to positioning the project as a target for extremist violence (ANIM). Similarly, if the social value of music learning is a subject of contestation within the community, the protective factor of visibility is reduced.

There is also a correlation (at least in the three cases considered in this study) between a music intervention that responds to the war-affected political environment in the rhetorical or discursive framing of its activities, and the possibility that its work or existence may later be politicised. Both the Pavarotti Music Centre and ANIM cited the recent war in framing their aims and intentions (Chapter 4); and both have experienced political obstacles to broad community engagement with their work. In contrast, Hadahur Music School made no direct references to Timor-Leste’s recent conflict history, and politicisation was never one of its community engagement challenges. Hadahur’s short existence and low public profile admittedly does not make for a conclusive comparison; however, it does provoke further thoughts about the relationships that ‘music interventions as response to political violence’ may generate within a conflicted environment. It may be that even if efforts are made to create a de-politicised space for participants, if the politics of the conflict are embedded in the project’s foundational narratives, they will shape the community’s engagement in ways beyond the project’s design and control. Asserting a political position may be a way to attract funding early on, but it may also create problems locally, at both the community and government level.

This chapter and the four preceding chapters have together examined the process of devising and implementing, shaping and sustaining, a music intervention.
This process has been divided into five critical junctures, as I have labeled these sites of negotiation, decision-making and action in the work of a music intervention. In this chapter, external engagement as a process has been shown to play a forceful role in sustaining music interventions, and a lesser role in shaping their work.

However, these three dimensions of engagement—community, government/institutional, and donor engagement—are dynamic, and constantly subject to change. In particular, donor engagement is likely to gradually reduce, given the time-bound nature of the international presence in the host community, and the likelihood of new conflicts and projects capturing the attention of international audiences. How can long-term sustainability be secured in the face of this imminent departure, and what seeds have already been planted in the previous critical junctures that will influence this? The next and final chapter responds to this important question and draws the learning from the previous critical junctures together into a theoretical model, the Critical Junctures model for music interventions.
CHAPTER 9: Sustainability, a model, and future actions

Considering three widely divergent music interventions in war-affected environments, this thesis has so far identified five critical junctures that play a central role in conceiving, shaping and sustaining such interventions. Each represents a site of intense negotiation, where decisions and actions are made, but also where constructs, beliefs, assumptions and values may be challenged. The critical junctures can therefore be considered as central to the shaping of music interventions, but also as potential flashpoints for tensions, unanticipated contestations, and vulnerability that can challenge perceptions of short-term success as well as long-term sustainability. In addition, each critical juncture reveals forces—confluences of environmental, relational, ideological, and personal factors—that further contribute to the conception, shaping and sustaining of music interventions in war-affected settings. These render each music intervention unique in its place and time, and indicate the ways each might be embraced within the wider environment in supportive and resonant ways, towards independence from its initial external support.

Exactly how that was managed in each of the case studies merits some final reflections. Therefore, this last chapter has a threefold agenda (Figure 21, below). It begins by bringing the three case study narratives to a close by examining how they addressed the challenging task of sustaining activities beyond the period of initial funding and external support; it ends by suggesting future actions and further research; but most importantly, it summarises the research outcomes, drawing the findings of the previous five chapters together into a model that depicts the process of shaping, implementing, and sustaining music interventions.

Figure 21: Structural outline of chapter 9
Sustaining music programs in a changing landscape

There is a tension at the heart of the idea of sustaining an intervention. Logically speaking, if an intervention is initiated in order to address a perceived need arising from the recent history of war or conflict, once the need has been addressed, the intervention should no longer be required. Additionally, the funding landscape of an aid-dominated environment supports the short-term energy and time-bound, project-based injection of means that characterise an intervention. Challenging these conditions is the fact that sustainability is often important to host communities as well as to organisers and participants. As described in Chapter 4, music and other arts interventions frequently aspire towards actions, outcomes, and intended changes that will span some way into the future. Music education, cultural regeneration, social development, and healing, health, and wellbeing are implicitly long-term endeavours, where the earliest indicators of self-sufficiency and sustainability may take several years to be realised. The time-bound nature of external support is therefore likely to be insufficient to fully realise the desired goals and intentions. Furthermore, as shown in Chapter 8, the local political and economic environment is often an unreliable or unwilling ally in assuring the continuation of such projects when the initial period of external interest and support comes to an end. This inherent tension is the reason why sustainability of music programs initiated within a time-bound, project-based funding landscape is of particular interest.

Each of the three case studies came into existence with dedicated ‘intervention’ resources, yet each implied a desire to sustain their work in some way:

- Pavarotti Music Centre was an externally-driven response to the post-war trauma and social needs of the Mostar population. It was built as a permanent contribution with substantial funds from international supporters, with an expectation of transfer to full local ownership.
- Hadahur Music School was an externally-driven response to a locally-expressed desire for music education, funded with international donations. Its stated intention to train future music teachers to succeed its foreign teachers signalled its intention to be self-sustaining.
- ANIM was an internally-driven and externally funded response to music deficit following Taliban rule, with the goal of reforming technical and vocational music training. It was interventionist in form due to the time-bound
nature of its funding. Its long-term intentions are evident in its strategic planning, particularly for local graduates to succeed the expert expatriate faculty.

To realise the goal of continued provision of activities and services, each program needed to move beyond its intervention-based resources towards a model that could be self-sufficient and independent of its initiators’ funds and direction. Sustainability therefore required each project to make the transition from time-bound intervention (an inherently unsustainable model) to either an “organic” structure or an institution (Schippers, 2018, p. 24). Schippers defines an organic model of community music-making as one that arises within a specific time and place, and functions holistically with minimal need of external resources. In contrast, the institutional model seeks to formalise music provision into a long-term or ongoing structure.

Different actors (such as organisers and local participants) are likely to have different perceptions of how a project that was implemented as a time-bound intervention should be sustained. There may be strongly held convictions about who should assume responsibility, if it should even be sustained at all, or in what form. For example, the commitment that War Child Holland (a charity working to assist children affected by war) makes to a country is bound to the needs of the “first generation of children that have been actively in the conflict” (Verloop, 15/7/16). As this group reaches adulthood, War Child Holland gradually reduces their support and programming. In the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, this amounted to a ten-year commitment.

Some would argue that sustainability is an ethical obligation on the part of interveners. In contexts of aid and international assistance, the projected outcomes of change and benefit that accompany the assistance function as a promise, which in turn generates desires among the target participants in the host community (De Vries, 2007). Sustainability in this context means acknowledging those desires, anticipating and adapting to the changed environment, and finding the way(s) to maintain provision of activities in the same or a modified format, independent of external support (Titon, 2015).

Chapter 3 has already outlined the outcomes of two of the three case studies in relation to their sustainability (the third, ANIM, is still operating in its original form).
Both undertook to institutionalise in some way, reflecting Stupples’ observation that in highly unstable environments, where the funding environment favours short-term projects over the creation of institutions, “the most innovative or revolutionary thing you can do” is become an institution (Stupples, 2011, p. 88, quoting Nicaraguan artist and educator Patricia Belli). What were the steps each case took (or is taking) to secure a future in a context where much remains uncertain?

_Pavarotti Music Centre_

The Pavarotti Music Centre went down the path of institutionalisation, joining the municipal government’s annual budget as a public cultural institution in 2004 following several years of financial crisis. War Child UK then formally transferred its 49% ownership to the municipal government in 2008. This arrangement ensured survival but little more—it provided a small annual budget to cover minimum wage salaries, but nothing for building repairs, which were sorely needed by that time (R.D., 2016). Public institution status also rendered the Pavarotti Centre ineligible for many of the funding options available to cultural programs registered as NGOs, limiting its alternative funding streams (E. Nezirović, pers. comm. 11/7/16).

Many observers in Mostar felt deeply apprehensive about the Pavarotti Centre’s transition to political ownership, concerned that it could compromise the Centre’s non-nationalist values, or see the Centre start to follow a local norm of discriminatory employment practices against non-party members (Amnesty International, 2006). However, survival through political alignment may be the surest way to maintain an intended arts-based or cultural mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Many cultural institutions from pre-war Yugoslavia (such as the National Museum, and the History Museum) have been closed due to lack of government support and funding. In a context of ethnically-divided politics, there is little political expedience in preserving monuments or artefacts that testify to a past of coexistence and cultural hybridity (Fontana, 2013; Hooper, 2012).

Despite these fears, and the Music Centre’s apparent political alignment to the Bosniak political party, the Pavarotti Music Centre’s ethic of multi-ethnic inclusion and welcome continues without obstruction. Recent years have also seen the Centre’s local image revived from being a place of civic disappointment to one of renewed interest. Commentators attributed this revival to two independent programs, the
annual Mostar Blues Festival, and the Mostar Rock School, citing them as the reason that “things are starting to come alive again in the Pavarotti Centre” (mixed focus group, 7/11/13). While the current Director describes the Centre’s current status as mere “survival” (R.D., 2016, p. para. 7), in the still conflict-ridden Mostar environment, survival is significant.

_Hadahur Music School_

A second option is to rationalise and consolidate the music intervention activities under the auspices of a larger institution. This is effectively what happened to Hadahur Music School. Following its review of the school, SMIET decided to “redefine [Hadahur] as a Music Program which [would] sit beside the other programs of the Religious Sisters” (Review of Hadahur Music School, p. 6). This ensured SMIET’s commitment to music in Timor would continue, but in a different form. The name ‘Hadahur’ was to cease with the school’s closure.

The new program maintained the focus on Early Childhood classroom music and teacher training, and over the intervening years was gradually integrated into RSDP’s other educational provision. By December 2016, music was no longer promoted as a separate program strand; it had become a component within a new initiative, the mobile literacy program (RSDP website, “What we do”, retrieved 15/10/2017). This final delivery structure bears strong relationship to the intentions discussed in Chapter 4: to integrate music education into the literacy curriculum and training program. It is also a delivery model for which most of the required resources (instruments, materials, expertise) are already in-house.

From SMIET’s perspective, the closure of Hadahur was a minor modification that enabled them to maintain provision of music activities within a more contained and manageable model. “As the school had not gone on for very long, there was no big deal. Pupils continue to come to Antônio de Padua, schools continue to be visited, and both activities remain” (Connelly, 25/5/15). However, most of the Timorese informants and Australian consultants experienced the closure of Hadahur Music School as an abrupt and unexpected exit, communicated in a way that disempowered many participants, as described in Chapter 7.

This more negative interpretation of the events confirms the finding of a global research study with recipients of aid: that the cessation of service provision
will be felt less through its ending than through the way the organisation managed the exit (Anderson et al., 2012, pp. 115-117). The top-down communication style that delivered news of Hadahur’s closure reinforced the asymmetry of the organiser-participant relationship, rendering the latter voiceless in decisions that impacted them directly. Development structures create what De Vries (2007) has labeled a “desiring machine” (p. 25), where the promise of development creates the desire for the changes that development proposes to bring. For Hadahur participants, the promise of music development created a corresponding desire for and anticipation of music development. The project’s abrupt end broke that promise, leaving the desire activated, but stranded, and this effectively began to override any good that had been experienced.

It is important not to underestimate the harms that broken promises can inflict in development contexts. With the benefit of hindsight and two decades of subsequent development experience, the former director of War Child Holland reflected that:

You can do more harm than good if you start a process that you can’t finish . . . We were learning by doing [in Mostar] but I’m not sure if we were always able to ‘Do No Harm. That’s where I worry, that we didn’t make promises, or start things that we never continued. (Willemijn Verloop, former director War Child Holland, 15/7/16)

Therefore, while institutionalisation through program reduction and absorption offers a pragmatic solution to issues of sustainability, it may in fact be experienced as an ending or closure by those invested in the withdrawn components. Clearly it takes time to find the ideal balance between program content and organisational capacity, but a process of trial and error that involves starting and ceasing particular programs may be experienced negatively among participants. Such processes need to involve adequate consultation, and advance warning of impending change, so that those affected have sufficient time and agency to make alternative arrangements. The Hadahur experience illustrated the importance of managing program endings with care.

*Afghanistan National Institute of Music*

Unlike the other two case studies, ANIM began its operations as an institution, and a part of the country’s formal education provision. Its ‘intervention’ status is inferred
from the time-bound funding model that enabled the school to open in its current format. ANIM’s sustainability strategies focus on ensuring educational and financial sustainability when its current World Bank funding ends in 2020. However, the steps that it has taken to secure this future also demonstrate the limitations on future planning in a volatile and unpredictable context. For example, the central strategy for ensuring educational sustainability is to employ its graduates to work as teachers in the school. They begin as Junior Faculty and in time take on full, senior roles and replace expatriate staff (currently funded through the World Bank grants) and unqualified local staff. This process has already begun, with five Junior Faculty appointed in 2015, and a further five in 2016.

This strategy rests upon the assumption that ANIM’s graduates will choose to stay in Afghanistan and to work as musicians and music teachers within the school. Such a succession plan will work best if the brightest and most able students are those that opt to continue through to Grade 14. However, high-achieving students often have the greatest array of options for post-school study and careers, and may choose to discontinue music and enter a different field. Certainly, fieldwork interviews revealed several instances where stated student plans conflicted with the Director’s hopes and investments.

For others, their musical aspirations may outgrow what Afghanistan can offer them:

As students develop and become more advanced, they’re going to become curious about their options beyond ANIM . . . If they get a chance to study elsewhere, it is unlikely that they’re going to want to come back to Afghanistan. And that’s a big problem, the ‘brain drain’. The brightest minds often go abroad and never return.  (XD, 11/7/16)

The local political, economic, and security conditions may further shape student choices. As observed in Chapter 7, the lack of economic opportunities and dire security situation in Afghanistan has led many people to lose faith that anything will ever improve. Many choose to leave the country through unofficial means (the 2015 refugee crisis in Europe was a visible manifestation of this). Of the five Junior Faculty appointed in 2015, four had left the country to seek asylum before the end of that year (WL, 18/8/16).
Many talented students also fail to graduate, forced to leave the school before completing their studies due to family or social pressures. One student interviewed for this research in late 2016, Zarifa, had left ANIM by October 2017. She had been forced to end her music studies (to her great distress) following the loss of family support. Student attrition and the wider socioeconomic environment combine to make the intended pathway that moves students to senior staff roles one that is littered with obstacles.

Afghanistan’s sociocultural and political contestations around music and musicians also impact ANIM’s plans for income generation (towards the goal of financial sustainability). ANIM has infrastructure and assets that it could offer for rent to generate income (such as a concert hall and recording studio for which construction work has begun but is not yet completed), and facilities, instruments, and teachers that could be used in evening community music classes for local community members (Afghans and expatriates). However, this plan rests on the assumption that Afghanistan has a sufficient consumer class eager to hire these venues, buy tickets for public concerts, or engage in music learning as a hobby. The gradual reduction of foreign NGOs and agencies in Kabul (whose employees represent a sizeable segment of ANIM’s most active supporters at the current time) raises the question of sufficient demand for such services. Observers have voiced doubts that venue rentals and evening classes for the public would provide sufficient income for the school (XD, 11/7/16).

Current legislation poses a further obstacle. Afghan financial laws require any income generated in a Ministry of Education school to transfer to general Ministry revenue. For Sarmast, reforming this legislation is a critical goal; he considers it to be the main obstacle to ANIM’s financial sustainability (13/12/16). However, negotiations have been underway since ANIM first opened, and resistance to this legislative change within the relevant Ministries has been robust thus far. ANIM’s efforts to plan for its future highlight the impossibility of forward planning in an unstable environment, and where hoped-for social change is central to the realisation of plans.
The relationship between sustainability and change

With these various obstacles to securing sustainable futures across the three case studies in mind, it is useful to recall MacLachlan et al.’s (2010) observation (introduced in Chapter 6) of the relationship between the sustainability of an intervention in development contexts, and the pre-existing conditions of the context into which it is inserted. The authors conclude that “the more you change, the less you can sustain” because you “move further away from the current supporting social infrastructure” (p. 143).

Applied to ANIM, this rule draws attention to how distant ANIM’s practices and values are from ‘the current supporting social infrastructure’. This distance is seen not only in the fact that it is a music school in a context where the inherent social value of music is contested, but because it has introduced Western music (and its instruments, repertoire, knowledge systems, and experts) alongside Afghan classical music, individual rights over collective rights, girls educated alongside boys in a society that remains strictly segregated, and non-discriminatory enrolment policies in a context where tribal affiliations and patriarchal hierarchies determine how opportunities and resources are distributed. For ANIM to be embraced and sustained by its wider community, the supporting social infrastructure must undergo a number of massive shifts.

Applied to Hadahur, this rule suggests that it is the local definition of local cultural assets that must be foregrounded, lending support to the school’s early efforts to focus on the Western and Church music interests of the initial learner cohort. Any effort to recontextualise local knowledge into the music school structure required a concomitant conscientisation process of critiquing assumptions about the value of different cultural knowledge. Without such a process, the local social infrastructure would have struggled to support and endorse the learning activities, threatening their sustainability within the school, and therefore the school’s local ‘fit’ and support.

In contrast, this rule of the inverse relationship between change and sustainability may help to explain how it is that the Pavarotti Music Centre is still in operation. The original intervention introduced changes that maintained some connections with how music learning already happened. It built on the high social value of music and arts, a culture of out-of-school learning and activities, and
tolerance of multi-ethnic spaces (i.e. they were not targets of nationalist violence). It engaged with pre-war values and norms around cosmopolitanism that remained important and familiar to a sufficient proportion of the population to not provoke major contestations. In other words, the changes that the intervention introduced remained close to the ‘current supporting social infrastructure’.

**Sustainability of provision**

The two options considered thus far, institutionalisation or absorption into a pre-existing institution, both revolve around sustainability of the *provider*. However, different possibilities open up if the intention turns towards sustainability of *provision*. Sustainability of provision occurs when services, knowledge, and material assets continue to be available “beyond the life of the project, even if these are provided from other sources” (Lewis, 2003, p. 213). In the case of a music intervention, this might be indicated through the proliferation of additional and similar projects elsewhere in the locale, connected in some way (through personnel, or as off-shoot projects) to the original intervention.

A salient illustration of sustainability of provision was seen in Mostar. This was not directly nominated among the research participants as an outcome of the Pavarotti Centre, but emerged in the data as informants discussed cultural provision in their town. It became evident that not only had Pavarotti Centre ‘seeded’ subsequent initiatives in the town (through processes to be discussed), but that it had likewise been shaped by earlier arts initiatives in the town (Howell, 2015).

One trajectory links the Pavarotti Music Centre to two later alternative arts venues in Mostar:

The really important thing in my life is that I met the people I call my best friends now [at Pavarotti] . . . We started hanging around together. We started organising our literature evenings . . . Basically, things what we did later on [establishing a magazine, a festival, and a café-bar], we can say started in Pavarotti Music Centre, because we met there. (Marko, 12/11/2013)

Marko and his friends went on to establish a popular bar and arts venue, the Alternative Institute. Several years later, a network of artists and cultural producers that formed at the Alternative Institute founded the Abrašević Youth Cultural Centre, another alternative arts ‘contact place’ that is still in operation today.
The second trajectory starts before the Pavarotti Music Centre existed, at the first significant gathering site for youths from both sides of post-war Mostar. This was Mladi Most [Youth Bridge], which opened in 1995 and was located close to the frontline. Mladi Most functioned as both a social and alternative arts space, with homework clubs, courses in theatre and photography, and space for bands to rehearse. One group of arts-focused youths met there and formed their own arts NGO, Apeiron de Art. Apeiron members were then employed as the core of the Schools Outreach team at the Pavarotti Music Centre. This team included Orhan ‘Oha’ Maslo, who left the Pavarotti Music Centre in 2000 in order to start his own enterprise, a bar and music venue for youths from both sides of the city.

I created my own organisation. Very young, very inexperienced, I must say. But, well, I dared. I dared to do it. It was the first club that massively brought people from the West and East in the same room, and there were no problems. They didn’t fight. Even the first band I booked was from the West side. (Oha, 29/10/13)

Later again, Oha founded the Mostar Rock School, described earlier as playing a major role in reviving the Pavarotti Music Centre’s local image. This project continues the ‘contact place’ provision in Mostar, consistently attracting youths from both sides of the city.

Each new initiative created a sympathetic meeting space for the generation of new social and cultural networks, in which the seeds of future initiatives were planted. Three factors contributed to this ‘seeding’ process across and between venues: the social provision of an interethnic contact place (which meant it attracted individuals of like political/ideological mindset) and informal community space; a mission that valued independent or alternative arts and culture (thus attracting those with similar aesthetic interests, and desire to work outside the mainstream); and organisational commitment to supporting the creative agency and independent initiatives of the participants. Each built upon the achievements and legacies of preceding projects and each was a valuable site for the “exchange of ideas” (Alen, 14/11/13). This trajectory of projects has ensured continued provision of alternative arts contact places for each subsequent cohort of Mostar youths.
Arguably, sustainability of provision was SMIET’s missed opportunity. A more consultative process or collaborative problem-solving following the review of Hadahur Music School might have identified ways for those that wished to continue their learning (such as Milka and Aurelio with their young beginner instrumentalists, or the vocalists with professional aspirations) to do so. This might have provided impetus for other, locally-led music teaching efforts to be seeded that could have continued independently of SMIET, and enabled more in the community to access music education over time.

While Mostar is only a single example, and one that likely benefitted from the widespread aid agency and local community support for arts and cultural projects that was particular to post-war Bosnia (as described in Haskell, 2011), it nonetheless suggests sustainability of provision should be a consideration with regard to music and other arts-based interventions, and embedded in program design. Furthermore, proliferation of new initiatives generated in response to the intervention could offer meaningful and measurable indicators of an intervention’s sustainability.

This examination of the ways that the three case studies addressed the challenge of sustainability concludes the data-driven sections of this thesis. The next section draws these findings and those of the earlier chapters together to consider what has been learned about how music interventions—structured, time-bound, music learning and participation programs in war-affected contexts—work, and in particular how they are shaped and sustained. It condenses this learning into a single theoretical model, grounded in the data from the three case studies, that has likely transferability to other music projects in other war-affected settings.

**Research outcomes**

**Summary of the research**

This research sought to answer a primary research question and four related sub-questions that pointed to those aspects and actors that played or play an influential role in shaping and sustaining the music interventions in war-affected settings.
What are the key factors that shape, help realise, and sustain music interventions in war-affected settings?

- What is the influence of the wider context, in particular the large-scale presence of aid and the recent history of war?
- How do organisers, participants, and external actors contribute to these processes?
- What is the influence of buildings, facilities, pedagogical approaches and repertoire?
- What other forces contribute to the shaping, realising, and sustaining of music interventions in war-affected settings?

The three cases—selected to represent contrasting geopolitical agendas, historical antecedents, and sociocultural and economic conditions—enabled a deep and broad investigation into the phenomenon. Each site revealed divergent responses to variant conditions, and the wide range of data sources (interviews, group interviews, field journals, historical documents, in-house materials, media sources, and other publications and broadcasts) yielded rich contextual information that enabled capturing variables and relationships characteristic of each site, while ensuring they remained grounded in their contexts.

The methodological aim was to open the practices and contexts up for discussion and to identify key factors for consideration at the conceptual, action, and future planning levels. I approached each case study as a complex site and endeavour, recognising the importance of relationships between organisational components, and the way that settings like these can amplify issues of practice and philosophy, or produce reactions disproportionate to the initial trigger or action. Woven throughout were insights of participants, organisers, teachers, and observers: the people in the recipient communities for whom these projects held value and meaning. Their experiences, and the meaning they ascribed to these, have been essential to the study’s conclusions.

Close examination of three very different case studies revealed five key themes, functioning as critical conceptual and operational junctures that provoked intense negotiation, and were therefore productive of decisions and action. However, they also brought contrasting beliefs and assumptions about music, change, and
organisation. These tensions make the critical junctures sites of potential instability as well as growth.

**A model of critical junctures that shape and sustain music interventions**

Music interventions in war-affected settings are shaped and sustained by the choices and actions taken within a set of critical junctures, five of which have provided the thematic framework for the data-rich sections of this thesis. A sixth, Internal Engagement, has been largely integrated in the discussions in the previous chapters, given the prominence of the voices of internal stakeholders (primarily staff and students) in negotiations at each critical juncture. However, there is a compelling argument for regarding these voices and negotiations as a critical juncture in their own right. As we have seen, staff and students are a major force to reckon with in the development and implementation of music interventions in war-affected environments, and consequently deserve a dedicated place in the schematic representation of critical junctures.

I do not see the critical junctures as points in time. Rather, they are significant spaces of negotiation in which choices are made that determine aspects of the music intervention’s shape, and sow seeds for its potential sustainability. I have conceptualised them as non-linear and interrelated, occurring sometimes concurrently, sometimes consecutively, and in varying orders. While the word ‘juncture’ suggests a crossroads of some sort, with delineated pathways, it is the negotiation that takes place from which choices and actions will emerge that makes it an apt denominator for these critical spaces. They form the central part of the theoretical model that is the main contribution of this research (Figure 22).
The process that the critical junctures outline is preceded by a set of pre-conditions: the circumstances that combine to bring the music interventions into existence. These pre-conditions (and the individuals and entities behind them) work in concert with the earlier life experiences and convictions of the primary intervention actors. The combination of these is a principal force in shaping the aims, constructs, and motivations, which in turn begin the process of shaping and conceptualising the music intervention. The pre-conditions comprise contexts that are war-affected; where a group of actors are moved to intervene with music; and where there is availability of resources, most likely through the large-scale presence of aid with its temporary abundance of funds, project focus, and global interest. They also signal the likely presence of influential environmental factors; for example, recent history of warfare suggests that questions of culture and identity may be in debate, and even mobilised for political gain. Similarly, the availability of aid resources indicates the presence of new power dynamics and a mix of cultures and worldviews.

Following the ‘Process’ section, the Critical Junctures model can result in three types of music intervention outcomes. The third of these, potential for sustainability, has been the particular focus of this chapter, and financial, technical, psychosocial, and environmental dimensions contribute to the potential for sustainability. A second outcome that music interventions will produce is impact in the form of measurable outputs. These could include the number of lessons given,
students enrolled, teachers trained, outreach programs offered, graduates, intergroup friendships and networks formed, and so on. A related, yet separate outcome concerns how success has been perceived and defined within the music intervention. This type of outcome accommodates more subjective and intangible measures, experiences, and impacts, such as manifestations of social transformation (e.g. social cohesion and intergroup cooperation) and individual change (e.g. pathways, goal-setting, agency, and leadership). However, its subjectivity also affords a degree of malleability, and the possibility of manipulation of data in order to create a desired narrative for donors and other external audiences.

The process of shaping a music intervention and building its potential for sustainability has occupied the body of this thesis and is represented in Figure 22 as a set of distinct but interconnected sites. At the centre of the process, the critical juncture of Aims, Motivations and Constructs (Chapter 4) represents the various projections and aspirations for the music intervention. These follow from the preconditions, and include the manifestations discussed in Chapter 4 of stated aims, organisers’ motivational roots, community interpretations of the stated aims, and participants’ motivations. This is also the space in which divergent cultural or ideological constructs (such as those around the relative value of different music practices discussed in Chapter 6, and cultural contestations around national identity that often occur in war-affected contexts) may first be revealed. It is helpful to distinguish between stated aims and organisers’ motivational roots, as the former have a very specific function and audience in development action. The latter, often found in subtext rather than overt statements, are a potential indicator of the direction that the music intervention will take. Their influence can be seen shaping choices and actions in other critical junctures. Much of what occurs later in the music intervention process is connected to the projections and drivers arising in this juncture, which is the reason it is positioned at the centre of the model.

The critical juncture of Buildings and Facilities (Chapter 5) is the space in which physical resources are negotiated. Music interventions benefit from dedicated, consistent accommodation. They shape the activities through the available facilities and infrastructure; they sustain the initiative through their physical permanence (albeit with the caveat that buildings can also be repurposed). Not only do these facilitate content, they facilitate social relationships and community access. When combined
with positive and affirming organisational cultural practices they can support beneficial psychosocial experiences.

Buildings and dedicated premises for the music work correlate with sustained provision of music activities in this study. However, the case for including building construction within a music intervention was equivocal at best, because of the additional tensions and power dynamics around land tenure, and the potential for corruption in construction projects. Funding for buildings is also challenging to secure. Therefore, some form of ongoing local support from more powerful institutions (such as governments or religious institutions) may be a correlated factor in the relationship between buildings and sustainability, linking Buildings and Facilities to External Engagement.

Power dynamics are also implicated at the critical juncture of Pedagogy, Learning Materials, and other Content (Chapter 6). As the site where the defining practices of the music intervention first take shape, this juncture can be a space of early contestation and debate. Pedagogical choices have ideological roots (reflecting organisers’ motivational roots) and deep personal convictions; as a result, contestations may be fiercely fought, damaging relationships and jeopardising long-term stability. Choices and actions at this juncture are an evident shaping factor, but also have implications for capacity for expert authority and teaching to continue across the time-bound period of external support.

Similarly, ideological, political, and cultural differences are likely to meet in active interface at the critical juncture of Organisational Culture, the second juncture concerned with internal practices. Organisational culture evolves dynamically, in response to both internal and external factors. At this critical juncture, actors may invest many personal preferences, priorities, and convictions in the music project as they set about building (or avoiding) structures, systems, and organisational processes, all of which will determine the overall coherence experienced and communicated within the project. Furthermore, these are likely to play a determining role in the extent to which power and authority can be transferred from external to local actors. Chapter 7 examined how distinctive organisational cultures evolved through cultural styles, strategies for sharing or withholding power, and the shared narratives of meaning and purpose. These three components are not the only aspects of organisational culture and structure, nor the only ways that power transitions occur.

296
However, they were the aspects that provided salient links between shape and sustainability in this study.

The remaining two critical junctures are processes rather than practices, and are ongoing and dynamic rather than existing within a particular timeframe. External Engagement encompasses the relationship-building process between a music intervention and the wider community, including with donors and governments, and was examined in Chapter 8. The ‘interested’ nature of gifts and the role of conditions and reciprocity have a role in both shaping and sustaining music interventions. Factors such as the project’s visibility, political framing, community access and the inherent value of music in that society interacted to produce varying degrees of community engagement. Factors of expedience, personal faith in the transformational potential of music learning, and desired ‘optics’ for external audiences were influential in securing government and donor engagement.

As a process, Internal Engagement is generated within the music intervention across various junctures. Buildings and facilities, pedagogy, learning materials and other content, declarations of aims, and the organisational culture that evolves may each be the focus of and motivation for engagement among participants, teachers, and organisers. Internal engagement also responds to the interactions and interrelations between these actors and these critical junctures. In addition, internal engagement correlates with the potential for sustainability, as it indicates the music intervention’s fitness for purpose, the appeal and relevance of its provision, and the presence of a community and organisational culture to which its internal stakeholders feel a sense of belonging and voice. Weak internal engagement is likely to lead to cultural fragmentation or participant exit, threatening the music project’s capacity to attract external support or generate income internally. This has potentially dire results for sustainability. However, internal engagement is a dynamic process in a complex setting, occurring and sustaining in non-linear and disproportionate ways and with likely ebbs and flows in levels of engagement.

**Workings and applications**

Within the ‘Process’ part of the model, the critical junctures interact and connect in variable ways. The relationship between organisers’ stated aims and donor audiences, for example, couples the juncture of Aims and Motivations with External
Engagement. The critical juncture of Buildings and Facilities similarly connects to External Engagement with the local community, due to the visibility and public face the built environment affords the music intervention. Internal Engagement is both productive of and a product of the projections of Aims and Motivations; the choices made regarding Buildings and Facilities; learning interactions with Pedagogy, Materials and other Content; and the interactions, values and meaning created at the level of Organisational Culture. Links between Pedagogy, Materials and Content, and Buildings and Facilities were two-way, with facilities inspiring programs strands, and the desire for particular programming inspiring facilities.

The Critical Junctures model also captures unexpected elements within the case studies. For example, data that arose in the overlap between Aims, Motivations and Constructs, Internal and External Engagement, and Pedagogy and Learning Materials indicated a relationship between middle class identity formation and music participation. This was first apparent as an interesting tension in the Pavarotti Music Centre case study, where the different ways that informants described the Music Centre’s predominant participant group used descriptors that appeared to be possible signifiers of class (discussed in Chapter 8). Patterns suggestive of ‘middleclassness’ also arose in the other case studies. The participant group at Hadahur was more representative of Timorese middle classes than of ‘the poorest and most disadvantaged’ that SMIET had intended to work with. ANIM hoped to cultivate a new class of musician that would enjoy a higher social ranking than the country’s hereditary musicians, traditionally a low status, marginalised social group.

Other unanticipated findings concerned the high degree of reciprocity and conditionality between donors and music interventions, and emergence of international teachers as a vulnerable group. The former was revealed through the interactions across the junctures of Aims, Motivations, and Constructs, performance as part of Pedagogy and Learning Materials, and External (donor) Engagement and was particularly evident at ANIM. The latter arose due to the complex relationships between international teachers, the music intervention’s stated Aims, Organisational Culture, external realities, and their own cherished ideals. These produced frequent experiences of disjuncture within the organisational cultures of music interventions. These appeared to generate not only intense feelings of sadness and loss among teachers, but also exposed them as the least protected group within each site. These
unexpected findings were produced *across* and *between* critical junctures, suggesting the model’s validity in revealing some of the more oblique and lateral factors that contribute to shape and sustainability.

The development of the Critical Junctures model is the principal contribution of this thesis. It is a theoretical contribution, grounded in empirical data, for understanding music interventions and their interactions in war-affected and aid-dominated contexts. It provides the intended primary audience of this study—practitioners from fields such as community music, music education, music therapy, applied ethnomusicology, and psychosocial programming and policy leaders in international and cultural development—with tools for designing, planning, leading, and handing over music projects in war-affected settings (or other unpredictable and economically-constrained environments with unequal power dynamics) that will help to ensure sensitivity to context and fitness for purpose.

For the purposes of planning and realising music interventions, and transferring ownership to local actors, the Critical Junctures model draws attention to key areas of action and instability, flagging potential tensions and helping practitioners remain alert to factors that a shared passion for the project may mask. It aids those engaged in tasks of describing, evaluating, comparing, or simply seeking to understand music interventions by providing a consistent analytical framework, while remaining sufficiently broad to capture the conditions that are specific or unique to each site.

The Critical Junctures model also adds a new context to two established frameworks that have mapped domains for shaping and sustaining music in the community sphere (Bartleet, Dunbar-Hall, Letts, & Schippers, 2009), and for sustaining music cultures in nine international contexts (Schippers & Grant, 2016). A comparison of these two earlier frameworks with the Critical Junctures model shows several areas of common concern (such as infrastructure, pedagogy, and the degrees and drivers of support found in the wider context). However, the models are not interchangeable. The research foci and questions (in this study, the interest in how music projects are shaped and sustained) and particularities of context (in this study, the sociocultural, political and economic conditions of war-torn, aid-dominated contexts) produced different clusters of interest.


Influences of the large-scale presence of aid and the recent history of war

The influences of the large-scale presence of international aid encompass the imposition of new power dynamics, the norms and values these impose upon the host community, and the resources the aid apparatus can provide. The power asymmetry between the aid community and the host community can lend a pragmatic appeal to the acquisition of ‘Western’ norms or knowledge. This can shape what is valued and sought-after in the host community, which in turn may shape how participants engage with a music intervention, and who the ‘experts’ will be. This has considerable implications for the later independent sustaining of the music activities in some form, as sustainability necessitates a transfer of power and authority that is actual, rather than token, and that is accepted by the wider community (local actors and external supporters).

The recent history of war, on the other hand, produces two influential backdrops: a likely local contestation around cultural expression as part of national identity, and limited interest and support from government bodies. ‘Culture wars’ can politicise arts endeavours, or divide community engagement. Limited government or institutional interest is in part a result of the high-needs, insecure, and volatile economic and political environment; however, the legacy of hyper-militarised wartime values and corresponding social hierarchies should not be underestimated. The research findings also suggested that politically framing music interventions could have negative repercussions. The more strongly a music intervention is framed as a response to the war at the time of its inauguration, the greater the associated risk of subsequent attributions of alignment with a particular side of the conflict. This was a potential source of instability at the Pavarotti Music Centre, and is a growing source of instability and risk for ANIM.

Contributions of organisers, participants, and external actors

The evidence from these three case studies suggests that organisers (and their underlying motivational roots) are the predominant shaping force of music interventions. Participants are also influential where the organisational culture invites their input and initiatives. Communities may also contribute to the shape of the intervention over time; however, this was a lesser influence in the three case studies in this research.
On the other hand, community engagement and local government or institutional supports were shown to play a critical role in the sustainability of a music intervention beyond the period of external support. Visibility, political framing, community access, and the inherent value afforded to music within the wider community influenced the extent to which communities engaged with the music interventions.

The study also found that donors had some influence on the shape of activities within the music interventions, from influencing at the design stage (e.g. Brian Eno, Luciano Pavarotti, at the Pavarotti Music Centre), to creating demand for a performance culture (e.g. ANIM). Donors also directly influenced the sustainability of the project, initially through their funding provision, and later through the maintenance of a degree of protective oversight that added a layer of tacit external approval or disapproval to any new decisions. Interactions between the Pavarotti Music Centre, the municipal government, and the widow of main donor Luciano Pavarotti in 2016 indicated one way that this oversight could work.

*The influence of buildings, facilities, pedagogical approaches, and repertoire to the music interventions*

Buildings, facilities, pedagogies, and repertoire have direct influence on the content of the music intervention and the psychosocial experience of participants in ways that help to delineate the music making as a ‘world away’ from the stresses and pressures of the external environment. Factors such as perceptions of cultural assets, agendas for cultural development, adherence to external (‘universal’) norms, and donor interest have strong potential to influence the shape of a music intervention. Pedagogical choices that position expertise outside the host community can create dependence on external actors, and therefore pose a risk to long-term sustainability. However, dedicated buildings and facilities for music interventions can help to sustain activities beyond the period of external support. Buildings, facilities, pedagogies, and repertoire strongly influence participant, teacher, and donor engagement, but are also potential crucibles for conflict and (in the case of buildings) corruption and appropriation over time.
Other forces that influence the shaping, realising, and sustaining of music interventions

In this study, ‘forces’ referred to the conflation of factors (such as personal drivers, relationships, historical antecedents, pre-determined constructs and beliefs, political agendas, environmental constraints, etc) that influence the shape and sustainable potential of the music interventions. The forces I have identified cluster around each of the critical junctures. Many are personal and specific to individual actors, such as beliefs about the inherent social value of music, or idealistic imaginings of its potential to transform social interactions. These were seen in particular at the critical junctures of Organisational Culture, External Engagement, and Aims and Motivations. Similarly, individual actors’ perceptions of necessity, need, and scarcity were forceful at the critical juncture of Buildings and Facilities.

Some constructs can be traced back to larger forces, such as ideological precepts to which particular actors adhere, political influence, cultural values from the actors’ place of origin, or the norms and values inherited from institutional affiliations and the legacies of colonialism. Some are linked to environmental factors, such as the drive to replace something that has been lost valued. Some of the forces I have identified are push and pull factors, working indirectly to steer actors towards particular choices and actions. Lastly, some forces appeared to be external (such as the role of political expediency in External Engagement) but could also be internalised and reinforced from within by music intervention actors.

Many forces came from forceful and charismatic individuals. An important finding has been the way that the motivational roots of organisers have been far more influential in shaping the music interventions than the stated aims. This finding is important because stated aims are frequently adopted as the objects of interest in subsequent evaluations, which can sometimes blur the borders between the aspirational rhetoric of advocacy, reporting to donors, and critical research that supports future learning. Motivational roots shape organisational practices, including the pedagogical choices, organisational processes, cultural style, and approaches to forward planning. They therefore benefit from a degree of excavation early in the music intervention process.
There was significant slippage and overlap among the forces that shaped the music interventions in this study, and contributed to their potential for sustainability. Most were highly particular to actors in interaction with the wider context, rather than produced by the common elements of the wider context, such as the aid agency presence or the recent history of war. This heterogeneity and complex interplay made further theoretical modeling of the forces outside the scope of this particular study, and the Critical Junctures model emerged as the most transferable and generally applicable model to aid understanding, comparison, and planning of future music interventions in other war-affected settings.

**Sustaining future music interventions**

Based on the detailed findings from the previous five chapters, and the forces identified that can contribute to shape and sustainability, it is possible to draw together those that appear conducive with adaptive capacities and sustained independent provision of music intervention activities. These are summarised in Table 6, below, less a ‘checklist’ of equally-weighted requirements or a template for action than a set of observations of the actions, choices, and processes that appear to have supported long-term sustainability goals (or that were implied as being of importance through their absence). The case studies have demonstrated the way that the wider context and cultural norms will exert influence on which of these are available and possible, and the relative weight that needs to be given to the different factors as ‘essential’ or ‘desirable’.

Notably, not all of these factors are within the control of the music intervention actors. Considered together with MacLachlan et al.’s (2010) observations about change and sustainability, they offer an indication of what context-sensitive and adaptive practices should include, in order to navigate a mutable and challenging operating environment.
### Table 6: Factors congruent with sustained independent music provision

The identification of these factors is a further theoretical contribution of this research. The fact that it is ground in and drawn from three case studies with radically different circumstances of provenance, war experiences, and external supports adds weight to its potential transferability to other projects and settings. Hopefully it offers the beginnings of a theory of sustainable music interventions in war-affected settings. Future research may serve to further refine this table and its applications.
Additional contributions of the study

As the first extensive research project examining music schools (both community music schools and formal music schools) in war-affected contexts, this study makes a number of valuable contributions to the field. It sheds light on the constraints and opportunities that a war-affected context poses on music education and community music programs, and illuminates important tensions around buildings, pedagogical choice and music materials, organisational culture and engagement. It draws together theoretical material from education and international development research, and contributes knowledge about an under-researched site of practice at the nexus of (music) education, community music, post-war cultural development, and international development.

The study had theoretical, methodological, empirical, and practical goals, and has made contributions in each of these areas. The theoretical contribution is the principal contribution and has been discussed above. The study’s methodological contribution is in its effective application of flexible and heterogeneous research methods in order to inductively map the practices and processes found in the phenomenon of music schools and centres in war-affected settings. The messiness and complexity of the sites meant that a single methodological approach would not suffice; rather, it required multiple frameworks, a wide range of literature and data sources, and application of different philosophical and theoretical concepts. The methods supported a critical approach to the sites, allowing consideration of their achievements as well as their missteps.

A further contribution is empirical. The study connects music education to the broader body of literature on education and conflict and makes an empirical contribution to current scholarship on the concerning practice of embedding political messaging within foreign aid-funded educational service delivery (Burde, 2014; Novelli, 2011) as occurs in the relationship between ANIM’s performances and its donors’ agendas. My study demonstrates the way this messaging may be directed towards the domestic audiences in donor countries, rather than to the aid beneficiaries, illustrating a further deployment of this kind of political strategy.

The study contributes three data sets that contribute to the available empirical data on music projects in places of war. This is significant given the small number of
studies investigating projects that connect conflict, international development, and music learning. The inclusion of participant voices is valuable, given that much of the existing data privileges the voices of organisers and practitioners (Bergh & Sloboda, 2010). The Bosnian participant voices have the added distinction of discussing events that took place some time in the past, enabling the possibility of connecting outcomes to the music intervention that may have taken some time to emerge, as well as giving an indication of those impressions that retain salience over time.

This research has further developed the examination of power dynamics and agency in arts-based interventions that Haskell (2011), Bergh (2010) and Stupples (2011) raised in their PhD research. It confirmed the influential role that donor relationships can play on program content. It also corroborated these earlier scholars’ observations of the extremely constrained space for arts endeavours in war-affected contexts. The three studies found that external agencies could stifle opportunities for professional artist development and creative agency, but this outcome was less in evidence in my study. This may reflect my case studies’ common focus on pre-professional learning and teaching ahead of artistic production or professional artist development.

Lastly, the theoretical results from this research can help organisers and practitioners of future music interventions to plan, implement, and evaluate their projects in ways that recognise and anticipate the potential faultlines for conflict and instability. Thus the study also makes a contribution to the world of practice.

Looking ahead: Future research

This research study followed a design that was intended to open possibilities rather than confirm probabilities. A consequence has been that at times it revealed new possibilities that were outside the scope of the study. These offer a starting point for future research.

For example, there is more to learn about the relationship between music interventions and ‘middleclassness’, a relationship that emerged after the completion of data gathering and that fell outside the scope of the research. Given the fact that many music interventions aim to target and provide opportunities for disadvantaged or marginalised cohorts, this relationship has interesting implications for program effectiveness. Earlier studies have established the link between music learning and
middleclass behaviour (e.g. Bull, 2014, 2016; Trulsson, 2015). Is it inevitable that in settings that are war-affected, those most likely to be attracted to music learning, and most equipped to succeed, will be those that identified as middle-class in the pre-war period?

Similarly, the project focus on shaping and sustaining required me to limit the attention I gave to the roles and experiences of international teachers. Some findings in this study suggested they could be a psychologically vulnerable group during times of internal conflict, despite the privilege that comes with their foreign passports and high levels of education. Beckles Willson (2011) has already begun the work of examining motivations and justifications expressed within this cohort of music educators through a theoretical framework of mission, but further questions about their power, agency, and vulnerability remain unanswered.

The Pavarotti Music Centre case study also indicated new lines of inquiry around the value-adding role of capacity building, technical support, and the contribution this could make to new projects. One of the ways that the Pavarotti Music Centre’s provision of support for alternative arts production was sustained was through former participants generating new projects elsewhere in the town. I consider this to have been a significant outcome of the Pavarotti Centre’s work in Mostar, but it also indicates a promising line of inquiry for evaluation studies of other community-based arts projects. Assessing a project’s impact in terms of what it has ‘seeded’ elsewhere, such as through the creation of new networks or seeding new projects, offers an alternative way of thinking about and evaluating sustainability, and could produce useful measures of return on investment, where sustained cultural vitality is a goal.

Mostar’s divided status, and the fact that these ‘seeded’ projects maintained provision of inter-ethnic arts collaborations, suggests that new networks could also have an impact on reducing ethnic tensions and division within a particular sector of civic activity (the arts). Brinner’s (2009) network analysis of cross-cultural collaborations between Jewish and Arab musicians offers one possible model for mapping and analysing these links in Mostar’s alternative arts scene, a much smaller, and youth-focused setting. The value of network analysis into youth arts engagement in a divided city would be to link support for particular kinds of arts provision (locally-driven alternative arts activities and cultural production) to reduction in inter-
communal tensions and new models for mutually respectful and cooperative co-existence.

Lastly, this study’s focus on operational and relational aspects of music interventions has given only passing attention to their impact and meaning, in particular in the lives of the young participants that are the intended target group. Informants’ interpretations of the meaning and impact of their music experiences warrant further study. In particular, the relationship between music learning and nation building, patriotism and citizenship suggests interesting interactions with the cultural contestation and ‘culture wars’ around identity that are common in many post-war settings. What are the implications that arise when music learning becomes a vehicle of nation-building and patriotism in a war- or conflict-affected place? The extent to which music learning supports young people to begin to plan for and envisage their future—forms of ‘future-making’—also emerged as an interesting line of inquiry. What pathways—both in and beyond music—does music-learning open up for participants? How does it support what Appadurai (2004) has described as the navigational skills inherent within the capacity to aspire? How might this be facilitated or constrained in the sociocultural conditions of a post-war, aid-dominated society? The three case studies gave examples of the ways that for some actors, participation in music intervention activities created both local and global pathways. The relationship between the music participation and these pathways warrants closer investigation.

**Worlds away from war: Final reflections**

In this thesis I have opened up the world of music interventions—in all their idealism, effort, and messiness—for examination. They are fascinating because of the combination of what they propose to do, and the complexity of the context in which they will do it. The projections of what it will be and do come from many actors—the organisers, the donors and other external supporters, the teachers that travel from afar to contribute and share knowledge, the participants that see this as a learning opportunity, a pleasant diversion, or even a life raft—but must then be realised in a setting that is broken, conflicted, angry, grieving, and often highly dysfunctional economically and politically.
The combination of these projections also generates concurrent meanings. On one level, these are projects about learning, culture, and aesthetic expression; on another, they are about social connection and discovery; and on yet another, they aspire to generate transformation and development, and to be an assertive turn away from the inhumanity of the recent past. All of these variant meanings and aspirations are carried within the music interventions and within the actors, changeable like outfits on different days yet always intrinsically interconnected.

As this thesis has demonstrated, they are complex and difficult projects. I have examined three music interventions that were realised. There must be many others that begin, but due to any combination of factors, fail to thrive. This study has shown that the critical junctures, the context and the people that the music intervention draws together can throw up multiple ‘wild cards’: agendas, obstacles, and challenges to personal constructs and beliefs. However, it is my sincere hope that the insights in the preceding chapters and conclusions will help more of the music intervention seeds that are planted to put down roots, and find a way to flourish.

Wars are going to happen. Aid will be sent. Culture matters to people, and can be an affirmation of identity, and source of hope and meaning. It is invariably contested in some way. People need support to rebuild cultural lives, but this support requires careful and collaborative management and planning. This study aims to offer insights that enable more effective planning, with greater sensitivity to the various forces that shape the endeavour. This can support the transition from music ‘intervention’ to something that can be sustained long into the future, for as long as it holds meaning and value for those it is intended to benefit.
EPILOGUE

Three-quarters of the way through my PhD candidature, during a discussion following a conference presentation, I was asked, “How do you think you’ve been changed by this research?” I answered, somewhat uncomfortably, that I had felt myself become more cynical. At that time, disquieted by some of the stories emerging from my data, I felt sharply aware of the gaps between aspirational claims and actual practices, and questioned the motivations of some of the actors, or the hidden agendas that appeared to be at play. Some lines of inquiry caused me to wonder whose interests these projects served, only to then feel immediately uneasy at even wondering such a thing.

I have come to recognise this tension as arising from the human dimension of the projects. A risk of focusing on ‘how things work’, as this thesis has done, is that it can imply that these kinds of projects are largely technical undertakings; but while the technical aspects are essential and critical, the realisation of music interventions rests upon human qualities such as idealism, hope, persistence, and love. Indeed, were it not for such qualities, these music interventions would not come to exist at all. However, these human forces have a dual nature. They represent both strengths and faultlines: they can drive actors apart just as they can draw them together and make extraordinary things happen.

To reconcile the tensions this dual nature creates, I return to my interviews with the participants and their experiences. For example, I find it difficult to look away from the risks facing ANIM musicians that arise from their school being so visible and so closely aligned with the unpopular national government and the international community. And yet, for the students I spoke with, these risks were offset by the positive changes, sense of future, and strengthened inner world ANIM had provided. Zarifa, forced to leave ANIM and Kabul and flee to Pakistan in late 2017 following a loss of family support for her education (related in part to her local infamy following a widely-watched interview from the World Economic Forum), assured me that she had “no regrets at all, about anything”. Her time at ANIM had allowed her to feel loved, to inspire and lead others, and to feel hopeful about the
future. Despite the tremendous uncertainty that now surrounds her future life pathway, she stated that she still “[feels] the power of that hope” (Zarifa, 4/10/17).

For Zarifa, hope was entwined with love, and while my critical lens required me to look closely at the power dynamics of these expressions of love, I also needed to acknowledge how many of the research informants referenced love as a cherished quality within their experience as teachers and students. Former teachers at ANIM emphatically recalled Sarmast’s love for the students: “He thinks of every single one of those kids as his own children. . . . He will do anything for them. And he knows every single child . . . He loves them, and they love him” (WL, 18/8/16). In Timor-Leste, the lead architects of the Hadahur Music School shared an abiding and fierce “love for the Timorese people” (Dixon, 24/5/15). And if I were looking for transformation, I need look no further than Alma’s experience of being on the receiving end of other-regarding care. Her realisation, first noted in Chapter 6, that “it’s okay to love people, and that love is really what matters . . . and that I have it somehow inside myself . . . and I should give it to others as well” (Alma, 29/10/13), confirms Paolo Freire’s noble intention that education should lead to “the creation of a world in which it will be easier to love” (p. 40).

As I come to an endpoint of sorts in this research journey, the human forces are the ones that hold me, and to which I return. Despite the challenges and complexity of the work that this research has revealed, and the fact that none of the three case studies could be considered an exemplar for others to follow, I nevertheless remain optimistic, and unwilling to relinquish what I have come to see as the possibility and the dignity that these projects produce. I retain a conviction that despite all the complexity of the undertaking, the creation of a world away from war, a space for refuge, for self-development, for social connection, for shared imagining, or a creative and constructive engagement with a longer-term future is hugely important to provide. The possibility inherent within these projects—no matter how intangible, fleeting, or emergent—is infinitely precious, and too closely connected with participants’ resilience and agency to be dismissed.

This preciousness is at the core of the tensions that arise when these complex, messy, ambitious projects are brought into a critical space and examined in order to understand them better. An understanding of music interventions must encompass the technical and contextual challenges that the task will invariably pose, but also
acknowledge the human forces—love, idealism, hope, along with passion, commitment, faith, dignity—that connect the actors and that motivate them to act and commit despite the risks of the wider environment.

These projects require us—their external audience of potential supporters and potential critics—to engage not in cynicism or wonder, but in what Gramsci, writing while a political prisoner of the Italian Fascist regime in 1929, described as ‘pessimism of the intellect’, underpinned by a determined ‘optimism of the will’. The former is a clear-eyed effort to see these projects for their flaws as well as their merits, but the latter is essential in order to stay connected to what is possible, and to continue to champion the human capacity for ingenuity, perseverance, and the creation of new worlds. This is the mindset that prevails as I come to write my closing paragraphs. Wars and violence unmake the world, destroying agency and meaning. Projects that demonstrate that “things can be different and that you yourself can drive that” (Kenet, 20/10/13) will support their participants to connect the way that the world currently is to the way that it could be, away from war and violence, and provide a space in which this new world can be imagined, shaped, and called into existence. And that is a reason for optimism, for love, and for deep, unflinching understanding of how to make such projects happen.
APPENDIX A: Interviews and other data sources

Interview subjects are listed in first name alphabetical order. All names are actual names unless otherwise noted. Interviews conducted in languages other than English involved the use of a translator. ‘I.D.’ refers to transcript or raw data file number.

Bosnia-Herzegovina - Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Perspective</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Language of interview</th>
<th>I.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adela</td>
<td>10 November 2013</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alen</td>
<td>14 November 2013</td>
<td>Pre-PMC arts participant (Aperion); local observer</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alma</td>
<td>29 October 2013</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>West Mostar (Bosniak living on west side)</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Almira (pseudonym)</td>
<td>12 November 2013</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amela K</td>
<td>4 November 2013</td>
<td>Local observer</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amela Sarić</td>
<td>5 November 2013</td>
<td>PMC Administrator, then Director</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur le Cosquino de Bussy</td>
<td>14 July 2016</td>
<td>Observer</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>Personal communication</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blagaj school group</td>
<td>7 November 2013</td>
<td>Participants in schools outreach, 1996-2000</td>
<td>East (rural)</td>
<td>In-person group interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crni</td>
<td>5 November 2013</td>
<td>Participant, then local staff</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danijel</td>
<td>4 November 2013</td>
<td>Local staff</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Wilson</td>
<td>22 February</td>
<td>Organiser</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>Skype interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Wilson</td>
<td>8 March 2015</td>
<td>Organiser</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>Email</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinko</td>
<td>13 November</td>
<td>Observer; occasional</td>
<td>Sarajevo</td>
<td>In-person</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Role/Position</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Interview Method</td>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Džemila</td>
<td>5 November 2013</td>
<td>Participant – kindergarten teacher, 1996-2007</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>Bosnian</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elvedin Nezirović</td>
<td>5 November 2013</td>
<td>Local staff - PMC Director 2011-current</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elvira</td>
<td>18 June 2016</td>
<td>Local observer</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>Personal communication</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faruk Kajtaz</td>
<td>11 November 2013</td>
<td>Local observer (journalist, cultural producer)</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haris (pseudonym)</td>
<td>7 November 2013</td>
<td>Occasional participant local observer,</td>
<td>West Mostar (Bosniak living in west)</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ines</td>
<td>14 November 2013</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>West Mostar (mixed parentage)</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jelena (pseudonym)</td>
<td>12 November 2013</td>
<td>Local observer</td>
<td>West Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy (pseudonym)</td>
<td>31 October 2013</td>
<td>Local observer</td>
<td>West Mostar (Bosniak living in the west)</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenet</td>
<td>20 October 2013</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>West Mostar (Bosniak living in the west)</td>
<td>Skype interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucija</td>
<td>11 November 2013</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>West Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marko</td>
<td>12 November 2013</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marko – 2nd interview</td>
<td>23 September 2014</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>Skype interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mili Tiro</td>
<td>8 November 2013</td>
<td>Local staff</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>Bosnian</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed focus group</td>
<td>6 November 2013</td>
<td>Local observers</td>
<td>Group of 5; mix of East and West Mostar</td>
<td>In-person group interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mustafa</td>
<td>6 November 2013</td>
<td>Local staff</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nečko</td>
<td>3 November 2013</td>
<td>Local staff</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigel Osborne</td>
<td>28 August 2016</td>
<td>Organiser, teacher</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>Skype interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oha</td>
<td>30 &amp; 31 October 2013</td>
<td>Local staff</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>Group of 3; mix of East and West Mostar</td>
<td>In-person group interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samir (pseudonym)</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>Bosnian</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selma</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sergej</td>
<td>Republika Srpska, East Herzegovina</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>Serbian</td>
<td>1.38 (audio only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony</td>
<td>Sarajevo</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.39 (audio only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vesna</td>
<td>West Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>Croatian</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willemijn Verloop</td>
<td>International</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Žana</td>
<td>East Mostar</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>Bosnian</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Bosnia-Herzegovina - Documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>I.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PMC opening press conference</td>
<td>22 December 1997</td>
<td>Video footage acquired by author in 1998 and transcribed in 2015.</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of Apeiron de Art</td>
<td>1997</td>
<td>Author's own copy. Hard copy only, acquired in Mostar in 1998.</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report to War Child Trustees</td>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Hard copy provided by Amela Sarić, Pavarotti Music Centre, November 2013.</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author’s personal journal</td>
<td>March-November 1998</td>
<td>Author’s own. Hardcopy, handwritten.</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faxes between international organisers and Schools’ Outreach teachers</td>
<td>March-November 1998</td>
<td>Author included among recipients. Hard copies only.</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMC Business planning documents</td>
<td>September 2003 and March 2004</td>
<td><a href="http://www.debussyconsult.nl/downloads1.php">http://www.debussyconsult.nl/downloads1.php</a></td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Timor-Leste – Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Perspective</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>I.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADS (de-identified)</td>
<td>13 June 2014</td>
<td>Observer; senior staff member, State Secretariat for Arts &amp; Culture</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>Tetun</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>António</td>
<td>27 May 2014</td>
<td>Participant; local staff</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aurelio</td>
<td>11 June 2014</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>Tetun</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bessilau student group</td>
<td>6 June 2014</td>
<td>Observers, school music pilot project</td>
<td>In-person group interview</td>
<td>Tetun</td>
<td>2.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bessilau teachers’ group</td>
<td>6 June 2014</td>
<td>Participants, school music pilot project</td>
<td>In-person group interview</td>
<td>Tetun</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego Lemos</td>
<td>26 May 2014</td>
<td>Observer; local cultural figure</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ella Bennetts</td>
<td>22 May 2015</td>
<td>Consultant teacher</td>
<td>Skype interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakob</td>
<td>24 May 2014</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiera</td>
<td>5 June 2014</td>
<td>Local staff</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marie Quinn</td>
<td>10 June 2014</td>
<td>Observer; international curriculum consultant</td>
<td>In-person interview (audio only)</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milka</td>
<td>27 May 2014</td>
<td>Participant; local staff</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ros Dunlop</td>
<td>21 April 2014</td>
<td>Organiser (International Director); Lead consultant, teacher</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Walters (pseudonym)</td>
<td>8 May 2014</td>
<td>Consultant teacher</td>
<td>Skype interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sister Susan Connelly</td>
<td>25 May 2015</td>
<td>Organiser; Project manager</td>
<td>Email interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wendy Dixon</td>
<td>24 May 2015</td>
<td>Consultant teacher</td>
<td>Skype interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>2.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yohan Yorke</td>
<td>20 May 2014</td>
<td>Observer; local cultural figure</td>
<td>Personal communication, noted in fieldwork journal</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Timor-Leste – Documents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>I.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SMIET Annual report 2007-8</td>
<td>June 2008</td>
<td>Available online in 2014, but since removed.</td>
<td>2.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMIET Annual report 2008-9</td>
<td>June 2009</td>
<td>Available online in 2014, but since removed.</td>
<td>2.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMIET newsletter June 2009</td>
<td>June 2009</td>
<td>Available online in 2014, but since removed.</td>
<td>2.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMIET newsletter December 2009</td>
<td>December 2009</td>
<td>Available online in 2014, but since removed.</td>
<td>2.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMIET Annual report 2009-10</td>
<td>July 2010</td>
<td>Available online in 2014, but since removed.</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMIET 2007-2010 review</td>
<td>n.d.</td>
<td>Available online in 2014, but since removed.</td>
<td>2.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadahur Music School brochure</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Provided by Ros Dunlop</td>
<td>2.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadahur Music School 5 year Plan of Action</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Provided by Ros Dunlop</td>
<td>2.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ros Dunlop blog post</td>
<td>19 April 2008 and 5 August 2008</td>
<td><a href="http://tekeemedia.com/tag/music-school/">http://tekeemedia.com/tag/music-school/</a></td>
<td>2.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ros Dunlop blog post</td>
<td>24 July 2009</td>
<td><a href="http://tekeemedia.com/april-timor/">http://tekeemedia.com/april-timor/</a></td>
<td>2.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ros Dunlop blog post</td>
<td>26 July 2009</td>
<td><a href="http://tekeemedia.com/2009/07/">http://tekeemedia.com/2009/07/</a></td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Sarah Walters’ blog post</td>
<td>22 March 2013</td>
<td><a href="http://bossyranga.blogspot.com.au/2013/03/timor-teaching.html">http://bossyranga.blogspot.com.au/2013/03/timor-teaching.html</a></td>
<td>2.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Afghanistan – interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Perspective</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>I.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Sarmast</td>
<td>August 2014</td>
<td>Organiser</td>
<td>Informal conversation, Melbourne, Australia</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Sarmast</td>
<td>13-15 March 2015</td>
<td>Organiser</td>
<td>Informal conversations (recalled in fieldnotes and verified)</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>3.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Sarmast</td>
<td>14 March 2015</td>
<td>Organiser</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>3.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Sarmast</td>
<td>14 March 2015</td>
<td>Organiser</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>3.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Sarmast</td>
<td>5 August 2015</td>
<td>Organiser</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>3.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmad Sarmast</td>
<td>13 December 2016</td>
<td>Organiser</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>3.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmadsamim</td>
<td>13 March 2015</td>
<td>Participant</td>
<td>In-person interview</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>I.D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fikriya and Feroza</td>
<td>13 March 2015</td>
<td>Participants In-person interview Dari 3.05 and 3.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laila</td>
<td>14 March 2015</td>
<td>Participant In-person interview Dari 3.07 and 3.08</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MR (de-identified)</td>
<td>19 July 2017</td>
<td>Observer, Afghan ethnomusicologist and music development specialist Personal communication (informal conversation, reconstructed from notes) English 3.66 (notes only)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negin</td>
<td>14 March 2015</td>
<td>Participant In-person interview English, Dari 3.09</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samim</td>
<td>14 March 2015</td>
<td>Junior Faculty In-person interview Dari 3.10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahid</td>
<td>13 March 2015</td>
<td>Participant In-person interview English 3.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WL (de-identified)</td>
<td>18 August 2016</td>
<td>International teacher Skype interview English 3.35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XD (de-identified)</td>
<td>11 July 2016</td>
<td>International teacher Skype interview English 3.32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zarifa</td>
<td>12 October 2016 and 4 October 2017</td>
<td>Participant Facebook Messenger interview English 3.36 and 3.38</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Afghanistan – Documents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>I.D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘Dr Sarmast’s Music School’ – transcript of documentary film</td>
<td>Released 2012</td>
<td>Commercially available film, purchased from iTunes. Transcribed by author.</td>
<td>3.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Risking it all’ - CBC Interview with Dr Sarmast</td>
<td>17 July 2015</td>
<td><a href="http://www.cbc.ca/player/AudioMobile/Q/ID/2671934180/">http://www.cbc.ca/player/AudioMobile/Q/ID/2671934180/</a> Transcribed by author</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANIM feature on Chinese Culture TV</td>
<td>6 February 2015</td>
<td><a href="http://english.cntv.cn/2015/06/02/VIDE1433175722057592.shtml">http://english.cntv.cn/2015/06/02/VIDE1433175722057592.shtml</a> Transcribed by author</td>
<td>3.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resource Type</td>
<td>Title/Details</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Source URL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News Feature</td>
<td>ANIM news feature, Muziki Zendagi</td>
<td>October 2015</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lUb1o37dQTs">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lUb1o37dQTs</a> &amp;feature=youtu.be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promotional booklet</td>
<td>ANIM Promotional booklet (28 pages)</td>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Provided by Dr Ahmad Sarmast. Hard copy only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concert Program</td>
<td>ANIM concert program, Kennedy Centre</td>
<td>7 February 2013</td>
<td>Provided by Dr Ahmad Sarmast. Hard copy only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concert Program</td>
<td>ANIM concert program, Carnegie Hall</td>
<td>12 February 2013</td>
<td>Provided by Dr Ahmad Sarmast. Hard copy only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo Book</td>
<td>Photo-book of ANIM tour to United States</td>
<td>2-17 February 2013</td>
<td>Provided by Dr Ahmad Sarmast. 'Shutterfly' publication. Hard copy only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concert Program</td>
<td>ANIM concert program, Royal Opera House Muscat</td>
<td>15 February 2014</td>
<td>Provided by Dr Ahmad Sarmast. Hard copy only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentary</td>
<td>ANIM documentary (30') Russia Today [RT] News Network</td>
<td>20 February 2017</td>
<td><a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eE9EWFK8zk0">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eE9EWFK8zk0</a> Transcribed by author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Website</td>
<td>ANIM website (until mid-2016)</td>
<td>Visited 6 March 2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.afghanistannationalinstituteofmusic.org/">http://www.afghanistannationalinstituteofmusic.org/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Website</td>
<td>ANIM website</td>
<td>Launched 24 August 2016</td>
<td><a href="http://www.anim-music.org/">http://www.anim-music.org/</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: Interview guides

Music intervention participants

1. Establishing knowledge and familiarity

- Did you take part in music activities at this school? What did you do? How often?
- What do you remember most clearly about the experience?
- Who else was there?
- How did you get there?
- What did you like about it?
- What did you dislike about it?
- How did you hear about it?
- What motivated you to take part in the first place? Did this change at all over time?
- What else do you remember about the music activities offered by this school?

2. Thinking about impact, experiences, and meaning

2a. For you, what were the advantages of this music activity being in your city/town?
Probes:
- Things you learned
- Things you had access to
- People and interactions
- Experiences, and what they meant to you at the time. Later?

2b. What were the disadvantages?
Probes:
- Concerns about learning
- Concerns about resources
- Concerns about people and interactions
- Concerns about experiences and what they meant to you at the time. Later?

2c. Are there things in your life/your community that are different now, because of this experience?

3. Thinking about what music may offer in this context?

- Your country has gone through a major upheaval, which has affected many people. Where do you place this music experience in this context?
- What does music offer people living through extreme circumstances that other initiatives – like sport – maybe don’t offer?
• How would you describe or explain your own desire to be involved, looking back now?

4. Perceptions of key people and leaders

• What are the essential qualities of an effective leader for an initiative like this?
• Who do you think was the main driver/visionary person behind this music intervention?

Music intervention local staff

1. Establishing knowledge and relationships

• What was your role at the music initiative?
• What skills and experience did you already have in that area?
• How did you come to be offered the job?
• What were the main influences on the way that you performed your role? (eg. your own training, your own practical experiences (what were they?), training workshops led by visiting staff or other outsiders, trial and error)

2. Thinking about impact, experiences, and meaning

2a. For you, what were the advantages of this music activity being in your city/town?

Probes:
• Things you learned
• Things you had access to
• People and interactions
• Experiences, and what they meant to you at the time. Later?

2b. What were the disadvantages?

Probes:
• Concerns about learning
• Concerns about resources
• Concerns about people and interactions
• Concerns about experiences and what they meant to you at the time. Later?

2c. How did you feel about your job at the music initiative at this time?

2d. Can you recall how other people in your community reacted when they learned you worked there?

2e. Are there things in your life/your community that are different now, because of this experience?
3. Thinking about what music may offer in this context?

- Your country has gone through a major upheaval, which has affected many people. Where do you place this music experience in this context?
- What does music offer people living through extreme circumstances that other initiatives – like sport – maybe don’t offer?
- How would you describe or explain your own desire to be involved, looking back now?

4. Perceptions of key people and leaders

- What are the essential qualities of an effective leader for an initiative like this?
- Who do you think was the main driver/visionary person behind this music intervention?

Music intervention international staff

1. Establishing knowledge and relationships

- What was your role at the music initiative?
- What skills and experience did you already have in that area?
- How did you come to be offered the job?
- What were the main influences on the way that you performed your role? (eg. your own training, your own practical experiences (what were they?), training workshops led by other staff or visitors, trial and error)
- Have you maintained contact with the music initiative, or people you met within in, since the time you worked there?

2. Thinking about impact, experiences, and meaning

2a. What benefits do you think the local people got from participating in this music initiative? Why do you think this? Eg. can you recall specific incidences or conversations that support this impression?

2b. Do you think there were any disadvantages to the local people that this music initiative brought about through its activities or presence? Again, why do you think this?

Probes:

- Individual learning and skills development
- Social outcomes
- Employment, tourism
- Opportunities for local artists
- Opportunities for community change
2c. What did your experiences in this music initiative mean to you at the time? Did these later change, or stay the same?

2d. Are there things in your life that are different now, because of this experience?

3. **Thinking about what music may offer in a conflict-affected context?**

- What does music offer people living through extreme circumstances that other initiatives – like sport – maybe don’t offer?
- How would you describe or explain your own desire to be involved, looking back now?

4. **Perceptions of key people and leaders**

- What are the essential qualities of an effective leader for an initiative like this?
- Who do you think was the main driver/visionary person behind this music intervention?

**Music intervention organisers and initiators**

1. **Establishing context and role**

- What was your role at the music initiative?
- What skills and experience did you already have in that area?
- How did you come to be offered the job?
- What were the main influences on the way that you performed your role? (eg. your own training, your own practical experiences *(what were they?)*, training workshops led by other staff or visitors, trial and error)
- Have you maintained contact with the music initiative, or people you met within, since the time you worked there?

2. **Realising the vision**

- What were the circumstances that led you to develop and lead this music initiative?
- What were the major challenges you faced in realising your goal?
- Can you recall any particular ‘turning points’ or significant conversations/partnerships that enabled the goal to be realised?
- Were compromises or deviations from the original vision required? What prompted these?
- Were there any local supports (individuals, organisations, partnerships) that played a key role in realising the initiative and enabling/supporting its work?
- What was the initiative intended to achieve? What was the motivation behind initiating it?
3. Thinking about impact, experiences, and meaning

2a. What benefits do you think the local people got from participating in this music initiative? Why do you think this? Eg. can you recall specific incidences or conversations that support this impression?

2b. Do you think there were any disadvantages to the local people that this music initiative brought about through its activities or presence? Again, why do you think this?

Probes:
- Individual learning and skills development
- Social outcomes
- Employment, tourism
- Opportunities for local artists
- Opportunities for community change

2c. What did your experiences in this music initiative mean to you at the time? Did these later change, or stay the same?

2d. Are there things in your life that are different now, because of this experience?

2e. Is there anything you would like to have done differently, looking back now?

3. Thinking about what music may offer in a conflict-affected context

- What does music offer people living through extreme circumstances that other initiatives – like sport – maybe don’t offer?
- How would you describe or explain your own desire to be involved, looking back now?

4. Perceptions of key people and leaders

- Who were the principal ‘ideas’ people or influential people that shaped and drove this music intervention?
- What are the essential qualities of an effective leader for an initiative like this?
Local community leaders and observers

1. Establishing knowledge and relationships

- What was your role in the community at the time of this music initiative/intervention?
- Did you participate in any activities as part of the music intervention?
- Did members of your family participate?
- Did you have any other involvement with the staff or programs with this music initiative/intervention? If so, what?

2. Thinking about impact, experiences, and meaning

2a. For you, what were the advantages of this music activity being in your city/town?

Probes:
- Things people learned
- Things people had access to
- People and interactions (social advantages and impact)
- Experiences, and what they meant to individuals or groups at the time. Later?

2b. What were the disadvantages?

Probes:
- Concerns about learning
- Concerns about resources
- Concerns about people, interactions, and opportunities
- Concerns about experiences and what they meant to the community at the time. Later?

2c. What were your feelings towards the music initiative at this time? What did you understand its purpose to be?

2d. Can you recall the reactions of other people in your community about the music initiative, its activities, its goals and its staff?

2e. Are there things in your life/your community that are different now, because of this music initiative?

3. Thinking about what music may offer in this context?

- Your country has gone through a major upheaval, which has affected many people. Where do you place this music experience in this context?
- What does music offer people living through extreme circumstances that other initiatives – like sport – maybe don’t offer?
4. Perceptions of key people and leaders

- Who (or what) do you think was the main driver/visionary person behind this music intervention?
- What are the essential qualities of an effective leader for an initiative like this?
APPENDIX C: Ethics material

Ethical clearance (Human expedited review 1 / Human ER1) for this research was granted through Griffith University on 14 October 2013 (Protocol number QCM/20/13/HREC), and two minor amendments were approved during the course of the project. This research was conducted in full accordance with the approved protocol.

This appendix contains three informed consent packages, in English, Tetun, and Bosnian/Croatian. Each consists of an information sheet and a consent form.
Music interventions in conflict-affected sites

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

About the project

*Music interventions in conflict-affected sites* is a PhD research project. It investigates the experience and impact of music learning and participation on conflict-affected communities and individuals. The aim is to better understand how these kinds of music programs can work effectively in places recovering from conflict.

The researcher will investigate music programs and activities in three different countries: Timor-Leste, Afghanistan, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. She will interview people about their experiences as learners, organisers, or participants, and will observe the music activities that are taking place during her visit.

The researcher will also use documentation of the music initiative from its early beginnings, such as proposals, annual reports, and media coverage, to find additional information about the music activities.

Research team

The research will be conducted by Gillian, who is a student researcher at Griffith University. Ms Howell’s work will be supervised by Professor Huib Schippers and Dr Brydie-Leigh Bartleet (Griffith University). A professional interpreter will assist Ms Howell with interviews during the research in your country.

Who will be involved?

We want to include many different opinions and experiences in the research, and so we will hold interviews with former participants, musicians, staff members, organisers, outside sponsors, community members, community leaders, and other
people who have some experience of the music activities we are interested in. We believe that these different perspectives will help create a detailed understanding of the ways that people in the community experience music activities and how they impact their lives.

**What will participants be asked to do?**

We will ask you to take part in an interview or small group discussion (focus group), or both. You will be invited to reflect upon your experiences in music participation and learning activities, recalling why you decided to participate, and what other people in the community thought about the music activities. We may use photographs or video footage of the activities to stimulate memory and generate discussion.

**Who will know about this project?**

Only the researchers working on this project will see and hear the interviews and other research material in the first instance. Later, books, articles and conference presentations may be produced as a result of the research, as well as a website with text, photographs, and video clips. You can indicate now if you do not wish materials from your participation to be used in these ways in the future.

**Remaining anonymous**

You can use your real name or a false name in the research. A false name gives you more privacy. However, because the music activities we are discussing only involve a small number of people, readers might be able to identify you through inference.

**Who can get copies of the recordings?**

The researchers will keep all materials connected with the research (transcripts, recordings, and video footage) in a secure place at Griffith University in Brisbane and the researcher’s home in Melbourne, Australia. Transcripts, field notes, and documents will be analysed and stored online, protected by encryption and passwords. These will be removed following completion of data analysis. Computer files will be password protected. The materials will be kept for five years after the release of the research study, and then destroyed.
Your participation is voluntary

You do not have to be in this project. If you decide to be in it, you can withdraw at any time. If you decide there are things that you said or revealed that you do not want to be known by others, even if your name is not being used, you can tell the researcher this at any time up until the end of the project in August 2016.

What if I have a complaint or concerns?

If there are concerns you would like to discuss during the researcher’s time in your country, please contact the assisting interpreter or Gillian Howell using the contact information provided to you with this letter. You can also contact the Manager, Research Ethics Administration at Griffith University on +617 3735 4375. This is the person who makes sure that research done by people at the University is ethical. You can also email research-ethics@griffith.edu.au.

Further information:

You can ask any questions about the information on this sheet. If you want more information please contact the Student Researcher Gillian Howell using the contact details below.

Gillian Howell; gillian@gillianhowell.com.au
2/40 St David Street, Fitzroy VIC 3065, Australia +61 422 450452

Legal privacy statement
The conduct of this research involves the collection, access and/or use of your identified personal information. As outlined elsewhere in this information sheet, your identified personal information may appear in the publications/reports arising from this research. This is occurring with your consent. Any additional personal information collected is confidential and will not be disclosed to third parties without your consent, except to meet government, legal or other regulatory authority requirements. A de-identified copy of this data may be used for other research purposes. However, your anonymity will at all times be safeguarded, except where you have consented otherwise. For further information consult the University’s Privacy Plan at http://www.griffith.edu.au/privacy-plan or telephone +61 7 3735 4375.
CONSENT FORM

Music Interventions in conflict-affected sites

Investigators
Gillian Howell, Dr Brydie-Leigh Bartleet, Professor Huib Schippers
Queensland Conservatorium Research Centre Griffith University, 16 Russell St. South Bank
PO Box 3428, South Brisbane QLD 4101, AU

gillian@gillianhowell.com.au
b.bartleet@griffith.edu.au
h.schippers@griffith.edu.au
Phone: +617 3735 6302
Fax: +617 3735 6262

Name of participant:____________________________________________________

1. I agree to participate in this project. I understand that this project focuses on the experience and impact of music interventions in conflict-affected countries, with the purpose of gaining greater insight into people’s experiences of music interventions in conflict-affected places.

2. I agree that the researchers may interview me about my experiences, and for the interview material to be kept at Griffith University. I understand that I can indicate any passages that I do not want to be publicly accessible.

3. I understand that:

(a) I will be interviewed about my personal recollections and views about the music initiative of interest and its impact on participants and the local community.
(b) I can pull out of this project at any time, and participate anonymously, or remove any sections recorded up until the end of the project (August 2016).
(c) The interview/focus group will be recorded and/or written down; I can choose whether I want the transcripts and imagery from these to be presented under my name or anonymously.
(d) The results of the research will be published in articles, books, conferences and websites.
(e) At any time I can contact the Griffith University Human Research Ethics Committee if I have any concerns about this project.

I consent to participate in the research and wish to be acknowledged □ By name / □ Anonymously

I consent to future use of materials from my participation being used in conference presentations, books, articles, and as a website □ Yes / □ No

_________________________________________ / /
Participant Signature Date

333
Legal privacy statement

The conduct of this research involves the collection, access and/or use of your identified personal information. As outlined elsewhere in this information sheet, your identified personal information may appear in the publications/reports arising from this research. This is occurring with your consent. Any additional personal information collected is confidential and will not be disclosed to third parties without your consent, except to meet government, legal or other regulatory authority requirements. A de-identified copy of this data may be used for other research purposes. However, your anonymity will at all times be safeguarded, except where you have consented otherwise. For further information consult the University’s Privacy Plan at http://www.griffith.edu.au/privacy-plan or telephone (07) 3735 4375.
**Music interventions in conflict-affected sites**

**PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET**

**INFORMASAUN KONA BA PARTISIPA IHA PESKIZA**

**About the project**  
*Konaba peskiza nee*

Gillian Howell from Australia is doing research about music learning and music participation in post-conflict countries.

*Gillian Howell husi Australia halo hela peskiza kona ba muzika edukativa ho muzuika partisipasaun iha rai depoisde konflu.*

The research involves interviews with people who have been part of music projects. Gillian will also watch some music workshops.

*Peskiza nee inklui intervista ho ema nebee involve iha programa muzika.*

*Gillian mos atu haree klase muzika balu.*

Gillian is doing this research in three countries – Timor-Leste, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Afghanistan.

*Gillian halo peskiza nee iha rai tolu – Timor-Leste, Boznia-Herzegovina, no Afghanistan.*

**Who will be involved?**  
*See mak involve in peskiza?*

Gillian will talk with participants and staff in music projects, and local musicians and music organisers.

*Gillian atu koalia ho estudante sira, mestri/mestra sira, tokador local sira, no sira nebe mak responsavel ba programa musika nian iha Timor-Leste.*

She will ask you questions about the music activities you have been part of. The aim is to hear about many different experiences and opinions.

*Nia sei husu pergunta kona ba aktividade muzika nian nebee ita bot sira involve. Objektivu mak atu halo diskusaun konaba ita bot sira nia esperensia iha programa muzika nee.*
You don’t have to take part if you don’t want to  
*Imi la tenki partisipa*

You don’t have to take part in the research if you don’t want to. Also, you can change your mind later. You can choose to be interviewed, but not to be filmed, if you want. This is your right, and no-one will be angry with you.

*Se ita bot lakoi participa iha peskiza, Gillian la obriga. Sei ita bot lakoi Gillian atu foka ita bot, bele dehan lakoi, la iha problema. Sei depoisde intervista halo hotu ona, no ita bot troka hanoin karik no lakoi Gillian atu uza ita bot nia intervista, enaun bele hatete deit. Ita bot iha direitu atu desidi rasik, no ema la bele hirus ita bot.*

**Remaining anonymous**

You can use your real name or a false name in the research. You may like to use a false name if you don’t want people to know your thoughts or opinions.

*Ita bot bele uza naran loos ka naran falsu iha peskiza. Dalaruma ema balu hakarak uza naran falsu se sira lakoi ema setuk hatene sira nia hanoin ka opiniaun.*

**How will Gillian use the things I tell her?**

*Oinsa mak Gillian atu uza informasaun nebe mosu iha intervista nia laran?*

After listening to stories about music learning from many different people, Gillian will write a thesis (like a book, part of her university degree), a book, articles and conference presentations about the research. She will put some information about the research on a website, with writing, photographs and videos.

*Gillian atu koala ho ema barak kona ba aprende muzika. Depois ida nee, nia iha planu atu hakerek buat nebe nia rona no haree, no nia sei publika resutadu peskiza nee iha livru, jornal, apresentasaun publika, no ikus liu iha ninia tesis. Nia mos atu tau informasaun balu, foto balu ka video balu iha ninia website.*

**What if I have a complaint or concerns?**

*Oinsa mak atu halo complaint se hau hanoin buat ida lalos.*

If you have any there are concerns you would like to discuss during the researcher’s time in your country, please contact the assisting interpreter or Gillian Howell using the contact information provided to you with this letter. You can also contact the Manager, Research Ethics Administration at Griffith University on +617 3735 4375. This is the person who makes sure that research done by people at the University is ethical. You can also email research-ethics@griffith.edu.au.
Karik ita bot iha preokupasaun ruma, bele kontaktu peskizador Gillian Howell ho nomor (670)7842 7343. Ita bot most bele telefone ba manejer ba Administrasaun Peskiza Etika (Manager, Research Ethics Administration) iha Griffith University, Australia – ho nomor +617 3735 4375. Ema nee kontrol peskiza hotu iha Universidade Griffith. Bele mos email ba research-ethics@griffith.edu.au.
 VERBAL CONSENT FORM

Music Interventions in conflict-affected sites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Investigators</th>
<th><a href="mailto:gillian@gillianhowell.com.au">gillian@gillianhowell.com.au</a></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gillian Howell, Dr Brydie-Leigh Bartleet, Professor Huib Schippers</td>
<td><a href="mailto:b.bartleet@griffith.edu.au">b.bartleet@griffith.edu.au</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland Conservatorium Research Centre Griffith</td>
<td><a href="mailto:h.schippers@griffith.edu.au">h.schippers@griffith.edu.au</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University, 16 Russell St. South Bank</td>
<td>Phone: +617 3735 6302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PO Box 3428, South Brisbane QLD 4101, AU</td>
<td>Fax: +617 3735 6262</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Name of participant: __________________________________________________________

I agree to be interviewed and tell Gillian about my music experiences for her research.

_Hau komprende informasaun konaba peskiza nee, no hau konkorda totalmente atu partisipa iha projektu ida ne’e, tuir kondisaun ne’ebe esplika ona ba hau._ ☐ Sin

I understand I can participate anonymously. I want to do this ☐ Yes / ☐ No

_Hau komprende katak hau bele uza naran la loos se hau hakarak._

_Hau hakarak halo nee ☐ Sin / ☐ Lae_

I understand that I can change my mind later, and Gillian will not use the things I tell her in the research.

_Hau komprende katak hau bele hases-an se hau hakarak, ho Gillian la uza informasaun husi hau iha peskiza._ ☐ Sin / ☐ Lae

I am happy to be recorded, filmed, and photographed.

_Hau konkorda atu involve iha diskusaun no gravasaun ne’ebe uza depois ketik._ ☐ Sin / ☐ Lae

_Hau konkorda ho Peskizador atu bele hasai hau nia foto no halo video durante diskusaun nee._ ☐ Sin / ☐ Lae
I am happy for Gillian to use these recordings or photographs in a book, a thesis, articles, presentations, and online.

_Hau fo Gillian autorizasaun atu uza hau nia foto ka gravasaun iha livru, tesis, jornal, konferensia, ka website._ [Sin / Lae]

At any time I can contact Griffith University if I have any concerns about the research project.

_Hau hatene katak hau bele kontaktu Universidade Griffith iha tempu naran deit se hau iha pergunta ka konflitu konaba peskiza nee._ [Sin / Lae]

_____________________________ / 2014
Participant Signature       Date
Muzičke intervencije u područjima pogođenim sukobom

INFORMACIJE ZA UČESNIKE

O projektu

*Muzičke intervencije u područjima pogođenim sukobom* je doktorski istraživački projekt Gillian Howell sa Queensland Konzervatorija, Univerzitet Griffith. Cilj mu je da razumije iskustvo i uticaj muzičkih intervencija i inicijativa na zajednice i pojedince pogođene sukobom i da odredi važne karakteristike za uspješne muzičke intervencije u mjestima pogođenim sukobom.

Projekt se sastoji iz dvije odvojene studije slučaja o muzičkim intervencijama u dvije različite države, Muzički Centar Pavarotti u Bosni i Hercegovini i Muzičkoj školi u Timor-Leste (Istočnom Timoru). Istraživački projekt u muzičkoj inicijativi koju istražujemo uključuje posmatranje muzičkih radionica na terenu, da bi smo shvatili koliko i kako zaista ljudi uče kroz muzičko podučavanje.

Projekt istraživanja će također istražiti dokumenaciju muzičkih inicijativa od ranih početaka, uključujući prijedloge projekata i evaluacije, medijsku pokrivenost, godišnje izvještaje, strateške planove i sav drugi dostupni materijal. Ipak, najvažniji izvor informacija će biti intervjui i fokus grupe sa ljudima koji su već učestvovali u radionicama u tom periodu.

*Istraživački tim*


*Ko će biti uključen?*

Da bi se dobile najšire moguće perspektive o kompleksnosti muzičkog posredovanja u područjima pogođenim sukobom, intervjui će biti vođeni sa bivšim učesnicima, muzičarima, članovima osoblja, organizatorima, vanjskim sponzorima, članovima zajednica, vođama u zajednicama, i drugim interesnim grupama (akterima).
Šta će se pitati učesnike da doprinesu?

Pitati ćemo vas da učestvujete u intervjuima ili malim grupnim diskusijama (fokus grupama), ili oboje. Pozvati ćemo vas da se osvrdete na vaša iskustva koja su u fokusu istraživanja, prisjećajući se događaja u kojima ste učestvovali, vaše motivacije za učestvovanje, i kako je to šira zajednica poimala. Razumijemo da su ta iskustva možda daleko u prošlosti, tako da ćemo koristiti fotografije ili video snimke kao pomoć u prisjećanju. Ako posjedujete fotografije ili druge predmete, obavezno ih ponesite. Svaki predmet koji donesete ćete vam biti vraćen nakon intervju-foks grupe, a nikakve kopije nećete biti pravljene odnosno zadržane kao dio istraživačke kolekcije. Pitanja će pokrivati četiri teme - zajednicu, zgrade i resurse, pedagogiju (šta je podučavano, kako je podučavano, i od strane koga) i vjerovanja u vezi muzike. Učesnici su ohrabreni da spomenu bilo koju vrstu spornog pitanja (pitanja specifičnog za kulturu), a koja nisu bila navedena u pitanjima.

Ko će znati o ovome projektu?

Na početku će samo istraživački koji rade na projektu vidjeti i čuti sav istraživački materijal. U drugoj fazi knjige, članci i prezentacije mogu nastati kao rezultat istraživanja, kao i web stranica sa tekstom, fotografijama i video snimcima. Možete da naglasite ako ne želite da se vaš materijal koristi u ovakvoj vrsti medija.

Anonimost


Ko može da dobije kopije snimaka?

Mi ćemo zadržati transkripte, snimke i video zapise na sigurnom mjestu na Univezitetu Griffith u Brizbejnu. Kumpjuterska datoteka će biti zaštićena šiframa. Materijal će biti zadržan 5 godina nakon izdavanja, a nakon toga uništen.

Vaše učestvovanje je dobrovoljno

Ne morate biti u ovom projektu, to jest, uvijek možete odlučiti da odstupite. Ako odlučite da postoje stvari za koje ne želite da drugi znaju, čak iako se vaše ime ne koristi, to možete istaći bilo kada do kraja projekta, u augustu 2016.

Šta ako imam pritužbu ili zabrinutost?

Ako postoje zabrinutosti o kojima želite diskutirati za vrijeme boravka istraživača u vašoj državi, molimo kontaktirajte Gillian Howell ili prevodioca na već ovdje navedene kontakt informacije. Također, možete stupiti u kontakt sa menadžerom iz komisije za istraživačku
etiku Univerziteta Griffith: +617 3735 4375. Ovo je osoba koja se brine da je sve prošlo etički korektno. Možete također poslati e-mail na research-ethics@griffith.edu.au.

Dalje informacije:

Nakon što vam istraživač objasni ovaj informativni dio možete da pitate bilo kakva pitanja. Ako želite više informacija molimo da kontaktirate Gillian Howell koristeći sljedeći kontakt info:

Gillian Howell; 062010990; gillian@gillianhowell.com.au

Legalna izjava o privatnosti

SUGLASNOST – Muzička intervencija u područjima pogodenim sukobom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Istražitelji</th>
<th>Gillian Howell, Dr Brydie-Leigh Bartleet, Professor Huib Schippers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Queensland Konservatorijski Istraživački Centar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Univerziteta Griffith, 16 Russell St. South Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PO Box 3428, South Brisbane QLD 4101, AU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:gillian@gillianhowell.com.au">gillian@gillianhowell.com.au</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:b.bartleet@griffith.edu.au">b.bartleet@griffith.edu.au</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:h.schipper@griffith.edu.au">h.schipper@griffith.edu.au</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>telefon: +617 3735 6302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fax: +617 3735 6262</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ime učesnika: ______________________________________________________

1. Služem se da učestvujem u ovom projektu. Istraživači su pojasnili da je projekt fokusiran na iskustva i uticaj muzičke intervencije u zemljama pogodenim konfliktom, sa ciljem da se dobije veće razumijevanje obima koji mogu da doprinesu uspješnom muzičkom interveniranju u područjima pogodenim konfliktom.


3. Istraživači su objasnili da:
   
i. Pitati će me o ličnim sjećanjima i stavovima u vezi gore navedene muzičke inicijative i uticaja na učesnike i lokalnu zajednicu.
   
ii. Mogu da odstupim iz ovog projekta bilo kada, i mogu da pitam da budem predstavljen anonimno ili da se neki dijelovi snimaka uklone prije nego što se projekat završi u augustu 2016 godine.
   
iii. Intervju/foks grupe će biti smješten u audio i video formatu i/ili zapisane; ja mogu da izabersem da li da transkripti i slike budu prezentirane pod mojim imenom ili anonimno.
   
iv. Rezultati ovog istraživanja će biti objavljeni u člancima, knjigama, na konferencijama i web stranicama.
   
v. U bilo koje doba mogu kontaktirati sa Univerzitetom Griffith, Etičkim komitetom za ljudske resurse o bilo kakvoj bojazni koju imam u vezi projekta.

Slažem se da ću učestvovati u ovom istraživanju i želim da me se navede

O Imenom / O Anonimno

Slažem se sa budućim korištenjem materijala u prezentacijama, knjigama, člancima i webu stranici O Da / O Ne

Potpis učesnika                        Datum

343
Legalna izjava o privatnos

APPENDIX D: Timelines of key events in the case study sites

These timelines note key dates in the recent conflict histories of each site, and key dates and protagonists in the founding of the music interventions.

**Pavarotti Music Centre, Bosnia-Herzegovina**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year, Month</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1994, March</td>
<td>Washington Agreement is signed, bringing about a ceasefire in Mostar, but leaving the city ethnically divided.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Music projects in Mostar begin. War Child commences negotiations to build a music centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997, Dec</td>
<td>Pavarotti Music Centre opens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998, Sept</td>
<td>War Child UK ends its financial support of the PMC; War Child Holland commits to funding the Centre’s flagship programming (Schools’ Outreach, Music Therapy, and the Sarajevo Blind School).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999, end</td>
<td>Founding director (David Wilson) leaves Mostar; the Centre Administrator Amela Sarić becomes Director of PMC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>War Child UK’s financial scandal is exposed in international media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Schools’ Outreach and Music Therapy programs incorporate as independent NGOs in order to control their own funds (under the names Educon and Musers, respectively). War Child NL continues to fund Educon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>The Old Bridge is re-opened to international fanfare; Mostar is officially reunified but the consociational (power-sharing) democracy remains dysfunctional; parallel cultural institutions and segregated schools remain the norm. Pavarotti Music Centre joins the municipal government budget as a cultural institution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>War Child NL funding ends. Educon (former Schools’ Outreach project) closes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>Musers (music therapy NGO) restructures without international therapists; clinical program ends; local staff continues group music activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>War Child UK formally relinquishes its 49% ownership of the Pavarotti Music Centre to the East Mostar municipal government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Elvedin Nezirović is appointed Director of Pavarotti Music Centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Fieldwork for this research took place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017, Dec</td>
<td>PMC celebrates 20-year anniversary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Key events in the history of the Pavarotti Music Centre
### Hadahur Music School, Timor-Leste

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>SMIET begins working in Timor-Leste in the area of Tetun literacy education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>The Religious Sisters tour Timorese youth choir Anin Murak (featuring members of the Santa Cecelia Choir) through New South Wales.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>SMIET sponsors four members of Anin Murak/Santa Cecelia Choir to study music and English in Australia for ten months. The four go on to become SMIET employees in Dili.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003-2007</td>
<td>SMIET sponsors choir member and SMIET employee António de Padua to study music in Australia for a further four years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>Bishop de Silva requests that SMIET start a music school project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SMIET appoint Ros Dunlop as lead consultant in the music school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008, Nov</td>
<td>First music lessons with Australian-based teachers commence via Skype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009, July</td>
<td>First consultant visit period (2 weeks, 4 consultants).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Launch of Hadahur Music School at the Presidential Palace in Dili.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commencement of the Early Childhood music education program with consultant Sarah Walters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009, Aug-Dec</td>
<td>Skype lessons continue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>The Sydney head office of SMIET begins internal process of restructuring into a public entity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010, Jan</td>
<td>Second consultant visit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010, Feb</td>
<td>SMIET commissions an internal review of the Hadahur Music School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010, Apr</td>
<td>SMIET announce the closure of Hadahur Music School, but with the continuation of the Early Childhood training strand.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010-2014</td>
<td>Reduced music program continues at SMIET (piano lessons taught by António, early childhood training and workshops). Designated facilities for music education (rehearsal and teaching rooms, storage) are included in RSDP’s new Learning and Development Centre in Dili, completed in 2012.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>SMIET becomes RSDP (a public company)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Early Childhood consultancy ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Fieldwork for this research took place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>Music program is rebranded as ‘Music for Life’, a school workshop program focused on creative expression and wellbeing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>Music workshops are absorbed into RSDP’s flagship literacy program as part of a Mobile Literacy Bus delivering workshops in schools.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 8: Key events in the history of Hadahur Music School*
### Afghanistan National Institute of Music, Afghanistan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan to oust the Taliban.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>The Polish Humanitarian Mission in Afghanistan funds the re-opening of the music department in the vocational secondary school for arts. Insufficient instruments and infrastructure limits the effective re-establishment of music education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>The Aga Khan Music Initiative in Afghanistan begins, offering education in Afghan music traditions in a part-time school setting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>ROAM report (Revival of Afghan Music) recommends the opening of a vocational secondary school for music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-8</td>
<td>Afghanistan’s Ministry of Education commits to the creation of a National Institute of Music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>The Afghanistan National Institute of Music [ANIM] is included as one of six vocational training institutes funded through the World Bank's Afghanistan Skills Development Program [ASDP]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>ANIM is officially inaugurated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>ANIM tours the USA, with performances at Carnegie Hall, the Kennedy Centre, and New England Conservatory of Music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014, Dec</td>
<td>A student performance is the target of a Taliban suicide bombing. ANIM Director Dr Sarmast is injured.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015, March</td>
<td>Fieldwork for this research took place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>School security is increased following the Taliban attack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017, Jan</td>
<td>ANIM’s Zohra Ensemble (the Afghan Women’s Orchestra) performs at the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Key events in the history of ANIM
REFERENCES


Bartleet, B. L. (2016). The role of love in intercultural arts theory and practice. In P. Burnard, E. Mackinlay & K. Powell (Eds.), *The Routledge International
Handbook of Intercultural Arts Research (pp. 91-101). Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge.


http://english.cntv.cn/2015/06/02/VIDE1433175722057592.shtml


conversations-eddie-ayres/8973232


Hill, H. (2007). How education both promotes and undermines development: The problem of the 'hidden curriculum'. In D. Kingsbury & M. Leach (Eds.), *East
Timor: Beyond Independence (pp. 223-236). Clayton, Australia: Monash University Press.


ITCILIO. (2010). Worst forms of child labour in armed conflict: Results from a research project. *International Training Centre of the International Labour


East Timor, Indonesia, and the world community (pp. 15-29). Sydney, Australia: Pluto Press.


369


375


