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The Field of State-Funded Music Programmes with Forced Migrants in North-Rhine Westphalia: Promises and Pitfalls

Introduction

In response to the increased number of asylum-seekers entering Germany since 2014, institutions created programmes to welcome these individuals into their new communities. The culture sector was no exception. In North-Rhine Westphalia, the State Music Council (*Landesmusikrat*), continues to be active in this field. Funded by the Ministry for Culture and Science, the Landesmusikrat (LMR) allocates grants to amateur and professional music projects across the state. Their funding scheme 'Music Projects for Refugees' has distributed over €658,000 to 251 projects since 2015, supporting more than 8,000 participants in 20,000 hours of music making.[1] In 2020-21, the LMR sponsored an evaluation of this funding programme which analysed the objectives, impact, and efficacy of its work. As the results of that study are published elsewhere (Campion 2021), this paper will focus on the evolving role this publicly-funded institution played in the landscape of music programmes targeting forced migrants in NRW.

Neo-institutional theories and top-down approaches to organisation studies predict that publicly-funded institutions like the LMR would dominate the decision-making and outcomes of these interventions (DiMaggio 1988, Fligstein 2001, Rao 1994, Ruef & Scott 1998, Sewell Jr. 1992). Indeed, they possess the necessary governmental legitimacy, material resources, and accumulated social and cultural capital to exercise considerable influence in the field (Scott 2013). However, this research revealed that the LMR was not the only decisive actor. Its institutional structures, moulded by individuals within the organisation, work to distribute power to community stakeholders. These entities included musicians, ensembles, pedagogues, social workers, leaders within minority ethnic/cultural communities, and migrant resource centres, among others. Some benefited from external institutional support and legitimacy, others are unaffiliated or work as freelancers. Explicating the resources, interests, perspectives of these diverse actors clarifies how this funding programme both shaped and was shaped by these communities.

To detail the myriad facets of the network this paper will utilise the concept of 'strategic action fields'. Fields – meso-level social orders which bring together

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[1] The categories and terminology around forced migration is a fraught topic (Malkki 1995, Ong 2003). 'Refugee', 'asylum-seeker', and 'forced migrant' denote different yet potentially overlapping experiences of flight. The term 'forced migrant' is used throughout to refer to those who experienced varying degrees of involuntary displacement, while 'refugee' refers to the target group of the funding scheme – those seeking or awarded refugee status living in Germany.

actors for a shared purpose – unite the interests and actions of individuals, collectives, and institutions into one dynamic, socially-situated system (Fligstein & McAdam 2012). As laid out in Giddens's duality of structure (1984), members of a field both create and are subject to organisational forms governing norms, cultural meaning, and behavioural sanctions (Scott 2013). Emirbayer and Mische's definition of agency as a 'temporally embedded process of social engagement' (1998, p. 963) illuminates how past actions, future aspirations, and present concerns shape individual decision-making processes. However, not all actors in the field effect the same amount of change; unequal distributions of monetary, social, and cultural capital endow some with more power than others (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). Yet, in contrast to static theories of 'institutional logics' (Scott 2013) or one's relatively fixed habitus (Bourdieu 1977), power relations in this field have shifted through deliberate acts of redistributive justice. Furthermore – beyond just a focus on the individual – communities can also exert agentic power (Fligstein & McAdam 2012). The impact of collective action as more than the sum of its individual parts has been demonstrated by scholars of social movements (Armstrong & Bernstein 2008, Clemens 1993: Rao et al. 2000, Weber et al. 2009).

This paper mobilises these theories to illustrate the LMR's role in the field of music programming with forced migrants in NRW. The first section will outline the funding scheme's first two years in which project leaders – not the LMR – primarily constructed the parameters of the field. The second section covers 2017-2019 when the LMR took a more active role in shaping projects to align with their goals. However, some of these actions reproduced the structures they hoped to dismantle. The final section examines the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. In some ways the relationships formed before this rupture facilitated vital networks of care. Nevertheless, the lockdowns severed ties with many target beneficiaries, accelerating trends present before 2020. By detailing the shifting relationships between the institution and related actors in the field, this paper hopes to highlight work accomplished not only by the LMR, but also by often overlooked stakeholders.

2015-16: Establishing the Field

'Then it was just a very spontaneous thing that my colleagues and I said: "Let's just do it"'. – LMR employee, 2019[2]

Taking up civil society's impetus to 'just do something' at the height of the perceived "refugee crisis"[3], the LMR redistributed funding in 2015 to projects tar-

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[2] 'Dann war es einfach eine ganz spontane Sache, dass meine Kollegen und ich gesagt haben: "Wir machen das einfach."' (Originalzitate hier und im Folgenden in Deutsch)

[3] Labelling the recent increase in migration to Europe from the Global South with negatively-connoted terms such as 'crisis' or 'flood' influences how the public perceives this event (see

geting forced migrants. That year €74,377 were awarded to support everything including instrumental lessons, DJing tutorials, and orchestral concerts in camps. This section will examine how different actors laid the groundwork for future growth in the field starting with the institutional parameters set by the LMR and reactions from project leaders and participants.

Although the 2015 and 2016 funding cycles had the highest rate of rejection[4], these decisions were based on financial and legal restrictions, not necessarily the quality of the proposed projects. Following state guidelines, proposals requesting compensation for more than €35 per hour were not funded, nor was the purchasing of instruments and concert tickets. Beyond these basic rules, however, most projects were accepted – regardless of how infeasible or problematic they appeared on paper. With this liberal approach, the LMR only intervened to ensure compliance with government regulations.

Nevertheless, the overall structure of the funding scheme impacted the type of proposed projects. Three institution-level elements will be discussed here: forms of pre-existing capital, linguistic framing, and tokenism. First, the limited funding periods in 2015-16 (four and six months, respectively) and short application periods disadvantaged those without prior experience securing grants in Germany. In less than four weeks, applicants needed to develop a project, contact necessary institutions, write an application in formal German, and arrange the necessary financial infrastructures to receive public money. This process tended to exclude those not already ensconced in the funding landscape.

Furthermore, these preconditions point to not only the need for monetary capital, but also cultural and social capital (Bourdieu, 1987). Beyond considerations of musical taste (Bennett et al. 2009, Hennion 2010), one needs specific knowledge and skills to write a grant proposal and budget in bureaucratic German. Those without physical capital in the form of equipment, technology, and access to event spaces were further disadvantaged. In this way, the LMR's inability to finance instruments amplified the bias against those unable to procure their own. Not even transcultural capital (intercultural skills, multilingualism, etc.) could override these more tangible resource imbalances (Kiwan & Meinhof 2011, Triandafyllidou 2009). This uneven playing field manifested in the type of organisations sponsoring projects. 75% of applications came from non-profits (*eingetragene Vereine*), often in social work or the culture sector. These organisations have experience in securing grants and often possess the existing infrastructure to provide services at a low cost.

A second force shaping the funding process was how the LMR linguistically distinguished this programme from other, related initiatives. If fields are 'embedded in a broader environment consisting of countless proximate or distal

Georgiou & Zaborowski 2017, Holmes & Castañeda, 2016; Lucassen 2018). I will use quotation marks here to draw attention to the constructed nature of 'crisis'.
[4] Only 64% of applications were successful in comparison with 70-80% since 2019.

fields' (Fligstein & McAdam 2012, p. 3), then this field of funding 'for refugees' is partially defined by projects ostensibly *not* for refugees. This top-down linguistic distinction between general funding for "amateur music-making" and the specific subset "refugee projects" prompted potential applicants to 'address' their proposals to the LMR's perceived value system (Bakhtin 1981).[5] In fact, nearly one-third of project titles in 2015-16 reflected this language with phrases such as 'with refugees' or 'for refugees'.[6]

While this explicit funding programme signalled the priorities of the LMR, it also permitted projects with only tokenistic engagement with forced migrants. In some cases, applicants sought funding for pre-existing community choirs on the basis that they invited a few individuals from refugee camps to participate. One 40-piece ensemble requested rehearsal honoraria to prepare for their annual end-of-year concerts, one of which would be advertised as 'for refugees'. In many of these applications, the tangential interaction with asylum-seekers was presented to justify funding for pre-existing activities. In order to align their objectives with funding priorities, applicants shaped the presentation of their work to be refugee-focused, even if not in practice.

All of these structural factors – resource imbalances, linguistic distinctions, and tokenistic representation – shaped the profile of the 109 applications in the first two years. Yet just as important were the actors on the ground who realised the projects. The following section will examine this critical moment in which the strategic action field (Fligstein & McAdam 2012) or the point of structuration (Giddens 1984) was forged by personal interactions.

First, the year-end reports reveal how project leaders' expectations were or were not fulfilled.[7] For example, one singing initiative intending to recruit new members for a community choir reported: 'We only managed to win over ten partici-

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[5] This 'addressivity' worked in both directions: how project leaders framed their work and in subsequent years, to which funding scheme refugees applied. While other funding opportunities were also open to people with forced migration backgrounds, they nonetheless applied most frequently through this channel.

[6] However, the LMR did not enforce a "refugee quota". In 2015-16 when nearly all projects were held in camps, most participants were asylum-seekers whose applications had not yet been processed. Since then, the programme has shifted its focus to primarily forced migrants [*geflüchtete Menschen*] to include those without refugee-status on the spectrum of involuntary migration. Nonetheless, the official terminology for the programme has remained 'refugee' [*Flüchtling*].

[7] As this study examines the funding programme retrospectively, sources of information are limited to documents, second-hand reporting, and interviews conducted in 2019-21. Applications and year-end reports for each of the 250 funded projects were analysed, as well as those from the 72 rejected projects. In total, 33 interviews and project visits were conducted alongside countless telephone and email exchanges in the context of the impact evaluation process.

pants for the project, and only two came over to our intercultural choir'.[8] An aspiring drum group disbanded mid-year because fewer people returned each successive week. One workshop struggled to make contact with the target group, complaining that the camp didn't respond to their 'nice offer to teach the refugees music'.[9] A number of projects faced unexpected challenges at the camps, including closures, transfers, and lack of participant interest.

Even reported successes must be contextualised within the applicants' expectations, especially preconceived ideas about people from the Arab world and Sub-Saharan Africa. One project claimed that participants thoroughly enjoyed themselves, but 'the Arabic kids had more fun singing, the African kids more fun dancing'.[10] In a similar vein, a one-day workshop on Western art music claimed that 'the Syrian and German participants got into this style of music quickly while the African refugees had big problems with these sounds'.[11] These cultural expectations were often mobilised to celebrate difference and multiculturalism. In a short film partially funded by the LMR, people with different ethnic backgrounds wore 'typical clothing of other cultures' in order to 'emphasise the "one-world" outlook'.[12]

Such language betrays projects' group-level orientation: seeking to make a large-scale difference for a specific population rather than simply for individuals. One evaluation from a project leader in 2016 sums up this perspective: 'We were able to arouse interest in learning an instrument in individuals, but unfortunately participation in the percussion group courses was not met with the necessary resonance from the refugees'.[13] This statement hinges on the distinction that interest aroused in individual participants did not count as finding any 'resonance *from* the refugees'.

And finally, what about the experiences of 'the refugees'? When considering the actors in the field, the target beneficiaries of course play a substantial role. However, as many of these initial projects were not co-created with community stakeholders, the documents only mobilised their voices to corroborate prevailing narratives. As such, it is difficult to examine participants' impact in the early years of the programme. Nonetheless, moments of decision-making and influence-taking are visible between the lines, primarily in acts of omission

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[8] 'Nur zehn Teilnehmerinnen konnten für das Projekt gewonnen werden und nur zwei davon sind in unseren Interkulturellen Chor [in der Stadt] übergegangen.'

[9] '...das nette Angebot, den Flüchtlingen Musik beizubringen.'

[10] 'Die arabischen Kinder hatten mehr Spaß beim Singen, die afrikanischen Kinder mehr Spaß beim Tanzen.'

[11] 'Die syrischen und deutschen Teilnehmer kamen schnell in diesen Musikstil, während die afrikanischen Flüchtlinge große Probleme mit dieser Klangwelt hatten.'

[12] 'Zur Verdeutlichung des Eine-Welt-Gedankens tragen sie jeweils die typische Kleidung der anderen Kultur.'

[13] 'Wir konnten bei einzelnen Personen das Interesse am Erlernen eines Instrumentes wecken, aber die Teilnahme an Percussion-Gruppenkursen stieß bei den Flüchtlingen leider nicht auf die nötige Resonanz.'

(Ghorashi 2008). In many scenarios participants protested 'with their feet', signalling their disagreement by their absence.[14] In others, interpersonal conflicts disrupted or even derailed projects; an ensemble broke up when the percussionist stopped attending, allegedly because 'he didn't get along with another musician'.[15] While the discussion of agency among asylum-seekers is a complicated one (Hugman et al. 2011, Westermann 2019), there are instances here of deliberate action by participants which altered the course of the projects.

Yet at this point in the asylum process, individuals wielded little control over the structure of their day-to-day lives. Project leaders and participants both reported that the mental and physical strain in the camps left little chance for activities like planning rehearsals or practicing music. While many took advantage of the programmes and celebrated the opportunity to have 'an element of normality and joy in their daily lives', music-making was simply not a priority.[16] Looking back on these years, one project leader admitted that these projects were not suited for the time:

> They were simply premature. They would have worked well now [2020]. Now, when people are a bit more settled in and feel at home, then they're suitable...If they don't even know whether they will get to stay there or they will get sent somewhere else, if their right to stay is not even decided, then they don't have any interest in an art project.[17]

As this funding programme and the situation on the ground developed, however, the time for these initiatives would eventually come, as will be detailed in the following section.

2017-2019: Settling in

By the beginning of 2017, the nature of the so-called "crisis" was changing. The number of first-time applicants in 2017 fell to less than one third of the 2016 totals (EuroStat 2021).[18] Priorities for many of those already arrived shifted from navigating the bureaucratic process of asylum to further concerns, such as education, job placement, language acquisition, and housing. In the framing of Fligstein and McAdam's fields, the time of disruption was coming to a close,

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[14] This methodology is used in research on non-visitors (*Nicht-Besucherforschung*) in the arts. See Renz 2016.

[15] 'Der Percussionist ist nach der 3. Probe leider nicht mehr gekommen, da sich ein Musiker mit ihm nicht verstanden hat, das war sehr schade'.

[16] 'Dieses Angebot war ein Stück Normalität und Freude in ihrem Alltag'.

[17] 'Die waren einfach zu voreilig. Das heißt, die sind jetzt [2020] angebracht. Jetzt, wo die Leute so ein bisschen ankommen und sich heimisch fühlen, dann sind sie super angebracht...Wenn die noch nicht wissen, ob die überhaupt an dem Ort bleiben dürfen oder ob die erst einmal woanders hingeschickt werden, wenn ihr Aufenthaltsstatus nicht geklärt ist, dann haben sie keine Lust gerade so ein Kunstprojekt mitzumachen'.

[18] This is due to the fact that fewer people were able to reach Germany in order to claim asylum. Chancellor Merkel and other EU leaders' deal with Turkey had been put in place to reduce the number of asylum-seekers from reaching the EU. See European Commission 2015, Heck & Hess 2017.

and patterns, expectations, and norms began to settle.

This section will continue to trace the trajectory of these music projects as the programme entered a period of relative stability. Examining the corpus of applications made across four funding cycles, the patterns show not only how the projects themselves evolved, but also how the LMR's values – both explicit and implicit – manifested. This section will first look at the types of projects and applicants in 2017-2019 and second at the LMR's selection process.

The LMR signalled its orientation to the future with changes to its structure, specifically through longer funding periods and support for bands and ensembles. In 2017 and 2019, the LMR opened applications for 24-month funding for projects with forced migrants, a rare opportunity in the cultural sector. The importance of this security was expressed by many project leaders. One instructor rejoiced that his ensemble could continue rehearsing through December and January when the jury normally reviews applications. Another project giving free guitar lessons claimed that the two-year contracts help attract better instructors.

This security shaped the profile of project proposals in 2017. The percentage of one-day events drastically dropped in favour of weekly encounters over longer periods of time (figure 1). This trend is visible in the declining averages of project participants (figure 2). Also notable is the number of projects or organisations reapplying for funding. In 2017, twelve of the 29 applications were made by someone who was funded in 2016. Multiyear projects build off accumulated experiences and can dynamically respond to participants' wishes more easily. For example, after a trial period in early 2017, one workshop series transformed into a fixed ensemble, which allowed the group to foster skills through long-term, dedicated cooperation. In the case of this band, they created a regular rehearsal schedule and raised expectations for practicing and musical quality. This project exemplifies the LMR's target for sustainable music programming: the initial investment made in funded workshops should develop participants' skills and interest so that they can continue after the programme ends.

However, the two-year funding did not benefit everyone, particularly those still relying on single-day project formats. One of the few initiatives still giving concerts in refugee housing complexes delivered significantly fewer performances in 2018 than promised. They attributed this decrease to the volatile circumstances in the camps: participant relocation, closures of spaces and rehearsal areas, demands on participants' time from bureaucratic obligations, etc.. In this case, however, the orchestra did not make their offerings universally accessible. The concert advertisements in German and €5 tickets excluded many potential audience members from attending.

Even when the conditions were accessible, some offerings still did not generate excitement. Two singing and drumming workshops led by an experienced musician and social worker were cancelled after the first year because of declining participant interest. As another project leader put it, 'sometimes playing soccer
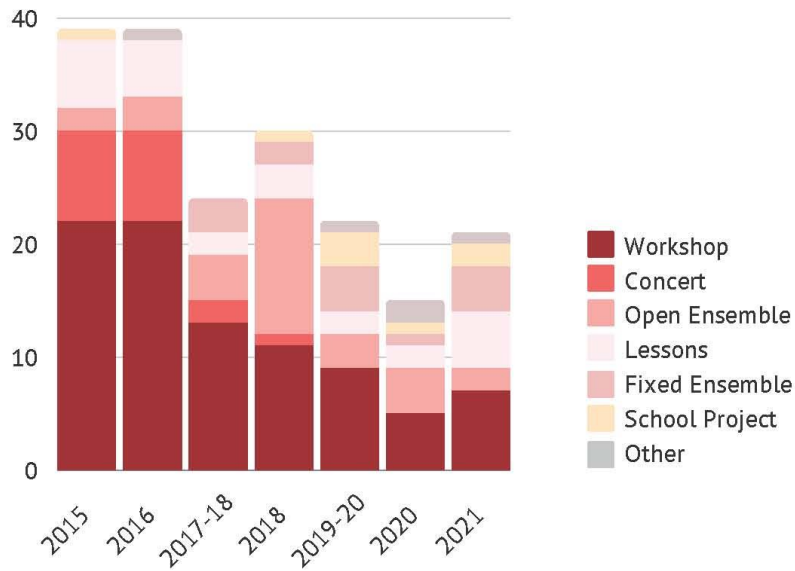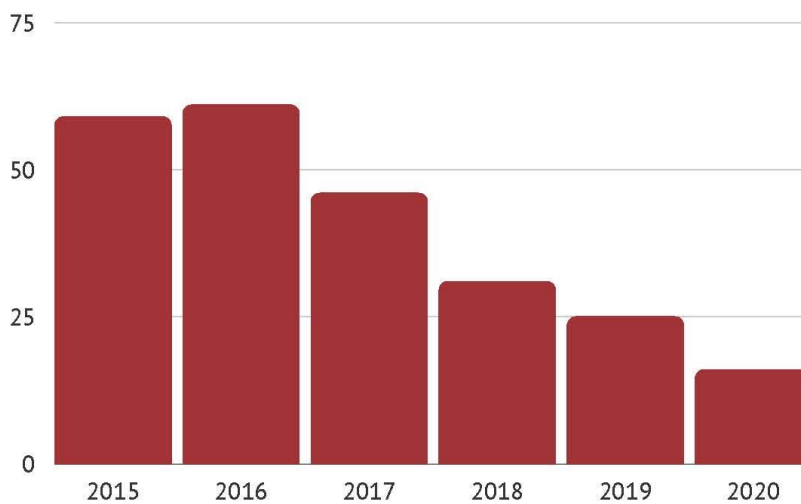
Figure 1: Project Types, 2015-2021

Figure 2: Average Number of Participants per Project, 2015-2020

is more fun than making music, and that's just how it is'.[19] An LMR employee viewed this trend as a positive, noting that one sign of success will be the redundancy of her job. She hopes projects "for refugees" will gradually disappear as they will be able to create musical opportunities for themselves via mainstream funding pathways.

In fact, those who flourished in this two-year funding scheme took steps towards sustainable project formats, especially bands and ensembles. Many of these groups arose out of open workshops in the camps, such as the case of a community choir in the Rhineland. Out of the 40-person ensemble, a group of four expressed interest in forming a band, which manifested in weekly rehearsals, songwriting retreats, and eventually a busy concert schedule. Furthermore, the LMR's support allowed bands to break out of what one group dubbed 'the Multiculturalism Circuit'. Because many of these amateur or aspiring professional ensembles arose from initiatives "for refugees", their first public appearances were often connected with ethnic or cultural minority festivals. While these performances of diversity in mainstream pop and rock genres are important in a pluralistic society (Duffy 2005, Lee et al. 2012), those striving for careers in the music business saw the "refugee" label as more of a hindrance. One member of a band asserted: 'We don't want to be called "the refugee" band and all that. We do not want to play traditional music, we want to play rock and heavy metal'.[20] With this goal, the LMR uses its position in the cultural landscape of NRW to promote these bands beyond festivals focused just on multiculturalism. In this case, the LMR's programme for bands may be some of its most sustainable work – cultivating networks and different forms of capital for aspiring professionals to invest in their careers.

While these developments showed signs of increased access to the music scene for marginalised populations, one negative impact of the two-year funding scheme was the lack of diversity in the types of organisations which applied. In 2017 over 70% of applications came from non-profits or LLCs (e.V.s and GmbHs). Just as in 2015 and 2016, applicants still required significant capital in order to secure public money for their work, especially to demonstrate two-year feasibility. Very few private individuals made applications, and even fewer were awarded funding. Therein lies the paradox of such endeavours: while seeking to provide security for a precarious sector of the economy, the two-year funding programme initially benefited those who were most secure in this system already.

However the 2019-20 two-year cycle already showed signs of improvement on this dimension. First, the percentage of private, unaffiliated individuals who ap-

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[19] 'Manchmal macht Fußballspielen mehr Spaß als Musizieren, und das ist auch ok'.
[20] 'Wir möchten eben nicht irgendwie eine so Flüchtlingsband und so nennen, sondern wir möchten auch nicht nur Traditionelle Musik spielen, wir wollen Rock und Heavy Metal spielen.'

plied doubled. Second, the jury funded two projects that were submitted by forced migrants who had arrived after 2010. These applicants navigated the process with guidance from the LMR and community multipliers [*Multiplikatoren*] – individuals who are often multilingual and able to interact in multiple cultural contexts (Haug 2008). In the field of music programmes with forced migrants, these multipliers fulfil the role of Fligstein and McAdam's socially-skilled actors. These people have the 'the capacity for inter-subjective thought and action that shapes the provision of meaning, interests, and identity in the service of collective ends' (2012, p. 4). As agents operating in this field, socially-skilled actors helped realise the goal to increase representation from disadvantaged social groups.

In summary, the advent of two-year funding and support for bands and ensembles made strides towards long-term impact in the field. The funding security allowed projects to evolve over multiple iterations and discussions with stakeholder groups. They also tended towards engagement with a core group of participants who shaped the structure and outcome of the musical offerings 'on equal footing' (*auf Augenhöhe*). While applicants still required significant capital to make an application, multipliers lowered the barriers to entry by working as socially-skilled actors and intermediaries between institutions and individuals.

The second half of this section will consider how the jury's decisions shaped the programme through explicit and implicit values. The stated goals of this funding scheme are (1) to create forums for the music and music-making of forced migrants, (2) to enable targeted gigs and events for bands and ensembles, and (3) to increase the percentage of forced migrant teachers, project leaders, and applicants.[21] With these 3 objectives as guidance, the jury convenes every December to decide which projects to fund and with how much money.

While all the projects fulfil one or more of these core goals, other patterns have emerged in the decision-making process which point to the existence of further criteria. These silent priorities are known as "hidden curricula", understood as 'the unstated norms, values and beliefs that are transmitted to students through the underlying structure of meaning' (Giroux & Penna 1979). Although the LMR is not strictly an educational institution, their decisions nonetheless impact the musical development of young people and adults across NRW. Furthermore, as this programme operates beyond formalised learning (i.e. accredited institutions and public music schools), it works in the realm of public pedagogy, which contributes to the maintenance of democratic institutions and supporting civil society (Elliott et al. 2016, Freire 1996, Giroux 2004, Schubert 2010). Given the LMR's potential impact beyond this field, the hidden curriculum demands investigation. So what exactly are these values and lessons which are reinforced in

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[21] 1. Foren für das Musizieren und die Musik von geflüchteten Menschen zu schaffen. 2. Gezielte Auftrittsförderung von Bands und Ensembles zu ermöglichen. 3. Den Anteil der geflüchteten Dozent*innen, Projektleiter*innen und Antragsteller*innen zu erhöhen.

the selection process, and what does it say about the implicit goals of the LMR?

These systems can be discerned by analysing projects which did not receive funding. First, the LMR did not sponsor event tickets or visits to concert halls; this suggests a focus on participatory music-making programmes.[22] Even concerts that took place in camps were eventually phased out by the LMR, citing a lack of sustainable engagement. Instead, the jury has favoured active skill-acquirement and opportunities for repeat encounters with participants. The rejection of a proposal to construct a music room in a camp corroborates this idea. While the LMR acknowledged the long-term impact of this infrastructure project, it was rejected for lacking an element of facilitated music-making.

Other factors influencing the jury might have included the cost per participant and the recipient of the funds. A pure cost-benefit analysis from the perspective of the participant would advise against paying a 25-piece professional orchestra for one concert when the same money could fund six months of weekly workshops. In the past few years of programming, the ratio of paid workshop leaders to participants averaged 1:8. One project leader reinforced this balance, explaining that more than eight participants detracts from her ability to have meaningful relationships with each individual. Yet, this type of cost-driven analysis does not account for all rejections. For example, a number of initiatives to give private instrumental lessons were funded despite the high cost per participant.

One factor unifying both rejected applications for concert performances and private lessons is genre. While not explicitly stated, concerts programmes with primarily Western art music were often rejected. In 2016, mixed programmes that incorporated Middle-Eastern folk songs were funded, but ensembles programming nineteenth-century orchestral works or experimental new music collaborations were not. Similarly, since 2015 the LMR has funded many forms of instrumental teaching, including guitar and bağlama, but those offering classical violin, flute, and cello instruction did not resonate with the jury. A number of factors could be influencing this decision, including instructor rates, instrument costs, and locations, but nonetheless the outcome was the same: interventions promising to teach Western art music in the classical style were more likely to be rejected.

An alternative explanation for the acceptance patterns is not genre per se, but rather who benefits from the money. One factor unifying successful applicants for instrumental lessons in the past two years is the ethnicity of the teachers. Of the five funded lesson initiatives, all of them have people of colour (POC) either

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[22] Although such a distinction between passive and active music making is not shared by all. See Small 1998.

working as instructors or project coordinators.[23] This phenomenon might also explain why some one-day concerts and festival events continued to be funded after 2016. In one case, a week-long festival put on by two Turkish immigrants with no clear demonstration of impact was funded twice. For classical music concert series in the camps with comparable cost plans, funding would be awarded to mostly white, German-born, and classically-educated musicians with little demonstrable impact on the target populations. Given these differences, one might assume that the implicit logic with POC-led festivals is an extended benefit for the organisers and redistribution of capital. To be clear: there is no causal evidence linking funding decisions to the ethnicity of the applicant. However, in surveying all the possible explanations for the jury's decision process, the ethnic and cultural background of applicants presents one possible correlation.

Yet, perhaps this distinction could be explained just as well by the cultural products and not individuals' identities. Instead of supporting POC, perhaps the jury simply placed more value on minority cultural practices. For example, it's possible that the jury did not reject classical instrumental lessons based on genre or who received the money, but rather used the limited resources to promote the tabla, the oud, or the bağlama. One argument in support of this view is the continued funding of a world music duo over the course of many years. The white German man leading the group does not qualify as a marginalised minority, but his informed performances of and workshops on different world traditions might have nonetheless fulfilled the jury's target values.

Therein lies the difficulty of hidden curriculum analysis: without explicit criteria, the underlying value systems can only be guessed at. The evolving societal context in which these decisions have been made introduces too many variables to definitively identify the values. However, comparisons between similar cases facilitate some insight into the "black box" of closed-door decisions (Latour 1987). Giroux (2004) advocates for critical analyses of hidden curricula in public pedagogy in order to disrupt systems of oppression. As opposed to most hidden curricula which reinforce inequality, the LMR's unstated values seem to paradoxically be working to dismantle such systems.

Another silent criteria influencing the funding decisions is the balance between social and musical outcomes. Aside from the LMR's overall focus on music-making, this programme for refugees specifically gives greater weight to social outcomes, including language acquisition and building social contacts. While some of these projects engaged with professional musicians, a majority targeted beginners and amateurs. Many projects presented music-making as the vehicle through which new relationships are forged, interpersonal skills are developed,

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[23] Ethnicity is not asked for as part of the application process, but through the small-scale nature of the field and the prominence of some of these individuals, the jury is already familiar with many of the instructors.

and language skills are acquired. Such statements relied heavily on platitudes such as 'the universal language of music' and 'music as a means to cross boundaries'. In one project, participants do not actively learn any musical skills but rather reproduce beat patterns and song texts to practice German vocabulary.

The dominance of social outcomes over musical ones manifests through the project leaders' approaches. A majority of projects funded since 2017 were not led by qualified performers or music pedagogues. In fact, most instructors profess backgrounds in the social sciences, not music. This is the case for one project that received multiple years of funding for music lessons in a refugee camp. The instructor is a trained therapist and self-taught musician who uses singing and recorder lessons to promote language acquisition and pro-social behaviour in children aged 5-11. However, the complex note-reading exercises and large intervals and low ranges in the songs do not align with the children's developmental capabilities. In another project, an auto-didactic musician with an interest in experimental art endeavoured to create "noise" ensembles that build soundscapes out of everyday materials. His abstract programme however has been met with uncertainty and disinterest from the nine-year-old students. On the other hand, skilled musicians do not always employ the most pedagogically-informed methods. In fact, in 2015-16 project leaders from classical music performance backgrounds confessed more difficulties in designing projects that fit the needs of participants in camps and temporary living centres.

Nonetheless, the funding of semi-professional or amateur instructors contributes to a pattern of sub-par standards for forced migrants. Because these projects are viewed primarily through a social lens, a low barrier to entry often takes precedence over high musical expectations. This is not to say that musical and social outcomes necessarily conflict. Many of the funded ensembles that routinely welcome recently-arrived asylum seekers perform at professional level, even winning awards outside the "refugee" category.[24] However, these ensembles are the exception in a funding programme where projects primarily target children and building 'loose social ties' through informal music making (Woolcock & Narayan 2000).

In short, examining both the chosen and rejected projects, as well as their written and practiced methods, reveals the diverse goals and values of the LMR's funding scheme. One unexpected revelation is that the 'hidden curriculum', in contrast with much of the literature on the topic, seems to skew towards privileging marginalised backgrounds. While stated nowhere explicitly, the jury seemingly considered both the diversity of applicants and musical styles when choosing the profile of yearly projects. In this way, although the explicit goals foreground musical skills and social capital, monetary distribution delivered more equitable opportunities for non-traditional recipients. Combined with the implementation of two-year grant cycles and support for bands, the LMR has

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[24] For examples, see Train of Hope in Dortmund & the Allerwelt Ensemble in Rheinhausen.

shaped the field to increase the representation of marginalised cultures and communities in NRW's funding landscape.

2020-2021: A New "Crisis"

The spread of COVID-19 and ensuing lockdowns in March 2020 brought the culture sector in Germany, including the amateur music scene, to a halt. Operating as nonprofit organisations or grassroots gatherings, many initiatives lacked the spaces to commune, much less the resources to acquire air purifiers, COVID tests, and masks. While professional organisations benefited from federal aid, amateur musicians received much less assistance (Sonderfonds 2021). Per official social-distancing orders, in-person music-making was banned for much of 2020 and the first half of 2021.

This section will detail how project leaders responded to the COVID-19 pandemic and continued to support its participants. While the frameworks established by the LMR in previous years allowed socially-skilled actors on the ground to fulfil their 'duties of care', social-distancing measures nevertheless accelerated the isolation of the most vulnerable groups. This rupture to the field has shown the importance of multipliers and intermediaries in maintaining stability in the face of uncertainty.

Remarkably only four of the 32 LMR-funded projects in 2020 were cancelled – quite a feat not only for project leaders, but also the institution. The director of projects with refugees at the LMR credits their strong relationship with funding recipients. Over the course of 2020 they maintained frequent contact with project leaders, offering support and sharing best practices across the programme. Nearly all projects continued in alternative formats. Instrumental lessons moved online, facilitated via video call, WhatsApp audio messages, or even per telephone. Group lessons were broken up into individual meetings, held either digitally or outside. A music therapy offering exchanged audio messages. One band focused on writing songs for their first full-length album while another filmed a short documentary.

However, many of the projects continued simply by breaking state guidelines. These transgressions varied from ignorance of local ordinances to wilful defiance of the law. Most cases can be explained by project leaders' unawareness of changes to the regulation. Others exploited loopholes or ambiguities in the rules that were technically permitted, but did not follow the spirit of the law. For example, framing an open music workshop as a private meeting of friends allowed some projects to extend well beyond the time public meetings were banned.

In the most extreme example, one jam session continued throughout the pandemic as a form of protest against the lockdown measures. While the normal workshop format, which had been funded since 2017, broke off after November

2020, some core participants formed a smaller drum circle which continued throughout the winter lockdown.[25] During my visit, very little music-making transpired, replaced instead by political discussions and planning for the weekend's anti-lockdown demonstration.

However, this drum circle does not represent the attitudes of the entire programme. Most projects which continued did so out of a duty of care to participants. Yet considering that forced migrants are more likely to have precarious health conditions, one might question whether the continuation of these projects acted in participants' best interest (Pavli & Maltezou 2017). Those who have escaped conflict zones are more likely to have long-term chronic illnesses and disabilities (Alberer et al. 2016). Furthermore, structural differences in the healthcare system, such as access to providers, language skills, legal status and cultural differences exacerbate the inequity (Bozorgmehr & Razum 2015; Razum & Bozorgmehr, 2016). Given the increased risk of COVID-19 for those with pre-existing health conditions, one could argue that music projects should not have continued.

Yet the duty of care encompasses other elements of well-being, especially mental health. Lockdown and social isolation measures acutely impacted this population (Júnior et al. 2020), in effect 'doubly marginalising' them.[26] For those newly-arrived in Germany, an already precarious situation was worsened by loss of work, housing instability, and the closures of schools and public services. Many did not have the resources or infrastructure to partake in remote work and learning. Furthermore, the closure of public spaces severed lines of communication and informal contacts or 'weak ties' – a crucial element for building social capital (Dubos 2017. See also Bartscher et al. 2021, Borgonovi & Andrieu 2020, Pitas & Ehmer 2020). As trusted individuals within these communities, project leaders provided support when many of these channels fell away. Within this broader conception of well-being, the decision to continue music programming in the lockdown became more complex.

This tension could be seen in one project that met through the end of 2020 in defiance of the second lockdown. These weekly sessions offered not only piano and oud lessons, but also informal advice. The project leader, fluent in German and Arabic, has helped participants navigate the asylum system, find educational opportunities for their children, and secure jobs. For one Syrian woman and her two severely disabled sons, these weekly meetings were vital for the family to ask questions and foster social bonds with other Arabic-speakers. With closed

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[25] These weekly meetings were not funded by the LMR, but clearly stemmed from one of their long term funded programmes.

[26] This term is mostly used in gender studies to describe the layered impacts of intersectional societal marginalisation (See Alhayek 2014, Lemish & Muhlbauer 2012, Rajni 2020, Tam 2010). Here it refers to legal marginalisation by the asylum process as well as social and economic marginalisation by preventing artists from exercising their craft and being able to earn a living.

government offices and increased wait times for bureaucratic decisions, many were left in a state of limbo without everyday forms of support.

In this context, the duty of care manifests in a number of ways. Based on government regulations and the interest of physical health, these amateur music-making projects should not have continued. But taking into consideration the needs of an already vulnerable demographic, one might justify these meetings in that they mitigated other forms of harm. Such theories of radical care focus especially on these structurally disadvantaged communities within a society (Hobart & Kneese 2020). While "care" has been increasingly co-opted by neoliberal concepts of self-care and personal mental health management (Chatzidakis et al. 2020), it stems from self-organised queer and POC community services that filled gaps left by the state. As Hobart and Kneese write, 'care contains radical promise through a grounding in autonomous direct action and nonhierarchical collective work' (2020, p. 10). And through this bottom-up action, many projects provided services that extended well beyond the music. In considering the ethics of care, project leaders saw themselves as giving support where other institutions had failed.

Yet, these forms of care could only be administered where relationships already existed; in many cases, participants simply could not be reached. Since 2015, many of these offerings relied on personal engagement, usually in the form of face-to-face invitations and transportation to the project site. When programmes moved online and individuals were confined to their homes, participation plummeted, particularly in offerings for women and children. In youth projects, the severing of normal means of communication (via schools or extra-curricular institutions) meant a complete loss of contact with parents and guardians. Female participation in projects plummeted as the burden of care for children and extended family members fell disproportionately on women in the lockdown (Power 2020).

In this way the pandemic exacerbated a problem that emerged before 2020. As asylum seekers increasingly pursue their own paths in German society, they are more difficult to reach as a target population. Many have found homes, completed language courses and apprenticeships, and are working alongside their German-born peers (Brücker et al. 2020). As an LMR employee said, 'This is a good sign, it means they have other obligations and more choice in how to spend their free time'.[27] But on the other hand, individuals who could still benefit from these interventions are more difficult to reach. Those who are not comfortable communicating in German and are no longer subject to state-mandated integration initiatives may simply recede into so-called "parallel societies" with little contact to multipliers or intermediary organisations (Bukow et al. 2007, Heit-

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[27] 'Das ist ein gutes Zeichen, denn es bedeutet, dass sie andere Verpflichtungen haben und mehr Wahlmöglichkeiten bei der Gestaltung ihrer Freizeit.'

meyer 1996). With the effects of the pandemic, especially the prolonged second and third lockdowns in winter 2020-21, those few remaining points of contact may not be recoverable.

Applications for 2021 funding point to the pandemic's potential long-term impact. In 2020 most projects were completed in one form or another, perhaps owing to the wartime spirit of crisis management in the first lockdown (Montiel et al. 2021), yet at the start of 2021 few project leaders attempted to begin during the second and third lockdowns. The decline in applications corroborates this reading. 58 projects applied for funding in 2020 while only 27 did so in 2021. This trend did not just affect one-day festivals or newly-formed ensembles, but also long-term, sustainable projects. A nationally-recognised drum ensemble dissolved, a number of bands broke up, and a successful preschool music offering was cancelled, all citing the effects of the pandemic. At the time of writing (August 2021), some funded projects for 2021 have yet to commence and fears of another winter of cancelled cultural events permeate funding institutions.

The future of music programmes 'for' refugees in NRW

With the prospect of returning to some degree of pre-pandemic normality in 2022, the LMR is re-evaluating the future of its funding programme. To borrow Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) temporal language when it comes to agentic decision-making, the LMR is drawing on past experiences with an eye to future sustainability in order to meet the present needs of its target beneficiaries. The sustainability of culture programming – alternatively conceived as long-term returns on investment for state funding – has become a watchword in cultural policy (Sacco 2011, *White Paper* 2008). The workshops, concerts, and encounters that took place in 2015-16 met the immediate demand for offerings in camps, but were not designed to extend after the funding period. The structural changes in 2017 took steps towards the goal of fostering music-making that could sustain itself beyond the auspices of the institution. Additionally, since 2019 the LMR has prioritised projects with forced migrants in leadership positions and offered a number of professional development opportunities for those working towards careers in the music industry. However, their goal of sustainability can only be reached if 1) amateur musicians have the skills, know-how, and infrastructure to continue and 2) if aspiring professionals can break into the culture sector.

The effects of the pandemic have challenged both of these outcomes. First of all, the landscape of projects and amateur music-making has been altered. Since the first lockdown, many longstanding ensembles and organisations have taken on new forms or dissolved. Especially in the amateur scene, some are finding it difficult to reintegrate into their communities without the routine of regular social contact and rehearsals. In popular music, many promising bands and ensembles

have languished without the opportunity to perform. In the professional sphere, the uncertainty over future closures has slowed live music's return in 2021. With some institutions and entities in the arts permanently transformed or closed, the has changed significantly, requiring renewed efforts to integrate marginalised groups into this network.

Furthermore, pre-pandemic challenges have not receded. As the programme enters its eighth year, the need for "refugee projects" in Germany is being questioned. On the one hand, until migrants are able to participate in society at the same level as their native-born counterparts (the definition of integration as per the Federal Ministry of the Interior, Building and Community, 2020), there is still demand for these programmes. However, continuing to define these individuals by experiences of flight nearly a decade after their arrival might hinder efforts to recognise them as fully-fledged members of society (Nguyen 2019). Yet, when they stop identifying by this label, their funding options become more limited, creating an incentive to continually 'other' oneself or 'self-orientalise' (Dirlik 1996, Liu 2017, Yan & Santos 2009).

To solve these problem, the LMR has chosen a middle path. The programme's change of name from "music projects for refugees" to "cultural and inclusive diversity in music" (*Kulturelle und inklusive Vielfalt in der Musik*) signals an expanded set of priorities for applicants. With this new development, the programme director hopes that projects will include other marginalised groups representing different facets of diversity beyond asylum status.

And yet, the refugee experience continues to be at the centre of these programmes. As one of the few public institutions still targeting funding for forced migrants, the LMR's influence in the field has expanded in the past few years. But these ruptures have unsettled trajectories and norms established before 2020 with mixed results. Multipliers relied on pre-existing networks to fulfil their duty of care to those in need during the pandemic. Without the LMR's structural innovation in two-year funding and support for ensembles, these socially-skilled actors might not have been in the position to deliver services. Furthermore, the LMR's hidden curriculum to increase the diversity of actors in the field laid the groundwork for intermediaries to establish and retain contact with marginalised groups. Considering the initial framework of this funding programme 'for refugees' – the capital it required and its approach to difference –the LMR's actions in the field have worked to devolve centralised structures and diffuse power to more stakeholders. In this way, the LMR paradoxically strives to make its role obsolete. Despite these steps forward, the social ties within the field have shrunken as many of those in precarious situations have lost contact since the lockdowns began. As cultural programming and European asylum policies will face more challenges in the coming years, the LMR and the field of music programmes with forced migrants will continue to change with it.

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