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Playing and belonging

An ethnographic study of music education and processes of inclusion in a culturally diverse elementary school

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SUMMARY

This dissertation is based on ethnographic research in an elementary school in central Oslo, the capital of Norway. The school has given a special priority to music education, providing all pupils with weekly tuition on an instrument from the classical symphony orchestra. The neighbourhood and school environment are marked by intersecting diversities, including socioeconomic challenges. Inspired by the global music education movement from Venezuela, *El Sistema,* music education was by school leaders put forward as providing a path off the streets and giving the children and their families something to be proud of.

The primary purpose of the study is to explore how playing music together might facilitate processes of inclusion. Furthermore, the study aims at contributing to a more holistic and complex understanding of diversity.

Research was carried out with the aim of exploring the pupils' points of view, based on a classical anthropological approach. The approach is furthermore informed by perspectives from special education, where inclusion presupposes individual experiences of belonging, based on participation.

The analysis is grounded in the empirical material and informed by an interdisciplinary theoretical approach. The research finds that social and cultural diversities overlapped with many "kinds" of diversity. Consequently, *superdiversity* (Vertovec, 2007) is employed to understand both the neighbourhood and the musical and social practices in school. Some of the diversifying factors appeared to be enlarged by a considerable mobility in and out of the neighbourhood, resulting in a constant presence of new non-Norwegian speakers in the classes, without any experience with playing an instrument.

Music represented a separate space in the school, physically as well as pedagogically and socially. The children's practical attitude to music, as well as the notion that music is

closely linked to social processes, led to the engagement with Christopher Small's verbal form, *musicking* in the analysis. Musicking may furthermore be seen as a tacit form of knowledge. Teaching tacit knowledge by practical demonstration diminished the dependency on verbally based tuition and worked well in the instrument teaching classes. The music program may as such be seen as affording an arena for mastering in a situation marked by intersecting diversities.

Parallel to a superdiversity perspective, the concept of inclusion is developed further towards flexible and fluid ongoing processes of experiencing belonging. I have applied Allison Pugh's (2009) perspective on children's managements of *feeling worthy of belonging*, to understand their agencies, and to explore how they work to include and exclude themselves and each other in the school environment. My analysis shows how social relationships are played out in the music groups and how they may be altered in the musicking. When playing together, the children at times enter different temporary roles. By use of Tia DeNora's (2015) concept *music asylum*, my analysis shows how individual achievements while playing together and while co-tutoring each other, may contribute to social changes within the group.

Finally, the thesis also aims at contributing to methodological discussions on doing anthropological research with children in school. I show that bodily knowledge, including tacit knowledge, represents valuable research data. Ethically, the thesis is also a contribution to discussions about the importance of understanding social processes in context, and the children's rights to be heard in research.

A holistic perspective, both regarding the individual pupil and the systemic responsibility for ensuring an inclusive social environment, lies as a foundation of the study. Martha Nussbaum's *capability approach* has been applied to explore how the humanities may be helpful to a school in focusing on the pupils' individual strengths in a development towards personal and communal well-being and education towards sustainability and democracy.

SAMMENDRAG

Avhandlingen er en etnografisk studie utført i en norsk grunnskole. Skolen, som befinner seg i et område preget av stort kulturelt mangfold, sosioøkonomiske utfordringer og i tillegg en betydelig befolkningsmigrasjon, har de siste årene gjennomført en spesiell satsning på musikkfaget. I samarbeid med den lokale kulturskolen innebærer satsningen at alle elevene får ukentlig opplæring i et orkesterinstrument, og oppbygging av et skoleorkester startet opp i perioden da feltarbeidet for avhandlingen ble gjennomført. Delvis inspirert av den nå globale bevegelsen innen musikk-utdanning, *El Sistema,* ble det å lære seg å spille et instrument ansett av involverte ledere som en mulig sikring mot dårlige miljøfaktorer for ungdommen, og noe å være stolt av for familiene.

Målsettingen med studien er å undersøke på hvilke måter instrumentopplæring og musikkutfoldelse med utgangpunkt i et vestlig symfoniorkester, kan påvirke det sosiale miljøet på skolen og eventuelt fasilitere inkluderende prosesser i et miljø preget av sosiokulturelt mangfold. Videre søker studien å bidra til et mer nyansert blikk på mangfold i en skolekontekst, og gi ulike perspektiv på hva som kan kjennetegne inkluderende skolemiljø.

Forskningen er basert på en klassisk antropologisk tilnærming som undersøker et lokalt aktørperspektiv. Det har vært min målsetting i størst mulig å grad innta og forstå elevenes perspektiv. Analysen er «grounded» i det empiriske materialet, med en tverrfaglig analytisk forståelsesramme. Tilnærmingen er blant annet inspirert av perspektiv fra spesialundervisning, der inkludering ansees å henge sammen med individuelle opplevelser av å være inkludert, basert på deltakelse for alle. Analysen viser at de vesentlige ulikhetene elevene imellom, fra et elevperspektiv bare delvis sammenfalt med kulturforskjeller. Ved å anvende det analytiske perspektivet *superdiversity* (Vertovec, 2007) unngår man både det binære og noe statiske ‘oss-dem’ perspektivet, samt å se noen som ‘bare marginaliserte’. Parallelt argumenterer jeg for å se inkludering som pågående fleksible prosesser, uten ‘endestasjon’ eller endimensjonale suksesskriterier. Forståelsen av inkludering, basert på

opplevelse av tilhørighet, har jeg videre basert på Allison Pughs (2009) analytiske rammeverk for å forstå barnas aktørskap med hensyn til deres prioriteringer og handlemåter for å inkludere og ekskludere seg selv og hverandre og føle seg «verdige tilhørighet» (*feeling worthy of belonging*). De relativt unge elevene som er i fokus i avhandlingen, baserer seg i stor grad på signifikante voksnes signaler og verdier, og bringer dem med seg inn i forhandlinger om egen og andres plass i det sosiale fellesskapet.

Basert på elevenes praktiske tilnærming til musikkfaget, samt ideen om den nære koblingen mellom musikk og sosiale relasjoner, har jeg anvendt Christopher Smalls (1998) verb *musicking*, som ikke helt kan oversettes til det norske musisering. Min analyse viser at relasjoner både skapes, formes og utfordres via *musicking* på skolen. Når elevene spiller sammen, kan de innta og utforske nye roller for en periode. Sammen med gleden over å spille, som mange av elevene ga uttrykk for, kan utforsking av nye roller inneha individuelle og sosiale terapeutiske prosesser. Ved å anvende Tia DeNora (2015) sine perspektiv på musikk, blant annet som definerende for «musikalske fristed» (*music asylums)*, argumenterer avhandlingen for at elevene kan gjøre erfaringer som kan føre til varige forbedringer rundt eleven sosialt.

Et holistisk bærekraftig perspektiv med hensyn på den individuelle eleven, så vel som på det sosiale miljøet, legger premissene for studiens resultat. Basert på Martha Nussbaums *capability approach*, ansees gode levekår å henge sammen med grunnleggende individuell verdighet, med rom for å kunne utvikle individuelle muligheter og foreta egne valg. En sentral oppgave for skolen blir å arbeide for demokratisk utvikling basert på evne til innlevelse i andres situasjon, noe som kan styrkes nettopp via humanistiske fag, ifølge Nussbaum (2010).

Avhandlingen berører også metodologiske utfordringer og etiske dilemmaer i skoleforskning, som befinner seg i et spenningsfelt mellom behovet for beskyttelse av elevenes viktige stemmer som forsknings subjekter, foreldrenes rett til å ta informerte valg og nødvendigheten av å forstå sosial samhandling i kontekst.

ABBREVIATIONS & NOTATION STYLE

Abbreviations

PWC: Parents Work Committee

NOU: Official Norwegian Report

UDIR: The Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training

Notation style

Music teacher / Arts school teacher: Teacher at Q school who were employed by Oslo Arts school to teach music at Q school

Q school teacher: Teachers employed at Q school

arts school: Norwegian municipal arts school

Arts school: (with Capital A): The particular arts school in Oslo, involved in the program

Long passages of empirical material is indented and have single-line spacing

Quotes from recorded interviews are enclosed in quotation marks.

Longer quotes that are taken from my notes and thus written from memory are also indented and have single line spacing but are not enclosed in quotation marks. Exceptions from this is when quotes appear as part of longer empirical material

Norwegian translations of expressions and titles are included (*in italics and parentheses*) where relevant.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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1 INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, I present an ethnographic study of the social environment in a Norwegian public primary school, which I call Q school. The school is situated in Q neighbourhood, a part of downtown Oslo whose population since the labour immigration in the 1970s has changed from being under the working-class category to what is now often characterised as having cultural diversity. The pupils of Q school represent a vast linguistic plurality. During the period of my research for this thesis (2016–2019), according to the headmaster, (personal communication, May 23, 2017) more than 90% of the pupils belonged to families with origins outside Norway or other Scandinavian countries. The mixed cultural situation in this neighbourhood and some of the others in the Oslo city centre is also connected to the diversity in socioeconomic realities (Brattbakk et al., 2015; Ljunggren, 2017). There have been periods of public concern regarding poverty and a combination of drug abuse, the lack of decent living conditions and criminal gangs dominating the streets in the area (Bjørnebekk, 1999). After major public investments over the past decade, the outlook of the neighbourhood has now improved. The school is today considered a safe arena for playing after school hours, and the general physical outlook of the neighbourhood is better. Criminal gangs are no longer associated with the area, at least not to the extent of the problem some years back. However, the area is still dominated by a large number of social benefit-housing recipients and low-income families, of whom many have immigrant backgrounds. Many newly arrived refugees have settled in the area, and integration is a recurrent theme in the media, which also refers to the educational authorities. In addition to immigration to Norway, considerable migration occurs across the country and in the city of Oslo (Fuglerud, 2004). The mobility in and out of Q school and its neighbourhood per year is massive. In their report to the Norwegian Work Research Institute (*Arbeidsforskningsinstituttet* [AFI]) a similar part of Oslo is called a "transit area" (Brattbakk et al., 2015, p. 11, my translation) where up to one-third of the population changes every year. According to the headmaster (personal communication, May 23, 2017), there was at least a comparable degree of mobility in and out of Q school and its neighbourhood.

Around 2010, Q school undertook a remarkable music education programme as part of the curriculum. This occurred at a time when the educational-political climate focused on test

results and the importance of mathematics and other measurable knowledge (Thuen, 2017). The Q school leadership at that time considered music an important subject, despite the overall focus on test results. The headmaster assigned a leader to build up a music programme in the school, with the aim of teaching all its students to play an instrument. The leader of this music programme said, "Music is the best inclusive agent there is." She had plans for establishing a Q orchestra comprising pupils from the school, inspired by a music education movement in Venezuela called *El Sistema*, with the aim of improving marginalised children's lives via classical music (Abreu, 2009; Tunstall, 2012). The particular focus and priority given to music in Q school were made possible by the unique cooperation between Q school and the local school of music and performing arts (*Kulturskolen* in Norwegian, hereafter called the Arts school). The cooperation implied that music in Q school was taught by teachers employed by the Arts school, most of whom had a university degree, with a major in a musical instrument, and some worked as professional musicians on the side.

Below is the overarching research question under investigation in this thesis:

How may the music education in Q school contribute to processes of inclusion in a social environment characterised by diversity?

Furthermore, my study aims to contribute to a more holistic and complex understanding of diversity, as well as to elaborating approaches to inclusion and aspects of an inclusive school environment. Trained as an anthropologist, I aspire to grasp the viewpoints of the "natives", who are primarily the pupils in this study. Regarding diversity, I ask, *How may the situation of diversity in Q school be described?*, and, paraphrasing Gregory Bateson (1972, p. 453), *What are the differences that make a difference to the pupils?* Regarding inclusion, I ask, *What does inclusion signify, and how do the children manage inclusion of themselves and one another?*

Some of the pupils in Q school have lived for a short time span in Norway. New pupils arrive throughout the school term, often with little or no command of the Norwegian language. *In this study, I investigate how this communication issue is addressed in the classroom, and whether participating in the activity of playing instruments together can constitute an arena for social cohesion among the players to overcome the language barriers.*

The remainder of this introduction covers the background for my choice of topic and some supplementary elaboration of the research questions. Moreover, I present the most central analytical concepts. In this interdisciplinary study, my prime focus is on exploring the

children's points of view. To understand how music education might be related to diversity and inclusion, I employ analytical perspectives from anthropology, as well as from music sociology, ethnomusicology, and community music therapy, with the aim of drawing some links between these subject areas and educational science.

1.1 CULTURE AND DIVERSITY

CULTURAL SAMENESS AND DIVERSITY

Norway is often considered to have been a culturally homogeneous country prior to the labour immigration in the 1970s. The degree of sameness among Norwegians is part of a discourse where internal differences are played down, along with generating the idea of similarity, on which the concept of *we* is constructed (Gullestad, 2002). It might be said that Norwegian society is organised around sameness, despite the relatively large sociocultural differences (Vike et al., 2001). Sameness (*likhet*) appears in the Norwegian discourse as safe and lessening the degree of conflict. The Norwegian version of "Birds of a feather flock together" is "Children who are alike play better" (*"Like barn leker best"*). The anthropological literature provides examples of societies that organise their concepts about the world around difference (see for ex Stasch, 2009); in Norway, sameness is perceived as connected to togetherness, while difference is associated with separation (see for ex Leseth & Engelsrud, 2019). There seems to be this underlying assumption: because there is diversity, we need inclusion. Discourses on inclusion may also be linked to diversity in a manner that makes speaking about inclusion a feel-good way of speaking about diversity (Ahmed, 2012).

CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND THE ARTS AS RESOURCES FOR INTEGRATION

A vast number of projects are based on the assumption that the arts may have positive effects on the relationships among people with different backgrounds and abilities. The organisation Concerts Norway (*Rikskonsertene*)[1] ran various programmes that featured musicians who were immigrants and refugees in Norway, dating back to the early 1990s. The idea about music as a strong part of a national identity and as such, of the immigrants' individual identities, was part of the founding concepts behind this mission (Rikskonsertene, 1993;

[1] Concerts Norway was closed in 2016 and reorganised in 2017 to fulfil a new mission as Arts for Young Audiences Norway (*Kulturtanken – Den kulturelle skolesekken Norge*). I was employed in Concerts Norway from 2002 to 2016 and now work in the latter organisation.

Vandvik, 2018). The organisation made a point of inviting and presenting high-ranking professional musicians from the countries of the major immigrant groups to the schools in the areas where many of these families live. Music as a representation of their home culture was regarded as both a welcoming gesture and an inclusive act towards the immigrants who were represented by the music. Concerts Norway may be perceived as informed by a multicultural ideology whose perspective is that music could be a point of entry to intercultural understanding (Berkaak & Knudsen, 1997; Rikskonsertene, 1993).

A perspective on music as representation is also the basis of the cross-cultural music project, Kaleidoscope (*Fargespill*, literally translated as *play of colours*), founded in west Norway in 2003, now with branches in Oslo and plans for establishment in several other cities (Fargespill, 2020). Kaleidoscope highlights hybrid presentations of music with the slogan "The whole world on one stage". In Kaleidoscope, children with immigrant backgrounds perform on stage themselves, presenting music and dance from other parts of the world. Kaleidoscope works by promoting "the possibilities inherent in diversity through art expressions" (Fargespill, 2020, my translation) and encourages the participating children to use any traditional outfit they have. Although here presented by the immigrant children themselves on stage, performing for a Norwegian audience, music, as in Concerts Norway, is seen as an eye opener to the richness of culture that immigrants from all over the world bring to Norway and subsequently, as opening the door to better integration and inclusion amid cultural diversity. Music represents their culture and the immigrants themselves. Notably, it is mostly *traditional* music from the original country of their parents that comes to represent the youth, as critically pointed out to be the case in other Scandinavian countries as well (Fock, 1999).

El Sistema projects in general employ instruments and repertoire from the western classical symphony orchestra. This was a point of importance for the founder, who argued, "culture for the poor must never be poor culture, it must be the most excellent culture" (José Antonio Abreu, cited in Shieh, 2015, p. 574). The purpose of my research for this thesis is to investigate the significance of learning to play an instrument in a school where the pupils represent a considerable mix of economic and cultural backgrounds. The instruments being from the classical symphony orchestra must be taken into consideration, given the cultural diversity of the school and the neighbourhood. On one hand, it seemed likely that children of Norwegian heritage would have an advantage regarding their familiarity with western classical music. On the other hand, it might be asked whether the strategies behind projects

such as Kaleidoscope and Concerts Norway are based on the assumption that inclusion of children with immigrant backgrounds must rest on their parents' cultural identities. As opposed to Concerts Norway and Kaleidoscope, where music as representation is thought to work as an agent for inclusion, projects such as El Sistema and Q orchestra are based on the ideas that being able to play a musical instrument boosts self-esteem and that playing together provides opportunities for inclusion, regardless of cultural background, not because the music is connected to cultural diversity.

In El Sistema, the choice of instruments from the western symphony orchestra has been criticised for its imperialistic aspect of introducing classical music, as opposed to what using local music and instruments from the often deprived localities of the children's own backgrounds would have implied (Baker, 2014). El Sistema has also been criticised for creating an illusion of human harmony based on its focus on the beauty and harmony of classical music (Baker, 2014; Fink, 2016; Kuuse et al., 2016). Geoffrey Baker argues that democracy is not about harmony but about open debates and differences (Baker, 2014 p. 208). Drawing on Jacques Ranciere, who argues that to be ""fully in tune" articulates a desire for rigid, hierarchical, and coercive social structure [……] consensus is antidemocratic". (Ranciere, 2010 cited in Baker, 2014, p. 209). Baker points to the role of art as primarily providing a space for dissensus. Baker (2014) argues that fighting poverty requires systemic change rather than offering individual comfort and personal development.

FROM MULTICULTURALISM TO DIVERSITY AND SUPERDIVERSITY

A shift in public discourse from using the term *multicultural* to speaking about *cultural diversity* has gradually been part of public discussions regarding integration and inclusion. The onset of the shift in terminology coincided with the government-organised Year of Diversity (*Mangfoldsåret*) in 2008. The Year of Diversity was foremost a promotion of cultural diversity with a focus on the arts. However, a broader discussion on terminology and concepts was also instigated by the project, putting the categories under scrutiny (Kultur- og Kirkedepartementet, 2009). The term *cultural diversity*, which I employ in this thesis, has now largely replaced *multiculturalism* in public discourse, based on government acts and official reports, and public debates are imbued with an ideology highlighting equal worth and the importance of integration. However, much local discourse, in Q as in other local Norwegian contexts, still implies a dichotomy between *us*, the white Norwegians, and *them*,

the (multicultural) immigrants (Gullestad, 2002; Rysst, 2016).[2] The term *diversity* (*mangfold)* denotes the perspective of also including sexual minority rights, gender issues, as well as the rights of people with disabilities, such as the deaf, and recently, age and ageism. I argue that this broad perspective is important for understanding and promoting inclusion.

Culture

The analytical starting point has been the perception of the school environment as a culture in an anthropological sense. According to Clifford Geertz, culture comprises the "webs of meaning man himself has spun" (Geertz, 1973, p. 5). Although underlining the interconnectedness as an ecological aspect of a system, I consider the processual and open-ended nature of these "webs" of significance to be vital. Culture does not have to be perceived as a thing nor a *doer*. Culture can be connected to formation and the arts, as both a product and a prerequisite. In this respect, it is quite similar to the double and paradoxical meaning in formation in school, as I will present shortly, as both an end product and a process.

Fredrik Barth (2002) challenges the perspectives on culture as constituting coherent systems of significance, and the reifications that "webs of meaning" might appear as and calls for an anthropology of knowledge. By focusing on knowledge instead of culture, Barth seeks to encompass a broader perspective of the *knower* in context, not only knowledge as systems. With this shift of focus, Barth (2002) opens up agency, change and development to a greater extent than what is inherent in a culture-as-system perspective.

Allison Pugh conceives of culture as "a patterned, collective process by which people attach personal, emotional significance to their world" (Pugh, 2009, p. 23). I understand patterns to be always in a process of shaping and reshaping, a development based partly on emotions. Pugh's definition is close to Geertz's (1983) but with an emphasis on personal and emotional aspects, often stressed as important in research with children (Broch, 2013). Pugh specifies the importance of the interconnectedness between social and personal processes as embedded in cultural processes, depicting culture as "a two-way bridge between the social and the psychological" (Pugh, 2009, p. 23). The concept of culture on which the analysis of my thesis is built is a combination of the above: webs of significance as preconditions, tools

[2] The aboriginal Sápmi people of Norway would most likely be ironic about such a distinction.

and knowledge, guiding emotions and trust, and being in a constant process of recreation by praxis, including both representation and play.

Reification of culture has long been contested in anthropology (Borofsky, 1994). The term *multicultural* may be viewed as prolonging a perspective on culture as something that a person has. Sarah Ahmed argues that diversity is a "replacement term", but rather than replacing multicultural, it replaces equal opportunities and antiracism (Ahmed, 2012, p. 52). Diversity becomes a feel-good celebration of differences, of which the mentioned Year of Diversity might serve as an example. Following Barth's (1969) work on ethnic groups and boundaries and Edward Said's orientalism (1985/2003), what role the ideas on cultural diversity might play may be considered mainly a matter of strategies, and consequently, the analysis of diversity cannot be separated from that of power relations. Studies in the post-colonial tradition have revealed how othering in the form of exotification has sustained uneven power relations, as pointed out by African musicologist Kofi Agawu, who asks, "Whose are the horizons that are broadened by intercultural understanding? [….] Is it possible to achieve a genuine fusion of horizons between cultures located in radically different economic spheres?" (Agawu, 2003/2012, p. 123).

Superdiversity

Coined by Steven Vertovec (2007), the term *superdiversity* describes a situation marked by heightened degrees of transition – by people as well as by information – with communication across borders and distances made possible by low air fares, as well as by digital medias and platforms. A situation of superdiversity implies multi-layered diversifying factors of economic, linguistic and other features that coincide (or do not) and condition people's lives (Vertovec, 2007). The superdiversity perspective represents the reluctance to put anyone in a modern urban environment in a clear-cut, one-dimensional category of binary oppositions. For this reason, the concept seems of particular relevance in school research, as also argued regarding school research in similarly mixed areas in Sweden (Gogolin, 2016). I have found the perspective of superdiversity useful, especially when conducting research with children, on whom imposing categories from the grown-up world may inflict harm, as well as hinder the understanding of what really goes on among the children. I argue that Q school and its neighbourhood have elements that can be understood as constituting a superdiverse setting that is also somewhat shaped by processes of gentrification.

1.2 EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF DIVERSITY

In the present study, the social organisation is largely dominated by the school system. The children belong to classes, as well as to instrument groups running across ordinary classes. These are the primary systems to which the pupils belong and adjust. The beliefs and values they bring with them to school vary, according to their different family backgrounds. On individual levels, the family backgrounds are joined or integrated with the values communicated by the school. In this respect, the school may appear as a grey zone between the public and the private (Eriksen & Sajjad, 2015). As an institution, the school has a direction, facing somewhere. Institutions are dynamic and thus can also be thought of as verbs. Part of how institutions function as verbs is by implicating an institutional reality as given, for example, diversity, "without assuming what is given by the given" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 21).

NORWEGIAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The Norwegian public school system must be perceived as strongly connected to and part of Norwegian core values of equal opportunities. In launching a recent proposition, the Education Department states that Norwegian schools, including kindergarten, shall give equal possibilities to all, irrespective of social, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, or of gender, cognitive and physical diversities (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2019-2020). The Norwegian Education Act (*Opplæringslova*) begins with these words, emphasising a humanitarian and international outlook:

> Education and training in schools and training establishments shall, in collaboration and agreement with the home, open doors to the world and give the pupils and apprentices historical and cultural insight and anchoring. (Opplæringslova, 1998 [Education Act, 1998] § 1-1)

Furthermore, an inclusive educational environment has to be ensured for all children. Bullying has received considerable attention, and several anti-bullying programmes have been launched over the years. The Education Act was amended in 2017, with an addition in Chapter 9A, regulating the pupils' right to a good learning environment, imposing a stronger duty on the school to act in cases of bullying. There has been a growing focus on inclusion as an essential experience of belonging that should be granted to all pupils according to a Official Norwegian Report (NOU 2015:2). A new national curriculum was issued in 2020,

with its core content emphasising "health and life skills" (*"folkehelse og livsmestring"*) (UDIR, 2017) as a new interdisciplinary focus. The attention to life skills in the new curriculum is meant to enable students' understanding of what is inflicted on their own lives and how to manage these impositions.

Combined with the goal of having an international scope, cultural insights and egalitarian principles, Norway implements a strict asylum and immigration policy. This combination is part of the framework that the Q school leadership relates to, and it also gives cultural and economic premises for the families living in Q and the pupils of Q school.

INTEGRATION AND INCLUSION IN SCHOOL

Until 1975, the Norwegian Education Act referred to a category of pupils as unable to be educated, literally translated "non-formation-able" *(ikke dannelsesdyktige)* (Befring, 2014). In the Education Act revised in 1975, all children were granted the right to education according to their abilities (Befring, 2014). By this time, the concept of *integration* started to appear in educational documents, referring also to the right of children with disabilities to be integrated into the educational system (Befring, 2014). Later, the term integration also, and perhaps even more, referred to immigrants being more or less integrated into Norwegian society and schools, although there was neither a consensus nor a clear definition regarding what characterized a successful integration of immigrants (Rugkåsa, 2012). The notion of inclusion may be regarded as a further development of integration and is primarily connected to the United Nations' Salamanca statement (UNESCO, 1994). Focusing on students with disabilities as a starting point, the Salamanca statement explicitly encompasses all children and view all as having individual needs and rights, emphasising each unique individual's right to a place in public education, as well as in the human community (UNESCO, 1994). In special education, the term integration denotes something "outward", whereas inclusion is an "inward concept" (Befring, 2014, p. 25). The term inclusion is a psychologically flavoured concept, presupposing the physical frame of integration while focusing on individual experiences of belonging and participation (Haug, 2010; Skogdal, 2014).

An official Norwegian report (NOU 2015:2) recommends a focus on inclusion, not only to be reserved for pupils with disabilities, but to be a central focus for the educational authorities regarding all pupils/students in the years to come. The authors of the report highlight the need to focus on school culture as an important factor for promoting a better and more inclusive learning environment (NOU 2015:2, p. 357). Moreover, they point to the

importance and the right of every child to experience belonging (*å høre til*). However, in public discourse, inclusion is still mostly connected to minorities or to cultural diversity or to minorities with learning abilities. Inclusion appears as a centripetal social force in contrast to diversity, which represents centrifugal forces (Mitchell, 2017, p. 18).

In a comprehensive study on how to reach all learners, David Mitchell describes an intersecting "taxonomy of differences" (Mitchell, 2017, p. 35) that is analytically reducible to the "big five" regarding differences from an educationalist perspective. These five are religion, ability[3], ethnicity, gender and socioeconomic status (Mitchell, 2017, p. 37). In this thesis, the chief diversity in focus is cultural diversity, based on the discourse around the school and the neighbourhood, as well as on the importance of the pupils' family backgrounds. In this case, cultural diversity encompasses language, ethnicity, and religion. Socioeconomic differences, as well as issues related to gender, are part of the analysis, and to a certain extent, learning abilities. The interconnections between the differences in and outside education comprise the main theme in parts of the discussion in the thesis. Blurring the perspectives on diversity regarding pupils with immigrant backgrounds and with learning disabilities has been somewhat controversial in the Norwegian school context. Based on a study of the reports from Pedagogical Psychological Counselling (PPC), Joron Pihl (2002) argues that a large number of pupils with immigrant backgrounds appear in the PPC reports as having severe learning disabilities. In reality, what appears in the reports as learning disabilities is the lack of communication skills in the Norwegian language or a set of deficiencies due to financially deprived or culturally divergent backgrounds (Pihl, 2009, 2015). The situation emerges as ethno-nationalism, disguised as caring for people with disabilities (Pihl, 2009, 2015). Misrepresentations regarding the reasons for learning difficulties clearly pose an obstacle to finding the correct toolkit to apply. However, it might appear as if mistaking one difference for another is also a matter of status, as if there is a hierarchy of differences regarding marginalisation and stigma, and a perceived normality exists underneath a cultural difference.

As pointed out by Ahmed (2012), inclusion often appears in public discourse as a feel-good way of talking about diversity. Diversity is a buzzword, a key to receiving grants and financial support, and I argue that cultural diversity may be a sign of a sound and modern

[3] In Mitchell's (2017) taxonomy, ability also includes personality.

neighbourhood, that is, notably, cultural diversity, not diversity regarding abilities, health or age.

Research on inclusion in school tends to take a system perspective, relating inclusion to ideology or politics (Haug, 2010; Snipstad, 2019). This may be viewed in correlation with the tendency to use documenting work on diversity, as well as work on inclusion, as a "sign of good performance" for an institution that aims to have a global outlook (Ahmed, 2012, p. 84). Ahmed is concerned with cultural diversity, but I argue that the same perspective is significant regarding cognitive and other diversities. In this thesis, my aim is to focus on how the individual child's experience of belonging may be understood in the context of intersecting diversities.

For the purpose of finding and analysing processes of inclusion, I have found it useful to apply perspectives from special education to understand the problems encountered by children across categories This is not opposed to Pihl's (2002, 2005, 2009) arguments but an analytical approach. In the field of special education, a popular saying is "what benefits a pupil with special needs, benefits all". Parallel to this perspective and particularly with respect to the long-term focus on inclusion in the field of special education, I use concepts and research from this field to analyse and understand inclusion regarding all pupils. For example, concerning integration versus inclusion, it is thus insufficient to have a desk in the same classroom or an official membership in a club (Haug, 2010; Mitchell, 2017; Snipstad, 2019). Inclusion presupposes participation, communication and above all, an individual experience of belonging (See for example Hjelmbrekke, 2014; Lundh, 2014; Nilsen, 2017a; Sigstad, 2017; Skogdal, 2014).

Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (1991) have shown how participation in communal practices can be a pathway to learning and to belonging at the same time. Playing an instrument can be taught in a practical way by demonstrating it to pupils and gradually assigning them more complicated tasks, without using elaborate language A small-scale version of Lave and Wenger's perspective is one way of perceiving participation in a music group as providing a sense of belonging.

Bengt and Elisabeth Persson's (2013) research approach using the perspective of the individual child's experience of being included (as a prerequisite for inclusion) is parallel to the anthropological goal of grasping the point of view of the local actor.

CHILDREN LONGING FOR BELONGING

In some recent studies, the focus on inclusion as well as on identity seems to be reconceptualized to fit the more fluid, unfixed and processual notion of belonging (Eidsvåg & Rosell, 2021; Lähdesmäki et al., 2016). Writing about children's own management of belonging, notably their feeling "worthy of belonging", Pugh (2009, p. 7) describes three differences as crucial. "Personal differences", such as character, body or knowledge, and "social differences", which are related to who an individual's family is, are levelled out in day-to-day action with "interactional differences" a difference of a "momentary kind", being "thankful for what you have" related to being up to date regarding experiences and possessions (Pugh, 2009, p. 59). I refer to Pugh's as well as to Mitchell's (2017) categories of differences as intersecting with cultural diversity when writing about diversity and the children's efforts to belong and include others. From studies of consumer culture among children from various socioeconomic class backgrounds in the USA, Pugh notes, "children often cared more about signalling age, gender and access to popular culture than they did showing the taste that parents considered appropriate to their class" (Pugh, 2009, p. 220). Symbols signalling belonging or feeling worthy of belonging are above all consumer items or valuable experiences called "scrip", defined as "tokens of value suddenly fraught with meaning" (Pugh, 2009, p. 7). In Pugh's work, consumer items and certain experiences may seem to work – somewhat similarly to taste, from Pierre Bourdieu's (1995) perspective – as cultural capital in a system where belonging is connected to worth inherent in choice, taste and economy. I suggest a Q twist in Pugh's perspectives regarding the social value of immaterial values or experiences less connected to monetary value. Based on my findings, I argue that – even more so than objects – skills, qualities and achievements may be vehicles of dignity connected to a sense belonging in Q. In light of Pugh's analysis, I discuss whether playing music may have elements that function as scrip in Q school. In other words, may belonging be connected to playing music in a way that can make musical skill be regarded as scrip, following Pugh's (2009) argument?

When presenting my project, I have often been asked, "... included in what?" The question of "what" often assumes the existence of groups defined by categories based on adults' notions more than actual social groups of children. The term *superdiversity* implies temporality as well as modifications regarding diversity. Parallel to this, it might be more fruitful to search for other perspectives of inclusion than what lies in the included–excluded dichotomy. Perhaps a researcher can look for a perspective on inclusion inspired by Gert

Biesta's (2013) notion of education and that of formation (i.e., replacing the focus on an envisioned ideal end result with the focus on process resulting foremost in capacity for more). The goal of inclusion may perhaps not necessarily be perceived as a state of being *fully included* but a capacity for inclusion by oneself and others in new settings or environments.

BILDUNG/FORMATION – AND A SCHOOL WITH PERSPECTIVES TOWARDS SUSTAINABILITY

Norwegian elementary schools' central objective has always been to nurture what may be translated as "human beings with sound moral values" (*gagns mennesker*) (Angelo, 2017). The German concept of *bildung* captures this goal. *Bildung* is not readily translatable to Norwegian nor to English. The usual translation to Norwegian is *dannelse*. The Norwegian (and Danish) word for education, *utdannelse*, contains the concept of *bildung (dannelse).* So does the Swedish concept of education, *utbildning.*

Basically, *dannelse* has two different yet related meanings regarding a certain end product or result. On one hand, it implies the general idea of fostering "human beings with sound moral values". On the other hand, in more general discourse, *dannelse* connotes being cultivated or having good manners, also implying certain middle-class values, such as being able to play a classical instrument. A challenge surrounding the concept, in education and otherwise, is that these two interpretations are conflated, making it difficult to detach *dannelse* from the connotation of social class. As a result, both interpretations imply the connotations of *dannelse*. The notion of what it means to be *dannet* or well educated in this respect is in reality, often equivalent to sharing somebody's values and perceptions as a projection of one's own values (Økland, 2011).

Formation seems to be the most used translation of *bildung* to English and is used in this thesis. Even more so than *dannelse*, formation refers to a process rather than a state or an end product or something that someone possesses. The concept of formation is also linked to an ideological landscape, whose emphasis on the formation aspect of education tends to favour personal development, relation building, humanities and the arts. This is somewhat opposed to the perspective of knowledge as acquisition of facts that can be measured. Biesta, a much-read educationalist in Norwegian teacher education, has argued for an approach to education that focuses more on personal development and less on measurable test results (Biesta, 2018; 2010, 2013). Highlighting the focus on formation in school may also be viewed as an ecological approach from a system perspective that considers the pupil as both a whole

person, not what may be perceived as a head that is a container of facts about the world, and as part of a system – the class, the neighbourhood and humanity. Inclusion, perceived as ensuring a development that takes care of socially sustainability, may also be regarded as part of an ecological approach to formation in school.

Formation and the arts/the humanities

A recent report on aesthetic learning processes (Austring & Sørensen, 2006) in elementary school concludes that the arts may promote positive development regarding personal attributes and competencies, such as wellbeing, critical thinking, fantasy and ability to imagine, capability for self-expression and engagement (By et al., 2020). In Norwegian elementary education, the concept of aesthetic learning processes is related to the concept developed in Denmark, connecting to a particular way of learning enabled by the mediation between perceptions, emotions and recognition of the world, based on the Kantian view of the human aesthetic disposition (Austring & Sørensen, 2006). Thus, even though formation is not necessarily perceived as a status that involves knowledge of certain cultural expressions, knowledge of culture and the arts is still connected to formation as a source of formation. The term *halfway-formation* (*"halvdannet"*) has been used by Even Ruud to signify the lack of possibilities to participate in a dialogue due to the lack of knowledge, particularly regarding international trends and styles in music (Ruud, 1996, p. 29). Øyvind Varkøy (2015, p. 154) goes even further, suggesting that the lack of the arts may lead to *unbildung*.

Martha Nussbaum (2010) has argued for a renewed emphasis on the humanities as part of general education. Her arguments particularly revolve around the need for securing democracies and are connected to a democracy's dependence on citizens who are able to develop critical thinking as well as care for one another. According to Nussbaum, the arts, particularly theatre and literature, facilitate the emotional imagination of other less fortunate people's lives. This emotional imagination is considered an essential resource in enabling a person to understand and prioritise the interests of the less fortunate to be one's own interests in a democracy (Nussbaum, 1996, 2006; 2010). Thus, although she does not use the concept of formation or *bildung*, Nussbaum's perceptions regarding how the arts facilitate human development may be viewed as arguments for the arts as necessary in a school that values individual formation as a prerequisite for systemic justice and democracy.

In this thesis, some of the discussion revolves around the fact that the music programme is based on using instruments from the classical symphony orchestra. Does this fact serve to unify the vast cultural backgrounds represented? Otherwise, does the choice of classical instruments appear as hegemonic, imposing the sharing of somebody's values and perceptions as a projection of one's own values, as a parallel to Jorunn Økland's (2011) critical approach to formation. Alternatively, does the choice of instruments perhaps make the programme and the performances more acceptable to parents who may otherwise be sceptical of the focus on music in school? This is in light of the middle-class values associated with classical music (Bourdieu, 1995).

1.3 MUSICKING

Christopher Small (1998) coined the term *musicking*, prompting a shift in perspective regarding music, from that of the musical product as a noun to that of music as an activity, a verb. In Small's work, one of the central points is the close connection between *musicking* and sociocultural processes. Inherent in Small's perspective is the critique of the strongly separated roles between the audience and the performer, especially regarding classical music with its concert halls. Starting with the Venetian opera, classical music established music as a product that some can produce and sell and others can buy (Small, 1998). Small argues that musicking establishes a place where the contents *de facto* are our relationships (Small, 1998, p. 140). These relationships are what music is really and solely about, according to Small. In this thesis, I do not discuss any reductionist perspective on the musical sound that may be implied. The (emic) use of the term *music* in Q school by and large aligns with the practice-oriented content of the term *musicking* and the belief that playing music together has a connection to and an impact on relationships. In Q school, more so than the musical sounds and the pieces of music performed, music signifies the lessons and the activities of playing, learning to play and performing, as well as the possible side effects and the symbolic and potential force of playing music together. As such, I use the concept of musicking in this thesis. My focus and positions taken in the thesis should be regarded as having grown out of the focus in the school where I conducted the research.

A Norwegian parallel to Small's (1998) musicking can be found in the term *musicising* (*å musisere*), coined and highlighted in the process of renewing the national education curriculum, L97 (Espeland, 1997), as part of a triad in its music curriculum,

together with listening and composing. Lacking Small's strong emphasis on the role of music in creating social relations, musicising simply means *making music together*. However, it highlights the collective process more than the result and refers most of all to everyday practices – playing together with friends or family, in schools or kindergartens outside formal settings. Moreover, it has been constructed as implying certain genres, such as singer-songwriter traditions and other folk music traditions, hardly orchestra music of any kind.

Q school was given no exceptions to the national curriculum. However, most of the music teaching was connected in some way to playing the instruments. The weight on music making was considerable, although not as informal as in musicising (*musisering*), neither in content nor in form. I apply the concept of musicking in this thesis, primarily denoting the activity of playing music together, and to a certain extent, its related activities. The concept and my application of it are described in depth in Chapter 3.

MUSICKING VIEWED AS A RENEWABLE RESOURCE FOR FORMATION AND NON-THERAPEUTIC THERAPY

Mitchell argues for an ecological approach to children's behaviour – a "behavioural ecology" (Mitchell, 2017, p. 15), where the child has to be perceived as the centre of a system comprising layers, ranging from family, classroom and school to community and society (Mitchell, 2017, p. 16). Applying a system approach that considers individual and social wellbeing is compatible with the overarching goal for the outcome of the present research. Following the approach used by Tia DeNora (2015), this may include ecological perspectives on health and illness, regarding both the relative status and the interconnectedness between psychological wellbeing and the socioecological situation.

There are several well-justified arguments against the use of music and the arts for purposes outside the arts themselves (Fredriksen, 2018; Varkøy, 2015; Varkøy & Fossum, 2017). I consider music, not as a magical doer, but as part of the resources in human agency, as expressed by DeNora (2000, p. 44): "Music is a resource. It provides affordances for world building." An anthropologist tends to view all human behaviours or products of human behaviours as intertwined with, not separated from, their sociocultural context. From an anthropological perspective, knowledge is inseparable from the knower in context. Paraphrasing DeNora (2015, p. 143) my research revolves around the focus on whether and how music and music making modify situations in ways that are transformative for the pupils,

as well as how music and musical activities afford new frameworks, skills and identities to the pupils in ways that in turn may provide affordances for inclusion.

I argue that music is vitally connected to pleasure, as well as to authenticity. It follows that a fine and permeable line can be drawn between music sociology and music therapy. The understanding that musicality is innate as a human capacity more than as a gift of the few is familiar in ethnomusicological thinking (Nettl, 1983), classically framed by John Blacking (1976), who defines music as a "humanly organized sound" (Blacking, 1976, p. 3-31) and "soundly organized humanity" (Blacking, 1976, p. 89-116). The capacity of music to enhance wellbeing socially and individually has been investigated by scholars, such as music sociologist DeNora (see for example DeNora, 2000, 2015, 2019), and is fundamental in music therapy (see for example works of Even Ruud, such as 1980, 1996, 1997, 2016) and community music therapy (for example Stige & Aarø, 2011).

Music as communal practice is often the very basis of music as therapy. DeNora's work shows how playing music can initiate a process of change in identity, whereby a person may gradually become more and more of a musician and less and less of a patient (DeNora, 2019, p. 130). DeNora writes, "…in the musicking we become what it is we are doing. I become, to take a simple example, a singer when I sing" (DeNora, 2015, p. 141). Viewed this way, music is an end in itself and at the same time, a transformative practice.

DIGNITY AND THE CAPABILITY APPROACH

In Pugh's study, the children enter an "economy of dignity", where the goal of the management of scrip is social belonging (Pugh, 2009, p. 6). Moreover, dignity is connected to physical and mental dimensions of space. "With dignity, children are visible to their peers and granted the aural space, the very right to speak in their community's conversation" (Pugh, 2009, p. 7). Pugh refers to Amartya Sen's (1999) notion of an "absolute capability" (as cited in Pugh, 2009, p. 7) of participating in the social community.

Rather than a matter of contest and something that may be lacking, Nussbaum (2006; 2011) understands dignity as an inborn universal human capacity. To live according to one's inborn human dignity is a goal for which people cross-culturally strive, as much as they do for material wealth, according to the capability approach (Nussbaum, 2006; 2011; Nussbaum & Sen, 1993). Nussbaum conceives of dignity as an innate attribute inborn property of every human being. This approach to humanity defines the framework of this thesis. The notion that

any special problem that individuals or groups may have "needs to be addressed from the start, in the design of the entire system of global justice, not as an afterthought and a matter of charity" (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 250), is based on the perspective that all citizens have equal human dignity. According to the capability approach, the human capabilities that are necessary to ensure a life lived according to each one's dignity should be accorded governmental focus and security (Alexander, 2008; Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 1999). This approach is parallel to the system approach to human heterogeneity inherent in the Salamanca statement (UNESCO, 1994). Inclusion and providing an inclusive environment constitute a system responsibility; it is not the individual's duty to include oneself. The Norwegian concept of *adapted education* (*tilpasset opplæring*) (UDIR, 2022) can be regarded as based on a similar approach; to ensure the right to equal opportunities in education, different adaptations must be made from the start regarding the pupils' individual needs and preferences.

Based on Nussbaum's works (f ex. 2006; 2011), protection of one's innate dignity is something that every human being seeks for oneself. Pugh's (2009) approach considers dignity as attached to activities and objects that can be accumulated in various ways. I apply parts of both perspectives in this thesis.

THE RESEARCHER – ENTRY AND POSITION

Over the past years, my work and fields of interest have evolved, encompassing music, diversity and inclusion. Much of my previous academic work has focused on traditional music in Belfast, from a time marked by deep political conflict in Northern Ireland. In Belfast in the late 1980s, music simultaneously allowed a free space for play, fun and recovery and a politicised space where the negotiation on a national identity and multiple identities were constructed and contested (Lundh, 1991, 1994).

My present PhD studies have been financed by the Norwegian Research Council, in cooperation with my employer, the Norwegian organisation Arts for Young Audiences Norway (*Kulturtanken*). This organisation works on the presentation of the arts in a programme for school children, called Arts for Children (*Den kulturelle skolesekken [DKS]*, literally translated as *The cultural schoolbag*), and has grown out of the organisation Concerts Norway (*Rikskonsertene*), where I have worked as a producer of world music and Norwegian traditional music concert programmes.

Twenty-one years ago, I became a mother of a boy with severe disabilities. Seeing the school system from the perspective of an outsider with special needs and through the eyes of an anthropologist has given me a renewed engagement and a new entrance to discussions about diversity and inclusion.

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

In Chapter 2, I present the contextual outlines. I start with a description of the neighbourhood, including a brief historical summary, followed by an outline of the music curriculum in Norwegian primary schools and a more detailed description of the music programme in Q school. In the chapter's final section, I cite some relevant empirical research on El Sistema-based projects in comparable settings. I have chosen a grounded analytical approach. In my opinion, it has made this thesis more readable, particularly in my presentation of some of the research literature with which to relate this study, in the empirical chapters rather than in a separate section.

In Chapter 3, I provide the layout of the theoretical framework on which my analysis is based. I have aimed at constructing a framework with interdisciplinary dialogue, perhaps at the expense of more profound professional discussions. By focusing on processes and actions rather than on objects, the distribution and situated nature of cultural knowledge are foregrounded. The key concepts mentioned in the introduction are explored more deeply here. Michel Foucault's (1986) concept of heterotopy is brought in as a connecting and mind-expanding way of exploring the experiences in musicking and performances. DeNora's (2015) concept of music asylums is presented as an analytical perspective from which to perceive inclusive effects of individual experiences in the music groups. Nussbaum's (1996, 1997, 2006, 2010) capability approach functions as an *epistemological horizon*, an overarching philosophical perspective.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the methodology used in this study. I focus on challenges in finding the pupils' points of view. Furthermore, I present the ethical considerations when doing anthropological fieldwork in school. I discuss some of the ethical dilemmas that I encountered and describe some of the choices, strategies and compromises that I made.

Chapters 5 to 9 are the core empirical chapters regarding the research questions, my analysis of the empirical data and the fields of academic contributions. In Chapter 5, I describe some introductions to music for the younger children, focusing on different sources

of motivation. I end the chapter with the aims and objectives of the leaders initiating and/or managing the programme today.

In Chapter 6, I discuss the issues related to diversity from the perspectives of the parents and the approaches to diversity or rather, to differences, by the children. I describe how the *transit situation* is imposed on the school environment and the diversity situation. I show how theories of intersecting diversities, particularly the concept of superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007), may be useful analytical tools in a neighbourhood and a school such as Q.

In Chapter 7, I explore how some teachers work for inclusion, how teaching young children with limited knowledge of Norwegian to play musical instruments is approached by the Arts school teachers, and how they create adapted education in a situation of intersecting diversities. I suggest that diversity may also be part of an ongoing construction of local cultural identity.

Chapter 8 is based on studies involving children playing music together in groups. I focus on one group in particular, whose members work on their own with *pedagogical bells*, one tone instruments created for pedagogical purposes. Through the goal of playing a tune together, they interchangeably include and exclude one another, as well as exercise care and compassion. I focus on meanings of style and of performances. Playing music together, especially playing concert pieces, is analysed as "slices in time" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26) that constitute "heterotopical" spaces.

In Chapter 9, I provide a close-up view of processes that occur in two instrument groups. I describe how musicking may constitute "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and as such, enforce belonging by communal practice. By employing DeNora's (2015) concept of music asylums, I demonstrate how musicking may afford individual and social processes that result in individual and social "refurnishing" (DeNora, 2015, p. 50) and as such, may enhance individual experiences of belonging.

Finally, in Chapter 10, I round up the discussion with some conclusions, practical and methodological implications and my academic contributions.

2 CONTEXTS

In this chapter, I present a contextual outline of Q neighbourhood and Q school, starting with a brief historical backdrop. I also provide a contextual outline of the place of music in the Norwegian public elementary school curriculum, as well as an outline of the music programme in Q school. This is followed by a brief presentation of the arts in Norway's school system and of the tradition of marching bands connected to the public schools. Finally, the chapter also serves as a research-contextual framework for my analysis regarding some relevant research literature.

2.1 A WORKING-CLASS NEIGHBOURHOOD FACING GENTRIFICATION

Q was originally a working-class area, built during Oslo's expansion in the late 19th century, that became a place of settlement for the labour immigrants who arrived in Norway in the 1970s, mainly from Pakistan and Turkey. Residing in social housing and some student houses, immigrants comprised the bulk of the population in the decades after the 1970s, in an area that remained low in status and with cheap housing. The cheap housing also attracted some low-income white Norwegian families that included students and artists, most of whom moved when their children were about to start school (Barlindhaug, 2017). Social benefit housing was also available to accommodate families with a refugee status, of which many arrived from Somalia in the 1990s, and later from Chechnya and Syria after the European Economic Area (EEA, Norwegian: *EØS*) borders were opened in 2005 (SSB, 2017).

Q neighbourhood has been in focus due to its criminal gangs, composed largely of immigrant youth throughout the 1990s and at the turn of the millennium (Bjørgo, 2000). Recurring troubles in Q and other inner-city neighbourhoods figured in public debates, with the issue being cited as the chief reason for investments in several selected areas so-called "area programs" (Brattbakk & Wessel, 2017, pp. 15-16) of Oslo since the turn of the century, in media and colloquial discourses spoken about as *area lifts* (*"områdeløft"*). Q neighbourhood has been part of an "inner-city lift", referred to by the inhabitants as "the lift". The lift involved considerable sums of money set aside to rehabilitate the area with better housing, decorations of streets and public spaces, playgrounds and not the least, money allotted to initiatives to improve the conditions for the children and youth growing up in the neighbourhood. The school had benefited from some of these budgets. According to the

teachers in Q school, the most notable initiative was the free-of-charge playschool called *The activity school*, in Norwegian abbreviated to *AKS* for the younger children after school hours. According to the teachers, this resulted in many more children from poor families staying on to play with their peers after school. A portion of the funds channelled through the inner-city lift was also allocated to the music programme, enabling the purchase of instruments.

Some of the houses built at the turn of the century remain, mixed with newer and taller blocks of flats and some office buildings. The lift has facilitated the renovation of public outdoor spaces and cultural institutions and further rehabilitation of buildings, providing better housing standards. Along with keeping the picturesque street milieu, such improvements have attracted young Norwegian families to a greater extent. Consequently, the flats in the area have also become more expensive. The development that followed has been described as gentrification (Huse, 2014). Coined by Ruth Glass in 1964, the term *gentrification* ironically refers to a new "urban gentry", paralleling the "rural gentry familiar to readers of Jane Austen" (Lees et al., 2008, pp. 4-5) that replaced the existing population in the area. Gentrification is an urban phenomenon, first described in London and New York, referring to both economic and sociocultural processes, basically characterised by houses or flats in a working-class neighbourhood that are gradually being bought and inhabited by middle-class families, transforming the area "from disinvestment to reinvestment" (Lees et al., 2008, p. 35). The transformation does not necessarily entail refurbishing but is primarily characterised by a change in the population (Ljunggren, 2017, pp. 17-18). The ironic cultural backlash (described by Lees et al., 2008, with reference to Jane Austen) suggests a return to the values and aesthetics of the past.

Since the 1970s, Oslo's immigrant population has primarily inhabited the city's inner east areas, one of which is Q, resulting in a segregation that could be described as the "coloration of social class" (Wessel, 2017, p. 82). This is also typical of other gentrified areas, where immigrants, together with working-class or unemployed people, welcome unestablished young artists, who have found a space that is not only affordable but also unmarked by mass-produced or bourgeoise houses and artefacts (Ley, 2003). Thus, in some sense, diversity may be perceived as linked to gentrification. In his article on artists and gentrification, David Ley argues that artists show a "multicultural belief in unity from diversity" (Ley, 2003, p. 2528) and suggests its parallelism between creating something from nothing or beauty from trash as attractive to young artists. I argue that creative entrepreneurship may be viewed as part of the elements used to develop a *Q-ish identity*.

The population movements in Q neighbourhood, after its period of gentrification, seem to have followed a pattern where immigrants, after establishing themselves with steady incomes, and so on, move to other areas where they can afford better living conditions (Barlindhaug, 2017; Wessel, 2017), in particular, by purchasing their own homes, which is common among middle-class Norwegians. At the same time, newly arrived immigrants with few resources move into the social housing flats owned by the municipal social service. Social housing is still chiefly located in the inner east (Wessel, 2017), a fact that may seem to intensify the economic diversity, as well as speed up other residents' movements out of the area, voluntarily or involuntarily, as families are forced to leave the social benefit flats once others need the flats more, according to the social welfare officers. I argue that these movements have a huge impact on the special kind of diversity challenging the pupil environment in Q school. The music initiative may seem to meet this challenge in particular ways. The music initiative also seems to influence on and be influenced by the processes of gentrification that has its own special version in Q neighbourhood.

While many families move out of the area to suburbs (farther away from the centre) where they can afford to buy a house, those moving into Q in the middle of the school term often arrive with children who have no command of the Norwegian language. Norway implements a strict asylum policy, and those who receive permits often come from warzones and strenuous flights, sometimes over many years, and with traumas from this experience. On one hand, the present regulations involve no teaching or otherwise acknowledgement of the non-Norwegian languages that the children speak when they arrive. On the other hand, effort is put into teaching Norwegian. Children who arrive, without a command of Norwegian in their first two levels in school, start directly in the local school, where they will supposedly learn by being integrated with their Norwegian-speaking peers. Pupils in higher grades start in the so-called reception classes *(mottaksklasser*) in designated schools, so they could learn Norwegian before attending their ordinary classes (and local schools). There were no reception classes in Q school when I conducted my fieldwork. At that time, the reality was that many children started in the middle of the school term, also in higher classes, with limited knowledge of Norwegian. According to the teachers, the reasons for this could be that they had already been to Norway and had spent some time in reception classes, left for a couple of years and then came back. This excluded their placement in reception classes the second time they arrived.

AN OLD SCHOOL-BUILDING WITH A TOP FLOOR SET ASIDE FOR MUSIC

The school building is the same today as when it was built in 1882, at that time, with close to 800 pupils.[4] In 2016, when I started my research for this thesis, there were just over 360 pupils and around 60 employees in Q school.

The building is renovated but kept in its old style. The school still includes an auditorium with old wooden double desks, "the fairy-tale room" (*"eventyrrommet"*) with fresco paintings on the walls, a small stage and a glass ceiling. Entering the building gives visitors the impression that history is treasured and taken care of. As there is ample space for the pupils in the building today, it has been possible to set aside the whole third floor (the top floor) for music teaching. This facilitates leaving the instruments easily accessible in the rooms. When entering the hallway to the third floor, the pupils arrive at a stair landing with exhibitions of historical banners in cabinets with glass doors. These are the various old banners that through the changing times, have represented Q school in the 17th of May parades, celebrating the Norwegian Constitution Day. Furthermore, the hallways are decorated with musically inspired images, ranging from scores and items from music theory to photos of pupils with their instruments and photos from house concerts. The walls are also posted with some writings from the leader of the music program. Two of them state (my translation from Norwegian):

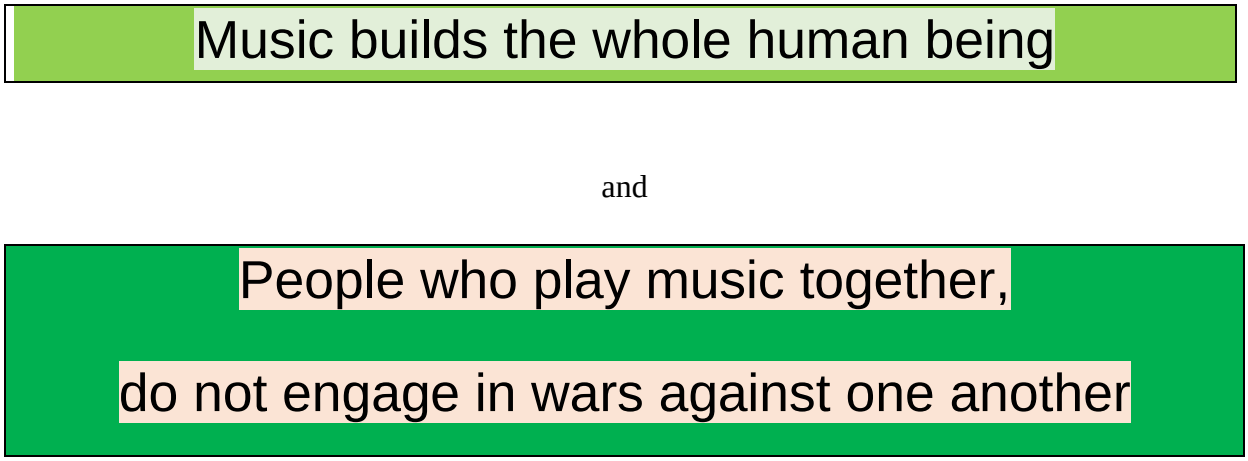


Figure 1: Reproductions of expressions framed as wall decorations on the music floor

It is as if the frame of a separate world is created, with reconciliation and restoration, announcing, "This is the world of music, peace and wellbeing." Statements such as those

[4] Reference excluded to protect anonymity

mentioned above also resemble ideas connected to the results of music and playing together found in El Sistema (Bergman & Lindgren, 2014a, 2014b; Tunstall, 2012). El Sistema's "wonder boy" director Gustavo Dudamel states on his webpage: "Music is the ideal tool for social change" (Dudamel, 2022).

2.2 MUSIC IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS: CURRICULUM AND SCHOOL BANDS

Norwegian children start school the year when they turn six years old. Elementary school offers the first seven years of education, until the children reach the age of 13 and advance to the three year lower secondary school, called the youth school (*ungdomsskole*) in Norway. When they finish secondary school at the age of 16, they are not obliged but have the right to attend high school for 2 to 5 years, after which many students choose a college or a university education.

MUSIC IN THE CURRICULUM

When the first teacher academies were established from the early to the mid-19th century, all school teachers were expected to lead a choir – also in the local church (Angelo & Emstad, 2017). Singing was considered more important than mathematics and reading in school during the 19th and the early 20th centuries (Emstad & Angelo, 2017). Of course, this must be viewed in relation to the close connection between the school and the church, as well as the historically larger space for religion in the Norwegian culture and society at that time. Singing psalms is also a religious activity, as well as adding melodies to devotional lyrics, a religious tradition that is also notably common in the Islamic religion. From the 1960s onwards, singing was replaced by music as a subject in the curriculum. In addition to secularisation, the modern record player and the wider distribution of radios facilitated the democratisation of music, as well as the accessibility to music of various genres in the classroom. Parallel to the shift in emphasis from singing as part of a religious education to music as part of a secular education, music seems to have been marginalised in relation to other subjects in the school curriculum. Incidentally, in the 2019 revision of the school curriculum, the national education authorities stated that singing would no longer be a part of the curriculum of the school classes in Norwegian, a directive that resulted in a storm of utterances, mostly in protest (Akerbæk, 2019). It is perhaps unnecessary to remark that it is not illegal to sing or listen to music in Norwegian or any other classes for that matter, and many teachers do, also in Q.

The elementary school curriculum contains a total of 285 hours of music from the 1st to the 7th grade.[5] This roughly amounts to a 45-minute lesson every week. The music curriculum covers academic as well as technical goals and focuses on singing together, western classical music and folk music from around the world (UDIR, 2019). Music teachers are sometimes trained in music but not always. The actual content of the subject has proven to be highly dependent on the teacher (Fredriksen, 2018).

From the 1980s until the present time, education has witnessed a development towards a focus on measurable knowledge, with a weight on mathematics and physics and infused by concepts such as educational outcome (*læringsutbytte*) and "learning pressure" (*"læringstrykk"*) (Thuen, 2017, p. 180, my translation). The organisation and the focus are based on models from economics and are connected to the new right in the Norwegian government, which may be perceived as somewhat correlated with other European and North American movements initiated by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan (Thuen, 2017). Music as a subject is considered to have been under-estimated and under-prioritised in the same period (See f ex.Biesta, 2018; Trulsson & Burnard, 2016). A government report on education (NOU 2015:8) signalled a change in this development, towards a higher status assigned to the humanities, this time by connecting the humanities and the arts to sustainable living in relation to psycho-sociological wellbeing. According to this report, the broad mission of the school is connected to the quest for "deep learning" (*"dybdelæring"*) and to the concept of formation, achievable through four areas of competence to be developed in school: subject-specific competence, competence in learning/"learning to learn", competence in communication, and participation and competence in research and creativity (NOU 2015:8, p. 22).

In a revision of the curriculum starting in 2017 and ending in August 2020 (*Fagfornyelsen*), the government has noted that the content of the arts, such as music, will increasingly focus on the practical aspects of the subjects, at the expense of the theoretical elements (UDIR, 2021b). This development seems to be in favour of the kind of music education received by Q school's pupils.

Three interdisciplinary themes are defined in the new curriculum of 2020 (UDIR, 2020). In addition to the already mentioned public health and life skills (*folkehelse og*

[5] I refer to the curriculum at the time when I conducted my research (2017–2019). A revised curriculum was issued in the following year, only slightly altering the content of music.

livsmestring), the other interdisciplinary themes are democracy and citizenship (*demokrati og medborgerskap*) and sustainable development (*bærekraftig utvikling*) (UDIR, 2017). These three themes and the interdisciplinary turn may be perceived as efforts to meet the quest for sustainable development regarding communities as well as individual health. Theo Koritzinsky (2021) appeals for a focus also on socioeconomic systems, considering their possibilities to be integrated into the concepts of life skills and democracy. This critique can be regarded as having a perspective parallel to Baker's (2014) critique of El Sistema, namely that social change requires system perspectives and political handling, not merely individual life skills. The individual and the community should both be viewed as mutually dependent and as such, having common goals. However, they might also appear as opposites. The twofold goal of the school might seem like a dilemma. On one hand, it seeks to recognise the individual and facilitate development based on individual benefits and needs. On the other hand, the school must teach the individual to adapt oneself to the goal of what benefits the community. Sven Nilsen (2017b) argues that Norwegian school traditions are constantly balancing these two perspectives. In special education, the balance between adaption *for* and adaption *of* the pupil (Nilsen, 2017b p.61) is perhaps even more prevalent. This balance may be considered parallel to Kant's (1803/2016) pedagogic dilemma between freedom and duty and at the core of challenges related to resilience and sustainability.

THE ARTS SCHOOL AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS FOR DEMOCRATISATION OF THE ARTS

Concerts Norway *(Rikskonsertene*), where I was employed, was established in 1967 and produced its first live-music concert in 1968. The political aim was to ensure decentralisation and provide high-quality music in all of the remote places in Norway (Vandvik, 2018, pp. 22-23). It particularly focused on children and young people by developing the school concert, especially with the performance of professional musicians visiting the schools.

The musical genres in Concerts Norway's programmes were initially classical music but later, popular music and music from all over the world as well. The efforts must be regarded as built on the conception of music listening as part of the formation for a good life. The school concerts expanded their range in the decades leading to the turn of the century, to include nearly all Norwegian public schools. In 2001, it was politically decided that a new programme, which was developed locally in a Norwegian city, would become a model and focus area for all Norwegian school children. The offer of concerts was expanded to include

several other art forms. All children should be able to watch presentations of the arts in school, in the programme The cultural schoolbag (*DKS*). The programme offers support and makes it compulsory for all public schools in Norway to provide their pupils with the opportunity to meet professional artists twice a year, from the first to the tenth grade (www.denkulturelleskolesekken.no).

Schools of music and performing arts (*Kulturskole*), abbreviated here as arts schools, developed from the municipal music schools that were established in Norway as voluntary music education in the 1950s and the 1960s. Similar to the elementary schools and most other schools in Norway, the majority of the arts schools are publicly run and funded, most often organised under the local Ministry of Education (Berge et al., 2019). However, in contrast to the elementary school, the arts school demands relatively small costs compared with the *de facto* costs, but for some, a considerably large fee to be paid by the parents. After an intensified period of establishment in local municipalities in the 1980s, the arts school became a law-regulated offer to be provided by all municipalities in 1997. The fundamental idea behind the arts schools is to democratise arts education, as well as to provide possibilities for all children to learn and have access to artistic expressions themselves and develop their talent for artistic expression (Berge et al., 2019). The teachers in arts schools are usually trained in the conservatories, the theatre or other art academies. In reality, a recent (and rare) report on the arts schools shows that only 13% of Norwegian children attend an arts school (Berge et al., 2019). Benefiting all children is often a key argument and a priority for establishing and publicly funding cultural initiatives, such as school concerts and local arts schools. It is thus paradoxical that only 13% of the children attend the arts schools. No research has been conducted regarding those who do not attend such schools. Ola K.Berge and colleagues (2019) suggest that price and other factors connected to parents are influential in determining who becomes an arts school student and who does not.

A similar finding has been reported in Denmark, where a growing concern over the past years – that the arts schools seemed to only have pupils from ethnic Danish middle- to high-income families – led to collaborations between arts schools and elementary schools in order to reach the children where they all are, namely in school (Holst, personal communication, 29.112018). In other words, the situation seems parallel to the Norwegian case, that is, a publicly funded arts school with the goal of democratisation of art teaching, in fact remains an exclusive offer for children whose families belong to the white middle class (Berge et al., 2019). The aim of a recent Danish project, in cooperation with similar projects

in Germany, has been to extend music teaching and hence develop musicality and the abilities of mastering an instrument, targeting children who are not among the core attendees of the arts school (Holst, 2018).

All children go to school[6]. Cooperation between arts schools and public schools has been an explicit, politically expressed goal in Norway since the 1980s and statutory through the Education Act of 1997 (Angelo et al., 2017, p. 15). Despite this strong and long-lived intention, limited examples of concrete cooperation seem to be found, apart from directing the school bands that I will discuss in the next section. Elin Angelo and Anne Berit Emstad (2017) report that in the city with 4500 inhabitants where they had done their research, only 3 of the 18 elementary schools in the municipality had established cooperation between arts schools and elementary schools. The reason for these three cases of cooperation was reportedly the lack of trained music teachers in the elementary schools. The cooperation provided the 1st–4th-grade pupils in the 3 elementary schools with music teachers from the arts schools. According to Angelo and Emstad (2017, pp. 8-9), the key success factors for such cooperation are economy, good administration and solid anchoring in the municipal leadership. They also find that having an enthusiastic leader and securing good relations among school leaders are crucial. The same elements seem to be the success factors in Q. Research seems to have a limited focus on success factors, from the point of view of the local community, or on the development of the music subject as part of the school curriculum (Angelo & Emstad, 2017, p. 212). Additionally, I find that current research has a limited focus on success from the pupils' point of view. The present study is a move in the direction of filling this gap in research focus, particularly from the pupils' perspective, as well as the relations between the expanded resources for music teaching in school and the local community.

School bands and the 17th of May

School bands have a long tradition in Norway. Most elementary schools of a certain size offer their pupils an opportunity to learn to play an instrument after school hours. The bands are primarily associated with playing marches and national hymns while representing their schools in the street parades on the National Day, the 17th of May. From being based on

[6] In fact, it is not mandatory to attend school, and a very limited number of children are home-schooled, taught by their parents (if the latter are teacher educated) or other private teachers.

voluntary work and allowances from the schools, the school bands are now often directed by music teachers employed in the local Arts school. In addition to brass instruments, woodwind and simple percussion instruments are included. Many young people continue to play in bands after finishing school and join local bands for adults in their spare time. The Norwegian term for this popular participation in marching bands, *korspbevegelsen*, literally translates to *the band movement*. The Norwegian word *bevegelse* means movement and also has a political connotation as in English, referring to general public will and activity. The bands are associated with local and national competitions in the form of concerts, where the best band is honoured. The core values in the band movement are inclusion and mutual inspiration. Everyone who wants to join is welcomed, regardless of "ethnicity, age and sex" (Norges musikk-korps forbund (NMF), 2017).

I argue that the strong Norwegian school-band tradition is part of the inspiration behind establishing the orchestra project in Q school. Working to establish an orchestra may be related to a wish by the school leadership and others to empower the pupils and the school to represent themselves on the 17th of May parades.[7] However, the choice of starting an orchestra, not a marching band it is remarkable. As implied from the above descriptions and research, a certain class division exists between the school-band movement and the slightly more elitist arts school students.

Music in the curriculum in Q school

Facilitated by the cooperation between Q school and the local Arts school, music is taught by university-trained music teachers in Q school, giving the pupils weekly lessons on instruments belonging to the western classical orchestra. The programme's model has been under constant development since its beginnings 10–15 years ago. The programme started with an initiative of Q school's headmaster at that time, with an outreach by a brass instrument teacher employed in the Arts school. This brass teacher remains the head of the programme in Q school. The programme has developed, along with gaining more experience

[7] For a period of time, a previous headmaster engaged a band from Sweden to represent the Q school in the 17th of May parade, as the school did not have its own band, and all Norwegian bands were (and are) busy on that day. Sweden is regarded as "the brother who is also the other" in many colloquial contexts in Norway. Despite all this, it is obviously worse not to have a marching band at all on the National Day than to be represented by Swedes.

and finding cooperative partners, such as the philharmonic orchestra for some years. The programme has also benefited from private funds, such as Dextra Musica (Angelo et al., 2017), as well as funding via various projects, such as the inner-city lift and other sources that rested on political priorities and some internal fights in the Arts school over resources.(Information based on personal communication with the leader of the project, May 2017 and the head of the Arts school, 08.06.2017).

When I started this research in August 2016, instrument teaching began in 2nd or 3rd grade and lasted until the 7th grade, when the pupils left Q school. In the school year 2017–2018, all 2nd-grade pupils were enrolled in the music programme, and plans were made to expand the programme to include 1st-grade pupils, beginning in that grade with a choir, also following the model from El Sistema. The music lessons in Q school were held on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, when the music teachers were all present in the school. Cooperation with the after-school programme (*AKS*)made it possible to offer extra lessons to some of the pupils who were interested, limited by the budgets to pay the teachers. Some of the teachers also gave lessons for free, if they thought that a pupil needed something extra, as a lesson not shared by others. Depending on how many signed up for the various instruments, each pupil shared a 45-minute lesson with 2–4 other pupils during after-school hours.

During the period of this research, from August 2016 to January 2020, 11 Arts school teachers were involved in the programme: 3 string-instrument teachers, teaching pupils how to play the violin and the cello, and at that time, also starting with the viola; 3 brass-instrument teachers, teaching pupils how to play the cornetto, the tenor horn and the trombone; 3 woodwind teachers, teaching pupils how to play the clarinet and the flute; and 1 percussion teacher. Guitar lessons were also offered after school. The organiser and supervisor of the group was the same woman who started the project, whom I call Anne. Anne was one of the brass teachers, as well as the driving force in planning and preparing for Q orchestra that started with 4th- and 6th-grade pupils in 2018–2019. According to Anne, these two grade levels were picked because of their manageable schedules. They also rehearsed during the midday break and some of the free time after school.

In the beginning, it was called the Q orchestra project, although the orchestra started tentatively in the second year of my research period, more than ten years after the onset of the programme. The headmasters and the teachers in Q school tended to refer to it only as “the music teaching”. The pupils mostly said, “the music” (*musikken*). When I was there, Anne, the orchestra leader, insisted that it should not be called a project anymore, as the municipal

government had decided then that the Arts school would continue financing this music teaching in Q school. Hence, the term *music programme* will be applied in the analysis.

The model: Starting with the carousel in second grade

The first presentation of classical instruments to the pupils was made through a model, called the *carousel*, that Anne had worked out. In the year when they start with instrument lessons, the children were divided into groups of six to eight pupils. In the carousel, the pupils received tuition and practised on an instrument for three weeks. The following week, they all gathered in the music room for a *carousel concert*. The instrument groups performed for one another what they had learned during the three weeks. Their parents and Q school teachers were invited to come and watch their performance. In the week following the concert, all of the groups moved on to a new instrument for the next three weeks. Then another carousel concert was held. This way, everybody had a four-week introduction to the various instruments in the programme.

In addition to the instruments mentioned above, Music Mind Games was part of the carousel in the first year of the programme. This is part of the Suzuki method of music teaching by training the players in rhythm.

Theoretical, historical, and sociological elements of the national music curriculum were knitted into the instrument lessons. In the music programme of Q school, the style of music was not selected to represent any of the original home countries of the immigrants. The instruments taught are those of the classical symphony orchestra. The repertoire varied from children's songs to simplified themes from the classical repertoire, such as a hymn from Beethoven's ninth symphony. This changed after starting the orchestra project towards the end of my time spent in the field research, and especially connected to the cooperation with some professional musicians in a group representing the musical traditions from the Middle East. Following this concert, it was a time of expanding the cooperation to include workshops for some of the pupils in the *darbouka* (Arabic percussion instrument) led by one of the guest musicians.

Every Wednesday, the music teachers gathered for a meeting at lunchtime, held either in the large lunchroom for the school staff or in their largest studio on the top floor. Anne supervised these meetings. The music teachers discussed issues related to the budget, instruments and cooperation within Q school. However, most of the meeting time was devoted to discussing the challenges they met in teaching the children to play instruments.

These were predominantly issues related to the pupils who were new or had specific issues, as well as groups not functioning well together. Entire meetings could be spent in discussing possible approaches to an individual child and various strategies they could use. The behavioural and group issues were often related to children moving in and out of school during the term. Receiving a new pupil in the group in the middle of the term was challenging and not least connected to large variations within the small groups regarding their levels of mastery in playing an instrument, in addition to the pupils not knowing Norwegian. The music teachers spent much time in planning their teaching to facilitate good group dynamics in their classes.

2.3 POSITIONING THE STUDY IN CONTEXT REGARDING OTHER RELEVANT RESEARCH (LITERATURE REVIEW)

After Bourdieu's (1995) work, it is difficult to discuss classical music without considering the connection between taste and class, as well as classical music versus the middle-class taste. This is also implied by Baker (2014) in his critique of El Sistema.

I have questioned whether the connotation of classical music in fact enforced the social distance between the white Norwegians and the immigrants. However, Ylva Hofvander Trulsson (2015) has found that the connection to the classical orchestra may constitute an imagined way for easier acceptance by the Muslim parents in a Swedish community due to the association with an aspired social belonging in the new home country. Other researchers have questioned the assumption that seems to be implied when applying Bourdieu's (1995) perspective on children, that is, children are studied as if they are only exposed to and influenced by the culture in their homes, with their parents, and not also living in communities of their own, with different cultural values (Fock, 1999; Pugh, 2009).

Jan Sverre Knudsen (2021) shows how difference as a social construction, on one hand, can be self-ascribed and promoted as a strategy of cultural distinctiveness and/or for receiving economic benefits in order to preserve immaterial culture, or, on the other hand, can be ascribed from the outside, more or less in a process of exotification and othering. Difference can be part of an empowering strategy but may also lay the grounds for stereotypes and stigmatisation. "When working with art in education, we need to articulate questions like: Who produces, ascribes, and defines difference? For whom is difference necessary or useful? And to what ends?" (Knudsen, 2021, p. 4). The view on which the

analysis in this thesis is based follows these lines, connecting diversity of any kind to agency. Differences can be either played down or activated and "culturally mobilized", as expressed by DeNora (2015, p. 107).

Persson and Persson (2013) argue that the concept of inclusion only makes sense in school if considering the individual experience of being included. Their research was conducted in a Swedish school that reorganised and closed all their special education groups and classes in order for all pupils to be divided only according to their age groups. The project was a great success, not least with respect to the test results, advancing the school from one of the lowest to one of the highest ranking in the national scores (Persson & Persson, 2013). According to the authors' findings, one of the main reasons for the improvements in the results was that the pupils reported enjoying school more. They started to like going to school and felt they had more friends (Persson & Persson, 2013). Similar to the findings of Julie Allan's research on inclusion in groups with diversities regarding learning abilities (See f.ex. Allan, 1999, 2003, 2005), Persson and Persson's research shows that diversity and helping one another improve the student environment, and consequently, the learning outcomes in the latter study. My research in Q school suggests similar aspects of helping one another and belonging to groups with uneven skills and abilities. However, I have focused less on learning outcomes and more on the school culture and the pupils' signs of feeling included.

Debates about representations of *the exotic others* in research are often based on different ideological approaches to who *the others* are, including how researchers may obtain knowledge, in other words, do research, as well as different ideological approaches to cultural expressions, such as art. The Norwegian project Kaleidoscope, mentioned in the introduction, has been said to base its work on the presentation of a "multicultural utopia" (Solomon, 2016, p. 188). Furthermore, by applying the "loaded word" *colour*, referring to skin colour, Kaleidoscope is perceived as "plac[ing] white Norwegians on top while simultaneously denying that there is a hierarchical structure at all" (Solomon, 2016, p. 197). Responses to Thomas Solomon's (2016) critique of Kaleidoscope focused on the necessity for immigrants to be able to "gain cultural capital from being *not* Norwegian" (Pedersen & Moberg, 2017, p. 49 italics original). Others have addressed this critique by focusing on the importance of joy and the possibilities offered in this kind of musical interaction (*musikalsk samhandling*) among the participants (Kvifte, 2016).

In comparable Norwegian urban settings, research has focused on how music can serve as a uniting arena, in that interest in music forms part of building community across

cultural and other differences (Knudsen, 2011; Vestel, 2004). In Q school, the promotion of musical activity is based on the assumption that music or musicking may have a uniting effect at some level. In this thesis, I show that the different national identities and senses of belonging of some children may appear mixed; belonging to Norway and/or their parents' home countries may in Q seem to be met by the teachers who focus on a strong local identity: belonging to Q neighbourhood. I discuss how such promotion of local identity may be connected to the music project.

Camilla Kvaal (2021) suggests that to understand projects and contributions such as those of Kaleidoscope, one must distinguish between music as a representation and as an operation or collaboration. This distinction runs through this thesis. Music as collaboration, as cooperative and expressive practice, often stressing the participatory aspect regarding inclusion (Allan, 2010), is considered part of the attitude towards music behind the El Sistema initiative (Bergman & Lindgren, 2014a; Hopkins et al., 2017; Majno, 2012). However, I argue that both the collaborative and the representative aspects of music may be perceived as part of the aims and objectives behind the music programme in Q school, as well as part of the pupils' motivations for participation.

A child-centred study focusing on children under the custody of public professional caregivers shows that these children are likely to experience poverty and social exclusion as adults, due to the difficulties they faced in maintaining or building new friendships – the only area of social relations that is managed by the children themselves (Ridge & Millar, 2000). In their study in the UK (Ridge & Millar, 2000), the youth reported moving to another place and different or challenging home situations as the frequent factors that explain why it was difficult to maintain friendships or build new ones. Their findings suggest that the mobility situation in Q sets social relations at stake for the children living in the neighbourhood, putting them in a vulnerable situation regarding building friendships. In this thesis, I focus on how the children manage the issues connected to mobility and how they relate to building and maintaining friendships, as well as how musicking may play a part in all these.

Some of the research on El sistema

El Sistema (Spanish for *the system*) is a local nucleus-based music teaching programme founded in Venezuela in 1975, which has now developed into a worldwide movement (El Sistema, 2021; Shieh, 2015; Tunstall, 2012). José Antonio Abreu is acknowledged as having started the music programme for socially challenged youth to offer them something

meaningful to do after school, to get them off the streets and away from drugs, and to give them joy (Shieh, 2015; Tunstall, 2012). According to Abreu (2009), El Sistema aims to benefit socioeconomically deprived and marginalised youth by supplying empowerment, self-esteem and joy, that is, to empower youngsters in poor areas in order to help them develop self-esteem. Part of the benefit is connected to good feelings and as such, to psycho-emotional health (Tunstall, 2012). Other researchers argue that El Sistema works as transforming social situations by developing agency, a free space, and thereby empowerment (Shieh, 2015). El Sistema, similar to the music programme in Q school, may be considered a collaborative musical practice. In contrast to Kaleidoscope, however, El Sistema and the music programme in Q school are based on teaching music played on instruments from the western classical orchestra.

El Sistema-inspired projects have been tried out in a few Norwegian municipalities in the greater Oslo region, starting around 2014, with the projects operated as cooperative endeavours between the elementary schools and arts schools (Rønning, 2017). Although referred to as successful, these projects seem to have ended, at least partly due to economic considerations, according to a local newspaper (Solberg, 2016). Research on El Sistema and El Sistema-inspired programmes in Norway corresponds to the limited number of projects, which are hard to find. I have found one article focusing on the El Sistema methodology of teaching beginners in groups how to play the violin (Fjeldstad, 2017). Mari Y. Fjeldstad asks what the pupils learn technically and finds that although they technically underachieve compared with individually taught violin pupils, this may be due to teacher training and to the El Sistema pupils' inability to rehearse at home because they do not own an instrument. However, in Q school, the children may borrow an instrument to practise at home.

El Sistema seems to have had a larger influence in Sweden, the Swedish organisation with stating in 2022 that it comprises 101 schools utilising the method, involving more than 10,000 children (El Sistema i Sverige, n.d.). More research has also been conducted in El Sistema in Sweden. I refer to some of the research from Sweden, as well as to some research from Scotland, in positioning the present study regarding inspirations drawn from El Sistema. Enjoying the beauty of classical music is put forward as a foundational idea behind El Sistema (Abreu, 2009; Tunstall, 2012). In the Nordic countries and in Q school's music programme, the repertoire is mixed with children's songs, and where the programme is implemented with regard to intercultural activity, the repertoire also includes tunes from the countries of the immigrant children's parents (Bergman & Lindgren, 2014a). However, it

might be argued that the western orchestra instruments still carry connotations of western classical music and that the implied goal of learning to play them is to be able to play western classical music.

One of the chief outcomes of the project as it started in Venezuela was the presumed and desired effect of social reform (Majno, 2012; Shieh, 2015; Tunstall, 2012). In the Nordic countries as well, El Sistema-inspired teaching projects have been employed with reference to the wish to include children who would otherwise not have the chance to learn to play an instrument, along with the prospect of playing music together, as one way to attain better integration of immigrant children and others from deprived economic backgrounds (Bergman et al., 2016; Gustavsson & Ehrlin, 2018; Rønning, 2017). Åsa Bergman and Monica Lindgren point to El Sistema's seemingly antagonistic combination of the culturally conservative framework that scaffolds the classical symphony orchestra with the radical-democratic goal of levelling out social diversity (Bergman & Lindgren, 2014b, p. 374). This corresponds to the ideas behind the music programme in Q school, including the plans for establishing Q orchestra.

Although originally intended to benefit the socioeconomically deprived, there are indications that the majority of the children who ended up benefiting from the El Sistema programme, from a broader American perspective, came from middle-class homes (Baker & Frega, 2018). This argument is also interesting from my perspective, not least in light of the ongoing gentrification in Q neighbourhood. In her research based in a Norwegian school with a large percentage of pupils from immigrant families, Ingrid Smette finds that a differently organised but similarly aimed music initiative, results in some of the already high-achieving pupils also becoming high achievers in the arts and thus receive yet another arena where they can shine (Smette, 2015, p. 292).

Eric Shieh argues that the way that El Sistema has worked as a "social ladder" must be connected to the common discourse of "creating a separate world for participants" (Shieh, 2015, p. 568). The creation of a parallel world in Venezuela might include bus services to other places, away from the participants' socioeconomically deprived neighbourhoods, for practice or common excursions to concerts, but it might also be just a time off for young inmates in prison, where the participation in playing music represented "spaces of care" (Shieh, 2015, p. 577) that made them forget where they were for a moment (Shieh, 2015, p. 572). "Spaces of care" – or of different roles possible for stigmatised or marginalised persons in other ways – are parallel to DeNora's (DeNora, 2015) work on music asylums, based on an

analysis by using Erving Goffman's (1968) perspective on asylums. By employing perspectives from the works of DeNora (2000, 2015; see also Ansdell & DeNora, 2017) I show how music in the curriculum may have the effect of an asylum as a "space of care" for oneself, as well as for one another.

Focusing their research on parents' perceptions of their children's involvement in an El Sistema programme, Anna Ehrlin and Hnas-Olof Gustavsson (2018) find that the chief focus of parents with immigrant backgrounds in Sweden is on personal development rather than musical proficiency. The authors conclude that the programme leads to better collaboration among children, parents, and the school. As such, parental involvement may also associate El Sistema with community music (Bergman & Lindgren, 2014b; Veblen & Olsson, 2002). However, the effects of parental support may also be perceived as constituting a dividing factor, perhaps counter-effective in the possible equalising effects of the programme. Some parents are reported as not holding the programme in high esteem since they do not consider it intellectual enough (Hopkins et al., 2017). Moreover, parental involvement in motivating the children to rehearse at home must not be overlooked (Fjeldstad, 2017). I argue that both aspects – parents' conceptions of the importance of the arts and their wish or ability to follow up on their children's rehearsals – must be considered regarding aspects of inclusivity or exclusivity as outcomes of musical programmes for children.

Boosting self-esteem connected to music is one way in which El Sistema is promoted as improving the life conditions of marginalised youth (Abreu, 2009; Tunstall, 2012). In Sweden (Gothenburg), as in Q, posting photographs of individual children with their instruments on the walls of the schools' studios and halls is a way that music teachers try to enforce this identity of mastering a musical instrument (Bergman & Lindgren, 2014b). Building a collective identity as musicians or as members of the orchestra may be viewed as simultaneously excluding others from this identity, as argued by Bergman and Lindgren (2014b). One might ask, as a couple of researchers in Danish inclusion projects have done (Qvortrup & Qvortrup, 2015), whether inclusion in groups necessarily presupposes exclusion of others. If this is the case, one might expect to find processes of exclusion parallel to processes of inclusion connected to the orchestra. In this thesis, I discuss how processes of inclusion and exclusion are handled by the pupils and how they may be connected to the music.

The discipline involved in rehearsals and the non-democratic nature of an orchestra are contested solidly by Baker (2014) and subsequently, by other researchers' work based on the implementation of the programme in Sweden (Bergman & Lindgren, 2014b; Kuuse, 2018). However, in a later article, Geoffrey Baker and Ana Lucía Frega (2018) point to the lack of discipline, resulting in chaos, as one of the main problems in El Sistema-inspired programmes. Discipline is also a recurrent topic of discussion in Q school and is reported to be a problem regarding diversity in many Norwegian schools, in reality due to the psycho-emotional difficulties experienced by many children from socioeconomically deprived families (Duesund, 2017). Discipline appears crude when enforced on large groups of small children rehearsing on their instruments, as argued byAnna-Karin Kuuse (2018). However, discipline is not the same thing in a large orchestra and in a group of five children, nor is it an either–or situation. I argue that the notion of discipline is an important factor to consider regarding the potential musical potential outcome, as well as successful inclusive processes in groups of children marked by high levels of mobility.

A broad study (Hospital et al., 2018) shows that youth participating in an El Sistema-inspired programme focusing on cognitive development, and even more interesting from my perspective, also on caring for others, may achieve social cohesion, shared responsibility and cooperation. The researchers conclude that a community-focused orchestra model based on El Sistema "may provide a unique platform for positive youth development" (Hospital et al., 2018, p. 161). Interestingly, they connect the possible positive effects to the discipline involved and to the "holistic ecological perspective" inherent in the El Sistema approach (Hospital et al., 2018, p. 161). In the present study, I argue that the teacher's individual relations with the students may be an important factor for the music programme to appear as an ecological, and as such, a forceful platform from an ecological perspective on the outcome of the programme.

Research shows that children's participation in the programme can bring joy to them (Fjeldstad, 2017; Gustavsson & Ehrlin, 2018), as well as to their teachers and parents (Gustavsson & Ehrlin, 2018). Similar outcomes are reported from other projects comparable to El Sistema. In his research conducted with a collaborative music project in a suburb of Copenhagen referred to earlier in this section Finn Holst (2018) finds that 80% of the pupils who took part in the music project report that their participation gives them joy, a sense of belonging and the experience of mastery.

Innumerable reports and research publications have been produced regarding El Sistema worldwide. A recent scoping review states that in addition to the bulk of the research published in Spanish, the diversity in socioeconomic and cultural modes of implementation and a range of other factors make it difficult to provide any proof of the effects of El Sistema-inspired programmes (Bolden et al., 2021). The quest for evidence of the effects of music and musicking with children may be a less constructive path to take, as noted by other scholars (see for ex. Allan, 2010). The initiative to provide opportunities for children and marginalised families to be involved with playing music, people who otherwise would never have this chance, is nonetheless significant for El Sistema and has inspired many initiatives with a similar outlook (Allan, 2010; Bergman & Lindgren, 2014a; Bolden et al., 2021; Fjeldstad, 2017; Kuuse, 2018). The many reports of better life conditions, including care for others, enhanced self-confidence and improved work input (Bolden et al., 2021), are perhaps more challenging to deny than to defend.

ROUNDING UP THE CHAPTER

In this chapter, I have presented a contextual outline of Q neighbourhood and Q school. I have also described the music programme in Q school, viewed in relation to music in the national curriculum of Norwegian elementary schools. Furthermore, I have defined the context of music initiatives that are commonly found connected to the Norwegian educational system.

The musical style and choice of instruments based on the western classical symphony orchestra are characteristics of many El Sistema-based projects. The focus on music as collaboration may be a way to approach projects such as El Sistema and Q school's music programme. Issues connected to discipline and musical style are also featured as characteristics of the Q project and constitute one way in which the perspectives of the pupils, the teachers and the parents are interconnected. While there has been relatively much research on music and diversity, as well as on music programmes such as those based on El Sistema, involving participation and collaboration, there seems to be less research on how aspects of children's participation in such music programmes coincide with inclusion and diversity, with an attempt to explore the children's perspectives.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The starting point for my choice of theoretical perspectives has been the quest to understand and explore what goes on among the pupils in Q school, in anthropological jargon, to find the local meaning (Geertz, 1983). Anthropology has been the main source of the interdisciplinary theoretical perspectives on which my analysis is based, initiated on an ethnographic approach to school culture. Ethnography may in itself be considered an interdisciplinary undertaking

> situated *between* powerful systems of meaning. It poses questions at the boundaries of civilizations, cultures, classes, races, and genders. Ethnography decodes and records, telling the grounds of collective order and diversity, inclusion and exclusion. It describes innovation and structuration and is itself part of this process. (Clifford, 1986, p. 2, Italics original)

Furthermore, my analysis is indebted to educational and music-sociological literature, as well as to aspects of Nussbaum's (2006, 2010, 2011) capability approach, all perspectives that from different angles emphasise the need to take a holistic approach to human society and culture, in this context, to childhood and growing up, to diversity and to education. In this thesis, a holistic approach includes a system perspective that avoids binary simplifications. Additionally, by focusing on action, I construct a perspective that allows change.

The overarching epistemological perspectives of the thesis are provided in the first section of this chapter. I begin by drawing the lines between a phenomenological approach to the body, as a source and a representation of knowledge, and perspectives on people growing up in and with their sociocultural worlds. The next three sections are presentations of analytical approaches to diversity, to inclusion or belonging, and to music and musicking as connected to diversity and belonging, as well as to music as a resource for improvements of individual and social lifeworlds. I end this chapter with a broader presentation of the capability approach that I consider fundamental to my understanding of what constitutes improvements of human conditions, and lastly, to a somewhat comparative approach to anthropology and educational science, via the concept of formation.

Anthropology can be understood as somewhere in between a phenomenological perception of local meaning and intentionality and a social constructivist reading of any perception as situated discourse and distributed agency. While attempting to understand cultural phenomena, to *bracket* indigenous local knowledge, so to speak, the researcher's

position and self-reflection are part of this. According to Hans-Georg Gadamer (2012), knowledge about the other also involves self-knowledge.

Cultural diversity is discussed as potentially replaced by superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) in a school context such as the one featured in this thesis. Belonging is connected to agency and to *doing* diversity (Ahmed, 2012) and involves processes of both inclusion and exclusion in combination. Belonging by participation in communal (musical) practices, described as *musicking* (Small, 1998), is presented along with affordances of musicking for individual and communal wellbeing, as in music asylums (DeNora, 2000, 2015). The perspective on the individual experience of belonging is connected to the dynamic handling of differences, from the children's perspective, in managing experiences of feeling "worthy of belonging" (Pugh, 2009, p. 7). The concept of *dignity* figures as connected to feeling worthy of belonging, as opposed to humiliation and exclusion, and also as part of an overarching approach to humanity using the capability approach (Nussbaum, 2006; 2010, 2011) that is adapted as a framework regarding the human condition.

3.1 A PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH TO THE CHILD IN THE WORLD

The local knowledge that I try to decipher is subjective knowledge. Following the epistemology of Husserl ("Logical Investigations" [1900-1901], as cited in Zahavi, 2018), my focus is on how matters are perceived by the pupils. I am interested in the interplay between the personal perceptions and the object (or subject) in the world outside the perceiver. This subjective and cultural knowledge is approachable by means of interpretation. As an anthropologist, I look neither for objective spaces nor only for perceived spaces but for lived spaces. Lived spaces comprise actors' points of view, human agency and power relations. According to Iris M. Young (2005, p. 41), feminine spatiality is contradictory insofar as feminine bodily existence is both spatially constituted and constitutes a spatial subject. This may also be true for immigrants, as well as for children, who both seem to occupy a certain delimited cultural and social space in relation to an empowered *normality*. At the same time, they constitute spatial subjects as being certain categories of humanity.

Understanding culture, in the form of actions produced and meanings shared by members of a group, is a matter of interpretation. The quest is to find the actors' intentions, which are subjective – the intentions are in their minds – or rather, perhaps in their bodies.

"Merleau-Ponty gives to the body the unifying and synthesizing function that Kant locates in transcendental subjectivity" (Young, 2005, p. 37). The significance of the body has gone through a development in social sciences, from being an object of representation to having "advanced" to an existential position connected to being in the world, and to subjective existentialism in such a manner that culture may be perceived as "the body in mind" (Csordas, 1999, p. 186). Barth's (1994, p. 357) description of how children learn ideas about the world, their concepts, language and standards progressively, by participation, is one way in which culture can be viewed as evolving from bodily influence to merging with the mind. According to Bourdieu (1977), knowledge of who we are in relation to others is learned and embodied as part of our bodily constitution, as *habitus*. Moreover, as argued by Paul Connerton (1989), not only children's learning, but all learning is based on bodily memory through repeated and shared bodily practices. This is how "societies remember" (Connerton, 1989). Nussbaum (2010) concurs with Bourdieu and Connerton when arguing that being part of a play, being directed and led by choreography, can help challenge a non-constructive self-perception, such as of one's certain habits, behaviours and negative social positions. Following Nussbaum's argument, doing things in new and different ways, simply by acting according to defined roles in a play, thus "put[ting] aside bodily stiffness and shame in order to inhabit a role" (Nussbaum, 2010, p. 104), is a way to learn through bodily practice that other roles and positions are possible.

Ahmed's (2012) phenomenological approach to race and colour as the basis of "diversity work" (2012, p.29) is connected to her arrival at the subject through her own body (2012, p. 1-4). Her approach is that "transformation as a form of practical labour" leads to knowledge (Ahmed, 2012, p. 172). According to Dag Østerberg (1994), the child exemplifies a phenomenological bodily being in the world, in the sense meant by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, because a child lives and senses bodily to a larger extent than an adult. A child's movements are the first and very important modes of acquiring knowledge, learned by imitation (Barth, 1994; Engelsrud, 2006). As such, the music classes may be perceived as offering new bodily practices and new ways of practical labour, leading to new knowledge about oneself and the world.

CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE

Geertz's semiotic concept of culture as comprising "webs of significance man himself has spun" (Geertz, 1973, p. 5) is one aspect of the concept of culture on which my analysis is

built. Actions, whether conscious or automatic, are more than movements necessitated by physical urges. Bodies are not alone. Actions have to be viewed in relation to a set of shared meanings. To cite Geertz's own example, a wink of the eye is more than its physical contraction. It can have several meanings, and "…the trick is to figure out what the devil they think they are up to" (Geertz, 1983, p. 58). To figure out what somebody "thinks [one] is up to", it is necessary to understand the meaning inherent in the action. Analytical work in this realm seeks to decipher meaning as an experimental act of interpretation related to context.

Knowledge is dynamic. Basing some of my analysis on Geertz's (1983) concept of culture, I focus on what goes on in the spinning (of the webs of significance). Culture is not a system maintained as the status quo. Barth focuses on how culture is generated: "People's reality is culturally constructed […] the question (is) how or whence these cultural patterns arise" (Barth, 1989, p. 123). To find and describe how cultural patterns are generated, distributed, recreated, and altered, a researcher needs to focus on how cultural patterns emerge in social processes. "Meaning is a relationship between a configuration, or sign, and a viewer" (Barth, 1989, p. 134). Meaning is shared, and in fact, generated in the sharing. Barth (2002) also argues that focusing on knowledge and the knower might reveal frames for reflection and premises for action and agency. Whereas the *system-semiotic* concept of culture is one that embraces reflections and actions from the perspective of diffused sharing, culture as knowledge is (politicised) distribution. As expressed by DeNora, "…perception does not occur in or by individuals alone, but rather emerges in relation to culturally learned *and culturally mobilized* forms of apparatus" (DeNora, 2015, p. 107 italics mine).

Thus, "sensing can be said to be mediated through anticipation, and anticipation is itself mediated through culture" (DeNora, 2015, p. 107). To quote Bateson (1972, p. vii), "We create the world that we perceive". This perspective underlines the socially constructed nature of knowledge as culturally embedded. In other words, it is necessary to understand the pupils' approaches to diversity, set up against the general discourses on diversity, and try to explore how handed-down knowledge about the world merges with and is altered by local and developing needs and prospects. Together, they (handed-down and locally altered knowledge) define frames and afford agency.

In this thesis, my analyses aim to centre on actions and processes rather than on properties, inspired by Ahmed's (2012) work, as well as by Barth's classic turn of focus to boundaries and boundary maintenance rather than the "cultural stuff that it encloses" (Barth, 1969, p. 15). The same processual perspective can also be applied to "doing diversity"

(Ahmed, 2012, p. 141) rather than considering diversity as a situation or a descriptive fact about a group of people. By focusing on the processual doing instead of the being, a researcher is more likely to discover the agencies and the power structures involved. The same is also applicable to "doing inclusion". My focus has been on processes of inclusion rather than on the dichotomy, included or not included.

3.2 DISCUSSING DIVERSITY

When exploring how cultural diversity may be connected to other intersecting and overlapping differences among the pupils, more layers of diversity than what is often implied by studies on cultural diversity must be taken into account (and more layers of diversity than what is often captured by statistics). To grow up with "one foot in each of the two cultures" may also be a too narrow perspective regarding some young people's experiences. Many children grow up being influenced by and relating to a more culturally complex situation than being between two cultures. By introducing the notion of superdiversity, Vertovec (2007) focuses on the many important factors other than cultural diversity that have impact on immigrants' lives. These factors may be economic, the reasons for and modes of travel, the contact with and the position in the country of origin. Superdiversity focuses on the transformative diversification of diversity (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1025). The notion of superdiversity is strongly associated with transition (Hendriks & van Ewijk, 2019; Vertovec, 2007). Transition is descriptive of the situation in Q, with its high mobility. Social media allows immigrants to contact their families and friends back in their homeland, which is possible while in Q.

Ingrid Gogolin (2016) suggests that the perspective of superdiversity can prove exceptionally fruitful for studies about a school environment because the factors creating a superdiverse situation, following Vertovec's (2007) study, have particularly strong effects on education. Key factors, such as traumas in the family, numbers of years and modes of flight for refugees, and economic and housing situation, must be seen as having strong impacts on a growing child and his or her performance in school. The perspective of superdiversity also provides the benefit of escaping the *us* and *them* of binary oppositions and offers a relief from the pressure on becoming normalised (Gogolin, 2016), as is often the case in communities described as multicultural, with an undertone of "us/the original white" and "them/the multicultural". When describing diversifying factors in Q neighbourhood and Q school (see

Chapter 6), I apply a perspective inspired by superdiversity. I argue that researchers and educators may do well in extending the *super* even more, especially regarding children and their school, by including learning style (Dunn & Dunn, 1974) and abilities, personality, family size and structure, parents' capacity to adjust to the new country, the school's expectations regarding parenting, pupils' health and wellbeeing, to list a few. Moreover, the Norwegian expression "to be lucky with your teacher" *("Å være heldig med lærer'n"),* may be regarded as a factor in the superdiverse surroundings of a child in school, not necessarily implying that some teachers are 'bad' but indicating that the relation between a child and his/her teacher may be of great importance. Some of these superdiverse factors are microscopic, such as the relationship between a mother and a daughter or whether one for example has an older brother. Other factors are macro-political, related to the global economy and political climate, while some may be what can be called meso-political, in this case, the class in school.

INTERSECTIONALITY AND STIGMA

The term *intersectionality* is accredited to the black feminist scholar Kimberle Crenshaw (1989). Her study focuses on black women, stigmatised and marginalised as both women and black. Intersectionality implies being identified with two or more less fortunate groups at the same time but can also be related to various ways of subordination. In later works, such as that of Judith Butler, the adjectival form of intersectionality is used as part of the human condition as being vulnerable (Svendsen, 2020).

Intersectionality is relevant to the present study on several levels. Most of the pupils in Q school were children of immigrants and belonged to families that were stigmatised in discourses about Muslims and/or about immigrants and refugees. Moreover, many of the families endured challenging economic situations. As such, the families and their children in the school belonged to groups that were stigmatised in society at large. In Q school, the pupils and the mostly white Norwegian teachers also had an uneven power relation, aside from the various stratifying differences under these two categories: as children versus adults and as cultural minorities versus white Norwegians. Discussing intersectionality, Janet Boddy (2013, p. 74) argues that being a child is always an "intersecting factor".

Compared with the concept of superdiversity, the term *intersectionality* includes power relations to a greater extent, which I argue should be part of any discourse about diversity. In contrast, the term *superdiversity* opens up social and individual strengths,

regarding intersected persons as well. There is a certain amplified marginalisation in leaving people as *only* marginalised.

Identity is taken to mean a person's self-presentation, partly experienced, partly ascribed by others and connected to the social network as "a mediation of culture … as a network of meanings that are gradually constructed and shared" (Calderón-Almendros & Ruiz-Román, 2016, p. 948). Central to my arguments is that identity is deeply embedded in culture, as constructed, and also processual, open to negotiations and renegotiations. Identity must be viewed as closely linked with authenticity, as well as with vulnerability (Butler, 2020). Being defined by others is one way in which identity is connected to vulnerability. To experience that one's dignity is taken care of, the marginalised person needs to be met with the open question, "Who would you like to be?", rather than the predefined "I know who you are" (Svendsen, 2020, p. 18). By taking this Butlerian stand, Stine H. B. Svendsen (2020) continues to describe how this is almost impossible to teachers, whose employer, in this case the Norwegian state, demands that they constantly put their pupils in categories, such as their abilities to learn, their behaviours, their sex and their parents' mother tongues. What marginalised people have in common is that they are defined and categorised by people more powerful than themselves (Butler, 2020; Svendsen, 2020).

Otherness is connected to negative emotions – whether it is a feeling of disquiet, a reminder, as has been described to often be the situation around people with disabilities: there is somebody "sitting there reminding me of something that I don´t know what is" (Lid & Wyller, 2017, p. 11), or "others" in the "we" posing demands to be equal (De los Reyes & Mulinari, 2005, p. 22), or, as often in focus in school and growing-up studies, a feeling of not belonging.

A stigma is a "spoiled identity" in Goffman's conceptualisations, a special kind of relation between a stereotype and an attribute – whether physical/personal or regarding the family background (Goffman, 1963/1990, p. 14). The idea of a stigma is based on relations and is not only about abnormal character traits but denotes the mix of stigmatised and normal in the same social situations, that is, they meet and have to interact (Goffman, 1963/1990, p. 23). When the stigmatised person acts in certain ways, it becomes a sign of one's "stigmatized secluded position" (Goffman, 1963/1990, p. 26). According to Goffman (1963/1990), a social stigma is connected to a person's or a group's identity. Ideas about a stigmatised group may be challenged when a stigmatised person appears with an attribute that is a sign of the stigmatised secluded position, together with an attribute that is a sign of a normal or an even

high-ranking position. Such an attribute may represent a "disidentifier" (Goffman, 1963/1990, p. 60) and may function as an improvement of a stigmatised identity in the eyes of the normal. I suggest that carrying a violin case can have the effect of a disidentifier in the streets of Q.

A stigmatised identity can be appropriated by an individual but can also be rejected or met with resistance. Cultural hybridisation may represent such resistance. Writing about identity formed by resistance, Ignacio Calderón-Almendros and Cristóbal Ruiz-Román suggest the phrase "individual interpretation identity" (2016, p. 952) to signify an identity constructed based on knowledge of several cultural codes, resistance to and freely applying codes from various cultural spheres at the same time. A compound identity described as an "individual interpretation identity" has a linguistic parallel in the "*multiethnolekt*" (Quist, 2000, 2009) and "Kebab Norwegian" (*kebabnorsk*) (Aasheim, 1995), a form of Norwegian that with respect to the various immigrant languages represented in the group or the area, has imported words and expressions from several of the incorporated languages, swapping Norwegian words for immigrant expressions. I argue that the school is a particularly central institution for the construction of an "individual interpretation identity" in neighbourhoods characterised by diversity, since the school policy and curriculum in general convey the ideas of the ruling classes. Thus, the normality regarding values, tastes, and physical appearance is built on Norwegian middle-class values, which are hegemonically enforced through the school.

3.3 PERSPECTIVES ON BELONGING

Tuuli Lähdesmäki and colleagues (2016) find that belonging tends to replace identity as an analytical concept in recent research, partly due to scholars seeking to "emphasize the fluid, unfixed and processual nature of diverse social and spatial attachments" (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016, p. 234). Their study is a qualitative investigation of 67 articles, scientifically selected, in which the concept of belonging is central. Based on their research, they find that the concept is presented as self-explanatory and denotes a wide variety of meanings, from socio-spatial or socio-political, relating to macro-structures, to subjective, personal feelings on a micro-level. Lähdesmäki and colleagues identify five *topoi* of belonging, based on its various uses and theoretical and thematic focus: spatiality, intersectionality, multiplicity, materiality and non-belonging. All five can be identified in the present analysis, but in particular, two prevail in the research material for this thesis. First, *spatiality*, which signifies belonging,

denotes the connection not only to homelands but to bodily experiences, where space and "place-making" (Castillo, 2014, as cited in Lähdesmmäki et al., 2016, p. 237) can be regarded as the process of inhabiting Q and turning it into a homely neighbourhood. Second, *non-belonging* is always a virtual aspect of belonging/inclusion, and as such, a central concept in the "shadow" of the theme of this thesis. From my perspective, what is also interesting is the feature of "yearning, longing and wanting" (Probyn, 1996, as cited in Lähdesmäki et al., 2016, p. 234), as well as the bodily aspect of the emotions connected to belonging that this yearning or longing implies. As such, belonging may be perceived as replacing identity to a certain extent in my analysis, opening up the possibility that "one can (feel to) belong to certain groups, to a certain degree for a moment" (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016, p. 241, parentheses original). This perspective goes well with that of superdiversity and with growing up in the mobility of the situation in Q neighbourhood.

I have adopted two main perspectives from special education to explore inclusion in school – participation for all (Skogdal, 2014; Snipstad, 2019) and individual experiences of belonging (Persson & Persson, 2013; Snipstad, 2019). In contrast to integration, inclusion in school does not consider the placement of a desk but the creation of a better world, including the necessary constant building and rebuilding of democracy (Persson & Persson, 2013). With this "psychological flavour" of the concept of inclusion in mind, I consider the concept of belonging as interchangeable with inclusion – although not necessarily inferring that inclusion and identity may be interchanged.

BELONGING THROUGH PARTICIPATION

Anthropologist Lave and educationalist Wenger have jointly developed the concept of "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 29), further developed by Wenger (1998) with a particular focus on the development of community building through participation in joint practice. The perspectives follow a sociocultural approach to learning in a tradition after classical psychologists and educationalists such as Lev Vygotsky, George Herbert Mead and John Dewey (Dysthe, 2001; Dysthe & Igland, 2001; Vaage, 2001), who discuss how learning is situated in social practice. The analysis of the music education in this thesis is partly indebted to sociocultural learning theories and inspired by Lave and Wenger's concepts of legitimate peripheral participation. "Newcomers" or "apprentices" to the practice learn by practising together with the "old-timers" or "experts". Subsequently, they develop a theory of "participation as a way of learning – of both absorbing and being absorbed in – the

‘culture of practice’” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 95 quotation marks original). Inspired by Lave and Wenger, I suggest that a communal practice in a defined task may be a way to belonging, a “legitimate place” to be for a newcomer, in a community of musicking, via the practical skills musicking may require and develop. The “community of practice is a set of relations among persons, activity and world over time, and in relation to other tangential and overlapping communities of practice” (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 98). Whereas the newcomers have simple tasks and a limited responsibility for the finished products, they are invited to join as members, and through learning, they have an opportunity to become old-timers and perhaps experts, and at the same time, move from a peripheral to a more central position in the community (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Participation thus leads to belonging.

In a relationship of shared practice, meaning can be negotiated loosely.“A joint enterprise can create relations of mutual accountability without ever being reified, discussed, or stated as an enterprise” (Wenger, 1998, p. 84). Through practice, economies of meaning are consolidated, negotiated, and tied to identity – as both legitimate members of a group and becoming central players, the latter with access to negotiating meaning.

Ailbhe Kenny (2016) uses Lave and Wenger’s (1991, 1998) concepts of situated learning and communities of practice as analytical tools for investigating three musical practices in Limerick County, Ireland: a jazz ensemble consisting of nine adult singers and instrumentalists, a youth choir and an online academy of Irish traditional music with members from overseas as well. The sharing of knowledge, aided by the ability and the tendency to imagine communities (Anderson, 1991), also enables a sense of community across cyberspace in the case of the online Irish music academy (Kenny, 2016 p. 112). To account for the emotional aspect – the experience of belonging – Kenny draws on the descriptions of the members of the three communities regarding their sensations in their music making akin to Csikszentmihalyi’s (2000) notion of flow, in this case, experienced together as a communal flow. The perspective may thus be of particular relevance when analysing connections between micro-level and macro-level analyses (Kenny, 2016, p. 126). The perspective of flow, or having a good time together, is highly relevant for the outcome of practical community work for children. As I will show, although perhaps needless to say, children like to have fun.

Wenger’s (1998) work has been developed with an adult perspective. A community of practice is defined as having a mutual engagement, a joint enterprise and a shared repertoire (Wenger, 1998, p. 73). I neither use the full perspective of this theory nor analyse the Q

school environment as a community in Wenger's (and Kenny's [2016]) model. The present case study is a school, and as such, does not have the same joint enterprise or shared repertoire for its practice shared by all its members, as required (Wenger, 1998). However, regarding the communal practice found in the music groups in Q school, its potential to foster a sense of belonging is enlightened by the concepts from Lave and Wenger's (1991, 1998) perspectives. Kenny (2016) points to the importance and possibility of developing individual identity and collective identity at the same time. A sense of belonging can be perceived as developed by sharing collective knowledge and abiding by the rules, while showing individuality and creativity.

Wenger (1998) uses the concept of *reification* in a broader sense that in some respects may allude to the concept of culture. He defines the evocative power of reification as double edged. Related to the focus in the present study, he states that classifying people under types of diversity involves a "… reification [that] can give differences and similarities a concreteness they do not actually possess" (Wenger, 1998, p. 61). Furthermore, systematically ignoring people to let them know that they are outside the community (of practice) is one example of reification that has both inclusion (of the members) and exclusion (of the outsiders) aspects, and belonging through participation is a reification that cannot fully be classified as tacit or explicit (Wenger, 1998, p. 70). The "who belongs" side of a community of practice may rest on factors outside the enterprise itself. In parallel, the potential of music as such a joint enterprise with social-therapeutic effects of enabling inclusion depends on both extra-musical and intra-musical aspects. In DeNora's words, "Music's reality and its potential as an instrument of change thus varies according to how it is coupled with many other things that inform the social processes between individuals" (DeNora, 2015, p. 143).

An individual feeling of (being worthy of) belonging

The other dominant criterion for inclusion from the perspective of special education is an individual experience of belonging. It may be said that inclusion is what occurs when people experience belonging. I believe this to be also central to the perspective of the Norwegian Official Report *Belonging* (*Å høre til*), directed towards the means for a safe psycho-social school environment (NOU 2015:2).

In children's longing for belonging, Pugh (2009, pp. 6-7) finds that they engage in an "economy of dignity". In Pugh's work, dignity represents or is interchangeable with "feeling

worthy of belonging" (Pugh, 2009, p. 7). "With dignity, children are visible to their peers, and granted the aural space, the very right to speak in their own community's conversation" (Pugh, 2009, p. 7). In other words, dignity corresponds to being socially visible as a participating member of the group and being a "worthy" member, including "recognition by oneself and others that one is a full-fledged person" (Pugh, 2009, p. 81). The urge to belong is grounded in the Dürkhemian notion of the "sacredness of the communal feeling" (Pugh, 2009, p. 231). Pugh (2009, p. 7) also refers to Sen's notion of the capability to take part in communal life. According to Sen, belonging to and taking part in the community is a deep human need, "an absolute capability" (Sen, 1999, pp. 360-361).

According to Sen and Nussbaum (1993) dignity is not something detachable from a human being nor open for negotiation. In their approach, securing a life that is in harmony with one's inborn dignity is a system responsibility. At the end of this chapter, I will return to a presentation of Nussbaum's (2006, 2010, 2011) work and how some of her perspectives influence my analysis. However, throughout this thesis, I use the concept of dignity as an analytical concept, referring to the feeling of being worthy of belonging and socially visible in a desired way, from a micro-perspective more than a system perspective.

Intrinsic to the focus on dignity is an acknowledgement of the importance of emotions. This runs through the thesis, as both a *longing* (for belonging), the individual *feeling* of being worthy of belonging, and, as I shall show, an *urge* (to move and to produce sound in an instrument). Emotions are part of developing into morally consistent human beings and consequently, must be considered part of the mission of developing formation.

Pugh (2009) defines three types of differences that prevail in children's lives, related to their longing for belonging. These differences intersect partially with diversity as it is often presented as an issue in education, according to Mitchell (2017), as described in Chapter 1. Pugh's (2009, p. 9) concept of "personal differences" refers to skills, character or the body, differences that last. "Social differences" comprise family background, particularly as related to "class or race", whereas "interactional differences" are linked to momentary needs and related to being able to be "thankful for what you have". The three are closely connected and may also be exchanged with each other (Pugh, 2009, pp. 59-60) in an "economy of dignity" (Pugh, 2009, p. 52). Pugh (2009) argues that the differences are managed by facework in a performance of oneself (Goffman, 1967/2005; Pugh, 2009). It is particularly the way that these differences appear as part of management related to belonging and feeling worthy of belonging that I employ in the analysis. In managing their own inclusion, I found that children

tried to make up for their shortcomings in one or two areas, defined by the type of difference, so to speak, with their strengths in another area.

In Pugh's analysis, the children's (and not least, the parents' management of their children's) belonging is handled by the use of "scrip", tokens or experiences that are "suddenly fraught with meaning" (2009, p. 7). The meaning bestowed on scrip is connected to relationships and is based on a shared value system among the children, as a "cultural proxy for belonging" (Pugh, 2009, p. 57). Although connecting taste, economy and belonging as in Bourdieu's (1995) cultural capital, in Pugh's analysis, scrip implies a constant negotiation on what to define as scrip, and sometimes, an introduction of new value systems (2009, p. 63). Scrip can change and is not built up over time in relation to sociocultural class (in the sense of Bourdieu's cultural capital) but more to age and gender, referring to the children's value system. In Pugh's study, scrip typically comprises electronic toys and collector items, with which they signal (or are believed by their parents to signal) belonging to their peer or school culture. However, food, clothes and experiences can also be scrip. In this thesis, I discuss in what respect playing music may be perceived as scrip in Q. Nonetheless, more central in my analysis is the connection between differences and negotiating belonging, more explicitly as inspired by Pugh, expressed as the management of experiencing feeling worthy of belonging, positioned against the children's handling of the differences among them.

Pugh's (2009) analysis is related to children as consumers. Using a perspective that is developed in US schools may not necessarily apply totally to the Norwegian context. I do believe that children in Norway, to a considerable degree, are also treated and behave as consumers. However, this was not highly prevalent in Q school. Even more so than clothes and toys, presenting themselves as coming from a good home appeared to be connected with feeling worthy of belonging. The difference that is defined as "being thankful for what you have" (Pugh, 2009, p. 59), viewed in accordance with Pugh's strong focus on consumer items connected to an economy of dignity, may tentatively be expressed as "being content with who you appear to be" in the case of the Q school environment. "Interactional difference" (Pugh, 2009, p. 59), defined as a momentary and fluctuating difference that is balanced with other kinds of more stable differences, was also observed in Q school.

3.4 STUDYING MUSIC IN CONTEXT

Ethnomusicologists have conceived of music in a manner that may parallel anthropologists' approach to culture, by introducing relativism, based on an understanding of different local meanings in context. The notion that music is something that all human beings do or engage with, is basic in ethnomusicology, as mentioned (Blacking, 1976; Nettl, 1983). Music is humanly organized sound *and* soundly organized humanity (Blacking, 1976) and accordingly, approachable as social practice. Moreover, the relation between music and its context is central to ethnographic studies of music, goes both ways, is multifaceted and may include all aspects of the context. It might be said that the close connection between music and its context gives music a representational aspect, as expressed by Philip Bohlman (2005, p. 212): "Music becomes representational, not only because of what one hears, but how one hears it." Bohlman (1999) argues that ontologies of music can be multiple and exist side by side and may thus include music viewed as an object, as representation and as practice. Music refers to emotions as it refers to belonging. In this thesis, it is predominantly music as practice that I investigate. However, the distinction between action and sound/object is not totally possible. As commented by (Bohlman, 1999), understanding, talking about or even thinking about music is at the same time, unavoidably reifying and objectifying music.

Music can be perceived as representing and symbolising entities, such as nations, schools, as in the case of the marching bands representing the schools in the May 17th parades, as well as representing activities or emotions. Ideas about music's representation and the sometimes-implied *ownership* are ideologically founded. In the Introduction chapter, I have presented some ideological approaches to music and positioned the Q music programme as influenced by the ideology connected to El Sistema in Venezuela. This ideology includes the belief in European classical music as a sonic object imbued with cross-cultural powers to evoke feelings of harmony and hope. Music's ability to represent something, whether as a symbol or an emotion, is based on music being "more than itself" (Bohlman, 2005, p. 205), or as expressed by DeNora (2015, p. 2), "Music is always music-plus." Music's ability to represent something is a "power" that implies its capacity to add to or subtract elements from what it represents (Bohlman, 2005, p. 208).

Music can represent, as well as *be* represented, by a set of signs and notations used as "a substitute that explains what music is" (Bohlman, 2005, p. 213). Music Mind Games, a

Suzuki method of notating rhythm that I will describe in Chapter 5, is an example of a sign system that represents music in an explanatory way.

The power of music must be regarded as relying partly on the connectedness of music and the body. Musical sound is a result of movements in the air, produced by human movements. The body as a "site for [where] musical production begins" (Bohlman, 1999, p. 33), as well as a site of emotions, connects music to physical practices. I argue that music's relatedness to the human body is central for understanding the children's motivation to participate eagerly in the music. On one hand, music is produced by the body; on the other hand, music is perceived as evoking certain emotions in the body and/or dispositions of the mind. This puts music in a paradoxical situation as both subject and object (Clarke et al., 2010). The body "loosens music from its own autonomy, mapping it to other physical practices" (Bohlman, 1999, p. 33), as through the body, music is connected to life experiences, including emotions, rituals of all kinds and processes of belonging.

The power of music is not considered intrinsic to music, but it is added. By applying a social constructivist approach to James J. Gibson's concept of *affordance* (of an object), DeNora (2000, p. 40) has argued how music can "be invokved as an ally for a variety of world-making activities". DeNora's use of affordance in relation to music is a notion that resonates well with the perspectives in this thesis. As I will argue to be the case in Q school, "Music is always music-plus, and […] that 'plus' is added locally, 'in action'..." (DeNora, 2015, p. 2). Music represents itself, and at the same time, something else. By studying music and music making, we may understand something of the *else*, which is contextual. Inspired by DeNora, in this thesis, the focus on music is "the point where music and actors meet" and on how these meetings are part of sociocultural processes and distribution of agency (DeNora, 2011, p. XV).

DOING MUSIC AS PRAXIS OR PRACTICE

The musical practice that is in focus in Q school may be regarded as an example of what – in David Elliott's (1995, 2000, 2012) conceptualisations – is a praxial turn in music education, including context, and focusing on the human activity involved in the production of music. The important point in Elliott's (2012) perspective is the connection of music education to extra-musical purposes, built on ideas of ethical standards. Aristotle's concept of praxis also contains ideas of the good life or happiness/*eudamonia* and is part of the inspiration for Elliott's praxial turn, connecting it also to an aspect of formation. In other

words, the goal of music education is to "develop students as *people* rather than as mere job-fillers" (Elliott, 1995, pp. 306, italics original). Praxis is an "action that is embedded in, responsive to, and reflective of a specific context of effort" (Elliott, 1995, p. 14) and results in music as action, which Elliott calls "musicing", not words or knowledge *about* music but "knowing-in-action" (Elliott, 1995, p. 53). Elliott suggests that a musical way of thinking and acting in the world is more encompassing than purely linguistic-based thinking, parallel to the "aesthetic learning processes" (Austring & Sørensen, 2006) presented in Chapter 1, and he proposes a 'musical approach' to humanity. The praxial turn in music education resembles perspectives from ethnomusicology, in perceiving a performance as not merely a transmission of preproduced notes in inspired ways but also a living constitution of a 'we', "a living in and through music"[8] and at the same time, a representation of "us" (Bowman, 2009, p. 147).

Small (1998) coined the term "musicking" in an argument for a shift in focus from music as sound and a commodity, to music as a verb tightly knit with agency. At the same time, he expanded the concept of music to include related activities: "To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practising, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing" (Small, 1998, p. 9, brackets original). I have found this perspective useful for understanding the relation between the music programme and the school environment.

One might perhaps draw a line from Small's (1998) "musicking" to Marx's and Hegel's concept of practice as "history-making-action". Small (1998, p. 51) rejects a Cartesian dualism between mind and matter. It follows that musicking – the activity – is all there is to music, according to Small. Knowledge, as music, is not an objective entity, in Small's perspective, but a relationship between the world and the knower. Similarly, music is practical action concerning relationships between the knower and other knowers. According to Small, the arts are all closely connected to rituals and myths, and music performed in concert halls are "stories we tell ourselves about ourselves" (Geertz refered in Small, 1998, p. 93). Small refers to rituals, in Geertz's definition, as an acceptance of the social order as given, a merging of the world as lived and the world as imagined (Geertz, 1973, p. 112). In Small's argumentation, classical music, having been commodified and perfected, starting with the Venetian opera in the beginning of the 17th century, is an example of how music is part of

[8] Bowman (2009, p. 147) refers to Elliott's (1995) work and is also inspired by T.S. Eliot's (1988) famous phrase: "You are the music while the music lasts."

the European class division. In the classical music tradition, music becomes an object for listening by those who can afford to pay for its pleasures, and the playing or performance of music is for professional artists (Small, 1998, p. 71). El Sistema's employment of classical music in the Venezuelan slums has been criticised by Baker (2014), also with reference to classical music's relation to class division (and the imperialistic element of imposing classical music on the Venezuelan villages). Music does not exist in a socioeconomic vacuum. An acknowledgement of this element of classical music must consequently be part of the analysis. However, Small's point is not about music as an instrument towards specific ends. His perspective is analytical; musicking is "*de*scriptive, not *pre*scriptive" of culture and society (Small, 1998, p. 9, italics original).

There are parallels between Elliott's concept of *musicing* and Small's *musicking*, although neither of them, to my best knowledge, refers to the other. The purpose of my study is not to consider the music education in Q school as educational practice, and my approach is that of a social scientist. Bearing in mind that Small introduced his concept as an analytical approach, and although his work on musicking was explicitly not meant for school settings (Kallio & Odendaal, 2013), and I find his reduction of any piece of art to relationships somewhat problematic, the verb *musicking* is applied in this thesis to describe the activity in Q school. To the pupils in Q school, playing music and playing it together were in focus, more than musical style and more than music as a produced object of sound. A performance in Q school appeared as an experience of the moment, not something that the parents recorded for listening afterwards. Moreover, the intended extra-musical implications were considerable from the leaders' side. Musicking, as analytically applied by Small, has references to relationships in a manner that does not always correspond to what I call *musicking* in this thesis. However, music in Q school was always an activity, and musicking always included social elements. As such, I use the term throughout this thesis.[9] It also corresponds to the notion of *musicker*, as applied, for example, by June Tillman (2009), to whom I briefly refer in the next section in connection with music as a heterotopical (Foucault, 1967/1986) place.

[9] Additionally, I agree with Small, as he expressed in an interview towards the end of his life, that the term *musicking* looks better than *musicing* (Kallio & Odendaal, 2013).

A MUSICAL HETEROTOPY

I have applied the perspective of "musical heterotopy", based on Foucault's (1967/86) concept of heterotopy,[10] as a way of analysing and conceptualising the space that musicking provides in Q school. Although not considered among his more serious works (Knight, 2017), Foucault's notion of heterotopia, suggests a category beyond the reality of everyday life, but not beyond as a utopia. At the same time, the heterotopy is a representation, a contestation, and an inversion of a place, whereby it performs functions in society. Heterotopy is a place outside the ordinary taxonomy of places, a place marked by paradoxes, such as not freely accessible but either compulsory or granted access only to the initiated, "as a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live" (Foucault, 1986, p. 24).

The heterotopy in Foucault's work has resemblances to Victor Turner's (1969/1991) concept of liminality, a perspective that has also been introduced to analyse musicking. For example, Tillman (2009) describes how music facilitates a combination of intellect and emotions, and by this, may remove or transform the "musicker" (the concept of musicker includes both listener and practitioner) "into another dimension", where relationships of difference are also transformed towards tolerance for otherness (Tillman, 2009, pp. 192-193). Heterotopy and the liminal phase are both outside the ordinary spaces of life. Turner's (1969/1991) concept is based on his analysis of the ritual, where the liminal phase is at the centre. The *communitas*, a social situation that is at the core of the liminal phase is what Turner connects to the functions of liminality, as being a space where the ordinary positions between people may be inverted and rules for conduct temporarily altered.

Heterotopy is an existent place, not a ritual, but bears some of the same connections to society outside heterotopy as a ritual. From being described as "crisis heterotopias" (1967/1986, p. 24) of so-called primitive societies, now having been replaced in modern societies by "heterotopias of deviation" (Foucault, 1986, p. 25), six principles that describe such heterotopias in ways different to ordinary life outside heterotopias are listed by Foucault, as follows: (1) Heterotopias are (probably) found in all societies. (2) Societies can alter the meaning and functions of existing heterotopias, according to different times and needs. (3) Its

[10] Foucault is most often cited on the heterotopia from transcriptions of a lecture given to a French society of architects in March 1967, published only after his death – without his review before publishing (Knight, 2017). The lecture is based on a radio broadcast of Foucault's speech, delivered between the publication of his book *The Order of Things* in French in April 1966 and his lecture to the architects in March 1967 (Knight, 2017).

particular relation to the physical place renders a heterotopy a "placeless place", a museum, a cemetery or a boat, "juxtaposing in a single real space several spaces" (Foucault, 1986, p. 25). (4) Heterotopias are not only places but most often, also linked to "slices in time" (Foucault, 1986, p. 26) (5) with obscure openings. (6) Lastly, all heterotopias perform a function in relation to the space outside each heterotopia, not of illusion but of compensation.

The place for music in Q school represents a separate physical place that is and is not a school and schooling. Furthermore, the place of music in Q school signifies a particular slice of time in the pupils' schooldays and perhaps even their lives. This aspect also aligns the with aspects of Turner's (1969/1991) liminal communitas, as well as aspects of the music asylums (DeNora, 2015), without inferring a ritual or a psychiatric intervention or a secluded place in any way. According to Foucault (1986), heterotopy exists in all societies, but its functions may vary in limitless ways.

I find heterotopy, as described by Foucault (1986), a poetic concept. By its poesy, it may perhaps open and tune the mind and emotions to the understanding that ethnography often attempts to transmit, via the not always sufficient medium of writing (Clifford, 1986).

Side effects of art (Non-therapeutic therapies)

The social practice of musicking in Q school is conceived of by the initiators in order to enrich lives. The perspective on music is not necessarily that of considering music an instrument for wellbeing but an activity that triggers and affords emotions and enables social processes. Doris Sommer's concept of "artistic acupuncture" (Sommer, 2014, p. 24) is a parallel, developed by the focus on how introducing clowns and mime artists for traffic direction in Bogota (Columbia) takes into account the importance of emotions evoked by art and the social dynamics made possible due to emotions – and perhaps, to humour in particular. As argued by Sommer (2014), it is *because* it is not instrumental that it *works*, psychologically and socially, and gives art the affordance of addressing important issues indirectly. The work of art in the world is to link good ideas with practices by being an "emotional motor" and by means of creating attention (Sommer, 2014, p. 7) and interruption of unproductive habits (Sommer, 2014, p. 19). These aspects, together with art's potential for combining the ludic and the legal (Sommer, 2014, p. 24), make art liable to function as an "artistic acupuncture for social change", not as a recipe but as an approach. It follows that art is our greatest renewable resource (Sommer, 2014, p. 11).

In the present study, musicking can be perceived as affording a workspace for activities involving and generating care and emotions of compassion, as well as a resource for physical and emotional assertion of oneself and the community simultaneously. Building, rebuilding, and breaking relationships are all (as I will show) possible outcomes of music and musicking. However, relationships are also part of the musicking as an input to or preconditions for the musical product – at the same time as they are formed by the musicking. Moreover, music may be viewed as affording communication and co-production across languages and beyond the spoken language.

MUSICKING IN AN ECOLOGICAL APPROACH TO WELLNESS AND INCLUSION

The psychosocial effects of music are highlighted in music therapy and community music therapy (see for ex. Ruud, 1997; Stige, 2013; Stige & Aarø, 2011). The effects can be within a person and between an individual and a therapist. Community music therapy is concerned with health in communities or groups and with how music can play a part in various ways for social improvements (Ruud, 1997; Stige & Aarø, 2011).

The "sociology of health and illness", developed in (DeNora, 2015, p. 28) work, is based on the view that mind and body together constitute wellness (or illness) and that the experience of health is connected to environmental attributes, including social practices, in an open-ended and temporary manner. DeNora's perspective on mental health is sociological and ecological in a sense that she takes a systemic approach. Both wellbeing and illness must be understood as part of social processes. A change in health conditions or in performance can thus be stimulated – or hindered – by a change in social conditions (DeNora, 2015). The concept of *pathways* related to music was introduced by Ruth Finnegan (2007) in describing mostly amateur musicians' pathways to playing music in a small English town. Referring to Finnegan's work and connecting *walks of life* to walking with or towards musical activity, Gary Ansdell and Tia DeNora (2016, 2017) explore how music can be part of individual and social pathways towards wellbeing. DeNora's perspectives have been fruitful for my understanding of the significance of musicking in relation to the psychosocial school environment in Q. Based on work with mental healthcare patients, DeNora's grounded theoretical accounts of ways that music can facilitate wellbeing in a social ecology have led to the concept of "music asylum" (DeNora, 2015, pp. 6-7). This concept a reconfiguring of the concept, the time off in Goffman's asylum becomes more than just a break. The music asylum functions as productive in an ecologically reconstituting way for the self, by social

withdrawal, “removal” or entering into different and more fruitful connections with others and thus “refurnishing” one’s life (DeNora, 2015, p. 49). According to DeNora, part of how an asylum works is that it may function as “both a backstage and a play-space” (DeNora, 2015, p. 47). Central to the idea is that the mental room granted by the asylum is a room for rest and restitution, with one’s guard down, so to speak, being *backstage* (Goffman, 1959/1984). According to DeNora, music has the potential of creating a separate space, with the same effects as those of an asylum, though not as a physical space, as in a building, but as a “phenomenological experience” (DeNora, 2015, p. 48). By supporting a separation from life routines and creating spaces for wellbeing, associating a person with his or her mental illness can be put on hold for a therapeutic time.

Music can afford asylums related to an individual’s wellbeing alone or to an individual in relation to his or her environments (DeNora, 2015, p. 49). First, when a personal asylum functions as a *room through removal*, it signifies a withdrawal from the social situation, a temporary relief from the painful role, the illness-producing environment or simply, boring daily routines. Second, a music asylum can function as a *room through refurnishing.* Here, the “patient” acts, not by withdrawing from, but by engaging in a new way with the social environment, thereby taking a new role, perhaps leading to the “transformation of socially shared spaces” (DeNora, 2015, p. 56), and with micro-political effects. In her analysis, DeNora describes the refurnishing that may occur in an asylum as interventions to make it “more conductive to being (a self) in the world” (DeNora, 2015, p. 49, parentheses original).

Based on research with a group doing music therapy in a mental health ward, DeNora describes how a *music asylum* was established by rehearsing in a choir consisting of the patients and the staff. Within the frames of a safe social space, the musical practice of singing together highlighted the here-and-now of the common experience, as well as the establishment of hope for something to come; “we are making music here today, and will do next week” (DeNora, 2015, p. 91). During the communal musical practice, patients, nurses and other staff members assumed new roles as co-participants (DeNora, 2015, p. 122). The musical practice afforded possibilities of coproduction, physical activity, concentration, and a time out by a separation from the ordinary. The time out included a pause from the patient role, replaced by the musician or singer role. The present study has, by no means, been conducted in a psychiatric institution. However, a school also has designated roles, and connecting demeanour to roles may be seen as part of what institutions *do* (Ahmed, 2012).

The perspective from DeNora's work on music asylums allows a view of the activity that goes on in a music group, informed by individual and social achievements, enabled by the sound production on instruments together, or a withdrawal from an unproductive social environment, enabled partly by one's own musical production. A change of roles in the present study might include a temporary relief from the role of a pupil with poor conduct to that of a clarinettist. Notably, as I will show, through the phenomenological experience in a music asylum, musical coproduction affords "resolving ... [problematic issues] by addressing them obliquely" (Ansdell and DeNora 2012, as referred in DeNora, 2015, p. 123). DeNora shows how playing music can initiate a process of change in a role, whereby gradually, a person may increasingly become more of a musician and less of a patient (DeNora, 2019, p. 130). Rephrasing this to fit the present context, I will show how gradually, a boy becomes less and less of an outsider and more and more of a clarinettist.

Performance and flourishing are linked to "what my material world affords, or does not afford" (DeNora, 2015, p. 28). I argue that children are often masters of seizing affordances and using them for transformation or refurnishing, and perhaps, particularly in regard to enabling belonging. Moreover, as health and sickness are not necessarily opposing figures or conditions in a scheme of binary oppositions but are "fused together in complex ways and experienced as multidimensional degrees of wellbeing" (DeNora, 2015, p. 9), so is the case for inclusion. My approach to inclusion and exclusion mirrors DeNora's approach to mental health and sickness, as paraphrased here: *Inclusion and exclusion are fused together in complex ways and experienced as multidimensional degrees of belonging.*

3.5 A FOCUS ON HUMAN CAPABILITIES

The *capability approach* or the *human development approach* is based on works by Sen and Nussbaum (Alexander, 2008; Nussbaum & Sen, 1993; Sen, 1999), and in particular, as developed by Nussbaum (2006; 2011), may be regarded as representing an overarching framework of this thesis, functioning as a position and a link to central focal points in actual present-day debates, together with DeNora's (2000, 2015) perspectives, such as sustainability, democracy and flourishing/wellbeing. Nussbaum's work also focuses on compassion as fundamental to democracy. The perspectives on the school environment as a place to develop children's wellbeing and improve their lives have moral implications. As such, the capability approach may serve as a framework for a perspective on the human good.

The capability approach is founded on the perception of inherent human dignity, something with which all humans are born, as part of a political/philosophical normative framework of thought, according to Nussbaum (2006).[11] Whereas Pugh's (2009) concept of dignity is used in the analysis of understanding children's management of belonging, Nussbaum's approach serves as a politico-philosophical framework regarding the human condition.

According to the capability approach, the gross national product (GNP) is not sufficient as a measurement for human welfare. As all human beings strive to live their lives according to their dignity, scholars and politicians must ask a number of questions related to issues such as distribution, health services, life expectancy, labour and control (Nussbaum & Sen, 1993). In his Nobel prize acceptance speech,[12] Sen argues for the possibility of social choice as a kind of fulcrum, as well as the limitations in utilitarianism, with arguments parallel to what is found in the perspective on *superdiversity* (Vertovec, 2007). Similar to the superdiversity approach, the capability approach is rooted in an outlook based on human equality, without getting lost in cultural diversities while aiming to avoid rigid universalism (Hendriks & van Ewijk, 2019). A general poverty line is difficult to draw; according to Sen, "what about the person with an income well above the poverty-line, who suffers from an expensive illness (requiring, say, kidney dialysis)?" (Sen, 1999, pp. 360, brackets original). Sen outlines four variations that must at least be considered in order to provide for a just economy with respect to social choice and human dignity: (1) personal heterogeneities, (2) environmental (natural) diversities, (3) variations in social climate and (4) different customary patterns of consumption in particular societies, for example, being relatively poor in a rich society, which can lead to deprivation of the capability to participate in the life of the community (Sen, 1999, pp. 360-361).

The capability approach implies a separation of *functions* that can be regarded as achievements, ranging from *simple matters* such as being well nourished and free of disease to having self-respect and taking part in community life, and *capabilities* as opportunities for achievements (Alexander, 2008, p. 73; Nussbaum & Sen, 1993, p. 3). It may be that individuals do not wish to achieve the same things, whether material, metaphysical or personal. Accordingly, the most important capability to ensure is freedom to choose. A

[11] According to Nussbaum, dignity is something with which all humans are born, based on what she expresses as a "deep moral intuition" (2006, p. 83).
[12] Amartya Sen received the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences in 1998.

capability can be perceived as the freedom or access to possibilities of achieving functions, based on an individual's own wishes and priorities. In both Sen's and Nussbaum's works, the opportunities to provide functions, such as self-respect, are fundamental to such an argument. Political participation and play are both central in this regard (Alexander, 2008, pp. 50-57).

Nussbaum bases her argumentations for a just society on a critique of John Rawls' (Rawls 1971; 1996, referred in Nussbaum, 2006) ideas about a social contract, in which human beings cooperate for mutual advantage. If societies' principles presuppose that they are produced *by* the same group that they are produced *for*, such a presumption about symmetry does not take into account inequalities in power and in abilities to be productive (Nussbaum, 2006 p. 16). It follows that there is no account for family structure, including children and the elderly, for women, for the dignity of people with disabilities, for people of poorer nations, as well as for other living creatures belonging to non-human species (Nussbaum, 2006). The capability approach rests on Kant's moral imperative that all human beings should be treated as ends in themselves, not as means to other ends. Even more so, Nussbaum bases her approach on the Aristotelian sense that there is something wonderful and worthy of awe in any complex natural organism (Nussbaum, 2006 p. 94).

Central to the argument for the recognition of capabilities for all is the notion of compassion, also based on Aristotle's view on emotions, particularly the social emotion – compassion (Aristotle, *On Rhethoric* referred in Nussbaum, 1996). Compassion is a social emotion because it builds a bridge between the individual and the group, "hooking the interest of others to our own personal goods" (Nussbaum, 1996, p. 28). Nussbaum argues that compassion is also a rational emotion, built on the realisation of one's own vulnerability. I argue that compassion can be seen as an emotional cornerstone, also for understanding inclusion.

To reach the threshold for ensuring life in accordance with inborn human dignity, Nussbaum has defined a list of ten capabilities as central requirements (Nussbaum, 2006, pp. 76-78): 1) Life – being able to live a life of a normal length and a minimum quality; 2) Bodily health, including nourishment and shelter; 3) Bodily integrity – the ability to move freely, have security and protection and the opportunity to choose regarding sexual and reproductive matters; 4) Senses, imagination and thought, including adequate education and training, as well as freedom of expression and religious exercise; 5) Emotions, including the ability to develop emotions of love and attachment, as well as longing, grief and justified anger; 6) Practical reason – the ability to engage in reflections and conceptions of a good life for

oneself; 7) Affiliation, including social bases of self-respect, being of the same worth as others, also including the development of learning to imagine another person's situation; 8) Other species – the ability to live with concern for non-human beings and nature; 9) Play – being able to laugh, play and enjoy recreational activities; and 10) Control over one's environment, including political participation in a democracy, as well as the ability to own property and to work/hold a job.

The topic of the present thesis particularly concerns three capabilities: 5) *emotions*, 7) *affiliation* and 9) *play*. In my analysis, play also means playing music, alone or at times of musical co-production. Affiliation, together with practical reason, is architectonic and pervades all other capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011, p. 39). Herein lies the emphasis on the fundamentally social nature of human beings and the importance of the quality of human relations.

As mentioned, the capability approach is an attempt to merge something universally human, as a philosophical/legal inherent right, with the culture- or context-specific variations in values and emphasis. Rather than arguing for cultural relativism, Nussbaum argues for cultural pluralism (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 78). In this respect, cultural pluralism is perceived as including the pluralism resulting also from differences in abilities and needs for resources and care (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 88), parallel to the concept of *diversity* compared to *multicultural*, as described in Chapter 1. Implicit in compassion and pity, as well as in longing (such as longing for belonging), is the idea of happiness, a good life or human flourishing, which is connected to the list of capabilities in Nussbaum's framework. The concept of innate human dignity and possible human flourishing has been applied in Norwegian research (Reindal, 2010) to understand inclusion as based on wellbeing via fulfilling concrete capabilities. This is a perspective that I partly apply in this thesis. I argue that feeling well together in play may be described as feeling included or having a sense of belonging, although not necessarily with respect to having a friend. One of the older girls in my study was an active and highly acclaimed musician but complained openly that she had no friend. Based on her participation in play, responsibilities, affiliations, freedom of choice and other capabilities, she might still experience the sense of belonging.

The concept of "adapted education" that is the right of all children, according to the Norwegian school legislation (The Education Act, 1998), may be understood as built on approaches to human diversity – with the responsibility of governing systems of power to ensure access to education, based on individual differences and needs – that are similar to the

capability approach. Furthermore, the capability to use one's senses, imagination and thought (fourth on Nussbaum's [2006] list of capabilities) may be interpreted as the concept of formation in education – using one's senses as the bases for inner moral judgements – as opposed to merely performing a learned way of acting.

According to Nussbaum (1997; 2010), the school, and in particular the arts, play a vital role in developing human beings for democracy. An education for democracy should seek to cultivate compassion. The arts and the humanities are necessary ingredients of such an education, argues Nussbaum (1996, 1997, 2010). With reference to Donald Winnicott's ideas of the "potential space" (Winnicott 1971/2005, as cited in Nussbaum, 2010, p. 99) in which children and adults can "experiment with the idea of otherness" (Nussbaum, 2010, p. 99), protection and cultivation of a play space are vital for the realizations of such experiments between people (Nussbaum, 2010, pp. 99–101). In this regard, play may also be perceived as including playing music together. Additionally, the arts may represent an arena for developing new roles, as in a defined play or choreography (as mentioned in the Introduction), doing away with "bodily stiffness (Nussbaum, 2010, p. 104). Based on Aristotle's notion that compassion implies not only pity but also reason by accepting one's own human vulnerability (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, referred in Nussbaum 1993), the arts may permit perspectives and experiences that offer emotional insights into the lives and struggles of other individuals less fortunate than oneself. The school, particularly via the arts, can represent an arena where political participation can be exercised.

3.6 FORMATION IN ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATION

In a collection of lectures, presented in his book, *Anthropology and/as Education*, Tim Ingold (2018, p. 17) declares, "The first place to find education is not in pedagogy, but in participatory practice." Whereas in the Germanic languages, education (*utdannelse/utbilning*) is derived from the German word *bildung*, education in the Latin languages is derived from *ducere*, meaning *to lead*. According to Ingold, the difference between merely living one's life and *leading* a life can be summarised in *attention*. Moreover, education is dependent on attention, which is derived from the French *attendre*, meaning to wait (for), and to stretch (toward) (Ingold, 2018, p. 20). The difference between hearing and listening is inherent in *attention*. Listening involves activity, attention, and care – for oneself, for things and for the other.

According to Ingold (2018), the correspondence or similarities between anthropology and education is, in short, the process of learning as a process of becoming. This presupposes a view on education parallel to Biesta's notion of what education really should be – a transformation from within, as opposed to merely transmission of information (See for ex. Biesta, 2010, 2013). This is parallel to Nussbaum's (2010) perspective of the development of personal capacities for compassion and choice, built on inner moral judgements. According to Biesta, the ideal kind of education requires cooperation between the teacher and the pupil, a growing together. Knowledge develops and is situated in the relationship between the teacher and the student(s). Just as culture comprises a set of perspectives and knowledge passed on from one generation to the next by living together, so education is fundamentally social, situated in and inseparable from its social context. Education entails becoming part of society, learning a way of living, and inheriting a set of values.

This perspective on education implies the perception of knowledge as deeply connected to a specific context, policy, and personal development. This view on education corresponds to the overarching view on knowledge as socially constructed, which is the premise on which this thesis is based. Moreover, knowledge is perceived as a bodily (not only as an intellectual) capacity. Parts of my analysis of the music education in Q school are constructed by using a conception of tacit knowledge, as framed by Michael Polanyi (1966/2009). Tacit knowledge can be tacit because it is taken for granted, as in Bourdieu's (1977, p. 168) concept of doxa. Tacit can also be a kind of knowledge that one possesses and can apply without being able to explain how, such as in playing a musical instrument or recognising a face. As expressed by Polanyi (1966/2009, p. 4): "We can know more than we can tell". Tacit knowledge involves the body, not only the mind, as a knower or a preceptor of objects (Polanyi, 1966/2009, p. 29). Much of the formational aspect of education, including the "hidden curriculum" (Jackson, 1990, pp. 33-34), developing compassion and managing inclusion, may rely on tacit knowledge. In his work, *How Societies Remember*, Connerton describes how the repetitive character of behaviour implies tacit knowledge that becomes bodily knowledge, a habitually based memory that is exercised, performed and thus becomes shared and sometimes explicit (Connerton, 1989).

Ingold (2018) embraces Polanyi's (1996) thoughts about the importance of the vast amount of knowledge that is not explicable. However, he argues against the duality as a kind of binary opposition between the tacit and the explicable dimensions he finds in Polanyi's work. Rather, Ingold contends that the forms of knowledge may be viewed as in the "major or

minor key", where the minor key is parallel to the tacit dimension but is a blend between the two types of knowledge (Ingold, 2018, pp. 50-51). Knowledge has a "haptic dimension" according to Ingold (Harney and Moten, 2013 cited in Ingold, 2018, p. 51). It is thus not terminology that constrains thought but the belief that the only valuable knowledge is that resting on words used for definitions and articulations. From Ingold's perspective, attention also appears as bodily knowledge. Attention is similar to being out walking and at the same time, letting the mind wander. In this case, thinking is not understood as pondering or trying to solve a problem or exercising one's agency. Rather, it connotes giving the mind a break, surrendering the body to automatism and escaping other pressing demands, and opening up the self to impressions and thoughts that might emerge or surface while walking. Walking is like thinking, not *on* a problem or an issue *while* walking. Rather, it is thinking *in* the walk. Viewed this way, walking implies opening up towards the path and the world, thus surrendering part of one's agency (Ingold, 2018, p. 23). It resembles asking open-ended questions. In every step or movement, there is an element of uncertainty. Ingold argues for a shift in focus from agency to "agencing", the verb "becoming agent", or even better, the French *agencement*, to imply the importance of continuation or perpetual renewal (Ingold, 2018, p. 24). "Whereas agency belongs to us as beings with volition, agencement falls to us as dwellers in habit […] a task we are bound to take on as responsible and responsive beings" (Ingold, 2018, p. 24). Continuation is an important aspect of *bildung*/formation. The result of formation is not *finished* as in *nicely built*. Opposed to the concept of education as basically *filling up the pupils with knowledge* is the view that education is foremost a process of subjectification, where the pupils are formed into self-governed, responsible young people (Biesta, 2013). Thus, rather than having become what may be inferred to as a suitable young man, it denotes a capacity, not for becoming human but for human becoming. The goal of education (or formation) is the capacity for more education (or formation). In parallel, it might also be said that the goal of inclusion is the capacity for more inclusion.

Ingold defines the preferred "weak pedagogy" by introducing a principle of habit, that is, "what is formed in [people] in consequence of their repeatedly doing them" (Ingold, 2018, p. 21), and a conundrum, that is, does a habit make a person, or does a person make a habit? Viewed this way, habit is not only an image of pedagogy. Ingold (2018) argues that habit is neither the engine nor the end product but the principle of production. A real problem does not have an answer but affords an opening, Ingold argues, referring to Deleuze and Guattari's (2004 as referred in Ingold, 2018, pp.40-41) theory of major and minor sciences, where a

minor science is topological, not statistical. Referring to example of Rubic's cube as a "false problem" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, referred in Ingold, 2018, p. 41), like any jigsaw, as both contain their own solutions as closures. Real problems have no solutions – they must be given time and in turn, offer new openings (Ingold, 2018, p. 41).

This principle of production is fundamentally social, and as such, corresponds to the works of (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). The principle of production is also bodily enacted. Learning by habit is learning by bodily repetition, as also described by Connerton (1989), which is how truths are established and made collective. This is a social approach to learning, as expressed by Ingold: "It is in the insecurity of the undercoming, and not in the security of the understanding, that we truly open to one another and to the world" (Ingold, 2018, p. 38). The same is a good description of inclusion.

There can be no responsibility without "response -ability" (Ingold, 2018, p. 27). To be able to respond is an act of freedom of speech. So is responsibility for oneself as well as for the other. This responsibility requires senses, reason, and freedom of speech and thought, as framed by Nussbaum in the fourth capability on her list (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 76). She raises an alarm about a global crisis in education (Nussbaum, 2010, p. 2). According to her, the crisis is rooted in the growing materialism and the narrowing of education towards easily measurable knowledge that can meet industrial needs within a short time span and generate quick profits. She calls for a renewed status of the humanities and the arts to overcome this crisis. Nussbaum (2010, p. 6) claims that the arts may contribute to encounters between and among people as persons, not only as means or obstacles to strategies. This is a starting point for discussing inclusion – not as included in what/which exclusive group but inclusion as a constitution, a choice of attitude.

As commented by Ingold (2018, p. 60), the purpose of anthropology is parallel to the purpose of the university and that of education. They are in fact all based on the notions of freedom and universality. Anthropology, schools, and universities have the same twofold mission. On one hand, they have to be inquisitive *per se*. On the other hand, university graduates and scholarship awardees are expected to produce information that is worth paying for and that society thinks has any applicable use. The advocacy for art in education should not be justified by the ability to present better results in mathematics nor by demonstrating perfection or a unique talent connected to an artistic product. Instead, the focus on educational formation and on the potential of art education itself, tied to the notion of education as a process of building character, is inherent in such advocacy. I understand a concept of the

world, in this sense, the *other* – represented by a person, a system, a peer group/class or any other body, biological or non-biological, of which one has the choice to meet with resistance or submission – or perhaps a dialogic combination, as Biesta (2013) suggests. The *other* may simply be different from oneself because he/she is somebody else. One of Nussbaum's arguments for the necessity of strengthening the humanities rests on the ability, inherent in art, to provide a space for play and experimentation with "the idea of otherness" (Nussbaum, 2010, p. 99). According to Nussbaum, this imaginative dimension is vital as a foundation for democracy.

The pedagogical paradox, as formulated by Kant (1803/2016), contains freedom as a goal, together with reason. To be able to formulate independent judgements, knowledge and reason are necessary. However, it is a paradox to instruct somebody to be independent. As such, formation lies between pedagogy and philosophy (Løvlie, 2011). In the paradoxical goal of free judgement lies the necessity for the school or the pedagogue to build character and the fact that all education is part of a system. Furthermore, accessibility to education is part of keeping the formation somewhat exclusive.

Biesta (2013) argues that there are three types of learning: qualification, acquiring, socialisation and subjectivation. He suggests that the last two – socialisation and subjectivation together – are parallel to the German *bildung* (Biesta, 2013). In *bildung* or formation, the teacher is part of a creative project, not in creating something from nothing, but in being a necessary part of a transcendental process of creating life, as in subjectivation (Biesta, 2013). Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss (1998/2020) finds the inner-growth aspect of formation in education so important that he suggests exchanging the Norwegian concept for education, *utdannelse*, with *in-dannelse.* 'In' is the same in both English and Norwegian, whereas the Norwegian *'ut'* means out. It follows that *ut-dannelse* connotes a presentation, such as outwardly toward the world, yet signifying presentable, educated, or readymade. *In-dannelse* refers to the inner transformation that Næss finds more important, with its goal as only the capacity for further transformation. Corresponding to Dewey's concept of the true goal of education being only that of developing capacity for further education (Dewey 1966, as cited in Ingold 2018, p. 24).

Another perspective on the relation between formation and education, as Inga Bostad (2017) suggests, is the distinction between static and dynamic formation. The school authorities describe the dynamic aspect when stating that formation (*dannelse*) occurs when students learn, as well as when they experience, and when they arrive at the correct answer, as

well as when they have difficulty in finding an answer at all (UDIR, 2017). Static formation means filling in an existing form with attitudes, knowledge and skills of a certain standard, parallel to what Ingold (2018) calls a false problem – a puzzle that already includes its solution. Dynamic formation comprises the subjects that have a civilising effect on pupils. Experiences such as what happens during musicking, apart from learning to play a musical instrument, and during play breaks outside in the schoolyard, may be part of the dynamic formation going on in school.

According to Inga Bostad and Ole Petter Ottersen (2011), four types of academic formation can be defined: two regarding method – dialogic or lectoral, and the other two regarding content – canonical and polyphonic or multivocal and critical. All forms presuppose a space for learning that is characterised by dialogue, openness and questioning by wondering (*undring*), implying a questioning that takes some time as an open, wondering or pondering state or attitude (Bostad & Ottesen, (2011, p. 58). Formation can be perceived as an inquisitive mode of being in the world (Bostad, 2017; Bostad & Ottersen, 2011). Referring to Dewey [1997/1919] as cited in Bostad & Ottersen, 2011, p. 59), this state is paralleled to the natural state of a child, not something gained through education, but through the child's intuitive nature, to which the role of education may be regarded as a sort of "primal broth".

As mentioned, the term *education* is derived from the Latin *ducere*, meaning *to lead*, as in *to lead a life* (Ingold, 2018). This involves yet another paradox: we are formed by habit, while taking part in its creation and development. We are formed by culture, and at the same time, we form culture. Our habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) is our culture or subculture moulded into our bodies. Our actions and bodily practices are in part, forming our memories and societies' collective memories (Connerton, 1989). This is also how institutions work. Ahmed refers to Berger and Luckman's (1967) mechanisms of habituation when describing how the "works of institutions", the institutionalisation, can be seen as the habitual background of how things are or in what direction an institution is moving (Ahmed, 2012, p. 26). From this perspective also, institutions can be perceived as verbs as well as nouns (Ahmed, 2012, p. 21).

Anthropology stands out as constructive of knowledge, parallel to architecture and design, more than a replica of a presentation of "the native's point of view" (Ingold, 2018, p. x). Anthropological fieldwork is based on inquiry. "[Anthropology] is anti-disciplinary in that it seeks to undo rather than to re-enforce" (Ingold, 2018, p. 76). The anthropologist does not come with a hypothesis to be tested but with enquiries that do not lead to answers but to more enquiries. Every day, every new person represents a new beginning. The enquiries do not only

evolve around an object of study, the *other*, but around the existence of life and about the anthropologist as well. Anthropology evolves around the *otherness* of existing and existence. Following the argumentation above, the opposite of *othering*, the quest for sustainable inclusion, might be linked to this perspective on the anthropological existence of enquiries, thus implying perpetual inquisitiveness. "Real freedom is not a property but a mode of existence – a way of being that is fundamentally open to others and to the world rather than hemmed in by aims and objectives" (Ingold, 2018, p. 79).

The focus on verbs and actions, rather than nouns and situations, runs through most of the theoretical approaches in this thesis. As Small (1998) focuses on musicking rather than music, so musicking, as well as music, can be perceived as affording processes, whether individual or social. Ahmed (2012) argues that institutions *do* something to concepts and the word *institution* itself and should rather be regarded as verbs, such as *institutionalise*, just as diversity should rather be understood as people *doing* diversity. "Space is also a verb, not only a noun" (Lid & Wyller, 2017, p. 14, my translation) as in heterotopias (Foucault, 1986) and asylums (DeNora, 2015). Not the least, formation, as used in this thesis, should not be understood as primarily leading to a certain educated individual but to a processual situation, a dynamic formation whose end product is being capable of more formation. One important aspect of focusing on verbs rather than on nouns is the appearance of agency, or as called by Ingold (2018, p. 24), of *agencement*, as agency may also be considered a verb. Being able to develop and apply agency should be part of an education in the minor key, as framed by Ingold (2018, see also Biesta, 2013 in "weak pedagogy") and is also a matter of politics. Agency involves and presupposes choice. Freedom to choose is the central capability, according to the human development approach (Nussbaum, 2011; Nussbaum & Sen, 1993; Sen, 1999). Giving people a choice and securing capabilities to be transformed into functions that may result in human flourishing are duties of systems with power (Nussbaum, 1997, 2006; Sen, 1999).

Another recurring theme is the holistic perspective on mind and body, conceptions, and emotions. Emotions are considered part of cognition, as the body is regarded as part of the mind. I believe that this might be even more important in ethnographic research that presumes to understand the world from children's perspectives.

4 METHOD AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter, I present the data-generation method and the analytical tools on which this thesis is based. I present some of the major challenges I have met and the choices that I have made. I also give an account of some practical issues and strategies regarding notation and translation. In the last part of the chapter, I deal with general and specific ethical issues. However, ethical issues are closely interwoven, and pre-methodological rather than post-methodological choices should be made, particularly when doing research with children.

Barth (Barth, 1994, p. 356) defines three main principles for the sociology of knowledge that avoids reification of culture and the pitfalls of forgetting that any cultural knowledge is constantly in the process of being reshaped: 1) All concepts are embedded in practice, so their definition and thrust can only be determined in the context of that practice. 2) All views are singular and positioned; anthropological accounts and generalisations about a cultural tradition represent the anthropologist's own construction, based on his or her judgements and analyses. 3) All meanings remain contestable, within as well as between social circles and cultural traditions. The first point underlines the necessity of conducting participant observation and making *thick descriptions* (Geertz, 1973)[13]. Furthermore, Barth's principles offer a parallel to be drawn between how a child learns the value system of his or her group by participation and how anthropologists may gain access to in-group knowledge (Barth, 1994, p. 357). The implication that the contestability of truths about the world gives rise to discrepancies between two informants' varying accounts of the same action or fact is well known to any ethnographer and also implies that the researcher's perspective is situated.

4.1 PREPARATIONS, PRACTICAL ISSUES AND RESEARCH DESIGN

My choice of school is related to the music programme that Q school had undertaken. My focus on children's music experiences is related to interests from my work in Concerts Norway/Arts for Young Audiences Norway. My focus on inclusion comes from some of my recent personal and professional interests (Lundh et al., 2014), and my focus on *school*

[13] The expression is stated by Geertz (1973, p. 6) to be borrowed from Gilbert Ryle.

culture parallels the anthropological approach to *culture*. My academic background comprises anthropology and ethnomusicology. I chose to apply to the PhD programme in teacher education in order to use this opportunity to learn more about and participate in the teacher education discourses.

My chief method of data generation is based on participant observation. I began planning the project in the spring of 2016 and started visits to Q school during music lessons in the late autumn of 2016, followed by informal interviews with the headmaster and some of the teachers. I visited music groups more or less systematically to get an impression and plan the selection of groups to work with. From March 2017 to June 2018, I did the bulk of the fieldwork, spending two to three days a week in Q school. I joined classes, play breaks, tours, meetings and concerts. I regained access to the school in December 2019. This participant observation period was interrupted after a few visits, due to the COVID-19 pandemic situation that started in February 2020, which led to the schools' closure, making it necessary to end my fieldwork by March 2020. I therefore lost an opportunity to witness some of the developments more closely, particularly regarding the school orchestra that had just started when I left the first time. However, I considered the data already generated to be sufficient for answering my research question.

Selections

I chose to work with third-grade classes as this was their year of enrolment in the music programme, with introduction to the instruments.[14] I followed two separate third-grade classes for a school term, as well as a music group that consisted of pupils from these two classes over a whole year. This way, I could follow the same children in music as in their ordinary classes, and through the whole year, on their introduction to all the instruments in the carousel. I also closely followed a group of cornetto-playing pupils in the fourth grade for a year. I chose this group because some of these children represented a group of pupils who had played steadily together for more than a year and were considered among the best instrumentalists by the music teachers, in their process of building up a school orchestra. Moreover, this group was given much time to practise on their own in the hall, giving me the opportunity to watch them playing music together without the direct leadership of a teacher.

[14] In the school year 2017–2018, the programme expanded to include second-grade classes. Both second- and third-grade pupils were thus beginners in that school year

During the spring term, I observed one of the fourth-grade classes in order to watch some of the children in other environments than the music groups. I also followed a trombone class of fifth-grade pupils over a term. On a less steady basis, I followed clarinet classes in several grades, two violin classes in 3rd and 5th grades, and some percussion classes, comprising mostly 6th- and 7th-grade pupils. The selections of which children to follow more closely was done by myself after preliminary observations, and in accordance with the teachers and with necessary permissions from parents. I wished to follow a few more closely and mix the selection of groups by age and gender, as well as focus on some groups comprising both white Norwegian and immigrant children and other groups consisting of only immigrant children.

I supplemented the participant observation with interviews. For the interviews, I selected some children whom I had observed during their music classes. The interviewees comprised six 3rd-grade pupils, three 4th-grade pupils, four 5th-grade pupils and two 7th-grade pupils. I held several shorter informal interviews with the current headmaster, the assistant headmaster and the headmaster of the Arts school. I also conducted two separate interviews with a new 3rd-grade teacher and an experienced 4th-grade teacher. I did a group interview with four teachers working with the classes of pupils whom I followed the most during their first year of enrolment in the music programme. I did not set up interviews with the music teachers but used my ample opportunities to talk with them in both shorter and more in-depth conversations. Reflecting back, I wish I had included also recorded separate interviews with music teachers. The set frame of an interview and the precise quotes from recordings might have been valuable regarding information from these specialists.

I had planned to include a questionnaire for the children's parents. However, the headmaster and some of the experienced teachers strongly advised me against doing so, due to the limited reliability of responses from many of the parents and the risk of making some of them scared, being unfamiliar with this way of doing research in schools and being too familiar with schemes from authorities that implied unfortunate news or led to withdrawal of social benefits. I conducted two lengthy interviews with two parents – one parent of an eager instrumentalist and one parent of a not-so-eager pupil. These parents were chosen according to the teachers' advice and also represented a white Norwegian and an immigrant. I also knew their children. Additionally, I conducted a group interview with 14 parents, who were selected because they formed the Parents' Working Committee (PWC) in one of the years when I was doing fieldwork. The PWC (*FAU* in Norwegian) comprised a group of parents to be elected

democratically in all Norwegian schools, regulated in the educational legislation (The Education Act, 1998).

The interviews were set up for at least 30 minutes each to allow time for reflection between the researcher and one or two pupils. Much valuable information was also obtained from daily small talk in the corridors and during the play breaks outside. Small talk with the parents was natural in relation to concerts and for the younger children when they were dropped off at or picked up from school. Regarding the teachers, I joined their small talk around lunch tables and in the aftermath of meetings, delving deeper into some of the issues that had been brought up during the meetings. Small talk with the parents, the teachers and above all, the pupils, turned out to be the most valuable source of data, together with my observations.

Most of the interviews were recorded and transcribed. In other cases, notes were taken during the interviews or directly afterwards on a laptop. Observation data and information from chats and informal talk were handwritten in diaries during the day. Shorter notes were written in detail on the computer in the evenings.

CHOICE OF EXPRESSIONS, AND STRATEGIES OF NOTATION

Choosing analytical concepts and categories can be tricky and is also part of a discourse analysis (Hitching et al., 2011). I used emic concepts and categories as much as possible. Thus, I did not categorise any child according to his or her parents' homeland or the number of languages spoken. As concepts, *white Norwegian*, *Norwegian* and sometimes *ethnic Norwegian* were used interchangeably. I used *white Norwegian* as this was the most common. Some of the teachers used the term *black* to signify people with an immigrant background. I used *immigrant* or *with an immigrant background*, which were also emic terms, and *black* only for correct quotes of someone. I largely omitted *ethnic* as a concept, as this was not an emic term, except regarding a few of the teachers. Ethnicity is often related to discussions, such as when making distinctions between culture and ethnicity (Eriksen, 2000) that I did not consider necessary to engage in for the research topic of this thesis. The ethnic distinction in Q school and its neighbourhood was between white Norwegians and immigrants, and with the exception of language, the *diversities of diversity* in Q school were largely related to more and other relational issues than what is often connected with ethnicity (Eriksen, 2000; Knudsen, 2008).

I also chose to omit *popular* as a concept. It was not used by the pupils in Q school. However, being *cool* was significant. The terms *cool* and *popular* may be used somewhat interchangeably, denoting a relationally based evaluation of a person in some school contexts (Rysst, 2008, 2020a). In Q school, the terms were not readily swappable. When talking about school culture, *popular* is generally translatable to *favoured by many* (www.naob.no). As used in Q school, being cool refers more to individual respect than to a person with a rich selection of friendships.

The concepts of *inclusion* and *exclusion* are central in the analysis. By and large, these were not emic concepts among the children, but they were so among the teachers. As I will show, in a class where the teacher had taught her pupils explicitly to "include one another" in games, the pupils also used this concept, and for their part, demanded from each other to be included.

Key informants have been assigned pseudonyms in this thesis. For others, or where the category is more important than the concrete figure, I have used categories such as *Q school teacher*, referring to the teachers employed in Q school, whereas *music teacher* refers to the teachers employed by the local Arts school to teach music in Q school.

My field diaries were written in Norwegian, and all interviews were conducted in Norwegian I translated these data into English for this thesis. I also translated all quotes from newspapers and from webpages from Norwegian and other Scandinavian languages to English. Quotes from interviews are enclosed in quotation marks. Longer quotations are indented and have single-line spacing. Longer quotes from children, teachers or parents that are taken from my notes and written from memory are also indented and have single line spacing but are not enclosed in quotation marks.

I have chosen pseudonyms that reflect each person's country or region of origin. Further details regarding anonymisation are presented in this chapter's final section concerning ethical considerations.

GAINING ACCESS

I knew the leader of the music project from a different setting of music teaching a few years prior to starting my PhD studies. She was my son's trumpet teacher in Oslo municipal Arts school. I was not totally at ease with having this relation beforehand. I was aware of my subjective position regarding her qualifications as a trumpet teacher. Would I be able to look

past my knowledge of Anne as a good trumpet teacher of my son, and would this knowledge influence the quality of my observations in Q school? Nonetheless, I doubt whether I would have obtained permission to do fieldwork had the leader not known me beforehand. She was and is a strong gatekeeper and a gate-opener to deeper insights and trust in the environment, and as such, highly valuable in qualitative research (Neumann & Neumann, 2012). Trust was a prerequisite for letting anybody mingle with Anne's pupils and fellow teachers. The respective headmasters of the Arts school and of Q school both gave me permission to conduct research on the basis of being "okay with Anne".

The extended nature of the research and the fact that I knew the leading person were key factors that made it possible for me to "hang around", a chief activity of an anthropologist's tool kit (Fangen, 2010), which can be difficult when doing fieldwork in one's own hometown or country (Gullestad, 1992; Rysst, 2008).

4.2 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION IN SCHOOL

I made a point of following the children during their whole day in school. Thus, when they went out for breaks and playtime, I did the same. In the classroom, I mostly sat on a chair at one end of the room, facing the teacher as the pupils did, observing and taking notes. After a few days, the pupils would turn to me and ask for help if the teacher was at the other end of the room or helping somebody else. The teachers said that it was all right for me to help when I could. During the pupils' breaks outside, I sat on a bench or wandered around, joining conversations when invited, otherwise observing play and other activities in the schoolyard. Accompanying some classes to excursions to the woods presented good opportunities for observations outside normal routines and spaces. It was also a good opportunity for small talk with the pupils, as well as with the teachers and assistants following the children on the tram trip and in the woods. I found that something happened with the talk when talking while walking. As described by Jan Masschelein (2010), when someone walks, mental distractions may be ruled out by the habitual movement and the focus on the road.

As my fieldwork developed, I found it useful to be present in the hallways outside the rooms used for music teaching. A set of chairs and a table were arranged at one end of this hall, where I could sit and take notes or read. A constant stream of children passed by. These were children who had been sent to collect scores from other teachers, or were going to the washroom, cleaning mouthpieces and sometimes, also changing groups in the middle of a

session. Some of the music teachers divided their groups for some parts of the lesson by sending a few out in the hallway to practise by themselves for shorter time spans. When some pupils came out to rehearse by themselves, it provided a perfect opportunity for me to watch their interaction and communal playing, and sometimes, to chat a little.

The participatory aspect of the method was also prevalent in the music classes, as I often had the chance to help carry instruments and other equipment and assist in other practical tasks in preparation for concerts. Stressing the participant aspect of the participant observation associated with anthropology is perhaps foremost due to the quest for an "experiential understanding of the activity described" (Borofsky, 1994, p. 15). I also found the importance of participation to be connected to a valuable feeling of being of some use to the hardworking teachers, and thus make them relax more, and not least, also make myself relax more in the somewhat awkward task of hanging around and observing someone else's busy practice. Teachers are used to being observed, and this is perhaps both a helpful and an unhelpful fact from an anthropologist's point of view. It was helpful in the sense that I knew they could handle somebody observing their teaching but unhelpful in the sense that they might have acquired the practice of employing a particular impression management (Goffman, 1959/1984) when someone was there to observe.

The pupils were also used to being observed in Q school. Helping with practical matters gave me an opportunity to establish myself in a role that made sense to the pupils. As I would stay with them for some time, this was necessary. Doing anthropological research in a school necessitates building relationships with the pupils, based on some kind of grown-up role. Smette (2015) conducted research in two secondary schools in Norway a few years prior to my own study. She relates how it was necessary for her to "craft an identity [….] that would be comprehensible in the institutional context of a school" (Smette, 2015, p. 61). Acquiring somebody else's perspective is tricky business. It requires not only observing this somebody but observing the same as this somebody observes. Smette (2015) relates how it sometimes put her in awkward situations, assuming the role of the upper secondary-level students whom she was observing. In my case, with 7 to 13-year-old children, I could not hang around with them as if I was their age, and I often found it difficult not to observe them from the perspective of a parent or a teacher. Imagining being a participant in musicking was my best card, in addition to letting the children chat with me during their breaks and letting the topic be initiated and managed by them.

As I knew the cornetto teacher from before, she knew that I was to some extent familiar with brass-instrument teaching for beginners through my follow-up of my son. Thus, regarding pupils playing brass instruments I could also help with finding the correct grip and discuss sound-producing issues. Once, the clarinet teacher placed me on the row with her third-grade students and handed me an instrument. I was totally unprepared for this, and all the better. It was quite helpful for the participant aspect of observation, or perhaps to put it more correctly, for engaging in "observant participation" (Rysst, 2008, pp. 45–46; see also Holy, 1984).

INTERVIEWS AND OTHER TALKS

I chose to conduct most of the interviews towards the end of the school year (2018), when the children had some time to get used to me, and on my part, I had come to know them and their life in school somewhat better. I set up interviews individually or in pairs with the younger children from the second- and third-grade classes that I observed. I interviewed pairs when I sensed that it would make them feel safer. As for the older children in 4th, 5th and 7th grades, I interviewed them individually. They relaxed and spoke much more freely to me one-on-one. This might not have been the case, had they not seen me around so much. They knew my face, or, as some of the children said, "You know me." To be known by the interviewer seemed more important to some than the other way around. This may illustrate the rather unconditional trust bestowed on a grown-up person by some of the smaller children, and the feeling of security gained from being known by the grown-up in charge. I interviewed some of those with whom I had spent much time in their music groups. Furthermore, I interviewed some of the leading figures among the pupils. Katrine Fangen (2010, p. 67) suggests that leading figures can act as gatekeepers, themselves being in a marginalised position and therefore able to reflect the central values with an analytical perspective from a borderline position.

I joined the music teachers' meetings every week. This gave me an opportunity to hear what was in focus from the teachers' perspectives, without me asking questions and directing the focus. I also talked with them before and after the meetings, as well as during breaks between classes. The music teachers were very accessible, both regarding their outspoken interest in my study, and physically, as the whole floor was reserved only for their lessons, creating a space where they were together and accessible between classes, and where the

focus on music teaching provided ample opportunities for asking questions about methods, challenges, and other emerging issues.

DILEMMAS IN SEARCH OF THE PUPILS' POINTS OF VIEW

I set about to do double hermeneutics, interpreting the interpretation, in Geertz's (1983, p. 5) words, an enterprise of "understanding of understanding". The knowledge to which I seek to contribute, is geared towards a better understanding of the pupils' understanding of their worlds. The classic anthropological way of observing, taking notes and trying to understand was my chief method, with the aim of producing the famous "thick description" (Geertz, 1973, p. 6), seeing and describing as much of the context as necessary in order to understand the significance of the local action or the *semiotic stream*. I found two approaches to be of particular importance. First, I rehearsed not putting too much interpretation into my first observation. Second, I had to develop relationships with the children, as well as with some of the teachers. These requirements involved spending considerable time in the field. To explore the children's perspective, I had to rehearse repeatedly, to observe what the children observed, not only to observe the children.

A key methodological challenge has been how to uncover what really are the pupils' points of view. I quickly found that the children were good in learning and presenting politically correct perspectives and adjusting their responses to what they thought would be expected by grown-ups or what they found fun to tell or talk about at the moment. This is a dilemma that not only concerns children in research. "Attitudinal fallacy" (Jerolmack & Khan, 2014, p. 142), which means taking self-representation at its face value and thus overlooking the more or less universal discrepancy between what people say and actually do, excludes valuable data. The inconsistency is not necessarily a lie (Andersen & Mangset, 2012). Especially in interviews, I suspected that some of the information given as answers to my questions was mixed with presentations of themselves and of correct attitudes. Such information sometimes appeared as simply untrue but was not intended to fool me; it was more a matter of getting lost in telling a story about something, or another more important meaning was overshadowing the false parts of the information. I believe that this was the case when Zahir talked about visiting a friend in his homeland (see Chapter 6).

It has been useful to see data cross-checked as in data triangulation (Fangen, 2010, p. 171). Observations were compared with what was being said, information from parents, children, and teachers, that is, from different perspectives on the same issue, were also

compared. Discrepancies among different types of data are always interesting. Discrepancies or what seems to be such may reveal layers of information that – to an anthropologist – may uncover underlying cultural values. Culture is always in motion. Disputed issues may perhaps indicate to researchers some directions or issues at stake in current developments.

I have approached a learning environment as culture in an anthropological sense. My concept of culture has rested on a generative version of Geertz's (1973) semiotic notion of culture as *webs of significance, in the making*. I have searched for processes of spinning, more than a finished web. This seems especially important when writing about the young generation. As noted by several experienced anthropologists (Barth, 1994; Ingold, 2018), it seems particularly significant to be aware of the parallel between learning and processing cultural information when conducting research in school.

Writing ethnography involves trying to interpret meanings inherent in local systems of knowledge. Geertz's (1973, 1983) notion of context can be minute, focusing on a micro-level. However, it is also necessary to include perspectives on macro-structures, politics, and material conditions in order to fully understand local meanings. Macro-structures, national and international politics define frames for people, and perhaps in particular, for people who are considered to belong to groups of immigrants and refugees and as such, have minority status in relation to the majority population. These political issues are related to the economy, social security, and other factors that I have not dealt with explicitly but are part of the frames governing the informants' lives. For example, when a family has to move because someone else needs the social benefit flat occupied by that family, it may have a significant effect on the (micro-)relationships around the children. If a family moves to another school district, often due to regulations governing support and immigration, in most cases, the children will have to transfer to a new school.

Beyond words

To grasp the pupils' cultural knowledge regarding inclusion, how inclusion appears as a factor in their constructions and presentations of themselves, their choices and strategies in everyday matters, I needed to obtain information about knowledge that they might be unaware that they possessed and thus could not speak about. Furthermore, some of the topics were potentially sensitive. How would I bring up potentially sensitive themes in conversations without the risk of causing worries or producing issues that were non-existent? As Pugh has commented, it has been a success factor to keep in mind children's desire to be successful

children, not successful adults (Pugh, 2009, p. 81). This is also important to bear in mind when interviewing parents or teachers, who are prone to consider what is best for children from a longer perspective.

Working to find and describe tacit knowledge became a cornerstone in my methodological approach. Ways of including and excluding others were done by looking or not looking and with movements and gestures, probably more or less conscious. Sometimes, actions of inclusion or exclusion – turning somebody away – were done so quickly that the actors would not have had the chance to calculate and plan their actions or expressions towards one another. For example, Zelda in the trombone class (see Chapter 8) would suddenly rise from her chair, leave her trombone and walk to the back of the room where she would hide behind a curtain – before the teacher or anyone else had the time to react. She excluded herself physically and mentally all of a sudden. She might have pondered this action before carrying it out. It might also be just an impulsive act of freeing herself from a painful situation. When asked directly in an interview, as I will show, she admitted that there was a reason. She could have planned her move, calculated from this reason. When interpreting her situation, I find it even more likely that her reasoning was based on her explicit insight gained from reflecting back on her behaviour, more than calculated beforehand.

I argue that the children possessed and used both kinds of tacit knowledge, as described by Polanyi (1966/2009). The first is bodily knowledge that can never be put into words, such as when playing the trombone or applying muscular coordination when getting up from the chair. The second is knowledge that can be transferred from a tacit domain to a reflective domain, such as the reason behind a move or how to exclude oneself from an unpleasant situation, as might have occurred in Zelda's case. I also believe that the children knew more than they expressed when asked in interviews or engaged in small talk. As mentioned, this was sometimes a matter of saying what they thought I wanted to hear in order to please me or someone else. At other times, I sensed that they were unaware of their own knowledge regarding exclusion and inclusion.

Inclusion and exclusion involve power. Gunnar Magnus Eidsvåg and Yngve Rosell (2021) argue that children exercise power without necessarily being aware of it. While Eidsvåg and Rosell interviewed children and asked them specifically about power, I did not do so. I agree that power may also be exercised based on tacit or implicit knowledge, and I was afraid of risking putting my words and expressions into the children's minds or mouths. This was with respect to keeping the levels of analyses distinct regarding the quality of the

data, and not least, I did not wish to put ideas into their minds that were in any way premature and might lead to worries or misuse.

Belonging, memories, categorisation and hierarchisation are part of bodily structures as habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) and as collective knowledge in societies (Connerton, 1989). Emotions are part of this and often physically expressed. Bodily motions and expressions have thus gained status as data. Movements may also be regarded as part of a discursive practice (Bergman & Lindgren, 2014a). Knowledge that is bodily innate and/or non-reflective and beyond words certainly necessitates research methods that surpass language.

USING ALL SENSES IN DATA PRODUCTION

Lengthy fieldworks are necessary when the goal is to get to know other people. Getting to know somebody, including gaining access to discourses and small talk, implies forming relationships with informants, not only as a researcher but as a person. Using oneself and private experiences involving family members as an instrument of data production is a familiar approach in anthropological work (see for ex. Fürst, 2014; Rosaldo, 1993).

The anthropological goal of exploring the natives' points of view may seem ambitious and perhaps, somewhat patronising. A researcher can try to perceive things from other people's perspectives but not enter into their heads and feel their emotions. Methodologically, it may seem that the anthropological goal goes further than attempting to observe matters from other people's perspectives. I argue that this *further* is the understanding that Geertz refers to when rhetorically asking, "What is understanding without feeling?" (Geertz, 1983, p. xx). Using oneself as a tool, both intellectually and emotionally, is part of the anthropological method. Renato Rosaldo (1993) says that it took 14 years before he was able to really grasp what the Ilongots of the Northern Philippines had told him about their headhunting practice. It was not until after he himself had experienced the death of his wife during their fieldwork together in the same Ilongot community that he was able to understand the connections between loss, sorrow and anger and the force of their emotions (Rosaldo, 1993). I can relate to Rosaldo's bringing his own personal emotions and private experiences into his interpretations of the Ilongot culture. The experience of being *different* in a dubious way and having less status is something I have learned from observations of and participation with my son who has disabilities. Similar to anthropologist Elisabeth L'orange Fürst's (2014) experience after spending some time in observing and taking care of her seriously ill husband, my experience was that the longitudinal close-up observation of a familiar person, categorised

as crucially *different*, offered certain insights that were useful as points of reference regarding inclusion set up against diversity. My experiences from being close to my not-so-normal son in school settings is part of the background frames for my understandings of inclusion from a pupil's point of view. My own feelings became part of my methodological toolkit, as it did in Rosaldo's case. Unni Wikan (1992, p. 463)[15] proposed the term "feeling-thoughts" as an empathic entry to understanding the people with whom she was working. It may be that studying topics such as children's sense of belonging necessitates "feeling-thoughts" on the part of the researcher.

I believe that trying to comprehend glimpses of another person's lifeworld can be approached with a broader use of one's own senses. The participation part of my research methods implies feeling the weight of carrying musical instruments up to the fourth floor, smelling the food from the neighbouring café on my way to Q school, as well as feeling the fear and worry of the peers wanting to play a musical piece that is just a little too difficult. Regarding the teachers, empathising with their feelings became part of my research methods. How could they bring their pupils to the necessary level of understanding? Not the least were their worries regarding the vulnerable children in their care, such as what might happen to a seven-year-old girl – for whom they had started to provide a little extra care because of the sore tenderness she seemed to carry – when she suddenly disappeared, and they learned that she was transferred to the care of distant relatives in an area of the world known for brutal circumcision of young girls.

With the goal of separating my own subjective and sense-based experiences from my data generation, I started out by keeping two field diaries. However, after only a few weeks, I found that information from my feelings was closely knit with observational data and thus decided to keep them both in the same notebook.

4.3 ANALYTICAL APPROACHES AND ROUND TRIPS

When doing participant observation as anthropological fieldwork, part of the analysis takes place during the fieldwork, sometimes appearing as round trips between fieldwork, analysis and methodological reconstructions (Wadel, 1991/2014). A researcher's ideas are also part of

[15] The expression is, according to Wikan (1992) a translation of a Balinese expression and sentiment, first described by Wikan in 1990 (as cited in 1992, p. 463)

one's method. Pamela Burnard views habitus as a way of examining data, a way that to her renders practical knowledge as having its own logic (Burnard, 2012, pp. 38-39).

Reading through my fieldnotes, I used a set of coloured markers to indicate different themes in the texts. Such analysis is inspired by thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) as a method of identifying and analysing patterns (themes) within data, which led to insights that I did not have before the writing process. Knowledge is created in the writing itself, a phenomenon that has also been commented on by Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley (2008, p. 15). This again affected my experience and observations on my return to the field. Thus, new analysis was made possible with my return to the field after beginning to write. This combination of inductive and deductive methods of inquiry, forming an "abductive" method (Fangen, 2010, p. 38)[16], occurs as observations lead to modifying the research questions while still in the process of producing data (Fangen, 2010, p. 38). Moreover, memories of incidents – that I had not taken time to write down because I did not consider them valuable as data – suddenly gained new status in my new understanding after having begun to write.

This round trip may be especially prevalent when doing fieldwork in one's home country. Issues related to doing fieldwork in one's own backyard have been in focus as anthropology has gradually shifted from studying the inhabitants in distant colonies and other far-away places to focusing on urban and western societies, as well as on one's own culture (Howell, 2001). One of the many issues that followed from this shift in perspective was the dilemma of switching between insider and outsider perspectives (see for ex. Gullestad, 1992; Howell, 2001; Wadel, 1991/2014) and "partly becom[ing] an outsider through anthropological training" (Gullestad, 1992, p. 30). This alternation between empathic understanding, developed partly by using my own experiences, and applying an outsider's neutral approach of observing, without taking for granted a certain interpretation of meaning, has been a constant reflexive practice of rehearsing.

Trying to take small children's perspectives added a dimension to this round trip. I had an extra layer of prejudices, perhaps also stemming from my maternal instincts and had to find ways to view things as the children perceived them and to arrest my preconceptions repeatedly. Nonetheless, researchers might still end up with seeing only glimpses of the

[16] Fangen (2010) credits Charles Sanders Peirce (1973) for the term *abductive*, referring also to uses in social sciences by for example Habermas (1978:44, as cited in Fangen 2010, p. 38).

children's or any informant's worlds at best and have to realise, as accurately described by Tor Halfdan Aase and Erik Fossåsskaret (2014, p. 41), that they actually may do "participant construction" more than participant observation. I often chose not to ask too many direct questions regarding topics of interest since I perceived that many children placed their answers and explanations close to what they thought I expected. In any case, what I describe as children's perspectives are of course *my* perceptions of their perspectives.

By returning to Q school after a year, I not only witnessed development and many of the same informants having grown and matured. I also noticed different things due to my rounds of analysis and new understandings. It was of great value to be able to test some of my observations and understandings on some of the teachers.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

According to Foucault, the meeting point between being and representation is language: "[What] classical thought reveals is the power of discourse. In other words, language in so far as it represents – language that names patterns, combines, and connects and disconnects things and makes them visible in the transparency of words" (Foucault, 1989, pp. 310-311). Discourses are connected to socially constructed categories. Conducting an inter-subjective study, I have applied both phenomenological and constructivist approaches in my analysis. I have conducted a form of discourse analysis that aims to find how phenomena are spoken about (Hitching et al., 2011) as part of my interpretations, seeking to connect ways of presentation with power and agency.

Discourses regarding 'which differences make a difference' (inspired by Bateson, 1972, p. 453) are also trackable in how institutions and communities are organised and thus define categories. For example, the welfare state and its school system, to a certain degree, are based on sorting children/students and thus produce discourses regarding who belongs to whom, who is required and entitled to learn what, as well as appropriate behaviour for individuals, according to their category as children classified by sex or class or with a particular disability.[17] As pointed out by Judith Butler (Butler, 2020; Svendsen, 2020), discourses of this kind create safe frames for living for some people but impossible situations of not fitting in for others. Discourses produces the effects that it names (Butler [1993] as

[17] See also Øyvind I. M. Snipstad (2019) for his interesting research on how schools contribute to creating or making up pupils with intellectual disabilities.

cited in Ahmed, 2012, p. 116). Understood in a broad sense, discourse analysis may also include what is *not* spoken about. One may ask, as Michelle Fine (1991) does, what is obscured by a certain portrayal – that is, of certain groups of people or certain pupils as having particular abilities or disabilities? Which questions are silenced? Who are rendered visible or invisible?

A discourse can also be interpreted in a broader sense, meaning how people "make use of culture and the environment, technology as well as art" (Frykman & Gilje, 2009, p. 12). Viewed this widely, discourse analysis is the chief analytical approach of my thesis. I have tried to find how meaning is shaped and in relation to which contextual key factors. I have also included educational reports, government papers and newspaper articles as part of the discourses.

I formulated methodological questions for my data generation, such as the following: What is at stake and why, from these pupils' points of view when they enter the school? In what ways are their values and their creations of meaning related to and embedded in their music education and the orchestra project? These questions helped me direct my focus during my observations. In working to find answers to these questions, it was necessary to correlate my observations of interactions with comments and small talk, as well as with information from key persons around the pupils, especially teachers and parents.

4.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The main method for data generation has been ethnographic fieldwork over a period of roughly two years. Being part of a school environment for a timespan such as this has demanded close cooperation with the school leaders, as well as with the teachers. The study has been reported to and approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (*Norsk senter for forskningsdata [NSD]*). As noted by other ethnographic scholars (Fangen, 2010; Øye & Bjelland, 2012; Smette, 2019), it is almost impossible to foresee what comes up in informal situations and conversations when compared with the questions produced and answers collected in prescheduled formal interviews or questionnaires. Consequently, although the interviews were planned and the information was disseminated according to the regulations, it seemed as if some of the most real ethical questions emerged and had to be resolved instantly while in the situation. In this section, I delve into some of the ethical dilemmas connected to conducting research in school and the choice of strategies for addressing them.

Information about the research was provided to the whole school via the headmaster and the class teachers. Based on the NSD advice and requirements, as well as pointed out by the headmaster, involving the teachers in disseminating the information would contribute to its being understood. Written information was also distributed, together with obtaining the required written consent for being part of the study and for interviews. Written confirmation of consent from parents is a request regarding contributors less than 15 years old. I obtained written consent from parents, as well as from children aged 9 years old and above for participation in recorded interviews. I chose to formally acknowledge the children's capacity to decide in matters involving themselves, such as participation in a recorded interview. It is necessary to be aware of children as a particularly sensitive group in order to maintain a relationship with them, as well as to secure their protection (Rysst, 2008). I found that this sensitivity included carefully seeking their own wishes and empowering them in self-determination. Obtaining their written consent was also a good opportunity to individually give them information about the study prior to the interview, give them chances to ask questions and ensure that as much information as possible was understood. I spent time in talking with all of the children about the project and their choice to be part of it or not. The first time that I was present in a class, the teachers often started their lesson by asking the children if they knew who I was. They rarely remembered (or had been told by their parents), and it was a good way to be able to talk a little about doing research and what I was looking for.

Dilemmas

Over time, spending part of a school day involves situations and dialogues that cannot be foreseen and therefore not always reportable to be decided on and either accepted or rejected by a national body a year before they occur (For other researchers on this topic, see for example Øverlien, 2013; Smette, 2019). It is necessary for a researcher to put one's ethical concepts into practice as a moral human being on a daily basis (NESH, 2021). In particular, when doing research with children who might have experienced traumas, one must develop a sense of some themes that are inappropriate to bring up in conversation to avoid risking re-traumatisation (Øverlien, 2013). For children without traumas from war, themes related to inclusion and exclusion may also be highly sensitive, and just asking about these can create or increase a problem. Asking can be labelling and thus create exclusion in itself, as pointed out by Ane Qvortrup and Lars Qvortrup (2015, p. 40). I chose to base more of my data generation

on observations and to only conduct interviews after I had been in the field for almost a year. This provided me with a better understanding of who I could interview alone and what topics I could bring up without inflicting harm. Not the least, I felt more secure that the children felt that I knew them a little and relaxed around me, which would make it easier for them to speak out if they did not wish to talk about certain topics or wanted to withdraw from the interview. One of the requirements of the NSD is that researchers should inform participants about their right to withdraw their consent to participate in the study, even after it has started. Only once did I experience this withdrawal from a pupil. A girl in seventh grade had agreed to be interviewed, but when she showed up at the agreed time and place, she looked a bit scared and asked if it was really necessary. I said that of course, it was all right to withdraw and that we could drop this whole interview; so we did.

Considering research data as something produced or generated, rather than collected, includes a necessary critical perspective on the researcher's role in the data-generating process. In the last instance, it is inseparable from the researcher, in this case, my own modes of perceiving and being. I have chosen to remain a visible figure in the analytical choices as well as in the writing up to reveal this. "Where scientific pathfinding joins with the art of inquiry, as in the practice of anthropology, to grow into knowledge of the world is at the same time to grow into knowledge of one's own self" (Ingold, 2018, p. 71). Not the least is one confronted with some of one's ardent prejudices and preconceptions. According to Gadamer (Schaanning, 2012), learning about oneself that is part of learning about the other partly comprises the movement of prejudices from the tacit to the explicit area of one's own consciousness.

For a researcher, the choice to interfere, help and take an active role around children presents another dilemma. How can a researcher ensure that one is in fact not altering the field, producing data that would not have been there without the researcher? Regarding questions such as this, posed by good critical colleagues, as well as by myself, I have responded that just being present as an observer also alters the site. *Not* interfering when a child needs help or asks for it is also an action. My choice of my presence as a *participant* observer is genuinely the anthropological method and seems to have been chosen by other school researchers (see f ex Pugh, 2009; Rysst, 2008; Smette, 2015).

The researcher is a powerful person in terms of being the narrator and in control of the *story*. Additionally, power is inherent in being white, middle class, and not the least, an adult in a school with many children from immigrant, low-income families. The researcher's power

may be aligned with Bourdieu's cultural capital, as suggested by Ylva Hofvander Trulsson and Pamela Burnard (2016), who argue for the necessity of a good self-understanding in order to address this uneven power structure between the researcher and the informant. Moreover, when selecting expressions, perspectives and questions in deprived settings – socially, economically or in other respects – it is necessary to always keep in mind that being a child is always an "intersecting factor" (Boddy, 2013, p. 74).

The local community and the field of research are identified as Q school. As an anthropologist, I would have been inclined to include more data from local citizens' meetings, as well as from small talk with shop keepers and librarians in Q neighbourhood. However, as I did not ask for their consents, I did not consider these data until I was on one of the analytical round trips during writing up, and it was too late to ask; I omitted this due to regulations governing privacy rights. The more problematic issue was the experience of some children who pleaded with me to be part of the research, but I did not manage to contact their parents for the latter's consent. One boy did not return a signed permission form from his parents but expressed a strong wish to participate in the research. This case may be due to the boy's father not taking the time to read the information and sign the form. The NSD and the The National committee for research ethics in the social sciences and the humanities (*Den nasjonale forskningsetiske komité for samfunnsvitenskap og humaniora [NESH])* guidelines prohibit any activity that can be experienced in any way as pressure towards participation. After the second slip that was sent home was not returned, I did not proceed with the plan for his participation. I do not know the reason for the lack of written consent from his parents and had to overrule the boy's own wish to participate.

Some scholars notice that in regulations governing research, ethical codes tends to be formulated with natural sciences in mind and do not really fit qualitative ethnographic work (Øye & Bjelland, 2012; Øye et al., 2007). After the implementation of the new General Data Protection Rules (GDPR) from the European Union (EU) in 2018, this tendency has become even more pronounced (Lundh, 2020; Rysst, 2020b; Smette, 2019).

CHILDREN IN RESEARCH

A larger number of children wished to participate in the research and to stand out and have their opinions heard than those who wanted to withdraw from the interview. Many disagreed about their anonymity. This has also been expressed by other scholars reflecting on research with children (Boddy, 2013; Broch, 2013; Øverlien, 2013). I once overheard this comment in

a conversation between two 5th-grade girls who had agreed to be interviewed together: "Maybe we will get our names and picture in the book she is writing." One of Øverlien's young informants exclaimed in the beginning of an interview, "I feel a little bit like the prime minister now" *("Jeg føler meg litt som statsministeren, jeg nå")* (Øverlien, 2013, pp. 39, my translation). Even if someone neither needs exposure nor feels like a prime minister, it may feel frustrating to participate in a project and share important information but not be credited for this.

It was necessary to provide extra protection regarding the research participants' vulnerable situation at a young age (NESH, 2021). I also found it necessary to regulate the researcher's role accordingly. For example, it is not always ethically sound to remain a neutral, non-acting outside observer when a child is crying in the schoolyard.

The need for children's perspectives and knowledge in shaping politics governing children's lives has been pointed out (NESH, 2021; Øverlien, 2013). Furthermore, children's perspectives on friendships and social relations in school might be particularly important to access, as these constitute one of the areas that children manage themselves, more independently than grown-ups' definitions of the children's needs (Ridge & Millar, 2000). It follows that children's need for extra protection should be taken into account, along with their right to be heard and with researchers and policy makers need for their information, in order to facilitate supportive environments for growing up.

Doing research in school

Without trust and understanding from the headmaster and the school leadership, it is difficult to carry out good qualitative research in school. The headmaster is a figure that teachers, parents and children observe closely, and his approval or disapproval is noticed well. I was allowed to visit all classes and groups. Some of the music teachers expressed feeling nervous about being watched in the beginning. Providing them with more information about the research and the opportunity to ask questions helped – together with my assurance that it was not an evaluation, and my research was not conducted on behalf of any entity or anyone, such as a funding body or authorities. I was cautious about my relationship with Anne, the leader of the music program. I sent parts of my almost finished writings to the music teachers for them to read, but I am not sure if any of them took the time to actually read through the texts. I did not receive any comments on written material. However, I received feedback and

opinions when I shared any of the teachers' dilemmas regarding how to interpret some pupils' actions. These were fruitful discussions that made me confident that I was on track[18].

It was inevitable that the pupils regarded me as one of the employees connected to the school, and at times, they related to me as one of the teachers/assistants. I also got involved when needed for simple practical issues with clothes and equipment. I found this to be part of my role as a grown-up that I established and made sense to the children (Smette, 2015). This role as a grown-up and thus a potential helper, when needed, was particularly noticeable outside during breaks and playtime. The younger children would try to involve me if they needed a grown-up for help. Sometimes, the children wished to tell me about their issues and experiences of being left out in play or not having enough friends, a real friend or enough people to invite for their birthdays. I took these confidences and worries as significant and revealing how much friendship and their sense of belonging meant to the children in school. These issues were perhaps more prominent and at stake during playtime in the schoolyard than what might be the case or not so easy to observe during class. Nevertheless, I had to deal with these issues as more than data. These were also children who approached me as an adult, not a researcher. I developed the strategy of reflecting together with the children if they came to me with complaints about social matters. This strategy was approved by experienced teachers and the headmaster. If in doubt whether the issue brought up was connected to bullying or other persisting themes, I told the teacher or the headmaster about the incident. I imposed on myself a low threshold for involving the school staff in any case of witnessing or overhearing a conflict or if I was approached by children who in any way might have needed the school employees' attention.

EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL ANONYMISATION

The children, their parents, as well as many of the teachers expressed disagreement about the rules of external anonymisation. The teachers were proud of their school and of the children's musical achievements. One of the parents sighed after my group interview during the PWC meeting, saying, "It should only have been a journalist whom we talked to!" It can be difficult for both adults and children to have an overview of all implications of being recognised in research literature, even if it is written for academic purposes.

[18] Dilemmas brought up with teachers did not include children whom I did not have consent to include in the research, or cover issues that were confidential

External anonymity is handled by removing references that are explicitly connected to the school or the area. Norway and Oslo are generally small-scale societies, and some of the descriptions may make the school trackable. Some of the leading figures and others who might be recognised have been informed and have given their explicit consent to still be part of the research. Otherwise, their information would not have been part of the data for this thesis.

This also concerns, not the least, internal anonymity. In writing this thesis, I realised that "back road identification" (*bakveisidentifisering*) (NESH, 2021, p. 21, my translation) might appear regarding some key informants. The circumstances surrounding the descriptions may reveal identities even if anonymised. I therefore returned while in the process of writing up to some of the informants to obtain their permission regarding this possibility. Group and classroom affiliations are changed in this thesis. In some cases, a musical instrument is also altered. Some of the leading figures, brokers or gatekeepers among the pupils are anonymised with extra care, sometimes by representing one person as several individuals. However, sexes are generally maintained, and ages and class affiliations in school are altered only slightly. The teachers are also given pseudonyms and fictive musical instruments, where possible, related to the context. The timespan represented by my prolonged time for writing this thesis, as well as the mentioned mobility of the children's families (see in particular Chapter 6), aided in the efforts to provide internal anonymity.

5 INTRODUCTIONS TO MUSIC

In this chapter, I start by showing two different and typical approaches to music in ordinary classes, before delving more deeply into ethnography from the lessons that were part of the music programme established in cooperation with the Arts school. I investigate the meaning of musical style for the pupils and link this to the question of what engages the pupils regarding their music education.

Musical style refers to music as an object (Bohlman, 1999). Music also represents and is represented by transitions (Bohlman, 2005) – in the first examples presented in this chapter, the transition to beginning a new school day together in class. Music is an activity, whether listening, singing, or playing an instrument. As an activity, music is shared and situated. As mentioned, I have chosen to use the term *musicking* to describe this activity, partly inspired by Small (1998).

This chapter ends with the section where I present some of the incentives of the leaders behind the launch of the music programme and those currently involved in it. This also serves as a link to the following chapter on diversity.

5.1 STARTING WITH MUSIC IN THIRD GRADE

TWO MUSICAL CLIMATES

Some of the school teachers in the lower grades introduced music in the mornings. By referring to their own listening and experiences with music and by inviting the pupils to join a musical activity, the teachers in the following examples connected with their pupils individually and as a group, using music in quite different ways.

In one of the third-grade classes, Julie, the main teacher, played music on the stereo one morning as the children arrived. Many of the pupils entered the classroom with puzzled expressions on their faces, looking above them and over to the loudspeaker. The soft tones of jazz sounded as if floating from a loudspeaker by Julie's desk near the door:

> Julie is standing at the doorway, saying in a whisper to each pupil entering, "Good morning! Just find your place, sit down and be quiet. Listen to the music; we are going to talk about it afterwards." All of the children follow her directions, each walking silently to one's regular place in a group of 3–4 children around a table. When the

door is closed and all of the children are seated, Julie just stands by her desk and lets the tune play until it is finished, then stops the player and asks the class:

Julie: “Anyone knows who this is?”

[Silence]

Yasmin: “My father plays the guitar.”

Julie is not so consistent about demanding that the children raise their hands before talking; she lets it go and askes everybody:

Julie: “Was there a guitar in this piece of music?”

Several pupils answer “yes”; some nod.

Julie asks again, “Was there? Let’s hear it.”

She puts on the same tune. “Is there a guitar here?”

Some still insist that there is.

Julie: “No, there isn’t. What do you hear?”

Hani: “A woman singing!”

Julie: “Yes. Her name is Ella. What more do you hear?”

[Silence]

Julie: “Listen carefully.”

Mohammed: “Cornetto!”

Julie: “It’s actually a trumpet, but you’re right. Very good, Mohammed – are you playing the cornetto in the music lessons?”

Mohammed: “No, but Orhan is, and it’s my turn soon.”

Julie goes on talking to the children about Louis Armstrong and Ella Fitzgerald, whose music she has just played to them. They talk about listening to music, and Julie tells her class about a concert experience from her private life, when she went to hear one of her favourite artists, Paul McCartney, perform in a big concert arena outside Oslo. She tells the children how she experienced goosebumps as he entered the stage, showing her bare left arm and pricking it with the crooked fingers of her right hand to illustrate the feeling of goosebumps.

"What do you feel inside when you hear music?", she asks the class.

Suddenly, loud recorded music streams through the thin walls from the neighbouring room, followed by the children in the parallel third grade singing in loud voices:

"Hallo – hallo.
Hvordan har du det?
Bare bra.
Hei på deg!
Hei-på-deg, Ludvigsen."
(Well-known Norwegian children's song, translated in English as "Hello – hello. How are you today? I am fine. Hello, Ludvigsen.")[19]

The sound from next door seemed to me as somewhat of a contrast to what was happening in the classroom where I was present. The musical styles and the modes of production were different in the two classrooms. The activities involved were different, but in both rooms, there was musical activity. Notably, in both classes, the children learned – by practice – the uses of music in their lives and how it could be part of their daily routines, as well as special events. Julie introduced active listening to her class, first by saying that they would talk about it afterwards – implying that to be able to take part in the conversation, it would be necessary to listen first. Later, she asked her pupils to listen for certain instruments. They responded with reference to their families. This may be regarded as a typical "me-too-statement" (Knudsen, 2021, p. 7) from children, expressing their wish for attention and at the same time, their desire to enter into the current positive vibes. However, associations with events in one's personal life are apparent when listening to music, not only among children.

[19] A familiar song to many Norwegian families, created and performed by the well-known duo, *Knudsen & Ludvigsen.*

Next, Julie introduced emotions connected to music, first by reference to herself getting goosebumps, and then asking what the children "felt inside" when they listened to music.

Music appears as an object, consisting of different parts and sounds that can be traced, and with power or affordance (DeNora, 2000) to evoke emotions. Moreover, these emotions elicited by music and in Julie's story above, also by the expectancy for music, are within us as human beings.

The other third-grade teacher, Safia, often started the day by singing with her class, mostly accompanied by a recorded children's tune. I saw her encourage the children to sing loudly to be heard. She told me her feeling that it was important for everyone to gain the physical experience of participating and using their voices properly, not just mumbling when singing together.

The examples illustrated one way in which teachers' personal styles and tastes not only comprised learning styles but also part of the content of education, including learning to listen to music, musical meaning and awareness of feelings. Music represented transitions in both cases, here, the start of a school day. Music was meant for participation by singing as a communal activity or by listening as more of a solitary activity, but done together, and sharing their listening together afterwards. The teacher sharing her own private experiences also had an aspect of building relationships with her pupils, letting them in on her private memories and thus inspiring them to share their experiences as well. The examples showed that the children had already learned many ways in which music could be part of their lives, either as listeners or by singing with their ordinary class teachers.

Introduction to the music programme: The carousel

The music programme started when the children were in second or in third grade this particular year. There were three parallel classes in third grade this year: A, B and C. The division of pupils into music groups intersected with the ordinary classes so that each music group consisted of children from all three classes. The teachers said that this was purposely done for the children to get to know one another better across the classes. The music groups comprised 6–8 pupils each and were named after colours. All third-grade pupils gathered in the large music room on the third floor before their music lessons started. When it was not used for percussion teaching or concerts, the music room was a cleared open space without

chairs but with low benches along the sides. The pupils arrived in the music room from their classrooms wearing socks, having left their wet boots behind. This made it easier to sit on the floor as they all had to do, before being summoned to their groups.

The children's class teachers followed them and waited with them until they had all been designated to a music group and had gone off with their instrument teacher.

As described in Chapter 2, the carousel is a model used to organise the children's first year in the music programme. The carousel takes four weeks, including a house concert with each instrument. By the end of the year, the children have had a month of presentation and experience with the instruments (violin, cello, percussion/snare drum, cornetto, tenor horn, flute and clarinet). By the end of the year in second grade/third grade, the children choose which instrument to continue playing for the coming years. In addition to the instruments, the carousel includes a month of Music Mind Games, a Suzuki-music method to learn rhythmic patterns. The trombone and the viola were added as choices for older children.

The music teachers had different strategies for starting the lessons. Some asked the children to line up in the hall outside the instrument room and insisted on a handshake, including eye contact with everyone. Not all of the children in second and third grade managed this, and a few ran into the room without taking the teacher's stretched-out hand. However, most of the children seemed to like this individual micro-meeting with the music teachers. Some of the teachers made a point of rehearsing to pronounce all of the children's names correctly and remember them, whereas others had to ask repeatedly throughout the year.

Most teachers had placed the correct number of chairs in a half-circle facing the teacher. In the groups where there was free seating in the half-circle, the children often fought a little over the chairs, seemingly connected to preferences for sitting next to a particular boy or girl. This was more prevalent in some groups than others. The blue group had four girls from two different classes. Idunn, Hilde and Solveig were white Norwegians, and Amber was of African origin. The three white Norwegian girls rushed in from the hall and flocked together, taking three seats. Amber at first fooled around by the doorway, seemingly unable to take the teacher's hand and say her name but answered, "My name is poo." The three boys in this group were also from two different classes. Sahand and Milan were in Julie's class, whereas Ibrahim was in Safia's class. Sahand seemed anxious to connect with Ibrahim during the music and kept a chair for him with his hand, next to himself. Ibrahim was not a boy who

others tried to sit beside them in general. He seemed a bit ignorant at first about Sahand's interest but later warmed up considerably, as I will show in Chapter 9.

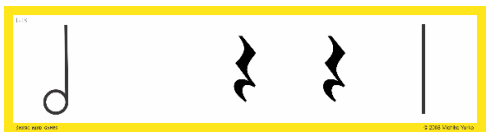
The situation with the girls in the blue group first appeared as the three white Norwegians excluding the immigrant. This might be the case, at least partly. After having followed the blue group for a few weeks, I noticed that the three white Norwegian girls sometimes formed a trio in the play breaks in the school yard. Solveig and Idunn were both in class A, while Hilde was in class B. Their fighting to sit together may be connected to this situation, with the three friends being separated in their ordinary classes and suddenly together in music. The correlation with Amber being left out of the competition to be close by the other girls might be an exclusion as a side effect of the unstable bonding among the three other girls.

Amber's presentation of herself as "poo" may be interpreted in several ways. The connection to the colour of her skin is one possible interpretation. I find this unlikely, as I had never heard derogatory expressions related to skin colour in Q school. In a small group interview, in which Amber participated, she referred to one of her teachers as poo. All her teachers were white Norwegians. Amber was often absent from the music lessons, for reasons connected to a difficult life situation of her family. Her absence enforced her marginalisation in the music group, as she did not keep up with the progress on the instruments and the ability to join in playing as much as the others. I find it likely that her derogatory naming of herself as poo was related to her frustrations over her difficult life situation and inability to keep pace with the skill development, perhaps without being able to detect the reason for her falling behind. The other three who were fighting to sit next to each other excluded Amber as a result, as she was not preferred by anyone in the group to sit next to, whereas the other three had an internal competition. The unfortunate combination of much absence and being the only 'leftover' girl versus the trio that competed to be the closest among themselves might have ruined the possibilities for Amber to attain better social conditions and to perceive music as a resource.

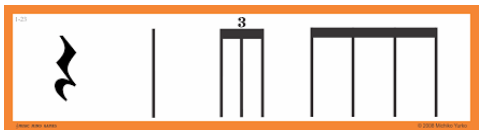
Introducing rhythm: Music Mind Games

Music Mind Games is part of the Suzuki method of teaching music, consisting of cards with different rhythmic patterns, given by notation and with corresponding designated words with the number of syllables connecting to the rhythm, as illustrated below:

blue jel-lo blue blue jel-lo



two-oo rest rest blue



rest blue pineapple jel-lo jel-lo

Figure 2: "Blue Jello Cards" from Music Mind Games (www.musicmindgames.com)[20]

The cards with different rhythmic patterns are held up by the teacher, and the children form rhythmic speaking choirs, saying the words out loud together.

In the blue group, expressing rhythm through syllables in words in Music Mind Games engaged in particular two of the girls, who created their own twist:

> When they came to "pineapple", Solveig suddenly said *ananas* (which is the Norwegian translation of pineapple and with the same number of even syllables). Quickly, Idunn suggested *dørhåndtak*.[21] The three white Norwegian girls in the group laughed. The boys and Amber looked at them. The teacher looked surprised, still holding on to the cards, but stopped and smiled. They continued, with the three Norwegian girls finding Norwegian words for the other rhythms, laughing among themselves.

This was another example of the three white Norwegian girls forming a separate "we" within the music group. By joining in the laughter, Hilde quickly associated with the two others, although she was not in fact part of the beginning of the game. She quickly caught it and eagerly joined in the suggestions of Norwegian words.

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[20] The cards are reproduced in this thesis with permission from Music Mind Games.
[21] In English, doorknob, but with the same syllables, it fitted the purpose of the game.

An urge to try

In their ordinary classes, I noticed how some of the children were constantly moving, how they did not walk across the room or collect a book or something without doing extra movements, such as skipping instead of walking, twisting their bodies or waving their arms while walking, or popping by a friend's place at a table along their route. I suspect that many teachers would recognise this as an ordinary situation. However, coming from outside the school environment, I was unprepared for the extent to which bodily movements seemed necessary to act out for some children. Observations of bodies in space could be fascinating. Bodies and musical instruments in school require teachers who are prepared for the physical energy and for children's urge to try, as musical instruments provide ample opportunities for physical experimentations. When the children were introduced to new instruments, I often noticed a look of fresh excitement on their faces. Connections between bodily energy, the inclination for physical exploration and different sounds afforded by musical instruments created a vibrant atmosphere. It seemed almost impossible for some not to try to make a sound with the brass mouthpiece once it was handed out or try the bow on the strings of the cello or the violin. The experienced teachers were prepared for this. Before handing out the mouthpieces, the baryton teacher would say, "When I say so, everybody can try. Before I say so, you must just hold the mouthpiece in your hand." Some children were more eager than others. Sahand in the blue group was one of these. "Please, please, may I try the bow?", he said as the first cello lesson was about to end. "Next time, I promise!", answered Arne, the cello teacher. The following week, Sahand reminded Arne first thing as they were lined up waiting to enter the cello studio: "Today, remember, we will try the bow!"

The urge to move and to try manifested itself both in their bodies, which appeared restless on their chairs, stretching their hands as high as they possibly could, and in their words, begging the teachers to let them try something. The body is essential in music, in production as well as in listening. Music played on instruments produces sound resulting from bodily movements. As referred in Chapter 3, the body "loosens music from its own autonomy" (Bohlman, 1999, p. 33), and as a consequence, music is "more than itself" (Bohlman, 2005, p. 205). In the concerts, bodily conduct may be regarded as ritualistic, a performance of musical skill, as well as of belonging.

The urge to try can also be perceived as a kind of curiosity. Being inquisitive is considered a fundamental aspect of dynamic formation (Bostad, 2017). Curiosity and

experiments may have open endings, and a certain risk may be attached. Risk is also part of an education focusing on open-ended formational aspects, as described by Biesta (2013).

Carousel concerts

Parents and class teachers were invited to carousel concerts held every fourth week. Some parents attended, but these concerts were held during the children's music lessons, coinciding with office hours, which meant that many parents were at work. The audiences were mostly fellow pupils, as the carousel groups took turns performing for one another. Excitement was noticeable when a new concert was coming up. Many children were anxious to perform with their new instruments for one another, and many talked about who would watch them. The music teachers also focused on the performers' correct behaviour during concerts – based on the classical symphony orchestra on stage – entering the room carrying their instruments in the manner that the pupils had learned, being quiet and attentive to the conductor and acknowledging the audience's applause after their performance. The instrument teacher of each group acted as the group's conductor at the carousel concerts. The younger children did not fuss about the behavioural aspect. On the contrary, they walked straight and calmly, with heads held high, seemingly in their excitement at being able to perform in front of their classmates, teachers and (sometimes) parents, leaving little room for any sabotage-like behaviour. Being alternately the audience together with their teachers may also be regarded as a way of learning how to behave accordingly as well as how to evaluate and incorporate cultural performances in their music learning toolkit.

5.2 CONTINUING MOTIVATIONS

An instrument of one´s own

Borrowing the same instrument assigned to each pupil in order to take home is a requirement for practising after school hours and a bonus at the same time. If a pupil practises, especially if one signs up for music classes after regular school hours, one can borrow an instrument on a steady basis, but it also requires a parent's signature. The parents are not expected to pay for any broken or lost instrument, but they must agree that any instrument would be brought home and they would help look after it. Many of the children were eager to take home an instrument for the first time. Some parents described this first day as a special occasion. One mother said that she would never forget the day her daughter came home from school with a

violin: “There was a feeling in the house of something really special that had happened.” I saw the proud faces myself when the children took home their instrument cases for the first time. They were carried like trophies, which symbolised being serious players, and as I will show, represented having parents who look after things.

FIRST, IT WAS FUN BECAUSE OF FRIENDS, LATER BECAUSE OF THE MUSIC

After the first year, the children could choose which instrument to continue playing. Roman in fourth grade chose the cornetto. His friend played it, which “was fun”, as he said in an interview:

> Roman: “And it *was* fun!”
>
> Lise: “Is it possible to say something more about what makes it fun?”
>
> Roman: “The songs we play. And the gifts, the rewards.”
>
> Roman: “But when Bilal (his best pal) changed his instrument, I thought it was going to be boring for me to continue with the cornetto, and it was in the beginning. But then, after a while, it became even more fun.”
>
> Lise: “Why did it become more fun?”
>
> Roman: “Because of the songs. And because you get to play more. And because you receive rewards.”

Roman was most of all anxious to play tunes that he mastered well. I argue that his shift from friend to song as his chief motivational factor is a sign of a musical awakening, a feeling of enjoyment in playing the tunes as he increasingly became able to do so.

Later in the conversation, he repeated the motivational circle, including friends, the music itself and rewards. Roman mentioned the rewards many times during the interview. In addition to small gifts, he talked about rewards in the form of receiving food or ice cream after a concert. In particular, it felt rewarding when the food was only for the musicians, as he remarked, “It is best when only those who have played can go and help themselves from the table, or at other times, from the fruit.”

As the conversation continued, it became clear that playing in concerts or in front of people in general was highly motivational, especially on the 17th of May. Roman kept referring to this when talking about the orchestra. When I asked him whether he thought the orchestra made the school environment better, he quickly replied, "Yes, because if it wasn't for the orchestra, we would not be marching with the band on the 17th of May."

Most of the children highlight playing together as important for their motivation. Betty, who also played the cornetto, was a good player and had strong support from home. When we discussed the future and playing music, she said that it was fun to play in the school orchestra (this was just at the start of a small orchestra, the "Elite orchestra" that I will explain further in Chapter 7). What Betty really hoped for was that many of her friends in Q school would rehearse more to be good enough for them to keep on playing together as they grew up and transferred from Q primary school to various secondary schools, so that music would be something that they were good at and could do together as part of their lives:

> "… I hope that everyone continues practising. And when we are in seventh grade, we are all quite good, and we can start in bands, and then, we can really start working with the instruments. This is what I hope is going to happen, and then, new ones can start, and it will be okay…. (After a while, she added): If you don't want to, you don't have to. You don't have to go to the orchestra."

To Betty, playing music and doing it with her friends were both important and connected. Not everyone liked music as much as she did, and she was aware of this. Her final comment hinted this as an issue among the children. I will return to this matter only slightly, as I did not see many children rejecting music; only some did. Regarding giving the rewards, this was part of a method that I will describe in Chapter 7.

AYA WITH THE DRUM SKIN

The urge to experiment with sound found other expressions among some older pupils. A case in point was when I was left alone with Aya, while Terje, the percussion teacher, was out of the room, following the other student (there were only two percussion players in sixth grade that year) to a meeting with his main teacher. This occurred in the beginning of my fieldwork. I later learned that Aya was an exceptionally strong and independent girl and tended to follow her teachers' instructions only if she wished so herself. I believe that my presence in the room might have hindered her from getting up and doing something different, such as walking over

to the window facing the schoolyard, and so on. Aya stayed seated but did not practise as Terje had told her to do.

> Terje had written a rhythmic pattern on the blackboard for Aya to practise while he was away. Aya did not even look at the blackboard. Probably marked by my presence, and as it was early in my work in the school, she hardly knew who I was other than from a presentation she might not have paid attention to. I was sitting quite still, wandering whether to say something. Aya, with the drum on her lap, threw a quick glance in my direction, and our eyes met. She then started to pull a finger slowly across the drum skin from one rim of the drum to another, making a quiet but significant sound in the silent room. She repeated the act, with the same sonic result. She then continued to make sounds this way, and after a while, also used the fingers on her other hand to form an upside-down funnel towards the skin of the drum, making the skin tighter and thus the tone lighter. Aya seemed to become engrossed in this activity, and we were both startled when Terje suddenly entered. He smiled at Aya and sat down on the chair next to her. Before he got around to ask what she had done or to say anything, Aya asked, "Terje, how is sound actually produced from the drum?"

Turning towards her drum in a solitary matter, not practising her task, but interacting with the drum and its affordances may be perceived as creating a space for herself and the drum, ignoring my presence as the unknown researcher and as part of the action. In Chapter 9, I will describe in more detail how to make room through removal activities (DeNora, 2015, p. 49) for individual wellbeing. Curiosity and questions obviously emerged from Aya's solitary experimentation with her musical instrument. Left alone, she was free to follow her impulses. Helping herself not to be bored or wishing to avoid being watched while rehearsing, she instead tried out something on her own with the instrument. The result led to more experimentation and the grounds not only for her wish to know but for more concrete questions. Sound and its production provided an opportunity for Aya to trigger her curiosity towards her physical environment – the instrument – and its affordances to her.

IMPLICATIONS OF MUSICAL STYLE

Musical style has been connected to a place as invoking belonging to a place (See for ex. Feld, 1990; Stokes, 1994). Moreover, musical style is linked to a subculture (Frith, 1983) and may also be associated with producing differences regarding the management of belonging (Knudsen, 2021). The minority youth in the suburbs use elements of different styles in combination, irrespective of geographical or other labels placed on the music (Knudsen, 2011; Vestel, 2004), although classical music rarely seems to be part of these mixtures. In the

Norwegian context, classical music connotes connections to middle-class culture, as classically framed by Bourdieu (1995), with a static kind of formation, being educated and, as being, as we would say in Norwegian, from a furnished home (*et møblert hjem*). As inspired by Pugh (2009), this implies that these young the middle-class youth do not form a musical culture of their own but follow the musical preferences of their parents' generation. As such, playing classical music is to a certain extent connected with being ambitious, perhaps being nerds or working hard to be "good girls" (*"flink pike"*) in the eyes of their parents, as opposed to preferring pop or rock music and identifying with the youth culture.

Anne often told her pupils that they would soon learn other kinds of tunes and more modern ones, as if ashamed of the children's tunes and other musically not so interesting stuff that she presented for them to play. However, it always struck me how the pupils did not really respond to this. When left to choose in the last five minutes of a lesson, someone was always quick to choose a well-known and often a little childish tune that was considered easy to play.

When I asked about musical preferences for listening at home, the younger kids' answers varied from not listening to music to listening to music from their "homelands". Older kids said that they listened to rap, rock and other popular street forms, and the majority did not really have any conception about styles. No one answered that they listened to classical music or children's songs in the style that they played during music lessons.

The children's preferences for tunes in their music groups seemed connected most of all to their ability and enjoyment in playing, related to their skills. Some complained that they had played the same tunes too many times; it was too easy and therefore boring. Others were anxious about being unable to follow their peers. The ability to play together with ease, not in a boring way but with enjoyment or *flow* (Csikszentmihalyi, 2000), generally seemed to be rated higher than the ability to play a tune in a style that they would think of as cool and perhaps listen to with their friends after school. Evidently, this was music for playing together, and other measures counted for evaluation. The music that one listens to and the music that one plays seemed to be two different types of music altogether. Moreover, different musical styles were connected to different places and different arenas in life.

Physical experiments with style and mastering

The following observation from a fifth-grade trombone class rehearsing for the 17th of May parade is an example of removal by playing to be a rock star. It is also a sign of an 11-year-old girl watching other styles of music at home.

> A group of three trombonists in fifth grade was practising some marches for the 17th of May celebrations. The three girls were sitting together on chairs at one end of the big room, with black plastic trombones, working with their teacher. Amal and Zarah were garbed in western clothes without hijabs, while Zelda was dressed in a long skirt and wore a hijab.
>
> During a break, Tom, the trombone teacher, was out on an errand, leaving the girls alone.[22] The three took a break from playing their trombones. While the instruments were left on the chairs, Amal and Zarah started chatting by the window. Zelda, by herself at the other end of the room, pretended to play the guitar. After a few seconds, she knelt down on the floor, with the 'air guitar' in her hands, as if on stage in front of an audience below her. She looked neither at the other two nor in my direction but continued her solitary and silent 'air play' until Tom returned. As they started back towards their instruments, I asked her if she was practising something she had seen on television. Zelda confirmed this only then, with a shy smile.

Playing air guitar is known to many of us as something kids do to show off. Zelda did not try to attract attention from anyone in the room. She appeared to interiorly hear the music she was "playing" and seemed to carry on with air performing for her own pleasure. As well as a possible case of a brief "removal" for personal wellbeing, following DeNora's concepts (DeNora, 2015, p. 56). Solitary listening to music has been suggested as representing a "fantasy ground", affording a space especially available to young people, in which to explore a range of emotions and internal states and identities (Larson (1995), cited in McNamee, 2000, p. 489).

In a group interview with these three girls a few weeks later, I asked them to explain what attracted them to playing music themselves. Amal and Zarah agreed that they liked Tom, the trombone teacher, who was really cool, and that playing on the 17th of May in the marching parade was great fun. Zelda, less verbally articulate than the other two, started answering by moving up her two hands from her stomach to her throat, her fingers fluttering

[22] I had not regularly observed this class and was just sitting in a corner. It seemed that the girls did not take notice of me. However, it might have been easier for Tom to leave them alone because he knew I was in the room with them.

upwards in front of her chest, as if searching for the correct expression of her emotions in Norwegian, and then said: "It makes us happy" (*"Vi blir glade av det"*). Their answers correlated with my observations that Zelda was more into music and playing and the personal enjoyment she experienced from these, whereas the other two girls were more preoccupied with the social settings. Zarah had just started in Q school, and she and Amal seemed to find their tone together, socialising with the music group. Zelda confirmed the impression she gave of being an independent girl, seeking her own wellbeing, which she had bodily experienced as a possibility to be gained from playing music.

5.3 LEADERS' SUPPORT AND ASPIRATIONS

The deputy headmaster of the school, Henrik, smilingly dropped a comment as I was passing by him one afternoon, "We, of course, have the best music teaching in the country, and this we must have!"

In an interview a few weeks later, when I had the chance to ask him more about the importance of having the best music education in the country, he focused on how music was especially important for some of the children with extra challenges:

> We see that it gives some of the troubled pupils a break. It gives them a space where they master, and where they have fun, and where things are functioning around them. We see that this is so important.

Similar to the headmaster Ola, Henrik was supportive of my work in the school. He said, "It is good that you do research, so that we get to learn what really works." As if research was always connected to evaluation and funding grants, he added, "If there are to be cuts, I really hope that the cuts come in the after-school programme (AKS), and not the music lessons during regular school hours, the school lessons."

Henrik was much aware of the costs on the budget of the Arts school, and especially now, he said, as the Arts school was no longer funded over the local school budget,[23] so he was worried that there would be cuts.

The headmaster who had started the project ten years earlier was retired at the time of my fieldwork in Q school. When I had the chance to meet up with him in the beginning of my

[23] Around the time of my fieldwork, the municipality reorganised the Arts school to be governed by the local Ministry of Culture instead of the local Ministry of Education.

research, he talked about the reason for taking the initiative to establish a music programme, from his perspective as the headmaster:

> "I saw the need for the environment to offer various activities for the young people. At the time, we were pressed by the focus, [required by] the educational authorities, on writing, reading and math. We already had very good teaching in these subjects. So, I thought that we must be able to get something going that can give them other stimuli."

He did not make a connection to any thoughts about the functions of music. Instead, he referred to his own background and childhood, when he played the trumpet in the school band, and talked about learning to play an instrument as something that everyone should have the chance to do. He said that he wanted music to be a contribution to those children who were interested:

> "I thought to myself, How are these kids ever going to have the chance to learn to play an instrument? Their parents would hardly have the resources to pay the Arts school, let alone find out about this Arts school system.

He talked as if it was an unquestioned value that children could and should be able to learn to play an instrument. Later in the conversation, he touched on the thought of extra-musical benefits as spill-over effects, related to parents' attitudes:

> "I saw the need for the children to learn something that they could show to their parents in a way that the parents would see the school as an environment where the children learned something they could stand up with and show… to their parents and to the local environment… so that we could achieve even better cooperation between the parents and the school."

The previous headmaster said that he had originally wished to establish an ordinary marching band. However, Anne, whom he had heard about and invited to be in charge of the music programme, had ambitions for the Q school kids and wanted to show the world that they could be best and even start an orchestra, not only a marching band.

The current headmaster was a visible figure in Q school and its neighbourhood. I saw him every morning in the schoolyard before the school day started, shaking parents' and pupils' hands and greeting them "good morning". I have not seen this welcoming gesture in any other Norwegian school, and I believe that it is not that usual. The first time I met him, he

presented himself to me as "Ola, usual name, unusual fellow." Ola came across as dedicated to focusing on the potential importance of music in Q school, as well as on the wellbeing of his pupils and their families. I saw him among the audience at citizens' meetings with local politicians, discussing housing conditions in the evenings, although he did not live in the area himself. In an informal interview in his office once, he told me how important he thought it was to teach the kids and their parents to stand up for themselves and dare to raise their voices:

> Many of these parents do not even dare to say something in the general meetings of their compound (*borettslag*). This is so important in this country, and I hope their experiences of playing together on stage can be a safe and important steppingstone for their children to gain experiences [so] that it is not so dangerous to be at the centre of people's attention.

His engagement and the benefits he recognised in the music project can be interpreted as representing the view that participation in music can encourage democratic participation. Following this perspective on music education, learning an instrument, and taking part in music performance is a means of developing self-esteem and agency.

Headmaster Ola was also present at many of the small house concerts, the carousel concerts that I will describe in the next chapter, and always at the larger concerts. On these occasions, he often said a few words about the topics on his mind, for example: "Now you have experienced sitting on stage and playing when everyone looks at you, and you see that you can do it. Remember this experience."

Ola also told me that he had initially wished to learn an instrument along with the students. He had started out on the clarinet but had to give it up due to lack of time.

The administrative director (CEO) of the Arts school at the time of my research was never present in Q school when I was there, but I managed to organise a short meeting with him in his office in the beginning of my research. The Arts school in Oslo is large, with decentralised localities for teaching. The cooperation with Q school as the model in Q was significant and the only one of its kind, according to the CEO. Although expensive, as he admitted, it was the most effective way to reach a segment of the minority youth population that was otherwise not included in this after-school arts education. His reflections are in line with the findings published in a report on the Arts schools (Berge et al., 2019), as well as with the experiences in Denmark (Holst, 2018), as described in Chapter 2. His reflections also correspond to the worries of the previous headmaster who had started the programme. The

immigrant families can hardly be expected to be able or willing to pay the tuition charged by the Arts school, let alone find out about the system.

> Anne held regular meetings with the headmaster of Q school, as well as with the headmaster and administration head of the Arts school where she was employed. Anne gave the impression that the music programme in Q school was really her "baby" and that she was preoccupied with her concern for much more than her work in Q school two days a week. She was always eager to talk to me about how things were developing, the challenges that had to be met, and the meetings she initiated with politicians and others to talk about the programme and find possible cooperation partners and funders. Anne's visions for starting the project were strongly connected to the extra-musical values of playing together. According to her, she was much inspired by the ideas of José Antonio Abreu, the founder of El Sistema in Venezuela. Central in Abreu's thoughts, as he himself also explained in a TED talk (Abreu, 2009) that Anne referred to, was the importance of self-confidence. Anne told me in a conversation: You may perhaps be poor when it comes to your standard of living, but you can still be rich in self-confidence. This is so important – to be rich in self-confidence.

To Anne, the importance of self-esteem is deeply connected to the ability to avoid the dangerous environments on the streets, related to criminal and violent gangs of older youth in the area at nighttime. She said:

> People don't understand that it is enough for an older cool guy to say "hello" and look at a little guy who lacks self-confidence [in order] to attract him to a bad environment.

Anne, as well as Abreu and El Sistema, operate with the notion that music has the potential to promote both personal and group development in a positive direction, as expressed in the signs she had posted on the walls (see Chapter 2). According to Anne, music is a pathway to self-esteem, as well as a tool to increase cross-cultural understanding.

I found it interesting that the four different leaders saw different potentials in music and had varying reasons for their support for and engagement in the programme. Nonetheless, all four arguments were tied to diversity and to the perceived vulnerability of the children in Q school, connected in one way or another to their culturally diverse backgrounds. I will refer to all four arguments in my investigation of the outcomes for the children in the following chapters.

ROUNDING UP THE CHAPTER

Musicking in Q school afforded possibilities to be creative, curious, productive, experimental and moving, all at the same time, whether solitary or with others. Music or sound production in different ways afforded space for brief private times that some pupils seized when the opportunity was there. Whether for themselves or with others, the children looked for opportunities for wellbeing and happiness. Playing music offered such opportunities to many of them, due to the combination of physicality and creativity, whether solitary or in cooperation. For this to be realised, it seems important to ensure that absence, due to appointments with health services and other movable extra-curricular activities, would not interfere regularly with music, such as in Amber's case. It is potentially damaging to slow down one's development in the practical skills learned and rehearsed in the weekly lessons, especially for vulnerable individuals to whom it may represent yet another arena on which to be marginalised, instead of a resource for greater inclusion.

The series of concerts appeared as a chief motivational factor for the pupils' experience of wellbeing connected to playing music. Playing together was rated above playing a certain musical style. Performing, whether in the 17th of May parade or in small house concerts, such as the regular carousel concerts, was highly esteemed, and the concert arenas were places to be seen and be acknowledged. The pupils focused on their ability to play together and to master playing instruments, as well as to be acknowledged for their mastery. Playing a well-known tune may be regarded as a way of creating an even safer space for some within the music. Moreover, their friends should master playing so as to continue in their group as musical playmates. This goal resulted in playing not too easy and not too difficult pieces, coming across as more important for their engagement in music than the musical style. There was rather a difference in the category between the music they played together in school and the music they listened to at home.

The incentives of the leaders, who in different ways were responsible for the music programme, displayed a collection of diverse positive outcomes to be expected from the programme. These ranged from the enjoyment of playing an instrument, which was taken for granted, to representing Q school as the best in something, making the parents proud and securing good cooperation between the pupils' families and the school. The expected outcomes also included the possibilities of leading to personal self-confidence in various ways, thereby being able to participate in democracy and make good choices for oneself.

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6 GROWING UP WITH DIVERSITY IN Q VILLAGE

In this chapter, I explore some significance of diversity for the families in Q neighbourhood and the children in Q school. Only partly overlapping the focus of public discourse on cultural diversity, diversity in Q neighbourhood signified cultural (including language and religion), socioeconomic, family-related (including family size and parents' abilities to cope in Norway) and personal (including health and abilities, learning skills and social skills) differences. These are all factors with implications for the children's lives and their strategies regarding inclusion. My purpose in this chapter is to provide an ethnographic description of everyday diversity in Q school. Moreover, this is intended to serve as a background for understanding the differences among the children and their strategies regarding inclusion, described in the subsequent chapters.

The children seemed to handle diversity in a manner that differed from how the adults around them did. The formative contextual conditions represented by the school and the parents are important for understanding the pupils' life worlds. However, in this thesis, my central objective is to explore the pupils' perspectives, inspired by Geertz' (1973, p. 14) quest for "actor-oriented research". Paraphrasing Geertz (1973, p.22) I have not studied Q school, but *in* Q school. How do the pupils in Q school relate to diversity? What is *the difference which makes a difference*[24] to the children, and how are differences related to musicking?

In the introduction, I have sketched how the concept of *multiculturalism* has been replaced by *cultural diversity* in much public discourse. Cultural diversity does not reify and subjectify culture to the same extent as multiculturalism has done. Moreover, the concept of diversity does not refer only to cultural diversity but includes sexual, functional, and age-related differences. The African musicologist Agawu (2003/2012, p. 120) asks, "Is difference real?", a rhetorical question that signifies a critical perspective on the power structures inherent in perceptions of differences among people. This also as classically framed by Said (1985/2003) who described how power structures are inherent in depicting others as very different, namely "the Orientals" that were portrayed as "the opposite" of Europeans (Said, 1985/2003, p. 39).

[24] Here again, I am inspired by Bateson's (1972, p. 453) perspective on dialogue.

The concept of *intersectionality* (Crenshaw, 1989), applied widely (e.g., Ahmed, (2012), reveals how different power relations within a perspective of diversity can meet in one person, generating interconnecting differences that may constitute a heightened degree of marginalisation.

Pihl (2009) has argued for a stronger recognition of the internal variety under the category *cultural minority background* in an Oslo school: "Some pupils had received education abroad, whereas others had not. Some pupils were born here of immigrant parents in Norway, while others had come to Norway as refugees" (Pihl, 2009, p. 121). The nuanced perspective called for by Pihl is addressed in the discussion in this chapter and in particular, by applying a perspective of superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) towards the end of the chapter. As I will show, employing a perspective of interconnecting a wide spectrum of differences is also important for understanding the sociocultural processes in Q school and what might tentatively be called a construction of a *Q-ish culture*.

6.1 FAMILIES IN Q: PRIDE AND WORRIES

"I want to play for my mum."

Playing for their parents was important for most of the children. To see their parents' proud faces and make them happy were among the chief reasons given when I asked the children what they liked about playing in concerts. As I entered the clarinet room one afternoon, three boys were already inside. A discussion was going on, and I quietly found a place near the door as usual, while I overheard the dialogue between Heddy (the clarinet teacher) and two of the pupils:

Nadim: Please, Heddy, I want to play for my mom.

Heddy: I know that, and she will be so pleased!

Nadim: My mom looks after our things.

Heddy: Yes, I know she does.

Adil: It's easy for him; he doesn't have siblings.

> Adil went on to say that not only did Nadim not have siblings, but his father had also moved out and left Nadim and his mother. Nadim shrank a little in the chair while this information was given.

Nadim had asked to take a clarinet home, but the teacher had contested that it was a little early for him. I was astonished by the boy's argument: "My mom looks after our things." Heddy had not referred to this as being an issue.

I had noticed this quiet shrinking reaction earlier in other situations when somebody's parents were mentioned in a derogatory way. For example, a pupil would talk about a schoolmate, disclosing that the latter's parents had split up, that the person lived only with his or her father or the father was constantly away on long trips abroad, or something else was implied to be out of order in the person's family. The children seemed aware of the fact that important aspects regarding their parents' identities and circumstances were connected to how situations and items were handled and that these mattered. *Who one's family is* signifies a social difference (Pugh, 2009). I argue that who a pupil's parents were and their ability to be good parents were sometimes fraught with meaning and put forward as an argument for dignity. I argue that Nadim's statement "My mom looks after our things", as well as references to other pupils' parents being divorced, are examples of parents being put forward to serve a function parallel to *scrip* (Pugh, 2009), as tokens of worthiness and part of an argumentation for being worthy of belonging.

PARENTS' WORRIES AND STRATEGIES RELATED TO THE MUSIC PROGRAMME

Nussbaum's (2006, 2011) capability approach implies a pluralistic cultural attitude towards basic human needs. Following this approach, one might argue that as much as children's wishes for their parents to be proud of them, parents' worries about their children's safety may constitute basic human inclinations or needs. In this section, I have chosen the issue of parents' worries regarding their children as an analytical entrance to the information from parents in Q. The different worries that the parents exposed to a certain degree separated them according to the distinction between white Norwegians and immigrants, intersecting in particular with economic realities. Socioeconomic differences may have a greater impact on families with children than on the population in general (Cooper & Pugh, 2020), and they are highlighted in this section, together with cultural diversity. How these differences are related to participation in the music programme is of particular interest in the present study.

PARENTS' RELATIONS TO THE MUSIC PROGRAMME

House concerts represented arenas for meeting parents, especially the parents of the younger children, who performed in concerts every month via their carousel programme. Parents and teachers were invited to these concerts, and although many of the parents could not take time off from work to attend, a handful was always present. The following is an extract from my notebook after one of the first carousel concerts I attended:

> The audience from outside the school mostly consists of mothers (I believe), of whom many wear long dresses and with a big scarf over each head, covering her hair. I sit with them on one of the two benches put out for the audience. Most of the women smile broadly. Many use their cell phones actively, filming and photographing their children while the latter play. Some walk around the room, filming their children from different angles. They seem very proud. Like in the last house concert, I feel moved by the strong emotions I feel that I am surrounded by. It is as if the positive vibes from the mothers get under my skin and mix with my assumptions about the difficult life situations that many of these women might also have to cope with.
>
> I notice the mother of a girl in fifth grade, a girl who has rejected my invitation to an interview after school because she said that she must go directly to the Quran school after regular school hours five days a week. Her mother is eagerly filming her daughter playing the cello. After the concert, she hugs and smiles at her daughter and talks to her daughter's baby sister (I suppose she is), telling the younger sister that she is also going to play the cello when she starts school.

I realised in the write-up that I had some prejudices regarding the women's life situations, as well as regarding music and Islam. The music programme received great support from the parents, according to the headmaster and the teachers. However, according to Anne, a few of the pupils were not allowed to take part in the Christmas concert because it was held in a church that they, as Muslims, did not approve their children to enter. There are some reports on music in school being controversial to Muslim families (Halstead, 1994; Harris, 2002), notably from the UK. I have not found research on this topic in Norway. I did not meet any parents who mentioned their disapproval of the music programme. Only one parent disagreed about his son's participation in my research. I experienced meeting Muslim fathers who were reluctant to shake hands with me, which I interpret as due to me being a woman and they practising Muslims. Still, these fathers explicitly praised the music activity and wished that their daughters would participate in my research. Embracing the music and their children's participation in it did not seem to conflict with most of these parents' religious faith, even if it might have been a greater issue for some of the parents than what they

disclosed to me. Miremba, a mother with a West African background, did not disapprove entering a church even though she herself was a Muslim, citing this reason: "The church is a place where people come to worship. That is a good thing." Miremba had lived in Q for more than ten years and knew many of her neighbours. In an interview, she expressed her view:

> "No, we don't think music is *haram*. Nobody here thinks that. I do believe that many may have a more private use of music though, as something we listen to, play and particularly sing at home."

The perspective of the school being a grey zone between the private and the public spheres (Eriksen & Sajjad, 2015) may be perceived as acquiring a new dimension in this respect. The school may seem to represent a semi-private, or at least, only a semi-public stage for performing music.

The teachers said that some parents worried that the music would take too much focus away from what they believed to be more important subjects, such as mathematics, Norwegian and English. Other parents highly evaluated the music because they thought that it helped their children focus on schoolwork. Miremba praised the music programme, citing it as part of the reason why she wanted her son to remain in this school, although he had some learning difficulties where he needed extra help:

> "I evaluate the music very highly because of the experiences of mastery that it gives my son…. "Now, I am one of the best players," he told us around the dinner table one evening. I said to him, "Good." Of course, he meant one of the best players in his group."

She gave the impression that she wanted to stress to me that though he was not the best in the whole school, it was important for him to feel the best, even if the constellation was a small group.

Nearly all the parents whom I spoke with focused on the joy that playing music gave their children. Children's feelings of joy and mastery and parents' pride in their children are referred as objectives of El Sistema in other research in Scandinavia (Ehrlin & Gustavsson, 2018). Some parents focused on the way it made the children listen to and watch one another's performances in concerts and learn to conduct themselves in the orchestra and be comfortable on stage. One father remarked:

> "We have all seen and heard about the noise and mess these kids can produce. It always amazes me when I come to the concerts and see them sitting there, so calmly, treating the instruments with such respect."

In Baker's (2014) study of El Sistema, the discipline associated with classical music is a central point of disapproval, along with the hierarchical structure, including obedience to the conductor. Small's (1998) account of the class division and the rules of conduct implied in the concert hall parallels Baker's critique in this respect. Nevertheless, part of the popularity of the music programme among the parents in Q seemed partly connected to this same discipline and development of good conduct, that is, obedience to the conductor, which is perhaps not surprising.

The parents' attitudes towards the music differed regarding their involvement in the music themselves. In a meeting with the PWC, where I had arranged to spend some time discussing the music project, one father, Peter, exclaimed:

> "I wish more parents would bring out the instruments they might have in the attic and play with their children." Looking directly at me, he added, "Some of us know that to be good in playing an instrument, you actually have to spend some hours a week practising. I wish more parents would support their kids in practising."

Peter's daughter was doing particularly well in music. Systematic and arduous rehearsing on their own is perhaps most of all connected to classical music canons, whether western or other styles. Some parents with immigrant backgrounds also inspired their children to rehearse. Many said that they supported their children in learning to play an instrument but did not take part in it during their spare time. The possibilities and the inspiration to rehearse were factors that divided the children regarding their achievements in playing the instruments, which were linked, as I will show, to diversity among the parents.

Some parents were worried about their children dropping out of their musical community. When I accidentally met an immigrant mother in the school hallway, we started talking. We had already met and exchanged plans for an interview, but on greeting each other in the hall that morning, she mentioned how worried she was about her daughter: "Iona has loved music from [the time] she started to play in third grade."

This mother talked about how the music had been Iona's main source of enjoyment and a motivational factor for schoolwork in general.

> "But now," the mother whispered so as not to be overheard in the corridor, "Iona tells me that she wants to quit. She feels threatened by the other two, X and Y [girls from the same class and the same music group, whom she also hangs out with]. X and Y always decide what to play. Iona feels pushed around and excluded."[25]

I will return to Iona and her music group in the next section, focusing on the children's perspectives.

The parents with immigrant backgrounds did not express any knowledge of, or respond to my suggestions regarding any connection between the instruments from the symphony orchestra and any associations to middle class culture and distinctions of taste connected to fine art. Notably, the arena or the context of performance is also closely connected to the view on music as art and is more acceptable in general to many Muslims (al Faruqi, 1985), who might consider music associated with clubs as more dubious related to lifestyle. To immigrant parents, safe arenas seemed to be more important than the musical style. When I asked Miremba about the musical style – whether it was important that classical music, not pop music, was played in school, she hesitated:

> "Perhaps, I don't know. We don't care so much about style. When they get older, it's hip hop, [whether] we like it or not (laughs). But the place of concerts is important…. I would never approve of my children playing in a disco."

The relation between classical music and middle-class values, as framed by Bourdieu (1995), appears to be a connection between taste and style, on one hand, and belonging/class, on the other hand. In a Swedish study, it is suggested that the parents' struggle to be identified with the middle class in their new home country is connected to their hope for their children to have better life conditions there (Hofvander Trulsson, 2015). As such, playing western classical music may constitute a strategy in their new home country when offered through El Sistema. Based on my research in Q, I have no grounds for this being a strategy among the immigrant parents. Of course, it might still be the case for some, which I did not catch. Overall, the connection between classical music and the more acceptable and safer arena of a classical music concert with seated guests, and strongly connected to the school, seemed more prevalent.

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[25] This passage was not recorded but is still written with quotation marks for clarity. The passage was written down only minutes after it took place

FINDING SAFE ARENAS

Some of the parents had spent years in flight with their children, including periods and situations that were dangerous, especially for the girls. Miremba expressed her concerns in this regard:

> "The school is the first safe place in the new country (Norway). When we have our children in school, we have… how can I say it… built up the trust to dare to let our children be there. Then they…we… feel that when the children are in school, they are safe. And if the school takes an initiative or plays a part in something, then that other something gains trust in the community. Then we know, okay, our children go there, but this is in cooperation with the school…. Okay, the children are safe. Because all parents are first of all worried for their children's safety. That is our greatest worry. Because many of us come from places and cultures where a lot of paedophilia happens in these kinds of activities… so they are afraid. And also, they have heard stories… here and start worrying that people cannot take proper care of their children. ... [pause] But you can't blame them if you know the backgrounds for their fears."

Miremba seemed to argue for sensibility regarding some families' protective attitudes towards their daughters.

Safety was also important to the white Norwegian parents. In fact, some had an escape route ready. Robin's father had been one of the forerunners in staying put and letting his children attend Q school. In a talk one afternoon, he told me that they had also bought a house in the countryside, just in case:

> We have just bought a house up in the country. To be used for weekends. But we have also thought that if things get difficult here, the kids are not going to suffer for our idealism, to put it that way. I talked to my oldest about it one day, that perhaps we could live there a year. I just mentioned it. But he just said, "I don't want that." So, for the time being, we have no plans of moving.

The preceding example reflects aspects of safety other than being safe from potential kidnapping or sexual abuse. Lidén (2001) and others point to how Norwegian children have become the emotional centre in the family. Emotional safety might prevail over other kinds of safety connected to physical violence for some.

The African mother and the white Norwegian father exemplified different worries and resources, resulting in varying steps taken regarding security for their children. Marianne

Cooper and Allison Pugh describe how parents with different positions in the income spectrum tackle the challenges of the insecurity of life by either compromising on reduced security or increasing the intensity of change (Cooper & Pugh, 2020, p. 273).

Different worries are connected to different life situations, including access to money, safe arenas and time to focus on their children. As such, different worries are closely related to the distribution of agency among the parents, that is, to the distribution of power to be able to do something if their children needed something extra. Different worries can also be linked to different understandings of what the important factors are for a child's formation. Correspondingly, the music programme seemed to contribute to the school environment on different levels, from the perspectives of different parents: experiencing belonging to the orchestra for some, finding joy and a place of mastery for others, as something to reach for, and acquiring the instrumental skills necessary to join an even better orchestra (as I will come back to), for yet others. In Q, the classical concert form seems to have been a gate-opener to the immigrant parents due to their conceptions of safety, rather than to ideas that connect classical music to refinement or prosperity. To the white parents, the association of the symphony orchestra with the middle-class culture may have been more important.

Demographic changes in the neighbourhood

Some of the white Norwegian parents credited the music programme for the development that made them want to stay in Q and let their children attend Q school. One father talked about the time leading up to their decision to stay:

> "You see these girls with their *hijabs* and schoolbags on the streets. At one point, we suddenly started to notice that they were also carrying violin cases. Their pride was so noticeable. And we noticed that they spoke more Norwegian and used a much more abstract language. They started speaking about their dreams. It was moving in a way. The children with their instrument cases were like a sign of the change."

The sight of violin cases and the sound of more elaborate Norwegian language on the streets made it more tempting for some of the Norwegian families to stay, according to this father.

For some, the *hijab* is a sign of a stigmatised identity. For others, the *hijab* is a symbol of a strong and sound identity. Marginalisation is based on stigmatised identities (Goffman, 1963/1990). In the white Norwegian context, the expression "hijab girls" may denote a stigmatised identity. From this perspective, a violin case may act as a "disidentifier"

(Goffman, 1963/1990, p. 60). Mastering the skill of playing the cello, even if only performing a children's tune, can also be a dis-identifier or a sign of belonging to a different kind of diversity, in this case, I will suggest, being "Q-ish".

Moving out of the area was often due to some immigrant families "getting a grip" (*"de har fått fotfeste"*), as the teachers said. People who had come as refugees were placed in social housing. These houses were often of poor quality,[26] and there were mixed reasons for receiving such social benefit. The next-door neighbours could be drug addicts, which caused much worry for parents. Furthermore, social housing is provided by the municipal office on very specific grounds and with certain limitations. As soon as people can take care of themselves, they must find other ways of getting a place to live. Some families managed to secure jobs, save some money and get mortgages, thereby "getting a grip". However, the costs of houses had risen dramatically in Q area, as described in Chapter 2. This situation led those families getting a grip to leave the area and settle down in other parts of town where housing was cheaper, and subsequently, transfer their children to a new school.

Over the last decade, the number of white families remaining in Q had increased, according to the headmaster and the parents whom I talked to. Additionally, more of the white families sent their children to Q school. Several white Norwegian parents said that they represented a group whose members knew one another even before their children started school. They had decided among themselves to stay and let their children attend Q school. They wished neither to move to find a school district with more white Norwegian children nor to send their children to private Montessori or Rudolf Steiner schools, as many in Q neighbourhood had tended to do before them. One mother commented, "We said to ourselves, why should all the white Norwegian families send their children to the same white schools in other more affluent neighbourhoods?"[27]

According to this mother, to change the growing segregation in society, these parents wished to pave the way and show that it was all right for their children to attend Q school. Some of the parents were explicit about their intention to be part of a social change by being

[26] I did not visit any homes. The information and descriptions of some of the homes, supplied as a social benefit, come from a citizens' meeting (*beboermøte*) with the municipal office representatives about the situation in Q.
[27] This comment was not recorded, but written down shortly after our chat, and reproduced here with quotation marks for clarity.

forerunners, as expressed by another mother: “We have worked to be part of this community and stay here to build up the neighbourhood, and we really enjoy living in Q Village.”

Their engagement in the area included other aspects, such as lobbying for establishing pedestrian-only streets. They acquired the safety they needed for themselves and their children by belonging to a group of several white Norwegian families making the decision together to stay when their children reached school age. This attitude may have given way to a certain form of gentrification in the case of Q, where mixing with immigrants remained part of its authenticity and offered the opportunity to develop care for others in greater need, which the young middle-class parents also sought for their children. An attitude of staying put in a culturally and socially diverse area correlates with what Pugh (2009, p. 217) suggests: “[White parents] embraced social differences as a means of cultivating in their children a certain cultural competence.” However, as expressed by Robin’s father, they were aware that their children were part of an idealistic move, and they also worried over this.

“These kids should be offered to work” – at the street parties

Miremba was critical of some of the investments in the neighbourhood. She claimed that it had driven up the housing prices, so that workers with immigrant backgrounds could no longer afford to live in the area. According to her, the result was that those who remained, in addition to the few white middle-class families who were moving in, were social benefit clients and newly arrived refugees. “What we have now is not a white flight; it is a resource flight,” she said.

She still stayed in the neighbourhood, partly because of the music, and most importantly, because the teachers stayed on. Miremba connected this to the music creating a good environment in which to work. “It is just so important that the teachers stay,” she concluded.

The investments from the inner-city lift, for example, the generously equipped youth club, were financed by money that lasted only for a few years. An immigrant father said, “And when they are gone, we are left with an empty club room with no youth workers.”

Miremba was critical of the whole club, from the perspectives of children such as her own:

> "Our kids don't go to the youth clubs – why? Because they have no money! They don't want to look like Fretex (Salvation Army second-hand shop… my comment) among others wearing Adidas. They want to come in their Nike shoes and feel well. Usually, you want to go out when you are pleased with your life, and you don't lack a lot of important things."

Miremba also frowned on the street parties, also part of "the lift", for similar reasons:

> "They throw street parties for the young people. And the youngsters go there, and they can't buy themselves a soda. You can see it at a distance that they don't have any money. Why should they sneak around and be tempted to steal?! These kids should be offered to work at the street parties."

On one hand, events such as street parties may be perceived as uniting rich and poor on the same arena. On the other hand, the parties exposed the difference in incomes and worries, on behalf of the economically less well off, that they might not be able to supply what their children would need to belong, following Pugh's (2009) analysis.

Miremba was outspoken and articulate. It was easy to follow her arguments. She was a single mother of four children, who came from relatively affluent conditions in West Africa while her children were still small. However, her focus on a particular brand of shoes did not exactly confirm the data I have from the children of Q school. Perhaps Miremba knew from her older daughters that this might be a hotter topic for her son in the years to come. In Pugh's (2009) study, the parents tended to look ahead, often focusing on their children as successful adults, and worried that they did not always feet able to buy what they thought their children might need in order to belong (Pugh, 2009). Seeing the financial contrast between herself and the white Norwegians, it was easy for a mother like Miremba to picture how her own kid would be unable to keep up with his peers in purchasing material goods once he might start asking for specific and more expensive clothes and other things.

There is yet another aspect, related to agency, concerning the difference between attending a street party and working at it. Sarah, another mother with an immigrant background, expressed her opinion in a chat one afternoon in the schoolyard:

> "All my children have to work." If no paid job was available, she said, she sent young people to work as volunteers in a charity organisation operated by her friend. "It does

not give them much money, but it gives them something to put on a CV and a reference."[28]

To Sarah and Miremba, work experience was far more important than being a guest in a publicly funded and arranged street party. Feeling mastery may also be related to dignity. In Pugh's (2009) analysis, interactional, personal, and social differences are critical for establishing belonging. Personal differences based on character, knowledge or social aspects, such as who one's family is (Pugh, 2009, p. 59), and the three aspects are interchanged by young people (Pugh, 2009, p. 51). Based on Miremba's accounts of her son, viewed with Pugh's (2009, p. 9) frames for differences, it could be said that having dubious value based on poverty (family background – *social difference*) and low value based one's school work (skill – *personal difference*) may be compensated for by being assigned a role at a street party that can make one feel proud of oneself (happy with what one has/who one feels to be – *interactional difference*).

One way to counter traumas and build resilience is to facilitate agency and empowerment of young refugee children (Pieloch et al., 2016, p. 333). Miremba's outspoken claim for the young people of Q to be given work at the street parties, rather than being invited as humble guests, reflects this. "Agency is constructed through material engagement in social practices" (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016, p. 238). Experiencing mastery and responsibility can be connected to feeling in accordance with one's dignity. Referring to Nussbaum's list of capabilities, the transition from being a guest to an organiser of street parties in one's own neighbourhood can be perceived as providing a social basis for self-respect by being given a certain degree of control over one's environment (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 77).

PARENTAL DRIVE

A keen young participant in the recently started orchestra was well known for being a very good violin player. One of his classmates told me, with admiration in his voice, that "he even has to bring an instrument when he goes on longer holidays with his parents, because otherwise he would miss music so much that he would not want to go abroad"[29]. In my interview with this young pupil, he said:

[28] This passage was not recorded, but written down shortly after our chat, and reproduced here with quotation marks for clarity
[29] See footnote above (nr 28)

> "In fact, I play only because my father tells me to. I am a dedicated reader, and most of the times, I throw myself on the sofa with a book right after school. As soon as my father comes home from work, he calls to me, "Son, have you rehearsed the violin yet?" I go, "Aaaahh", but I get up and start practising. I would never have played if it wasn't for my father."

The ability and will to push their children to rehearse might be regarded, to a certain extent, as dividing these parents along lines that place the white Norwegians on one side and the immigrants on the other. This may be illustrated by the previous example about the father who wished that more parents unpacked their instruments stored the attic. Not all parents do have instruments in their attics. The white Norwegian parents managed to find pathways for their children to have not only emotional safety but also the challenges needed to realise the children's full potentials

Peter's daughter worked hard with her instrument and loved it. She made tremendous progress on the clarinet. Heddy, the clarinet teacher, had taken her to play in a school band in the neighbouring school. Peter said:

> "It's a bit ironic, really. We have worked to be part of this community and stay here to build up the neighbourhood. And then, I suddenly find myself bringing my daughter up the hill to the middle-class community over there in the evenings. On the other hand, it's also fun. She gets new challenges, and she masters them. And she really enjoys it now. She needs the challenge."

However, parental drive is not only reserved for Norwegian parents. Parental drive is defined as one major aspect behind the fact that a comparatively large percentage of the children of immigrants in Oslo end up pursuing higher education (Kindt & Hegna, 2017). Marianne T. Kindt and Kristinn Hegna (2017) suggest that parental drive towards higher education must be viewed as connected to the hardships experienced by the parents' generation. This experience leads to the parents driving or pushing their children to an education that may secure their livelihood. The focus on security against hardships may also be a reason for some of the immigrant parents' fear of the music taking the focus away from other subjects.

The current test- and-knowledge-based society has been said to foster a childhood and upbringing that have developed into a "meritocracy" (Hansen, 2017, p. 260). Marianne N. Hansen (2017) associates this with the rewards for good results in an academically test- and result-oriented school. A result of the marked liberal school development since the start of the

test connected to the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) since 2000 (Thuen, 2007, p. 205) has been a development called a "parentocracy" (Hansen, 2017, p. 261). Parentocracy implies that the children's achievements are more closely connected to their parents' efforts, positions, wishes, and not the least, economics, than to their own talents and abilities (Brown [1990]; DeWiele and Edgerton [2016] as cited in Hansen, 2017, p. 261).

LEARNING SKILLS AND SPECIAL NEEDS

In addition to cultural diversity, learning skills and disabilities are considered major diversities to be addressed in education (Mitchell, 2017). Whether children with disabilities should be assigned to special classes or special schools remains a hot topic in Norway. In an introductory talk with the headmaster in the beginning of my fieldwork, I mentioned that I had noticed that there were no special classes in Q school. The headmaster replied, "Well, that particular kind we don't have. We do have some ADHD cases and some autism spectrum disorders." The headmaster's use of categories exemplifies how these terms can be used with variable content. What some people associate with being disabled is often a wheelchair, whereas others would say that autism is a disability.

According to the law (Education Act,1998, § 1–3), all pupils have the right to "adapted education" (*"tilpassa opplæring"*). The school is obliged to accommodate their teaching to each child's individual abilities and needs. Children supported by "special education", based on an individual legal decision by the local school authorities, founded on an expert assessment by the Educational–Psychological Service (EPS, Norwegian: *PPT*), are often, but not always, educated for part of or their entire time in school in designated schools or classes. This is part of what the headmaster referred to: there were no separate ("special") classes for slower or different learners, pupils with disabilities or any other group categorised as different in any way in Q school. However, several pupils had received a legal decision granting them special education for parts of the week, some also for their entire time in school. A few of the pupils received specialised help by speech therapists or psychologists. Some were also transferred to special schools after some time in Q school. Sending some pupils to special schools was often the end of a long and painful process, involving parents and teachers. One teacher said:

> "We will send two pupils away to a special school next year, two pupils who should never have been sent to a special school (whispers). One, it is because the parents want it. He has autism spectrum disorders. We went to visit the special school where he will

be taken in. I felt like crying. Our boy is just so much better functioning! He can read; the others didn't even speak. But the mother said that it could be good for him to feel being the best in class."

There is a diversified attitude, both among and within schools, regarding how to approach learning disabilities and behavioural issues. The same diversified approach to other diversities, such as culture and language, can be observed in the recent history of how the needs of children of immigrants and refugees have been met, for example, regarding being educated in their mother tongue for parts of the week. Under the present government, the schools focus only on teaching Norwegian. According to the headmaster at Q school, there and no financial resources available in ordinary public schools for basic language teaching for immigrant children who have less command of Norwegian. As such, learning basic Norwegian is treated as adapted education, a right to be adjusted according to the individual level, but not a trigger for extra resources.

The decision on which differences are put to work is connected to resources and therefore, often a matter of strategy. The support system favours some allocations for children with disabilities, as economic support is distributed differently among various kinds of classes and schools, as described by one of the teachers. However, this is outside the scope of the present thesis.

Diversity in Q according to the parent leader

The model that served as the basis for allocating economic resources to the schools in Oslo does not consider the fact that many of the high-income families in the area send their children to private schools or to one of the other "white" schools in the same district, resulting in a concentration of challenges to be met in Q school without sufficient resources allocated by the educational authorities, according to the PWC leader (personal communication, 27.11.2019)

In addition to organising communal arrangements, such as parties after the 17th of May parade, some PWC leaders are also at the forefront, fighting for the resources. The PWC leader of Q school, at the time I was there, was one of them, writing in the local newspaper about the unequal distribution of resources and challenges between Q school and neighbouring schools. The neighbouring "white" schools had markedly less social and economic problems among the families, according to the PWC leader. Additionally, she argued:

> Q school's problems are related to general language problems and lack of social interaction. Moreover, insecure home situations and traumas from war cause problems, often with personal unrest, for some of the pupils, leading, of course, to disturbed classrooms. You need to take into account the number of children in social housing. In addition, we have pupils coming from homes where one or both parents are analphabets; you have a number of single parents' homes and a number of unstable living conditions in the area.[30]

The PWC leader listed several interacting and marginalising challenges connected to cultural diversity, the heightened change and challenges stemming from these situations.

FROM AN IMAGE OF SAMENESS TO THAT OF A VILLAGE OF DIVERSITY?

Norwegian culture is sometimes portrayed as based on a somewhat overemphasised idea of sameness and similarity, sometimes put forward as a reason justifying scepticism towards somebody being different (Gullestad, 2002; Lidén, 2001). A classification in a binary division of the parents as white Norwegians versus immigrants is nevertheless a simplification. The immigrants represented many language groups and various reasons for migrating to Norway. They demonstrated varying degrees of command of the Norwegian language, as well as English. As argued by Pihl (2009), some were analphabets, while others were close to getting a grip in their new country. The parents' socioeconomic situation, as well as other internal family matters, differed greatly. Moreover, they showed varying degrees of handling the role of being a parent, which may be called "parentability in the Norwegian context". As I will show in the next chapter, many teachers recognised this, and many also paid special attention to this difference in parentability in Norway.

Some of the white Norwegian parents used the name "Q Village". This term not only suggests a Q culture, where street parties are held and where local ties and individual wellbeing are observed by neighbours. The concept of a village also includes a certain kind of connection among people, a "*gemeinschaft* kind" of relations (Tönnies, 1887/2001, pp. 17-19). The *gemeinschaft* of Q had an inclusive character towards diversity, by taking interest in and standing up in solidarity with poor neighbours who had problems with the local communal housing office. This solidarity was expressed in public debates, as exemplified by the newspaper article written by the PWC leader. Moreover, Q was presented as having a

[30] The passage above is from a local newspaper, which I translated no citation is provided here, due to the request for anonymity by the research ethics directives.

hybrid culture, where the young "*hijab* girls" carried violin cases on the streets on their way home from school. To some, the sign of change would be a signal of hybridity, while for others, it would be a mark of greater "normality".

6.2 CHILDREN HANDLING DIVERSITY

I now focus on how some of the children identified with and approached diversity. This would include what different homelands and mother tongues meant to them, corresponding to and interconnected with other differences that appeared important to the children. Diversity that mattered to the pupils appeared foremost as differences that had to be overcome in order to play together, whether in music, in other subjects or outside during breaks. Pugh's (2009) three types of differences – personal, social and interactional – have been useful analytical concepts to understand the children's agencies. The pupils, being in an environment where everyone and consequently, no one, was a minority, handled diversity as a matter of fact. To the children, Agawu's question, "Is difference real?" (Agawu, 2003/2012, p. 120), would seem absurd, but the question "which differences matter" would be highly relevant. As children, they lacked information on the ongoing discourses regarding allocation of resources based on challenges, as well as concepts such as "white flight" or "resource flight". The differences that mattered to the children were handled daily in being able to participate and were regulated by feeling good. In a way, it can be said that the children as such related to differences, but not to diversity.

BEING A MINORITY AND BELONGING TO SEVERAL PLACES

Just after the first snow of the season had fallen one night in December, Julie, the experienced teacher in one of the third-grade classes that I worked with, spent a long time preparing her class for the snowy season to come. Snowballs represent a recurring theme in Norwegian schools. They are fun to make and throw, but much potential grief can be caused by being hit with a snowball on the neck. Therefore, there are rules regarding where and under what circumstances it is legal to throw snowballs.

> As Julie was telling the class to form a row in order to venture out together to actually behold the only permitted place and target wall on which to throw snowballs, Milan raised his hand. "Yes, Milan," said Julie, while overseeing the pupils who had started moving from their desks. "There is snow in Chechnya, too," said Milan. Julie looked a little unprepared for this information at that moment. She stopped, then turned to

> Milan and said: "Is your mother from Chechnya, Milan?" "…hmmm" (mumbling first part of the answer that I could not discern) … "but she has not taught me Norwegian… no… I mean… she has not taught me Chechen." "You are really good in Norwegian," Julie replied.[31]

I found the incident a typical example of the constant presence that their parents' homelands occupied in some of the children's minds, even if they had never been there themselves or did not know the language. Besides, the incident illustrates the teacher's focus on the parents' homelands connected to the children's statements. I also noted that Milan's comment was not answered directly. Instead of picking up his information on snow in Chechnya, Julie turned her focus to his mother's country of origin and later evaluated his fluency in Norwegian instead of responding to his information about not speaking Chechen. Milan was (as I will come back to) a boy who often seemed to be somewhat overlooked regarding his academic performance in class.

"I have never been to his homeland"

"Homeland" was a term that I often heard. Children in Q school used it to refer to their parents' countries of origin, even if the children were born in Norway. The concept of homeland was important, as was the interrelations among homeland, Norway and Q and the travels to and from them. The following passage is from an interview with Zahir, a boy around 11 years old. He was telling me about his best friend in class and how they had been friends since they went to play in school together (also in Q). In the middle of his long talk about their friendship, he suddenly stopped himself and said:

> Zahir: "Strange, actually, I have never been to his home (*hjemme hos han*)".
>
> Lise: "You have never been to his house?"
>
> Zahir: "Yes, yes, I have been to his house many times (with emphasis). But I have never been to his *home*land (almost in a whisper, emphasising home)".
>
> Lise: "Do you come from the same country?"

[31] This passage is from my notebooks. The quotations marks are for clarity

Zahir: “I am from Macedonia; he is from Algeria (in a tone as if educating an illiterate person)”.

Lise: “Have you ever lived in Macedonia?”

Zahir: “No, I was born here in Norway.”

Lise: “Is it normal for friends and classmates here in Q, to visit each other’s homelands?”

Zahir: “Sometimes we do, when there is a wedding or something or when somebody has died. We have to sometimes go and see that they are okay, or we have to help them travel. But I am home here in Norway, too.”

I initially interpreted Zahir’s reflection on not having visited his friend in his homeland as something that should, or at least could have taken place, in light of their close friendship. However, unsatisfied with this conclusion, I reflected on the information with two of his teachers – separately. They both confirmed my suspicion that visits to each other’s homelands would very rarely occur when the distance was long, and the travel cost was expensive.

Why would Zahir give this information as if this visit was something that should or might happen? Which values did he communicate? There are several possible interpretations for this. One is that it was just a mindless slip of the tongue, giving some information that he could not discontinue without losing face. Another interpretation that I find more likely is that he produced a self-presentation in the image of his family. Zahir was the youngest in his family, and on other occasions, he had shown great loyalty to and identification with his family and their worries. Earlier in that same interview, he had talked about an incident that had occurred to his family in Norway before he was born, an incident that had been a hardship for his parents. I had noticed how he talked about this with sincerity, as if taking upon himself some of the burden of the family history from before he was born. This tendency has been reported by psychologists working with children of refugee families (Montgomery, 2011; Traume, 2018).

We continued talking about his homeland, and Zahir enumerated various instruments from his homeland. I asked him whether he would have liked to have the Q school performers

play music from his homeland in the orchestra. He looked almost a little shocked by the thought and said, “It would have been embarrassing! And… I don’t know… but it could have been fun also.”

Just a few moments before, he had told me with enthusiasm about the instruments they used in his homeland. However, it obviously implied mixed feelings to picture himself playing music from his homeland in Q, as if the homeland also represented something private or in a different kind of zone. Perhaps the homeland identity might be different from the Q identity in a manner that would be threatening to an ongoing process of facework in Q.

CHILDREN COPING WITH MOBILITY

The children seemed accustomed to the constant changes of classmates as part of normal life. They seemed used to having to cope with the situation without probing deeply into their feelings around it. When I asked Robin (11 years old) about classmates moving in and out of school, he expressed it this way:

> Robin: “People move out of the school because it is expensive to live in the centre of town, not because they don’t have a good time in school.”
>
> Lise: “But how is it actually, to be part of the class when people move in and out a lot?”
>
> Robin: “It goes fine with me, the changes. Betty (one of his closest friends in school) is going to move soon. But I think we will meet again. But… on the other hand, when you think about it, it’s kind of sad.”

The mixed sentiments, I found quite typical of the school culture. The children had knowledge – that seemed handed down by their parents – regarding the reasons why they moved, and not having a good time here in Q was definitely not a reason. The optimistic, what may be called ‘frontstage’ attitude: “This is just the way things are here; we manage well”, was combined with the more candid, ‘backstage’ consideration: “It’s actually kind of sad when you think about it.” I was uneasy about asking the children too much about the mobility issue because of this double-sided perspective. It might be necessary for the children to keep up their spirits by not thinking too much about the loss of good friends and the constant change of classmates. Being optimistic may be a strategy of resilience towards traumas among children more than among adults (Pieloch et al., 2016). For their part, the

teachers were worried about the children who left the school, as well as about adjusting their teaching to accommodate the needs of the newcomers and address the constantly changing situations in class. For the parents, it meant a loss of resources. However, when I asked the parents about the effects on their children, most of them said that the children managed fine; they were used to the way that things were. "Life goes on" was Miremba's response to the question of mobility from the perspectives of her children.

After moving, Betty ended up commuting between her new home in the suburbs and Q school in the city centre, to avoid being separated from Q school, the orchestra and her classmates. This was made possible by her parents letting her take the subway on her own, given the considerable distance between Q school and her new home. Anne and another teacher took the responsibility for bringing her home after evening rehearsals or concerts. Betty was a girl whom both adults and children appreciated, and she was a highly valued participant in the newly started orchestra at the time.

Language

Officially, Norwegian was the only language permitted to be spoken in Q school, by the children, as well as by the teachers and their assistants. The teachers explained that this was important to prevent any formation of subgroups. With few exceptions, the rule was kept.

Teaching basic skills in Norwegian as a means of communication came across as a cause of constant effort for teachers and leaders in Q school. However, language is also a means of communicating identity. "Kebab-Norwegian" (Aasheim, 1995) signifies a version of Norwegian mixed with expressions from Asian, Arabic and European languages, particularly associated with youth in culturally mixed neighbourhoods (Vestel, 2004). Their command of this blended "multietnolekt" (Aasheim, 1995; Quist, 2000, 2009) is presented as an identity marker for the youth, as well as a token of respect by using words and expressions from their friends' mother tongues, and as such, may be perceived as "intertwined with the joys of friendship" (Vestel, 2004, p. 205). For the somewhat younger pupils in Q school, I observed language to be a lead-in topic for possible new friendships, as in the following example:

> In a break outside one day, while I was pushing Agata on the swing, another girl, Lodi, a year younger, came over to chat and complained to me that she did not have a play companion. I suggested that they could play with each other.

> Lodi at first acted hesitantly and slightly resistant towards the older girl. However, Agata remarked bluntly, "I don't really have a friend; will you be my friend? We can play!" Lodi, not looking directly at her, did not answer. They both hung around, neither talking to me nor to each other. Then, while Agata was hanging upside-down on a small playground equipment, Lodi, sitting on a bench with me without talking, looking at the other girl, suddenly raised her head and took the initiative to converse with Agata:
>
> Lodi: Do you speak Arabic?
>
> Agata: No, I speak Chechen and Russian; what do you speak?
>
> Lodi: I speak Arabic and Lebanese.
>
> Agata came down with her feet on the ground, in front of Lodi on the bench. They started exchanging other information, about brothers and sisters, and they ran off away from me together.

I was impressed by the number of languages spoken by these seven- and eight-year-old girls. Both were also fluent in Norwegian. I was also struck by this being their first pathway to a conversation. Moreover, even though they did not have any languages in common apart from Norwegian, this did not hinder them from seeking to develop a friendship. Finding a common mother tongue or cultural background did not seem to be a necessary foundation for friendship. Rather, language seemed to be a way of saying who they were and of starting a conversation with somebody, as if coming from different language backgrounds was something that they all knew was part of the school culture and of the local "Q-ish" culture. Their command of several languages characterised the hybrid culture of the young children in Q. In Pugh's (2009) framework, knowledge of several languages is a skill, a personal difference, and at the same time, a social difference, a sign of where one's family comes from – the homeland. It is also a sign of being from Q.

DIFFERENT ECONOMIC REALITIES

The diversity regarding the affluence or the poverty of some of the families was at times striking. According to the teachers, this divide had increased in recent years and must be viewed as corresponding to the demographic changes, where the housing prices had risen dramatically, leading to the neighbourhood now accommodating a more affluent group of

white Norwegians co-existing with newly arrived refugees and others living in social benefit houses.

As I base much of my analysis on Pugh's (2009) work on belonging, I tried to identity a system of merchandise used as scrip in my material, but I seemed by and large to fail. The dissimilar access to material equipment and toys within the same group of pupils in school may be the reason for the absence in the presentations of merchandise as scrip. An episode one Monday morning may illustrate this. Teacher Safia, as usual, started by asking her pupils about their weekend and whether anybody had an experience to share:

> Malika eagerly raised her hand when Safia asked. In fact, Malika almost raised her whole body to a standing position, expressing her strong wish to share something. When Safia gave her the word, Malika sat on her knees on the chair, as if to get a better chance of seeing everybody's faces when she talked about how her father had finally come home from a long journey abroad. As a gift for her, he had brought with him the table-top game Monopoly. When no one responded, either by words or by expressions on their faces, Malika, after a short silence, added loudly, "Monopoly is a very expensive game!"

There was no general consent among the pupils regarding the social value of the game Monopoly. However, it is a basic item in most Norwegian families' homes. It might be the case that Malika tried to use Monopoly as scrip – a token of her worthiness of belonging related to possessions. Another interpretation that I suggest is the connection to Malika's home being in good shape. Aside from the game being commonly found in many families' homes, as a gift, it was an important token because it came from her father.

Malika's father had been away for a long time. This situation generated suspicion among the children in Q. Had this father also moved out of the house? It is my understanding that Malika wished to communicate that her father, by his return with an expensive gift, made a gesture of making up for his long absence and proved that he cared for her. Pugh describes how a proof of being cared for can be part of children's "dignity-work" (Pugh, 2009, p. 64).

In the same class a few days later, I was sitting on my chair in a corner of the room, as usual. This morning, Hilde, at the table close to me, asked for help with a math piece. She suddenly looked up from the math that I was trying to explain and said with a sigh:

> Hilde: I really don't know what to wish for Christmas – do you have any ideas?

Lise: What about a book?

Hilde: I have so many books already; it's almost like a whole library.

Lise: What about Lego?

Hilde's face lit up, and she opened a little notebook where she obviously kept notes like her Christmas gift wish list.

I had noticed that Hilde was always smartly and well dressed. It did not seem to me that her worries over what to wish for Christmas came from a desire to balance her lack of social standing with goods. Rather, Hilde seemed genuinely worried that she did not really want anything and was at a loss on how to meet her family's expectations of the wishes that they could fulfil for her for Christmas.

In Q, the affluent white children were not prone to use direct outcomes of their parent's affluence, such as clothes or toys as tokens of value; neither were the immigrant children. However, Malika referred to monetary value as a proof of the value of the gift, and in the next chapter, I will show how a low monetary value was referred to as an argument for the lower value of a gift. Although Miremba referred to the lack of the right brand of shoes as an argument for not feeling well at the street party, this was her argument. According to the teachers whom I consulted regarding the meanings of valuable clothes and consumer items, shoes might be the only brand focus, and only among the oldest pupils. It seemed that money had not yet been "culturally mobilized" (borrowing an expression from DeNora, 2015, p. 107) among the young children in Q school.

Personal style and family background/social belonging

Some children were poorly dressed, apparently from homes that were not used to dressing for the cold Norwegian winter, but the children of well-off parents also wore clothes and gear from the chain stores selling low-cost merchandise. The dress code in Q school was mixed, but this affected style more than price. Some of the girls wore *hijabs* when they reach the age of six or seven years, some in combination with skirts and loose long-sleeved shirts, others in combination with tight jeans. Some of the girls from Muslim families also dressed without *hijabs*. Notably, all of the boys wore American–European-style clothes, as did the ethnic Norwegian children. Mari Rysst (2020a) finds that in a school where children from immigrant

backgrounds were in the minority, there were more clear-cut definitions regarding merchandise, particularly how to dress in order to be popular, compared with a school where children from immigrant backgrounds comprised the majority. Like Rysst, I also noticed some seemingly strong-minded girls showing a combination of Muslim and American–European dress codes, typically a hijab over tight jeans, perhaps mixed with the hip hop style, such as hoodies. The message seemed to be "hybridity rules!"

I never heard the children's references to brands or particularly nice or fashionable clothes. I had not included this topic in the interviews, as it was not one of my research questions or my focus in the beginning of the research. However, I found the lack of brand focus to be so unexpected while going through my data, that in writing up, I re-consulted two of the teachers to validate this observation. Both teachers confirmed my observation, saying that they believed that brands were less important in Q school than what may be found in other Oslo schools. However, I did experience that whether or not a girl wore a *hijab* appeared as an identification marker, as illustrated in this episode in the hallway, where "us" were the ones who wore *hijabs*:

> Sheida usually wore feminine-style clothes in pink: skirts, laces and blouses, always in combination with a *hijab*. Her best friend was always in jeans and hoodies but also always with a *hijab*.
>
> Sheida came running up to the music floor from the stairway. Out of breath, she asked me if I had seen … (I did not catch the name). I nodded towards a corner where one of the girls in her class was standing. This girl, also from an immigrant family, did not wear a *hijab* but conservative and feminine-style clothes like Sheida did. Sheida responded to my gestural suggestion with big eyes, saying, "No!… she wears … like us…", raising her hands towards her head, then she stopped herself, looking at me intensely for a few seconds before just walking on down the hall.

"I am not allowed to dye my hair" – Differences among white Norwegian children

White Norwegian children also communicated identification with their families. In many cases, immaterial values were put forward by young children. Idunn and Solveig both had Norwegian parents, and an incident between them can illustrate this value negotiation:

> Solveig appears after the 17th of May break, with her hair dyed red, white and blue.[32] I compliment her: "Nice hair." Her friend Idunn responds immediately: "I am not allowed to dye my hair." Both the girls were smiling, Solveig with a kind of secretive look in her eyes, which I found typical of her; she came across as self-assured. Idunn's response was said with no remorse or agony. She presented the information as something to be proud of.

I understood that Idunn's reference to her family's rule was put across as an attempt to shift the focus from Solveig to herself. Moreover, it seemed to be an attempt to establish an alternative value system, taking some of the credit away from my complimenting Solveig about her hair by implying, "We have different and better rules in our family. I'm properly taken care of." The situation resembles an incident reported in Pugh's (2009, p. 63) work. To match something that you have no chance to compete against, the best thing is to contest the notion that it is a good investment (or in this case, style) in the first place.

PERSONAL SKILLS AND FAMILY BACKGROUND/SOCIAL BELONGING

Iona was a slow learner in other subjects in school. Her falling to the periphery in the music gropu with her two classmates could be understood as due to a personal difference (skill) corresponding to Pugh's (2009) analysis. I did not observe what her mother suggested, as described in the previous section, that the other two pushed her out. I did observe that Iona struggled with keeping up with her friends on the same level. Iona's parents maintained a home that welcomed music and supported her rehearsing. However, when her teacher, Sophia, asked the group whether they had practised during weekends or holidays, which he often encouraged them to do, I noticed that Iona could never answer in the affirmative. During the summer break, Iona and her family had visited their homeland, and they did not venture to bring the violin. After Christmas break in the same year, Iona said, "I didn't have time to practise; we had guests all the time." Marianne, her classmate, interjected before Sophia had the chance to respond, exclaiming, "I played concerts for all our guests."

Even though Iona had to work harder to keep on track with some of her classmates and her mother expressed concern about this, her family was less actively supportive of her practising music than what seemed to be the case for some of her classmates. The different parental practice of supporting or pushing their children to rehearse playing their instrument

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[32] The 17th of May is the Norwegian National Day (see Chapter 2). Red, white, and blue are the colours of the Norwegian flag. Dying a child's hair red, white and blue is not necessarily a very nationalist expression. In Solveig's case, it is likely a fun thing – a kind of mock nationalism.

might lead to this situation (as expressed by a teacher): “We see the white children who rehearse become the soloists of this black school.”

Iona seemed stressed over her falling behind and struggled hard to master her skills in playing the instrument well enough to be able to perform with the others in her group. She always asked for well-known and easy tunes to play. However, she did not express this worry in connection to herself falling behind, other than saying that the tunes were difficult. In an interview, she said, “My dream for the future is that everyone will play well enough to be able to always play together.”

Instrumental skill is connected to practice on the instrument. In addition, and because this is entangled, it is connected to one’s family background, economic status and network. Practice requires access to an instrument on which to practise. It also necessitates time spent on practice, and not on other homework, other kinds of play or minding younger siblings. Moreover, it requires access to space, and parents’ tolerance for noise. Differences in parents’ qualifications regarding knowing how to rehearse (or having instruments in the attic with which to support their children), as well as their ability to help their children practise and give them the floor when there are guests in the house, imply that differences in musical skills, to a certain degree, must be connected to their family background and hence create “white soloist-material”, as expressed by a teacher.

Busy parents

How much parents managed to prioritise their children’s progress in playing their instruments did not only follow the immigrant–white Norwegian divide. Hilde was the oldest daughter of a young, academic and single mother of a white Norwegian family. Hilde was not a very demanding child. In class and play situations in school, she took what she was given and did not appear to fight for more. In an interview about the music, she told me that she really wished to rehearse more but could not find space at home:

> Hilde: “My room, of course, but I share it with my sister during daytime, and she plays there. Then it is Mother’s room, but I am not allowed to be there.”
>
> Lise: “What about the kitchen or the living room?”
>
> Hilde: “Yes, but Mother has to make so many phone calls. And she can’t have the noise. And in the bathroom, it is just too hot!”

Hilde's reality was her family's affluence regarding toys and clothes, which would be usual for a daughter of academic parents. However, her mother being busy and constantly on the phone seemed to impose constraints regarding the time for focus and the physical space accessible to Hilde in the afternoons.

DIFFERENT – OR THE SAME?

Two 10-year-old boys (in two separate interviews) showed a pragmatic attitude towards diversity, which I found typical.

> Zahir reflects on the differences among the pupils in Q school. He is positive that there are great differences among them, perhaps greater than in other schools. He says that the differences are connected to "the way the pupils talk, and the way they dress or the way they look".
>
> Lise: "Is it the different homelands you have that make people in this school more different from one another?"
>
> Zahir: [Nods]
>
> Lise: "Other things?"
>
> Zahir: "What kind of sport they play!" (His answer comes quickly without hesitation.)
>
> Then he concludes, "But then, we are actually all nearly the same because nobody is normal. And because we have all developed from the apes – we are the same people."

The quick manner that Zahir drew these conclusions, and with leaps from attributes connectable to cultural diversity, to different preferences in sport, to the acknowledgement that we have all descended from the apes, via the philosophical "nobody is normal", was astonishing. Zahir was obviously aware of aspects of diversity being an issue in Q. Reflecting on these and passing on viewpoints that he might have overheard from his parents or teachers were mixed with his own practical handling of daily life and play, along with his knowledge of the descent and status of humanity, according to science.

I also interviewed Jakob, one of Zahir's best friends, who was white Norwegian. When I asked if he thought that Q school had great diversity among its pupils, Jakob replied:

> "It doesn't really matter if they speak Arabic or that sort of thing if that's what you are asking. … (hesitates)…. But if they start nose bleeding all the time, then you have to look out. That makes a difference."

Speaking or not speaking Arabic was part of a discourse in Q school. When the rule of speaking only Norwegian was broken, it was most often due to speaking Arabic. Jakob was in fact saying that cultural differences, even though challenging (not knowing the same language), were less troubling regarding play than a strong tendency to nosebleed.

These 10–11-year-old children showed great insights into the diversities involving their musical skills, as well as the different situations of their peers in Q school. They knew that they had to cope, and similar to their approaches to other kinds of diversity, they handled these quite pragmatically. Their perspectives as children were first of all practical, to be able to play together, whether the same tunes in music or a game of football.

6.3 INTERSECTING DIVERSITIES

I conclude this chapter with a discussion on the findings in light of theoretical perspectives on intersecting diversities among groups of people, namely the concepts of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) and superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007). I argue that the situation caused by the intense mobility in Q created a special kind of superdiversity that was always fresh and therefore intensified.

INTERSECTIONALITY

Some of the inhabitants of Q neighbourhood and pupils of Q school can be categorised into several disadvantaged groups at the same time. This situation can constitute a double marginalisation. The term *intersectionality* originates from feminist theory and denotes marginalisation based on simultaneously being *both* female *and* coloured in a community where power is allocated and transferred by white men (Crenshaw, 1989). Intersectionality is thus an analytical perspective on complexities resulting from an intersection of several forms of marginalisation (Breivik, 2008). Other reasons for marginalisation, based on social and/or biological categories, may be gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality, disabilities, or age. The parent and PWC leader's argument in a local newspaper contained several reasons that she maintained should be the basis for allocating resources to Q school. Her opinion piece may serve as a list of marginalising features (italics are mine):

> Q school's problems are related to general *language problems* and *lack of social interaction*. Moreover, *insecure home situations* and *traumas from war* cause problems, often with *personal unrest*, for some of the pupils – leading, of course, to disturbed classrooms. You need to consider the number of *children in social housing*. In addition, we have pupils coming from homes where one or *both parents are analphabet*; you have several *single parents' homes* and several examples of *unstable living conditions* in the area.[33]

Many of the marginalising features listed by the PWC leader appear simultaneously and result in problems that comprise more than a sum of the parts and constitute additional complexities (Breivik, 2008). In their review article on families across the income spectrum, Cooper and Pugh (2020) find that the increasing economic divide between affluent and poor families is connected not only to their income gap but also to insecurity and precarity, especially regarding families with children, causing a dynamism where the stability of marriage and the family structure are linked to work security and income. The factors on the PWC leader's list are potentially marginalising conditions that may form part of a dynamism where some factors amplify or mute each other (Cooper & Pugh, 2020). Moreover, the social stigma connected to some of the marginalising factors may be an additional obstacle to wellbeing derived from inequality, even more for children than for adults. Coinciding with lower income and less time for parenting in a single-parent family, it is a stigma to have only one parent, something that is "wrong" with the family. This was the situation of Nadim in the clarinet class, and it was used by his peers to level out the potential leap ahead that was sketched regarding Nadim's mother being put forward as a good example by "taking care of things". I suspect that this was a potential stigma that Malika was facing, considering her father's long absence.

According to Goffman, stigmatisation is a social process, where the stigmatised and the normal are not persons but perspectives (Goffman, 1963/1990 p. 163-164). Being stigmatised in one social setting might not be the same in another, exemplified by the *hijab*. The uneven distribution of abilities, strengths and difficulties/stigmas comprises a person's assets in managing their sense of belonging, which is something that may be managed in different ways, depending on whom one encounters, to protect one's feeling of dignity.

Because social relations and networks are not static but always in movement, identity or belonging has a virtual aspect. This implies that one's social identity is always in some

[33] Reference is omitted with respect to anonymity

danger. A borderline (i.e., marginalised) individual may employ information control to decrease the tension between one's virtual and actual identities (Goffman, 1963/1990 p. 164) and ensure that one's social identity develops in the direction that one wants. A borderliner such as Iona, whose skill in playing placed her in a vulnerable situation regarding her future playing with her friends, who practised more and developed their instrument-playing skills faster, seemed burdened with an endless task and process. For example, Iona tried to level out her lack of progress in playing her instrument during the Christmas break by referring to her family's intense social activity, information that also communicated the social value of the family. Self-presentation is a form of information control and is done also to the researcher, as may be the case with Zahir presenting himself as expected to visit friends in other parts of the world. A person's virtual social identity is rooted in society's assumptions or expectations about the connections between a certain stigma or sign and a social identity. Calculation and economisation, although perhaps tacit, are involved in playing the social game.

Stigmas may be attached to certain differences in manners that may make a stigma appear as producing a more important difference. For example, mindsets, including low expectations, are known in disability studies as among the main barriers to success and fulfilment of possibilities that are encountered by students with the disability stigma (see f ex Lid, 2020). There are reasons to assume this as also the case regarding students without disabilities but with different stigmas, such as different ways of behaving, low command of the local language or unfamiliarity with the culture, or simply shyness, making them perform inadequately in relation to their understanding and capacity. In these cases, low expectations from teachers and other adults represent an additional and intersecting marginalising feature. Low expectations may also be based on the perception of somebody's parents as lacking the capacity for sufficient parenting. Some of the teachers in Q school perceived the difficulties in fulfilling Norwegian expectations regarding parenting as culturally and socially conditioned complications. If not acknowledged, mindsets and low expectations regarding parenting could possibly increase diversities and gaps.

Adding to this is the transit situation in which many of the children in Q exist. The mobility makes diversity in Q always fresh; new traumas come with the newly arrived refugees; new pupils with no command of Norwegian mingle into the classes; new families need the communal houses, and others are then asked to move out. The instability that results is mixed with some of the families being in additional trouble, having to move all the time.

Moreover, it leads to the disappearance of a strong immigrant middle class, as they leave the area and "get a grip" somewhere else where they can afford a good place of their own.

However, the children balance this diversity in a more day-to-day and practical manner than the adults. This open attitude by the children may partly be connected to their teachers being experienced, staying on and representing stability, and not the least, their focus on inclusion, providing spaces for play and cooperation across language barriers. Betty's case showed an intersection of differences among people that produced an unexpected outcome; Betty did not have to transfer to another school when her family moved out of Q. This was partly due to her relations with the adults surrounding her and her being an important player in the orchestra whom the music teachers made an effort to keep. As shown in the concluding section of this chapter, a perspective on the co-existence of a plurality of intersecting diversities might also include strengths.

SUPERDIVERSITY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR Q

Superdiversity has been put forth as describing the "emergence of a new demographic reality"(Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2018, p. 181). The new situation developing from the 1990s, first described by Vertovec (2007), is dominated by multi-layered diversities, relating to cultural, well as family, economic and legal status, and other diversities in which the complex nature of the various factors is important (see for ex. Chan, 2020; Gogolin, 2016; Grzymala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2018; Hendriks & van Ewijk, 2019; Meissner & Vertovec, 2015). Based on the findings of Fran Meissner and Steven Vertovec (2015), two crucial factors of the superdiversity perspective are important aspects for understanding the situation in Q. First, superdiversity describes a situation in movement. Second, it is necessary to consider power structures. Superdiversity can be viewed as a dynamic hybridity, presenting a sociocultural hybrid situation always in the making. To understand the superdiverse situation as it appeared to the children and their management of it to establish their sense of belonging, I argue that it is necessary to also include a perspective on relations, as well as personal abilities. Pugh's (2009) notions of personal, interactional and social differences are analytical perspectives employed to understand the relationships, not only among the pupils, but with significant grown-ups in the pupils' proximity, that can describe an even denser layer of diversifying aspects for the children.

While the concept of intersectionality is a perspective on disadvantages and reasons for marginalisation, with a focus on the social constructive element of categorisation (Breivik,

2008), the concept of superdiversity opens up complexities beyond social categories and may also include strengths. Superdiversity is perceived as a consequence of increased and intensified transitions. The relations to diasporas, facilitated by more accessible air transportation and above all, by communication technologies, create an additional dimension of cultural heterogeneity. For the children in Q, their relations to their homelands were not (or not only) memories but to a varying degree, part of their families' lives and narratives. As it appeared, Zahir tried to use his homeland identity as a strength. The idea of friends visiting each other in their different homelands underlines having another asset in common in Q. When Zahir exclaimed that it would be embarrassing if his music group in Q played music from his homeland, it might be due to the image that this music would have depicted if presented in Q. The strength of the status connected to the homeland identity might rest on the two affiliations (home and adopted countries) being separate. Hybridity might represent a strength, whereas blending of everything into a cultural mesh might not.

By employing the term superdiversity, some of the attributes that may split the status of the homeland, or for that matter, a category such as *linguistic minority*, may be other stigmas or disabilities, but may also be assets. Thus, new migration patterns and the variable combination of vulnerabilities and strengths create potential "new hierarchical social positions" (Vertovec, 2019 p. 126). Thus, a person can belong to the linguistic minority, arriving with no command of Norwegian, but may be extremely musically talented and/or have highly educated parents. Criss-crossing disadvantages and advantages in a superdiverse society may result in totally different life stories under the category *immigrants*.

Pugh (2009, pp. 155-158) cites an example of the management of homeland traditions for better prospects in new countries. An immigrant family from East Africa moved to a North American ghetto-like township. Both parents appeared to be strong. They were able to adjust to their new country, find and hold jobs and secure incomes. Moreover, the family members managed to cooperate well among themselves. Their strategy was twofold: 1) Manage to keep their tradition of working together as a team, parents as well as children. 2) Stick to their traditional diet, thereby keeping costs low and securing their health. Consequently, over a 10-year period, they managed to achieve the following: 1) Keep their offspring off the streets and develop consciousness and pride of the values of their original culture/homeland. 2) Save money that made it possible to buy a house in a middle-class American residential area. This example has parallels in the Q area, resulting in the situation where some families manage to buy their own flats, a sign of "getting a grip", and not the

least, an effective way to save money and secure one's family financially. Similar to the families in Pugh's study, some of the families in Q managed a form of hybrid existence, understanding the values and prospects in their new country, while bringing in some of their homeland traditions as assets. In Pugh's analysis, the above-mentioned family did not worry about their children's belonging to peer groups but focused on their character building. Miremba, whose children attended Q school, may be regarded as a parallel to the family in Pugh's example. Miremba's children had to work from an early age, even without pay, for an ideal organisation. Miremba was more concerned about her children's character building and the development of their ability to earn money and provide for themselves. She looked ahead to what she foresaw would be their priorities and interests as they grew older – desiring certain prestigious clothes and having the feeling of being somebody. The parents worried about the wellbeing and the future of their children, but their concerns displayed a diversity, based on their economic situation, as well as on their mental and social situations. The parents' worries were reflected in their children and might have resulted in a boy like Zahir acquiring his parents' worries as his own, whereas 10-year-old Robin, according to his father, was given a strong voice in the family's decision to move (or not) to the countryside.

I have described how Q is perceived as a transit area, with a constant flow of pupils in and out of the classes. Many of these movements are in themselves expressions of power structures: Who decides which families are in most need of social housing, and who must move out? The transient situation in Q created a constant renewal of what may be called superdiverse aspects. New families with different experiences from other countries and various travel modes and reasons for travel could constitute new language minorities. Sometimes bearing traumas from war, new children were assigned to Q school and moved to the neighbourhood nearly every week. This aspect must be taken into account when considering the important matters of belonging and the management of dignity based on interactional, social and personal relations in a school and a neighbourhood such as Q.

Gogolin (2016) argues that cultural diversity and superdiversity are intensified in school, viewed in light of what the intersecting diversities may foster regarding learning abilities. Some pupils who do not function very well socially or appear to be slow learners in some classes may do well in music. This might be related to diversity in learning styles (Dunn & Dunn, 1974) and to some pupils needing more physical activity in order to learn (Mangino, 2004). The need for more physical activity may coincide with a diagnosis, such as ADHD, but not necessarily (Mangino, 2004). By applying a perspective of superdiversity, researchers

and educators may obtain a more complex view than the dualism of normal versus special or strong versus weak, as pointed out by Gogolin (2016). However, to use one's strengths, it might be necessary to make adjustments. These may be framed as adapted education. In Nussbaum's (2006) terminology, this refers to the governmental responsibility for providing accessibility to the necessary resources to enhance capabilities.

Based on studies in Sweden and Germany, Gogolin (2016) argues that the conceptualisation of normality disqualifies some of the pupils. She contends that children with immigrant backgrounds are particularly vulnerable in a system that is based on dualisms, such as normal versus deviant. Implying a perspective of superdiversity may foster an upgrading of the "multilingual habitus" (p. 246) as a strength. Competence in handling diversity was regarded as a strength in the middle-class communities where Pugh (2009) worked. This might well be the case among the white middle-class parents in Q. Regarding language, it was surprising that being in command of Arabic, Lebanese and Norwegian at the age of seven was not recognised as a competence by the school authorities. Seeing through the lens of superdiversity could be a way to increase awareness of the strengths and competencies that might come with diversity.

In Q school, a tentative grid of superdiversity would comprise at least the following factors: country of origin, reason for migration, family background, economic status, health/disabilities, learning style, skills, gender, and age, as well as space in the pupils' homes (enabling musical practice).

BATHING IN HYBRIDITY

Power is often unquestioned, not the least among children in school (Lidén, 2001). The paradox in Q school was that the minority in Norwegian society at large comprised the majority of the school population. In discussing institutional whiteness, Ahmed (2012, pp. 36-38) suggests that giving colour space allows whiteness to continue. Institutional whiteness concerns the reproduction of sameness. Institutional whiteness implies that coloured people are expected to show gratitude for the white hospitality by allowing the institutions to celebrate their diversity (2012, p. 43). Refusing to take part in the celebration of diversity, in the forms of street parties and intercultural festivals, may easily be condemned as a refusal to let oneself be included (Ahmed, 2012), while if one goes along, one becomes part of reinforcing the uneven power structures. The concept of whiteness, as presented by Ahmed (2012), reveals that power structures may be inherent in hidden racism.

Diversity can become an image that proves an institution's political correctness. Ahmed argues how diversity is about "a variety of people", and far from random, this variety "takes some forms, and not others" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 77). The hybrid form of Q was partly trespassing the old us-and-them scheme of immigrant versus Norwegian, the "have nots" versus the "haves" (Cooper & Pugh, 2020). The young people from immigrant families were intended to be guests, not facilitators of street parties. Being guests, instead of being in charge and making something for themselves, after a certain age, is a form of disempowerment underlining the power hierarchies between those receiving benefits and those in power to be generous. The wish for participation is pointed out in refugee studies in other countries (see f ex. Strang et al., 2018). The right to have duties is also connected to the individual experience of dignity by being a needed person.

I argue that cultural diversity is also part of the identity of Q as a neighbourhood. Being different as a collective of diversity, implicitly contrasting other groups that are not so diverse, is presented as being Q-ish. The identity of being hybrid has been presented in other works concerning the situation in Oslo (See for ex. Rysst, 2020a; Vestel, 2004). Black scholars have related to me how they sometimes have felt to be "bathing in whiteness". The opposite, "bathing in colour", is what might be experienced among the white Norwegians children in Q. I suggest that "bathing in hybridity" may be the goal, at least on behalf of the school and also the parents, and perhaps, it is what the children in fact experience. Nonetheless, the "black" are still the "guests" in many respects. These paradoxes are aspects of Agawu's rhetorical questions regarding differences, related to ownership of the horizons of understanding: "Is it possible to achieve a genuine fusion of horizons between cultures located in radically different economic spheres?" (Agawu, 2003/2012, p. 123).

ROUNDING UP THE CHAPTER

In this chapter, I have shown that the concept of cultural diversity must be viewed as both connected to and crossing many differences between the children and their families, differences that often, but not always, coincide with the dichotomy of white Norwegian versus immigrant.

Parents value their children's safety. As such, the teachers' stability was very important to the parents of the pupils in Q school, particularly in light of the high mobility in the area. The notion of classical music seemed to be important to the immigrants, mostly

because it implied safe arenas for performance. The white Norwegians, to a higher degree, focused on their children having a goal to reach for regarding the music.

The economic situation of the families and the rising cost of housing in the area led to the tendency of many of the resourceful families with immigrant backgrounds to move out of the area.

The parents' situations contributed to the diversity of the children in school. The children related to differences more than to diversity, and the differences that mattered were often practical and centred on issues and variables such as the following: Were they able to play their instruments well enough to join the group? What kinds of sports did they like? Differences among the children were also related to their homes and to their parents as tokens of being worthy – worthy of bringing an instrument home, and perhaps underlying this, feeling worthy of belonging (Pugh, 2009). Being proud of one's family and parents appeared as having aspects of social capital, parallel to Pugh's notions of scrip, and represented not only a social difference but also a relational difference, as the children sometimes put forward their parents as tokens of their own social worth, also in immediate situations.

Superdiversity appears as a fruitful perspective for understanding the situation, especially connected to the transit situation, caused by the mobility. (Super)diversity, to a certain extent, was also kept "hot" by the mobility. However, it is necessary to include power structures to understand a superdiverse situation. These include the power that adults have over children, making it possible for some to continue attending the same school and playing in the orchestra even after moving to another area. Furthermore, the geopolitical situation has impacts on families' lives. Not least, do the social service system represent power structures for families in need of shelter or of help to establish themselves after their flight to a new country, for some on the other side of the world.

7 TEACHING SKILLS AND NEWCOMERS

In this chapter, I present some of the challenges to be met in diversity and high mobility and how this was approached by some of the teachers. The perspectives on teachers' management of their classes may be regarded as meso-level analysis[34]. In the second part of the chapter, I pay attention to how some teachers facilitated for inclusion in different ways, and how some children's management of inclusion may be related to the various ways that the teachers worked towards an inclusive learning environment.

The final section of the chapter focuses on how the music teachers approached teaching children (with limited knowledge of Norwegian) how to play musical instruments. I describe a method that is designed to be independent of elaborate language and may be seen to function as adapted education in a setting where the command of the language is limited and unevenly distributed. The method may also be a mode of teaching skills that cannot altogether be explicated in language, as they rest on tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1966/2009).

7.1 TEACHERS: "YOU ARE IN Q SCHOOL NOW – WE ARE DIFFERENT"

Many teachers referred to Q school as something special and different from other schools. Many of them also expressed frustrations with the communal education authorities who did not understand the special challenges they had at Q and treated it as "any other public Oslo school", as one teacher said.

COPING WITH MOBILITY

The headmaster did not try to conceal his frustration with the mobility. In an informal talk about the situation, he complained that only 6 of the 38 pupils who started in 1st grade were among the 28 pupils ending in 7th grade that spring. The mobility affected the academic performance, as measured in test results of the school, and led to situations where he had to make difficult choices and compromises regarding the national test scheme:

[34] Ansdell and DeNora (2017) describe a 'meso-level' of analysis as between the micro (face-to-face) level and the macro (institutions, large scale patterns) level. The meso level is "where the action is" (Fine 2010, as cited in Ansdell & DeNora, 2017, p. 28), and where cultural forms can be observed and experienced. In this thesis, the meso level defines the classrooms and the music groups.

> Language certainly is a big challenge for many of our kids. Many of those taking the fifth-grade test in fact do not know Norwegian. It dramatically pulls our results down as a school. If it is justifiable to the pupil, we let them go through the test. But then, we are obliged to let their results count in our school results…, but of course, it really draws the school results down as a whole… [pause]. But people will just have to make up their own minds about us. We don't care. Important to us is that we know what the results mean, and what lies behind the figures.

The situation resembles Pihl's (2005, 2009) findings, although in this case, the headmaster acknowledged that the poor test results that appeared as learning difficulties could in fact be explained by the test items being written in Norwegian and thus in a language that many of the tested youth did not have full or even fairly good command of. However, the authorities higher up in the school administration might not understand this, as implied by the headmaster. Perhaps, neither might parents, when considering whether they had to choose to send their children to Q school or move out.

Jenny was a first-grade teacher in the year when I did field work. In an interview just after the summer break had started, she was worried about the pupils she had lost that year.

> Jenny: "The mobility is so enormous. During the year, I have lost five, five! And now… I lose five more: two because they quarrel with the headmaster – I say it as it is."
>
> Lise: "White Norwegian parents?"
>
> Jenny: "Yes, white. So it is a tragedy."
>
> Jenny continues: "Two move to the suburbs because their parents have managed to get a grip and buy a flat."
>
> Lise: "But that's good news also?"
>
> Jenny: "Yes, but it is a joy mixed with horror, though. We invest so much. And it is a tragedy that the good work that we do…. We don't get the chance to follow it up. But I don't send anyone away who hasn't learned to read!"
>
> Jenny concludes with this, as if to reassure herself that the small pupils leave her grip with the best possible luggage.

Lise: “What does this do to the classroom environment?”

Jenny: “It makes it very vulnerable. We have lost five, and now we lose another five.”

Lise: “Did some new children arrive during the year?”

Jenny: “Yes, we have gotten six newcomers in my class just the past term.”

She continues:

> “You know, the other pupils are our biggest resources. Children play. If a child doesn’t play, that’s when we become worried. And we use children as interpreters. It is in fact a good thing because it helps connect the newcomer to children of his or her same language group, which is a good starting point.”

Jenny revealed that the worry and care for her pupils were reflected in negative emotions as worry, and just as other teachers, as I will show in the coming section, made her lack sleep at night. Moreover, Jenny said that white families moving out was “a tragedy”, a view that she corrected herself. Towards the end of the interview, I picked up the topic again, and Jenny said:

> “It [the new situation including more white families staying on in the area and more white Norwegian children enrolled at the school] makes us behave differently, in a way, as if there is a new class division. Some parents expect to be treated differently, and we tend to try to please the white parents to a greater extent. I don’t like it.”

She and other teachers wished to treat all parents with similar respect but realised that they in fact were more service minded towards white parents.

Attitudes and strategies towards pupils moving out varied among the teachers. A class teacher engaged in a dialogue over lunch about Betty, one of her pupils who was moving out of Q with her family after they had bought a flat in the suburbs. Most teachers regretted Betty’s moving because she was regarded as a talented girl who also had a good influence on many of her peers. Her class teacher argued over lunch one day:

> It will be good for her though. In a way, she is an ordinary Norwegian girl who plays football and wears shorts. It is difficult for her here; she gets comments.

Betty was a bright girl with an African and Christian background. Many teachers said that sports were unisex, until the children reached the age of ten to twelve years. After that, some of the girls from immigrant families were expected to quit sports, particularly football. Betty (and a few other girls, also some from Muslim families) continued playing football after puberty.

Incidentally, the teachers perceived the music programme as a particularly welcome activity because it did not have the same restrictions for girls when they reached puberty.

One teacher said that the fellow pupils were her biggest assets when children arrived in the middle of the term without Norwegian language skills. The following passage is from an interview where she gives an example of how working on practical tasks together can form an arena for sharing thoughts and facilitate important communication across language barriers.

> "I had five children help me clean out a room that had not been used for years. It was full of 'teacher gum' and that sort of thing. I had two newly arrived[35] along with me. One had Greek as [his] mother tongue… another one had Tigrini. The kids were there and worked, and they communicated all the time, with grunts and body language and all. And there were three others washing a wall. Then one of them suddenly exclaimed, 'Teacher, have you thought about… now I see that it is only me here who is Norwegian.' I looked at her, and I said, 'What do you mean by that?' The child became silent, as if thinking, *what did I mean by that?* And then she said, 'I mean to say, we are two' – as if trying to include me in being Norwegian. Then one of the other girls said, 'I usually say that I am Norwegian–Somali.' One of the others joined in, 'I really don't know what I say.' Then we had a really nice talk about speaking different languages. We also talked about how some people did not want to say they were Norwegian. Then I pointed at one of the boys and said, 'One thing is certain; Iannis is Greek.' And we all laughed. 'But the most important thing,' I told them in conclusion, 'is that we are all Q-ish.'"

The white Norwegian girl who started the discussion by commenting that she and the teacher were the only Norwegians, used the national categories. The Norwegian–Somali pupil and the teacher followed this example but also referred to sameness as "we": "We are all Q-ish." When people laugh together, it is presumably because they think the same thing is funny, and in this example, laughing also crosses language barriers. Laughing together is one way of enforcing a feeling of belonging to the same group, what may be called 'a situational

[35] The term "newly arrived" (*nyankomne*) is used to describe people who come directly from abroad, with little or no knowledge of Norwegian.

we'. The passage shows how nationalities matter and are used by the teacher: "One thing is certain; Iannis is Greek", perhaps voiced to elicit good laughter together, more than to make a statement about Iannis' nationality. When some pupils "don't know what they say" regarding nationality, it may reveal that nationality is either something that they have not spent much time thinking about or is an unresolved matter for them. I argue that the teacher's ending comment – "The most important thing is that we are all Q-ish" – underlined a local identity, presented as if to overshadow the differences in belonging, nationalities and homelands by a shared and more important local belonging. This stress on something "Q-ish" as a separate local identity was (as mentioned) a recurrent theme from the teachers, as well as from some of the parents whom I spoke with. It may be perceived as an attempt to form local solidarity that crosses differences. It may also be viewed in light of the Norwegian construction of "sameness" as a basis for common existence (Gullestad, 2002).

KEEPING PEACE AND ORDER IN CLASS

Keeping a quiet class was demanding at times, and both the music teachers and the Q teachers invested much effort in this. "Some of these children have much unrest in them," remarked one of the assistants. Keeping the classroom quiet is reported to pose a major challenge in general and especially in heterogeneous classes (Duesund, 2017).

Grouping and regrouping children in workstation units were ways that many teachers approached the challenge of having a quieter classroom. One morning, Julie, a third-grade teacher, started by addressing her class:

> Before we start today, I want to make a little change. You know how you sometimes cannot fall asleep at night because you are thinking about something. Last night, I lay awake, thinking that perhaps we should try to let Munasar and Ismail change places.

The teachers paid much attention to whom the children sat next to. It was considered to make a huge impact on the ability to keep the peace. Keeping the peace in a difficult class also gave the teachers a certain standing. They often told me about their challenges, and the music teachers were proud of the good cooperation they had with many of the children who were "troublemakers" in other classes. For example, after a class I had joined and when I commented to Anne how the kids had worked with great concentration, she could tell me:

> Look, among these five kids, there are four special cases… five, in fact, because George is so clever that he becomes a 'shithead' if he is not treated very carefully.

School assistants were involved in keeping the peace. They were assigned especially to those pupils who needed particular attention to help them with their restlessness and/or to keep on track with learning. However, assistants were somewhat controversial in general because they were not trained, and sometimes, they used methods to keep 'their' pupils peaceful, which the teachers did not approve. Some of the male assistants were reputed to use their masculinity as an asset. Some teachers talked about pupils who stiffened and straightened up physically when one of the male assistants entered the arena, and others who were scared and had received punishments, which were "far beyond what can be tolerated in school", according to a teacher.

"So, [what] are we looking for as a success – that they walk nicely down the stairs?"[36] One teacher asked this rhetorical question during a chat in the hallway one afternoon. The teacher referred to the masculine way of making children behave correctly. The teachers seemed to have no disagreement regarding the importance of the children behaving well in class. Neither was there any disagreement about the value of walking nicely along the stairways. The controversy was related to why the children walked nicely down the stairs – was it due to their fear of punishment or want of a reward or based on their own character and will? Well-behaved pupils and proud teachers had a backside regarding controversial methods.

COOPERATION WITH PARENTS

Close cooperation with the parents is a duty described in The Education Act (The Education Act, 1998, § 1-1). White Norwegian parents are most likely more aware of this duty and thus, perhaps more prone to demand rights on behalf of their children. The teachers said that many of the immigrant parents in Q needed help and reassurance from them in how to be parents in the Norwegian context and what was expected from them as parents and including in particular cooperation with the school. Different attitudes and inspirations from parents regarding rehearsing playing the instruments at home were also noticed by the teachers. Teacher Jenny said:

[36] This comment in the hallway was not recorded but written down directly afterwards.

> Quickly, we saw that some of these white middle-class kids practise [playing] their instruments. And this stands out in a "black school" as ours; you know, at concerts, the soloists are the white pupils who practise.

Jenny continues reflecting about the situation:

> I think Anne is attentive to this, really. Perhaps we as a school need to work more… with activities such as making communication work, banners, that sort of thing. So that everyone, even though they are not soloist material, can feel that this is *ours* (stressing the last word).

Some of the parents were obviously not as familiar with the Norwegian climate and the tradition of not serving meals in school but depending on the parents to provide lunch to be brought from home. The teachers and assistants more or less discreetly remarked about insufficient dressing or lunches. Some of the assistants gave eloquent looks to the pupils' gear or lunchboxes after having caught my attention, sometimes accompanied by a whisper, such as "Look at the footwear." Correspondingly, supportive comments that implied a judgement of the families such as "I see that boy gets a good follow-up at home: clean clothes, good lunches" were common and often not concealed from the pupils' ears.

Working to make the parents feel secure and provide them with knowledge regarding what was expected from them in a Norwegian school setting was considered important by the teachers, especially in the lower grades. Some teachers focused more on this than others, and one mentioned the most important things for the parents to not give up: "We must make them feel that they can do it. They can manage to be good parents here in Norway."

Some children had left school and the country to spend a year in their parents' homeland or with relatives in other European countries and would then return to Q a year later. This has been a controversial issue with both the national and the local school administration and is now illegal. However, one teacher said that spending a year in their parents' homeland could also be a good thing for some of the pupils.

> "Some come back with more peace of mind. It seems as if learning more about their parents' homeland has been of value for them, as well as learning their parents' native language properly. But others are furious at their parents who forced them, or they have missed their friends. And some are perhaps also angry at their teacher, whom they feel let them down in some way, by letting this happen."

According to another teacher, upon returning from a year abroad, some pupils had lost important social qualifications for the life in Q and experienced more problems after their return, related to adapting to the Norwegian youth culture, as well as regarding behavioural issues.

The teachers were not always notified beforehand about the arrival of new pupils, whether returning or totally new. For the teachers, it could be a matter of an extra pupil simply showing up for violin class, who had never held a violin in one's hands.

7.2 MANAGING INCLUSION

INCLUSION OR ANTI-BULLYING

The school staff as well as the parents focused on what they considered the opposite of inclusion when I tried to engage them to talk about inclusion. This has also been recognised by other researchers in the field (Rysst, 2020a). Bullying and anti-bullying have been a major focus in the Norwegian school context. The focus on and the problems related to bullying have generated studies, programmes and initiatives that are beyond the scope of the present study to investigate. It is generally understood that in Norway, physical violence among pupils has been reduced over the years, but figures from reports show that the number of pupils who feel regularly bullied by other pupils/students are more or less constant, around 5.8% in seventh grade[37] (UDIR, 2021a). Some of the teachers and the headmaster disagreed, to a certain extent, about how to define bullying and what can be tolerated as part of "what goes on in any group of children" as opposed to "harmful bullying". Linked to this was another topic of dispute among the teachers, namely whether marginalisation on social media should be part of the school's responsibility for anti-bullying.[38] Thus, although the focus from the authorities has been directed explicitly towards inclusion in recent years, with an emphasis on the individual experience of belonging (NOU 2015:2), inclusion still seems to be represented as integration and anti-bullying in much of the discourse in school.

[37] Seventh grade is the last year of primary school and the first year of public statistics material generated, based on the pupils' own responses.
[38] Some said that it was just too much for the school to relate to what was happening on social media. Other teachers said that social media strongly affected the children's emotions during the school day, so that they just had to relate to it and in their teaching, include how to behave towards one another on social media.

According to Ingunn M. Eriksen and Selma T. Lyng (2015), bullying basically has to do with shame, namely shame induced by others. This understanding of bullying parallels the focus on dignity that is central in my analysis, from the perspectives on dignity in both Pugh's (2009) *Longing and Belonging* and works by Nussbaum (2006). I use this definition of bullying in this thesis, although I focus more on affiliation and fellowship, what Nussbaum would call "non-humiliation" (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 77), than on humiliation.

Anne talked much about strategies for creating well-functioning groups with the other music teachers and with me. She said that she often had to foresee what a child was about to comment to or about another child in order to avoid it and thus prevent harm that otherwise could not have been undone. "It is about foreseeing and being ahead of things," Anne told me one afternoon, adding:

> You can see on someone's face sometimes that they think, "That guy is daft" and is about to say something or act. You must be there to prevent something from being said. If not, the attitude and behaviour towards someone may become shared and fixed. When something is said, it may be too late.

Safia's strategy: Talking about inclusion with her class

Whereas some teachers told their pupils to sort out disagreements among themselves during play breaks before class, others spent a long time in helping the children unite and make friends again after a fight over something outside during a break. They said that the children brought emotional stress with them, anyway, and that this would ruin the learning situation in class afterwards. What happens during play breaks may also be regarded as part of the hidden curriculum (Jackson, 1990).

Safia was one of the teachers who worked in an explicit manner to teach the children to act inclusively. I observed her third-grade class, while seated at the back of the classroom. An episode, which occurred after play break one day in early spring, illustrates Safia's approach. After the children had been seated and become quiet after the break, Safia started talking to her class:

> Safia: How was your break; did you have a good time?
>
> Many pupils raise their hands, and Safia asks one of the girls, Seyneb, to answer. Seyneb tells them about a game they had played outside, where many had participated.

Safia: That sounds like fun – was it? I really like to hear that you include others in the games.

They continue talking about the game, and Safia asks if somebody in class is particularly good at including others. Some start talking among themselves, and names are mentioned. Safia reminds them to raise their hands first. Hands shoot up in the air. When Safia gives someone the word, the pupil gives the name of a classmate who is particularly good at including others during the break. They start listing names, quickly listing more and more names each. Safia then says that two names each are the maximum. It seems that some children put up their hands before they have decided what to say or whom to mention. When it's their turn, they start by looking around in class, saying, "I take… [hesitating]… X (name) and Y (name)." After a short while, it seems as if many are crediting each other as in a kind of spontaneously developed game. Safia also comments on this and terminates the session.

Safia: Many have mentioned Amber's name.

To Amber: "You have been mentioned by so many as including others, very good at giving compliments and playing with many. As a reward, you will be today's teacher's assistant."

Amber looks surprised but pleased. She comes up to the blackboard and is given the sponge, with allowance to wipe out the list of names from the finished session.

To be the teacher's assistant was a common reward. This must be seen as reinforcing the teacher's position as a role model. The instantly produced "name game" created a kind of implicit exclusion. I do not think that exclusion of some was necessarily intended by any of the pupils. However, had the game been allowed to develop, anxiety over not being mentioned by anyone or by certain others could increase for some of the pupils and perhaps trigger the question, "Do I belong?" Eidsvåg and Rosell (2021) argue that small children experience and exercise power, such as in setting boundaries and choosing playmates. Likewise, I argue that the incident in Safia's class above was a situation where the pupils experienced their power to include and exclude, most likely without strategically considering it, at least not explicitly. Safia noticed this development and ended the session. Her selection of Amber, whom a few had mentioned, was furthermore an act of using her power as a teacher to promote prosocial behaviour according to her own judgement. Amber was not a girl who had many friends and was often excluded or marginalised herself in regroupings, such as for music classes. However, I had observed how she also had the personality and strength to invite herself in, to start a game outside and to invite others to join that game. This

was probably the kind of behaviour that Safia had wished to highlight when the pupils instead started the "selection-of-names-game". Safia used her power to promote this kind of inclusive behaviour, rather than counting the names mentioned before she chose a winner to reward.

The pupils' approaches to inclusion were related to their teachers' instructions and actions, in combination with their own pressing need to experience belonging. Being explicit with the pupils about their powers to include others seemed to lead to openings for more inclusive games outside during the play breaks. The pupils otherwise seemed to quickly use any opportunity given by the teachers to act in accordance with their need to manage relations among themselves. To Safia's class, inclusion had become explicit and articulated as a choice of behaviour. From my observations during the breaks, it was clear that many of the children managed quite well to include themselves in games this way, simply by asking.

INCLUDED IN GAMES BUT NOT IN FRIENDSHIPS

It seemed that Safia's teachings on inclusion had worked. I often saw pupils being allowed to join the ball games going on in the schoolyard. When somebody approached an ongoing ballgame, asking, "Can I play?", one of those already playing typically said, "Stop the game. X (name) wants to join." Most of the children knew from their teacher's instructions that when somebody asked to join the game, they should be let in. They had been taught how they had the power to create inclusive experiences for one another. As such, this may be perceived as a result in micro-settings – one pupil being included in a game, from actions in the meso-setting of the teacher instructing her class in inclusive behaviour.

A game with many players was somewhat different from, for example, just a trio. Many of the girls in particular, were part of trios that often hung around together. The stronger and shifting bonds between two of the three may be more vulnerable and something of which one or two of the trio may be very protective. Soon after the incident of selecting the most inclusive pupil, I observed a girl from Safia's class running after two other girls from the same class, while shouting after them, "You have to include me; teacher says so." In this case, the two seemed to actively exclude the third, and she, in turn, could be explicit about this because they had learned from their teacher that inclusion was something that they could expect and demand. While a ballgame has defined rules and thus less space for personal management, a trio is more based on personal bonds. It follows that the trio had implications of friendship or virtual friendship, which seemed to be more at stake than having a playmate during the breaks.

It is thus highly possible to feel included in one moment and excluded in the next. Aspects of inclusion may be defined by the kind of relationship in question. Inclusive behaviour, as requested by the teacher, was easier to deliver in ballgames than in smaller groups, particularly when a closer friendship was at stake. By describing play situations among pre-school children, Jaana Juutinen et al. (2018, p. 250) find that what they call the "politics of belonging" is always part of games where children form groups and "us" that necessarily implies "them". Tensions between individuality and communality lie at the heart of what they call the "values of belonging" (Juutinen et al., 2018, p. 262). Values of belonging are topics that according to Juutinen and colleagues (2018 p. 262) should be part of educators' focus in all educational settings, in particular valuable in a globalized rapidly changing world.

The following example of a teacher strategy was not meant for promoting inclusion but for facilitating a large group of children's compliance with the instruction to sit quietly together on the floor in a large open space, while waiting for the music teachers to come and collect them. However, the outcome might be that some of the children would seize the opportunity for their own ends, such as promoting their own inclusion – and exclusion of others.

> Some of the children handled where and with whom to sit with noticeable consideration and sometimes, with some commotion. Especially, some of the girls hurried inside sometimes, seemingly to be able to take a seat beside somebody whom they wished to sit next to. The teacher of one of the classes said loudly in order to reach everybody, "If you see that you sit next to somebody who makes it difficult to sit quietly, now is the time to move!" This message was followed by a girl immediately getting up from her place on the floor and walking across the room to sit down. A girl who was left behind looked surprised and followed the move and the other girl with her glance. Two other children moved to other places (inspired by the first girl?).

Of course, while it could be that some of the children simply used the opportunity to move their bodies, I find it plausible that the children (as in the example from Safia's class in the section above) used opportunities to associate with some, form alliances with several, and sometimes more or less accidentally but consequently, not with others. Opportunities for the power to include and exclude were seized and used by the children, sometimes constructively, at other times implicitly or explicitly excluding, and often, their actions and dispositions could seem to involve more power than they were actually aware that they had (Eidsvåg & Rosell,

2021). Individual and collective interests may be regarded as tensions between feelings and the politics of emotion (Juutinen et al., 2018).

When I interviewed or talked informally with the children about friendships, I asked them what the most important quality of a good friend was. The most dominant replies were "somebody whom you can trust" and "somebody who stands up for you if you need him/her".

Two girls in seventh grade, Yani and Fatima, declared themselves as best friends. They also spent much time separately in school, based on my observations, as they had different interests in sports and other spare-time activities. They also dressed and acted differently, Yani in pink laces and Fatima in black hoodies, although both wore *hijabs*. I talked with them about friendship (separately). Fatima said about Yani, "She is my sister. I can always go to her and tell her everything." Yani said, "I know that I can always trust Fatima, no matter what." These two girls were both from immigrant families but from different continents. Contrary to my expectations that in general align with other research showing correlations among style, clothing and friendships (Rysst, 2015), friendships in Q did not necessarily coincide with a similar style in clothes. Belonging to a group or being someone's best friend did not seem to involve clothes or other consumer items as symbols or as scrip (Pugh, 2009), to a degree that was found in the US, as described by Pugh (2009) or typical in other Norwegian schools.

Kimberley, a girl in sixth grade, said that she had no friend. However, she was skilful in music as in other subjects. I often saw her active with other children and rarely alone. Nonetheless, in the middle of an interview with me, she suddenly changed her tone of voice, looked out of the window, and said, "The others don't like me; they don't want me. Nobody wants to sit next to me."

My understanding was that Kimberley – although she had people around her, playmates in the school yard as well as in music – did not feel that she had someone she could trust in the sense that the person would always stand up for her. I believe that Kimberley felt that she belonged to Q school and to the school environment, from her looks when I saw her around and her participation in many shared activities. However, when she felt that she was not chosen by anyone to sit beside that person, as she was not selected when there was free seating, my understanding is that her "feeling worthy of belonging" (Pugh, 2009, p. 7) was at stake. Kimberley, who was skilful in music and seemingly a central figure in the orchestra, had obviously not found something connected to her skilfulness that could be exchanged into

a sufficiently reassuring feeling of being worthy of belonging. Kimberley missed having access to a close friendship, somebody who would always stand up for her. Thus, there is no one-to-one relationship regarding being a good player and having a friend or feeling worthy of belonging.

According to Pugh (2009), the longing to belong is connected to a virtual aspect of identity (Goffman, 1967/2005). In recent studies, identity is often replaced by belonging (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016), is not fixed and static, especially not for growing children in transit areas. The virtual aspect implies that there may be unrealised potentials for belonging in the approximate future. For children, the future may signify the next day or even the coming play break.

The trombone players Amal, Zarah, and Zelda agreed that there was a difference between being nice (inclusive in play) and real friendships. According to Amal, real friendships involve secrets that people can share and keep together. According to Zarah, it is possible to find friends through playing music, but the three of them agreed that most of all, people become friendly, not necessarily friends, especially when laughing together. This distinction correlated with the teachers' conceptions regarding friendships and musicking. One teacher said that the music programme surely made the school environment better, not necessarily giving pupils more friends, but by "increasing their friendliness towards one another and giving the pupils more contacts in school". The mobility must be perceived as a challenge to developing friendships. Mobility also posed special challenges regarding teaching how to play instruments.

7.3 TEACHING TACIT KNOWLEDGE: ANNE'S METHOD

Anne used a special device, the "clicker", that is designed for animal training. The clicker is a small piece of plastic holding a metal strip. The device is held between a person's thumb and index finger. When a button is pushed, the metal strip bends to produce a distinct sound – a "click". Anne used this with her dogs. She also used it in her cornetto classes.

When she decides to use the clicker, it is to teach something that she seems to fail to explain, such as a difficult rhythmic pattern in a bar or just how to produce the tone from the instrument in the correct way to be able to produce a nice brass tone. First, she defines a task that releases a click, for example, producing the sound from the instrument. Anne plays a tone on her cornetto. She gives the pupil the clicker. Then she plays the tone again and looks at the

pupil, nodding towards the clicker. The pupil produces a click. Anne nods. She repeats it, and the pupil clicks. Next, Anne plays a different sound, not a clear tone. The pupil does not click. Anne looks at him, approvingly. She then plays the clear tone again, and the pupil clicks. Anne then takes the clicker and asks the pupil to pick up his instrument. Once again, Anne plays the clear tone, the way that she wishes the pupil to do it. The pupil tries to imitate her. He is "clicked" when he does it right. The pupil does it repeatedly, sometimes incorrectly, so there is no click. When the pupil does it correctly, the click is the sign that this is the right way.

Anne also used this method for teaching other skills, for example, a rhythmic pattern. If a task seemed too difficult so that a pupil made huge mistakes every time, Anne made the task easier, for instance, by shortening it. She continued until the pupil did it the right way all the time, which was often a short time span, such as a few minutes. Often, the pupil managed the task on the first or the second attempt; I was generally amazed at how quickly this went.

Anne described the clue of the clicker while we were talking one afternoon after the lessons were finished:

> It is a neutral way of giving feedback. The click takes away the need for value-laden expressions, such as "good" or "wrong". And it is an immediate response. By trying it out with the model available and the quick response, after a short while, the pupil knows when he or she does it correctly…. Moreover, it is about getting their mind involved in their playing. The fact that the pupils seem to find this easy is also important. They nearly always give or withhold clicks from me correctly. They understand this really, really fast.

The technique required for producing the desired tone from an instrument may be broken down into fragments of muscular control and coordination that cannot be explained easily by language, even if the pupil knows Norwegian. Producing sound on an instrument involves many muscles in the mouth and the tongue, also including the stream of air and the body posture that neither a child nor a grown person can describe verbally. It is a good example of Polanyi's definition of tacit knowledge: "We know more than we can tell" (Polanyi, 1966/2009 p.4). The sound produced by the pupil on one's cornetto is supposed to copy the sound of the teacher on her instrument. Anne can neither tell the pupil exactly how to do it nor describe a tone, but she can show it. The clicker makes the pupil listen intensely, with one's body alert in the listening, or so it seems.

In Anne's system, sound is used as a signal. The click is a sign meaning 'correct'. As a sign, the sound of the click functions as a wordless approval, indicating that the correct management of muscles is being used. As such, the clicker may be considered a device for teaching tacit bodily knowledge that can neither be expressed nor explained comprehensibly. In the case of playing a musical instrument, teaching tacit knowledge can be perceived as teaching the knowledge of how to produce the correct sound and to play the correct rhythm – but the teacher cannot tell or explain how the muscles work and what to do with one's lip. When the tone produced in the brass mouthpiece meets the quality or the timbre of the teacher's requirements, the click tells the student – or should I say, the student's body – that he or she hits the correct combination of muscle tensions.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE CLICKER AND RECEIVING REWARDS

Anne was aware that her method with the clicker was associated with behaviourism and as such, frowned upon. According to Roger Säljö (2016 p. 44), the atomistic learning view that behaviourism implies might also have the individualistic and optimistic perspective that everyone might be able to learn, despite one's poor social surroundings or negative upbringing. One of the critiques against behaviourism, seen in this light, is related to the fact that the child recognises that one receives a reward and thus starts calculating with it (Säljö, 2016). To Anne, this is part of the function. The children are supposed to know. The more the children understand the reward, the more it works. According to her, there is a huge difference between using this with animals and with her pupils. Following Biesta's (2013 p. 55)[39] argument, "true participation" only takes place when the participants know the rules of the game and shares its goals. The goal of the teaching is not hidden from the pupils. The pupil is an informed player – a subject – not an object in which the curriculum is the subject.

The click may be regarded as feedback from the surroundings. The click is a response from the surroundings that the learner is on track. Playing according to a sound signal – the click – demands attention to and from the surroundings. In community music therapy, it is generally acknowledged that one way that music works is through the connection between sound and attention; sound demands attention (Stige & Aarø, 2011). Perhaps the clicker as such is also a way to help the easily distracted child to focus. The click as a reward system is used for developing muscular techniques, producing neither artistic nor moral judgements.

[39] Biesta did not refer to behaviourism.

However, it is a method of teaching the tacit technical knowledge necessary to master playing an instrument. Learning by clicking is learning by imitation, beyond the use of words, both cognitively and bodily, "habtical" (Ingold, 2018, p. 51) in that it is beyond the limitations of the words.

The basics of rewarding compliance with what Anne wanted the pupils to do or perform ran through all of her teaching and often involved practice of the desired performance, for which they will be given credit. If a pupil came too late for her lesson and entered the room in a noisy way, she would ask him or her to go out and try once more, knock and then enter nicely.

Once, she said to one of her pupils in a class that I attended, "How could you have said that in a nicer way? Let's try", whereupon she gave the child some time to find another expression himself and actually say it. The new expression became an experience, something that had been tried and therefore a new possible practice. In addition to learning by doing, it focused on compassion for fellow students.

Anne told me that she worked on building a practice regarding how one behaves in the orchestra rehearsals. This can be perceived as working towards developing, by habit, bodily memories (Connerton, 1989) of certain behaviours connected to the orchestra that would work in a manner such as "when in the orchestra, one does not speak to one's neighbour, even if one has long breaks and even if one feels like it". According to my observations, she succeeded regarding behaviour, as also mentioned by some of the parents. Some of the pupils commented on their different behaviour themselves. I asked all of the children whom I interviewed or talked to whether any of the teachers was too strict. With no exception, they liked their music teacher. However, one boy in seventh grade emerged from the cornetto lesson once, when I was sitting outside in the hall. He looked at me and said, as if more to himself than to me, "I just hate being nice."

Unfortunately, I did not use the opportunity to interview or talk with this boy. I knew that he was often seen as being in trouble. Of course, it might be the case that he felt forced by Anne to behave better in the lesson, in a manner that could be perceived as not aimed to foster formation but to demand obedience. It might also be that it gave the boy a chance (he was not a regular cornetto pupil) of trying out a different role that was given, as in a choreography (Nussbaum, 2010), which led to an internal and uncomfortable conflict for the moment, yet still with time, might lead to a positive development based on a new bodily experience.

Discipline is an issue that has been critically questioned with regard to El Sistema (Baker, 2014; Bergman & Lindgren, 2014b; Kuuse et al., 2016).

Anne seemed to have a heart for 'difficult' pupils. I noticed that she also seemed personally interested in most of the pupils in her classes. She often asked about their holidays and gave them much time to talk if there was something they wished to share in class. When I discussed her methodical strategy with her one afternoon, I impulsively asked if it sometimes happened that she did not like a child. "No, that has never happened," she replied. She looked surprised at my question, was silent for a while and then added, "But it happens that there are crying and fussing in the beginning of a relationship with me, especially among older children. They must behave and be good to one another." Anne's strong affiliation with her pupils must not be overlooked when considering her methods or what worked with the music programme.

THE GIFT SYSTEM

Anne had also introduced a reward system based on small gift items. There were fixed rewards for playing at concerts. Other rewards were created along the way during lessons. When many rewards of one type were collected, the children could trade them with a more prestigious reward in a system, including pencil sharpeners, stickers, and so on. The smaller rewards, such as marbles and paper clips, used for the youngest children, were kept in small named boxes in a larger box in Anne's studio. The children were often eager to look into their boxes now and again. It seemed like the small things of prestige in their boxes were signs of their successes. The top prize that year was a stuffed kitten toy. The children already talked among themselves about what they thought was going to be the next top prize. One said, "I already have three kittens, perhaps the next thing will be a dog?"

When asked about what they thought was fun about playing music, receiving awards figured among the most frequent answers among the children up to 10–11 years old. This was despite understanding that they were being triggered by a reward system, not by the actual goods. Robin (10 years old) reflected in an interview: "Everybody knows that the kittens are bought at IKEA for a cheap price. So why do I pay so much attention to this?!" It was as if he tried to find the answer for becoming involuntarily motivated by receiving a gift that he did not really hold in high esteem.

Although the children compared their little reward boxes, and after a while, how many of the stuffed kittens they had in their bedrooms, I never saw the kids trade the items among themselves. The gifts were not a form of cash that could be spent or traded among the pupils. Rather, the gifts may be viewed as signs of approval from the conductor. As such, these gifts may be comparable to Pugh's (2009) analysis of 'scrip' as objects containing meanings connected to dignity and thus connected to a feeling of worthiness or being content with oneself, a kind of re-usable "interactional difference" of being thankful for what one has (Pugh, 2009, p. 59). The esteem was not in the things themselves. It was the relation between the item and the personal success of the keeper that gave the items their value. The sensation of receiving the gift as a token of achievement was what mattered. In this case, as opposed to the cases in Pugh's analysis, the token of value, the 'scrip', was defined by the teacher. This might be the reason for Robin's reflections on it being infused with value that he did not identify with yet still wanted. If the gift was expensive, at least he would have understood his attention to it. Zahir's reflections on the food that the players were sometimes given after a performance (see Chapter 5), explaining how it felt most valuable when it was only the musicians who were fed, also revealed the scrip aspect – a token of value bestowed with more meaning than the pleasure of eating good food.

Another way of perceiving the effect of the gifts might be connected to their ability to take away the sting of uneven performance and skills. The gifts were equal to all and equally accessible, related to participation, not personal skills, and the quality of musicking. As such, the gifts might have taken the focus away from the fact that there were increasing differences regarding instrument-playing skills. Some of the children learned to play their instruments more easily than others. As the headmaster pointed out, some of those who did not perform so well in other school subjects were particularly good in music. However, this was not always the case. Some seemingly excelled in everything and thus gained yet another arena for shining, as commented in a similar culturally mixed class (Smette, 2015), also connected to differences regarding the parents' abilities and wishes to follow up on their children's practising at home, as Iona's case might suggest.

Incidentally, the gifts may also parallel the medals that are commonly distributed in school marching bands in Norway. Most schools traditionally have marching bands (as described in Chapter 2), which often participate in regional or national competitions and other events where medals are given as tokens of participation and pinned on their band uniforms. Anne had a background from this band tradition, and although she did not refer to it, the

competitions and medals might have inspired the rewarding of gifts as tokens of participation in her practice in Q school.

Methods were being developed and created, along with new meetings with new pupils. The methods were also based on the teacher's own experiences, as described to be the case with other music educators (Burnard, 2005). The gift system can function as removing some of the pupil's awareness of this. The gifts were the same for all and handed out for individual reasons of achievement and for participation in concerts. As a special teaching method in a diverse student environment with varying degrees of language problems, an almost wordless method of demonstration and a sound (the click) was employed by the cornetto teacher.

ROUNDING UP THE CHAPTER

The teachers facilitated inclusion in different ways. I have brought up examples of an explicit way, that is, when a teacher talked with the children about inclusion, and a more oblique way, that is, a teacher foreseeing and preventing a harmful comment. The latter is of course more manageable in smaller groups. The children used the opportunities made available, whether purposely or not, for their own empowerment to manage belonging. They used their powers to name and give credit to one another, to try to connect with others when opportunities were offered, and sometimes, implied exclusion was a side effect. During a school day, pupils could thus have experienced being welcomed and 'othered' in combination. A friendship seemed to signify somewhat more than a playmate. To the pupils, a friendship included trust most of all, which appeared as a scarcity, or at least, as a highly regarded asset or value.

A new class division seemed to be developing, according to the teacher Jenny. This correlates with the mother Miremba's reflection presented in the previous chapter: "It is not a white flight anymore but a resource flight." Although diversity was communicated to be an element of being Q-ish, being either a white middle-class Norwegian or having an immigrant background, in many respects, appeared as a main diversifying factor from the perspectives of the school staff. This is illustrated by one of the teacher's reflections on the tendency that she herself also had: involuntarily paying more attention to the voices of the white Norwegian parents than to the voices of the immigrant parents.

Embracing diversity regarding differences in instrument-playing skills and fluency in Norwegian had to be implemented, in a manner corresponding to adapted education. This was

due to the situation that all classes were receiving newcomers more or less constantly throughout the year. Teaching methods were created and developed, along with new meetings with new pupils. As a special teaching method in a diverse student environment with varying degrees of language problems, an approach independent of words, based on demonstration and a sound signal (the click), was employed by the cornetto teacher. This method may also be regarded as a mode of teaching tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1966/2009). A gift system can be analysed as the teacher's attempt to introduce a scrip and by this, also remove some of the pupils' awareness of their differences in skills. I will cite more examples of experimentation with individually adapted methods in the next chapter.

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8 PLAYING MUSIC TOGETHER

Participation is considered a chief prerequisite for inclusion, related to diversities in special education (Haug, 2004; Hjelmbrekke, 2014; Skogdal, 2014). In this chapter, I apply a micro-level perspective to look for pupils' approaches to inclusion on a situational level in small groups, where the politics of inclusion was based on the structure of the play. What dynamics of inclusion and exclusion did they engage in, and how might this be related to playing music together?

Participation in structured play as a music group can be a way to be inside a group and a way for the prescribed activity to form the frames of a *we*. I apply Nussbaum's (1996; Nussbaum, 2010) focus on compassion and Bateson's (1972) concept of the *play frame* to envisage how the musicking can delineate spaces of compassion and care. Underlying this framework is the physical nature of the children's approach to musicking.

In the last section of the chapter, I apply Foucault's (1967/1986) concept of *heterotopy* to understand some of the significance and function of musicking as constituting a *space* and musicking in relation to the rest of the school day. I suggest that the musicking, and in particular the concerts may be perceived as heterotopic spaces.

8.1 PARTICIPATION AND INCLUSION IN MUSICKING

One way that some of the music teachers addressed the diversity in skills that sometimes dominated the music groups was to temporarily split the groups. The split could enable assigning pupils customised tasks with varying degrees of difficulty, based on their current individual levels of mastery, to further hone their instrument-playing skills and at the same time, protect their social wellbeing as a foundation for learning (Duesund, 2017). For a split to function, it could be necessary for some of the pupils to be able to work on their own for a while.

One afternoon, Anne split her group to concentrate on a new boy who had arrived in the school that same week. She needed time alone with him to teach him the basics of playing the cornetto. The other three pupils who were present that day, George, Zahir and Chibuzo, were sent out to the hall that occupied a large open space outside the studios. They were instructed to work with a collection of pedagogical bells that Anne sent with them. The bells had a modest sound compared with the cornetto. Playing the cornetto in the hall would

produce too much sound and thus disturb the other instrument groups assigned to studios facing the same hall.

THE BELLS

The bells produce one tone each, and the whole chromatic scale is represented in the large collection. The bells can be spread out, standing on a table to present a good overview, and can be grouped and divided among the players. A tone is produced by pressing the button on top of the handle that makes the clapper move. A bell can also be held by its handle and swung from side to side as a hand bell, thereby producing the sound.

Figure 3: Pedagogical hand bells

The name of the note corresponding to the western score is written on the end of the handle. As additional help, the different notes have different colours. This also facilitates reading music without having knowledge of sheet music, by having matching colours of the scores and the bells. Using colours in the scores may thus be regarded as constituting a form of adapted education and management of the curriculum, necessary for inclusion as participation in groups characterised by diversity (Nilsen, 2017b), for example regarding skills in reading music. The other children were nevertheless the *including agents*, as I will show in a few examples that follow.

George's and Chibuzo's families strongly supported them for playing music, and they practised playing their instruments at home. George had mixed origins, but his parents were both white and middle class. Chibuzo belonged to an immigrant family, close to getting a proper grip in Norway, and with a strong interest in music. Zahir also had a supportive family but with several challenges to overcome in Norway that, to an extent, might have overshadowed their availability to accommodate Zahir's needs. The three had been classmates since they started school. In the example that follows, the three has been sent out of Anne's class to practise something on their own with the bells.

> George, Zahir and Chibuzo have just sat down, and George is looking at the sheet of music. All three are sitting around the box full of bells. George picks six bells, while looking at the names of the bells and the sheet of music alternately. Zahir takes two bells, one in each hand, and holds them high up in the air above his head. He makes sounds by swinging them from side to side, as well as pushing their buttons on the top. "KLING", "KLANG" – they sound noisily.
>
> George: Zahir, stop! (Zahir continues).
>
> George: Zahir! (Zahir continues).
>
> Chibuzo: Zahir, we are not supposed to do that! (Zahir stops after a short while).

In this case, George was assigned the leader's role by the teacher as she sent them out on their own to practise. It seemed that Zahir contested this by playing with the bells on his own initiative and ignoring George's attempts to gain control. However, when Chibuzo supported George's leadership and put herself under it as well, this made it easier for Zahir to accept George's role.

> George now places the six bells out in a row, while also looking intensely at the scores they have been given. He divides the bells in pairs and places them in a half-circle, two in front of each bell player. They start playing from the scores, pressing the button when it is their turn according to the melody. Some of the bells are used more than others, according to how much each note is represented in the scores. They practise in concentration for a while.
>
> George: Zahir, you can have E if you want.

Zahir does not respond, nothing happens, and they play on. (I still do not recognise the melody). They seem deeply concentrated.

George: Let's change!

The other two look up, seemingly a little bewildered.

George: Now, everyone moves one place.

George moves over to Zahir, and signals to him with head movements, but without saying anything, that Zahir should move in the same direction – taking Chibuzo's place. The bells are left standing. They start playing the same scores.

(After a little while)

Zahir: Where are we?

George: We are there (points at a place in the score).

Zahir: Slow down, please; don't play so fast.

Again, they rotate, after George's decision.

Zahir: Finally, I get the easy one.

Chibuzo: Can we get a new score to play?

(No one answers).

George: Let's play it again.

(I now recognise the melody: a Norwegian children's tune (*Fløy en liten Blåfugl*).

In fact, Zahir struggled with the technical level of the piece. George obviously understood this. When Chibuzo, who could play more difficult pieces, wanted to change to a new piece once she had mastered this one, George knew that this could not be done without

potentially losing Zahir's cooperation. Zahir might feel too hopeless that he would give up participating. Because this was too difficult to express in words without exposing their unequal skill levels, as well as the unequal power relations in the music group, George just ignored Chibuzo. All three were probably aware of this temporary inequality of skills among themselves. Some things could not be expressed, however, as doing so would put their friendship at stake. Chibuzo might have felt a little bored, judging from her expressed wishes of a change in repertoire. George ignored Chibuzo's request for a new score and change of tune, trusting (I believe), as he knew her well, that she could take it. She either accepted being bored and went along submissively, or she felt enough excitement from managing to produce the tune better together when Zahir finally managed to play his part correctly, and the melody emerged.

In addition to negotiations of roles and power, this example illustrates what may be called the role of a "social thermostat". In other instances, Chibuzo could interfere with George, especially if he started to behave bossily, as I had observed him do. George listened to Chibuzo, and so did Zahir, and other children in their class. Chibuzo could balance a situation that otherwise might have ended in a rupture, by leading the way through her actions and giving others a way out of a potential conflict, letting the leader be the leader yet putting him down if he overplayed his role and thus misused its inherent power as bestowed by the teacher.

The families of George, Zahir and Chibuzo came from three different continents; as such, they represented cultural diversity, as well as differences in skills – two major diversities in education, according to Mitchell (2017). Furthermore, the three represented "social differences", in Pugh's (2009, p. 9) terminology, regarding family background. George, the white Norwegian/western boy, was assigned leadership by the teacher. He was the only one in the group with a Norwegian parent. He was also the best instrumentalist, whether due to talent or his family backing him substantially, or a combination of both. The three represented differences in personal skills (Pugh, 2009, p. 9), regarding playing the instrument and "playing the social game", that is, understanding how to keep the group together. Chibuzo reinforced George's leadership, without raising her voice and contesting him. George understood that Zahir needed to rehearse more on the same tune and did not need to be told this; in fact, he needed *not* to be told. Both Chibuzo and George had social skills. In contrast, Zahir was struggling to keep up, both instrumentally and socially (these two were

connected). His comment, “Finally, I get the easy one”, was most likely understood by the others as trying to cover for his mistakes, although they did not say so.

The significant difference among the three in this setting seemed foremost to be in their instrument-playing skills. However, this example shows the close interlinks between these three types of differences as framed by Pugh (2009). Social skills included personal handling of differences in skills, a combination of personal and interactional differences, in Pugh’s (2009; p. 9) terminology, and most likely also influenced by their different home situations (social differences).

Thus, based both on Pugh’s (2009, p. 9) framework of differences (social, personal and interactional) as well as on Mitchell’s (2017) framework for diversities in education, there were considerable differences between these three bell-players. The three overcame these differences and managed to play music together. Notably, they were on their own as well.[40] The children worked as agents of inclusion for one another in this group.

SPACES OF COMPASSION AND CARE

An aspect of art on which Nussbaum (2010) bases her argument for giving the arts a significant place in school is the ability of art to evoke emotions, particularly compassion connected to understanding other people’s lives. The preceding example showed a combination of two goals. One was that of being able to play together. The other was also an expression of compassion for Zahir, as well as the desire to include him in the musicking. The two were interlinked.

The following passage from pupils practising on the hall with bells may be another example of compassion, this time mixed with the interest of the group as a whole, as staying together and focused. Five pupils were sent out on their own this time. In addition to George, Zahir and Chibuzo from the previous example, Nasab and Mohammed joined the bell players in the hall that week. Nasab had played cornetto for two years with the others, whereas Mohammed had just swapped the baryton with the cornetto.[41] Nasab was a somewhat taciturn

[40] This was in the beginning of my fieldwork when the children did not know me yet. I later learned that they were used to having observers and ignoring them. I did not open my mouth or even have eye contact with them during this episode.

[41] The baryton horn is also a brass instrument, similar to the cornetto. The tone is produced in the same way on the mouthpiece, and the notes are found in the same way, with the same fingering on the same three valves. It follows that switching from one to the other instrument is not a technically difficult swap.

boy, perhaps due to his communication disability, a pronounced stuttering. This time, George was again appointed by the teacher to be the group leader.

> George gives Zahir the job of colour marking the music sheets to facilitate the reading of scores for Mohammed, who does not know how to do so yet. Chibuzo places herself at the far end of the room, where she starts doing gymnastics on her own. George begins to explain the scores to Mohammed.
>
> George (to Mohammed): "Those with a hole in them, you are supposed to play like this." George demonstrates by using a bell.
>
> Zahir has taken a break from colouring, and he and Chibuzo are now both lying on the floor, twisting their bodies (seemingly for no reason other than their difficulty in sitting still). Nasab is quietly sitting at his place.
>
> A girl, a quite new pupil in the school, enters the room, apparently on her way to the toilet. She stops just at the door to the hall, when she sees the group and stands for a while to watch them. George has taken up the colouring. No one looks up at the girl. However, she takes a step towards them and stops again before taking another step and addressing Nasab.
>
> Girl: What's your name?
>
> George: His name is Nasab.
>
> Girl: Why doesn't he answer himself?
>
> George: He doesn't talk much. He answers when he wants to answer.
>
> The girl hesitates. No one looks up at her – she turns and enters the toilet.

George's answer came quickly. The quick reply made the rejection seem even stronger, as if implying, "There is nothing to debate here and no small talk to engage in." When George quickly interrupted and answered a question directed to Nasab, it prevented Nasab from even opening his mouth. It also prevented the focus of the group from being directed towards Nasab's communication disability. Moreover, it secured the prevention of a disruption of the communal practice that was planned. The playing had not begun, but the

musicking (following Small's [(1998)] expanded meaning) had. The children were engaged in activities in preparation for playing. They were adapting the material for newcomers by colouring the music sheet and by showing some technical issues: "When there is a hole in the note, you play it like this," said George, while taking his own bell to demonstrate. George was teaching a rhythmic detail to Mohammed, in this case, a kind of semi-tacit knowledge, being difficult at their level to describe and understand linguistically. Adjustments had to be made, such as in adapted education. As in this case, when not everyone in the group was able to sight read sheet music, one of the more experienced provided colour symbols in the music scores. George had power in this situation, given by their teacher and actively taken by George.

When the girl addressed Nasab, a situation was introduced in which he would expose his disability that was also a stigma. George prevented this from happening, probably out of compassion for Nasab. Moreover, the group's focus would have shifted to Nasab and his speech difficulty, away from playing music. The integration of the group was already marginalised by two of the members, not preoccupied with musicking but fooling around on the floor – although notably, not disturbing the others. The protection of the group and the musicking coincided with the protection of a fellow musician and vice versa.

According to Nussbaum (1996), care and compassion are basic social emotions that are vital for the existence of democracy. Compassion is a cornerstone of democracy, and Nussbaum argues that consequently, the humanities are among the most important subjects in general education (Nussbaum, 1997; 2010). Nussbaum draws on examples from literature, theatre and cinema, in which the reader/viewer identifies with the fictional characters presented artistically and vicariously experiences their emotions and empathises with them.

Physical, *outward* integration (Befring, 2014) is following from the above examples, a prerequisite for inclusion. Being able to develop empathy and compassion may also be a prerequisite for the *inward* (Befring, 2014), emotionally infused inclusion. The combination of wellbeing of the marginalised individual and wellbeing of the group is not coincidental. Acts of mutual compassion and protection appear along with securing the play's continuation.

Experiencing compassion in a "play frame"

Bateson (1972) has argued how in the "play frame", metacommunication may be both meta and real: "The playful nip that denotes the bite, does not denote what would be denoted by the

bite" (Bateson, 1972, p. 180). At the same time, the playful nip may evoke the same feeling as what would have been denoted.[42] In Bateson's example, the feeling is perceived as evoked by a kind of association between what is denoted in play and what the denoted in play would have denoted outside the play frame. This aspect of play involving experiments with roles and at the same time, with emotions, may be an analytical frame with which to understand the relations and actions going on among the cornetto players in the above example. Although, it must be noted, Bateson's example has a different aspect of playful make-believe, than the case was with the bell-players. It was a different kind of play, but still a play situation. When George suddenly interrupted the potential dialogue introduced by the new girl entering the room and addressing Nasab, George acted as a shield for Nasab against the girl. The play frame here would be defined by the musicking. George and Nasab were not particularly friends (as George said in an interview). Thus, it would not necessarily be the case that George would step in to help Nasab out in another situation, for example, in the schoolyard. In a sense, George played the leader role here. Indeed, he *was* the leader of the play defined by the musicking. Moreover, his action in play might evoke the same feelings as those that were denoted. Nasab probably experienced relief, and George probably experienced the feeling of giving care – protecting somebody in need of it in that situation. Both probably experienced what compassion meant. As democracy rests on empathy and compassion, it might be the case for inclusion as well. The young musicians gained an emotional experience of what inclusion might mean. The experience in the play frame defined by the bell-playing session must have given Nasab not only an experience of participation but also an individual experience of inclusion (Persson & Persson, 2013).

In the cases in this chapter, playing music and the frame of the play are identified and defined by the teacher and/or by the piece of music. The development of compassion and empathy may also be derived from the predefined roles in playing music together, as shown in the above examples. Referring to Tagore, Nussbaum (Tagore translated in Bhatia [1994] as cited in Nussbaum2010, pp. 103-106 & 158-159) argues how defined roles, such as in a choreography, can help "put aside bodily stiffness and shame in order to inhabit a role" (Nussbaum, 2010, p. 104). Or we may say, elude the usual way of behaving for some, in order to try out a new way of acting. Although not a choreography, it is a situation of a defined play

[42] Bateson does not refer to playing music in this text, but part of his analysis of a "play frame" can be transferred to the musical play in the sessions described in this chapter.

(of music) with designated roles. It is an example of a situation in which the participants can physically and emotionally experiment with entering a different role, possibly also different power relations and at least a different way of behaving. Viewed this way, having tried the role is a physical experiment with being somebody else in a certain respect. The body remembers the experience, and the more it occurs, the stronger the bodily memory becomes. Societies form their collective memories by means of bodily memories resulting from ritualistic aspects of behaviour (Connerton, 1989). Ritualistic can simply mean repetitive. Following this argument, the collective memory of the group may be found to be also formed by the gestalt of the new roles that are being tried out, not only once, but repeatedly, during the weekly music sessions. It may be said that repetitions give rise to reifications of the knowledge or the culture of a community.

8.2 COMPROMISES: INCLUSION IMPLIES EXCLUSION

When discussing inclusion as 'included in what?', inclusion is in itself an excluding project. One does not exist without the other. In the above-mentioned example, the bell-playing children in the hall illustrated this when a girl entered and was excluded. The following example shows even more clearly the inclusive–exclusive nature of a music group.

CORNETTO PLAYING IN EXCLUSIVE (INCLUSIVE) GROUPS

This example again features George, Zahir and Chibuzo in the hall, playing bells:

> George, Zahir and Chibuzo are practising a children's tune in an arrangement with two voices. They are absorbed in their task and concentrating to get it right. They have played it a few times already, with fewer and fewer mistakes. I am beginning to recognise the tune they are playing, when at one point, Sukru, an older boy, enters the hallway, with a toilet key in his hand. (The toilet is at the end of this open space). Sukru is an active and outgoing boy who is often in the centre of things happening, often stretching the rules regarding conduct. Sukru stops just inside the hall and looks at the bell players.
>
> The three bell players do not look up from their playing. They keep on reading the scores and pushing the buttons on top of the bells to make the sounds and together form the melody. Sukru makes a move towards the three on the floor.

> The three on the floor still pay no attention. They do not even glance up at the approaching boy. Sukru seems to change his mind. He changes direction and walks in a curve over to the other side of the room and enters the door to the toilet.
>
> After a few minutes, he comes out again from the toilet and walks back through the same door without any gesture of approaching. The three still do not look up and just play on.

It was obvious to me that Sukru approached the trio for the purpose of making contact with them. The three did not return his gesture and ignored his approach. The three kept on playing, not acknowledging the boy's presence, although they could have paused, since they had been practising for some time.

When adults play music together, they form a group that few would disturb. In contrast, children in the hall without a teacher do not have the same unwritten "do not disturb" rule, especially not for an adventurous child passing by. The musical practice resulted in a sound that filled the room and was obviously connected to the common practice of the three on the floor, but a melody was not yet easy to recognise. Their act of ignoring the passer-by, not even throwing a glance in his direction, signalled exclusion, saying, "The game is not open."

In this small incident, the three belonged to one inclusive group, whereas Sukru, who entered the room and tried to make contact with them and include himself, was marginalised – he was simply overlooked. The musicking and its resulting sound were not even slowed down or diminished in strength in recognition of a new person entering the space. After first trying to gain access or attention of some sort, he sensed their rejection and did not even venture to speak or in any other way insist on gaining access to the *we* of the little group there and then.

As in the previous example with these bell players, when the new girl entered and asked Nasab his name, the entering person (in fact, on the way to the toilet at the other end of this open space/hallway) tried to make contact with the bell players sitting on the floor in a circle. In both cases, disruption was avoided by everyone in the group, as nobody paid attention but concentrated on their playing the bells in this case and in the other one with the girl, although not sharing a common task among themselves, still not looking up or answering the new girl – apart from George, who answered quickly, briefly and on behalf of Nasab. However, in the girl's case, the situation was more vulnerable. First, there was no musical sound in the room to signal an exclusive activity. Second, the girl entering was new to the

school and most probably had no relations to anyone in the group. Third, she actively addressed the group. Nonetheless, it was a similar situation of exclusion appearing as a result of inclusion. To hold a group together, it may sometimes be necessary to protect borders.

In his analysis of the play frame, Bateson (1972) has demonstrated how psychological frames are exclusive in that they include certain messages within the frames and thus exclude others. Psychological frames are also inclusive: "By excluding certain messages, certain others are included" (Bateson, 1972, p. 187). A similar picture can be visualised regarding exclusion and inclusion in a game or in playing a piece of music. Participation in the musical performance or practice excludes outsiders because it includes its participants. The focus is not on inclusion, but inclusion is a result of the focus on music.

One aspect of inclusion in groups is realising that the basic material situation, the number of seats related to the number of people needing to sit down (Lid, 2017, p. 200), is sometimes limited. Seats are distributed, and a group of music players cannot immediately be expanded.

Exclusion and inclusion are thus perceived as parts of a whole that makes the two interdependent. The game outside during the break, from the episodes with the third-grade pupils, is an example of a game with many participants and flexible borders. Supposedly, the rules and the skills necessary for playing were easy to comprehend, or at least, well known among the pupils. In the examples with the bell players, the task of the game demanded a more specialised skill that only a few possessed. Additionally, more was at stake, and the borders were consequently controlled more ardently – generating exclusion as a necessary by-product of securing the internal inclusion.

Many friendships seemed to be unstable. In particular trios, in which the question of which two of the three were the closest pair, seemed to cause worries and strategic management. In one such trio, it may seem that instability was reinforced by the music group.

ZELDA'S MYSTERIOUS BEHAVIOUR IN TROMBONE CLASSES

Zelda was an outgoing girl who gradually seemed to develop a strange and destructive behaviour during music classes. The following is a summary of the incidents noted in my field diary over a period towards the end of my fieldwork:

> In sixth grade, the trombone class consisted of three girls – Zelda, Amal and Zarah. They were all from immigrant families that had lived in Norway for some years, and the girls were quite good Norwegian speakers, especially Amal and Zarah.
>
> After Christmas, trombone classes were more and more often disrupted by Zelda's behaviour: she would refuse to take out her instrument, move her chair away from the others, just sit there and not play her trombone, or leave the group and hide behind a curtain that separated a small stage at the back of the room – where she would then take out her cell phone, while the others were playing with their teacher. The trombone teacher spent much time trying to get Zelda back in the group and make her play. He often asked the other two to talk to her and try to get her to play. It did not seem to work very well.

When I tried to help – I was asked by the teacher – I got the impression that Zelda appreciated my sitting at the back behind the curtains with her, but she did not come out to play again. Zelda kept sulking in the trombone classes on and off for the whole term that I watched them. When I passed Zelda in the corridors or outside in the yard, she often showed herself to be a smiling and lively girl. During the 17th of May parade, she was present with her trombone, playing and looking very happy. I got the chance to interview Zelda towards the end of the term. She was explicit and outspoken about how she really enjoyed music and playing the trombone. Her recollection did not at all coincide with my impressions based on her behaviour in the trombone classes. After we had talked for a while, I ventured into asking her about her past behaviour. After all, I had been with her behind that curtain several times; she knew that I knew that there was an issue.

> Lise: It sometimes seems as if you are sad in the music lessons?
> Zelda: Yes, I know. When I'm sad, it's because I am not friends with the others.

I understood from her face and her quick change of topic that she did not wish to talk more about the issue. I got a chance to speak with her main teacher after school hours at some point, and when I talked about Zelda's behaviour in music classes, the teacher was quite positive that she had the explanation: Amal and Zelda had been friends in class. Zarah was in the parallel class and was rather new to the school. It seemed that Zarah and Amal had found each other more and more during the year, and in the same wave, Zelda was left aside. It seemed that the three being together and the only girls in the trombone class enforced this dynamic.

Regroupings, as they happened much in music, represented an introduction of new possible friends, as did the introduction of new pupils during the term. New constellations gave some pupils the opportunity to bond, to hook up with somebody new, whereas other bonds were threatened. Some seemed to struggle in order to "secure" their friendships, as expressed by Rysst (2015, p. 9). The preceding example shows how vulnerable relations could be. A friendship is not carved in stone. Thus, when a new child enters a class or new kids get a chance to become closer, as in a music group established across classes, it implies new possibilities for some but potential losses for others.

REHEARSING COMPASSIONATE BEHAVIOUR

Playmates were not scarce in Q (regarding both meanings of play – in playing music or in games during play breaks outside). The scarcity was someone to trust. This could include someone to be welcomed to be close to – when finding a good place to sit in rooms without designated seating. The high mobility must undoubtedly be perceived as making this situation more vulnerable for some of the pupils, as reported in Ridge and Millar's (2000) study in the UK, regarding difficulties in maintaining friendships for children in areas marked by high migration rates.

Although not necessarily leading to or securing a friendship, the feeling of self-worth, partly based on the social basis for self-respect (Nussbaum, 2006), may still be enhanced by the music groups. In an interview with Chibuzo, we talked about whether friendship could come from playing music together. She thought that in the music groups she could play with anyone; they did not have to be friends. She and Zahir were friends outside music, but Nasab, another boy in the same music group, was not her friends outside the music, she said. Chibuzo added that still, they helped one another in music, friends outside or not.

> "Sometimes, I just help Nasab and Zahir along, and… sometimes, if Zahir gets lost…. He sometimes can't remember the music and where we are [in the score] ... then I just point, and then we get on with the playing. I think this is quite cool to do, because… then he can join the music again."

From the episodes with the cornetto players in the hall, it seems that the element of trust can be imported to a fellowship constituted by playing music together. As such, the role of true friendship is practised in a play frame (Bateson, 1972).

The excluding side of inclusive processes may be framed as "politics of belonging" (Juutinen et al., 2018, p. 250), and is not difficult to identify. Nonetheless, the constructive processes among some of the cornetto pupils would not have been possible, had not the children also acted as strong agents for inclusion.

8.3 PERFORMING – THE HETEROTOPY OF A CONCERT

In this section, I describe some concert incidents and the starting up of a school orchestra, as well as suggest ways to understand some of the meanings of concerts in Q school. Music constitutes a social space, which could perhaps be called a musicalised social space. I suggest that music may constitute and function as a heterotopical space (Foucault, 1986).

Performing for an audience is often a vital part of playing a musical instrument. Playing at concerts, whether small ones for parents and teachers during schooldays or larger concerts in the evenings, was highly esteemed by most of the pupils, and something that nearly everyone mentioned in interviews when talking about the music programme. When asked directly to reflect on why it was fun to play at concerts, many children referred to how people were looking at them, and some also mentioned how happy the audience looked and how proud their parents were. Making their parents proud and being in focus on stage were very important, although with varying degrees of emphasis. Solveig, a girl in third grade who came across as self-confident and content with herself and her social situation, shared a moment of crisis when talking about how she nearly missed participating in a performance. The occasion was not organised by the music programme that time but by the Q school teachers, as a choir put together by the three 3rd-grade classes for an outdoor performance in a local park, as a celebration of spring.

> Solveig explains: "I had to go to the toilet, and meanwhile, the concert had begun. My mom was there but could not see me in the choir. Julie (the teacher) managed to see me (in the crowd) and helped me in (to join the choir) after the first song. It wasn't fair! I had been rehearsing and looking forward to it so much, and then I should not be seen on stage!"

The thought of this now, several months later, was still devastating, judging from the tone of her voice and intense expression in her eyes. Being there with the others represented belonging to the group – the third-grade pupils in Q school. Perhaps most of all, it represented her ability to make her mother happy by seeing her perform with the others, as she should,

and be part of the nice occasion of celebrating spring. DeNora (2000) has described how music can function as part of a presentation of oneself and to others at the same time. The performance of music and being part of a collective performance as a choir for one's parents may be a crucial way of constructing a self-identity or belonging. Above all, it is important to be a visible part of such a performance when it is being organised. Absence from it in the sight of one's parents might be devastating, as explained by Solveig. Not being there as expected, and when her mother had taken the day off from work to see her, represented an absence that could hardly be overcome.

With few exceptions, all children whom I spoke with held participation in concerts to be unconditionally one of the chief motivational factors for their playing and something that they very much looked forward to doing. According to Säljö (2016), learning in different contexts has been found to uncover how knowledge is acquired differently, according to how the learning is situated. Based on studies by the anthropologist Jean Lave (1998 as referred in Säljö, 2016, p. 132), Säljö concludes that skills practised in a school frame, with nothing serious at stake, may end up not transferable to real-life situations. This situated perspective on learning implies that the intellectual proximity to sociocultural and pragmatic issues means that generating situations where sociocultural practices are part of the learning may be a necessary part of "learning for life", not merely for reproduction in written school tests (Säljö, 2016, pp. 132-133).

Participating in a performance is putting something at stake on several levels. Being able to play one's part on the instrument and taking part in the rituals surrounding the concerts, including proper conduct and dress code, are important. Being seen by one's parents is also important, in addition to being part of and doing the right things according to the peers in the orchestra or in the carousel music group. Small (1998) has argued how the classical concert form is a story that we tell ourselves about ourselves, like that of a myth performed in rituals, an instant of the "The world as lived" merging with "the world as imagined" (Geertz, 1973, p. 112). Small describes a professional symphony orchestra, including the attitude towards music that has become commodified as a middle-class event. His interesting analytical perspective has a slightly different connotation when the orchestra consists of children performing in school for their parents. The concert represented a different context for doing the same – playing the same pieces as they had rehearsed, playing the same tunes on the same instruments, together with the same people – yet totally different, as this was a staged

performance, and their parents were their audience, not able to interfere or help, but watching their presentation.

THE CONCERT AS HETEROTOPY

Conceiving of a concert as a heterotopy, framed as in Foucault's (Foucault, 1986) essay, may imply seeing the place or the room as a "doer", parallel to what may happen in a sacred place such as a church, as described by Inger Marie Lid (2017) writing about young people with disabilities attending preparations prior to a Lutheran confirmation ritual. One way to find the "function" (Foucault, 1986, p. 27) of the heterotopy of the concert may be in the inspiration from Small (1998), to perceive the performance as an account to ourselves about our relationships. In Small's analysis, the performers on stage are the professional musicians whom the listeners pay for their live music. However, another meaning is embedded in the concerts in Q school. The children are the ones on stage. They are musicians, mediators, creators, and specialists on their instruments yet beginners, not professionals. Moreover, they are often the emotional centres of their families (Lidén, 2001) – who comprise approximately 90% of the audience.[43] The roles are in a way both changed, and sustained at the same time. This may be part of what makes these concerts so powerful regarding the emotional content. It is not utopia; it is real. A heterotopia is not utopia, but it means "juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites, that are in themselves incompatible" (Foucault, 1986, p. 25). The concerts may as such represent a weekly heterotopy for the children in Q school. When the whole "universe" appeared together: family, friends, and teachers, with the pupils on stage, the concert was additionally a juxtaposition of a play frame and serious business, with something at stake.

According to Foucault, the function of heterotopias may be described as their relation to the "space that remains" (Foucault, 1986, p. 27), in other words, the relationships outside the concert hall between children and parents and between children and their teachers, and not the least, the relationships among the children themselves. The concert functions not as an illusion but a "compensation" (Foucault, 1986, p. 27). One way to see a heterotopia in studies with children, is described by Sara Mc Namee (2000) as a place of escape from controls and boundaries connected with childhood.

[43] This figure is based on my observations and references from Anne.

I interpret the "compensation" also as an act of balancing between what I call the "politics and poetics of an orchestrated we".[44] Being part of this "we" involved practice, negotiations of roles and power, as I have shown in the cases from the hall when groups of three to five children were rehearsing playing the pedagogical bells.

THE (ELITE) ORCHESTRA

From the start of the programme around ten years ago, Anne's dream had been to build up an orchestra that would rehearse after school hours. This was the way it was organised in El Sistema originally and was strongly connected to Anne's vision of music offering an opportunity for providing a good communal activity for the kids in their spare time after school – also to get them off the streets. To give the pupils a possibility to learn music in their spare time, but connected to the school, was also the main motivation of the previous headmaster who had once taken the initiative to start the project.

After Christmas break in 2018, Anne had organised, with the leadership of the school, a 45-minute weekly meeting of some of the best and most dedicated pupils from 4th grade to start "The Elite Orchestra".[45] I was puzzled with the choice of the name "Elite". Anne had so strongly emphasised the inclusive and democratic nature of the music project and her outlook of the arts in school, as well as of the school system in general. This outlook was not elitist but all-inclusive. I knew that Anne had picked the members of the orchestra herself, but I found it very untypical in any Norwegian school setting to call a school orchestra, consisting of a selected few, "Elite". Anne explained that she had called it Elite to reflect the existence of elitism in Q school. She also referred to the assistant headmaster in the choice of name. As he had also expressed to me: "For these kids, it is just so important to also be the best in something." In this same conversation, Anne stressed to me that everyone would eventually get the chance to participate – everyone who wanted. The assistant headmaster confirmed the choice of the name, not only in relation to the children feeling like "elite", but also the school: "We need to show the world that we do have somebody in Q school who is the best in something." One of the fathers (ethnic Norwegian), with whom I had done a lengthy interview, also brought up the name of the orchestra and approved it. The father's reflection

[44] I am indebted to Steven Feld and Charles Kiel (1994), as cited in Bowman (1990), for the concept "the politics and poetics of we".
[45] The use of extra time for music was approved by their parents, who gave their signatures before the rehearsing started, since according to The Education Act (1998), the pupils should have only one music lesson weekly.

was that “It is so important for these kids to have something to try to aim for. Some of the white Norwegian parents’ worry regarding their children being part of their “idealistic experiment” of letting their children attend Q school, as explained in Chapter 6, might be seen as a background for their support for the elite orchestra.

However, a certain lack of enthusiasm was noted by some of the other music teachers. I overheard comments, such as “I don’t know if I will see much of this Elite orchestra; it hasn’t been practising much the last month.” Nevertheless, when I arrived back for a few visits a year later, the orchestra had grown. The name Elite was no longer in use. The orchestra was called Q orchestra. Moreover, they were rehearsing after school. Anne was particularly proud of this fact. She said, “They have to go back home and then out of the house again in order to participate.” This was something that Anne often came back to in later conversations. It was proof to her that they really wanted to be part of the orchestra. She said that it was not just a better place to be than other classes in school but something for which they willingly had to leave the house again after they had arrived home after school. As such, it was a signal to her that they really wished to be part of this orchestra and that playing music mattered to them.

Whether all the children had the same chance to participate remained questionable. Participation rested on communication with the class teacher, as well as with the parents. Language was seemingly only one barrier. In a group interview with the PWC when the orchestra was even more established, one of the mothers, a white Norwegian, said that she did not know how her son could become a member of the orchestra. She was overheard by people eager to talk about their experiences. After a few minutes, she spoke up again: “I repeat – how do you get access to this orchestra?” Still, no one answered. It appeared that information and membership had a certain exclusivity, crossing ethnicity and socioeconomic status, evasive and probably undefined.

A heterotopy is not freely accessible but may have “pure and simple openings, but that generally hide curious exclusions” (Foucault, 1986, p. 26), just like the Q orchestra as it appeared – in principle open to everyone but still hidden to such an extent that a mother, active enough to be elected as a PWC member, did not readily find an answer to how her son could be part of the orchestra that was starting.

I suggest that in Q, the family home, the home country, the ordinary classes and the playground are some of the places juxtaposed in the heterotopy of music. In addition to being

a “slice in time” with altered roles and “deviant” behaviour (Foucault, 1986, p. 26), the heterotopy has a function in relation to the society outside the heterotopy. One function of the music practice seen as heterotopy may be that of a “free space”. In the next chapter, I will show how a music group in a “free space” can be perceived as a *music asylum* (DeNora, 2015) and at the same time, a separate space of joy, play and for some, potentially transformative.

ROUNDING UP THE CHAPTER

Playmates were not so much in short supply in Q school. The scarcity was having someone to trust. A friendship, having “someone who is there for you”, was highly valued. The management of inclusion and securing friendships may at times be regarded as having led to destructive behaviour or to exclusion of others who could appear as competitors or threats to internal bonds. Groups of pupils rehearsing music on their own formed “slices in time” (Foucault, 1986, p. 26) in which their bonds were strong and included all insiders and consequently excluded outsiders. The music groups may involve acts of practising and experiencing care and compassion among the group members, independent of friendships outside the music group.

By letting the whole top floor be set aside for instrument teachings and concerts, music occupied a particular physical space in the school – on top and separated. Music represented a different space with several meanings. It was not just on a separate floor in the building; it involved a different way of learning. It also signified a different way of being together. It was separate from the rest of the teaching going on during the week; at the same time, it was part of and related to it. Music, especially the concerts, may be analysed as “heterotopias” (Foucault, 1986), with functions in relation to the time outside the music. One of the paradoxes of the heterotopy may be seen as reflected in the orchestra being for everyone who wished to be part of it, while also representing elitism.

9 MUSICKING AND SOCIAL REFURNISHING

In this chapter, I examine more deeply some relations between musicking and inclusion. In what ways does music, as taught in Q school, possess qualities that make music particularly relevant to greater inclusion in an environment characterised by intersecting diversities, as found in Q school? I delve deeper into inclusion as signifying an individual experience of belonging (Persson & Persson, 2013), partly overlapping the notion of feeling worthy of belonging, as framed by Pugh (2009). Following from the discussions in the preceding chapters, I find it useful to ask, How might musicking afford processes that may increase individual feelings of being worthy of belonging?

Interaction with others via musicking is a central aspect of music, perceived as an arena for inclusion. An individual's presentation, not only to others, but also to oneself, is inherent in the interaction. Relationships with others include a relationship with oneself.

Goffman's (1968) work on asylums figures in the perspectives applied in my analysis in this chapter, essentially as used by DeNora (2015) in her work on music asylums. "..separated from the bricks and mortar of the hospital building" (DeNora, 2015, p. 59), asylum in this chapter (and thesis) signifies most of all a time off, as in DeNora's (2015) work. In this respect, musicking affords "human flourishing" (DeNora, 2015, p. 1). I also employ some perspectives from Lave and Wenger (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) in understanding learning to play music together as a practical craft involving tacit knowledge (Polanyi, 1966/2009) that at the same time, affords co-production among peers without a common language and belongs to an evanescent or flexible community of musicking. How might musicking function as a communal practice that fosters stronger ties to a group or to another person, particularly among children who are socially or emotionally marginalised in a school environment?

9.1 PLAYING MUSIC AND BEING COOL

In Chapter 5, I have described some of the motivations of younger children regarding the music programme. In this section, I explore more closely the connection between motivation for music connected to experiencing a sense of belonging. In the following case, motivation for music was reflected on by an older student.

"WE LOOK FORWARD TO WEDNESDAYS A LOT"

During an interview, Amina (in seventh grade) constantly returned to the concept of "cool" and what was considered cool in Q school. When I asked Amina to try to explain why music was cool, she replied, as if starting by searching in her own emotional memories:

> "… we look forward to Wednesdays a lot (Amina's class has music lessons on Wednesdays) …. We have fun… we chill out there…. But not everyone likes music, though; I don't know…."

I have suggested that non-material values, including being good in music, can have some functions related to "scrip" (Pugh, 2009, p. 7). in Q school as a whole. According to Amina, having fun or chilling out may be regarded as a non-material value, giving a person credibility. As such, having fun may be viewed as part of an economy of dignity, in Pugh's (2009) conception.

Amina was aware that not all her classmates enjoyed music as much as she did. She believed that those who did not like music so much did not have the opportunity to play the instruments they wanted: "Many want to play percussion, but the percussion teacher can't have everyone stuffed in there at the same time", she said

Amina started playing the violin, which was her own choice. She then shifted to playing the snare drum, also her own choice, she told me. Regarding her choice of instruments, Amina said:

> "The violin is actually cooler, but it gets boring when we have to play the same simple songs over and over again because new kids keep arriving, who don't know how to play [the instrument]. Some time ago, I got to have some lessons on my own, only with Sophia (the violin teacher). She taught me some new songs. Man, that was really awesome."

Amina did not refer to the type of music they played. This matched the observations of her group, as well as other groups. I never heard anyone complain about the repertoire during the time I was there, as also described in the previous chapters. The children's complaints were neither about style nor the childish tunes that I noticed they were often given, but about their parts being too difficult or the lack of progress, which therefore bored them. Or as here, the pieces played in the group was too easy for students who had been involved in the program from the start and had made good progress on their instruments.

Amina did beatboxing in a leisure activity centre close by. It seemed completely unproblematic to her to play children's tunes or small pieces from the classical repertoire on Wednesdays for music classes and then do beatboxing every Thursday evening. This mix of musical styles appeared not to pose any problem in relation to her "coolness". When I asked Amina what she listened to at home, she answered, "Pop… everything really, but mostly English and Spanish, rarely Norwegian." I believe that her answer disclosed her possible unfamiliarity with the names of musical styles. The language of singing/rapping was how Amina classified music. Once, she and her friends had tried to find music that they really liked, she said later in the same interview. This was previously unknown music to her and her friends and had been presented to them at a school concert, through the Norwegian programme The cultural schoolbag (*DKS*). Amina and her friends had searched on YouTube but did not find it. She could not tell me anything about the style of this music.

Again, for the pupils in Q school, identity or belonging seemed to be less connected to musical style than other studies on music and youth have shown (as for example Frith, 1983; Vestel, 2004). Of course, this might be related to the young age of the children in the present study. However, some of the kids in seventh grade did go to youth clubs, as well as participated in activities organised around popular music, such as beatboxing. Many also had older siblings. As shown in the previous chapter featuring the small groups of fourth-grade pupils playing music in the hall, managing to perform a musical piece together was engaging and enjoyable. Having fun together seemed more important to the pupils than musical style. These children were exposed to many different styles of music, and not the least, to playing music themselves to a greater extent than many other children during their schooling.

A presentation of the self in Q school included values such as being cool, having fun or chilling out, and not the least, being independent and brave. Instead of putting up with something boring, pupils would cut classes, and this was considered cool in Q school, according to Amina, who informed me:

Amina: "in Q, you don't get cred for getting good marks, you know."

Lise: What gives you cred here?

Amina: To dare to be rude with the teacher. To cut a boring class.

Opposition to grown-ups and in particular, parents and teachers, is not hot news around young people. However, in Q school – and most likely, in many schools – the children clearly appreciated teachers who managed to keep silence and order in class. This was also the case with Amina, according to my observations. Nonetheless, the children in Q school did not give one another credit for being good students. This may at first sound like a contradiction, but of course, it is not. "To cut a boring class" as Amina put it, is to appear authentic. If the class is interesting, one stays, but not if it is boring. Cutting a boring class may also be an act of proving to oneself that one has agency to make such an independent choice. Proving to oneself to be "enough of an agent" to make an independent choice, is described by DeNora's (2015, p. 66) analysis of signals of independent and visible choices regarding the use of headphones (with or without music) in public (signalling a private zone in a public space). Being in control of one's space, as described by DeNora (2015, p. 66) is most likely a growing issue among growing school children.

I will return shortly to the discussion on having a good time as part of an ecological perspective on everyday life. First, I examine more closely some aspects of playing music together as a communal practice and how musical practice may afford possibilities of establishing or strengthening social relations at the same time as strengthening one's relationship to oneself.

9.2 FROM SOCIAL PERIPHERY TO SOCIAL CENTRE

The following example is from my participant observations of fourth-grade pupils' music lessons. I had been working with a group of pupils on and off for a year, and the following incident occurred over a few weeks in March, presented here as a rewritten summary of entries in my field diary. Similar to what I did in the episodes presented in chapter eight, I had placed myself in the hall, outside the music studios.

ALI AND EWE: FINDING A COMMON CENTRE FROM DIFFERENT PERIPHERIES

After the winter break that year, Ali had been forced to change instruments, from the cornetto that he loved to the clarinet. The reason for this was that the cornetto group in fourth grade had to include two challenging newcomers who had arrived as refugees the previous week. Ali had some challenges himself, in relation to his hyperactive behaviour. This made group dynamics around him often stressful and was the reason why he had to be taken out of the

cornetto group when the newcomers arrived, according to Anne. I observed his loud protests to this forced change, with his outspoken reluctance every week when he was made to enter the clarinet room. The teachers calmly insisted on Ali changing instruments and said that he in fact played the clarinet well and was needed there.

One day, I was sitting alone in the open space outside the studios on the music floor. I had arrived after the lessons had begun. Shortly after, Ali came out of the clarinet room together with Ewe, a girl whom I had not seen before[46].

> They each held a clarinet in their hands. "Sit over there," the teacher said, nodding in the direction of some chairs around the same table where I was sitting. The teacher continued, addressing Ali, "and you practise with her the grips of the scale from C up to E, as I showed you." They came over and sat down with their backs to me. Immediately and fully concentrated on their task, Ali started to show the fingering, and note by note, Ewe copied the fingering and blew the clarinet to produce the correct tone. Ali seemed to enjoy the role of an advanced student, showing to Ewe, the newcomer, how to do the fingering for these first notes to play on the clarinet.

Ewe had enrolled in Q school after the winter break, only a few weeks earlier, and had apparently not lived for long in the country. She seemed to know very little Norwegian.

> The following two weeks, Ali and Ewe were sent out to do the same task of practising together as part of the group lessons for clarinet in fourth grade. Every week, they worked with deep concentration for about 10–15 minutes, before being summoned back to the room by the clarinet teacher.

This seemed to change Ali's attitude towards playing the clarinet. He now entered the clarinet room with a smile. Ewe also seemed to prosper from the one-on-one practice with Ali. She quickly learned the basics of playing the clarinet.

I also saw them together on several other occasions and places, on the stairs and during breaks in the schoolyard. Perhaps the work process had started their friendship or at least, given Ewe, as a new pupil in school, an opening to a pathway closer to a social centre in her new school environment. For Ali, the situation might have given him proof that he was in fact needed; this was not something that the teachers just said to please him. From the looks

[46] This passage from my field diary does not include recordings. The quotation marks are used for clarity of reading.

on his face and the obvious enthusiasm with which he practised being an assistant teacher, the new situation had brought joy back to the music lessons for Ali. His role as an assistant teacher helped in giving Ali a new focus, away from the undesired change and closer to joining the clarinet section as a mature pupil and a provider of help. Being able to help is an empowerment, as mentioned in relation to Miremba's opinions that the youth should be able to get work, not only being guests, at the street parties (see Chapter 6). The opportunity to assume a role as a specialist, knowing the rules of the game in Q school and in the music classes, by showing a newcomer the way to play and thus how to fit in, seemed to have made up for becoming a clarinettist by force.

By being assigned the role as an assistant teacher, Ali given responsibility and trust by the clarinet teacher. He was also given a new role as an "old-timer", in Lave and Wenger's (1991, p. 56) terminology, and thus a new entrance for participation. Additionally, Ali now had the opportunity to participate, in the sense of negotiating meaning in relation to a new pupil in school. The new pupil, Ewe, was still quite unfamiliar with the music practice in Q school. Not only the clarinet, but also the entire school community and the country, were all new to her. By letting Ali take on his role as a mature pupil, the teacher solved what in Wenger's terminology is the real problem of communication and design, by situating ambiguity in the context of mutual engagement (Wenger, 1998, p. 84). By being engaged together in Ewe's improvements on the clarinet, Ali's resistance to swapping instruments and Ewe's possible stress in having to learn to play as a total newcomer in a group with experienced players (who would most likely feel bored by her inability to play with them at their level) might not only have been overcome but also replaced by mutual engagement and motivation. Ali again looked forward to music, judging from my observations in the hall.

Lastly, it might lead to development towards greater inclusion. Ali already had many playmates in school but was also often in trouble, due to his behavioural issues. He clearly enjoyed Ewe's company, who in turn gained access to Ali, an old-timer in the school, and supposedly access to some of his other friends or playmates, who could transmit more local meaning and generate more participation.

I did not have the chance to follow these two pupils closely after this incident. However, I happened to meet Ali outside the school one afternoon about a year later, when I was returning to do some more fieldwork. We talked a little, and I asked him about the clarinet. He now played the percussion, he said with a smile. I reminded him of the lessons

with Ewe. “Oh – she is now *much* better than me,” he answered with emphasis but still with a broad smile.

I argue that the processes between these two young clarinet practitioners in the hall may be regarded as a micro-perspective on a process where musical practice is paralleled with a social movement from the periphery to a more central position regarding belonging to the community by means of a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 40) explicitly state that their theories are not in themselves educational theories or pedagogical strategies, and the community and apprenticeships described by Wenger (1998) are differently scaled when compared with this case of the two children. However, the mechanisms by which this occurs are parallel to the descriptions of practices identified as communities of practice, based on Lave and Wenger’s perspectives (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), and as such, perhaps illustrate a micro-community of practice.

In her review article based on studies about music communities, teacher education and music educators, analysed as communities of practice, Erin J. Zaffini (2018) finds that the mutual engagement and the different fields of expertise of the members, particularly the newcomers and the old-timers, are general features enriching the communities, specifically by increased participation in the groups. In the example with Ali and Ewe, pathways to social centres of experiencing belonging thus seemed to be a possibility for peripheral members of a community on several levels at the same time. For the newcomer in the school as well as the newcomer in the clarinet group, absorption in practical work might be perceived as important for the success of greater inclusion of both. In performing their task together, they assumed temporary roles of assistant teacher/old-timer and new instrumentalist/newcomer.

Ewe, the newcomer in the school, and Ali, the old-timer, can be regarded as two peripheral members of the clarinet group, coming from two different peripheries. They both experienced mastery, Ewe learning to produce a few tones on the instrument, and Ali seeing his student master the skill. A closer connection to the community of the orchestra, consisting of the clarinet group by their common practice, was likely the result of the feelings of mastery involved. At least, connections between Ali and Ewe were being built while they were improving their skills in musicking.

The practice that they engaged in as communal work was defined by their teacher, who also gave them distinct roles and clear rules for their task together. Instead of sending other pupils out in the hall and concentrating on the newcomer, as Anne used to do, (see

chapter eight), Heddy sent the newcomer out on the hall, together with a "troublemaker". These were 10-year-old kids. Heddy knew Ali, who was a well-known kid in Q school, but she did not know Ewe very well, as she was a new pupil, having arrived from abroad in the middle of the term. Heddy must have used her experience and gut feeling and acted as a virtuoso, not on the clarinet this time, but in the "art of education", as described by educationalist Biesta (2013, pp. 147-148). Zaffini (2018, p. 41) suggests that music educators benefit from their own practice involving communities of practice. Heddy might have drawn on her experience with the same way of learning from a more experienced orchestra musician in her own education and professional life as a musician herself.

By relying largely on tacit knowledge, as described in Chapter 7, learning to play an instrument may lend itself more easily to inclusion and augmenting the experience of belonging for newcomers who do not share a common language or know the teaching language, in this case, Norwegian. Sounds can be compared by ear without words, and grips on the instrument can be demonstrated and imitated. Without bringing up the rather dubious cliché – "Music is a universal language" – it might be said that music could be played together without having a common language. Sports also involve communal practice that uses tacit knowledge and can be learned by demonstration and without much language. Sports do not have the same potential as music in Q, according to the school teachers, due to the controversies connected with sports for girls after puberty, in many Muslim families. The present thesis does not include a validation of this perspective, and if this is an issue, it will likely have more of an impact on leisure-time activities than on the school environment. The fact that sports do not involve sound production as music does is more important to the perspectives applied in this study. The importance of sound will be more apparent in the following examples in this chapter.

Milan: Remaining in the periphery

Not all situations with communal practice of music end in mutual recognition. In this subsection, I present an example where musicking resulted in engagement and probably wellbeing but not in mutual recognition. The communal activity in this case included some of the children in the blue group, described in Chapter 5. One boy, Milan, seemed to be totally engaged in his own world, with an amazing result that was not remarked by anyone.

Milan and Hilde had been in kindergarten together. Now in third grade, they belonged to different classes but met again in the carousel music group where they both belonged to the

blue group. Hilde was a shy girl but seemed to work hard to take her place as part of the trio of the white Norwegian girls in the group; she was not as close as the other two who were also in the same class for the rest of the week outside music. Milan seemed to be in the periphery in most of the circumstances where I observed him. He did not speak very much. Even though he had attended kindergarten and school in Norway for several years, his command or at least his use of Norwegian was rather poor, with few words, not long sentences, and grammatical mistakes in the oral language that I heard. He neither participated much in class nor in the music group. In fact, he often seemed a bit absent-minded. An exception was when his group had come to the place in the carousel doing Music Mind Games. The first lesson of Music Mind Games consisted of learning to recognise different rhythmic patterns and to express words with the different rhythmic patterns presented in the game, in a spoken choir together. The word-inventing game, described in Chapter 5, spontaneously introduced by the three girls in the group, generated much laughter from everyone, including the teacher. Milan, Daniel, Ibrahim and Amber were on the side of this activity, seeming to catch the points later than the others. They were all from immigrant backgrounds and non-native speakers of Norwegian, which probably partly explained their more peripheral role in the word-inventing game. Although not being the inventor of the game, Hilde quickly discovered the clue and was soon shining with joy and part of the inventions.

In their second lesson of Music Mind Games, the children were each instructed to work quietly by themselves with a puzzle game based on recognition of the different rhythmic patterns represented by written music with notes and pauses of various lengths and patterns. The task was basically a way of connecting mathematics and notations of rhythms from the classical notation system. Milan worked with concentration and at a speed that I had never seen him do before. He finished first and with no mistakes. This was the second meeting with the Music Mind Games teacher. Not knowing the pupils well, the teacher did not make a fuss out of Milan's excellent solving of the task. Perhaps she assumed that he often accomplished tasks well, and there was no reason to take notice of this. The other pupils did not pay much attention to Milan either; they were engrossed in their own tasks.

Appearing to be a shy and not very outgoing boy, Milan did not insist on the teacher or any of the others giving him credit. Of course, I made sure to show Milan that I noticed his accomplishment with admiration, but I did this discreetly because my role in these small groups was in general restricted to an observer. I did not notice any change in Milan's attitude

or behaviour towards music or any other subjects after his astonishing feat in Music Mind Games.

Ali and Ewe's cooperation resulted in sound production. So did the three girls' experiment with words with different numbers of syllables. Sound demands attention and may bring attention and give voice to previously unheard or timid voices (Stige & Aarø, 2011). The participation in suggesting new words may have been a social achievement for Hilde, who seemed to be somewhat on the side, the least favoured by the trio.

Milan's working out rhythmic patterns was not only silent but also solitary. His performance in rhythm puzzles in the group was in fact a solo practice, although physically in the same musical social space as the others and part of a social practice in the room. In contrast, Ali and Ewe, with their clarinets, focused on each other as their task had to be accomplished in cooperation. Likewise, the three girls all contributed to the spoken choir in response to one another. Milan's contribution was of a different kind. The others in the group would have had to look up from their own work to see Milan's new standard of performance. As mentioned, I had followed his main class, as well as his music group for some time, and I had never seen this excellent performance from Milan. Although I gave him as good credits as I could, Milan did not really seem to mind very much.

A way to understand this behaviour and sudden achievement is by seeing Milan's solo work as a withdrawal and a break from the not-so-productive role he often played in groups. The music group members were barely acquainted with one another, as this was only the second stop in the carousel. Milan re-joined it with Hilde, who might have given him some comfort leading to a relaxation, as they had been friends in kindergarten. As mentioned, the task implied understanding mathematics using music scores with rhythmic patterns and was probably a method that really worked for Milan to foster his understanding. Thus, he used the opportunity to be in flow with his own work. His withdrawal may be described as a 'removal activity', "… [a] form of an asylum-seeking activity that gain[s] distance or offer[s] 'room from' hostile features of the environment" (DeNora, 2015, p. 49 Quotation marks original). Alone in his world, with the time they were given to work on their task, he did not meet any problems and was thus absorbed in accomplishing the task on his own. However, he returned to a world that was unchanged. The other pupils did not even consider his work, and the teacher did not know that this was extraordinarily well delivered by Milan, but she simply collected his work at the end of the lesson, along with those of the others. His production neither changed nor had much impact on his environment. He was, as ever, silent and did not

disturb others. However, this time, it seemed that he seized that chance to withdraw from painful or unpleasant aspects of being someone who neither participated nor functioned well in group activities. A removal asylum, as framed by DeNora (2015), is often private but not necessarily so. The private and the public must be perceived as "often interpenetrating realms" (DeNora, 2015, p. 59). For children, especially if they live with many siblings and/or in small flats, times for private removals must be taken in physical spaces that they share with others. Music gives good opportunities to private spaces, especially of course, using headphones or sound (DeNora, 2015; Tillman, 2009)

9.3 FINDING ASYLUM THROUGH MUSICAL PRACTICE

Another way of finding music asylum, as framed by DeNora (2015), contains musical sound and involves fellow musicians and classmates, also in the wellbeing facilitated by the asylum.

A PERSONAL REVOLUTION WITH A CLARINET

Ibrahim, one of the three boys in the blue group, was physically somewhat smaller than the others. Similar to Milan, Ibrahim had difficulties with language and speaking. However, instead of being silenced into a withdrawn passive state in class, Ibrahim dealt with his incorrect pronunciation and insufficient command of Norwegian in a different manner than Milan did. In his ordinary classes, Ibrahim was constantly moving around in the classroom and often seemed to spend more time under the table fooling around, than on his chair working. I had followed his class for some months, and while I communicated well with many of his classmates, I had a hard time in trying to make contact with Ibrahim.

Ibrahim did not appear to have a close friend in school. In class, he was not a central player, rarely answered questions, and if asked directly, could scarcely produce the correct answer. In his music group, one of the other two boys, Daniel, made contact with Ibrahim and often managed to sit beside him. Ibrahim did not seem to notice this at first. Ibrahim and Daniel did not belong to the same class in other subjects. After a few music lessons, they started to play as a pair and had fun together but often did not do what they were supposed to do. It seemed as if their contact in the music group, to some extent, was nurtured by Ibrahim doing foolish things for Daniel's amusement. Daniel laughed at Ibrahim's pranks. In turn, Daniel's laughter seemed to inspire Ibrahim to do more of the same, as illustrated by the following example from a cello lesson:

> Ibrahim is pretending to play the guitar with the small child-sized cello. Daniel laughs at this. Ibrahim looks at Daniel with a twinkle in his eye and moves from his chair, with the instrument in hand, and starts dancing madly to the play-back music that the teacher has put on to use for their practice. Ibrahim is now in the middle of the floor, with the neck of the cello resting in one hand, in a manner as if the cello was a guitar, twisting his body. Daniel laughs gleefully.

Ibrahim was one of the pupils who had a school assistant around to help him. The assistant used a good tone with Ibrahim, and it seemed that she was an important person to him. He tried to be physically close to her during classes. He liked to sit on her lap and always looked in her direction in what appeared to me as a search for approval when he accomplished something. When the assistant was present during music lessons, Ibrahim's behaviour was calm and more in compliance with the music teacher's expectations. When Ibrahim tried to act out something not in accordance with the teacher's plan, a word or a look from the assistant directed at his behaviour was often enough to stop him from fooling around and to prompt to follow the given instructions. The assistant was absent when Ibrahim did his cello-played-as-guitar show.

After Christmas, Ibrahim's blue group moved along in the carousel to start lessons on the clarinet. Here, something remarkable happened. First of all, the clarinet teacher did an interesting undertaking. Only five pupils were present on that day, due to some illness and a pupil's appointment with the health service. Three adults were with this blue group: the clarinet teacher, Ibrahim's assistant and me, the researcher. To our surprise, Heddy (the clarinet teacher) ordered the assistant and me to sit with the row of pupils in a half-circle. She then started giving the first instructions on how to hold a clarinet.

> Heddy gives each of us a clarinet reed; we are told to pick a clarinet from a small collection standing in the corner. The two adults in the group of pupils will obviously try learning to play alongside the children. Heddy talks to all of us as a group. She does not look at either of us adults longer or differently than at the pupils while giving instructions. We are given no opportunity to ask questions; thus, the assistant and I just follow her orders. We quickly find amusement in this, and the two of us make much eye contact while trying our best to produce a sound without too much "squeak" on this difficult instrument. The two of us concentrate on the task and on each other, thus temporarily limiting our attention to what the children are doing. However, after a few minutes, it is impossible not to be drawn towards what happens with Ibrahim. He produces an astonishing tone from his instrument. The impression given by the little boy with the clarinet is also remarkable; he appears to concentrate and holds the instrument without any gesture of showing off. It looks as if he has been holding and playing this instrument for years. There is no fooling around from him now, and he obviously concentrates on the tone coming out of his instrument, seemingly trying to

> coordinate his body towards making this remarkable sound continue. The look in Ibrahim's eyes afterwards shows as if he is astonished himself at the sound that he has produced.

The clarinet teacher was very satisfied after the lesson, and we were both excited about the follow-up the week after. However, the following week, Ibrahim was back to clowning. For some reason, the assistant was absent, and the lesson ended with Ibrahim being asked to leave the class, as he was completely unruly then and ruining the lesson for the others. The week after that, he was again a star and played with less fooling around. The carousel concert held the following week was a breakthrough for Ibrahim. Everyone – all the third-grade pupils and their class teachers were among the audience, watching Ibrahim play the clarinet with concentration and sincerity and play far better than anyone else. The silent attention and the expressions of surprise and disbelief on the faces of the audience were remarkable. Ibrahim was beaming. However, his parents were not present, as they rarely were on school occasions. Later, the blue group moved on in the carousel to cornetto. I was no longer with them, but I was told that he also played the cornetto well.

Before the summer, I had a chance to speak with Ibrahim's main teacher. As I had followed his class most of the autumn term, I felt that I knew his teacher a little. We talked about the general development and the development in class related to music. She expressed astonishment at Ibrahim's playing at the small concerts, which she had observed herself. I asked whether she thought the other children also noted this and if it had a social effect on him. "Yes, I really think so," the teacher answered and continued:

> Before, everybody knew Ibrahim to be a low achiever. Whenever he was asked for an answer to a simple math question, he would give the wrong answer and fool around. But with his playing the clarinet, everybody saw that he could really do something well. He is achieving a new position in class now.

Ibrahim is an example of solitary achievement as a beginner on the clarinet. The fact that the instrument produced sound made others notice the results of his actions, as opposed to the silent puzzles of Music Mind Games. Sound demands space and attention.

THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE OF FINDING ASYLUMS

I suggest that Ibrahim's achievement *with* the clarinet also became an achievement *through* it. His achievement in music was an eye-opener for the others that Ibrahim could actually

accomplish something. It followingly gave him a new role in class, according to his main teacher. It is thus an example of what the assistant headmaster hoped to achieve by supporting the music programme, that some pupils who seemed to fail in other subjects could have talents for music and prove these to themselves and others. It deserves to be noted that Ibrahim's enactment on the clarinet in fact surpassed those of both his assistant and myself, the two adults who were also novice clarinet players This may be interpreted as claiming that Ibrahim's musical achievement supported his sense of being worthy of belonging, in his eyes and those of his classmates (Pugh, 2009).

The concept of asylum, as used by Goffman (1968), has been developed by DeNora (2015) with respect to music making. In Ibrahim's case, the clarinet group suddenly represented a space where his challenges could be temporarily postponed or circumvented. In DeNora's conceptualisations, a music asylum may function as "both a backstage and a play-space" (DeNora, 2015, p. 47).

I have suggested that music in Q represents a heterotopy (Foucault, 1986). Physically, music teaching was at the same time part of the school, but also constituting a separate space in relation to the rest of the school, by being held on the fourth floor, solely dedicated to music. The music teachers comprised a different group of people than the other teachers at Q school. They were employed by the municipal Arts school and thus came from outside. Although they, and Anne in particular, cooperated with the Q school teachers, they did not know the pupils as much or in the same way. Many of the pupils had a fresh start in small groups organised across the ordinary classes. Although it may also cause problems and result in difficulties and the need for securing friendships, as argued to be the case with the three trombone players as described in Chapter 8, the situation of what may be viewed as a collective removal may have affordances to be used therapeutically as time off from the pupils' ordinary roles in their regular classes, as described by DeNora (2015). This could take the form of short or long time off from stress and other destructive elements in one's environment – a phenomenological experience of wellbeing, as described by (DeNora, 2015), wellbeing understood as "opportunities for refurnishing the world, and thus […..] for creating connection to others through musical acts" (DeNora, 2015, p. 98).

Ibrahim at first took advantage of the new constellation when he sensed that he had a spectator in Daniel. Instead of fooling around by himself under the table or sitting on his assistant's lap, he put on a show, although not supported by the teacher or anyone else, except Daniel. Already here, he started to refurnish his world (DeNora, 2015) for a short time by

playing a role that gained support from a fellow pupil. In doing this clown show, he seemed to enjoy being at the centre of the stage and seeing Daniel's approving and smiling eyes on him. This must have been a consolation for a boy who was often outside the social centre and quite likely saw mistrust in the eyes of those looking at him. However, the change in his surroundings was minimal, as his act was not approved by anyone but Daniel. A risk is connected to the outcome, perhaps particularly in school or other social contexts governed by clear rules of conduct. In this case, Ibrahim refurnished his social position favourably for the moment in Daniel's eyes, but this refurnishing was unsustainable.

The second case of refurnishing started with his accomplishment on the instrument. By producing a beautiful tone on the clarinet and being the centre of attention in the carousel concert, Ibrahim transformed his environment in his favour. When he mastered the instrument so well and even better than most of his fellow pupils, it was a start on a pathway that could result in a chance to occupy a new social place, as indicated by his main teacher: "Everybody saw that he could really do something well" (he was not just poor in mathematics and writing). Thus, more sustainable refurnishing was about to take place.

In the music asylum, playing music together creates a time and a place for taking a mental step away from the challenges of daily routine. According to DeNora (2015), music asylums can provide psycho-social wellbeing in different ways. One is by removal, creating an individual space for security, control, and consolidation, as in Milan's case. Amina's solitary experimentation with the drum skin described in Chapter 5 may also have been an act of removal – from my presence to her own consolidating world. During the school day, there were not many opportunities for withdrawing in at mental privacy.

Another mode of creating relief by asylum is by acts of refurnishing – establishing a new role or a better world for oneself to exist in (DeNora, 2015). Analysed this way, part of the social cure that can result from a music asylum is connected to what DeNora (2015, p. 123) calls addressing problems obliquely. In the case of Ibrahim and the clarinet, it could be said that his role as a pupil with challenging behaviours at the periphery was addressed obliquely in the music lessons. Playing the clarinet gave Ibrahim a suspension from his role as a pupil who was unable to accomplish school tasks. He was *removed* from his unproductive role. Additionally, he *became* a clarinet player for the time being. It gave him a suspension from his misbehaving role. His behaviour was no longer an issue, as the only behaviour he showed at the moment was that of a clarinettist. Music production in this lesson afforded an asylum, merging joy and will with the correct behaviour. Finally, it was time off from

otherwise always having an adult watch his behaviour. I believe that this might not be coincidental with the moment of his transformation, although his relationship with the assistant was clearly affectionate. At the time when Ibrahim produced this beautiful tone from an instrument, he was not under external observation, as the assistant was busy trying to get a sound from her own instrument. We were in fact all equal (except for Heddy, the teacher), the assistant and me were temporarily removed from our roles. As DeNora (2015) also describes to be the case with the nurses participating in the music together with their patients, we were all equal in the act of musicking. In this case, were all clarinet novices. Ibrahim's all-of-a-sudden new role as genuinely involved and at the same time, doing something right and even doing it best, was an achievement totally on his own, without the assistant. The play frame merged with the backstage *and* with schoolwork. His performance also changed his peers' and his teachers' perspectives on him and his social position.

9. 4 'FEELING ONESELF AND THE WORLD'

The findings presented in this chapter suggest that individual and social wellbeing may result from experiences with co-production of music, even on a beginner's level, and between/among children who do not have much experience, neither with music making nor with one another. As such, musicking can represent a pathway[47] from a socially peripheral or unproductive position to a more central or productive one. One way that this pathway may be formed is via situated learning as communal practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). In a school environment, these moments of co-production can be fluctuating experiences, moments of greater belonging through short periods of communal musical practice. It may nonetheless be part of processes whose effects surpass the actual musical occurrence. The effects may include relationships between marginalised and mainstream pupils and as such, have impacts on the school environment.

The relevance of communal practices that are less dependent on a common language may be said to be even greater in a school environment characterised by linguistic diversity and children without command of the spoken language in school. Musicking shares this in common with other practical activities initiated by the school teachers, such as the example of

[47] For perspectives on musical 'pathways' (Finnegan, 1989/2007, especially as framed by Ansdell and DeNora (2017) towards wellbeing see Ansdell, G. & DeNora, T. (2017). *Musical pathways in recovery: Community music therapy and mental wellbeing*. Routledge.

cleaning a room together, as described in Chapter 6. Regarding diversity in learning skills, low achievers in academic subjects can produce beautiful sounds on instruments. This musical achievement can lead to a refurnished social situation (DeNora, 2015) and intertwined with this, a refurnished self-image. The connection between self-image and feeling worthy of belonging (Pugh, 2009) may thus be interpreted as established via musicking in Q school. I have suggested that feeling included is connected to feeling cool in Q school. The connection might be related to being thankful or content with what one has, the relational difference (Pugh, 2009, p. 59), in Q school even more that of being content with whom one feels one appears to be at the moment. In Q school, being cool is connected to having fun, chilling out and not being bored, more than to consumer items. Social relations are dependent on one's relation with oneself, as in Nussbaum's (2006, p. 77) twofold capability number 7, affiliation – being able to care for others and having the social basis for self-respect. The combination of care for oneself and care for others may be a clue to sustainable inclusion. This is creatively expressed by the Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss (1998/2020, p. 28) who referred to a friend who had asked him, "How do you feel about yourself and the world?" (*"Hvordan føler du deg selv og verden?"*). According to Næss, as I understand him, the core of wellbeing is accepting that the borders between oneself and the world may often be unclear, and that wellbeing necessitates including "the world" in personal wellbeing.

As opposed to Ibrahim, Milan had no school assistant. No one noticed him doing the Music Mind Games so well according to his usual standards. No one gave him credit (except myself, the researcher, but I was an outsider). Milan was quiet and did not cause any trouble for those around him. He also neither accomplished much nor contributed to the group's collective result in the small concerts. His achievement in Music Mind Games was soundless and attracted no one's attention. Had the teacher observed and responded to his achievements, given him space and made the other children observe his accomplishments, Milan might have been able to use the opportunity to refurnish parts of his social world. As it was, no space was granted and taken that could constitute an asylum of social refurnishing for Milan. Nonetheless, he might have had an experience of asylum by removal (DeNora, 2015, p. 56). The role of the teachers in this respect is not the least, one of acknowledging the individual child and paying attention in a way that creates some spaces and not others. This is illustrated by Ibrahim's case. In a conversation with his main teacher a few weeks later, the main teacher said about the carousel concert, "Everyone could see that Ibrahim actually can do something –

that he also has abilities." Not the least, she, his teacher, witnessed this and would probably reflect this to Ibrahim himself and to his classmates.

Sommer (2014) argues that it is precisely because art is not an instrument and when not used as such, it can work socially and psychologically. She draws this conclusion after her studies on practices involving theatre, where she finds that it is the relationship between art and humour, as well as the double-sided potential of artworks, that opens the way for addressing important issues in a new and indirect manner. As described also by DeNora (2015) and Ansdell and DeNora (2017), with this playful and indirect approach, art enables reaching people in new and more effective ways, and thereby afford pathways to therapeutic processes, individually and socially.

ROUNDING UP THE CHAPTER

In this chapter, music is perceived as both an action and an object. Primarily, it is the analysis of the activity, the musicking, that has been in focus. Musicking has opened pathways to the development of the children's roles among themselves. However, also as an object of sound – a beautiful tone coming out of a clarinet – music may afford processes that can make room for a new and better personal status in a group, for shorter or longer terms. Sound, as well as quality of the sound matters in this case.

Ibrahim's case shows that music can be regarded as affording time off, where being a pupil with troubles can be replaced by being a clarinettist for a short while. Wellbeing from such a time out can rest on the time out itself, the pause or withdrawal, in DeNora's (2015, p. 56) words, "room through removal", as well as the opportunity to be associated with new skills and outlooks, a social "room through refurnishing" (DeNora, 2015, p. 56). Furthermore, the opportunity to "feel thankful for what you have" (Pugh, 2009, p. 59), paraphrased as 'thankful for who you appear to be, is offered anew in playing music; "how I perform can affect my experience of who I am" (DeNora, 2015, p. 27). Connections between the school environment and the music programme exist on both individual and social levels. Indeed, these two levels are closely interconnected, such as "how one is feeling" is intertwined with "how one is feeling about the world" (Næss, 1998/2020, p. 28).

10 CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL COMMENTS

10.1 SUMMING UP

In this thesis, my overarching objectives have been to investigate connections between the school environment and the music programme and to answer the research question: How may the music education in Q school contribute to processes of inclusion in a social environment marked by diversity?

Moreover, I have aimed at contributing to a more holistic and complex understanding of diversity, together with a multifaceted understanding of inclusion and what may constitute elements of an inclusive school environment. I have adopted the verbal form "musicking", partly based on Small's (1998) concept, as music in Q school was focused on the action of playing and the activities related to the musical practice and performances. Bearing in mind that studying music as an agent for inclusion is a kind of study that avoids a cost-benefit analysis, with the aim of finding proofs (Allan, 2010), the broad answer to the research question is that the music programme in Q school can represent a constructive arena for inclusion, regarding several aspects of inclusion and intersecting kinds of diversity. The focus was not always on inclusion, but greater inclusion may be regarded as a result of the focus on music.

I have argued that superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) is a productive perspective, particularly as it involves strengths and avoids the binary us–them perspective that is often an outcome of studies in communities that are easily divided into the original, ethnic or white Norwegians versus the immigrants (Gogolin, 2016). Not leaving marginalised individuals as only in the peripheries it may lead to more nuanced perspectives.

Being able to play music together is an area of play and a skill that can enable mastering and belonging. However, it is necessary to ensure that vulnerable pupils are able to follow their peers. Failing to keep up in developing their skills, not being physically there and lack of other practical matters facilitating participation, may further marginalise vulnerable children. Thus, it is essential to take into account the power relations inherent in (super)diversity. Regarding the music program, power relations in Q school and its neighbourhood to a certain extent were aligned with 'us-the-white-Norwegians' and 'them-the-immigrants' divide, as the white Norwegian parents were not only more likely to have instruments that could be retrieved from the attic but were also more familiar with helping

their children rehearse and giving them a ‘stage’ on which to perform. However, this was not a one-dimensional picture. Some of the immigrant parents gave their children much backing in playing music, while some of the white Norwegian children experienced lack of space or of parental support.

The critique against El Sistema, stating that its focus on classical music implies cultural imperialism, as argued by Baker (2014), was at first glance not that apparent in Q school, predominantly because the programme there, similar to other El Sistema-inspired programmes in Scandinavia (Bergman & Lindgren, 2014a), included children’s songs and music from other parts of the world. In the case of Q school, it also included musicians and instruments from other parts of the world in guest performances and workshops. Additionally, the children did not focus on style regarding their own playing but on their ability to play with just enough ease and challenges and to follow their group.

However, it must be inferred that learning to play the instruments of the western classical orchestra has connotations of western classical music and middle-class culture, as well as of participation in a symphony orchestra as a potential end goal. Therefore, to the families, the choice of instruments cannot just be disregarded as of no importance. I found that the immigrant parents were mostly concerned about side effects other than associating with the middle-class culture. Immigrant parents in Q were more preoccupied with the music performances not being held in disco venues, as well as with the assured safety of the music programme being organized by the school, which they considered “the first safe place” (in their new country), as expressed by one of the mothers.

The white Norwegian parents, to a certain extent, seemed split between idealism, not wanting to push their children in front of others and being conscious that their children should not “suffer from their idealism”, as expressed by one father. Thus, “having a goal to strive for” was often forwarded by the white Norwegian parents in a way as defending their strong involvement in their children’s development on the instrument. The choice of building up an orchestra with string instruments instead of an ordinary marching band, which is usual in Norwegian schools, might have been important for these white Norwegian parents, also connected to taste (Bourdieu, 1995). I have suggested that the orchestra may be connected to a construction of a “Q-ish culture”, being not only defined by socio-economic challenges, but also by a classical music orchestra comprising children from the neighbourhood.

The flipside seemed to be the risk represented by the white Norwegian parents' familiarity with classical music and rehearsing. This situation might develop into what Smette (2015, p. 292) describes as giving the already high-achieving students yet another arena on which to excel. Equality can be fragile business. If not managed well, the unequal starting points and home situations might push the development of the orchestra into a situation that is susceptible to critique, similar to Solomon's (2016) argument against Kaleidoscope – placing the white Norwegians on top, while denying that a hierarchy exists at all.

The interplay among personal, social and interactional differences, as framed by Pugh (2009), was apparent in different strategies for communicating and securing the sense of belonging that the children employed during their school days. Perhaps due to the impact of the family situations in the new class division stemming from the high mobility in Q neighbourhood, the parents' roles and abilities as caregivers seemed not only to represent a social difference but also to be used as a form of *scrip*, in the sense framed by Pugh (2009, p. 7) by the younger children handling interactional differences. On some occasions, the skill in playing an instrument appeared as scrip, as did the feed after a concert reserved for musicians. However, I have been reluctant to classify this as scrip not least due to the direct connection between musical skill, playing music and being part of the performances.

I have suggested that the music programme in Q school may provide a musical heterotopy – 'another space' (Foucault, 1986). Especially in the concerts, a simultaneity of values and roles coexisted when the pupils were on stage and their parents in the audience. The function of the heterotopy in relation to the world outside the heterotopy, included roles and statuses being changed through musical activities. At the same time, the physical repetitive nature of the musicking, may foster implicit bodily learning and collective memories (Connerton, 1989). The repetitive nature of the experiences in the heterotopy of music may also have therapeutic effects, individually and socially. As expressed by DeNora, as part of creating the music asylum: "Music is something we do here, and will do next week" (DeNora, 2015, p. 91). The social aspect of mastery becomes explicit and apparent when the result is a magnificent sound. Sound demands attention (Stige & Aarø, 2011). This social mode of making "room through refurnishing" may lead to a "transformation of socially shared spaces" (DeNora, 2015, p. 56).

Music and musicking should not be considered magical enablers of inclusion and wellbeing. I have shown examples of how friendships can also be threatened by the regrouping that the music programme implied and by the different levels of the development

of playing skills among the children. However, especially when facilitated by clever teachers, music's affordances could be part of the children's flourishing, as slices in time or spaces in life during a school day when they may experience creating and producing sounds, moving, playing, mastering and adjusting their world to grow more in accordance with their inborn dignity (Nussbaum 2006). Musicking afforded possibilities for music asylums or rooms of relief and new opportunities. This was strongly connected to enjoyment and mastering, in Q school. It might be argued that when music is used as an instrument for something else, it does not necessarily work. It is when it is *not* an instrument for anything that it works. This was the case for the drama in the traffic in Bogota, as described by Sommer (2014), and most likely the case as well in Q orchestra.

Inclusion sometimes occurs when people are busy doing something else. Inclusion in a group is one aspect that also implies the exclusion of somebody else from the group. This is unavoidable, due to the nature of groups and boundaries. The individual in modern society is "...always travelling, in and out of various social systems" (Qvortrup & Qvortrup, 2015 p. 41, my translation). Applying a superdiversity perspective on culture and cultural processes, one can "[feel a sense of belonging] to certain groups, to a certain degree, for a moment" (Lähdesmäki et al., 2016, p. 241, parenthesis original). One can belong to the music group and be friends with co-members in music, even though they are not friends outside this group. Addressing difficult issues obliquely (DeNora, 2015, p. 123) may be important for a healthy and sustainable development of both communal and individual wellbeing, and can be made available via musicking.

Inclusion can also be perceived as not necessarily meaning being included *in* a certain group. If not necessarily enhancing friendship, musicking, when managed well in school, may be found to increase friendliness. Musicking may sometimes create a 'situational we' and open pathways for potential friendships. The children did not relate to diversity in the same way as the adults did. To the children, differences in what kinds of sports they liked to play or in whether they liked to play music and how well they played mattered more. *The other* was thus not a category but sometimes a necessary person to play with.

Viewed this way, inclusion relies on participation and on an attitude of openness, parallel to freedom, according to Ingold: "Real freedom is not a property, but a mode of existence - a way of being that is fundamentally open to others and to the world, rather than hemmed in by aims and objectives." (Ingold, 2018, p. 79). A perspective that also

corresponds with Bostad's (2017) notion of formation, meeting the other with questions rather than answers.

10.2 FINAL COMMENTS AND CONSIDERATIONS

Underlying much of the critique against El Sistema and El Sistema-based programmes is the argument that social change necessitates a systemic transformation of power and economic development, not individual emotional contentment. In light of the present study, not least the that based on the application of DeNora's (2015) analytical perspectives, it may be argued that social refurnishing links individual improvement to social change. However, for a sustainable refurnishing or social change to occur, some of the other diversifying factors must play in accord with it. Whether or not a musical talent of a boy such as Ibrahim (as described in Chapter 9) will be of use to him, will depend on several factors. Foremost perhaps, Ibrahim's parents or caretakers must be attentive to and supportive of what occurs in school and supportive of Ibrahim practising on his instrument at home.

Knowledge opens more questions. Time and other limitations leave several doors yet to be opened in this field of research. Home situations, including parents' and siblings' support, are factors that I have not had the opportunity to investigate in the present study. Moreover, I would have liked to meet those who still play their instruments when these are no longer available on loan from the school, after they have moved on to lower secondary school.

I have focused on some children more than others. "Not everyone likes music, though, I don't know…," said Amina in seventh grade. I observed some children disrupt their classes or heard them say that they hated the violin. I could have ventured to focus on and interview more of the less enthusiastic children. In this study, I have chosen to concentrate on what works among the children and how it works. The children included in the study represent different children from a broad spectrum of backgrounds.

I have chosen to employ Pugh's (2009) perspectives, to a large extent, in analysing how children manage belonging. I have applied her concepts of personal, social, and interactional differences, as well as her notions of scrip and the economy of dignity, while not delving deeply into the consumer aspect, which is basic in her analysis. I neither knew Pugh's work prior to my field research nor looked for aspects of consumer culture in my research. Nonetheless, I found it striking that the place of branded clothes and expensive equipment and

experiences seemed to be replaced by musical and other skills and priceless values. This is not to say that the children were not at all aware of the prices of things and that consumer items did not matter to them at all. Had I chosen to focus more on this aspect and on the more affluent parents' choices to appear as non-consumers, I might have found more of an infiltration of the market economy also in Q school. On one hand, the interdisciplinary nature of the analysis may have shed light on aspects of the children's life worlds and choices in school, based on the intersection between psychological/pedagogical and social constructivist perspectives in the analysis. On the other hand, an analysis based more profoundly on the social sciences, not the least, considering Bourdieu's (in particular Bourdieu, 1995) and Foucault's (for example Foucault, 1989) works, might have shown more of a class division and even more of the situated nature of affordances.

Methodological implications

Employing the pupils' perspectives as parallel to those of the natives in traditional anthropology reveals and also adds to anthropological dilemmas in the field. For example, I do not know whether the children really experienced feelings of belonging. For one thing, I did not ask much about their emotions. However, had I asked, I might not have received an honest answer. The children's experiences that I gleaned from the answers to the questions that I posed, suggest that the "attitudinal fallacy" (Jerolmack & Khan, 2014, p. 142) is by no means less pronounced among children than among adults as research subjects. The shortcoming of self-representation as the basis for research has also been noticed by other researchers working with El Sistema-based projects (Hospital et al., 2018).

Seeking to explore the children's points of view has been a methodological and research-ethical challenge but a necessity when attempting to focus on individual experiences of belonging as an important aspect of inclusion.

I have tried to include as much ethnography as necessary to give a "taste" of Q school and school environment. Writing interpretive thick descriptions necessitates access to context. The need to secure informed consent prior to participant observation is time consuming and, more important, may, by limiting the context, lead to exclusion of vital information in order to understand marginalized people's life words.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

Causality is not the strongest side of anthropological studies. “We rather try to say something more general by saying something about significant contexts” (Vike et al., 2001, pp. 14, my translation). The affordances of music and musicking found in Q school must be regarded as possibilities, depending on the interplay of several success factors determining and modifying the outcome of the connections between musicking and the social environment. Access to space is politically distributed, as is access to instruments and teachers, as well as possibilities to take a time out, and for a time out to be given the form of a music asylum that may provide time for individual wellbeing or opportunities for refurnishing the social situation (DeNora, 2015). Teachers, school leaders and educational authorities have power over the pupils, as do their parents.

To fully understand the ways that the pupils themselves managed diversities, researchers and psychologists/therapists need to take holistic perspectives. This will include considering the people surrounding them, particularly their teachers and parents, and to consider factors as parents’ capacity for parenting in new social circumstances, relationship with teachers, experienced or well-trained teachers, and so on. The pupils’ social, personal, and relational skills also need to be included.

The possibilities for musical instrument teachers to cater to superdiverse classrooms were facilitated by the small group sizes, enabling frequent eye contacts with all pupils, sitting in half-circles around their teacher. The teachers’ talents and powers for virtuosity, not only in their instruments, but also in their teaching (Biesta, 2013), were notable and must be cherished.

The opportunity to borrow and take home instruments for practice was also crucial for success and a practical way of compensating for the economic diversity among the children and their families.

The embodied practices that musicking involves lend themselves to children’s often physical ways of acting and communicating. Addressing challenging situations or complicated issues in an oblique manner avoids the pupils’ humiliation of being lectured in front of the class and thus may prevent their building up resistance to the same extent.

An example of a socioemotional pair of concepts that can be extracted from my findings may be trust versus deceit. In an era of human mobility across countries, cities, and

economic spheres, as well as rapid and long-distance movements regarding information, *trust*, whether in friendships or in information, comes across as scarce and vulnerable and therefore highly esteemed. To cite another example, the concept of dignity versus humiliation appears as underlying much public debate on difficult relations among people. To a certain extent, the concept of inclusion versus exclusion may be perceived connected to dignity and humiliation. The never-ending and serious problem of bullying in school may be described as a shame induced by others (Eriksen & Lyng, 2015). The outcome of this thesis suggests that educational authorities, teachers, and parents could focus on ways that children and young people may learn to be aware of and protect experiences of dignity or wellbeing of the self and others, in other words continue focusing on the positive aspects of non-bullying.

A tendency towards *hybridisation* has been described in research conducted in other culturally diverse areas of Oslo (Knudsen, 2011; Rysst, 2016; Vestel, 2004, 2009). I found hybridisation regarding mixing western-style streetwear with tight *hijabs* and regarding the children's feeling of belonging to their parents' homelands as well as to Norway and/or Q neighbourhood. Hybridisation in Q also encompassed musical styles, for example, doing beatboxing in the youth club on Tuesdays, playing Beethoven on the violin in school on Wednesdays, and at home, listening to music from their parents' home countries. Who says that these diverse styles may not exist well side by side? Hybridity may be a sign of managing cultural codes of several arenas. My observations suggest that it could be constructive of even better growing-up conditions in areas with great diversity to facilitate spaces and experiences of hybridity. Hybridity may inspire existence and maintenance of diverse styles, activities, and choices for young people. Hybridisation may be perceived as a version of a "glocal identity" (Robertson, 1995, p. 36). The version of 'glocality' in Q consisted not only of playing music together but also of looking after the physical and the social environments in the form of establishing pedestrian streets, arranging citizens' meetings, and taking care of neighbours when they were evicted from their social benefit housing. These values may also be connected to the ongoing gentrification, as part of what people with money wanted to buy by moving to Q and thus, paradoxically, possibly fueling the gentrification process. The gentrification also seemed to expand the breach between the white Norwegians and the immigrants regarding economic diversity. This in terms of the immigrant middle class moving out and being replaced by newly arrived immigrants and others in need of social benefit housing. As a consequence, the existence of a coloured middle class seemed to be

disappearing in Q. Gentrification, as well as mobility, is related to a larger political situation that can and should be addressed as such, on a system level.

ROUNDING UP: "YOU'RE IN Q NOW; WE'RE DIFFERENT"

Difference, and internal diversity was embraced in Q, and, I have argued, at the core of an emerging 'Q-ish culture'. Consequently, the situation in Q may be perceived as opening the way for the antithesis of the notion of Norwegian sameness – being from Q means being different, not just from the rest of Norway, but also among themselves. Through local engagements and non-materialistic values and solidarity in the 'Q Village', Q culture appeared as something that many of the teachers and parents worked for. This as illustrated by teacher Jenny's conclusion addressed to her young pupils when they were discussing their sense of belonging as related to their various countries of origin and feeling Norwegian or not: "The most important thing is that we're all Q-ish."

The intersubjective perspectives in this thesis on childhood and growing up, which draw upon anthropology, music sociology and educational science, has supported an approach to learning and formation that parallels the anthropological generative model of culture. Generally, anthropology has not been much concerned with childhood and school-related issues and Norwegian anthropology has scarcely been concerned with music. The present thesis may be a contribution to both these areas. Children's artistic activities and products may comprise a fruitful area of research and an entry to deeper knowledge regarding children's worlds and formational conditions. Children's urge to try, to move and to be happy suggests a significant place for music in school.

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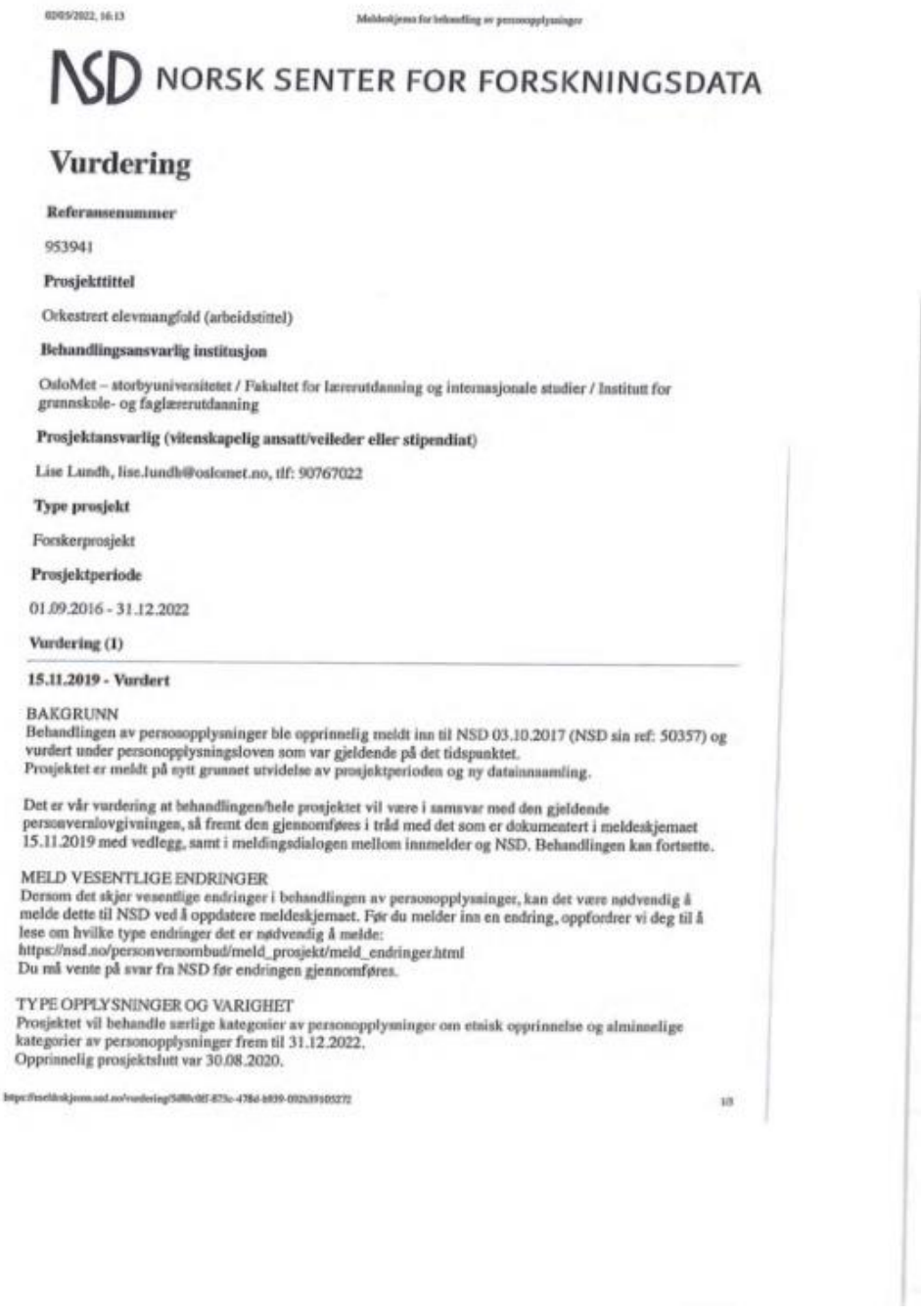
APPENDICES

RECOMMENDATION FROM THE NORWEGIAN CENTRE FOR RESEARCH DATA (NSD)



02/09/2022, 16:13 Meldeskjema for behandling av personopplysninger

NSD NORSK SENTER FOR FORSKNINGSDATA

Vurdering

Referansenummer

953941

Prosjekttittel

Orkestrert elevmangfold (arbeidstittel)

Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon

OsloMet – storbyuniversitetet / Fakultet for lærerutdanning og internasjonale studier / Institutt for grunnskole- og faglærerutdanning

Prosjektansvarlig (vitenskapelig ansatt/veileder eller stipendiat)

Lise Lundh, lise.lundh@oslomet.no, tlf: 90767022

Type prosjekt

Forskerprosjekt

Prosjektperiode

01.09.2016 - 31.12.2022

Vurdering (1)

15.11.2019 - Vurdert

BAKGRUNN
Behandlingen av personopplysninger ble opprinnelig meldt inn til NSD 03.10.2017 (NSD sin ref: 50357) og vurdert under personopplysningsloven som var gjeldende på det tidspunktet.
Prosjektet er meldt på nytt grunnet utvidelse av prosjektperioden og ny datainnsamling.

Det er vår vurdering at behandlingen/hele prosjektet vil være i samsvar med den gjeldende personvernlovgivningen, så fremt den gjennomføres i tråd med det som er dokumentert i meldeskjemaet 15.11.2019 med vedlegg, samt i meldingsdialogen mellom innmelder og NSD. Behandlingen kan fortsette.

MELD VESENTLIGE ENDRINGER
Dersom det skjer vesentlige endringer i behandlingen av personopplysninger, kan det være nødvendig å melde dette til NSD ved å oppdatere meldeskjemaet. Før du melder inn en endring, oppfordrer vi deg til å lese om hvilke type endringer det er nødvendig å melde:
https://nsd.no/personvernombud/meld_prosjekt/meld_endringer.html
Du må vente på svar fra NSD før endringen gjennomføres.

TYPE OPPLYSNINGER OG VARIGHET
Prosjektet vil behandle særlige kategorier av personopplysninger om etnisk opprinnelse og alminnelige kategorier av personopplysninger frem til 31.12.2022.
Opprinnelig prosjektslutt var 30.08.2020.

https://meldeskjema.nsd.no/vurdering/5d80c0ff-875c-478d-b839-0926395f5272 1/3

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG
Prosjektet har innhentet samtykke fra deltakere til behandlingen av personopplysninger. Foreldre samtykket på vegne av elever 6-14 år. Elever og foreldre som allerede er deltakere i prosjektet (utvalg 5) vil motta oppdatert informasjon om prosjektet, inkludert informasjon om forlengelse av prosjektperioden og de registrertes rettigheter etter GDPR.

Det vil innhentes samtykke fra nye deltakere. Foreldre vil samtykke til behandlingen av personopplysninger om utvalg 2 (elever 6-14 år).

Vår vurdering er at prosjektet la opp til, og legger opp til, et samtykke i samsvar med kravene i art. 4 nr. 11 og art. 7, ved at det er en frivillig, spesifikk, informert og utvetydig bekreftelse, som kan dokumenteres, og som den registrerte kan trekke tilbake.

Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen av alminnelige kategorier av personopplysninger tilknyttet lærere og ledere er den registrertes samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a.

Lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen av alminnelige kategorier og særlige kategorier av personopplysninger tilknyttet foreldre er den registrertes uttrykkelige samtykke, og lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen av alminnelige kategorier og særlige kategorier av personopplysninger tilknyttet elever er uttrykkelig samtykke fra foreldre, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 bokstav a, jf. art. 9 nr. 2 bokstav a, jf. personopplysningsloven § 10, jf. § 9 (2).

PERSONVERNPRINSIPPER
NSD vurderer at behandlingen av personopplysninger følger prinsippene i personvernforordningen om:

- lovlighet, rettferdighet og åpenhet (art. 5.1 a), ved at de registrerte får tilfredsstillende informasjon om og samtykker til behandlingen
- formålsbegrensning (art. 5.1 b), ved at personopplysninger samles inn for spesifikke, uttrykkelig angitte og berettigede formål, og ikke viderebehandles til nye uforenlige formål
- dataminimering (art. 5.1 c), ved at det kun behandles opplysninger som er adekvate, relevante og nødvendige for formålet med prosjektet
- lagringsbegrensning (art. 5.1 e), ved at personopplysningene ikke lagres lengre enn nødvendig for å oppfylle formålet

DE REGISTRERTES RETTIGHETER
Så lenge de registrerte kan identifiseres i datamaterialet vil de ha følgende rettigheter: åpenhet (art. 12), informasjon (art. 13), innsyn (art. 15), retting (art. 16), sletting (art. 17), begrensning (art. 18), underretning (art. 19), dataportabilitet (art. 20).

NSD vurderer at informasjonen som nye deltakere vil motta oppfyller lovens krav til form og innhold, jf. art. 12.1 og art. 13.

NSD vurderer at informasjonen som ble gitt til tidligere deltakere var godt utformet etter personopplysningsloven som var gjeldende på det tidspunktet. Samtykket som ble innhentet vurderes som gyldig også etter nytt personvernregelverk. Informasjonen oppfyller lovens krav til form, jf. art. 12.1 og mangler kun informasjon om de registrertes rettigheter og kontaktopplysninger til institusjonens personvernombud, jf. art. 13.

Det vil sendes ut oppdatert informasjon om prosjektet, inkludert utvidelse av prosjektperioden, til elever og foreldre som allerede er deltakere i prosjektet.

Vi minner om at hvis en registrert/forelder tar kontakt om sine rettigheter/elevens rettigheter, har behandlingsansvarlig institusjon plikt til å svare innen en måned.

FØLG DIN INSTITUSJONS RETNINGSLINJER
NSD legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene i personvernforordningen om riktighet (art. 5.1 d), integritet og konfidensialitet (art. 5.1. f) og sikkerhet (art. 32).

For å forsikre dere om at kravene oppfylles, må dere følge interne retningslinjer og eventuelt rådføre dere med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.

OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET
NSD vil følge opp underveis (hvert annet år) og ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene pågår i tråd med den behandlingen som er dokumentert.

Lykke til videre med prosjektet!

Kontaktperson hos NSD: Eva J B Payne
Tlf. Personvernтjenester: 55 58 21 17 (tast 1)

INTERVIEW GUIDES

INTERVJUGUIDE /TEMALISTE

Elever

Om opplevelsen av orkesteret

- Hvor lenge har du/dere spilt instrumentet du/dere spiller nå?
- Hva tenkte du/dere om å spille før du/dere begynte?
- Hva tenker du/dere nå?
- Hva er det beste med å spille? (å spille på instrumentet – det sosiale – fri fra annen skole -?)
- Er lærerne snille? (passe strenge?)
- Øver du/dere hjemme?
- Har du/dere vært med å spille konsert? (hva synes du om det?)

Om det sosiale miljøet

- Hvordan trives du/dere på skolen?
- Har noe forandret seg på skolen etter at du/dere begynte med musikken?
- Har du/dere de samme vennene i musikken som ellers på skolen?
- Hva er viktig for å være en god venn, tenker du?

Om kulturopplevelser

- Hvordan liker du musikken dere spiller?
- Får dere besøk av konserter og teater på skolen (i gymsalen eller skolegården) -?
- Hvordan liker du disse besøkene?
- Er det stor forskjell på musikken dere spiller i musikkundervisningen og det som dere hører på hjemme eller andre steder?

INTERVJUGUIDE / TEMALISTE

Orkesterprosjekt – foreldre

Innledende:

- Hvor lenge har du hatt barn ved XX skole?
- Husker du og kan du beskrive skolestart?

Om å ha barn på skolen

- Har dere flyttet mens barnet har gått på skolen?
- Hvilke typer utfordringer oppstod i forbindelse med flytting og bytte av skole?
- Hvor mange barn har du ved XX skole?
- Trives alle like godt?
- Hva tror du er viktigst for barnet ditt med skolen?
- Hva tror du er viktigst for barnas trivsel på skolen?
- Hva synes du selv er det viktigste med skolen?

Om orkesteret

- Visste du om orkesteret før barnet ditt begynte ved skolen?
- Hva synes du om at barnet ditt deltar i musikkundervisningen?
- Har du synspunkter på instrumentet barnet ditt spiller?
- Hva tenker du om at det er instrumenter fra vestlig klassisk musikk?
- Øver barnet ditt hjemme?
- Hvordan er en typisk ettermiddag hjemme med øving på musikkinstrumentet?
- Forteller du om orkesteret til familie og venner?
- Hva sier slektningene deres om spillingen?
- Har du inntrykk av at barnet ditt trives med orkesteret?
- Har barnet ditt fått nye venner i orkesteret?
- Har barnet ditt mistet venner på grunn av musikkundervisningen?
- Deltar du ved konserter? – hvor mange har du deltatt ved?
- Hvordan er en konsert fra din synsvinkel – kan du beskrive en konsert – hva skjer?

Om skolemiljøet

- Hva tenker du om læringsmiljøet ved skolen?
- Har barnet ditt mange venner på skolen?
- Er barnet ditt sammen med venner på fritiden?
- Opplever du eller har du opplevd at barnet ditt blir ertet eller mobbet på skolen?
- Har du deltatt i foreldreutvalg eller annet dugnadsarbeid?
- Hvordan synes du samarbeidet med lærerne er?

INTERVJUGUIDE /TEMALISTE

Lærere

Innledende spørsmål

- Hvor lenge har du jobbet ved XX / musikkskolen?
- Hvor stor del av stillingen din er det?
- Hvordan ble du rekruttert til dette prosjektet (XX)?

Om orkesteret, orkesterlærernes roller og skolen

- Kan du beskrive orkesterprosjektet fra din synsvinkel?
- Hva er dine roller i orkestersammenheng?
- På hvilke måter skiller dette seg fra den andre jobben din for OMK?
- Hva er etter din oppfatning skolelærerens rolle i forhold til orkesteret?
- Har du eksempler på samarbeid med skolelærerne?

Betydningen av orkesteret for miljø og læring

- Hvordan vil du beskrive miljøet i orkesteret?
- Er det mulig å si noe om utviklingen siden du begynte i orkesteret?
- Hvor viktig er det at elevene øver hjemme?
- Hvordan forholder du deg til ulike grad av læringspotensialer/ferdigheter i musikk?
- Har du inntrykk av at nye vennskap springer ut av orkesteret?
- Hvordan samarbeider dere med foresatte?

Om kulturformidling

- Samarbeider dere noe med den Kulturelle skolesekken (DKS)?
- Har du tanker om musikken orkesteret jobber med ? (faller musikken sammen med elevenes /skolens / andres musikkpreferanser) -?
- Hvem velger orkesterets repertoar?

Tanker om utvikling

- Hva er de største utfordringene for orkesterprosjektet etter din oppfatning?

SHEETS OF INFORMATION AND CONSENT

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet

" Elevmiljø og inkludering. Om betydninger av kunst og kultur i et elevmiljø preget av stort mangfold "

Bakgrunn og formål
Studien er en del av et doktogradsprosjekt (PhD) i utdanningsvitenskap ved Høyskolen i Oslo og Akershus (HiOA). Prosjektet er finansiert av Norges forskningsråd som offentlig sektor PhD, og er også en del av Kulturtanken/Rikskonsertenes forsknings- og utviklingsarbeid. Planlagt ferdigstillelse/levering er 31.08.2020.

Doktorgradsprosjektet har som mål å utforske betydningen kunst kan ha for kommunikasjon og større samhandling på tvers av kulturelt og sosialt mangfold. En hypotese er at betydningen av kunst henger sammen med utvikling av selvfølelse og verdighet, som kan ansees som grunnleggende for livsmestring. Sentrale spørsmålsstillinger vil være:

- Kan kunstopplevelser i et skolemiljø med sosial og kulturell ulikhet bidra til utviklingen av et mer inkluderende elevmiljø?
- Hvilken betydning har det for elevmiljøet at inkluderingen omfatter alle elevene?

Forskningen vil bygge på kvalitativ metode, og jeg vil legge vekt på å være tilstede i miljøet, for å bli kjent med elever og lærere på en smidig og fleksibel måte. Jeg har som målsetting å analysere elevkultur ut fra et elevperspektiv.

Teoretisk tar jeg utgangspunkt i et sosiokulturelt læringssyn og betydningen av praksisfellesskap. Jeg vil relatere til perspektiv fra samfunnsmusikkterapi og til teoretikere som vektlegger betydningen av humaniora i skolen og som filosofisk orientering.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?
Jeg ber om tillatelse til å være tilstede under orkesterprøver og konserter, og noe i friminutt. Her vil jeg bare observere, hjelpe til praktisk med noter etc, og ha vanlige små samtaler med elever og lærere underveis.

I tillegg ber jeg om å kunne avtale intervju med noen av elevene og noen av foreldrene. Intervjuene vil basere seg på en intervjuguide, men vil være fleksible slik at du som intervjues kan la være å svare om du ikke ønsker, eller snakke om andre ting, dersom du synes det er noe viktig jeg har glemt å spørre om. Jeg vil innhente skriftlig samtykke fra elever og foreldre, så vel som fra lærere før intervju.

Om spørsmålene (vil tilpasses målgruppen):

Spørsmålene vil handle om hva som er viktig for elevene med deltakelse i XX orkesterprosjekt. Hva de synes er gøy og hva som er krevende. Jeg vil spørre om de husker hvilke forventninger de hadde da de begynte. Jeg vil også spørre om hvor mye tid som bruker på musikk utenom skoletid, og om dette har endret seg i løpet av årene. Så vil jeg spøre litt om vennskap knyttet til orkestret, og om trivsel på skolen generelt.

Ansatte vil jeg også spørre om betydningen av tverrfaglig samarbeid

1

Jeg vil også be om tillatelse til å sende et spørreskjema elektronisk (questback) til foreldre.

Hva skjer med informasjonen?

Jeg vil ta opp intervjuene på en diktafon og lagre dem innelåst til de er transkribert. Fra observasjonene vil jeg lage notater og lagre dette også anonymt. Dersom noe informasjon gjelder en solist eller andre som lett vil kunne gjenkjennes uten at navn oppgis, vil jeg be om særskilt tillatelse til å beskrive situasjonen/svarene.

Det elektroniske spørreskjemaet (questback) vil jeg lagre på serveren til Kulturtanken/Rikskonsertene. Alle servere og teknisk utstyr er innelåst til enhver tid da det ikke er i bruk. Alle data vil anonymiseres.

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Jeg vil anonymisere dataene, og vil lagre koblingsnøkkel/navneliste i et eget dokument på serveren som bare jeg har tilgang til. Koblingsnøkkelen blir destruert når prosjektet er ferdig.

Ingen opplysninger som kan knyttes til navn vil oppgis til andre – verken på XX skole, XX orkesterprosjekt eller mitt studiested.

Frivillig deltakelse

Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn.

Dersom du har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med meg (Lise Lundh, telefon: 907 67 022, epost: lislu@hioa.no), eller min mentor i Rikskonsertene: Egil Rundberget, tlf: 922 65 290, epost: er@rikskonsertene.no)

Studien er innmeldt til og anbefalt av Personvernombudet for forskning, NSD - Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS.

Godkjenning:

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta ved:

Observasjon: Ja /nei
Intervju: Ja / nei

Signatur: Dato:

Navn i Blokkbokstaver: Stilling:

Til foresatte

Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjekt om XX orkesterprosjekt og elevmiljøet

Bakgrunn og formål
Studien er en del av et doktogradsprosjekt (PhD) i utdanningsvitenskap ved Høyskolen i Oslo og Akershus (HiOA).

Doktorgradsprosjektet har som mål å utforske betydningen musikk kan ha å skape et bedre elevmiljø.

Jeg ønsker å være til stede i miljøet, for å bli kjent med elever og lærere.

Du er spurt om å delta i studien fordi du ditt barn er deltakere i XX orkesterprosjekt og du er foreldre ved XX skole.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?
Jeg ber om tillatelse til å være til stede under orkesterprøver og konserter, og noe i friminutt. Her vil jeg bare observere, ha vanlige små samtaler med elever og lærere underveis.

I tillegg ber jeg om å kunne avtale intervju med noen av elevene og noen av foreldrene. Intervjuene vil basere seg på en intervjuguide, men vil være fleksible slik at den som intervjues kan la være å svare om du ikke ønsker, eller snakke om andre ting, dersom du synes det er noe viktig jeg har glemt å spørre om. Jeg vil ta opp intervju på diktafon, men ikke lagre navn til den som intervjues.

Jeg vil også be om tillatelse til å sende et spørreskjema elektronisk (questback) til foreldre. Her kan dere være anonyme om dere ønsker det.

Spørsmålene vil handle om trivsel i orkesteret. Det er mulig å få se oversikt over spørsmålene på forhånd, hvis du ber om det.

Hva skjer med informasjonen jeg innhenter?
Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt og alle data vil oppbevares forsvarlig innelåst. Før jeg viser svarene til noen, vil jeg lage koder, slik at ingen navn blir synlige i det jeg skriver. Det skal ikke være mulig å bli gjenkjent fra det jeg skriver.

Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 31.08.20.
Jeg ønsker å kunne bruke dataene (anonymisert) ved en senere anledning. Dersom du ber om det, vil jeg slette alle data ved prosjektslutt.

Frivillig deltakelse
Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn.

Dersom du har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med meg (Lise Lundh, telefon: 907 67 022), eller min mentor i Rikskonsertene: Egil Rundberget, tlf: 922 65 290)

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, NSD - Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS.

1

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta

.....

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Mitt barns navn: Klasse:

.....

	Ja	Nei
Mitt barn kan være med i gruppen som observeres i orkesterprosjektet og i skolegården		
Mitt barn kan delta i intervju om skolen og orkesterprosjektet		
Jeg kan motta spørreskjema om mitt barns deltakelse i orkesterprosjektet ved XX skole		
Jeg kan selv delta i intervju om orkesterprosjektet ved XX skole		

X

Informasjon om forskningsarbeid ved XX skole /orkester

Tillatelse til å delta i studien

Studien er en del av et doktorgradsprosjekt (PhD) i utdanningsvitenskap ved Høyskolen i Oslo og Akershus (HiOA).

Hva vil det si å være med i studien?

Jeg vil være til stede i miljøet for å bli kjent med elever og foresatte på en måte som ikke forstyrrer undervisningen.

I tillegg vil jeg gjøre noen samtaler / intervju med noen av elevene som har gått lenge i orkesteret.

Å være med i forskningsarbeidet er frivillig, og man kan når som helst trekke seg.

Hva kommer jeg til å spørre om?

Spørsmålene vil handle om hva som er viktig for elevene med deltakelse i XX-orkesteret. Hva de synes er gøy og hva som er vanskelig. Så vil jeg spørre litt om vennskap knyttet til orkesteret, og om trivsel på skolen generelt.

Hva skjer med informasjonen?

Jeg vil ta opp intervjuene på en diktafon og lagre det innelåst. Fra observasjonene vil jeg lage notater og lagre dette avidentifisert (bruke andre navn).

Alle servere og teknisk utstyr er innelåst til enhver tid da det ikke er i bruk.

Når prosjektet er avsluttet vil jeg slette lydfiler og koblingsnøkler til navn i notatene.

Kontaktinfo

Dersom du har spørsmål, ta kontakt med meg direkte: Lise Lundh (tlf: 907 67 022, epost: lise.lundh@hioa.no), evt med min veileder ved HiOA, forsker Mari Rysst (tlf: 67 23 56 22, epost, mari-rysst@nifu.hioa.no)

Studien er meldt inn til, og godkjent av personvernombudet for forskning, Norsk senter for forskningsdata (NSD).

Tillatelse:

Elevens Navn: _____

FORESATTE

Jeg gir med dette min sønn/datter lov til å være med på et eller to intervju / samtaler om forskningsprosjektet

Oslo dato:_____

Underskrift:_____

ELEV:

Jeg ønsker å delta ved en eller to samtaler / intervju om XX-orkesteret

Oslo, dato: _____

Underskrift:_____

2

Til ansatte ved XX skole og Oslo kulturskole

Informasjon om pågående forskningsprosjekt

" Elevmiljø og inkludering. Om betydninger av kunst og kultur i et elevmiljø preget av stort mangfold "

Takk til alle dere som allerede har bidratt til forskningsprosjektet, og for at jeg har fått være en del av miljøet. Dette er informasjon om ny sluttdato.

Bakgrunn og formål
Studien er en del av et doktorgradsprosjekt (PhD) i utdanningsvitenskap ved Oslo Metropolitan University (OsloMet). Prosjektet er finansiert av Norges forskningsråd (NFR) som offentlig sektor PhD, og er også en del av Kulturtanken forsknings- og utviklingsarbeid. Prosjektet startet høsten 2016.
Planlagt ferdigstillelse/levering er utsatt: Prosjektet vil avsluttes senest 31.12.2022.
Doktorgradsprosjektet har som mål å utforske betydninger kunst kan ha for kommunikasjon og større samhandling på tvers av kulturelt og sosialt mangfold. En hypotese er at betydningen av kunst henger sammen med utvikling av selvfølelse og verdighet, som kan ansees som grunnleggende for livsmestring.
Sentrale spørsmålsstillinger er:

- Kan kunstopplevelser i et skolemiljø med sosial og kulturell ulikhet bidra til utviklingen av et mer inkluderende elevmiljø?
- Hvilke faktorer er evt av betydning for at kunstopplevelser /-praksis kan ha slik betydning?

Forskningen bygger på kvalitativ metode, og jeg har lagt vekt på å være til stede i miljøet for å bli kjent med elever og lærere på en smidig og fleksibel måte. Jeg har som målsetting å analysere elevkultur ut fra et elevperspektiv.

Teoretisk tar jeg utgangspunkt i et sosiokulturelt læringssyn og betydningen av praksisfellesskap. Jeg vil relatere til perspektiv fra samfunnsmusikkterapi og til teoretikere som vektlegger betydningen av humaniora i skolen og som filosofisk orientering.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?
Det meste av datainnsamlingen/feltarbeidet ble gjennomført i 2017/18. Metodene jeg brukte var deltakende observasjon (i klasserom, gruppeundervisning, under og konserter, i friminutt og på utflukter), og intervju.

Jeg ønsker å supplere dataene med oppfølging av noen av elevene, knyttet spesielt til musikkundervisningen. Dette søker jeg å gjennomføre ved deltakende observasjon i musikkundervisning og under konserter, samt ved intervju av noen elever, foreldre og lærere.

Intervjuene vil basere seg på en intervjuguide, men vil være fleksible, slik at de som intervjues kan la være å svare om de ikke ønsker, eller snakke om andre ting, dersom de synes det er noe viktig jeg har glemt å spørre om. Jeg vil innhente skriftlig samtykke fra elever og foreldre, så vel som fra lærere før intervju.

Spørsmålene handler om hva som er viktig for elevene med deltakelse i musikkundervisningen og XX Orkester; hva de synes er gøy og hva som er krevende. Jeg spør om de husker hvilke forventninger de hadde da de begynte. Jeg vil også spørre om hvor mye tid som brukes på musikk utenom skoletid, og om dette har endret seg i løpet av årene. Videre vil jeg spørre litt om vennskap knyttet til orkestret, og om trivsel på skolen generelt. Spørsmål til ansatte vil konsentrere seg om erfaringene med musikkundervisningen, tverrfaglig samarbeid med musikklærerne, og erfaringer med elevmiljøet generelt, og knyttet til musikkundervisningen spesielt.

1

Hva skjer med informasjonen og hvordan ivaretas kravet til anonymitet?
Jeg koder alle navn (pseudonymiserer) når jeg skriver notater på datamaskinen. Det er kun meg som har tilgang til koblingsnøkkelen. Intervjuene taes opp på en diktafon som lagres innelåst til de er transkribert (av meg). Alle data lagres avidentifisert. Alle servere og teknisk utstyr er innelåst til enhver tid da det ikke er i bruk. Alle data vil anonymiseres, lydfiler vil slettes ved prosjektslutt, og for eventuell publisering av forskningsresultater/avhandlingen.

Dersom noe informasjon gjelder en solist eller andre som lett vil kunne gjenkjennes uten at navn oppgis, vil jeg be om særskilt tillatelse til å beskrive situasjonen/svarene. Jeg vil være ekstra varsom med å bruke identifiserende opplysninger i tilfeller der det ellers kan være fare for gjenkjenning av enkeltpersoner.

Ingen opplysninger som kan knyttes til navn vil oppgis til andre – verken på XX skole, XX orkesterprosjekt eller mitt studiested. *Det kan likevel være en viss mulighet for at en liten gruppe personer som kjenner til Oslo kulturskoles virksomhet og musikkundervisning i Oslo, vil kunne gjenkjenne skolen, grunnet den spesielle satsningen og modellen for musikkundervisning ved XX skole.*

Godkjenning og eventuell opphevelse av taushetsplikt
Ingen vil intervjues dersom de ikke skriftlig godkjenner dette i forkant. Det å ikke ville delta i studien skal på ingen måte gå ut over trivsel på skolen eller i musikkundervisningen. Dersom foreldre ikke samtykker til intervju og/eller observasjon, utelater jeg datamateriale fra disse elevene når jeg skriver avhandlingen.

For noen elever kan det være aktuelt å sammenholde utvikling på instrument med utvikling på andre områder. Jeg vil i noen tilfeller be foreldre (skriftlig) om opphevelse av taushetsplikt for enkelt-elever. Dersom foreldrene ikke samtykker til dette, vil jeg ikke stille spørsmål til lærere om utviklingen, men samarbeide med lærere i overholdelse av sin taushetsplikt, dvs minne dem om dette før et evt intervju.

Frivillig deltakelse
Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og involverte kan når som helst trekke sitt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Det er mulig å be om innsyn i det som er skrevet, og be om at data blir slettet og ikke brukt i avhandlingen.

Her kan du få mer informasjon eller klage:
Dersom du ønsker å få tilsendt prosjektbeskrivelsen, eller har spørsmål til studien, kan du ta kontakt med meg:
Lise Lundh, telefon: 907 67 022, epost: lislu@oslomet.no,
eller min veileder, Mari Rysst: mari.rysst@inn.no.

Du har rett til å klage til Datatilsynet.
Norsk senter for forskningsdata (NSD) kan kontaktes på epost: personvernfjenester@nsd.no eller telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Personvernombudet ved OsloMet heter Ingrid Jacobsen, og kan kontaktes på tlf: 993 02 316 / 67 23 55 34 eller epost: ingrid.jacobsen@oslomet.no

Prosjektet er godkjent av Norsk senter for forskningsdata (NSD).

01.03.2020

Lise Lundh

Vedrørende det pågående forskningsprosjektet:

" Elevmiljø og inkludering. Om betydninger av kunst og kultur i et elevmiljø preget av stort mangfold "

Bekrefter å ha mottatt informasjonsskriv om utvidet tid, datert 01.03.2020

Er kjent med at det vil kunne være mulig å gjenkjenne skolen, selv om alle foreskrevne grep for anonymisering er gjennomført, dette grunnet det unike musikkprosjektet.
Har godkjent tilstedeværelse av forsker, og samtykker til at materiale fra avhandlingen likevel kan publiseres.

XX skole / Oslo kulturskole

Informasjon til elever og foresatte

Forskningsprosjekt om musikkundervisningen ved XX skole

Dette er informasjon om et forskningsprosjekt som utføres ved XX skole.

Studien er en del av et doktorgradsprosjekt (PhD) i utdanningsvitenskap ved Oslo Metropolitan University (OsloMet). Studien er finanisert av Norges forskningsråd (NFR) og Kulturtanken (DKS).

Doktorgradsprosjektet har som mål å utforske betydninger musikk kan ha å skape et bedre elevmiljø.

Takk til dere som har bidratt med deltakelse i studien så langt. Jeg ønsker å informere dere om at prosjektslutt vil bli utsatt fra 20.08.2020 som opprinnelig planlagt, til senest 31.12.2022.

Tidsplan
Besøk og deltakende observasjon startet høsten 2017. Intervju startet våren 2018. Etter en pause med annet arbeid vil jeg avtale noen flere intervju i 2020. Hele prosjektet skal være avsluttet senest 31.12.2022.

Hva innebærer studien framover?
Jeg vil være tilstede og gjøre deltakende observasjon i skolemiljøet under orkesterprøver og konserter, og noe i friminutt. Deltakende observasjon betyr at jeg vil observere, kanskje hjelpe litt til med praktiske ting rundt orkesteret, og ha vanlige små samtaler med elever, foreldre og lærere underveis.

Noen av elevene, noen av foreldrene og noen av lærerne blir kontaktet med spørsmål om deltakelse i et nytt intervju. Før intervju avtales med en elev, blir eleven og foreldre kontaktet for skriftlig godkjenning. Spørsmålene vil handle om trivsel i orkesteret, og ved skolen. Det er mulig å få se spørsmålene på forhånd, hvis du ber om det.

Sensitiv informasjon og anonymitet
Det kan hende at elever forteller noe om andre elever, om lærere eller om foreldre i intervju. Lærere har taushetsplikt. Dersom lærere skal fortelle noe om enkeltelever, må foreldrene først frita læreren fra taushetsplikt.

Hva skjer med informasjonen?
Jeg som forsker har taushetsplikt. Alle opplysninger jeg får fra observasjoner og intervju vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Jeg tar intervju opp på en diktafon, lagrer det konfidensielt, og sletter lydfilen ved prosjektslutt. Alle data oppbevares innelåst. Alle data vil avidentifiseres når jeg skriver, slik at det ikke skal være mulig å kjenne igjen enkeltpersoner i det som skrives i avhandlingen. Det er bare jeg som har tilgang til koblingsnøkkel, og denne oppbevares konfidensielt og blir slettet ved prosjektslutt. Jeg gir alle nye navn og forandrer litt på alder,

instrument, klasse etc. når jeg skriver. I tilfeller der det *kan* være mulig å gjenkjenne identitet, f eks en solist, vil jeg spørre han/hun og foreldrene spesielt om godkjenning.

Dataene (uten navn eller annet som kan identifisere enkeltpersoner) vil jeg oppbevare etter prosjektslutt, for å kunne skrive flere artikler senere om relaterte tema.

Frivillig deltakelse
Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og de som ikke ønsker å delta, kan melde om dette. Å ikke delta vil ikke ha noen betydning for tilbudet ved skolen eller musikkundervisningen. Dersom noen foreldre ikke ønsker at jeg skal være tilstede og observere, vil jeg ikke observere eller skrive om deres barn, heller ikke anonymt. Du eller ditt barn kan også når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn, også selv om først har sagt at du vil delta. Det er mulig å be om å få se det jeg har skrevet, og å be om at det blir slettet, dersom du ønsker det.

Her kan du få mer informasjon eller klage:
Dersom du har spørsmål til studien, kan du ta kontakt med meg:
Lise Lundh, telefon: 907 67 022, epost: lislu@oslomet.no,
eller min veileder, Mari Ryust: mari.ryust@inn.no.

Du har rett til å klage til Datatilsynet.
Norsk senter for forskningsdata (NSD) kan kontaktes på epost: personvernтjenester@nsd.no
eller telefon: 55 58 21 17.

Personvernombudet ved OsloMet heter Ingrid Jacobsen, og kan kontaktes på tlf: 993 02 316 / 67 23 55 34 eller epost: ingrid.jacobsen@oslomet.no

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Vennlig hilsen

Lise Lundh
Prosjektansvarlig / forsker

TILLATELSE TIL Å GJØRE LYDOPPTAK
I samtale med FAU ved XX skole, den 27.11.2019, kl 1800-1830

Vi har mottatt informasjon om forsknings (PhD-) prosjektet *" Elevmiljø og inkludering. Om betydninger av kunst og kultur i et elevmiljø preget av stort mangfold "*, og gir med dette Lise Lundh tillatelse til å gjøre lydopptak av samtale med FAU i dag, den 27.11.2019.

Alle data lagres konfidensielt: Alle servere og teknisk utstyr er innelåst til enhver tid da det ikke er i bruk. Alle data vil anonymiseres ved prosjektslutt, senest den 31.12.2022, og før eventuell publisering av forskningsresultater/avhandlingen.

Ingen opplysninger som kan knyttes til navn vil oppgis til andre – verken på XX skole, XX orkesterprosjekt eller mitt studiested. Det kan likevel være en viss mulighet for at personer som kjenner til Oslo kulturskoles virksomhet og musikkundervisning i Oslo, vil kunne gjenkjenne skolen og orkesteret, grunnet den spesielle satsningen og modellen for musikkundervisning ved XX skole. Det kan dermed også være en viss mulighet for at noen kan finne tilbake til hvem FAU-leder er/ har vært.

KONTAKTER: Dersom du har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med meg (Lise Lundh, telefon: 907 67 022, epost: lislu@oslomet.no), eller min mentor i Kulturtanken: Egil Rundberget, tlf: 922 65 290, epost: er@kulturtanken.no). Personvernombudet ved OsloMet heter Ingrid Jacobsen, og kan kontaktes på tlf: 993 02 316 / 67 23 55 34 eller epost: ingrid.jacobsen@oslomet.no

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UNDERSKRIFTER: