"The whole village has become his band":

Investigating the challenges and possibilities in Malawi

Folksong Project

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"The whole village has become his band"[1]

Investigating the challenges and possibilities in Malawi Folksong Project

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[1](G. M. Mfune, 2018)

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"The whole village has become his band": Investigating the challenges and possibilities in safeguarding traditional music

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Til mormor
Carol Jeanette Knudsen

Abstract

The world consists of a million different things; actions, words, physical objects, language, instruments, roads, music, culture, political agreements, bureaucracy, paperwork, relationships, nature and so on. It is all a conglomeration of passing interaction that creates moments in space and time. What is kept and what is forgotten of these moments is decided by people, through museums, archives, pictures and written documentation, but also through daily use of objects, words and music. So how do we decide what to keep and what to leave behind?

Projects concerned with safeguarding the intangible heritage of state nations are being initiated all over the world. Despite vast changes in archiving, communication and technical equipment available to individuals and projects concerned with recording and safeguarding traditional music, the terms used have stayed mostly the same. Malawi Folksong Project is by far one of the most encompassing projects conducted in Southern Africa concerned with protecting, safeguarding and promoting a nations traditional music. Since the project was launched in November 2016 it has gathered an incredible amount of songs, visited villages and met the bearers of the traditional music. This study discusses different elements that are relevant in how we approach safeguarding and researching in intangible cultural heritage. It investigates the challenges and possibilities this project encounters when recording traditional music in Malawi in the years 2017 and 2018. The findings of this study suggest that we need to develop an approach that is not based on the old division between popular and traditional, tangible and intangible - one that acknowledges the dynamic nature of musical expression and cultural connection and see the possibilities this offers.

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Ingrid Ytre-Arne

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1. Introduction

The research presented in this thesis concerns safeguarding intangible living cultural heritage. Through Malawi Folksong Project, a safeguarding and recording project taking place in Malawi from 2017 to 2018, it investigates the challenges and possibilities aiming to safeguard and promote traditional music nationally and internationally. Before diving into examples from recording sessions and discussions on the different challenges and possibilities the project has encountered, I present some background information. In this first chapter, *Introduction*, I focus how I got involved with the project and the method I applied to go through with it. Chapter two is concerned with the *theoretical framework and key concepts* used. Following this comes chapter three, *Malawi*, and chapter four, *Malawi Folksong Project*, offering important background information on the country as a whole, and the project specifically. This will be important to keep in mind when moving into the next two chapters, chapter five, *Examples from the field* and chapter six, *Discussion: Balancing the local and the global*. Lastly, I sum up my findings and point at future possibility for research in the field in the *Conclusion: Keeping the tangible tangible*.

1.1 Becoming part of Malawi Folksong Project

Excerpt from the fieldnotes:
> *Mr. Tholes office had a huge dark brown desk with two tired armchairs next to it. His colleagues at the Department of Arts and Crafts, got another chair from another room so Thole, Shumba and I could all be sitting down. After some conversation in Chichewa, one of the employees came in carrying a huge TV of the kind we had when I was a child. They put it in the middle of the table, and brought cardboard boxes filled with VHS-cassettes. I became nostalgic. The cassettes, with and without their covers, took me straight back to video nights at home when I was maybe nine years old. The Disney Classics "Lion King" and "Mulan" were favourites back then. The ones we were looking at showed the National Dance Troupe of Malawi performing in Malawi in the 1970s. Despite the differences, they had the capability to evoke similar feelings of nostalgia, common identity and sense of belonging. When returning home to have dinner in Chilinde that day, something had changed. It felt as if I had witnessed something unique. A secret. Who did it belong to? I am quite sure these cassettes had not been played for a good while. They were lying in huge cardboard boxes. Some labelled, some not. Some with cases, some without. Most of the local dancers were not named. Neither were the songs.*

Malawi is a landlocked country in South-East Africa with about 18 million inhabitants, and from the beginning of 2017 a vast music collecting project has been going on there. The project, named *Malawi Folksongs Project* (*MFP*), is conducted by a team consisting of Malawians from different national culture institutions (*Malawi National Commission for UNESCO*, *the National Library Service* and *Music Crossroads Malawi*), plus an externally hired technical crew. I was lucky to be in the country working as a volunteer for *FK – Fredskorpset* (now *Norwegian Agency for Exchange Cooperation/Norec*) and *Jeneusses Musicales Norway* (*JM Norway)* on a one-year exchange project for young musicians and leaders when Malawi Folksongs Project was launched, and the initial trainings took place. My colleague and study companion Karstein Grønnesby and I became part of the technical team and the research team respectively. During the exchange program *Musicians and Organizers Volunteer Exchange (MOVE)*, we were living together in Lilongwe, the capitol of Malawi, working as music teachers, organizers and musicians. My main working place was at *Music Crossroads Malawi (MCM)*, a music academy and music centre situated in Area 23, Lilongwe. As part of the research team in MFP, I contributed both during the fieldwork and recording sessions, and with desktop work and research before and after.

The team conducting the fieldwork consisted of between nine and eleven people at a time, mainly divided into the before mentioned technical team and a research team, plus the team leader/project manager. I worked mainly with the research team. We conducted investigations in archives at the *National Library Service of Malawi*, the *Department of Arts and Crafts* and the *Malawi National Commission for UNESCO* and online, while the technical team learnt about how to record the music and handle the equipment. The main goal during this research period was to look into what kind of safeguarding and recording that had already been done in Malawi. One of MFPs incentives is, as will be discussed in further detail later, to avoid recording music that already is recorded or popular. The preferred songs are those that are unknown and hence more endangered and in need of safeguarding. In addition to taking part in the preparations, I assisted with observation and field notes about the songs, dances, performers and general events during the recordings. These notes have fed into the information and descriptions in MFP. In addition, I have submitted notes on the musical elements for the transcribers and reviewed some of the documents afterwards.

When I began this thesis in August 2017, I began researching the project I was already a researcher within. This has resulted in some interesting and sometimes challenging situations which will be discussed later. To establish my role as a researcher *of* the project and the

problematics of double status that I encountered in this thesis, I will therefore mostly use "they" when referring to the project group, even though I at some points have been part of it myself.

It should also be noted that *they*, the team executing the project, in some ways also have several roles. Although both the MFP team recording, and the performers being recorded have the same nationality, there was often a difference in education, livelihood and economic situation between the two. The differences are though often floating and changing through interaction and cooperation. Although a team members job or education might differ largely from the education and occupation of a performer they might meet in language and other interests. This underline a recurring observation of floating and variable lines being drawn out in the relations between the different actors. The emic and etic are not polar points, but rather points on a greyscale.

1.2 Research questions

Malawi Folksong Project has many aspects. There are aspects of safeguarding, cultural heritage and traditional music possible to be to study; How should recordings of traditional and oral cultures be stored? Is there a best practice? What consequences do we see from safeguarding and preservation projects within traditional music? What happens to the music when it is stored in a media it is not originally created for? How does "freezing" songs or dances on audio- and videotapes affect a society, its performers and the culture itself? Can recordings represent a country's musical environment? Do the recordings and their distribution influence peoples experience of identity? If so, how? Who decides what songs to record? What is *safeguarding*? Who is responsible for safeguarding a culture? Can safeguarding and recording have an impact on peoples' memory? What stories are told, and which ones are left out? Who benefits from safeguarding projects? Are all cultural traditions part of cultural heritage? How can a constantly changing tradition be safeguarded?

There are at least ten theses ready to be written from these questions, and the list could easily be expanded. In regard to Malawi Folksong Project it will be impossible to investigate all of these questions until after years have passed. For example; it is impossible today to say anything about the impact the project will have on national or personal identity, or whether the implementation of the material in music courses in primary and middle schools have led to a larger interest for Malawi's traditional music among the younger population. In ten years' time, when the material that this project aims to produce and distribute (a book, DVD and CD) have been distributed and had its turn in the educational system, libraries, archives and radio/TV

stations, then we might be able to start answering these questions. Instead, I have chosen to limit the dissertation to the questions regarding *safeguarding*. More specifically I ask:

Can traditional music be archived to promote and safeguard it?

Malawi Folksong Project is my point of departure and case study. Examples from the fieldwork completed on trips together with Malawi Folksong Project form the basis for my discussion. Examples of representation and safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage from other countries adds perspective, and anthropological and ethnomusicological theory offer depth. I aim to discuss what possibilities there are to safeguard oral, living traditions. Is it more important to safeguard something as it is, than support changes and development of it? Is it possible to do both, and are the two aims even contradictive? I ask the following sub-questions:

1. How does Malawi Folksong Project work to safeguard oral traditions?
2. What are the main issues occurring in Malawi Folksong Project, and how do they relate to the international discourse on intangible cultural heritage?

1.3 Method

My fieldwork and research took place through my participation in Malawi Folksong Project from January to May 2017 and in two field trips in December 2017 and October-November 2018. Like many books, chapters and articles about music cultures from around the world, it includes a few descriptions of how the music is being performed based on my own field notes.[2] It differs some because of the vast video and sound material I have had access to after the fieldwork was conducted and done. Additionally, I have had the privilege to be part of both the preparational trainings, the initial contact and identification trips and the recording trips. I know less about the afterwork and editing of the material but have followed it from the side-line (Eriksen, 2010).

I will start out by presenting the most important terms used and my own understanding of them, followed by a closer look at Malawi Folksong Project (MFP). MFP is a good example on how the different key terms apply, and how they are understood in the field. As mentioned, my research of and participation in the project makes the fieldwork double layered and consists

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[2] *Music culture* is a common term among ethnomusicologists to refer to the total involvement with music – from artifacts, ideas, behavior and musical products (Titon, 2009, p. 121)

of a mix between research conducted in the project, and research on how the project itself was conducted.

To say anything accurate about memory production and safeguarding, many scholars, myself included, have an urge to meet the people and the projects in the centre of the discourse and attempt to see it from their point of view. There has been a wave of recognition that safeguarding projects and other work with safeguarding cultural practices has been done top-down, without contact with the ones the projects actually involve and the people who actually perform and use the cultural practices. See for example Foster & Gilman (ed.) *UNESCO on the Ground* (2015), Grants "Rethinking Safeguarding Objections and Responses to Protecting and Promoting Endangered Musical Heritage" (2012) and Stefano and Davis' (ed.) *Routledge Companion to Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2017). Declarations and decisions were made by a few representatives from a small number of countries but meant to apply to cultures from all over the world. Extensive descriptions, examples and interviews "on the ground" are often added to academic texts in order to contextualise and concretise the terms. I try to do the same in this thesis.

My reflections are based on my own *observations* and studies within ethnomusicology, heritage studies and safeguarding before, during and after the recordings were done. I was not part of the final recording session in the Northern Region, so I did not witness the decisions being made and I have therefore had little underlying knowledge as to how and why the resulting recording became as it is. My only data in this regard is the finalized videos that I got to see upon returning to be part of the recording in the Southern Region. I do still believe I have enough insight and material to discuss the differences between an intentional goal, an identification setting, and a recording setting based on my participation in the project over time and my studies at the University of Oslo.

1.3.1 Interviews

I have conducted a total of four interviews for this thesis. All except one of the interviews were conducted in English and took place at Music Crossroads Malawi, Area 23, Lilongwe. The first was with James Thole, employed at *The Malawian Department of Arts and Craft* and part of the research team in Malawi Folksong Project. The interview was conducted during my first of two field trips to Malawi, in December 2017. The following two interviews were conducted during my second field trip in September-October 2018. The first of these with director of *Music Crossroads Malawi* and the project manager of Malawi Folksong Project, Gayighayi Mathews Mfune. The interview took place in his office at Music Crossroads Malawi only a few days after

the last recording session of the whole project. The third was with Bridget Ulalo Shumba. She works as an assistant for Mfune at Music Crossroad Malawi and was part of the research team in MFP.

The fourth interview was somewhat different, as it was sent in written form to the interviewee through the communication application WhatsApp. During my visits to Malawi I met many that could have said a lot about the current condition of traditional music in Malawi, and about the role a project such as Malawi Folksong Project might play in this regard. As my project evolved, I realised I had somehow chosen my interviewees one-sidedly. Up to this point I had focused largely on the Malawi Folksong Project itself and chosen only to interview that people that already were closely attached to it. This was intentional, as I knew they already had reflected on the questions at stake. At the same time the responses would be more similar than wished for as I knew the interviewees had already discussed the issues with each other. To reach further and to see the project from another perspective I contacted two art teachers employed at the *Nkhotakota Cultural Centre* in Nkhotakota, Central Region that I had met through other projects connected to my exchange in Malawi. Nkhotakota Village is situated about three hours' drive from the capitol Lilongwe, in the northern part of the Central Region of Malawi. Here, John Peter Makawa teaches traditional dance and music to children and youth from the area. As Makawa did not have a phone that could carry an internet-based communications app at the moment that I reached out, I communicated with him through his colleague Leo Chikoko, an art teacher at the same centre. The questions were sent as a pdf document via WhatsApp to Chikoko, and Makawa answered them through two about 20-minute-long voicemails.

My aim was to get first-hand information from involved team members to learn their thoughts about the project and on the importance of safeguarding. I also wanted to hear their experiences with the project, both during the fieldwork and afterward. I was interested in seeing whether the purpose and framework in the project description had changed or remained the same. The interviews were conducted with some time in between them, which probably affects them to some degree. Their and my own understanding of the project, and what questions I chose to ask is influenced by the knowledge, experience and research conducted before or after the interviews. One interview was done before the first recording (Thole), two right after the last recording (Shumba and Mfune), and one about six months after the last recording (Makawa).

1.4 Inside and outside: blurred lines in research

In ethnographic studies fieldwork is often required to validate theories and ideas. During the research for this thesis, I was part of the team conducting the recording trips in Malawi. Travelling with the team I was in a situation where I was studying the music together with the team, while at the same time researching the team itself (which as I myself was part of). This issue of insider/outsider, emic/etic, observation/participation has been an important part anthropology and ethnomusicology and continue to be a core element in the discussion surrounding how research and fieldwork should and can be conducted. I was clearly sliding back and forth on the grey scale of emic and etic work throughout the project and during the work with this thesis. In addition to my own "doubleness", the team itself was not merely the one or the other, but also changing roles and relations. Although the team consisted of Malawians, most of them had not visited the villages they recorded in. There were often differences in education, economic status and living conditions between the team members and the recorded musicians and dancers. In addition, the team initially possess a specific separate status just by being able to travel in Malawi and record the music.

A researcher who is both part of an activity and researching the same activity becomes quite vulnerable in a fieldwork situation. Her professional relationships depend on the personal, and vice versa. She is constantly both an observer and the one being observed, writer and participant, in addition to balancing personal and professional relationships in every action taken. She is never either the one or the other, but rather a floating phenomenon, developing before, during and after the research is being conducted. Blurred and changing lines.

Power relations also change and develop throughout the fieldwork. Between the team and the performers ("informants") the relations changed from village to village. The relation between the team and the performers they recorded depended, obviously, largely on the different people they met. Where there were many chiefs present it would be conducted differently than in the villages where we only met with the performers. I want to remind the reader that my experience of the interactions are solely mine alone. During the first encounters, I had been in Malawi about nine months so my understanding of traditional customs and experience of respect and speeches is based on limited experience and knowledge gained through those months.

The Australian ethnomusicologist Dan Bendrups (2015) has done extensive research on how relations and status impact different fieldwork. He points to the fact that it might look like one part is the superior and the other submissive but that this might not be the case in reality:

There is a contradiction between the potential powerlessness of the fieldwork experience and the empowerment and authority experienced by researchers upon obtaining or resuming their professional places as writers, interlocutors, academics or performers" (Bendrups, 2015, p. 75).

Although the researcher has a certain kind of power in the field (for example through money, equipment, travel possibilities, education), it is often not experienced as such. She might not have insight in all customs and might be breaking unwritten rules or misunderstand a situation. On the other side, the lack of knowledge can open for interaction on a different level. A positive and curious approach might give room for easier conversations, where the performer naturally and rightfully is the knowledgeable, the one with information, the one with power.

Who you *are* will also impact your reception, in addition to what you do. Underlying preconceptions come into play whenever you encounter a new place or new people. During fieldwork and recording sessions there are specific expectations based on communication and preparation beforehand. The connection with people will differ if you travel alone, with a group of researchers, with a husband or wife, colleague or a local guide. Age, gender and marital status will also affect your reception many places. Depending on local traditions, norms and customs, a woman might be more welcome in certain groups than others, or a single man might be accepted into rooms a woman would not and vice versa. Travelling with a child might enhance the chance of getting access to families, while travelling alone as a woman might give you less access than a single man would (Bendrups, 2015, p. 76).

Some of the factors affecting the encounter are evident through obvious contrasts such as skin colour, clothes or language. Others are blurred or invisible to the naked eye. The differences are also effective when they cannot be seen. Differences and power structures apply when the researcher and the researched have the same nationality, skin colour, speak the same language and wear similar clothes as well. This discourse concerning personal relationships, family, empowerment and vulnerability has been part of ethnomusicology since the 1970s (Bendrups, 2015, p. 76).

I enter the work with this thesis conscious of the line I'm following being a white, European student researching a Southern African music project. This have sometimes resulted in an uncomfortable reflexivity. I have tried my utter best not to fall into traps of superior, Eurocentric thought and established discriminating terms.

1.4.1 Emic and etic in the field in Malawi

Respect and status are important in Malawi. As a foreigner I was especially aware of all the greetings and customs we were supposed to follow when meeting chiefs or strangers in the field and was also briefed on this by the team leader before heading out. The Malawi Folksong Team were also all visitors, and thereby expected to be treated with respect, and in turn respect the chiefs and others at the site to the same extent. Lengthy greeting customs and ceremonies illustrate the distances and importance of establishing roles in an encounter. MFP is a Malawian initiated and conducted project, but there are still social, economic and cultural differences present between the different actors; the performers/villagers, working mainly in agriculture, and the recording team, coming mainly from the capitol city, with stable income through jobs in supported culture institutions.[3] The cultural distinctions in play influence the way the fieldwork is carried out.

One way this can affect the fieldwork is through changes in behaviour due to the supposed difference in status. The local performers and informants' respect for the visitors might be so highly valued that they avoid singing songs that might offend them or show sides of the community they are not proud of.

> Many fieldworkers are treated with great deference and respect by their hosts, are spoken to in extremely polite ways and so on, and can thus run the risk of never seeing aspects of society which the locals are ashamed of showing to high-ranking strangers (Eriksen, 2010, p. 24).

This might be happening in MFP from time to time. There is often as sense of ceremony, and despite the great effort put into making all participants relaxed and at ease with the recording, it seems as if the performers are not always letting loose, and even hide certain aspects of the lyrics or meanings. The ceremonial meeting before each recording might leak into the performance setting. The result is often that the first songs are more tied up than the last ones, when the groups have warmed up to the situation.

1.4.2 A privileged position

I am incredibly grateful for being allowed to become entrusted and valued as part of the Malawi Folksong Team. I have also been lucky to experience personal communication and connection with different performers around the country. Sometimes through musicality; I got to play the instruments or sing and dance with the groups, and sometimes through meals; we ate together and appreciated the food, talking about the taste and how to eat it. Sometimes with children;

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[3] Note the word *mainly*; not *all* is one or the other, but a larger part of the groups.

playing games and communicating on a level that made it possible to share jokes and experiences and lastly through language; learning new words and teaching each other our own language was possibly the strongest way to get to know each other. The latter was in my experience the one that transcended outer elements such as gender and other differences the most. Through learning the basic greetings in the local language, I could communicate and joke with people of all ages.

Expectations and preconceptions were different from village to village. We were trained and informed on the given village before leaving. Still, the wariness on how to act were more present during our first trips than during the last. After being on the road for a while, I found my place in the team and in the village setting/recording setting faster, based on former experiences. My own experience of vulnerability also decreased as I learnt more about the common customs. When you know what to expect, how to act during different rituals and ceremonies, and how to approach different people, the confidence increases.

As is usual within both ethnomusicological research and safeguarding projects, the intention and the outcome might differ greatly. Due to the Malawi Folktales Project being a model on which the Malawi Folksong Project built its grounds, and thorough research before the project began, the MFP team was prepared and had in-depth information on what they wanted to record and what to expect. They also had a shorter cultural distance than other research projects might have. Malawi Folksong Project is a good example of how community-based research and recordings can (as they should) reach further than international safeguarding projects do.

The *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH Convention)*, established in 2003, is based on local leadership through State Parties and governments.[4] MFP collaborates with the state and the governmental branch on culture – Department of Arts and Crafts. But the main executive power lay in the local NGO, music academy, Music Crossroads Malawi. More and more countries have included the ICH Convention in their policies. Malawi has done the same, adding traditional music as an obligatory part of the arts and crafts syllabus. MFP is responding to this and aim to distribute the material to teachers and schools all over the country. Community participation has usually been limited to free, prior and informal consent, without any further communication on the exact music or how it could and should be used.

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[4] For an excerpt with the most relevant parts of the ICH Convention for this thesis, see Appendix 1.

In many ways Malawi Folksong Project is taking one step further. Although the different villages part in the project is somewhat limited, there is less intervention by the government. There is cooperation with the government, and UNESCO and Rei Foundation still have to give consent and accept the contributions, but most of the decisions are being made within a team of trained technicians and researches together with the chiefs and performers.

When researching on Rapanui island, Dan Bendrups changed his research from being focused on looking closely on the music of the Rapanui island, to how he could give something back to the community (2015, pp. 80-81). Malawi Folksong Project skips this challenge by default: they already have ideas about what needs to be done in the country, and have communicated with musicians, culture workers and others about the subject for years.

I have in this chapter presented the research questions and how I came to choose Malawi Folksong Projects as my case study. I have shown how the people conducting Malawi Folksong Project team and I myself hold several roles at the same time. It has both been a great privilege and a lot of fun to be part of the fieldwork, recordings and research. At times it has also been challenging to separate research and personal interaction, my master thesis project and Malawi Folksong Project. In the following chapter the theoretical framework for the thesis is presented, along with key concepts and terms relevant to the discussion.

2. Theoretical framework and key concepts
2.1 Theory and literature
My thesis is interdisciplinary. It draws on theories from cultural studies, heritage studies and ethnomusicology. I have used literature from the history of development aid to dance and music in connection with health, museology and cultural history. The thesis is ethnomusicological at heart and has been influenced by correlating subjects such as culture and heritage studies and archiving/museology. It is also post-modern, as one of the main objectives is to look at how interaction with music shapes personal, social and cultural identity (Pasler, 2001, p. 5/10).

Safeguarding projects are part of the "[…] constant, ongoing reconstruction of history" through publishing recordings of music and dance formerly only existing through the actual performing of it (Pettan, Titon, & Lundberg, 2015). The MFP teams' ideas and values are inevitably part of this reconstruction. "To create archives is to exercise power – to bring signs, texts, and symbols to a limited space and control it" (Pettan et al., 2015). To make sure that something grows, you need to mould the earth and nourish the ground it is supposed to grow from. When Harrison (2013) problematize the dualism created between nature and culture within heritage studies and in UNESCO, he ultimately says that in order to create a sustainable culture (or heritage) we need to support the surrounding nature. This would not only include creating books or recording CDs or organizing workshops, but also supporting families to make sure their children get education and create steady electricity suppliers and safe roads throughout.

There are obvious mismatches stemming from the need to categorize and systematize phenomena. Music is sometimes still referred romantically to as a universal language, and this might be true in some circumstances. But more often than not, this understanding actually has its roots in historic development, conquers and colonizing history, that common understanding of very different music. If the opening speech and Eurovision Song Contest or World Idol is hailing music because of its inherent international features, people from very different countries might nod agreeingly. But is this sense of affiliation based on the music's features, or on similarity between these countries as a result of colonization, globalization, internet, migration and other connection and exchanges and influences? No matter the reason for the popular view on music's power, musicians and musicologists have long argued that in order to really understand the music at hand, you actually need to learn the language of that specific music.

A challenge within ethnomusicology is the classification of *music*. In many cultures, music is the name for what we in Europe or "western" society would divide into different genres. As with many things, these mismatches can be seen as possibilities or challenges, all

according to what circumstances they are needed and used. This challenge is discussed further in chapter *6.1.1 Music versus music*, page 71.

2.2 Key terms

Definitions, terms and names contain power. The power in words often changes how we think and can change the object or idea itself. In the following sections I present four terms that are core elements in my research. These terms and the different perceptions of them have influenced my work extensively, and so it is necessary to examine their origin, my perception of them, and how they are used within my field of study. The terms have their own definitions and separate paragraphs in this thesis but are inevitably connected. Their interconnectedness becomes clearer in the discussion in chapter three.

The first is *Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH)*, a well-known and highly discussed term that induces different annotations and meanings depending on what context it is presented in. The second is *traditional music*, a just as disputed term that covers genres and music that sometimes seem as different from each other as a knife and a feather, but yet have some similar properties. *Safeguarding* is the third term, and although it is frequently used when working both with ICH and traditional music, it the one with the most floating definition. The last term is *archiving*, an old concept of storing and saving but subject to a lot of changes in recent years.

These four terms all describe ideas, conceptions, and actions, fluid and ever-changing phenomena of a non-material kind. They describe concepts connected to material objects but without material core themselves. It is therefore not surprising that their definitions vary a lot. As we learn from the different post-modern theories, the context of both the object (material or not), the environment it is encountered in and the perceivers' context, history and mood influence the perception, interpretation and definition of the object. In musicology the change from viewing music as having an intrinsic value created by the music itself, to viewing music as something very much influenced by the environment was part of the post-modern development (Pasler, 2001, p. 4/10).

My intention is to present these key terms to draw a picture that includes different existing perceptions and interpretations of the words. I believe the closest we can get to a clear definition require many colours, forms and figures, changing and interlocking, the same way that archiving, cultural heritage and traditions are changing and developing.

The world consists of a million different things; actions, words, physical objects, language, instruments, roads, music, culture, political agreements, bureaucracy, paperwork, relationships, nature and so on... It is all a conglomeration of passing interaction that creates

moments in space and time. What is kept and what is forgotten of these moments is largely decided by people, through museums, archives, pictures and written documentation, but also through daily use of objects, words and music. So how do we decide what to keep and what to leave behind?

2.2.1 Intangible cultural heritage

Intangible cultural heritage is a common term for describing peoples' non-material traditional heritage. The term was officially established with the creation of the beforementioned ICH Convention. The term is concerned with "[…] practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills […] that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO, 2018). Objects used in practicing these activities can also be considered as part of the intangible cultural heritage. Following the establishment of the convention in 2003 different intangible cultural heritage practices have been enlisted by UNESCO. The enlisted elements are considered to be in need of safeguarding. The lists and criteria needed to be fulfilled to be enlisted have been discussed and challenged ever since they were established. Safeguarding projects all over the world have been influenced and inspired by the terms and conditions laid out by the convention and the lists. The terms used are vital for the discussion of the treatment of field recordings and intangible heritage as such.

United Nations is one the most powerful international institutions in the world the last past 70 years. It is the closest we get to a worldwide organisation with its 193 member states. Through their many organs they work with peace and security, human rights, humanitarian aid, promote sustainable development and uphold international law in many countries and on all continents.

Promoting sustainable development entails working with climate change, disaster risk reduction, gender equality and development. This is where we find the *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*; the most crucial organization concerned with cultural sustainability on an international level. UNESCO has been and still is an advocate for safeguarding both physical and intangible heritage. They have established a total of eight conventions between 1954 and 2005 concerning *Protecting Our Heritage and Fostering Creativity* ("Protecting our heritage and fostering creativity," n.d.). Malawi has ratified three of these conventions: The *1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (ratified in 1982), the *2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (ratified in 2010) the 2005 *Convention for the*

protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (also ratified in 2010) ("Conventions - Malawi," n.d.).

The proposition to make a formal convention on safeguarding of the cultural heritages of the world was sparked after a successful cross-national campaign saving the ancient Egyptian temples *Abu Simpel Temples* from being drowned by an overfilled dam in 1959. Similar cooperation followed and a call for a "World Heritage Trust" came after a White House Conference in 1965, along with similar proposals from the *International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN)* in 1968. These pushed the movement further when presented at the 1972 United Nations Conference in Stockholm. A draft for the new convention was then presented together with the already established *International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS),* and the 1972 Convention on World Cultural and Natural Heritage was established in 1972 ("The World Heritage Convention," n.d.). Today the World Heritage (WH) list consist of a total of 1092 properties (see *Figure 1*)
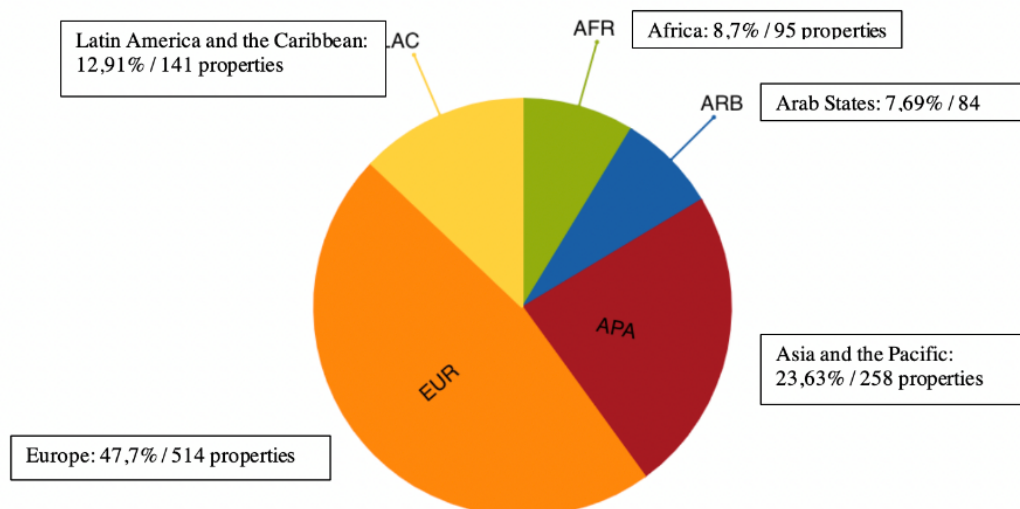
Figure 1: Circle graph of UNESCO World Heritage Properties by region ("World Heritage List Statistics,").

UNESCO changed the definition of cultural heritage from concerning physical landmarks, monuments or collections of objects, to also include living traditions and expressions under the term *Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH)* when establishing the ICH Convention. ICH is in the convention defined as "oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe

or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts" ("What is Intangible Cultural Heritage," n.d.). Today, the inscribed elements in the intangible cultural heritage list are divided in three groups based on their status and urgency to be safeguarded. The *List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding* (the *Urgent Safeguarding List*) entails elements (traditions/practices) that communities and State Parties have considered to require urgent measures to be kept alive. At the time of writing this list contain 64 elements. The *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* is the largest list with 463 elements. These practices and traditions should demonstrate diversity of heritage and raise awareness of its importance. The shortest list, the *Register of Good Safeguarding Practices*, contains "[…] programs, projects and activities that *best* reflect the principles and the objectives of the Convention" ("Purpose of the Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and of the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices," n.d.). This list currently consists of 22 elements.

The establishment of the two international conventions on World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage have sparked safeguarding projects around the world. These influence how people locally, nationally and globally relate to their own culture, and the culture of others. Some cultures have gained respect, gotten economic and social outcome and seen a positive influence in their local community following UNESCO enlisting. Others have experienced the opposite; a lack of interest and economic and social exploitation of the culture.[5]

Safeguarding projects on music and culture have been part of the ethnographic field since long before the ICH Convention. But the earlier recordings and safeguarding was mainly done by foreign researchers and were often not locally initiated. This has led to both exploitation and lack of proper acknowledgement of the sources.

UNESCO states that making sure the intangible cultural heritage is kept alive is part of keeping the "intercultural dialogue" intact and enhancing "mutual respect for other ways of life" ("What is Intangible Cultural Heritage," n.d.). As mentioned, some projects have succeeded, while others have not. To classify ICH, UNESCO present four points with criteria that must be present for the element to be inscribed in the list: It must be *traditional, contemporary and living at the same time*, *inclusive*, *representative* and *community based* ("What is Intangible Cultural Heritage," n.d.).

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[5] See for example Foster & Gilman (2015), Mackinley (2015) and Wissler (2015)

2.2.2 Traditional music

The word *folk* originates from the Germanic word "volk". It translates directly as "people". In musical contexts the term is often associated with communal compositions common among the rural inhabitants of a society. It says something about *geography*: the "rural inhabitants" imply that folk music is usually associated with the countryside, as opposed to the cities or more urban areas. It also suggests that where the music is *not* practiced, is where you will find the elite of a society, which often tends to be the wealthier parts. The experienced or physical belonging and economic status of a practitioner can impact how a safeguarding project is designed, and the material that is safeguarded. This will become clear in the interviews for this thesis.

Some countries have used traditional music and culture to connect the people with the purpose of constructing or building a specific *identity,* or experience of such. Especially countries that have been governed by other nations, wholly or partly colonized, have seen large state driven initiatives to build their own identity as part of creating a new and independent state when regaining independence. The arts and culture of the working class, the *people*, have in these situations often been idealised. Examples of this of include the renowned British music collector Cecil Sharp's introduction of English folksongs into schools, the systematic implementation of divisions between classical and folk idioms in the Middle East and Central Asia, and adaption and altering of traditional instruments to be able to combine them with classical orchestras in the Soviet Union and comprising newly-composed state approved texts with existing songs in China in the early 20th century (Pegg, 2001, pp. 7-8/12). In other circumstances the traditional music has been used in tourism businesses, sometimes in an exoticized or problematically authenticated way. This has benefited different groups of people. The potential income is obvious. Cultural tourism has become one of the main incomes for many societies as other industries decrease or disappear.

Cecil Sharp collected a lot of music in the early 1900s and his work has been important for research and anthropological work concerning traditional music. Sharp designated that the vital components of folksongs were "[...] continuity, variation and selection" and argued that "[…] anonymous composition and oral transmission were defining elements" (Pegg, 2001, pp. 1-2/12). The *International Folk Music Council (IFMC)* built on this definition when founding the organisation in 1947, however they discarded Sharp's idea of folksongs being "anonymous composition." This opened up an important room for the composers to be recognized while alive and for the community to seize ownership of and present the music as *their* tradition in their contemporary. However, this change did require a new defining sentence to be added in order to separate the traditional music from popular and classical music. The definition did not

cover composed *popular* music that had "been taken over ready made by a community" and remained unchanged as it was re-fashioning and re-creation of the music by the community that gave it its "folk" character. (Pegg, 2001, p. 2/12). This binary between popular and folk music originates from somewhere. In a manual created by IFCM in 1958 on how to conduct field recordings, researchers are explicitly advised to avoid popular songs when recording in the field (Western, 2018). The far-reaching understanding that popular and traditional music are opposite at least to some degree stem from this manual and the western understanding of music creating it[6]. IFMC changed their name to ICTM (International Council for Traditional Music) stating a step away from the *folk* term and emphasizing the term *traditional*.

ICTM encourages a sense of continuity in traditional music, where changes and recreations are inevitable and sought after. The dichotomy between keeping the musical elements in folk music as close to the originals as possible on the one side, and recreating and adapting the music to the contemporary scene, valuing individual artistic ideas within the music on the other, is one that has been the core of many discussions within the folk music discourse. It continues to be a question asked when dealing with cultural heritage throughout the world. Discussing language as intangible cultural heritage, Janet Blake asks a question that applies to most intangible cultures: "[…] must we regard change in the form of an ICH element aimed, for example, at rendering it more attractive to young people as a distortion or a dilution of ICH?" (Blake, 2017, p. 75). How change versus fixed expressions are dealt with in safeguarding projects today will be further discussed in chapter *5.3.1 Curating heritag*e, page 60.

The terms *folk* and *traditional* are in some countries and music cultures strongly connected to specific genres, like the American folk music which include bluegrass, country music, gospel and blues. There, folk is distinctively different from traditional music. In other contexts, the two terms are interchangeable, as in Malawi. In *Chichewa* (Malawi's largest official language after English) *folksong* translates to *nyimbo zamakolo* or *nyimbo zachikhalidwe*. The first of these is directly translated "song/music traditional" but also implies something that is *inherited*, something *from the past* through the word *makolo* which means *parents*. The second translation also means "song/music traditional" but refers to the word *chikalidwe* meaning *culture* (Banda 2019, personal communication). See *table 1* for an overview of the core words and terms. I will use *traditional music* when describing and

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[6] "Founded in 1947, the IFMC has a distinct European bias: just three of the seventeen members of its Executive Board represented non-European nations (one of those three being Klaus Wachsmann, a German-British ethnomusicologist representing Uganda)" (Western, 2018, p. 9/25)

discussing intangible cultural heritage in this thesis. When referring to specific recordings and recording situations I will use *folksong* as the case study is named Malawi Folksong Project.

English	Chichewa
dance	*gule*
song/music	*nyimbo*
culture	*chikalidwe*
parents	*makolo*
traditional music, culture	*nyimbo zachikhalidwe*
traditional music, inherited	*nyimbo zamakolo*
traditional dance and song/music	*magule ndi nyimbo zamakolo*

Table 1: Glossary with translations of traditional music in English and Chichewa.

2.2.3 Safeguarding

Preservation of buildings, objects and material matter is an ancient practice. People have had different reasons to keep different objects, art, food samples or buildings. Through conservation of herbs, embalmment of bodies and continuous caretaking of old buildings, natural resources, agricultural land and other places in nature, humans have been able to learn from the past and develop. The urge to safeguard has developed into a need to carry our history - whether emotional and personal intentions or historic events - with us, as literary as possible. Anthropologists and ethnomusicologist have long had an "[…] eye on issues of musical viability" (Grant, 2012, p. 32).

> The concern to preserve dying cultures is not new to ethnomusicological scholarship: Much early "folklore" research centred on documenting musical traditions seen as doomed to extinction (ibid.)

With access to mobile phones, internet and social media, people today create their own stories (and histories) continuously. Every day, people of all ages post their daily activities, pictures from vacations, job situations or concerts. Marriages, births and birthdays are visible to the world through pictures and videos spread to friends, family, colleagues and other acquaintances. Certain social media platforms such as Facebook and Instagram also encourage the development by posting pictures that were posted on a specific date the year before, and creating videos with memories for peoples' online birthdays, for example. Internet and social media have a huge impact on how we think about or past, present and future. We are extremely aware of how we are presented and how we present ourselves. Our present perception of history

is changing and will be different in the future. How and what do we safeguard in this new landscape of "invisible" histories?

Safeguarding has long been synonymous with *preservation* (originally meaning to "keep safe", used in connection with treating fruits from catching diseases). *Preservation* has been a way to keep something *as it is*, with as few changes between each interaction as possible. Other words used parallelly to safeguarding are *conservation*, *maintenance*, *keeping* or *sustaining*. All these words are used to describe an action done to make sure something is (in lack of other words) *maintained* in one way or another. Where *preservation* and *conservation* have quite strong annotations of "freezing" something the way you would in a photograph, *maintenance* and *sustainability* afford softer annotations that imply that keeping the context around the element or object is just as important, and that the object can change over time. Some have chosen these softer words when speaking of keeping music. As Schippers (2016) describes it, the term *sustainability* might have the "[…] best chance at transcending 'tradition under siege' and static associations: it's very etymology ('holding from below' rather than the 'holding in the hand' of maintaining) suggests a more gentle and open process" (Schippers & Grant, 2016, p. 7). With UNESCOs use of the term conventions concerning cultural and natural heritage, *safeguarding* has become specifically strong both in ethnomusicological research projects. It is both descriptive and quite open. As mentioned, words have power and how a word is interpreted or used vary. It is widely accepted that talking about culture or music as static is uninteresting, as change, adaptation and different perceptions are inevitable, with or without the interference of researchers and others.

According to UNESCO safeguarding is "[…] ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage" ("The World Heritage Convention," n.d.) The aim is to keep the intangible cultural heritage alive. This should, again in UNESCOs words, be done through: "[…] the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage" ("The World Heritage Convention," n.d.). Words in this convention may offer several definitions each, and it might be confusing at first to try to relate to it. It creates possibilities for the safeguarding be adapted to the situation and environment but might at the same time water down the term, as it entails so much. Safeguarding come in many shapes and colours. Social, political and technical development are all relevant components in any safeguarding project and is continuously influencing it. Safeguarding approaches need to take into account that not only the traditions undeniably change, but also their surroundings, and therefore also the definitions:

If communities and researchers accept that cultural traditions should and do naturally change, then safeguarding approaches need not only to take into account what are typically referred to as "authentic" and "traditional" musical practices, but also how those practices are situated within changing, contemporary contexts (Grant, 2012, p. 39).

These changing, contemporary contexts include everyday and ceremonial use, music in schools, radio stations, smaller and larger record labels, managements, international interest and attention, local musical performances rurally and in urban settings and export of music and musicians.

For a long time, written material was the only way to document, or the only possible way to bring something from the field (except for actual tangible artefacts such as instruments or other objects related to the scene). Later sound recordings took over the place of the fieldnotes, giving researchers the possibility to take actual sounding material home, recordings of the music, interviews with performers or others and the cultural and natural sounds in the surroundings. With the introduction of the video camera, another layer was added. Today researchers usually combine these three practices (text, audio, video and photography) when safeguarding the specific heritages (Brandellero & Janssen, 2014). Both the formerly mentioned Bela Bartok and the Dutch ethnomusicologist Jaap Kunst have stated that the field of ethnomusicology owe most of its development to the invention of the gramophone. The understanding of recording equipment gathering objective data was prevalent are now highly challenged: "Technologies and production techniques were much discussed, but were at once obscured behind narratives of folk authenticity, national music, the exigencies of salvage fieldwork" (Western, 2018, p. 29).

Safeguarding as archival practice where recording and keeping music storing music is the core element has been largely expanded after the introduction internet, digital and mobile recording equipment. Physical tapes and CDs require physical buildings to be stored. Earlier this has been at universities and other educational institutions, museums, libraries and in private collections. In South Africa, Hugh Tracey's recordings are currently stored at International Library of African Music (ILAM). ILAM houses a sound, film and document archive, the Tracey collection of African musical instruments, a library, and a digitizing and recording studio. The vast collection is currently being digitalized. In Malawi recordings made by Malawi Broadcasting Company are stored in their own archives in Blantyre while the National Archives have a building in Zomba where books, information on different cultural activities and minutes from governmental meetings are kept in several different rooms. In Lilongwe, the Department of Arts and Crafts have their own collections of VHS-cassettes recorded in the 1970s.

Digitizing old recordings and documents have become one of the main objectives for many memory institutions. Infinite amounts of music can in theory be kept and made available to anyone with an internet connection. Some argue that the more people knowing the music, the more likely is to be safeguarded; That keeping it alive requires interaction with it, through listening, singing, playing, performing or speaking about it. Others would argue that true safeguarding only can happen through *performing* the music in the context it comes from, by the people that created it. The risk is that few people exercise the culture because of other more popular entertainment platforms.

Streaming platforms, social media and other national and international entertainment platforms are often recognised as a threat to the traditional music. At the same time, some point to the opposite; these internet-based platforms might spark new life and new performances through making it possible to learn without meeting in person or having to travel to the place of the music's origin. Either way, safeguarding through recording and storing influence the music and the interaction with it. It makes the music flow in new or untraditional streams, depending on what culture, country or geographical area we are talking about. Elders in the villages might inspire young people in the cities that they have never met. Through the new platforms and tools based on digital technology, musicians and performers can play for audiences all over the world, supporting a more diverse and correct view on the different cultures of the world. Or, conversely, it might possibly enhance negative or generalized pictures of that same culture or people.

Although there is a consensus that safeguarding is important, *how* to safeguard, is as I have shown not as straightforward. Live music is after all initially a sounding thing, it exists through performance and is impossible to embalm or put in a jar to keep safe. Recordings are only music if they are played and listened to, just as intangible heritage often is argued to only be alive when it is being executed in one way or the other (listened to, danced, played etc.). Safeguarding projects also affect the music, people and environment in some way. Arguments of whether "interference" by ethnomusicologists or others interrupt the ecology of the music are also part of the discourse. Some argue that this has negative impact, while others see the interference as part of the ecosystem in a positive way.

2.2.4 Archiving

Archives are traditionally "[…] record offices and manuscript libraries of the public sector, open to all" (Craven, 2008, p. 7). They consist of records that "[…] incorporate documents, manuscripts, films, digitized documents and records of all kinds" (ibid). As *films* and *records*

of all kind are defined as archival material, any recorded cultural material is potentially archival matter. Archives, libraries and museums have always overlapped as cultural memory institutions. In the past, archives traditionally held everything from the smallest transcriptions from meetings and law proposals to larger collections and publications. Libraries would mainly hold books and museums would present chosen objects to the public. Museums are curated by default; they are meant to be a selection made by professionals with different known backgrounds and experiences. With digital media and the internet, the three institutions have become more similar. They look similar online and the use of them coincides. In countries where digitization is big, and accessibility is relatively easy, people can use archives as libraries, reading historic documents from start to end, and libraries can act as archives.

Due to changes both in archives and the other institutions it is important to be clear about who and what it is that is being discussed when we talk about archives and archivists, libraries and librarians, museums and curators. Although their tasks might overlap, there are still distinctions in how they function and how the different tasks are executed. Archives have been seen as most objective institutions - one that merely documents history and reality the way it happened. Archivists have therefore also been seen as objective servants of these documents, systematizing but not interfering with the content. An objective and passive archivist was a good archivist. With post-modernism, this view has been severely challenged. History is curated, what and how objects, words, stories and even the "objective" notes from a governmental meeting or list of names from a church book are kept and told, are not objective events happening in a vacuum, but rather closely curated events happening within a context. Whenever something is included, something is also excluded. Craven (2008, p. 83) points at how technological developments have "brought profound social, political and epistemological changes" and a "significant shift in the role of archives in cultural and heritage contexts" (Craven, 2008, p. 1). She further describes how archives have become the focus of discourses within many disciplines:

> At the same time, the social and political role of the archive and the text have become prominent discourses in academic disciplines concerned with cultural studies, with politics, sociology, philosophy, linguistics, history and literary criticism" (Craven, 2008, p. 1).

Here we can add *ethnomusicology*. Researchers find archives interesting, not only because of their contents, but because of *how* the different content is organized, and what is excluded. They also read the information differently according to what they are looking for, what their field of study is and what time and place they read it in. Craven suggests that the early archivists

possibly were the first post-modernists, maybe without knowing it. They knew that people read different things from the same texts, but never stated it out loud (Craven, 2008, p. 16). Digitization has as mentioned opened for new possibilities in sharing the content with the whole world. Copyright issues and questions of accessibility occur, and it creates a different way of interacting with the objects:

> The internet has changed what we do, what we talk about, how we go about finding things, it has changed our way of thinking and it has changed everyone's expectations (Craven, 2008, p. 8).

She further emphasizes that *cataloguing* and *metadata* is as important for online archives as it has been for physical ones. Digital traces and information are easily disrupted, deleted or lost, and information on the condition of the physical object often falls out. The importance of a document came intuitively when the physical state of the document differed. They could tell us something about the documents before opening them: "A book bound in red leather says 'I'm important', the way documents are folded in a bundle, the format of a pipe roll, the use of treasury tags, ties and legal pink tape […]" (Craven, 2008, p. 22). With the physical appearance gone, the metadata become extra important.

Archives have also been influenced and consciously and directly adjusted and played by different political and social powers to control different parts of society. Archives are inherently created and curated and have also been the subject for intentional manipulating by powerful institutions or people wanting to hide or forget parts of history. Basically, destructing certain documents or removing texts from archives and libraries was the early version of fake news. For a long time, archives were the most certain and trustworthy source to information about. They have played and continue to play an important role. The difference is that we are more aware now than before that what is kept and what is not found in the archives also communicate something historical, something of power relations and so forth.

Picture 1 The archive system at the National Archives of Malawi in Zomba hold old texts and information about traditional Malawian culture

> An important function of archives is to provide the raw materials for a constant, ongoing reconstruction of history, and this reconstruction always reflects the collectors' and users' ideas and values. All interpretations of the past are impregnated by and filtered through the ideologies of their own time (Pettan et al., 2015, p. 673).

Music archives are somewhat different from traditional archives because they in many circumstances are meant to be used, not merely to keep the content untouched. Most music archives encourage active engagement with the content. Swedish musicologist, librarian and archive director Dan Lundberg presents three differences between music archives and other archives: Music archives serve as source and resource in addition to preserving the material; the content is often donated from different sources, and the archive is supposed to be accessible for musicians, students, researchers and others interested (Pettan et al., 2015, p. 674). During my fieldwork in Malawi I visited the National Archives of Malawi in Zomba (see *Picture 1*, page 24) and found several entries on traditional music and dance.

MFP resemble the mentioned memory institutions (archives, museums and libraries); inevitably creating an archive or collection of traditional music from Malawi, and educational institutions; creating a curriculum for primary schools and music institutions and ethnographic studies; connecting with communities and creating texts and descriptions that may lay the ground for further research.

The four terms laid out in this chapter will be core concepts in the discussion. They form the way we think and act in the field, when recording or talking about music. They influence how we handle the music after recording and affect how songs are chosen to be included or left out of the material that will be published later. The next chapter is a short introduction to Malawi as a country. Malawi consist of many cultures and have a history of colonization and travelling that have laid the foundation for what it is today, and the following chapter paints backdrop to which the examples from MFP will stand clearer in front of.

3. Malawi

Malawi is situated in the southern end of the Great Rift Valley, which stretches over 570 km from North to South. The area known earlier as the British Protectorate, Maravi, Nyasaland and now Malawi, share borders with Zambia in the west, Mozambique in the south and east and Tanzania in the north. The country stretches over 118,500 square kilometres (Zeze, 2015, p. 170) and is today populated by close to 18 million people (*2018 Malawi Population and Housing Census Report*, 2019). Malawi has rich, diverse nature with five main mountain ranges (Nyika, Viphya, Dedza, Zomba and Mulanje) that have been inhabited less than the more habitable plateaus (Mzimba, Lilongwe and Shire Highlands) and the lakeshore of Lake Malawi. Lake Malawi is with its 29 600 square kilometres Africa's third largest inland lake and runs out in the Zambezi River in the south. The Zambezi have served of great importance for trade routes going south all the way out to the Indian Ocean (McCracken, 2012, pp. 8-9). The lake has long attracted people from the surrounding Southern and Eastern African regions because of its all-year access to fresh water, good fishing possibilities and relative reliability of rainfall; it was seen as an important source of life and refuge for many people through many years (McCracken, 2012, pp. 9-10).

There are several books on the history of Malawi. While many begin just before the white man's settlements, some go as far back as to the beginning of people living in the area. South-African born, Canadian historian, professor and author Bridglal Pachai has been instrumental in creating literature of Malawi's cultural, political and social history. He states that *restoration* is an important part of building the new identity and creating independence in academic and historical studies (Bridglal Pachai, 1972, p. xvii). Pachai gathered a lot of information, stories and research in his work *The Early History of Malawi* (1972) and his edited collection *Malawi: The History of the Nation* (1973). The first part of the latter book is dedicated to the people living in the area long before Malawi became Malawi: The pre-bantu peoples' meeting with the stone-age people.

One of the first impressions from this region is that people have moved around a lot. They have migrated to the great Lake Malawi and the Rift Valley from the North, West, East and South of various reasons. Whether due to scarce agricultural possibilities, droughts, wars or hunting, the stories of the people are usually based on *oral traditions*, in addition to stone paintings found in Dedza and Mikolongwe and pottery and later iron objects. (B. Pachai, 1973, p. 2). Assumptions about what kind of people they were, are based on the topics and meanings that are found in the songs and folktales that originates from these years.

"Traditions among the later Maravi[7] do not generally describe much fighting between them and the cattle farmers and agriculturalists already in the country" (B. Pachai, 1973, p. 3). Tribes, villages and the different languages connected to them stem from a complex history of semantics, migration and perception which we only know because of cultural and artistic expressions. Arts, tradition, music, both immaterial and material feed into our understanding of the world and is priceless for our conception of a society.

There are a few disagreements about exactly how the people living in the area now recognized as Malawi were organized before the first explorers and missionaries came in the 1860s and onwards. Shortly summarized, historians agree that two families with the names Banda and Phiri the Banda came from the intermingling between the Kafula or Batwa (the earliest inhabitants) and migrants from Congo, as main leaders. By 1600s three main Malawi kingdoms can be recognized; the Kalonga, the Luangwa and the Lundu. Through the seventeenth century, power shifted and no one managed to create an effective central authority; the local villages with their chiefs became the most important political entity (McCracken, 2012, p. 20).

The peoples were named after the regions they were living in, and they identified more with these regional centres than the area as a whole at the end of the 19th century; Nyanja round the south end of the lake, Mang'anja in the Lower Shire valley and Highlands, Chewa west and south-west of the lake and Chipeta "the people of the high grass" meaning Dedza, Dowa and Ntcheu (McCracken, 2012, p. 21). The people in the North are different as both the Tumbuka and the Tonga were composed of several groups (McCracken, 2012, p. 22).

3.1 Society and ethnic groups of Malawi

Malawi's regions and districts consist of several tribes and is quite diverse in terms of languages and people. In addition to the former migration, they have been created through agriculture, natural forces and landscapes, wars, politics, colonialism and democratic development. The vast population is made up by the Chewa, Yawo, Tumbuka, Lhomwe, Tonga, Nkhonde, Ngoni, and Sena peoples as well as Asians, Europeans and Americans (Zeze, 2015, p. 170). Traces of heritage from other areas in the Southern region of Africa are to a degree still found in the distribution of tribes, languages and religions of Malawi today, but we also find that Malawians have not stood still. Travelling for work, studies or family has been and still is one of the main reasons for exchange and change in Malawian culture.

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[7] 'Maravi' and 'Malawi' are different terms for Malawi. They are often used interchangeably.

Evidence of how Malawian migration have carried culture and influenced a society can for example be found in the famous *Kwela music*[8] from South Africa. Even though the music has long been recognized as typical South African, old recordings from Malawian villages reveal something else. The Malawian ethnologist and musician Walikho Makhala have found songs by the Kachamba Brothers from Malawi that sound remarkably similar to the popular Kwela music in recordings from the Malawi Broadcasting Company made in the 1950s. South Africa was at this time primarily a mining country which attracted, more or less volunteer migrant mining labourers. So, speaking of South African music from this period, could possibly require a notion of influence from people from all over Southern Africa (*The Malawi Tapes*, 2019).

The largest part of the population of Malawi are the *Chewa* people. They are mainly concentrated in the central districts surround the capitol Lilongwe. The language stemming from this group, *chiChewa*, is Malawi's national language next to English. The second largest group are the *Yaos*, living both in the Central and Southern Region. Some of the *Yao* people stem from slaves to Arabs from Zanzibar, and many are therefore Muslim. Many mosques can therefore be found in these districts, and especially in villages with connection to the lakeshore and in the south because of this (Zeze, 2015, p. 170). In the far south the *Lhomwe* is the largest group. The *Lhomwe* came to Malawi in the 1930s running from tribal wars in the neighbouring Mozambique (Zeze, 2015, p. 171). In the far North the *Tumbuka* are predominant, while the *Ngoni* dominate in some districts closer to the border of the Central Region.

3.2 Colonialism and what followed

After 72 years a colony under Great Britain (1891-1963), Malawi was to find their own path forward as an independent state. Educational, economic and influential religious institutions and systems established during the colonial period were part of the basis for the future state. In contrast to many of the neighbouring countries, Malawi has had a relatively peaceful transition into independence with few integral wars and revolts.

The English historian John McCracken published a book on Malawi's history from just before to just after the independence. He evaluates different perspectives earlier historians have proposed and see them as somewhat inadequate and simplified. On the one hand, the previously mentioned professor Pachai has been at the forefront of presenting Malawian history through a nation building development, starting from the ancient times and reaching its momentum with

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[8] *Kwela* is an isiZulu term for a urban genre of music based on flute and is usually recognized as influenced by American jazz music of the era. It became popular in southern Africa during the 1950s and 1960s (Kubik, 2001)

the independence gained in 1964 (McCracken, 2012, p. 3). In this view the colonial power was an important contributor to dissolving tribal conflicts and stabilizing the political environment of the country. This led in turn to nationalist movements that stood up to the British and craved their independence (ibid). On the other hand, we find researchers (for example the American professor of African Studies Leroy Vail) who focus on the impoverishment and underdevelopment of the country, and how European colonizers used Malawi as a labour reserve for the mines and farms of Southern Africa. McCracken argues that both of the directions are too simplistic: instead, the Malawian farmers and peasants were more actively engaged in different parts of agriculture, institutions and politics long before the independence were granted. This argument is important in regard to my studies because the people have constituted the historic events and evolution in the songs, tales and dance. The historical complexity is apparent in the music. And the music has been a vital part of the historical development.

The terms "Malawi" and "Malawians" were, according to McCracken (2012), almost never used as labels before the independence in 1964. National Malawian identity is complex, and a simple description would not serve it right. The people today recognized as Malawians have ancestors that were not born Malawian, but belonged to different areas recognized as Rhodesia, Tanganyika and Nyasaland (McCracken, 2012, pp. 3-4). Malawi is as such quite a young nation, and the development of one national identity is thus a relatively recent idea. The national diversity is evident on many layers, also within politics: "[…] as in other countries, Malawi experienced tensions and divisions, regional, ethnic, generational and occupational, both within the dominant party and without" (McCracken, 2012, pp. 304-305).

When becoming independent, music and dance were some of the means the political initiatives and first parties used to spread a message of unity. Music and dance is still an important part of political events, demonstrations and rallies. Although the nationalistic efforts with cultural expressions began before the liberation in 1964, it was emphasized and exploited at the beginning of the new independence politics. Dr. Kamuzu Banda, the self-appointed President for Life and leader of Nyasaland African Congress, saw that it could support his position and attract more supporters:

> [...] Following his [Dr. Kamuzu Banda] release from gaol in April 1960, however, Banda went out of his way to encourage the use of dancing as a means of obtaining popular support – and with dramatically successful results. Wherever he travelled on his triumphal tor of the Northern and Central Provinces in June 1960, people gathered in their thousands to dance *nyau, malipenga, chioda* and *visekese* [Malawian dance styles] in a striking assertion of African values (McCracken, 2012, pp. 372-373).

He also changed the name of his party to *Malawi Congress Party (MCP)*, arguing that the *Malawi* people had common cultural heritage and belonged together. The change from *Nyasaland*, used commonly from the 1920s about a larger area based on mining business, to *Malawi*, based on culture and heritage, was an important symbolic change based on popular cultural nationalism by Banda (ibid).

3.3 Malawi today

Malawi is a densely populated country. From 2008 it has grown with about 4.5 million people, reaching a number of 17 500 000 in 2018 (*2018 Malawi Population and Housing Census Report*, 2019). Only about 900 000 live in the capital, while many live in the other larger cities (Mzuzu, Zomba and Blantyre), around *bomas* (small settlements/towns) and in rural areas all over the country. The Central and the Southern Region are about seven million people each, while the remaining three million are living in the Northern Region.

The international community in Malawi consist largely of migrants from other African countries, with a main portion coming from neighbouring countries. Of the 57 000 non-Malawians in Malawi, Europeans and Americans make up about 7000 people. Despite the low number, these groups have had a lot of influence on the development following the independence. Since 1964 international, non-African NGOs and development aid organizations make a part of the direction the country has taken.

The American Peace Corps were for example an important part of the development of the educational system just after independence and have continued to play a crucial role. When establishing state-driven schools (as opposed to the ones already driven by the many Christian missions) the minister of education, Kanyama Chiume, realized that there were too few teachers in the country. This was solved by recruiting over 179 American Peace Corps teachers by 1969. They outnumbered the Malawian teachers and took up over half of the teaching strength in Malawi's secondary schools (McCracken, 2012, p. 401). Malawian students were used to a variety of British teachers, but these were usually quite distant socially.

Malawi has also depended on economic aid from other richer countries in periods. Large portions of the national budget have come from foreign donors, such as in 2011, when foreign donors accounted for 40% of the budget (Page, 2019, p. 44). With this help, the economy grew for a while but later started to decline. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) offered Malawi support with requirements for how the economy should be built. This was are-occurring offer made to sub-Saharan countries and one that in some cases have resulted in increasing poverty rather than supporting a stable economy (ibid). To meet the standards of the fund and the World

Bank, Malawi rearranged the economy which ended in underfunding of educational and health sectors. This weakened the labour pool which then again harmed the development of business. Page point at how the support was supposed to be negotiated, but that there was a clear stronger part in the "negotiation" that laid most of the conditions (Page, 2019, p. 45). The first president of Malawi was set to a difficult task from 2004 and 2011: to "[…] run the Malawian economy along guidelines set out by the IMF, abide by various UN agreements, and adhere to Malawi's constitutional framework" (Page, 2019, p. 47). The large influence of the World Bank programmes, and the UN involvement on Malawi have to some degree been part of the history that eventually have led to MFP and this thesis. My studies - my involvement in the Malawi Folksong Project and Malawi Folksong Project itself - is connected to these national and international forerunners and the economic and cultural exchange between Malawi and Europe.

Norways' largest embassy is situated in Lilongwe with 19 employees ("Norway in Malawi", n.d.). *Norec* (formerly *Det Norske Fredskorps*/*The Norwegian Peace Corps*, also known as *Fredskorpset* and *FK Norway*) initially sent people to countries that were receivers of Norwegian aid (Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique were some of the earliest countries they went to) (Johannesen & Leraand, 2019). The establishment of The Norwegian Peace Corps were inspired by the United States American Peace Corps and was part of a wave of several similar projects sending young people to serve in developing countries that had just become independent states (ibid). Norec have gone through several evaluations that have led to changes in how the projects have been conducted. Today Norec strictly offer two-way exchange, and also organize exchange projects not including Norwegians (so-called south-south-exchange programs).

The history of Malawi is important for the research in this thesis as it influence how we handle the country's culture. The distribution of people and the cultures belonging to them is a result of the migration, national and international initiatives taken over the years. It is important to see the current project in relation to the political and social situation in the country. The following chapter is a presentation of the Malawi Folksong Project, the organizations involved with it and a run through of how it was conducted.

4. Malawi Folksong Project

Since May 2017 a team of eight to ten people have travelled through Malawi recording traditional songs on audio and video.[9] They have collected lyrics and background information about performers, groups, villages and songs they have encountered. They began in the Central Region in April - May 2017, moving on to the Northern Region in December 2017 - January 2018 and finalizing with the Southern Region in October - November 2018.

Never before has there been a project collecting traditional Malawian music and dance to this extent. The initiators (*Music Crossroads Malawi*) explicitly describe the project as an historical one. The goal is to teach Malawian youth about the culture of their own country and create acknowledgement of the music they inherit from earlier generations. Malawi Folksongs Project will become part of the music curriculum of Music Crossroads Malawi's educational efforts. It will feed material to teachers in primary and secondary schools. On a higher level the goal is that the project will provide a sense of belonging, making Malawi confident in their own identity.

> Malawi Folksong Project will ensure respect for the folksongs of the communities, groups and individuals concerned; provide them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and creativity among upcoming music artists. Ensure respect for the folksongs of the communities, groups and individuals concerned (Mfune & Magomero, 2016, pp. 4-5).[10]

Continuity, *identity*, *creativity* and *respect for the folksongs* are the aims, and *safeguarding* is the means to reach them. *Safeguarding* the folksongs, as is proposed in this document, will be done through the creation of a DVD, CD and educational book. The use of folksongs are already threatened because of a lack of preservation, and MFP hope to ensure that the songs survive through these three material outcomes, so it can be a teaching and learning resource in music schools "[…] not only in Malawi but across the world" (Mfune & Magomero, 2016, pp. 4-5). In a long-term scope the project will be part of developing the music industry. Through using the songs in higher music education both professional musicians and students will learn the music, where it came from, and the meaning of the songs. Music Crossroads Malawi already use traditional music in their curriculum. Both students and teachers have rearranged traditional music for their bands and ensembles.

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[9] See the appendix for a list of organizations and individuals involved in the *Malawi Folksongs Project*
[10] The quote is taken from the project proposal made in 2016 that was used mainly in the application for funding, and as guidelines for the MFP team to follow when working with the project. It is not a published document, but one used internally. I have been granted the permission to use it in this thesis by the project manager.

I base the following information on experience, observation, participation and research undertaken within this 18-month period. While this thesis is being completed, the last part of the project - the promotional part where the music will be edited, re-recorded and distributed - will have started. As such, my discussions will not be based on this last part but will include a discussion on what might come as a result of it.

4.1 Main organizations in Malawi Folksong Project

The three main organizations working together on Malawi Folksong Project are

1. *Rei Foundation*: acting as funding body, serving as a supervisor and executing international coordination;
2. *Malawi National Commission for UNESCO*: National coordinator and accounting;
3. *Music Crossroads Malawi*: project implementer.

As part of the implementing team there is one additional representative from the *Department of Arts and Crafts* and one from *Malawi National Library Service* as well as external professionals such as sound and video technicians.

4.1.1 Rei Foundation Limited (RFL)

Rei Foundation Limited (RFL) is the funding partner of MFP. Named after their founder and executive director Reiko Fukutake, the foundation supports projects enhancing or protecting cultural heritage in a number of countries around the world, including Malawi, Japan and Cambodia. RFL […] aims to attain social change through sustainable human development as a means of expanding people's life opportunities and their capacity to make responsible decisions as members of the global society ("About us," n.d.). On a wider scale they have an idealistic aim to support projects that provide […] knowledge valuable for the achievement of human and community development goals" (ibid.).

The foundation is open for applications from projects that fit their mission. In Malawi they currently support six projects, all conducted through Malawi Commission for UNESCO, with Rei Foundation acting as funding and advisory organ. The first was *Malawi Folktales Project*, which was a model project that Malawi Folksongs Project have built much of its framework and strategy on. Malawi Folktales Project was conducted in 2011-2016 and continues to promote the recorded folktales in several other projects. Malawi Folktales Project recorded folktales villages throughout Malawi, usually with one storyteller and a small group of children listening. This setting is very similar to how they traditionally would be told.

RFL not only aim to safeguard through digital recordings, but also to utilize the folktales via education and performances: "After collection is complete, it is envisaged that the folktales will be utilized as an educational tool in various forms" ("Malawi Folktales Project," n.d.). As promised, the material has been used in two other projects; *Storytelling Time Malawi* and *Malawi Folktales as Stage Drama*. Additional projects Rei Foundation are funding in Malawi are *Women Knitting Business in Malawi* and *Preservation and Rehousing of Films in Malawi*. On Malawi Folksong Project RFL emphasize the core aims and means, as laid out in the beginning of this chapter: to make sure no more songs are lost and enhance the use of these songs through education.

4.1.2 Malawi National Commission for UNESCO (MNCU)

Malawi National Commission for UNESCO (MNCU) is the Malawian branch of *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*. From the confused and sometimes chaotic environment after the Second World War with waves of independence flowing through many countries, development aid organizations and NGOs arose. Wealthy states with a desire to make up for former oppression and exploitation created organizations based on aid from governments and individuals. One of the most impactful and respected is the *United Nations (UN)*. With six *Funds and Programmes*, fifteen *Specialized Agencies* (*UNESCO* falls in under this category), nine *Other Entities and Bodies* and six *Related Organizations*, they cover a vast area of subjects and projects all around the world ("Funds, programmes, specialized agencies and others," n.d.).

Malawi became part of the worldwide network of UNESCO in 1964. This was just after Malawi became independent and democratically had chosen their first president ("More information - Malawi," n.d.). Today MNCU has three permanent employees working from their office in the capitol of Malawi, Lilongwe. They run several programs that answers to the different goals of UNESCO. Five are *Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH)* projects, while two are under the *World Heritage* remit. In addition, there are in total 19 other projects listed under *Educational, Scientific and networks* ("Malawi," n.d.). The projects regarding culture and heritage are primarily funded by Rei Foundation Limited (see 2.1.1).

The Government of Malawi has ratified the two UNESCO conventions on culture: *The 2003 Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* and the *2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. Both conventions aim at safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and enhance the possibilities for musicians to create and enjoy a range of culture. Malawi Folksong Project have incorporated these missions:

> This project [Malawi Folksong Project] will contribute towards the implementation of these two conventions by way of preserving the folksongs through recording this intangible heritage of the people of Malawi and the production of the songs into cultural products though not for trading, but for use by school children and music students (Mfune & Magomero, 2016).

UNESCO was involved in a similar recording project in 1996 publishing a collection of 20 songs recorded by a team of people from *University of Malawi*, the *Malawi Broadcasting Corporation*, the *Ministry of Education and Culture*, the *Museums of Malawi*, and the Malawi National Commission for UNESCO in 1991. These were released on a CD called "Music Traditions of Malawi" and are available for downloading online[11] ("Music Traditions of Malawi," n.d.).

4.1.3 Music Crossroads Malawi (MCM)

Music Crossroads Malawi (MCM) is one of the few non-governmental music institutions in Malawi offering education for children and youth in Malawi, and the only one in Lilongwe. They were founded by Jeneusses Musical International (JMI) in 1995. MCM run the Music Crossroads Academy which offer a one-year certificate study in music ("MC Academy Malawi," n.d.). The academy uses music as a means to enhance the music education sector and develop the music industry in the country (ibid).

MCM is the implementing body of Malawi Folksong Project and the most instrumental institution in the project. The director of MCM, Ghayigayi Mathews Mfune, is one of the main initiators and is involved with most parts of the project. The preparation training took place at MCM offices in Area 23, Lilongwe, and most team meetings and post-production editing have been conducted there. Some of the teachers and staff at Music Crossroads Malawi have been and are still involved with the project as sound technicians, the research team in the field, and will transcribe the folksongs when the recording is done. Written transcriptions of the music and lyrics are enhanced as especially important because of lacking equipment to play the audio and video recordings in the villages around the country. The translations between the local languages are done by the research team in collaboration with local contacts in the districts the music is recorded in. The English versions will in addition open for international research on the material.

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[11] See https://folkways.si.edu/music-tradition-of-malawi/world/music/album/smithsonian

4.2 Other institutions and their connection to Music Crossroads and MFP

As mentioned, I became involved with the project because I was working at MCM through the exchange program *Musicians and Organizers Volunteer Exchange (MOVE)* when the project was launched. MOVE is conducted through *Jeneusses Musical Norway (JMN)*, the Norwegian branch of MCMs formerly founding institution, *Jeneusses Musical International (JMI)*. JMN runs several projects focusing on youth, music and cultural international relations. JMNs projects are funded through varying bodies according to their content (locally by *Oslo Kommune*, nationally by *Arts Council Norway*, projects regarding asylum centres through *The Directorate of Integration and Diversity IMDi*, international projects through *Norec*, and so on). MOVE is one of their longest lasting projects ("MOVE," n.d.), and is funded by *Norec* (formerly *Fredskorpset*). Since the beginning in 2012 MOVE has grown from organizing exchange of young musicians between Malawi and Norway, to involve Brazil and Mozambique as well. Since 2017 the exchange is between all four countries (see *Figure 2*).
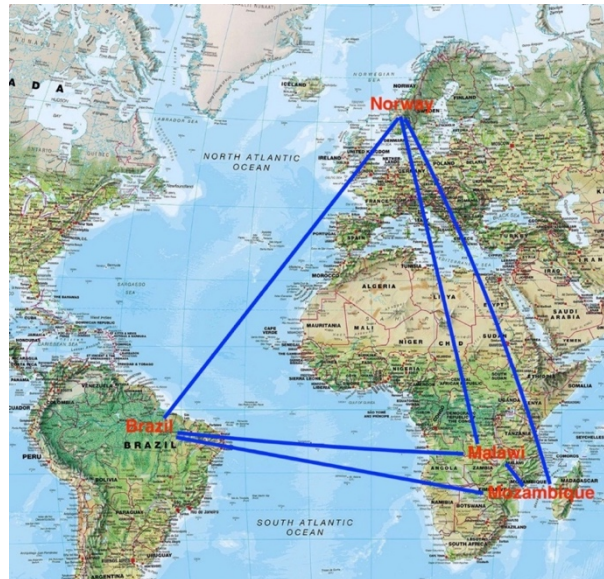
Figure 2: Map showing the exchange routes in MOVE. All together 24 participants from four countries live in one of the other countries for 9-10 months every year.

Through JM Norway and Norec, Music Crossroads Malawi receives funding to have the young musicians from Mozambique, Norway and Brazil working as teachers and organizers at their music centre. *JM International*, the parent organisation for JM Norway, was founded in Brussels in 1945. Today JMI consist of a global network of organizations working with youth and music around the world ("About JMI: Making a difference through music," n.d.). Music Crossroads Malawi, and the mother organization *Music Crossroads International (MCI)*, mirror JMIs activities and goals. They both aim to create opportunities for young musicians to expand their expertise within the cultural and musical field. Music Crossroads' work has varied from organizing festivals and tours to arranging meeting places, music camps and other types of training and exchange programs for young musicians. MCI have through the years organized programs and activities in Malawi, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Today they run the three Music Crossroads Academies: Music Crossroads Malawi, Music Crossroads Zimbabwe and Music Crossroads Mozambique ("Music Crossroads," n.d.). Music Crossroads Malawi also works directly with JMI on programs regarding the Music Crossroads Academy

(e.g. the yearly function Creative Training Campus, taking place in each of the three MC Academy countries) ("Creative Training Campus to empower musicians in South Africa," n.d.).

4.3 Drawing a line: The development of music locally and globally

In the following section I will trace the history from today's safeguarding project back to the earliest recording projects taking place in Malawi. I will look into the background for Malawi Folksong Project; what role youth culture, status and the connection to the rest of the world was part of creating the spark that became MFP. I will extract some vital points from music history and show the connection between how traditional music have been used (and misused) in the past, and how the international music market influence local thoughts about identity and music culture locally today. World music and the consequences of labelling music, creating borders and identifying cultures may have on how we handle and relate to music.

In Malawi, I have experienced for myself that the mere fact that a person has been to Europe or in the USA, has received praise and enhanced peoples' status. The reason for this is complex and connected both to the growth in internet connection and social media usage, a history of foreign educators, business, labour migrants and globalisation. Within music culture we have seen this happening especially in the popular music from 1950s and forwards. The power of globalisation is the power of common identification, a strong entity. Especially among the youth who are in a period of finding and shaping the people they want to be, music, and music's connection to the local community and the rest of the world, can be influencing and defining. Travelling abroad earns respect and experience that it is impossible to gain by staying in the country. Norwegian ethnomusicologist Sunniva Hovde argues that this enhancement of international opinions or foreign symbols at the expense of local, regional and national ones, are partly attributed to the "[…] development business, global colourism (white skin is more beautiful than dark skin), the lack of access to affordable technology and a lack of urban identity" (Hovde, 2019, p. 103). If there are few local initiatives or a limited amount of strong local institutions for youth to identify with, the scope quickly turns abroad, seeking already well-known and established pathways.

This is not specific to Malawi, but a tendency in many African countries. When jazz music came to South Africa in the 1920s, it was first played as close to the original versions as possible, with lyrics in English rather than in local African languages. The band and music structures were imitating the American genres, musicians, groups and songs. To adopt the culture meant to copy it, to be just as good as the original. According to South African ethnomusicologist Christopher Ballantine, the huge admiration and sense of identity with

American jazz culture in South Africa was also connected with the understanding of shared experience and relation with Africans in America (1991). To succeed as a jazz musician in South Africa was to be as similar in sound to the musician in the United States as possible: "Favourable comparison with an individual, group or style in the USA was the ultimate stamp of approval" (Ballantine, 1991, p. 125).[12] The musicians learnt the songs either by ear from CDs they bought, or from printed orchestration sheet music. In addition to these influences, movies of American musicals were also imported and influenced the scene (Ballantine, 1991, p. 131). The soon-to-be fact that jazz originated in African music through the Africans coming to the USA, probably strengthened the sense of identification with this music (Ballantine, 1991, p. 131). (ibid. p. 132-133). The development seems to have gone from copying or mimicking to individualizing and "authenticating". From about 1931 and onwards the musicians began to include more traditional musical elements. One argument was that the traditional music was emphasized as valuable heritage that the community and musicians should strive to keep alive. Using traditional music elements in modern jazz music became a vital part of musicians' ambitions.

Bringing more traditional elements into the music and representing a more specific culture has, in many cases, turned out to be more fruitful economically as well. Internationally, the technological revolution and distribution between 1950 and 1990 paved way for what ended up with the label *World Music*[13], a category specifically made up to fit the record shelves in Western record shops. To fit into this label, and possibly make it to the international market outside Africa, musicians were encouraged to traditionalize or indigenize their music. Miriam Makeba, (famously known as *Mama Africa*) only began using traditional elements and local African language after working as a jazz musician for several years. Only after meeting Harry Bellafonte, and moving to the US in 1959, did she record the now world famous traditional children songs "Pata Pata" and "Qogothwane" (known worldwide as the "click song") ("Miriam Makeba," 2011). This was part of a marketing strategy to reach a wider audience.

In the same period Western musicians began to take further interest in Non-Western music. Steven Feld (1988) makes an example of how Paul Simon ended up exploiting the music and musicians when creating his world-famous album *Graceland* in 1986.

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[12] For a list of groups and their comparisons with American groups and artists see Ballantine, C. (1991). "Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz in South Africa between the Twenties and the Early Forties." *Popular Music 10* (2): p. 125-129.

[13] *World music* was a term first used during the 1970s and 80s as a way for ethnomusicologists to label all the music of the world. Record labels from the United States also began using the term to categorize music being fusions of traditional, "ethnic", "international" music with popular styles such as jazz or popular music (Forss, 2014)

Although the musicians were payed a fee for contributing in the studio, they received little to no income from the record sales, no less recognition and credit for their ownership or composing the music:

> All of the performance styles (grooves, beats, sounds, genres) are South African in makeup. […] While the contribution of Simon's lyrics is clear and important, the contribution of the music […] is clearly downplayed. This is because the [South African] musicians fill the role of wage laborers. […] That no ownership of this product is significantly shared with them (beyond their wages for recording studio time […] reflects the rule of elite artistry. What statement does this make about the role of Paul Simon the international star vis-à-vis the roles of the musicians without whom the record would have been impossible? It seems to draw the boundary line of participation and collaboration at ownership. Whose music? Paul Simon's music (Feld, 1988, p. 34).

The musicians used on the record are not just wage laborers, but "bearers and developers of musical traditions and idioms" (Feld, 1988, p. 34). Should the wages have reached a larger community as well? The country as a nation with ownership of the musical traditions?

Another example is how the traditional South African song "Mbube", originally published by Solomon Linda, became the worldwide hit "The Lion Sleeps Tonight" through the American group *The Tokens*. Malawi Folksong Project have the benefit of being in a position to learn from former projects where traditional music has been used. Although there is initially a difference in goal and musical style – Paul Simon and The Tokens produced music for a pop-music audience all over the world while MFP is firstly created for national benefit – MFP have consistently put copyright issues as a core element.

American musicologist Christopher A. Waterman point at a different phenomenon arising in the meeting between the popular music business and traditional music. In his research on Nigerian music he found that Nigerians have explicitly taken influences from other cultures and merged their music from the beginning, long before the emergence of cheap and effective recording equipment, and as such, Waterman argues that Nigerian recorded music tradition is a very modern one (Waterman, 1990).

Another reason to pursue the use of traditional music was the national encouragement that came with the independence wave flowing over the continent. With independence comes the need to build a sovereign and distinct culture.

4.4 Malawi Folksong Project as a memory institution

There is a fear of losing Malawi's culture due to a decline in interest and practice among the youth. If the youth don't learn it, use it and teach it to their own children, who will? In Malawi this development might seem extra threatening as the youth outnumber the older generations

greatly. About half of the population is under 18 years old (*2018 Malawi Population and Housing Census Report*, 2019). Traditional music is still closely connected both to everyday activities and ceremonial situations many places in rural Malawi. But the vast young generation of Malawians are not necessarily introduced to these dances and music from their home villages, their family or country (Hovde, 2019; Mfune & Magomero, 2016; *The Malawi Tapes*, 2019).

Taking care of cultural heritage has proved to be valuable in different aspects on individual, national and international levels. So, how do Malawi Folksongs Projects act in to do so? On a national level there are several established means available that is already taking care of their memories: exhibitions, museums, libraries and archives. These are all *memory institutions*. Education, performances and music production could easily be added to this list, and I will argue that MFP is an equally important institution in producing, communicating and developing national identities and eventually history. MFP is in effect a new memory institution.

We continuously attempt to freeze time and carry it with us. The need to exhibit, visualize and materialize our feelings, experiences and important situations, moments or events is and have always been a strong urge. From cave drawings and runes from 200 A.D. to paintings, written documents, poetry, photographs, video and sound recordings, we wish to carry our history with us as literally as possible. When creating memory institutions, we don't merely present an objective history, we also curate and adapt it according to all sorts of things. Music is never unaffected by its surroundings.

4.5 Practical execution of Malawi Folksong Project

When working with any recipe or framework, alterations and changes occur that influence the work, and the resulting product. In MFPs case the deviations have sometimes been problematic and other times been helpful. In anthropological research, working with people and culture, this is expected and part of the research. The changing nature of an ethnographic and ethnomusicological project is part of what makes it interesting. The following step-by-step presentation is based on the framework that the MFP team used when planning the recording sessions. The framework was part of the project description used in the application to Rei Foundation and UNESCO for funding. The project description includes the overall goal, the rationale behind it, budgets and a detailed timeframe. The document is not publicly published but used internally within the team and for applications and made available for my research with this thesis.

Malawi Folksongs Project – overall framework	
Part 1	
Phase 1	Preparation and training
Phase 2	Fieldwork (identification, recording, translation and editing)
Part 2	
Phase 3	Studio production
Phase 4	Folksongs Media Development
Phase 5	Project closure

Table 2 Overall framework of Malawi Folksong Project

The first part of the project was the preparation and training of the team. The team was quickly divided into groups and began to prepare for their upcoming tasks. During the one-week training program, led by representatives from *Malawi National Commission for UNESCO (MNCU)* and *SONY* (local sponsors of sound and video equipment), the teams worked both together and apart. The whole team was gathered when learning about *Malawi Folktales Project*, the former project that has overlapping agenda. Malawi Folktales Project have been a model project for Malawi Folksongs Project in terms of ethical considerations, contacts in the field and technical execution. Both projects are initiated to record an oral tradition and use it in education. Both projects are also partly initiated and drifted by Malawi National Commission for UNESCO, and fully funded by Rei Foundation Limited.

The technical crew practiced filming and sound recording, while the research team carried out desk research. The desk research consisted of visits to the *Department of Arts and Crafts*, the *National Library Service (NLS)*, the MNCUs offices and online search. The intention was to map out what recordings had been done before, and in what areas in Malawi it was done. Through MNCU and NLS they gathered contact information and names of informants from around the country. These informants were vital in the conduction of Malawi Folktales Project.

Malawi is geographically divided into three regions (Northern, Central and Southern) and the regions are divided into districts; nine districts in the Central Region, five in the Northern and thirteen in the Southern. Within the districts there are a varying number of smaller villages. MFP visited four districts in the northern region, five in the southern region and five in the central region. In each district they visited between one to three villages. Thirteen districts were as a result of this not visited. In chapter 6.3 Representation, page 77, I return to whether and how this influence the outcome and conduction of the project.

4.6 Identification

The identification trips and the recording trips are defined as *fieldwork* in the project description. During the identification trips the team made contact and agreements with chiefs, *District Commissionaires (DC)* and *Traditional Authorities (T/A)* about what, when and how they would go through with the recordings. These trips were usually conducted about one month before the recording trips and were crucial for the recording trips to go smoothly. In collaboration with MFPs project manager mapped out what groups and villages that could and would participate in the project were mapped out in collaboration with local contacts, District Commissioners (DCs) and chiefs. During the identification trips a smaller part of the team travelled for three to four days to the chosen villages and districts in each region. They met with the meet chiefs and practitioners and explained the projects' goal and incentives. Plans for the future recordings were made. In a country where internet and phone reception can be scarce, these travels were incredibly important. Without them the team could not have trusted the groups to show up on the agreed date and time and would not have the trust from the local chiefs, performers and governing institutions needed to go through with the project. The remoteness of many of the villages, and the eagerness to reach the people living there also made the physical visits very important.

The equipment on the identification trips included one to two cameras, a simple recorder, a lot of notebooks and investigation and consent documents. It was important to begin the work on gathering data and information even on these trips. The material gathered on these trips gave the basis on which the team remembered the music and the different groups when choosing songs. Some of the forms with information about the songs, genres and groups of performers were also noted on the identification trips in order to save time doing this during the recording trips. See *Picture 2* below for an example of how a recording session during the identification trips could look like.

While there is no doubt the identification trips are very important to establish trust and map out what kind of music is found where and so on, it probably also has an influence on the people and the performance. How people act, dress and sing, what kind of songs they choose to present is no doubt affected by the interaction with the recording team. In chapter *5.3 Sowa Twist*, page 58, I return to a more thorough discussion on exactly *how* the performances are affected.

Some elements that were part of both the identification and the recording trips were welcoming greetings, prayers, speeches of gratitude, public information given about the project and meals together. These different parts of the sessions in the villages were though somehow

larger and more official during the recording sessions. I have therefore chosen to describe them more closely in the next page, *4.8 Recording*, page 43.

One of the most important financial aspects, as I see it, are the fees given to the chiefs and performers. In my understanding these fees are incredibly valuable for the villagers and a reason for the groups to participate. The payment was usually done after the recording or in communication with the chiefs while the recordings were going on. After each recording session the project director Mfune would give instructions on improvement points both musically and performative. He would also, sometimes in collaboration with the research team, select some preferred songs that the group should work on in the coming month, preparing for the actual recording session. The advice given and the songs collected were very much the result of stated needs and requirements coming from Malawi Folksong Project. This has also made an impact on both the music and the circumstance of the recordings. Thus, it feeds into questions regarding authenticity and staging, which I will return to later in my discussion in chapter *6. Discussion*.

Picture 2 Female group performing for identification outside our lodge. Bagamoyo Village, T/A Mwaulambia, Chitipa, Northern Region, Malawi.

4.8 Recording

The recording trips in the Central Region were divided into several two-day trips as the capitol is quite close to all locations visited. The ones to the Southern and Northern Region were a continuous journey with stops at lodges along the way lasting from five to seven days. This was mostly because of practical reasons since the team members had their homes and jobs in the

capitol. I was lucky to be part of most of the recording trips in the Central Region conducted in May 2017 (except one; the trip to Mchinji was done after I had left for Norway due to the exchange program in Malawi ending). Later I was part of the identification trip to the Northern Region in December 2017 and the last two days of the recording trip in the Southern Region taking place in September-October 2018. I base the following information on my own reflections and analyses from these trips, combined with reports given from the team, and the material gathered that I have had access to; video, audio, transcriptions and research descriptions.

A minibus with audio and video equipment, a generator in case of lack of power, a huge stack of interview forms and a team of about eight people drove out of Lilongwe. A detailed schedule would be followed the next five to seven days. The recordings either began the first day or after a nights' sleep in a lodge close to the recording site, depending on the distance from the capitol. A typical recording day would begin with everything from thirty minute to two-hour drive to the village. There the chiefs, organizers and performers had gathered. Upon arrival they would get out of the minibus and greet both chiefs and performers.

I would hurry to fasten the traditional wrapper around my waist, as it was not suitable for women to wear shorts or pants or short skirts in the villages. For my Norwegian companion and I, one of the first tasks was always to figure out who the head or district chief was, in order to show her or him the proper respect through the greeting they had been taught. At some of the villages the team could hear the groups singing greeting songs to us before they even had left our seats. *"Takulandirani, takulandirani ndi manja awiri"* / "Welcome, we welcome you with both hands". Some would even continue singing while we were hugging and shaking hands and saying *"Moni amayi"* or *"Muli bwanji abambo"* / "Good day Miss/Mrs" or "How are you Sir".

Following the greeting session, the team would be seated on chairs next to the chiefs to do the greeting ceremony. This included welcoming speeches, appreciation of being visited and hopes for good collaboration, plus the necessary *pemphero* (prayers). After this, the MFP team leader would express gratitude for being welcomed and give thorough information about the project. Although I do not understand Chichewa fluently, after a few of these speeches I would recognize many of the words. With basic Chichewa knowledge and of course insight into the project, I could perceive that the team leader was mentioning MNCU, MCM, education and the value of the traditional music of Malawi. This session where information was given in this formal and public way, with onlookers from the village often joining in as audience sitting on the ground around the meeting, was part of building identity and nationalistic esteem. I will come back to exactly how, but I want to emphasize that the effect the of being told that your

song and dance is valuable, maybe especially by someone from the outside, is pretty empowering.

While this was happening, after a signal from the team leader the technical crew would find an optimal location for recording together with local contacts and chiefs. The chiefs gave allowance and advice on what areas the recording could take place. When the spot was found the performing groups gathered to begin recording (*picture 3*, page 46 show how the setting up could look like during recording).

The following process would differ a lot according to where they were recorded. Some groups would do the performance right away, others would carefully wait for the head of cameras and the project manager to tell them to start. To be sure all three cameras and the sound-equipment was running, the recording team had strict orders to follow when beginning the recordings. The head of cameras (and leader of the recording session together with the project manager) would start by making sure the people sitting around watching were reasonably quiet and that no disturbing elements (cars, goats, other people or children) were on their way into the framed picture of the cameras. He would thereafter say calmly and loudly: "Camera, sound, record", followed by a short pause for the technicians to make sure their equipment was running. Following this he would count slowly to three and show a thumbs up over his head as a sign to the dancers, singers, percussionists and other performers to see. After this, they were allowed, and supposed to, begin the song. It often took a few test rounds for the performers to get used to the routine.

If there were several groups to be recorded in the same village, the research team would sit down with the groups to note research information (meta-data) while the other groups were recording. Usually the group would choose a leader to be the main interviewee. The leader would be representing the group and sign the consent papers stating that MFP is allowed to use the material for educational and safeguarding purposes (see *picture 4*, page 47). Personal information like marital status, age and education was noted about the leader and the names and village origin of the rest of the group. Following this were questions about the song; Name, language used, genre/style, when the song is sung/played, what its moral meaning was and who the targeted audience for the song are. Questions concerning the context and current popularity, or frequency of performance followed. Lastly there were questions about instruments or objects used to perform the song and whether they were readily found, if the song is popular among the youth and whether there are any hinders to performing the song today. A form was filled out for each song that was recorded in full length and intended to be part of the DVD, CD and educational book. The forms were signed and dated by the interviewer. If the researcher did not

know the language used in the village a, translator helped conduct the interview. Usually this was the local contact person.

In some of the venues, this interview-situation would spark low singing and humming of the music for the musicians to remember the lyrics and meanings of the songs and answer the questions correctly. The soft voices and low volume humming were usually in contrast to how the songs would be performed when in front of the camera, where the volume usually was louder and voices sharper. Especially if the genre involved drums or many performers. These low-volume presentations and imitations of the songs created an intimate atmosphere where the different tonalities and harmonies were easier to pick up on than they were in the actual recording session.

The groups that followed the first one had often seen the first group perform and picked up on the routine to start the recording faster. The local contact, project manager and other team members (including myself at the trips where I was present) that did not have tasks such as filming and recording the songs would note what songs were being sung and different elements characterizing them. Dance moves, tonality, instruments used, harmonic specifics, number of performers in the group and other comments that could be interesting to add to the information about the song were also noted. The notes from these observations would feed into the information regarding genres and style of music in the documentation.

After a recording session they would often gather inside the house of the chief or one of the group members to eat. The food would have been prepared during the performances and consisted of *nsima* (traditional maize flour porridge), some vegetables and fried chicken. The chicken was often slaughtered the same day (they could sometimes hear the process of the

Picture 3: The technical team is setting up while the project manager is instructing and informing the musicians, dancers and singers. Salima.

slaughtering from the recording site) and this was seen as an extra respect and offering to honour us. Before or during the meal the project manager would gather 1000 kwacha (about 12 NOK) from each of the team members to pay for the meal. After the meal they would politely say thank you and goodbye and drive off with the minibus before sundown.

It should be noted that this is the most basic example of a recording situation. Every trip and every village were somewhat different from the other. The number of chiefs, involved practitioners, time of day and how many groups that had come to perform gave every recording a unique experience and setting. One specific, reoccurring event that would colour how the day went was if the recording spot lay close to a school. The number of curious children observing the recordings could be a game changer in terms of concentration and focus, especially for the recording team who were outsiders and visitors to the place. It became an even stronger element when I and my Norwegian colleague were there.

In this chapter I have gone through how the identification and recording trips were conducted. Some elements were similar while some differed. In the following section I will look at two examples from the field trips and the different issues and possibilities arising with them.

Picture 4 The leader of a female group in signing the consent papers. Mkumbira Village, Senior Chief Mkumbira, Nkhata Bay, Northern Region, Malawi.

5. Examples from the field

This chapter begins with a reminder of the key terms presented in chapter two and their relation to the practical execution of MFP. Following this I present two examples from the field. The first example touches on issues of composer accreditation, community ownership and copyright. Should the composer be accredited when the whole village experiences the song as belonging to the community? Or, conversely, does MFP or another national institution, governmental or non-governmental, have the power to credit the song to the community or state, as national treasure and national cultural heritage? Can the composer claim to be the rightful owner of the copyright? The second example brings us to interaction and curating musical performances in recording situations. Here I question what it really is that is being safeguarded; the tradition with all it entails or merely a snippet, a fragment or a sample of a larger phenomenon. The second example draws on theories of power relations, tangibility versus intangibility, and memory production.

5.1 Introduction: Safeguarding a living heritage

Through colonialization, trade routes, radio, movies, internet and social media, many different people and their countries have affected the Malawian culture scene. The last few years reggae, R'n'B and hip-hop has been the most popular music, as well as afro jazz from Nigeria, Kenya and some from Malawi (Sam Banda[14], personal communication).

The artists recorded in MFP performed an array of songs differing largely both in meaning, dance patterns, languages and origin. Some groups performed songs and dances they have learnt from their ancestors, while others sung songs that had been composed just a week before the recording took place. In some villages the music was based on instruments that were imported to the country less than one hundred years ago, while others used older instruments, adaptations of these, or made their instruments out of water cans and PVC pipes. Some of the songs have existed and been sung for years without a known composer, while others have a known composer present and part-taking in the performance during the recording. Some are accompanied by intricate dance patterns, others by easier, game-like dances where short melodies or phrases are repeated, with the dancers changing partners or making small steps in a circle. Others again are performed by only two or three musicians sitting on chairs and singing. Some are frequently performed and well-known by the community; others are rarely heard.

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[14] Sam Banda is a freelance culture journalist writing a lot for the national newspapers in Malawi (see for example https://times.mw/author/sam-banda-jr/)

In addition to the vast array of performance styles, the songs were recorded from a selection of different villages in the three regions. They vary in language and in themes. Many are in the larger language groups, like *chiChewa* and *chiTumbuka*. While some, especially those found in the Northern region, are in smaller languages like *chiBemba*, *chiSenga*, *chiNgoni*, *chiTonga*, *chiNyakyusa*, *chiKyangonde*, *chiNyika*, *chiNamwanga*, *chiLambia*, *chiMambwe* and *chiBandya*. Many songs deal with advising newlyweds, pregnant women and people in polygamous relationships on how to behave and treat each other and fulfil their role in the best ways. Other inspire people to be proud of a tribe's culture or of the specific dance that is performed/sung. Some are more descriptive, saying something about the exact rhythm or dance movements connected to the specific genre or song, while others touch on local and national politics, or global matters.

Some of the songs are connected to everyday life and ceremonial events; Lullabies, songs sung while working in the field, songs to call on the animals, songs used at funerals, weddings or initiations. The songs often describe the situation or tell stories about similar situations in the past. Most songs MFP have recorded fall into one or several of these categories. Many are educational – advising newlyweds on how to act or a husband to be faithful to his wife; some are initiation songs – describing a young person's transition to adult life. Most of them are considered traditional based on the following elements being present: It is using musical elements that have transmitted from ancestors or elders, they're singing the same lyrics as they sang them in the past. But some have proven to be of more recent origin, about personal achievements or incidents.

More often than not, the songs also refer to current contemporary issues or happenings. On one occasion in Ntchisi, Central Region of Malawi, a group was asked about how and when the song was made. They answered that the composition was made after some members of the group were arrested for deforestation (which is a crime in Malawi, as the country's trees are vital to the environment but often chopped down illegally to be used as firewood).[15] The song was based on an experience made by one of the musicians a week before the visit by the recording team.

The folksongs of Malawi are diverse, and it would be counterproductive go into this thesis thinking I would be able to give a fair and complete picture of the music in question.

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[15] This information is found in the internal unpublished document made available to the author by the MFP team. The information was provided directly from the performers in M'gundana Village, T/A Kasakula, Ntchisi, Central Region. Malawi Folksong Project (2017)

People's ability to adjust the music, develop and care for it, is a big part of what makes it so interesting. I therefore find it especially interesting when musicians, researchers and others explicitly create projects with the aim to care for music. In doing so, decisions are made on what to record and not and how to record. And how to handle it in the days, months and years after the recordings are done. With the differing factors in different songs, how does MFP decide which songs are recorded? How are they chosen? Can they be archived? And if they are, is *that* safeguarding?

One of the ambitions in MFP is to record *indigenous traditional music*. The defining elements of traditional music usually include *continuity, variation, anonymous composers* and *oral transmitting* (Pegg, 2001). *The International Council for Traditional Music's (ICTM, formerly IFCM) rewritten definition changed the point on anonymous composition and acknowledged that traditional music also can be written by a known individual composer and added that it still needs to "[…] have been absorbed subsequently into the unwritten living tradition of the community" (Pegg, 2001). To be accepted as Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) though, the music needs to be *traditional*, *contemporary and living at the same time*, *inclusive*, *representative* and *community based* ("What is Intangible Cultural Heritage," n.d.). Other key terms that MFP is using in their work is *safeguarding,* meaning to make sure the music and culture stays alive and *archiving,* in the sense of making the music accessible and storing it in a safe place for the history to learn from.

The two following examples are from the Northern Region of Malawi. They are based on the identification trip conducted in December 2017 and the recordings made in spring 2018. Even though I was not part of the recording trip to the Northern Region, this is the region I believe I have the broadest insights into. I have been lucky to have access to the final recordings made there, met some of the performers and saw the area through my participation on the identification trip. I therefore find it useful to use examples primarily from this region.

5.2 Example 1: The babatoni band
Excerpt from fieldnotes:

> *After spending the night in a pink guesthouse in the peaceful city of Chitipa in the Northern Region of Malawi, we woke up to a fresh December morning. The sun was rising, and after breakfast we quickly prepared the necessary equipment (cameras, notebooks, questionnaires and sound equipment) and headed out of the city in the white minibus. December is summer and rainy season in Malawi, so the area was flourishing with grass and green trees all around us. The soft clay soil was filled with water, which would turn out a challenge when we left the tarmac road heading for our stop for the day: Masyesye Village. Fortunately, we had a local guide with us who knew the area and spoke the*

language. After being forced to turn around a few times to drive around huge dams of water, we finally reach the small school in Masyesye Village. After introducing ourselves and talking to the chiefs and practitioners, we entered the school building. Dark clouds were threatening above the nearby mountains so for the instruments and technical equipment's safety, we gathered inside the school, ready to record.

The *babatoni* group from Mysyesye Village, Traditional Authority of Mwaulumbia in Chitipa is both traditional and modern, belongs to the community and also has a known composer. The instruments are made out of trees, locally grown to build these instruments. The instrument is a long one-stringed bass, consisting of a large acoustic box made out of wood at the bottom, which also functions as a bass drum when hit with the fist, and a long wooden neck with one or two metal strings tied to it. Because of rain on the day the identification took place, the recordings were conducted inside a school building. The *babatoni* band consists of four musicians (all male) playing shaker, guitar and *babatoni* (one plays on the strings and one is hitting the resonance box like a bass drum). The rain was also blamed for the impossibility of bringing the actual *babatoni* to the recording site. Although it is a key instrument in the *babatoni* bands' music (it has, after all, given its name to the genre), the group was resistant on bringing it to the recording site because of the risk of rain during the trip there. They used a big bass drum as compensation for the bass-part of the *babatoni*, and performed the songs using the drum, the homemade guitar and shakers.

The school building consisted of several rooms with no or little furniture, lacking windows and appeared to not have been used lately. The Chief, wearing an extraordinary suit with a red scarf, a stylish black hat and sunglasses, sat on a chair in the middle of the band with a wooden cane in his right hand facing the camera on the opposite side of the room (see *picture 5*). The team inside the room (my Norwegian colleague, the camera technicians, the project manager and myself) stood or sat on the floor next to and behind the camera. In addition, there were a few other local spectators in the room, some of which joined into the dance as the music developed. In the middle of some of the songs Pinson would turn toward the chief and say some words in a manner I would describe as in between singing and speaking. It was explained to me by my colleagues in the MFP research team that the lyrics were praising the Chief and that this was a normal courtesy in the area and in this style of music.

The rain stopped when it was time to record the other two musical styles. After recording the *babatoni* band session, the whole team, dancers and musicians moved outside. There, two other musical styles were recorded during the identification; *Ngwaya*/*Ulumba* (drinking songs)

and *Sendemule* (dance for chiefs). The audience grew as more people and children in the area could see and hear that something was going on.

Picture 5 Pinson Sinkhonde and the babatoni band during the identification. The chief is seated to the right of the musicians throughout the songs but not singing or playing himself.

5.2.1 "The whole village has become his band"

According to project manager Gayighayi Mathews Mfune, Malawi Folksong Project is answering to UNESCOs criteria for Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) when considering whether a song is a folksong or not. MFP is conscious of how UNESCO will see the different songs when choosing the ones that will be included in the book, CD and DVD. MFP are economically dependent on Malawi National Commission for UNESCO and Rei Foundation as the funding of the project is based on acknowledgement and approval by these two organizations.

In my interview with Mfune in November 2018, he explained that the material collected for MFP consist of well over 180 songs, lyrics, information, audio and video recordings that will be included on the CD, DVD and book that the project aims to produce. Even more songs are recorded but will not be included on the publications. What is to happen with these "leftovers" is a different story and an interesting one to follow in the years to come. In this thesis, I am looking at how the 180 included songs were picked out. What elements were part of defining them as folksongs that will represent the village, district and region on this national product? If a song is recently composed, and the composer is present and part of performing the music, how is accreditation distributed? I asked Mfune how MFP answer the question of the known or unknown composer:

> If it [the folksong] is talking about the current political government, does it fall into the criteria of UNESCO as folk? If we see that it doesn't fall into the criteria, then it falls out. Folk is material that is with a creator that is unknown. It belongs to the community (M. G. Mfune, 2018).

This would in theory rule out all songs made by living, present people in the villages. But, in MFP, this is not necessarily the case, as Mfune continues:

> But sometimes the creator is known, but it might be that that song no longer only belongs to the creator because the community has taken it as their song. Then we will have to start to see how the community perceives of this song. Is it representative of their culture, do they own it now? For example, when we went to Chitipa [Northern Region], we know that this guy composed the song, *but the whole village has become his band* (M. G. Mfune, 2018 emphasis by author).

The guy he is referring to is Pinson Sinkhonde. Sinkhonde is the main composer of the songs played in the *babatoni* group in Masyesye Village, T/A Mwaulambia, Chitipa, Northern Region. The group is similar to another *babatoni* group MFP recorded (from Ntchisi, Central Region), but it differs in that the one in Chitipa is accompanied by more or less eleven women and a few men dancing around and behind the musicians. During the identification recordings, the chief was also part of the band, sitting close to the musicians during the performance. Several dancers would join the dance as they played the songs.

I proposed to Mfune that this understanding of music as the property of a whole community is a concept that is common in many African cultures, and Mfune added that this is connected to the concept of music and dance (and other elements) as integral parts of the whole experience. The dance is namely not specifically created by the one musician or even to the one specific song, but an inherent part of the communal and social action it is to play and dance. This makes the whole performance, including the song, communal per se:

> Yes, but also you see, most of our songs are accompanied by dance. So, somebody might compose the lyrics, but the accompanying costuming, the accompanying drumming is something that is communal (M. G. Mfune, 2018).

As Mfune points out, a wide view of ownership and authorship in the music connected to the many people involved in the performance. When a cultural performance involves many people with an array of skills, it is hard, and usually unnecessary, for the community to point at *one* composer or choreographer. The dance might be based on old traditions and seen as an equally important part of performance as the sounding music, even though the composer of the music is present.

5.2.2 Accreditation and copyright

The issue of the present and known (and on some cases, living) composer is one MFP met in all regions. Even though the songs are defined as traditional folksongs with "the whole village as the band" (M. G. Mfune, 2018), and the songs belongs to the whole community, MFP is consistent on noting the names of the composers in the questionnaires and forms. This is partly to fit into national and international requirements regarding copyright and accreditation. In order to publish the music nationally and promote it internationally it is required to credit one composer (or several if they are known by name). Crediting the village or chiefs is not enough, even though the music initially belongs to all of them collectively.

If the music is not credited a legal entity, whether to an individual or the state, economic exploitation is a risk. Ethnographic recordings have been misused before and MFP is in the position to draw on these examples when creating their framework and conducting their project. The questionnaire used for interviews and research is thorough. It secures detailed contact information of the "informants". It also consists of a consent form that the performers sign before the team leave the village. The team was trained in the importance of getting consent and noting as much information as possible about the informants, the area, village and traditional authority to be able to identify them at a later point and to connect the different songs with the different places and so on. This will additionally give interested researchers ground to stand on if (or rather *when*) they begin to look into the material. It can point producers, managers, radio hosts, concert venues or others in the music business of Malawi in the right direction if they want to get in touch with the musicians.

We know that uncredited exploitation of music has had negative consequences and should be avoided, but on what level do we define exploitation? Exploitation means treating someone unfairly to benefit from their work, whether done explicitly or silently; it undermines the people performing the music, and blurs the lines between different cultures, tribes and people. One of the most severe examples of this kind of blurring and generalisation is the way the whole African continent has been and continue to be presented as a single culture or country. The same way *World Music* was an essentialisation of a very diverse music scene, *African Music* or *African Dance* has been used to promote activities in a similarly infringement.[16] The generalisations are still used and has had positive economic outcome for many of the organisers

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[16] For a more thorough discussion on this, see for example "What Is 'African Music'? Conceptualizations of 'African Music' in Bergen (Norway) and Uppsala (Sweden)" by Nannyonga-Tamusuza, Sylvia A. in *Ethnomusicology in East Africa: perspectives from Uganda and beyond,* Nannyonga-Tamusuza, Sylvia A. and Solomon, Thomas (ed.), 2012.

of these courses or other events, which again feed into the continuation of this usage of terms. On a smaller scale, like in heritage projects, the risk is that the origin of a song is left out of a publication, or the names of the performers are omitted from the credits to a picture or video. Although different in size, these examples demonstrate the difficulties arising if distinct cultures are blurred. They problematize the generalisation groups of people.

MFP continuously keep balancing between national and local needs. The aim is to present Malawian music as a whole through the many different genres and styles. The different geographic areas represented and the music's connection to the places and peoples of these areas is important. The principle is clear, artistic expressions should be credited to its origin, its creator or its owner. Removing the origin and belonging of the music would contradict the projects' goal. How then is the origin represented correctly when the owner of the music is the whole village?

The lack of a clear attributed ownership has probably made the music an easier subject of exploitation earlier. When the performers do not see the need of adding copyright to the music themselves, and an uninformed researcher tries to go on accord with the performer's wishes, accreditation might be overlooked or dismissed as unimportant. The researcher might even justify the lack of information later on with the performer's own arguments. Here, *power relations* come into play. The visiting researcher is often the one with the tape recorder, the one with the idea that the music might be valuable to a larger community or interesting for a larger audience, and the one taking the recordings home with her. When leaving the field with the recordings and the collected information, there might not be anyone looking over her shoulder to ensure that she places the credit correctly. Rather than laying the responsibility on the lack of composer accreditation within the indigenous communities, the researchers are the ones responsible and could be fronted as the ones not respecting traditions and customs.

With so many projects to learn from, where lack of accreditation has led to disagreements and exploitation, MFP is in the position to do everything right, and so they stand out as being particularly conscientious. When the minibus with the MFP team leaves the village after a recording, chiefs, traditional authorities, performers and other audience from the villages are left with fees for the performances and hospitality, a promise and a signed deal on how the recordings will benefit the village and Malawi as a whole, and most importantly, with knowledge and information about the project and why it is conducted.

Both during identification trips and recording trips, the speeches given by the project manager stand out as incredibly important. The villages are informed about the project, the intended usage of the recorded music, and the great value both the performers, and now also

the recordings, carry in their music and culture. MFP sparks a reciprocal learning process; with MFPs visit, local musicians, performers, chiefs and others become more aware of their rights and ownership of their own culture, MFP on their side, continuously learn about people's knowledge of and attitude towards rights and ownership. With the backing of MNCU, Rei Foundation, Malawi Department of Arts and Crafts and the National Library Service, there seems to be is little room for exploitation. In addition, there is a large team involved in recording and the editing afterwards also helps secure proper handling of the material.

In Nkhotakota, Central Region, MFP recorded a diverse number of musical styles and genres, and the team noticed that the group performing was more professional than the groups they had met before. They wore more formal clothing and changed clothes according to what style of music they were performing. They were also more accustomed to taking instructions on when to start and end the songs, where to stand and so on. One of the informants mentioned that they sometimes perform at large political celebrations and other ceremonial events. The team learnt that the group had performed in national and political gatherings and had previously been recorded by a South-African researcher. Unfortunately, I do not have details about this former visit, but the researcher apparently promised to return with the material but failed to do so. Understandably, they were one of the groups that were the most sceptical towards MFP, amongst the ones I was part of recording.

I asked Bridget Ulalo Shumba, one of the researchers in the projects' research team and an employee at Music Crossroads Malawi, about the groups that were sceptical:

> […] They're like "okay, what next – when do we get our material? Are we getting paid? […] Is it a one-time thing? Will you give us shows afterwards? Are we going to be known by the president? […] The older ones at least, maybe above 60 [years old], used to perform during the first president of Malawi. So, when we meet them again, they always want to do that again, to perform in front of the president again. So, the expectations sometimes do not match. […] Of course, there could be such opportunities, but we are not saying that can be guaranteed. But yeah, so we have to sort of communicate that clearly, so they understand (Shumba, 2018)

The clue is, according to Shumba, *information* and *communication*; two important parts of laying the groundwork for the project to be successful and respectfully conducted. In the following examples I will take a closer look at how a few of the performances changed between the identification and the recording sessions and at possible reasons for the changes that occurred.

5.2.3 Community copyright

Community usually describes a group of people with some common features in ethnomusicological studies. Whether connected through language, geographical area, interests or profession, a community is a way of systematizing groups of people, usually to be able to say something about it as a whole. Definitions of communities can be a powerful political term. When defining a group of people as belonging together because of different aspects or interests, you simultaneously define who to exclude from the community. In musicological research it has been effective for purposes of comparison (ethnomusicology's forerunner "comparative musicology" was partly based on comparing music of different groups (Pettan & Titon, 2016, p. 646), nationalistic intentions and classification of music and the people performing the music. Community participation is part of UNESCOs requirements for ICH elements, and *community music* has become a distinct a learning model based on participation as a powerful means for people to create their own heritage (Pettan & Titon, 2016, p. 654). Although Malawi Folksong Project is not primarily is seeing itself as a research project, it definitely carries out ethnomusicological tasks. The intentions and means of the project resemble research within the field of ethnomusicology. Ethnomusicological projects and MFP both base their work on recordings and observations in direct connection with a community, and their intention is to change or impact society to some degree.

Back in Chitipa, guitarist, singer and composer Pinson Sinkhonde will probably never see specific numbers on amounts of Malawian kwacha earned as a result of their contributing to the recordings of his/their music. But all groups and chiefs receive a certain amount as a one-time fee when recording and are allowed to use the recorded files however they want when they have been printed and distributed back.[17] The government promise to feed income generated by the recordings back into the community. It is argued that strengthening the Malawian music business and local music environments, and (possibly) international interest and acknowledgement, will benefit the nation as a whole and the individual villages and performances gain from national achievements:

> We are acknowledging who the owners are. But also, the copyright for cultural material is vested in the minister responsible for culture, in the government, as the custodian of the peoples' culture. So, it is for national interest. It doesn't have to be each individual person getting something. If it is for promoting peace, it means everyone is getting

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[17]The fees for informants and chiefs in the Northern region were 534 USD/379.674 MW (4539 NOK) in total for the identification trips and 634 USD/454.329 MWK/5431NOK on the recording trips. Chiefs received an average of 28 USD (238 NOK) for each visit, both during the identification and recording, while the musicians (informants/performers) each(?) received an average of 6 USD (51 NOK) during identification and 22,5 USD (189 NOK) during recording trips. All numbers are based on the project proposal made in 2016, and exchange rates are from the same year.

something. What peace brings to the community is stability. If there is stability, economic activities flourish. Everyone benefits through that. So, there are many, many direct and indirect benefits that the local communities will get (M. G. Mfune, 2018).

A holistic trust-based value set lays the groundwork. It requires that the government will take action when the project is done, to handle the material in such a way that it generates income and value and benefit the country as a whole. The system proposed is very trust-based and not very concrete.

There is obviously need for a property rights system that applies to traditional music worldwide. Calls for a new system have been made. The "Stewardship-model" presented in the article "In Defense of Copyright" (Carpenter, Katyal, & Riley, 2009) has been criticized for not differentiating between *intangible* and *tangible* cultural heritage. Another model was presented in *the Wai 262 report*, developed in New Zealand, where the idea was that a commission should decide if someone should be allowed to use the different music. However, the report has been criticized for not stating clearly what would happen if consent is not given, and the details of such selection. Recurring questions are how to differentiate and define the different musical styles or songs, both within so-called modern and traditional music, and ownership connected to it.

I believe It is time that we leave the stark divisions behind and acknowledge that there is no such thing as "indigenous music" or "modern music." Rather they fall on a spectrum or a scale within all genres, overlapping and developing. Each country, region and even more local areas define and adjust individually, so we keep biting our own tail. Creating definitions to label and systematize music also seem to continue to fail when you look a bit closer at it. Traditional music might be labelled as orally transmitted, changing through time, commenting on the context and many other things. But these labels can often suit many genres; aren't jazz also often taught by ear and isn't music as a whole transmitted through generations? Don't punk songs or classical compositions comment on historic events or describe the birds singing from a tree (hence everyday activites)?

5.3 Example 2: Sowa Twist
Excerpt from fieldnotes:

> *After a short drive from Chitipa the night before, we woke up in Karonga. One of the largest Northern cities laying by the shore of the great lake Malawi. After a quick breakfast we drove off to reach our first stop of the day: Mwakaboko Village. Although we were arrived in the middle of a sunny day in December, it was quite shady, and the air was cool beneath the large mango trees surrounding the area. We left the bus and*

greeted the people that had shown up. Our local guide led us to a local farmer who served us fresh cocoa beans. We waited a while for the local leaders and folksong groups to arrive. Soon we could sit down together and go through with the formal greetings, set up the camera and recorder, collect the names of the songs and performers, and begin.

Sowa twist has given name to a drum as well as a musical style (like the *babatoni*). It is found in Karonga in the Northern Region of Malawi. The *sowa twist* group Malawei Folksong Project met during the identification in 2018 consisted of a total of ten men; two drummers/percussionists and eight dancers/singers. Three of the dancers had an active role as dancers during the second half of songs, while the five other singers/dancers danced during the first half and sat behind the dancers singing on the second half. One of the rhythm instruments was a plate of corrugated iron lying on the ground. During the performances it was hit with two wooden sticks by one of the percussionists. His colleague sat on the *sowa twist*, a large wooden drum with skins on both sides, hitting them with the palms of his hands. The drummers sat on the dancers' left side facing the dancers throughout the songs. (See *picture 6 on* page 60). The dancers' choreography required some space as they moved with large movements and expressive energy, high kicks and big arm movements. Two drummers and four of the dancers were wearing matching orange sports t-shirts and black pants, while the remaining performers wore more everyday clothes like jeans and t-shirts. The team was facing the group about 15 meters away. Local people attending or other groups waiting to be recorded were standing and sitting under the large mango trees surrounding the area.

Field recordings was, in the early days of recording equipment, perceived as the "pure" and authentic expressions of traditional music and an opposite to the studio recording or staged performance. Since the first systematic mapping of folk music was established by Columbia Records. It was presented as an archive bringing the field to the world, containing truthful and raw music, directly from the field. Since then many have contested this view of the field recordings as being pure and the view that any recording is also created and curated recording is widely established today. No matter how small the recording equipment is or how far from or close to the performer it is, the equipment and the person recording is part of the performance. According to Tom Western the experience of the pure field as an opposite to the studio came from binaries developed by Eurocentric and colonialist experience (Western, 2018, pp. 31-32). Field recordings are curated and created spaces, just as any concert hall or studio. The placement of microphones and video cameras, instructions from recording teams or interaction with potential audience influence the music itself and how it is performed.

Does it matter whether the dancers stand on a row or in a circle? Does it matter that the musicians are in front and not in the back? Is the expression the same when the musicians need to stand still rather than move around, to play loud enough for the microphone to receive enough

Picture 6: The Sowa Twist group performing during the identification trip in Mwakaboko Village, T/A Mwakaboko, Karonga, Northern Region. Screenshot from video shot by Karstein Grønnesby, December 13th, 2017

sound? Or opposite, is it a problem that the musicians are asked to play softer to make a better recording? In the following sections I will point at how the performance of the *sowa twist* group in Karonga changed and adapted in interaction with MFP, and in the different recording situations.

5.3.1 Curating heritage

Malawi Folksong Project recorded vocal, melodic or harmonic instruments, drums and percussion. In Karonga, the percussion was the loudest in volume they had encountered so far, which became a challenge during the recording session. The sound from the corrugated iron was too high to hear the voices lyrics and melodies. D8
uring identification they therefore recorded the singers on their own, *a cappella*, without the dancing and percussion accompanying (see *picture 7* on page 63). For the transcription to be possible to go through with, this was vital, as it otherwise would be very hard to take out the different voices and harmonies from the performance. The dancers move a lot, so the performance needed to be shot from a distance in order to catch all the dancers within the frame. This became a challenge for the sound technicians as they could not be as close to the singers as they would have wanted.

To catch all the performers (dancers/singers and percussionists) up close, more cameras and several microphones would be required.

The difference between what they experienced during the identification and what was filmed during the recording is striking. On the material from the recording sessions percussionists play as softly as possible, the performers sing with softer voices and dance in smaller movements. While they during identification moved a lot, they stay almost at the same spot on the recording. During identification the movements were larger, the voices were louder, the percussion were much louder.

The measures taken to lower the volume and adapt the recording situation is to fit the different requirements presented by MFP, especially concerning the placement and possibilities for the sound and video technicians. It seems like the issue with the loud corrugated iron being hit with sticks has been solved by asking the percussionist to play more softly. The sound is lower in volume and the drum and iron musicians are placed furthest away from the microphone, which looks like is held above the heads of the singers/dancers. Rather than recording the different parts on their own (for example the voices and percussion separately) the musical and chorographic elements are altered. The result is a different expression with diminished movements and sound. This eases the job for the sound technicians who can now stay in one place during the whole recording and record and take with them audio recordings with sound levels that are easier to work with.

The adaptions made are connected both to the intended outcome and the available equipment. Travelling the country in a minibus only allowed a certain amount of equipment to come with. With the bus carrying a team of 8-10 people, there was no space for any extra cameras or sound equipment. To be able to record anything from the village they were visiting, they were forced to adapt and record the music with the equipment they had. Using a bigger bus to be able to carry more equipment could have offered other possibilities for recording but would have been more expensive and practically difficult when moving on dirt roads and between trees in the villages. More equipment could also have influenced the performance in ways that we don't know of today. One could for example imagine that the performers would react differently to five or six microphones than they did with the one that was used.

There are a number of elements affecting the recording session. I've mentioned technological equipment and space – these elements stayed the same during most recordings. Another fixed element is the time frame the team operated in. Usually, the timeframe was one to three days per district with a day per village (in a district with four villages to visit, they

would spend the morning in one village and move on to the next in the afternoon, all in time to be back at the lodge before sundown).

Among the elements that differed a lot were language, communication, number of members in the different groups and the number of groups recorded in each village (and probably many more, but these are the ones that stand out for me). In villages where some or several of the crew members spoke the local language, communication with the performers was easier and more direct. For example, in the central region where *chiChewa* is the most spoken language, and the parts of the Northern Region where they spoke *chiTumbuka* as all Malawian team members speak *chiChewa* daily and some are *Tumbuka* and thereby speak the language. During the recording sessions the communication between the manager, the team on the one side and the performers and chiefs on the other is of great importance. Depending on the style of music, the cultural hierarchies, the one or the other is in charge. When recording *Ngwaya* music (drinking songs), shoulders were low and the party factor high. Creating a relaxed space that imitated a celebration like situation was important. During the recording of and interviews with the *Gule Wamkule*[18] and the *Vimbuza*[19] music there was a stronger sense of ceremony. The combination of the knowledge and background of the team members and the local variables had different effects on how the session went.

Communication during both identification and recording were something the team put a lot of efforts into and began long before the minibus arrived in the field. Bridget Ulalo Shumba, member of the research team in Malawi Folksong Project, explained how the conversation with the performers and chief began long before the recording sessions took place:

> First of all, let me go back to how we get to identify them. So, we get in contact with the district commissionaires [DCs] for the particular district that we already presume that we'll go to collect the folksongs. And through the DCs office we are directed to an office that works directly with the communities, who is well aware of what is there in the communities with regards to folksong practitioners. So, through that, we get to meet the actual informants or practitioners of the folksongs. And before the actual recording and documentation, we have to go there and introduce ourselves and all that. *That is the identification process*. So, it is through all these processes that the informants also start to prepare themselves and start getting ready (Shumba, 2018)

Information and communication are emphasized as vital for a fruitful and positive outcome for all parties. The identification and recording processes are two-way interactions: Not only does

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[18] Gule Wamkule *is a ritual dance practiced by the Chewa Communities in Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique. The dance accompanies ceremonies of young men entering adulthood. It is also performed at weddings, funerals, installation of chiefs and other celebratory events.*

[19] Vimbuza *is a therapeutic dance performed traditionally to cure mental and psychological illness. It is practiced by both men and women and is sometimes performed for entertainment.*

Picture 7 Recording the voices from the sowa twist group a cappella in Mwakaboko Village, T/A Mwakaboko, Karonga, Northern Region

the project identify what music is out there, what instruments that are being used and the different songs that are being sung – the community also identifies the MFP team. The initiative might come from the music organization, library and Malawi Commission for UNESCO – strong organizations and institutions based in the capitol Lilongwe – but the tradition bearers and chiefs are still heads of *their* communities, and do not stand in the way of asking questions, using the identification situation to decide whether they want to continue the collaboration or not. She continues:

> Of course, they realize that they're going to be asked questions, you know, they are going to be asked why they perform such kind of styles and not anything else. So, I feel like not just going there one time and just *having them give us all they have* is not a very good thing, but the *process* actually makes them ready and prepared to be able to able to express and say more about their styles (Shumba, 2018)

The process, through phone calls and texts identification and lastly to the recording trips, is important and essential in how the meeting and recording session is experienced by the performers and the communities. Hopefully I myself, or another researcher, will be able to go back and interview the musicians to see how the remember the recording session and how it has influenced the music and the people. I can only state the differences and based on my own experience and observation of how the scene changed from the first to the second recording.

In sum, the fixed and variable elements influence how a musical tradition is presented and performed during recording. The method of travel and the actual space in the vehicle used

limited how large the recording scene could be. Time influenced all recording sessions: if the team had more time, the performance could possibly have been recorded in a different way. A different approach could, for example, be to spend a whole week in the village, going there several days on a row, filming from more angles or taking more time to ease into the recording situation. We can only guess that the result then would be different.

5.3.2 Adaption and compromise

The influence of the recording team haver on the recording situation is an inevitable and important part of the project. As I've shown in the former section; one of the core aims during recording was to make sure the songs are easy to transcribe and to learn by ear. Malawi Folksong Project plan to distribute the music to the whole country so that it can be used in schools and educational programmes, and in order to do so, the notes and rhythms need to be clear and comprehensible. Teachers and students will use these recordings to learn the songs. To make sure this would go smoothly after the recordings were done, the musicians and lead singers were often placed somewhat away from the rest of the group. The only microphone used was a large boom microphone. To acquire good sound quality, the microphone was placed as close to the lead vocalists or musicians as possible. In songs sung in a call-and-response style, the call was often prioritized over the response. Musically the response is often similar to the call, and sung by more people than the call, making the sound stronger and easier to catch from a distance for the microphones.

To be allowed to use the video recordings afterwards, the performers in the picture should be credited. It was therefore important that only the ones whose names were noted as part of a group participated in the actual recordings. This explains why there were often more people participating in the performance during identification than in the final recordings. During the recording sessions the team and other local helpers were eager to make sure that no passers-by entered in the picture in the background. Children and animals were also at times shown off to keep the video focused on the musicians, singers and dancers (goats were especially a recurring issue). In addition to this, they wanted the transcribers to be able to see the musicians' movements when transcribing the songs. For the DVD, CD and book to be coherent with each other, the transcriptions were made using the actual recordings that will be published. The boom microphone and other elements that would disclose recording equipment being used were to be placed outside the picture at all times. Only equipment required to perform the music should be included in the picture.

To point at an earlier example; There were also differences in the video from the *babatoni* band in Chitipa. In the final recording made few months after the identification trip the placement of the performers is different. The four *babatoni* band members are standing in front and next to the dancers. The scene is similar to how the *sowa twist* performers are situated. The composer and leader of the group (Sinkhombe) is situated in the middle with the *babatoni* players on his right and the shaker player on his left (see *Picture 8* below). The chief is no longer a part of the performance, except from on one song which he is performing himself ("Kukunawana Wane"/ "I am proud of my kids"). The dancers move on the spot to all the *babatoni* songs, not around the band as they did on the identification.

Picture 8 Pinson Sinkhombe and the babatoni group in front of some of the performers dancing behind. Screenshot from the MFP Recordings done in Masyesye Village, T/A Mwaulambia, Chitipa, Northern Malaw,i February 2018.

In the case of the *babatoni* band, the video requirements played a role in deciding how the scene should be put up. Although the band was placed in the same position in relation to each other as they were during the identification, the dancers were now placed behind them on a long row rather than moving around. This influenced the sound; the band could stand closer to the microphone when the dancers did not need to move between the band and the microphone. The different notes, harmonies and rhythms were thereby easier to access afterwards. It also influenced the picture; close-ups of the musicians were easier to film as there were no dancers moving between the cameras and the musicians. Additionally, the videographers had an easier job as the musicians and dancers stayed mostly in one spot throughout the whole song, as in Karonga.

In addition to the adaptions made physically, placing the musicians and dancers differently than they would when performing the songs usually, the performance might be different due to the situation itself. Just before finishing my interview with Bridget U. Shumba,

she eagerly expressed that some of the best moments, and best, in her view, musical performances, came from people that just showed up, and had not performed before:

> Some are groups that have never performed before! They just heard that people [MFP team] will come. […] They though "we can actually do something! We've grown up together, now that we are married and all that, but we can come together and do something. […] It's been interesting that some groups got songs from the kids and say "okay, now we are a group". *And some places these groups have actually been better than existing groups* (Shumba, 2018)

I asked her why the formerly non-existing groups, that all of a sudden decide to perform songs they used to perform their childhood, can be better than the groups that practice the music on a regular basis. Shumba say that it might be because they have a different excitement than the other groups: "Maybe it's the excitement, or somebody already know that this is valuable, if it's coming from the district, then maybe it's a big thing so they get curious and they actually deliver. It's been good" (Shumba, 2018). She also explained that it has sometimes been tricky to record without interrupting the performance, trying to keep the intuitive excitement and energy in the performances:

> It's been tricky. […] Because we are forcing them to do it our way, especially when we are documenting. We'll be like "okay, can we leave out that stick, because you know, it's protruding, we can't get it in the camera" or something like that. So, if we are removing those small aspects, it becomes staged sort of. Or, if we don't actually get it from a location where they usually perform the dance, it is not also very authentic (Shumba, 2018)

Simultaneously, some of the groups are as mentioned used to adapt to different situations, performing for schools and chiefs. The project is interesting because it includes both professional and amateur groups, and groups formed just because of this project. Further, the difference between identification and recording can be striking: "In my experience we've sometimes gotten more energy in the identification or when we are arriving, they are singing something spontaneous. And then when we start to [record], you know, it's gone"(Shumba, 2018)

This is part of showing that, just like in any other genre, energy differ, performances differ by day, weather, state of mind, physical form and many other invisible and complex elements. As Shumba nicely puts it: "But it happens even with artists going to be musicians. If you're in the rehearsal room and you feel free and relaxed and just had a soda or something practicing with your friend or something – and then you are on stage - yeah, then it's a whole different" (Shumba, 2018).

5.4 Summary: MFP as curator

What stands out in MFP is that it truly is the songs, and the quality of the recording of them, are prioritized, not the surroundings. Efforts are made to make the scene as tidy and undisturbed as possible, even if this is not an exact reflection of the how such songs are performed. How much do these efforts influence the recording, and to what degree is this problematic?

There is clearly a contradictory and possibly quite challenging issue arising in how MFP attempts to please the different interests. The international needs and the local traditions is problematic to address simultaneously. Are both sides let down in the attempt to please them? In the first example, the *babatoni* band, is balancing between local, national and international requirements, touch on how the accreditation is placed. For both the *babatoni* band and the *sowa twist*, the international requirements and traditional norms are in conflict as the technical requirements are not optimized to suit the performance style.

At the same time; the adaptation to international requirements and norms is not new to traditional music, smaller villages, or to Malawi. The ways of living, transmitting culture orally and performing music have never been to one suit one specific standard but rather a forever developing and changing phenomenon. The concept of transmitting music orally from one person to the next, inevitably includes room for adaptation and change. Malawians are inventive and adapting all the time, just as people all over the world. As mentioned, the borders outlined on the map in and around Malawi do not coincide with the groups, tribes, languages and cultures existing in the areas. Today as before, people travel, people move, culture changes and can be traced back to geographical areas and peoples all over Africa. In that sense, the adaptations done to suit the international and national requirements can be seen as another link in the long chain of changes the culture already is.

In order to record the performances close to the way they are usually done in everyday life, the team would have to be *part of* a funeral, a chief inauguration, wedding or party. This is a common way of researching within ethnomusicology and anthropology, but not one that would answer to MFPs mission. The other extreme to that would be to bring the musicians into a studio, removing everything but the musicians and their instruments, to record the songs separated from their geographical context.

A useful parallel here is the way the now highly valued old recordings of Norwegian traditional music were recorded. When Eivind Groven began working at *Kringkastingsselskap* (later called Norsk Rikskringkringkasting/NRK, Norway's national broadcasting company), they bought equipment and began recording the music that would be the beginning of a vast

archive for traditional music (Aksdal, Lønnestad, & Thedens, 2013, p. 11). These recordings were intended for use in a radio program, and not initially for safeguarding. The recorded material is therefore mostly played by the musicians that were regarded as the best at the time, and not many are old or invested in the old and special playing techniques (ibid). Today these archives have become great sources of Norwegian traditional music for young musicians seeking old traditions. Although the recordings have become incredibly important, they probably sound far from the same what they would in an "authentic"/"pure" situation in their home village. It is safe to say that they probably never heard the music the way they did in the studio ever before, and possibly ever after. A studio built to only catch the sound of the instrument and nothing else has completely different acoustics to a dancehall or living room filled with people of all ages dancing and talking.

None of the two extremes are useful to attempt to use in a project such as MFP. With the time frame, budget and intended outcome of MFP, the middle ground – with tidy recording scenes, in the villages – might be one of few reasonable ways to go through with it.

In MFPs case, keeping it as close to how it usually is performed meant including many people in the performances and letting the groups decide themselves who was to be involved, deciding together with the chiefs and performers where to record, and discuss and decide together with chiefs and performers what songs to record. Following international and organisational requirements helped to make sure all voices and music was heard appropriately in the recording by adapting the recording space to where the microphone was placed, making sure all names of performers names were noted, that composer accreditation was noted where there was a known composer, and that the performance was adapted to the video technicians requirements to capture the musicians and dancers movements on record. *Table 3* shows how these specific requirements influenced the recordings done in two villages in Chitipa and Karonga (Northern Region).

Chitipa	Karonga
How MFP attempted to keep the recording as close to the how was usually performed	
A fixed number of dancers were part of the final recording after the groups were asked to decide on a certain amount and avoid people joining in during the song	The musicians and singers/dancers were already a group and stayed the same between the identification and recording
The recording was done outside	The recording was done outside

The songs were picked together with the chiefs and after recommendations from the team	The songs were picked together with the chiefs and after recommendations from the team
How MFP made sure the recording met the international/organisational terms	
The musicians were placed to the left in the picture to be close to the microphone without the microphone showing in the picture	The percussionists played softer so the voices could be heard better on the recording
Pinson Sinkhonde was named as composer of the music	The names of the performers where noted and the group as a whole was credited as composers
The dancers were placed on a line next to and behind the musicians	The dancers stood mostly in the same spot and made smaller movements so they could fit inside the camera frame

Table 3: Table showing the different effects the requirements from the chiefs, performers and international organizations involved influenced the different recording spaces in Karonga and Chitipa, Northern Region, Malawi.

The result is often a compromise. The Malawi Folksong Project team compromise on what songs to record and how many that are performing together while the performers and chiefs adapt to MFPs requirements on the placement of the musicians etc. It is an intricate and complicated interaction with a mix of some explicit and probably many hidden preconceptions and expectations. I have shown how a few of these interactions become visible on the videotapes. There are many angles from which one can study a recording session like this. My perspective is coloured by my own preconceptions, positions and outlook, my angle as a Norwegian student and musician in the midst of a country I am still quite new to. In the following chapter I dive deeper into some of the issues. I will use the examples when examining different sides of these questions.

6. Discussion
6.1 Balancing the local and the global

What happens when the music is recorded and redistributed through a new medium? Does it matter how we talk and write about the performances, and who it is that gets accreditation? One of MFPs challenges is working locally and internationally at the same time. Guidelines and questionnaires in MFP were developed in cooperation with Malawi National Commission for UNESCO and Rei Foundation. These are again based on UNESCOs ICH Convention from 2003. The constitutions and guidelines established by UNESCO are supposed to be applicable to the whole world but are based on quite narrow philosophical ideas from a few mainly Western countries. The eurocentrism stems from the establishment of United Nations and UNESCO in 1946, which happened as a collaboration between European and North American countries after the Second World War. This is challenging for heritage studies since core conventions are using terms that contradict many peoples' fundamental understanding of culture.

Malawi Folksong Project is an example of the collision between international terms and conventions and local understanding of traditional practices. MFP answers both to MNCU and UNESCOs terms *and* has a strong responsibility and collaboration with local traditions and values, carrying knowledge and understandings from way before UNESCO was even founded. UNESCO provide the framework and present the Malawian partners with guidelines for how to safeguard their intangible cultural heritage. The MFP team manoeuvres its way through the country with the words of the ICH Convention at the back of their head, all the while working with musicians and dancers with little knowledge of international terms for their culture. In this chapter I will look closer at some of issues pointed at in chapter five and offer some thoughts on how they could be dealt with.

In this section I'm looking into how MFP is handling the question of representation and the complex and somewhat feared term in ethnomusicology; *authenticity*. Are memory institutions – like MFP, National Libraries or educational institutions – not merely reproducing an existing experience, but also *creating* new ones? Terms, project descriptions, the layout of the project – it all influences what comes out on the other side and how this is experienced. Beginning, therefore, with the name: how did folksong become the name of the project, and how does this influence what it is that is being recorded? I will continue to look at what authenticity or "pure" means in MFP, and finish with a discussion on the different types of representation.

6.1.1 Music versus music

Music can, as mentioned, include more than what a Western understanding of the term usually implies. In Malawi the word *ngoma* is the name of a musical performance, including the dance, lyrics and activities done in connection with this performance (not to be confused with *ng'oma* which is the name of a specific drum). The word *ngoma* can mean music, dance and other elements (speech, attire, drums and shouts) in *one*. It is an experience and performance that cannot be divided into different elements such as dance, music, spoken word etc. Rather, all elements are part of *ngoma*. The same way separating tangible and intangible, nature and culture can be artificial and unintuitive, it makes no sense to describe traditional music without also referring to the dance in Malawi.

As in Norway, the names for the styles of music are the same as the name for the dance. *Telegangar* and *telespringar* are traditional dances from Telemark, Norway, although today in Norway they are now also performed without dance, they were initially created for and together with dance. Of the music recorded in MFP, only three styles were performed without dance: the *kaligo*[20], *nsanga* and some *ngwaya* songs *(drinking songs)* were performed solely by musicians sitting down, playing and singing. The traditional performances found in the rural villages are still based on the holistic idea of cultural performances.

While European music culture tends to conceptualize music, dance and other performative elements as separate cultural practices, the Malawian understanding is more holistic. It traditionally recognizes that music and dance are connected and that the one does not exist without the other. Malawi Folksong Project clearly implies that the folk*songs* are in focus, the melodies and lyrics being the most important elements. The research information (information that will be included in the published educational book) does not include detailed descriptions or illustrations of the dances. Although the dances are mentioned, and part of the video material, it is not emphasized particularly.

But then again, what is a performance? Christopher Small proposed in 1998 the concept of *Musicking* – stating that a musical performance included much more than what people previously perceived it to do. His book *Musicking: the meanings of performing and listening* (Small, 1998) have greatly challenged how music is seen. In his definition the musical experience can begin when you see a concert advertised on a poster or buy the ticket, note the date in your calendar. The musical experience includes meeting a friend to attend the concert

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[20] A *kaligo* is a one-stringed Malawian fiddle. The string is tightened on the ca. 50 cm long neck of the instrument before each performance. The string is played with a wooden stick that traditionally was licked by the musician to create the right friction. Today many apply a small amount of water from a cup instead. The *nsanga* is part of the so-called thumb-piano family (similar to *mbira* and *kalimba*)

with, entering the space or venue where the concert is to be held. Clapping and shouting of joy during or after a song is part of the song, part of the performance. The performance is a relation created in interaction between people and the space the performance is put up in. This can be argued to be more in line with the holistic perception of art dominating in many African cultures. Dancing and joining the music is part of the experience, not a disturbance or interruption of it. Communication and interaction between people are at the heart of the performance, just as it is at the heart of living together.

uMunthu is a term proposing that individuals only can exist in connection with other individuals and in a community. This Malawian term is closely related to the more known *uBuntu* used in several Sub-Saharan African countries, meaning "I am because you are". You are never just you alone but always in relation to somebody else (Hovde, 2019, p. 103). In connection with musical performance, it can be part of the explanation of how a song can both be authored and composed by someone *and* belong to the whole community at the same time. The lines not strict. How music is spoken of and handled, and how accreditation is viewed and distributed, is influenced by this holistic mindset. As Small also point out; music is more that the notes written or the sounds heard at a concert – it is the whole experience and interaction taking place during the activity taking place when music is presented.

6.1.2 An alternative convention

If UNESCOs World Heritage Convention and the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention was to be created from scratch today it would probably look quite different. The terms and perspectives it now contains can be traced back to the needs the institutions forming UNESCO had after World War II. While the US was mostly concerned with securing their natural areas, Europe found conservation of buildings and monuments most urgent. The two approaches led to the separation of the two in *The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (Antons & Logan, 2017, p. 30). Notice that *cultural* and *natural* are defined as separate types of heritage: "The nature/culture divide reflects Western philosophical tradition and is rejected by many non-Western societies as a separation that is at odds with reality as they understand it" (ibid). If the conventions were written with a more holistic mindset it would probably sound different. The divisions of nature and culture, between tangible and intangible, would probably not be as strong. Perhaps would music not be separated from other artistic expressions. Music could rather have required an explanation if it did *not* include dance or other expressions. African, Asian and indigenous music might have dominated the heritage

lists. Safeguarding projects would have been easy for these regions, while Western music could be struggling to fit into the conventions.

What the lists hold today is in other words a consequence of the premises that were laid when the conventions were written. This is reflected in the numbers of inscribed European and North American versus African, South American and South East Asian elements on both on the World Heritage List and the ICH List:

> In the World Heritage List as a whole, China, Mexico, India Brazil, Japan and Iran are now rivalling European countries in the number of inscriptions, and their tentative lists indicate large ambitions, but Africa, the Pacific, South America and parts of Asia remain poorly represented (Antons & Logan, 2017, p. 30).

Just as a state's law is formed by the society's evolvement and change, UNESCO needs to have the flexibility to change according to what is happening "on the ground". It can strive to encompass as much as possible but is required to be open to change and adjustment in relation to the cultures it is presenting. In most cases described in the compilation *UNESCO on the ground* (Foster & Gilman, 2015) the local communities had to either compromise their culture to fit the systems and terms made by UNESCO, or stretch the terms and make them fit into their culture. After 17 years of the 2003 Convention local communities have also had very different experiences with being enlisted on the Representative List:

> […] some places UNESCO designation is seen as a financial boom, in some places it is a point of pride and identity, some places it is a burden and elsewhere it is merely an adornment or, for that matter, not even on the radar screen (Foster & Gilman, 2015, p. 10).

Although MFP is not aiming at having their songs immediately enlisted on the ICH list, the work done on collecting the music and the information connected to it lays a groundwork for possible enlisting at a later point. To be accepted on the list require a certain amount of information and access to videos and examples of the element wished to be transmitted. The two first elements admitted from Malawi in 2008, *Vimbuza* and *Gule Wamkulu*, were partly chosen because of the extensive research that had already been done at the time of admission (Foster & Gilman, 2015, p. 65).[21]

Instead of specifically targeting elements for the ICH list, MFP records a large amount and diverse selection of music from all over the country. While doing this they inform the villages about UNESCO and MFPs work and emphasize how their culture is valuable. This

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[21] Since then three more items have been added: *tchopa*, sacrificial dance of the Lhomwe people of southern Malawi (2014), *nsima*, culinary tradition of Malawi (in 2017) and *mwinoghe*, joyous dance (2018).

might (hopefully) result in grassroot initiatives on safeguarding. That way the goal of enhancing the participation of the local community is reached can be seen as a reaction to the project. UNESCO is slowly adapting but continue to be restrained and restrain by their own divisions and terminology.

6.2 Authenticity and identity

So, what is MFP actually safeguarding? There is a paradox within the idea of archiving a living tradition. Is it safeguarding to save the music digitally on a hard drive or posting it on a website? Or is rather safeguarding to perform the dances and music live, as people do in their everyday life? Goals are many and stretching wide in MFP; from education, through safeguarding the country's heritage and enhancing the national connectedness to create interest internationally.

I asked Mfune how they landed on using the word *Folksong* in the project name. He explained that they were interested in the *songs* in this project. By naming the performance Folksongs, but all the while presenting it together with dance and other artistic expressions, the connection between the different expressions are directly shown in the material. On the question of who the *folk* in the folksongs are, he responded that the focus was on people from the villages to avoid the larger impact from international trends in the more urban areas:

> But you will find that it has to represent the particular ethnic group. If it is in the cities, we know that there is a lot of cosmopolitan influences so probably it could be diluted in many ways. That's why we choose to go to the villages. Because we know that it is the original (M. G. Mfune, 2018).

The focus seems to be finding music that is close to how it has been used in the past. Influence from other traditions should be avoided as far as possible. It is interesting to see the focus on the "pure traditions" and simultaneously affect the music being performed through the recordings that are being conducted. Are different musical or performative elements more important to keep as they are than others? What parts of the music does MFP find the most important to keep "pure"? As we have seen in the examples, the dance patterns and placement of the dancers and musicians is easily shifted during recording. Language and divisions between musical styles though, are less affected. Mfune explain that the argument to go to the villages to record is to get traditions that are not as affected by other cultures as in the big cities:

> We have to decide to go where we know that – if we want to get songs that are representative of the Yao ethnic groups, we know where the Yaos are, so we have to go where the Yaos are. We know that there are some Yaos that have moved to town, but they are staying with the Chewa, with the Tumbuka, and they could be quite influenced by the other cultures. So, the chance that some of the things could be not as original is very high. That is why we go to where there is *pure traditions* (M. G. Mfune, 2018).

"Pure traditions" is a difficult term as we could argue that no tradition is pure but always coming from and being in constant development. I believe MFP is reaching their goal to record music that is seemingly not influenced by outer cultures. The music is as "pure" as it can be in the way it is representing a certain group, performing certain songs, in the performers' hometown on a specific day in a specific year. But, contradictory to the thought that they merely recorded a musical style without interfering with it, the music is also being influenced in the villages. Spinning on Mfunes example; Yao music might adapt and develop together with the Chewa music in the cities, but rather than being "pure" and unaffected in the villages, the adaptations are happening in other interactions. For example, in this case, with the MFP team members, the cameras and the technicians during the MFP recordings. The changes are different from what they are in the cities, but still influence the artistic and musical result.

In the final CD, DVD and book, the folksongs will be separated on the basis of geographic origin. Culture is as mentioned multifaceted and complex and it can be argued that separation and systematizing the music is a simplification. The connection between sounds and geographic space is a whole field of its own and an issue also relating to the initial models for field recording developed by IFMC (now ICTM):

> An issue that relates back to the mid-century IFMC model of recording, but also connects with any work that represents place, is that of deciding what to record and what not to record, what to keep and what to discard, which sounds are appropriate and which are not. On one level, this might be a simple aesthetic decision (Western, 2018, p. 34)

But, deciding what to keep and not based on specific aesthetics might emphasize a "romantic environmentalism" by the ones deciding what to record and not . Tom Western shows some of what different musicologists have found when researching the connection between space and sound. Presentation of geographically connected sound will often concern identity, territory and belonging, and "make connections between place and ethnicity, and the construction and maintenance of boundaries" (Western, 2018).

6.5 Earlier recordings/projects

There have been former projects recording the traditional music of Malawi. During the training program for MFP, the research team (myself included) looked into what recordings from earlier years existed and what had happened to this music. As mentioned, there were video recordings of the *National Dance Troupe* from the 1960s and 1970s at the *Department of Arts and Crafts*, the younger recordings from *Malawi Folktales Project* and the UNESCO recordings found at Malawi National Commission for UNESCO. We also know that *Malawi Broadcasting*

Company (MBC) have recordings of some traditional music in the 1940s and later on reel-to-reel tapes. MBC collaborated with the Norwegian Embassy to Malawi and the Norwegian radio host and long-time promoter of music from all over the world, Sigbjørn Nedland, and sparked a digitization and revitalization process of these recordings in 2014 ("Takula band sing us back in time," 2015). Running "Jungeltelegrafen", a radio show on NRK P2 focusing on music from all over the world, he had both a special interest in the music, and access to equipment at his job in NRK which he managed to transport to Malawi. Five young musicians came together forming a band that used the songs in new compositions that finally were recorded on the CD *Takula* (Takula, 2018). Sam Mjura Mkandawire, Marlyn Chakwera, Faith Mussa, Georg Buljo (NO) and Peter Mawanga have since the recording been occupied with building their individual careers as musicians. The equipment is still being used as a means to continue digitizing the old recordings.

Takula is a living example of what happens when young people in a society rediscover music they did not know existed. In addition to be inspired and learn specific musical elements they can use in their music the recordings reach them on a level of identity.

Early ethnomusicologists such as Hugh Tracey (UK) and Gerhard Kubik (Germany) visited Malawi in the 1950s and 1960s. Of the material Tracey collected, seven songs have been included with sound and notes in *Understanding African Music* (Carver, Thram, Madiba, & Music, 2012), an educational book published by the *International Library of African Music in South Africa* (*ILAM*). The library is built on Tracey's music collection. Although ILAM states that Tracey's intention was always to bring the music back to the communities and that the library feel the responsibility to follow this through now that he has passed away (Carver et al., 2012, p. 7), this has not yet happened.

Mr. Mfune point out the irony in finding the music from his own nation when travelling to other countries:

> I think this guy Hugh Tracey also collected a lot from Malawi. They went around the country. And that material, by Kubik and Tracey, is in Germany and is in South Africa. It is not accessible to the owners of that material. And they are actually selling… I happen to have bought a CD when I was in Mali of Malawian folksongs that were recorded, I think, in 1947. I bought it, because I could not find that material. So it is not accessible. So, there is a lot of exploitation of Malawian culture, people are making money out of it. But the owners of that music is not making, is not benefitting of it (M. G. Mfune, 2018).

Thus, MFP plan to manage the issue of copyright better than previous examples. They have the obvious and, in my eyes, very important advantages in being Malawian, working for Malawian

institutions, and therefore carry a stronger personal connection and pride in the project. Additionally, the MFP team are to a large researching their *own* culture, and thereby have a larger understanding of language, culture and values than former investigators and recorders have had. This, in addition to the connection and cooperation with the Malawian government, mean that the recordings will benefit the Malawians first, and not international companies:

> […] we are the owners and we are working with the government. The government is the owner of the copyright for Malawi's culture, folksongs. We are going to publish [the folksongs] and this material will belong to Malawi. If people want to access them, they will have to come to our national libraries, to our universities and our schools. Once we put them [the folksongs] in the national libraries, the owners will be able to use the material, so they will benefit. Even the generations to come will be able to find the material in our libraries. Whilst we cannot find our material that were collected by people like Gerhard Kubik[22] or Hugh Tracey[23], you know. We have to buy it when we go to Mali! But here we are doing it differently, it belongs to Malawians, it will benefit Malawians. Of course, we will make it available to the international community as well to benefit (M. G. Mfune, 2018).

Making the material available in the libraries, schools and universities will be crucial for students and others interested. The libraries will serve as archives where Malawians themselves can discover their own and their ancestors' heritage. But there are not libraries in every town, and as most of Malawi's population still are living in rural areas, returning the music to the villages in physical (book) and digital form (CD, DVD, memory stick), is crucial.

> Now, the audios, the videos, will also be given to the communities where we are collecting this material. It is up to them if they thereafter want to economically exploit them. It will be up to them entirely. They can package and sell it. As the artists or as the groups. For us that is what we want, you know, for them to economically gain from *their* culture. That is their gold. It is a mine that can never be depleted, as long as the people live (M. G. Mfune, 2018).

Mfune says that the musicians are free to exploit the music for their own economical or cultural benefit, if they have the resources and urge to do so. This adds another layer to the ownership discourse surrounding this music. There are namely at least three "institutions" that claim ownership and have the power to use this music the way they would want to:

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[22] Gerhard Kubik *is an Austrian ethnomusicologist that have recorded over 25000 different songs in southern Africa. The recordings were mostly done during his travels in the late 1950s and onward. He has become one of the most famous researchers of African music and have also toured as a clarinetist with the Malawian band The Kachamba Brothers which he met and researched in during the first years of his studies.*

[23] Hugh Tracey *was a British ethnomusicologist that is known world-wide for recording music as a researcher and scholar as early as in the 1920s. Some of the oldest recordings from Southern Africa were recorded by him and is now stored at the archive based on his recordings, the International Library of African Music (ILAM) in South Africa. Although ILAM and Hugh Traceys own descendants claim that his legacy was to return the music to the regions and villages where it was recorded, this has still not happened many places.*

1) The Malawian government as the owner of the copyright of Malawi's culture;

2) The communities where the music was recorded;

3) Malawi Folksong Project through their own distribution program and publishing of an educational book, DVD and CD.

For Mfune and MFP, the many rights and interests in the music are not proposed as a problem but rather as a way in which the whole country will benefit. In other words, in practice, copyright and ownership is not the same in Malawi as, for example, in Norway. According to Mfune, the music can both be created by a specific individual, belong to a whole community *and* benefit the nation at the same time. Coming from a community where stating who composed a song, or if there are several contributors stating who made what in a specific piece of music is important, I noted that I repeated the questions concerning copyright several times. I believe this was a reaction to finding the communal ownership foreign and incoherent with contemporary (Norwegian?) copyright laws. But copyright laws serve different statuses and purposes in different cultures. Copyright can be seen as a different issue that credit and ownership in one country and understood as synonymous with it in other countries.

6.4 Different types of ownership

Another important element to point out here is the difference between music as *performed* versus *recorded, transcribed* and *published*. Legally speaking the publisher is the owner of the music as soon as it is published. With popular music, this owner is credited also when the music is performed by other musicians. With traditional music, this applies only if an arrangement is played which is made and copyrighted to a specific group or musician through a published song. So, who is the owner of the music? Is it even possible to establish who it is that owns the music?

All the music recorded in MFP is traditional and belongs to the community as a whole. It is Malawis cultural treasure. But the recordings published through MFP on the final CD, are owned by MFP and their shareholders. In addition, the different contributors will own their songs, also when they are published on the CD. They are allowed to re-distribute and sell their own songs for their own benefit if circumstances allow it. This is where it gets tricky. The same recording might end up having the same right to receive money when being played on the radio, for example. How will the media distributors decide on who to pay revenue costs?

Whenever a new publishing of any of the songs is done, the publisher and the artist performing do not own the song, merely the arrangement and that specific published song. If

another artist records the same song in a new arrangement, that recording is owned by the artist, but not the song.

In Malawi the copyright, Copyright Society of Malawi (COSOMA) has a branch designated to work with the traditional and folk music called Malawi Folk Dance, Music and Song Society (MFDMSS). There is unfortunately not room for further investigation in this matter in this thesis, but it is definitely one that deserve attention in the future.

6.5 Representation

Making *one* compilation to represent a country's musical culture is a daring task to take on. With almost 20 million inhabitants, three large regions divided into several districts and a huge number of smaller villages, there's music enough to record forever (figuratively speaking) in Malawi. It is hardly possible to choose one or two kinds of cultural heritage to represent a country with such a large diversity of identities, belief systems and lifestyles. Just as in any UNESCO list, the MFP compilation will always be selective.

Creating a comprehensive representation of the music from all regions would take years. I interviewed James Thole, a member of the research team in MFP and an employee at the Malawian Department of Arts and Crafts, about the representation of the different districts in MFP in 2017. Thole explained that the songs from the districts they visited in the Central Region were somewhat similar, and that songs from the two districts that were left are more different (Thole, 2017). In his understanding *representation* equals presenting a wide scope of music where minimizing the examples of similar music and rather include more examples of styles with different musical elements. In his view the collection from the Northern Region is more representative for the whole region than the other two regions. This is partly due to how many districts the different regions have, and how many of them they recorded from. In the Central Region they visited five out of ten districts, in the Southern Region only five of thirteen, while in the Northern Region four out of six districts were visited.

Another issue arising is the question of what representation *is*: Is MFP choosing the lesser known songs, to keep them from disappearing, or should the more common songs be included, the ones a larger group know of and associate with a certain district or culture? If an average lullaby or children's game song is included in a CD distributed throughout the country and the world, it risks becoming the opposite – special and popular. This might not be problematic in itself but could influence considerations made by MFP when choosing the songs. In addition to the musical elements and geographic spread MFP take the meanings of the songs into consideration when choosing:

We consider different particulars; for instance, children's songs, marriage songs, adolescence, puberty, but from all that we've collected a big percentage is from marriage songs, and family related issues. So, you could say that there could be a bias, after the selection, because then we could want to have all those categories, but we could end up having a huge percentage of marriage or family related stuff (Shumba, 2018)

Shumba also notes that it can be tricky because of personal interests and biases. The songs speak to the different team members, so "[…] somebody could have heard something interesting in one song, and they would want that to be on the list" (Shumba, 2018). She continues with a reflection on the quality of the recording being the most important element. No matter how nice or interesting a song is, if the quality of the tape is not good, if there's too much wind on the sound recording, it cannot be included.

Songs that initially are made and used in exclusivity are also at risk of becoming common popular songs. In her research on the effects the ICH listing have had on *Vimbuza,* Lisa Gilman (2015) learned that there were large variations in how appropriate people thought the commercialization of the different cultural practices were. *Vimbuza* and *Gule Wamkule* are exclusive forms of culture. Both require special initiation ceremonies for people to take part of. Gilman point at how the reception of cultural practices with initial exclusivity receive mixed reactions. While some meant that having *Vimbuza* as entertainment would strip it of its significance, other healers were happy about the inscription (Foster & Gilman, 2015, pp. 67-68). In MFP *Vimbuza* and *Gule Wamkule* is also part of the material that will be distributed. Girls initiation songs and songs for chiefs are also includeed. Generally, MFP prioritizes the songs that are less common and let the popular ones live on in practice. In a way this is securing diversity while safeguarding the "endangered" songs at the same time.

MFP is not doing this fieldwork for academic or research purposes (although the vast data gathered most likely will feed into later analysis of and research on the music), yet the problematics of anthropological fieldwork still apply. MFP collect a lot of data, they observe and conclude, advise and influence. As stated above, Malawian culture is not one culture, but many. The team-members have grown up in different cultures within Malawi and identify differently with the culture and people they meet in the different regions, districts and villages visited. Far from their home villages or daily life, language knowledge, gender roles and stereotypes vary. Information and communication may pass as something it would not in their home environment. The codes are different.

It is interesting to see how similar the terms and layout of MFP is to the initial manual published by IFCMs from 1958. Not only are the divisions between traditional/popular

concurrent, but the layout of the project reflects the thought that field recordings could lay the ground to be followed up by studio productions. This is also the exact way the mentioned project *Takula* was done in 2014 – first, they encountered and listened to the old recordings for thereafter to create new studio productions based on them.

6.6 Archiving and safeguarding

So, can traditional music be archived to promote and safeguard it? In addition to creating educational material for the primary schools and music educations in the country, the recordings done by MFP will function as an archive for everyone interested. The music will be accessible in libraries around the country. MFP is safeguarding and archiving at the same time; Archives «[…] incorporate documents, manuscripts, films, digitized documents and records of all kinds» (Craven, 2008, p. 7). Recorded video and audio material, together with the transcriptions and lyrics gathered in the field are obvious archive material.

In this project, MFP is making recordings available for more people than the ones that have access and interaction with them today. They hope to encourage more people to listen to and use the music. Through this, they seek to not only spread knowledge about the music but also support the build-up of national pride and a shared sense of national identity. On the way to this the music and performances are staged and influenced by the recording situation and the choices made by the team. National memory institutions such as libraries, departments of culture and education are made aware of the vast material and music the country holds and are able to continue to communicate this to a wider audience. International entities take part in safeguarding MFP recordings through information online and communication to UNESCO international.

Approaches to safeguarding and archiving are just as diverse as the content they often hold. Recording songs that can disappear with the people that know them, teaching music students and children about the cultural heritage of their country and performing the songs as they are usually performed in the villages form different ways of safeguarding. Regardless of how the copyright law is executed, or who it is that is credited on the different songs, these songs will be heard and possibly performed by more people than they would have without MFP's intervention. A question for future investigation is what it sacrifices and gains on the way. This question may also have many answers according to whom the question is asked.

7. Conclusion

During my nine months' long stay in Malawi September 2016 - May 2017 and the fieldwork trips for this thesis the following years, I sometimes experienced that the unplanned could turn out better than the planned. I strongly believe a good plan is necessary in large safeguarding projects, however, improvising and adjusting to new situations that occur can be just as fruitful, especially from a researcher's perspective. Wherever we went there were different variables that kept changing how a recording situation was I want to begin this final chapter with a story from the one of the last identification trips:

Excerpt from fieldnotes:

> *December is summer month in Malawi, and summer months are rainy season. During the identification trip in the Northern Region in December 2018, the red porous soil absorbed most of the heavy rainwater making the wide dirt roads fill with water and difficult to drive on. In Chitipa the difficulties reaching a place because of flooded roads were usually solved by taking a different road to the site. In Rumphi and Karonga most of the villages where we were recording were close to the main roads and required little driving on dirt roads. On our way to Livingstonia the we faced larger difficulties. After driving for a few hours from Rhumpi boma (city centre), going towards Livingstonia, we struggled to get up the hill after reaching Denbo River, only about 12 kilometres from the city. After several tries with all passengers leaving the bus to make it easier for it to climb the hill, the driver and rest of the team realized there was too much mud and too slippery for the bus to climb it. The driver managed to back the bus down the hill and park it under a tree in the Phoka Village, situated on the other side of the river. We took a break to discuss the different alternatives for further action. As we had all been walking up the muddy road, we were all full of red mud on our flipflops and feet and started looking for a path down to the river so we could clean themselves up.*

> *Going to the river to wash our feet, we heard some farmers working the field nearby, and one of the team members asked where it would be good to wash. The farmers came over and showed the way to the river and helped washing our shoes and feet. During this project manager Mfune explained why we were there and what the mission was. In this conversation he also asked whether there was any music and musicians in this specific village. The farmers said yes, and within an hour a whole group of musicians and dancers had gathered on a plane area in the middle of the village.*

In the hours following this, the memory cards were filled with music and videos of dances from Phoka. The performers were not prepared in any way for the visit, as the chiefs had not been spoken to beforehand. Nonetheless the music and performances were wonderful. This shows how alive and well music is in Malawi; how the misfortune of a minibus getting stuck in the mud can end up giving the project something truly special. Completely by chance, the farmer they asked to help us find the way to the river turned out to be one of the leaders of the *ngwaya* groups in the area, and had it not been for our muddy feet, they would never have met these particular musicians and dancers.

7.1 Keeping the intangible intangible

I have in this thesis shown how a specific initiative moved to safeguard a part of their country's cultural heritage. I began asking whether traditional music can be archived to promote and safeguard this music. To answer this, I've pointed at different issues arising when heading out with the intention to safeguard. Malawi Folksong Project has conducted recording sessions in a large number of villages in a total of fourteen districts in the three regions of Malawi. With about 180 songs to be published on the CD, DVD and book, and many more being recorded and kept for possible editing and distribution at a later point, Malawi Folksong Project is by far the most encompassing safeguarding project that has been conducted in the country so far. Collecting and recording the songs has all the way been based on a need to educate children and youth and integrate more knowledge on traditional Malawian music in the music educations in the country. The 180 songs that are to be included in this publishing of the material are therefore chosen on criteria believed to enhance the availability and understanding of the music. The songs have also been chosen to reflect the country as a whole, including a large scope of themes, rhythms, musical instruments and dance forms. It has been important to not only have for example children's songs or wedding songs, but to show the diverse parts of life that these songs are about.

In addition to safeguard the songs by archiving and keeping them digitally in the different institutions involved and making sure more organisations and institutions across the country receive the material to keep and distribute, Malawi Folksong Project have aims to actively promote the music and create projects based on the material. They will also bring copies back to the villages, back to the performers that were recording. Safeguarding is in their view not only archiving, but also to actively create projects that make people use the music, encouraging live performances of the songs.

I have also shown that the relationship to international terms and requirements can be challenging. Intangible cultural heritage has become a world-wide term used to describe very diverse cultures and practices within these cultures. Especially after the establishment of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of 2003, the concept of safeguarding intangible heritage spread widely. MFP is organized partly by the Malawian branch of UNESCO and therefore use terms and definitions of traditional music and intangible heritage stemming from their conventions when defining their goals and how to reach them. This have resulted in the need to balance the local and the UNESCO based terms. In a world where norms and understanding of how to treat expressions vary as much as they do it is hard to create encompassing terms and definitions to suit all.

The convention for ICH was built on the convention for tangible heritage in 1972, which influenced the definitions. There were laws, notions and statements on the preservation of heritage before, but, "it was only in 1972 that the full-blown concept of 'world heritage' took prominence on the global stage with UNESCOs 'Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage' (called World Heritage Convention)" (Silverman & Ruggles, 2009, p. 5).[24] Step by step small alterations of former sentences have been added, taking the statements towards an understanding of culture that acknowledges the contribution of human consciousness, ephemerality and renewal. Making the intangible tangible has therefore (intentionally and non-intentionally) been the result of many safeguarding projects. We are in need of something to store, something to keep. But to keep and store the intangible is different from embalming an old statue. Keeping, storing, *safeguarding* intangible heritage need to encourage *keeping it intangible*. John Peter Makawa, music and dance teacher in Nkhotakota, Central Region, Malawi, emphasised that MFP has only just begun the task of safeguarding and keeping the cultures of Malawi:

> I know this project did not reach each and every part of Malawi, like Chitipa to Nsanje, Mangochi to Chikwawa. My impression of the Malawi Folksong Project, it has to continue, to reach, to extend even to reach those people who are not in cities or are not in the community (Makawa, 2019)

There is an urge to continue the project, to make it relevant for even more people. Keeping, safeguarding, digitalizing culture also contains a social value. In addition to the music itself, the

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[24] For a more thorough history of cultural heritage and how we reached the current discourse on the subject, see "From Tangible to Intangible Heritage" in *Intangible Heritage Embodied*, D. Fairchild Ruggles and Helaine Silverman (ed.) 2009.

songs often contain moral guidelines and education. This is also part of the tradition; songs have been made to different occasions, mundane and as reactions to social events:

> The ideal of teaching them our traditional culture, is t*o keep it*. Because culture, we do believe that it gives you a guideline. Don't do this and do this. And follow this and do this. So, we have to teach them (Makawa, 2019).

Although the music, dance, lyrics, spoken word, games, attire and costumes are presented as what MFP is about, I have found that it is just as much about information and unity through the actual visits to the villages. From the first few meters on the way out of Lilongwe to the laughs and handshakes shared with chiefs and children. No matter what happens with the recordings in the aftermath, the knowledge and information shared between the performers and the MFP team is part of a historic event taking place during 2017 and 2018.

Values on a local level should shape the laws of the larger institutions and organizations, not the other way around. Whether it is wished for from UNESCOs perspective or not, I believe that MFPs information and thorough presentation of their project and the connection to UNESCO will enhance the knowledge and awareness among the people of Malawi on their own culture, and the possibilities that lye in it. The result being a more aware local people if they should be addressed by larger institutions about admitting an application to be on the list, possibilities for income from tourism or the entertainment business, or awareness of changes within their culture. This can lead to an experience of national identity. Music is, after all, uniting. Through protecting the songs, making sure they have recordings for future generations to listen to, they are protecting the unity of the nation:

> It is like we are protecting them [the folksongs], we are reviving them, as you are aware that our culture is, there is what we call a symbol of unity. So, when people are dancing together, they are communicating, they are smiling, they are discussing some other issues. It is so very, very important to teach our young people about our traditional culture, because there is a symbol unity in dancing and singing (Makawa, 2019).

7.2 Where does culture belong?

Depriving a society of their cultural artefacts has been used as a form of power many times across history. Napoleon brought back art, gold and jewellery as proof of his victory after conquering new areas; the British brought masks and statues to their islands from their colonized countries. Prisoners all over the world have been - and some places are still - stripped of their visible cultural expressions as an attempt to dehumanize and weaken them. As a part of remediation after wars and colonization, valuable objects have been brought back to their place of origin. Discussions of whether vast collections of plundered objects should be repatriated

back to their original communities or continue to be preserved in the museums and archives they are today have been emotional and vocal. The British Museum has been discussed a lot, as their collection consists of millions of objects from the many colonized countries of the former British Empire. Issues of where these objects are best kept and preserved and whose responsibility or right it is to keep them is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it questions other important discussions connected to the keeping and safeguarding of cultural heritage, intangible as much as tangible.

A recent example from Norway is the Kon-Tiki Museum, where Thor Heyerdahl Jr. (Thor Heyerdahls son) was part of the mission to return over one thousand objects to Chile. They were originally taken from the Rapa Nui Island in 1950s and 1980s. The intention was always to bring them back after completing the research, and the first objects landed on the Island in March this year. One of the reasons it was not carried out earlier is said to be that the Kon-Tiki Museum wanted to be sure that the objects would be "taken proper care of" upon arrival (AFP, 2019). The newly built museum at Rapa Nui is also asking for the return of a statue that has been situated at the British Museum since it was taken by an English Frigate in 1868 (Bartlett, 2018). Such questions of where culture belongs are of incredible importance, especially at this current moment where there is a widespread move to decolonize museums, academia, and even ethnomusicology (see for example Burke (2018) and Mackinley (2015).

Just as people travel, so does culture. Though genre names and origin are pointing at specific geographical areas, they are always a result of years of exchange and development. I therefore believe it is important to remember that MFP is a snapshot of Malawi from 2017 to 2018. The songs presented are the result of what one specific group of people considered suitable and in good enough quality to be transcribed and published, of course in collaboration with the practitioners themselves, the specific days and hours the selection, and other elements as discussed earlier. It says something about how traditional music in Malawi sounds and what it looks like in these two years alone, and very little about the five, ten or fifty years prior to the recordings. We can't possibly know what it will look like in the future. MFP hope people will continue to use and develop the traditional music, and that the songs published through the project will inspire and encourage people to do so. So do I.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Excerpt from the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage

Appendix 2: Abbreviations

Appendix 3: Organisations and individuals involved in Malawi Folksong Project

Appendix 1

Excerpt from the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage[25]

Article 1 Purposes of the Convention.
The purposes of this Convention are:
(a) to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage;
(b) to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned;
(c) to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof;
(d) to provide for international cooperation and assistance.

Article 2 Definitions For the purposes of this Convention,
1. The 'Intangible Cultural Heritage' means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity. For the purposes of this Convention, consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development.
2. The 'Intangible Cultural Heritage', as defined in paragraph 1 above, is manifested inter alia in the following domains: (a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (b) performing arts; (c) social practices, rituals and festive events; (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; (e) traditional craftsmanship.
3. 'Safeguarding' means measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage, including the identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization of the various aspects of such heritage.
4. 'States Parties' means States which are bound by this Convention and among which this Convention is in force.
5. This Convention applies mutatis mutandis to the territories referred to in Article 33 which become Parties to this Convention in accordance with the conditions set out in that Article. To that extent the expression 'States Parties' also refers to such territories

Article 3 Relationship to other international instruments
Nothing in this Convention may be interpreted as: (a) altering the status or diminishing the level of protection under the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of World Heritage properties with which an item of the intangible cultural heritage is directly associated; or (b) affecting the rights and obligations of States Parties deriving from any international instrument relating to intellectual property rights or to the use of biological and ecological resources to which they are parties

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[25] (UNESCO, 2018)

Appendix 2

Abbreviations

COSOMA – Copyright Society of Malawi

ICH – Intangible Cultural Heritage

ICOMOS – International Counsil on Monuments and Sites

IFCM – International

ICTM – International Council for Traditional Music (formerly IFMC – International Folk Music Counsil)

ILAM – International Archive for African Music

JMI – Jeneusses Musicales International

JMN – Jeneusses Musicales Norway

MBC – Malawi Broadcasting Company

MCM – Music Crossroads Malawi

MFP – Malawi Folksong Project

MNCU – Malawi National Commission of UNESCO

MOVE – Musicians and Organizers Volunteer Exchange

NLS – National Library Service

RFL – Rei Foundation Limited

UN – United Nations

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

WH – World Heritage

Appendix 3

Organisations and individuals involved in Malawi Folksong Project

Gayighayi Mathews Mfune (MW)	Director for Music Crossroads Malawi in Lilongwe, Malawi through many years. Project manager for Malawi Folksong Project and the head of most decisions regarding the conducting of the project
Bridget Ulalo Shumba (MW)	Working as an assistant at Music Crossroads Malawi. Former exchange participant in MOVE stationed in Mozambique. Head of the research team in Malawi Folksong Project.
James Thole (MW)	Working at the department of Arts and Crafts for the Government of Malawi through many years. Part of the research team in Malawi Folksong Project
Other team members	Two videographers, one of them an employee at National Library Service, Lilongwe; two sound technicians, one of them a music teacher at Music Crossroads Malawi
Music Crossroads Malawi (MW)	Music centre and music academy in Area 23 Lilongwe. Members practice and loan equipment, individual students take music classes, admitted students follow a schedule and education plan for one year and receive a diploma and 6-8 international young musicians work and learn at the centre for nine months each year as part of the MOVE project (through JM Norway and Fredskorpset). The fee is about 15.000 MWK per month, which equals about 200 NOK. Some of the students are subsidized or get a lower fee from the center itself because of different reasons.
National Library Service of Malawi (MW)	National Library funded by the government of Malawi and with books sourced through the UK Book Aid International. The library service in Lilongwe have four libraries.
The Malawian Commission for UNESCO (MW)	The Malawian Commission for UNESCO is UNESCOs branch in Malawi but governed through the Malawian Government.
REI Foundation Limited (NZ)	Private organization based in New Zealand supporting safeguarding projects in different countries around the world. "Rei Foundation Limited (RFL) aims to attain social change through sustainable human development as a means of expanding people's life opportunities and their capacity to make responsible decisions as members of the global community."