Rebel Without A Pause (But With A Cause):

A Qualitative Study on Social and Political Engagement with and through Alternative Performing Arts

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"To me, hip-hop says, 'Come as you are.' We are a family. It ain't about security. It ain't about bling-bling. It ain't about how much your gun can shoot. It ain't about $200 sneakers. It is not about me being better than you or you being better than me. It's about you and me, connecting one to one. That's why it has universal appeal. It has given young people a way to understand their world, whether they are from the suburbs or the city or wherever."

DJ Kool Herc, in J. Chang (2007)

"Rebel Without A Pause" refers to the song with the same name by the hip-hop group Public Enemy.

Abstract: Increasingly, there is a call for a new theoretical framework of economic thinking which goes beyond the state and market. A solution to this is found in the theory of the commons, which focuses on how communities efficiently manage common-pool resources through self-governance. When applied to modern situations, this theory can help us understand how community-based organizations engage in social and political tensions in their environments. This research is a case study of four community-based organizations: Hiphophuis (NL), WORM (NL), Rapolitics (DK), and Soul Sessions Oslo (NO). The research investigates how these organizations engage with social and political tensions in their urban environment with and through alternative performing arts. While organizations are multidisciplinary, they all have hip-hop as one of their focal art forms. Based on 13 semi-structured interviews with people within these organizations, this study suggests that the four organizations provide a unique approach to engaging with social and political tensions through self-governance. The qualitative data was analyzed through the framework of thematic analysis, resulting in four themes. The study found, firstly, that the organizations engage in a variety of social and political tensions, for example by creating spaces that foster confidence and political participation. Furthermore, their scope is beyond the immediate city in which they are situated, which has been overlooked in previous research on this topic. Secondly, the organizations successfully engage different communities in their environment, mainly as a result of their bottom-up characteristics and their focus on less institutionalized art forms. Thirdly, intrinsic motivation is seen as the driving force for both the artistic and socially/politically engaged work of the organizations, which is *crowded-out* when external intervention is experienced as controlling. This is seen in relation to the inherent political quality of questioning authority within hip-hop. Lastly, the research contributes to theorizing the (urban) commons by providing practical examples of working outside the dichotomy of state and market. Academically, the key contribution of the research is to the theory of urban commons and social/political engagement, providing perspectives that are often overlooked in research by focusing on alternative performing arts. It also has societal relevance, as it provides insights into the important role these organizations play in solving social and political tensions in our society.

Keywords: *Community-based organizations, urban commons, social engagement, political engagement, hip-hop*

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1. Introduction

The standard logic of economic theory has long relied on the dichotomy of state and market, where scarce resources are allocated either through market exchanges or state intervention (J. Chang, 2007; Smith et al., 1981). However, many economists argue this to be a limiting approach. Increasingly, scholars within the social sciences point to how people come together outside the institutions of the state and market when providing products and services for their communities. This calls for new frameworks of economic thinking. A solution to this can be found in the theory of the commons (Ostrom, 1990). This field of scholarly research, which has also been used by political movements, focuses on groups that manage shared natural and human-made resources through self-governance (Ostrom, 1990). In the context of cities, the theory of *urban[1] commons* has been developed. It places the commons within our modern cities, to explain why and how people self-organize in urban environments. Examples of how people come together to manage resources related to streets, buildings, cultural knowledge, and artistic expressions are drawn upon as examples of how the commons are observed in cities.

Beyond contributing to the growing field of literature on urban commons, this thesis will also look at how organizations interact with social and political tensions in their urban environments. Artists, and cultural organizations, have many ways of engaging in social and urban tensions. This extends from using art as a political protest (Hoop et al., 2022; Kaddar et al., 2022), to creating places where public participation is fostered and where marginalized groups are represented (Hoop et al., 2022; Zilberstein, 2019). For some art forms, such as hip-hop, social and political tensions are inherent in their history (Alridge & Stewart, 2005; J. Chang, 2007). Hip-hop and alternative genres of art are therefore especially relevant when discussing how social and political engagement can be done with and through art.

When discussing social and political engagement, an inquiry about the motivation to engage as artists is needed. The concept of *intrinsic motivation* originates from psychology, and has been applied in economics to explain why some actors - especially artists - seem to

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[1] Note that in this thesis, the word *urban* is <u>only</u> used in the context of referring to people living in cities and populated areas. It will never be used to refer to hip-hop as an art form, or to minority groups. The researcher acknowledges that the word is often misused to refer to art forms of black & brown communities, with negative connotations. This was also pointed out to the researcher by an interview participant.

behave differently from what is expected based on traditional economic thinking (Abbing, 2008; Deci, 1971; Remic, 2022). Their incentives are not monetary, so what are they? Through a discussion on the motivation that comes from within individuals, the researcher presents why people engage in social and artistic tensions through and with their art. *Crowding theory* is also presented, to understand how intrinsic motivation is affected when external intervention is seen as controlling rather than supporting (Frey, 1999; Frey & Jegen, 2001).

How people come together to manage shared resources outside the state and market can be understood through the example of community-based organizations in the Brazilian favela. Communities there have been seen to organize around hip-hop in response to gang violence and a weak state. By establishing norms and social rules, these groups create places to meet the communal and individual needs which are not met by the state or market. Through competitive formats of the dance style break, they succeed in solving conflicts that arise in their neighborhoods, without the use of violence (da Silva & Shaw, 2016). Not only does this illustrate how self-governance is catalyzed with and through hip-hop, but it also shows how it makes people engage with social and political tension in their environment.

Another example that illustrates the need to go beyond the dichotomy of state and market is that of the occupied theatres in Italy (Borchi, 2018). The two occupied theaters Teatro Valle (Rome) and Asilo Filangieri (Naples) both highlight interesting examples of how the performing arts can be self-governed in modern cities. Professionals from the cultural sector occupied these spaces during the period from 2011 to 2016. This was done in response to cuts in public funding, and with the aim of giving the theatres back to their communities. They successfully managed to provide cultural services in these theaters for several years, standing as recent and successful examples of urban commons in the performing arts. This also resulted in changes in the legal framework in the city of Naples, as Asilo Filangieri and seven other cultural places were legally recognized as urban commons.

Hip-hop has been argued to be especially prone to foster self-governance (da Silva & Shaw, 2016). In this thesis, hip-hop is a commonality among the four case studies that will be presented shortly. All four organizations engage in some aspects of hip-hop culture, including dance, rap, and DJing. However, due to the multidisciplinary characteristics of the organizations, the researcher will refer to *alternative genres of performing arts* to explain

which art forms they focus on. This is a term for genres that stands as alternatives to more commercial and institutionalized art (Bertacchini et al., 2022). Labels like *underground* or *sub-cultures* are also sometimes used in common speech to refer to these art forms. Furthermore, alternative genres of art are often overlooked in academic, research despite greatly contributing to our cities and societies. It is therefore academically relevant to focus on them (Bertacchini et al., 2022). With this as a background, this thesis aims to answer the following research question: *How do community-based organizations engage in social and political tensions in their urban environments with and through alternative performing arts?*

To answer this research question, a case-study of four organizations was conducted. The four organizations were selected purposefully due to their unique and effective approach to social and political engagement through self-governance. **Hiphophuis** is a community-center based in Rotterdam (NL). They provide dance classes within a range of styles (e.g., hip-hop, break, popping, house, afro, waacking), as well as other cultural events for their community (Hiphophuis, n.d.). **WORM** is also based in Rotterdam (NL). They are a multidisciplinary organization with a focus on alternative and popular (performing) arts, and have several stages and exhibition spaces in their building (WORM, n.d.). **Rapolitics** is based in Copenhagen (DK), and they draw on hip-hop and rap as a method to engage youth in social and political issues, for example through teaching rap workshops that tackle societal topics to youth (Rapolitics, n.d.). **Soul Sessions Oslo** is based in Oslo, Norway. Their main purpose is to promote hip-hop culture in Norway, which they do through dance-related events such as jams, competitions (battles), workshops and panel talks. They focus on different dance-styles, mainly hip-hop, break, house, popping and locking (Soul Sessions Oslo, n.d.).

Based on data from 13 semi-structured interviews with key individuals within the organizations, resulting in over 11 hours of data, the researcher gained in-depth insights into the organizations and the work they do. While the organizations are based in three different countries, the similarities in the organizational characteristics, as well as the size and characteristics of the cities, ensure that they lend themselves well to a comparative analysis. A thematic analysis was conducted, which resulted in four themes that contribute to answer the research question at hand. These four themes are named as follows: (1) Engagement in and Beyond the City, (2) Engaging Communities from the Bottom-Up, (3) Intrinsic Motivations as a Driving Force, and (4) The Relevance of Working Outside the State

and Market. Together, these four themes answer the research question by providing insights into how the organizations engage with social and political tensions with and through their art.

The research has a strong academic relevance. It contributes to the growing literature on urban commons, as well as that of social and political engagement. The case-studies examined in the research project are unique and relevant examples to further deepen our knowledge about these fields of research. Organizations related to hip-hop culture are especially suitable to discuss urban commons and social/political tensions due to its inherently political background and strong tendency to organize as self-governed organizations (Alridge & Stewart, 2005; da Silva & Shaw, 2016). By focusing on organizations that have alternative performing arts as their focus, the researcher highlight cultural perspectives that are often overlooked in academic research (Bertacchini et al., 2022). The gap of academic literature that focus on community-based practices within genres like hip-hop is also reflected in other ongoing EU-funded projects.[2]

This research project has a strong societal relevance. By describing the practices of these organizations, they can better argue for their position and value in society, and similar organizations may gain inspiration and learnings to help strengthen their own initiatives. Additionally, the research project can be of use to local and national governments that want to better understand how to support these organizations. The societal relevance of this research is further reflected in the personal experiences of the researcher. With a background as a house and hop-hop dancer, the researcher has first-hand experience with organizations rooted in alternative cultural art forms. She has been active in hip-hop-based organizations in several European countries, and these places have given the researcher a sense of community outside her own country. However, encounters with these organizations also entail having observed the challenges they go through, like lack of funding and struggles to be acknowledged for the artistic and social value they have. This poses serious threats to the survival and autonomy of these organizations. The researcher therefore feels a personal motivation to contribute to the representation of these art forms also in academic literature, and to strengthening the understanding of the role these organizations hold in our society.

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[2] Example: *Re/Presenting Europe: Popular Representations of Diversity and Belonging*

2. Theory

2.1 Positioning the cultural community-based organization within economic theory

2.1.1 The Dichotomy of State and Market

There are two important institutions of the study of economics that should first be addressed: The state and the market. Together, they make up the standard logics of economics, stating that scarce resources are allocated through the free exchanges in markets, or through planning and intervention by the state (H. Chang, 2014; Klamer, 2017; Smith et al., 1981). These two institutions, and the relationship between them, will be the focus of this part. However, a clarification of the concept of institutions will first be presented.

In this thesis, a definition of institutions which excludes organizations will be used (Cole, 2013). The author will take use of the definition by Douglass North, which is also compatible with the different definitions used by Elinor Ostrom when defining institutions (Cole, 2013; North, 1990; Ostrom, 1990, 2005). The definition by North (1990) goes as followed: "Institutions are the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction." (p. 3, North, 1990). Cole (2013) argue that this is the most frequently used definition within the social sciences. This definition, as well as the ones by Ostrom (Ostrom, 1990, 2005), separates the *organization* as something different that institutions. Organizations are rather seen as people who come together around a common goal. People in an organization follow their own set of institutions, for example organizational rules and norms. They are still heavily influenced by external institutions, which they can also in turn influence themselves (Cole, 2013; North, 1990).

Much of economics focuses on market exchanges. The market is where goods and services are purchased and sold in the capitalist economy, and where capitalists trade the products and services they have produced for profit (Chang, 2014; Smith et al., 1981). One of the most central costs of operating in the market is to discover the appropriate pricing. This is a cost that can be somewhat reduced when integrated in a firm. According to Coase (1937), firms are created due to certain costs and disadvantages of operating in the market. When an entrepreneur creates a firm, some of these costs and disadvantages can be mitigated. Furthermore, creating a firm can also be a way to secure long-term supply of a

service (Coase, 1937). To sum up, one can say that firms exist because the cost of organizing as a firm is lower than using the price mechanism of the market.

While much of economics focuses on markets, the role of the state is also a topic of great concern. A broad specter of opinions on this issue persists. This ranges from those who argue for a free market with little intervention from the state, the free-market view, to the more Marxist opinion that intervention from the state is positive, and that free markets should be minimized or abolished. Many economists, and people in general, are of course somewhere on a spectrum between these two opposing views, rather than on the far extremes of it (Chang, 2014).

When the pricing mechanism does not function optimally, market failures are created (Chang, 2014). When this happens, intervention from the government might be called for. One such market failure is *public goods*. In economics, there is a distinction between *private goods* and *public goods*. Private goods are characterized by the fact that if you pay for said product or service, only you can consume it (Chang, 2014). Public goods are different. These goods and services are simultaneously *non-rivalrous* and *non-excludable* (Cowen & Tabarrok, 2018). This means two things: Firstly, the same good or service can be consumed by multiple people. Secondly, if one person in a group consumes this good or service, others cannot be prevented from consuming it. Public goods can have a problem of free-riding, meaning that some might use the good without paying for it (Chang, 2014).

In this section, the dichotomy of the state and the market has been presented. In the following section, we will look at some concrete examples of organizations that do not fit within this dichotomy. The argument will be made that these examples show why it is necessary to move beyond the dichotomy of state and market. This will be done together with a discussion on top-down versus bottom-up organization.

2.1.2 Reasons to Move Beyond the Dichotomy: Bottom-Up Organizations

Before we dive into examples of organizations that lay outside the dichotomy of state and market, a discussion on top-down versus bottom-up institutions and organizations will be presented. Easterly (2008) explains how the distinction between top-down and bottom-up within institutional economics goes as far back as to the eighteenth-century. The two perspectives differ broadly when explaining how institutions are created. Top-down can be summarized as following the laws and rules written by political leaders. This view is frequently combined with the idea that there is one ideal way to govern society of which all countries should aim to follow. Institutions created through the bottom-up approach, on the other hand, starts from the individuals in society. Through this approach, institutions are created from the norms, beliefs, and traditions of people, with the law viewed simply as a formalization of what already exist among individuals (Easterly, 2008). The topic of top-down versus bottom-up is especially relevant when organizations take the place of public institutions in society. Earlier, it was explained how states can intervene to solve market failures. However, governments cannot always supply all services desired by their people. This is when different types of bottom-up organizations can come into play. Some examples of these organizational types will now be presented.

The non-profit organization is maybe one of the more frequently used labels to name non-state organizations that work with other motivations than monetary profit. Salamon (1987) argues that the role of the private non-profit organization is to provide certain services, or *collective goods,* that are wanted by a group of people in a society. This group is typically a minority, which is why their wishes are not fulfilled by public welfare institutions (Salamon, 1987). These organizations are often referred to as belonging to the non-profit or third-sector. Labels like the civic sector, charitable organizations, the independent sector, the social sector and social purpose organizations are also used (Powell & Bromley, 2020).

Grassroot groups is an informal organizational form that is characterized with being created from the bottom-up. It is frequently associated with activistic purposes (Khoury et al., 2021). Grassroot groups can be defined as individuals coming together around a common goal by self-organizing on voluntary basis (Davis et al., 2005). Morea & Sabatini (2023) include organizational forms like artist collectives, social cooperatives and cultural associations when studying grassroot groups in the cultural sector.

Another bottom-up organizational form is *community-based organization* (CBOs). Similar to the concept of *common governance* by Ostrom (2002), Moctezuma (2001) describe how CBOs can be a way to collectively manage natural resources. In this study, focused on CBOs in south-east Mexico, the organizations take part in urban and peri-urban development. The implementation of CBOs result in new health centers, schools, and community museums in the area. Furthermore, CBOs are also relevant in the context of culture and modern cities. Roels et al. (2022) explain how the COVID-19 pandemic shed light on the limitations of top-down procedures on marginalized communities. The CBOs tackled this social challenge using artistic activities like music, theatre, and visual arts to strengthen resilience and confidence among young people in Amsterdam and New York City. This was done through establishing a deep connection between the organizations and their surrounding community.

The *Collectivist-Democratic Organization* is yet another organizational form worth examining (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). The collectivist-democratic organizations distinguishes itself from traditional bureaucratic organizations in several manners. Authority lays in the group rather than the individual; formalized rules are minimal, and social control is conducted with the use of moral and individualistic appeals. Furthermore, there is a sense of community through personal relations, which is also reflected in an informal recruitment process. Incentives are normative and solidarity focused, and differences in rewards are controlled by the group. Lastly, functions in the organization are generalized, and there is little (if any) division of labor (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979).

Some more characteristics about these organizations, and how they survive over time, should be mentioned. They are often subject to develop a complex relationship with the government. The organizations often aim to be non-bureaucratic and independent; however, they frequently rely on public funding. This can create a paradox for the organizations, where they find themselves to be financially dependent on a government they wish to be independent from, and sometimes critical of (Salamon, 1987; Zilberstein, 2019). Walker & McCarthy (2010) investigated a sample of almost 300 community-based organizations focused on low-income communities to see what influences their survival. The results show that it is the organization's ability to obtain financial resources - especially through grassroot fundraising - that influence their chances of survival. Organizational structure is also expected to indirectly affect survival, as well as attachments to regional and

national networks. Bielefeld (1994) found that non-profit organizations in the US that survive over a longer period of time tend to have more employees and volunteers and have a higher expenditure. Also favorable for survival is a variety of income streams and a smaller focus on reduction of costs.

The organizational types presented above have many characteristics that differentiate them from other actors in economic theory. They primarily do not act as profit-seeking actors who sell products and services in the market, and neither are they interventions by the state. What is observed is that these organizations self-organize from the bottom-up to provide certain services that some groups of people demand, without doing so for capitalist purposes. To position these organizations within economic theory, we therefore have to look beyond the state/market dichotomy. One theoretical framework to do so will be presented in the following part.

2.1.3 A Proposed Solution: Theory of the Commons

Many scholars have attempted to find a solution to the limitations of the state/market dichotomy. Worth mentioning is the model of five spheres developed by Klamer (2017). In this model, the dichotomy of state/market is replaced with the spheres market, governance, social, cultural and *oikos* (family)*.* This model works best when two or more spheres are combined and is suitable to analyze projects and organizations which goes beyond the state and market (Klamer & Mignosa, 2019). However, while this model has its value, it does not provide the necessary frameworks to discuss social and political engagement. The researcher has therefore chosen to rather focus on the more established approach found in theory of *the commons,* and more specifically, *urban commons.* This topic, which has been used both by academics and political movements (Borch & Kornberger, 2015), will be the focus of the coming paragraphs.

The field of literature on the commons examines self-organized communities in urban and rural settings, that manage resources and services by establishing and enforcing social norms (Ostrom, 1990). Literature suggest that the commons was first mentioned by Coman (1911) in relation to water resource management in the US. The topic re-gained attention when Hardin (1968) published the paper *The tragedy of The Commons.* In the paper, Hardin (1968) uses the example of a sheep herdsman to argue that common resources should be privatized or publicly managed. The example of a herdsman considering adding another sheep to his herd, illustrates how the herdsman individually gains more from doing so than he loses because of overgrazing. This is because the herdsman gains all the profit from having an additional sheep, but only has to account for a fraction of the negative aspects of the collective resource of the grass. All farmers then add additional sheep until the land loses its value. This paper has later been used by many to argue for the privatization of property in regard to management of natural resources, which according to Harvey (2012) is a faulty understanding of the paper. He rather argues that the challenge in the example of the herdsman lays in the fact that the cattle is managed as private property, with individual utility-maximizing behavior, and that this would not be a problem if the cattle was managed as a common (Harvey, 2012).

Elinor Ostrom critique this so-called tragedy. She received the Nobel Prize in 2009 for her work showcasing how local communities manage non-excludable and rivalrous natural resources collectively through *self-governance* (NobelPrize.org, n.d.). She calls resources

with these characteristics *common-pool resources*. The recourses can be natural or man-made, and it should be costly (however not impossible) to exclude someone from benefiting from them (Ostrom, 1990). Ostrom's extensive fieldwork shows how rules are developed over time in communities in rural areas to secure economic and ecological sustainability of these resources. This is illustrated by how the communities manage the common-pool resources that have not been sufficiently handled by the state or the market (Ostrom, 1990). Her work proposes a solution to *The Tragedy of the Commons* (Hardin, 1968)*,* and has laid the groundwork for further research into this topic.

Today, the commons can be found almost everywhere, as it has evolved to incorporate a broad variety of fields (Borch & Kornberger, 2015; Harvey, 2012). While it started out with a focus on natural resources, it has evolved to also include shared human resources, such as knowledge (Hess & Ostrom, 2007). It has been related to a broad range of topics. For example, theory of the commons has been related to grassroot welfare initiatives in Barcelona, with a bottom-linked approach to social innovation (Bianchi, 2022). In this case, the author argues that the initiatives should be given adequate freedom from the state to employ self-government, while simultaneously being supported through policy programs. In the cultural sector, Dalla Chiesa (2020) investigated how bottom-up curation and crowdfunding was implemented in the case of the Queer Museum in Brazil, arguing that identities are socially governed cultural commons under the broader term of knowledge commons. Santagata et al. (2011) explain how cultural commons are exemplified with artistic movements and city images. It refers to cultural aspects which are shared among and expressed by a community.

Dekker (2020) has connected *innovation commons* to hip-hop. Innovation commons helps discover and develop new technologies and ideas (Allen & Potts, 2016; Potts, 2019). It states that actors (often amateur enthusiasts) need to come together to collectively piece together a puzzle of knowledge on a certain innovative topic to discover new opportunities. A key characteristic of innovation commons is that they dissolve after a period of time. While not disputing the importance of Potts' work, Dekker (2020) draws on hip-hop as an example to make two critics to this theory. Firstly, he argues, it should be acknowledged that cultural scenes which holds characteristics of innovation commons does not necessarily collapse. This is exemplified with the commercial success of hip-hop in the late 1980s, which rather than decay resulted in a split between *underground* and *commercial* scenes.

Secondly, it is argued by Dekker (2020) that Potts (2019) overlooks the important element of *places*. The relevancy of New York as a place in the development of hip-hop is highlighted.

The theory on *urban commons* places the theory of the commons within modern cities (Borch & Kornberger, 2015). The concept of the commons is then used to refer to cultural, social, and civic institutions of our societies. In cities, commons can promote a feeling of community among people (Borchi, 2018). Harvey (2012) explains that at the local metropolitan level, urban commons are relatively straight forward to identify: At the core, there is a mix of private and individual initiatives to organize. Furthermore, it involves informal and formal neighborhood organizations, like community organizations, as well as the local state which intervenes through actions like regulations and investments. The neighborhood organizations can be political, but do not have to be. Lastly, aspects of the environment are put outside the mechanisms of the market, and externality effects – meaning benefits or disadvantages on third parties - are attained. Urban commons hold the same challenges of rivalry and free-rider problems as the commons developed by Ostrom, but within the context of the city (Antonucci, 2020). Urban commons also contribute to the disappearance of a division between producer and consumer, as the community that creates and maintains resources also consumes it (Borch & Kornberger, 2015; Lefebvre, 1968).

Practical examples of urban commons can be found in two occupied theaters in Italy (Borchi, 2018). Teatro Valle in Rome and Asilo Fiangieri in Naples were both occupied by professionals from the cultural sector in the period between 2011 and 2016. Borchi (2018) argue that these two examples show how self-governed ways of organizing can be successful in practice, as a decision-making process based on consensus was applied in both cases. Especially interesting is the case of the Asilo Fiangieri, as this resulted in changes in the legal framework in the city, as a *Department for the Commons* was established in the local council of Naples. The city has officially recognized this theater and the occupants right to manage it as an urban common. The council has given seven other urban commons the same recognition.

To conclude this first part of the theoretical framework of this thesis, the following summery is presented. Firstly, the dichotomy of state and market was presented. It was explained how the market is where capitalists come to trade goods and services for profits,

and how the institution of the state refers to government intervention in this. The state and the market make up the two traditional logics of standard economics (H. Chang, 2014; Smith et al., 1981). They are also referred to as institutions, a concept that was then defined as the rules of the game of our society (North, 1990). The applied definition puts organizations outside institutions (North, 1990; Ostrom, 1990). After the dichotomy of state and market was presented, the argument was made that we need to go beyond it to explain certain organizations observed in our society. Grassroot groups (Khoury et al., 2021; Morea & Sabatini, 2023), community-based organizations (Moctezuma, 2001; Roels et al., 2022), the collectivist-democratic organization (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979) and private non-profit organizations were drawn upon as examples of why this is necessary. Lastly, theory of the commons, and urban commons in particular, was proposed as a suitable framework to do so. By investigating urban self-organizing communities, we stand better suited to investigate how resources are collectively managed in urban environments (Borch & Kornberger, 2015; Harvey, 2012; Ostrom, 1990). The example of how the occupation of the Asilo Fiangieri theater in Naples resulted in legal recognition of urban commons was drawn upon to illustrate how urban commons are observed in practice (Borchi, 2018).

2.2 The socially and politically engaged artist

2.2.1 Social, Political, and Place-specific Engagement

As we have seen in the previous part of this chapter, there are many ways that individuals can organize around social, political, and artistic purposes. In this section, we will look at how individuals and organizations might engage with and through their art. There are many ways social and political engagement is conducted by artists in urban environments. Sometimes, these artists come together to create societal and political change. This is reflected in the literature, as actions are taken by individual artists (Hoop et al., 2022; Kaddar et al., 2022), movements (Bird, 2019), bottom-up organizations (Zilberstein, 2019) and top-down institutions (Ashley, 2014).

Bird (2019) puts emphasis on the important role of art in a society where many people, especially young and marginalized groups, are less active in politics. The author conducted a cases-study of the movement Négritute, to illustrate a case where political change for marginalized groups was achieved through art. The research has two important conclusions: Firstly, that the arts has an important role in political engagement, and secondly, that politicians should recognize this fact even if it means thinking beyond what political engagement traditionally has looked like.

Hoop et al. (2022) raises the relevant questions of *how* and *why* artists intervene in political issues in their city. Based on fieldwork and qualitative interviews, the authors identify five ways urban artistic intervention occurs. Firstly, *aestheticization* is related to the decoration of public spaces, which does not necessarily have to be done as a political act. Secondly, *social communication* is to actively engage with marginalized groups in the local community through participatory projects. Thirdly, *breaching experience* concerns artistic initiative aimed at challenging people's opinions, often through humor and imagination in the public space. Fourthly, *protest* is about blurring the lines between political and artistic acts, with actions like demonstrations and squatting distinguished as artistic initiatives. Lastly, *utopian experimentation* aims to create spaces that works as utopian examples of how the cities could look like. Together, these five categories illustrate a useful analytical tool to discuss artistic intervention on urban political issues.

Kaddar et al. (2022) has developed a similar framework for classifying how artist engages politically in cities. The framework consists of five artist types: "The autonomous

artist; the social artivist; the political artist; the political artivist; and the high-status artist."
(p. 476) Most relevant to this research is the *political artivist*, who actively works to change
socio-political structures. Maybe surprisingly, the author explains that the *political artivist*
often collaborate with authorities to create political change, despite their tendency to be
confrontational and critical of their governments.

Zilberstein (2019) has researched the role of how grassroot art organizations
specifically relate to development in cities and the political economy. The author concludes
that these bottom-up organizations conduct urban artistic engagement through three
dimensions. The first dimension is cultural representation, which can be summarized as the
prioritization and representation of the identity of marginalized groups. The second
dimension is spatial use, which regards how the organization makes physical places
accessible to diverse groups of people. Lastly, temporal narratives explain how the
organizations address both the past and the future, for example by engaging with historical
events and future goals of their communities.

Another study that focuses on the role of cultural grassroot organizations in cities is
Morea & Sabatini (2023). By mapping organizations in two Italian cities, the authors find
four themes that explain how these organizations affect their cities. Firstly, opposition to
the government is conducted (categorized as *political conflict*). Secondly, *imagining the
alternative city* is done by imagining solutions to issues in their local communities, for
example regarding social inclusion and integration. Closely linked to this is the third theme,
making the alternative city, which regard acting on the topics addressed in the previous
theme. Lastly, the two-folded theme of *discourse about the cultural economy* discuss how
the organizations affect both cultural and artistic issues, e.g., by strengthening democracy
and artistic freedom.

Also larger, top-down cultural intuitions can engage in social and political tensions.
The study by Ashley (2014) investigates the case-study of the Royal Ontario Museum in
Toronto. The findings of the research point to five areas utilized by the institution to
attempt to create engagement, namely: "engagement viewed from the intellectual or
curatorial perspective; engagement seen as a social integration and cultural diversity
exercise; engagement as a market orientation; engagement perceived as participation and
interaction, but also, engagement viewed as a political practice." (p. 267) In the conclusion,

the author points to how the museum struggled to tackle the topic of public engagement, partially due to their bureaucratic characteristics.

When talking about social and political engagement within the arts, hip-hop can be an especially relevant genre to examine in more detail. This is because of the artform's social and political background. Hip-hop emerged in the late 1970 in the Bronx, New York. It has since evolved to reflect artistic, social, economic and political aspects of our modern lives (Alridge & Stewart, 2005). It is generally accepted that hip hop has at least four cultural modes, called elements: Emceeing (rap; the vocal element), disc jockeying (DJing; the aural element), breaking (dance; the physical element), and graffiti art (the visual element). Many also add *knowledge* as a fifth element (Alridge & Stewart, 2005; Dekker, 2020; Miller et al., 2014). Topics like resistance, social awareness, questioning of authority, community engagement and activism are all inherent in hip-hop (Miller et al., 2014).

One concrete example that illustrates the relevance on focusing on hip-hop when discussing social/political engagement and bottom-up governance, is described by da Silva & Shaw (2016). Based on extensive field-work in several favelas in Brazil, the authors describe how communities develop autonomous organizational structures from the bottom-up to tackle the challenges of living in societies affected by gang violence and a weak state. Their focus is especially on children and youth in their communities. Hip-hop is central in how these communities tackle individual and communal challenges. As a result of the work of these organizations, places are created where people come together to meet individual and communal needs and solve challenges and conflicts. This is, for example, done through "break-battles" that occur between different groups of youths in the neighborhoods. In this competitive format, where dancers go against each other to prove physical and artistic ability to win prestige, violence is transformed into symbolic violence. Rather than partake in actual violence, they have found a format to self-express and solve conflicts through dance. This illustrates well the relevance of hip-hop as an artform to engage in social and political tensions in communities.

Category	Example of engaged behavior	Author(s)
POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT	**Artistic intervention as protest:** Blurring the line between political and artistic actions, e.g., political posters, demonstrations and squatting presented as artworks.	Hoop et al. (2022) *City, Culture and Society*
	The political artist: Artists creating artistic work that reflects socio-political issues aimed at creating reflection and communication.	Kaddar et al. (2022) *Journal of urban affairs*
	The political artivist: Artists actively opposing political power, to create both internal and external political efficacy.	Kaddar et al. (2022) *Journal of urban affairs*
	Political conflict: Grassroot cultural organizations actively opposing (neoliberal) governments, e.g., through occupation of spaces in the city.	Morea & Sabatini (2023) *Cities*
PLACE-SPECIFIC ENGAGEMENT	**Artistic intervention as utopian experimentation:** Creating spaces to illustrate that alternative (e.g., non-capitalist) ways of living and working is possible.	Hoop et al. (2022) *City, Culture and Society*
	Imagining the alternative city: Expressing the idea of an alternative city that is, e.g., more caring, inclusive, or livable.	Morea & Sabatini (2023) *Cities*
	Making the alternative city real: Actively working to realize their preferred idea of the city, through e.g., collective action, the creation of collaborate spaces, participatory practices, and active citizenships.	Morea & Sabatini (2023) *Cities*
	Discourse about the cultural economy: The twofold objective to both realize their preferred alternative city, and create jobs and spaces for cultural and creative activities	Morea & Sabatini (2023) *Cities*
	Artistic intervention as aestheticization: Decoration of public spaces.	Hoop et al. (2022) *City, Culture and Society*
	Spatial use: Making physical places accessible to diverse groups of people.	Zilberstein (2019) *City & Community*
SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT	**Artistic intervention as social communication:** Creating places where public participation is promoted through artistic interventions, sometimes labeled *community-based* or *socially engaged* art.	Hoop et al. (2022) *City, Culture and Society*
	The social artivist: Actively working to shape human relationship and their city, without opposing political power.	Kaddar et al. (2022) *Journal of urban affairs*
	Artistic intervention as a breaching experience: Using artistic intervention to put attention to people's unconscious habits and attitudes, often in a humorous manner. E.g., decoration of public space or performance art.	Hoop et al. (2022) *City, Culture and Society*
	Cultural representation: Representing and prioritizing the identity of marginalized groups.	Zilberstein (2019) *City & Community*
	Temporal narratives: Engaging with dimensions of time through focus on history and future goals of marginalized communities.	Zilberstein (2019) *City & Community*

Table 2.1: Theoretical overview of social, political, and place-specific engagement, developed by the author.

2.2.2 The Intrinsic Motivation to Create and Engage

Intrinsic motivation should be understood, and fostered, if artistic work and engagement in social/political tensions are desired. Motivation to engage in work like this does often not stem from a desire of external rewards (e.g., money). To answer why people engage in artistic and social/political activities, the concept of intrinsic motivation provide an answer. Intrinsic motivation is a concept brought into economics from psychology to explain why incentives does not always give the expected results (Kreps, 1997; Remic, 2022). It is often applied when trying to explain why artists behave as they do, when their motivation often do not rely (solely) on monetary incentives (Abbing, 2008). Hip-hop artists (in the context of rural India) have also been shown to demonstrate strong intrinsic motivation, and a desire to create art-for-arts-sake, despite hip-hop being an artform strongly related to hustling culture (Daga, 2022).

A person is seen as intrinsically motivated when performing a task for no other apparent reason than the activity of doing it (Deci, 1971). Frey & Jegen (2001) explain intrinsic motivation as when incentives comes from within the individual themselves. This is seen in contrast to extrinsic motivation, like monetary rewards and peer recognition, which comes from outside the individual. The two concepts are often seen as a continuum, rather than a black and white distinction (Abbing, 2008). Alternatives to these concepts are also proposed by some scholars, for example Cnossen et al. (2019), who argue for exchanging the dichotomy of extrinsic/intrinsic for the commercial viability and autonomy. In this approach it is argued that workers who have more autonomy expect less financial rewards in return.

As a result of integrating intrinsic motivation into economic theory, *crowding theory* has been established to describe the relationship between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation (Frey, 1999; Frey & Jegen, 2001). This theory describe a phenomenon that is quite the opposite of the price mechanism usually relied upon by economics: In some cases, introducing incentives (e.g., monetary rewards) results in a *decrease* of work input. When intrinsic motivation is *crowded-out,* we move closer to the extrinsic motivation side of the continuum. When intrinsic motivation is *crowded-in,* intrinsic motivation is increased as we move the other side of the continuum.

The crowding theory has been used to analyze the effect of government subsidies of the arts. Frey (1999) stresses how government support to artists that is perceived to be

controlling, rather than supporting, undermines intrinsic motivation. An especially strong *crowding-out* effect can occur when the support is dependent on specific performance, with little leeway, and when the artists are all treated the same by the government. On the opposite side, a strong *crowding-in* effect can be created when artists are appreciated and given autonomy, and when the participatory role of artists is strengthened through freedom to apply their own understanding of aesthetics to the artworks produced.

To conclude section 2.2, the following has been stated. Firstly, a discussion on how artists can engage in social and political questions was presented. The relevance of engaging in social and political tensions with and through art was argued for (Bird, 2019). Thereafter, different perspectives on how artists can engage were presented (Hoop et al., 2022; Kaddar et al., 2022; Morea & Sabatini, 2023; Zilberstein, 2019). This was summarized in table 2.1, where it was argued that the different types of engagement can be categorized into three main groups: Social engagement, political engagement, and place-specific engagement. After this followed a discussion on intrinsic motivation, which is argued to be highly linked to both creative work and social/political engagement, as incentives are often not extrinsic. Intrinsic motivation was defined (Abbing, 2008; Deci, 1971; Frey & Jegen, 2001; Remic, 2022). Its relevance to hip-hop artists in India was also mentioned (Daga, 2022). Thereafter, it was connected to *crowding theory* (Frey, 1999; Frey & Jegen, 2001)*.* It was presented how intrinsic motivation can be crowded in or out. Especially important is how external intervention which is experienced as controlling rather than supporting can crowd-out intrinsic motivation.

3. Methodology

3.1 Research question

This thesis will answer the following research question: _How do community-based_ _organizations engage in social and political tensions in their urban environments with and_ _through alternative performing arts?_ This research question has been formulated based on the theory about social and political engagement, as well as bottom-up organizations and the theory of the commons. Please refer to parts 2.1 and 2.2 for the theoretical framework which informs the research question

3.2 Data collection

The data collection of this research was done in three phases: _Phase 0_, a preliminary stage to design the research and select the case studies, followed by _Phase 1_, the design of the method and conceptual model to collect data, and lastly _Phase 2_, the actual collection of interview data. The research utilized semi-structured interviews as a method of data collection. 13 interviews were collected, amounting to 11 hours and 17 minutes of data.

3.2.1 Preliminary data-collection & case-selection

A preliminary phase of data collection was conducted in the period October – December 2022. The goal of this phase was to identify concepts relevant to designing the research, relying both on theory and input from people working in the field. This was done mainly through desk research, but also through two unstructured interviews and some ethnographic observations. One could also consider that this stage included some degree of ethnography, as the researcher familiarized herself with the organizations by attending events and classes by them. The case selection was, in other words, a strictly purposive sampling method that relied on the judgement of the researcher to select cases suitable for the research (Babbie, 2020). Due to the unstructured nature of this stage, it was not included as an official part of the data collection. The researcher conducted two unstructured interviews with employees at Hiphophuis[3] in this phase. The first meeting took

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[3] The researcher was familiar with the organization before the start of this project, through attending dance classes, events, and open practice. The researcher estimates having attended approx. 250 hours of events/classes at Hiphophuis in the period Aug 2021 – May 2023.

place on 08.11.2022 (45 min), followed by a second meeting on 06.12.2022 (30 min). During the meeting, consisting of two people from the organization and the researcher, different topics and challenges related to the organization were discussed. The concept of "community-based organization" was at focus in this stage. These meetings were requested by the organization for them to evaluate whether to accept to participate in the project. The meeting therefore also focused on the formal requirements of the research project. The researcher conducted notes during the meetings and researched relevant literature beforehand and after.

Simultaneously as dialogue with Hiphophuis was opened, the researcher conducted desk research to find comparable cases. During this phase, it became evident that the research needed to extend its scope beyond Rotterdam. The first potential case established through desk research was Rapolitics. While based in Copenhagen, the organization expressed many similar characteristics to Hiphophuis, e.g., a focus on hip-hop and clear social/political engagement. The last two cases were thereafter selected through desk research: WORM[4] and Soul Sessions Oslo. WORM was also suggested by Hiphophuis as the only comparable case to themselves in Rotterdam. Soul Sessions Oslo was picked based on desk research and the researcher's prior knowledge about the organization[5]. Before conducting the interviews with Soul Session Oslo, the researcher attended their festival *Soul Sessions Encounters* (20-23.04.2022) in Oslo. This included participating in one of their dance battles, as well as attending dance performances, a dance class, and a panel talk.

The researcher argues that it is possible, and relevant, to discuss the four selected cases despite them being located in three different countries. Firstly, this is because all the cities are located in Europe. Secondly, numbers from Statista for the year 2022 show that the population in the three cities are similar in size: Oslo had a population of 699.827 inhabitants, followed by Rotterdam with 655.468 inhabitants, and Copenhagen with 644.431 inhabitants (Statista, n.d.-c, n.d.-b, n.d.-a). Furthermore, the organizations all have their base in the center of their respective cities.

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[4] The researcher was already familiar with WORM, as she had attended a lecture by Jan Pier Brands on the funding structure of WORM, as part for the subject Values of Culture at Erasmus University January 2022.

[5] The researcher was already familiar with Soul Session Oslo, having previously attended several of their dance battles (competitions) both as a participant and audience.

Beyond the similarities in characteristics of their cities, the organizations also share many internal similarities. To summarize, they are similar in artistic focus, social and cultural goals, age, and bottom-up characteristics. The focus on organizations created from the bottom-up, rather than institutions created from the top-down, was the main criterion for the case selection. The cases were not selected based on their legal status, but rather based on the criteria of *not* being created with strong support from the state. Support (financial or other) from public institutions <u>after</u> the creation of the organization was not seen as disqualifying by the researcher when selecting the cases. Furthermore, the organizations all have both social/political and cultural goals at the core of their organizations. These criteria were also applied by Morea & Sabatini (2023) in their study on artistic bottom-up organizations. Using similar criteria as other research on this topic contributes to working towards a common academic understanding of what it means to be an artistic bottom-up (or grassroots) organization.

The case selection was further guided by selecting organizations that have hip-hop as <u>one of</u> their main artistic genres. Soul Sessions Oslo and Hiphophuis have a special focus on the dance aspect of hip-hop, while WORM and Rapolitics focus more on music (rap/DJing). Due to the interdisciplinary characteristics of the organizations, which include but also extend beyond hip-hop, the researcher has chosen to use the term "alternative performing arts" to describe the genres they focus on. Similar labels which are often used in common speech include *underground* or *sub-cultures.* The definition by Bertacchini et al. (2022) of *alternative cultural production* was used, which goes as followed:

> "These initiatives tend to be alternative to commercial and more institutionalized cultural circuits in the search for new artistic frontiers and new ways of using artistic practices in relation to the local context and the social and environmental fabric of the city." (Bertacchini et al., 2022, p. 352)

Furthermore, while not directly relevant to the research, it should be noted that all four organizations are over 10 years old. This secures that they have all established a certain complexity of norms and methods in their organization and have seen how this evolves over time. Lastly, it should be noted that it was a conscious choice of the researcher to select a small number of organizations for the research. This allowed her to investigate the cases in

depth, which is argued to be more relevant than the scope in this project. The researcher believes that the above-mentioned criteria secure comparable and interesting cases which will bring interesting perspectives to this academic field, and that this has strong academic value despite not being representative of a whole population – as is an inherent weakness of any qualitative research (Babbie, 2020). See part 3.3 for more information on each of the cases selected.

3.2.2 Conceptual model & design of interview guide

The researcher developed a conceptual model of two concepts and six variables, which guided the interview guide. The researcher argues that to answer the research question, it was necessary to look at how the organizations related to the concept of self-governance, together with how they engage in political, social, and place-specific tensions. This way, the findings presented will not only illustrate examples of how the organizations engage with social and political tensions, but also how this is affected by their manner of self-governance.
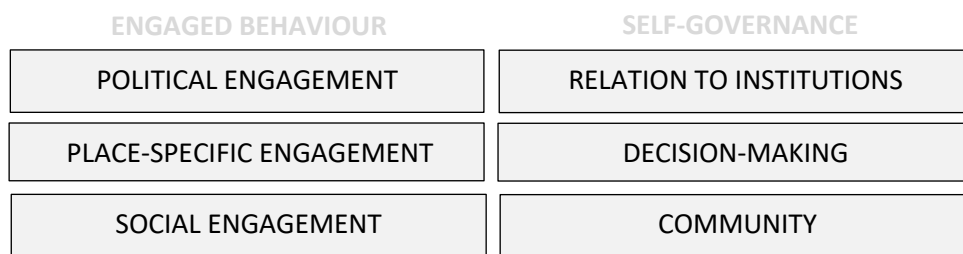
ENGAGED BEHAVIOUR	SELF-GOVERNANCE
POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT	RELATION TO INSTITUTIONS
PLACE-SPECIFIC ENGAGEMENT	DECISION-MAKING
SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT	COMMUNITY

Figure 3.1: Conceptual model, developed by the author

The first concept of the conceptual model is *Engaged Behavior*. This has been conceptualized into three variables: *Political engagement, place-specific engagement,* and *social engagement*. These three types of engagement were established in the theoretical framework (see Table 1 on page 22). For the variable *Political Engagement,* questions about how (and if) the organization relate to political topics were asked (e.g., *Does your organization engage in political topics?).* For the variable *Place-Specific Engagement,* questions regarding the effect of the organization on places were asked (e.g., *Where do you have an impact?).* Lastly, for the variable *Social Engagement,* questions about the social aspects of the work of the organizations has were asked (e.g., *Does your organization have*

an impact on society?). In the interview guide, some questions could relate to both social and political engagement (e.g., *what is the purpose of your organization?).*

The second concept of the conceptual model is *Self-Governance.* This concept was divided into three variables: *Relation to institutions, Decision-Making* and *Community*. In the variable *Relation to Institutions*, questions about how the organization relates to the state and the market were asked (e.g., *how is the organization funded?*). In the variable *Decision-Making*, questions about (democratic) decision-making processes and role division were asked (e.g., *How are decisions taken?*). Lastly, in the variable *Community,* questions about the different groups of people and communities involved in the organization were asked (e.g., *Which groups of people are involved in this organization?).*

3.2.3 Data collection: Conducting the semi-structured interviews

Phase 2 of the data collection started end of March 2023. In this phase, the interviews were conducted. The research method of this thesis is qualitative semi-structured interviews with central individuals in the organizations of this study. This is a well-suited research method when the aim is to collect in-debt knowledge about a topic (Babbie, 2020). 13 interviews were conducted, amounting to 11 hours and 17 minutes of data. The interviews were guided by the interview guide which can be found in Appendix A.

In Appendix B, a full overview of all interview participants can be found. This overview also presents the length, place, and language of the interviews and the participant's role within the organization. The length of the interviews ranged from 37 minutes to 75 minutes. Nine interviews were conducted online over Zoom, due to the researcher and the participant being in different countries or due to availability of the participant. 11 interviews were conducted in English. Two interviews were conducted in Norwegian: This was the native language of both the researcher and the participant, and it was therefore natural and beneficial for the research to let the participants express themselves in their native language. Lastly, the role of each participant is also stated in this overview. It should be emphasized that these are only the formalized roles, which are presented to give an impression of the area in which the participant has special insight. Many of the participants expressed that their responsibilities go beyond this formal role, and that it can change according to different projects in the organization.

3.3 Data analysis

The qualitative data was analyzed through Atlas.ti, using thematic analysis as the method of analysis. Thematic analysis is a suitable method when analyzing qualitative data when the goal is to find common themes (Herzog et al., 2019). The analysis of the data was done in six different stages, which will now be presented.

In the 1st phase of the data analysis, the researcher familiarized herself with the data. This was done already in the data-collection phase of the research. The researcher conducted all 13 interviews herself, and actively engaged with the data by noting down potential themes and codes during and after the interviews. Following this, the researcher continued to actively engage with the data during the transcription of the interviews, where interesting quotes were highlighted.

In the 2nd phase of the analysis, codes were applied to the data. This was done in a purely inductive manner. According to Babbie (2020), inductive reasoning starts with observing patterns in the data. Theories are then developed. This is seen in contrast to deductive research, which starts with theory and aims to test the theory against the data (Babbie, 2020). After the whole data set was coded, codes with few quotations were revised to avoid excessive codes. 277 codes were generated at the end of this stage, containing 945 quotations. At this stage of the data analysis, the researcher also decided to engage in the public discourse around AI, by testing the beta version of AI coding provided by Atlas.ti. An analysis of the first nine interviews resulted in 897 codes. While experimentation with this state-of-the-art technology provides an interesting insight into possible future tools that has the potential to provide an effective and (possibly) unbiased perspective to data analysis, the results were not of good enough quality to provide any valuable insight at this point. The large number of codes did not in any way form themes or reflect the research question at hand. As argued by Babbie (2020), insights and reflections by the researcher are important to find patterns in data when qualitative research is done with an inductive approach. For now, this argument still seems to hold.

In the 3rd phase of the data analysis, the 277 codes were organized into 19 code groups. This step was done simultaneously while coding the data in the previous step. These 19 code groups were then organized into four themes. In the 4th phase, the four themes were reflected upon in relation to literature and revised again. The table below illustrates each of the themes as they are presented in the results section (4.1 – 4.2) with the code

groups they consist of. For a full overview of the codes which make up each code group, see Appendix B.

Engagement in and Beyond the City	Extensive Social Impact (Groundedness: 125)
	Implicit Political Engagement (Groundedness: 41)
	Importance of Place (Groundedness: 81)
	Non-art topics addressed (Groundedness: 51)
	Positive Effect on Youth (Groundedness: 55)
Engaging Communities from the Bottom-Up	Reach unprivileged audience (Groundedness: 57)
	Broad Variety of Scenes (Groundedness: 42)
	Employees Connected to Community (Groundedness: 38)
	Underground Specific Discourse (Groundedness: 58)
Intrinsic Motivation as a Driving Force	Discourse roles (Groundedness: 119)
	Discourse Structure (Groundedness: 91)
	Efficiency Struggles (Groundedness: 71)
	Adaptable Organization (Groundedness: 74)
The Relevance of Working Outside the State and Market	Discourse Collaborations (Groundedness: 45)
	Discourse Public Funding (Groundedness: 75)
	Fluctuating Relationship w/ institutions (Groundedness: 31)
	Unique Financial Characteristics (Groundedness: 36)

Table 3.1: Overview of themes and corresponding code-groups

In the 5th phase, the four themes were named and defined. Thereafter, the report was written based on the analyzed data and related literature. This report is found in section *4. Results*.

3.4 Introduction of case-studies

3.3.1 Hiphophuis

Hiphophuis is located in Rotterdam (The Netherlands) and was founded in 2002. They have their own building in the center of Rotterdam, right next to Annabel, Biergarten, and Het Schieblok, which are also well-known places for culture in Rotterdam. This area has been argued to be one of five creative areas of Rotterdam (Nieuwland & Lavanga, 2021). According to the website of Hiphophuis, they provide dance classes in the styles hip-hop (choreography and freestyle), breaking, house, afro, popping, heels (commercial pop), freestyle, dancehall, and waacking[6] (Hiphophuis, n.d.). Additionally, they also provide courses that are not dancing, like DJing and roller-skating, and other cultural events. Examples of this are *open practice,* where anyone can come and use their space to practice their dance or movement, and *Power Talks,* which are panel talks on different topics related to hip-hop culture. However, the work of Hiphophuis work extends beyond providing classes and cultural events. They state on their website that they want to provide safety, knowledge, and inspiration to people in their community. One way they support their community is through development programs for new leaders and ambassadors. They state that they want to support their community through hip-hop culture, which they argue goes beyond art, also affecting how people think, act, and live.

3.3.2 WORM

WORM is located in Rotterdam (The Netherlands). It was founded in 1994, then with the name Dodorama. The name was changed to WORM in the year 2000. According to their website, the organization is "…the ultimate test environment for alternative art production, experimental ways of living, and non-academic knowledge development." (WORM, n.d.) They are located in Witte de With, a street in Rotterdam which has also been argued to be one of the five creative places in the city (Nieuwland & Lavanga, 2021). Nieuwland & Lavanga (2021) also explain that the redevelopment of this street, which happened in the 1980s, was initiated from the bottom-up. However, this was later turned into a top-down process when different public departments intervened directly. WORM is a

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[6] These styles are all different in their artistic expression and come from different backgrounds. Please consult the website of the organization (www.hiphophuis.nl) for how these styles are differentiated.

multidisciplinary organization, working in the intersection of performing arts and popular culture. Some of their initiatives include Pirate Bay media archive, and their bar and café Wunderbar. They organize radio shows, club nights, exhibitions, concerts, and much more.

3.3.3 Rapolitics

Rapolitics is located in Copenhagen (Denmark). It was founded in 2009. According to their website, they are a nonprofit organization that uses rap and hip-hop as a methodology to work with youth (Rapolitics, n.d.). They are based in the Nørrebro area in the center of Copenhagen. Their base is at a cultural building owned by the municipality of Copenhagen, where they have their own office facilities and the possibility of using common facilities to organize events. However, many of their initiatives take place outside of this building, at schools, in youth prisons, or at festivals. Their main activity is their workshops, in which they draw upon rap as a tool to connect with the youth. Their vision is to support youth, and to allow them to express themselves and act upon their values. They tackle societal issues in their workshops and have for example recently collaborated closely with the Institute for Human Rights to teach youth about this topic through rap. While their focus is mostly on Denmark, and Copenhagen, they have also previously had projects in Egypt, South Sudan, Lebanon, Bolivia, Jordan, Syria, Palestine, Sweden, and Norway.

3.3.4 Soul Sessions Oslo

Soul Sessions Oslo is based in Oslo (Norway). They were founded in 2009. According to their website, their main purpose is to promote hip-hop culture in Norway (Soul Sessions Oslo, n.d.). They do this through events like battles (dance competitions), workshops, panel talks, jams[7], and open practices where they welcome all dancers in Oslo. They focus on the dance genres hip-hop, house, break, locking, and popping. The genres waacking and voguing are occasionally included in their programming. They use three categories to explain the

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[7] An event where people, in this case dancers, can come together to practice their art, often with the presence of a DJ who is in charge of the music.

different dance styles they focus on: Hip-hop[8], funkstyles[9], and clubdances[10]. Please see the footnotes on how Soul Sessions Oslo define these styles in their yearly report of 2020 (Soul Sessions Oslo, 2020). In 2016, they moved into the building Sentralen, which is located in the center of Oslo. Through their collaboration with Sentralen, they have access to workspaces for administrative work, and venues where they can organize their events. They also have most of their events at this location. Sentralen opened in 2016 and is owned by the independent foundation Sparebankstiftelsen DNB. The building is used as a hub for cultural producers and social innovators (Sentralen, n.d.).

3.4 Ethical considerations

There are some ethical considerations that should be considered in this research. The researcher has to the best of her ability respected the informal characteristics of the organizations, using labels and vocabulary which corresponds to that used by the participants. This includes, for example, refraining from using the word "employee" to describe the people involved in the organizations. Furthermore, interview participants signed an agreement before the start of the interview to secure transparency in how the interviews would be analyzed and presented. The author chose to not anonymize the participants. This was mainly because it is relevant to mention the names of the organizations in the research, and full anonymity would therefore be difficult to obtain even if names were not mentioned. The researcher explicitly stated that name and role would not be used if the participant preferred to be anonymous, however, all participants agreed to use of their names in the document. Three participants requested to read their citations before the hand-in of the thesis. A draft version of the results-chapter was sent to them on the 7th of June 2023 by email.

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[8] *Hip-hop:* A culture from the Bronx (New York City) with roots in the African diaspora and Latinx people in the United States. It encompasses the dance styles hip-hop and break.

[9] *Funkstyles:* Genres danced on funk-music, a precursor to hip-hop. Dance genres include popping, locking, and break. Waacking is related to funkstyles but arouse separately in the LGBTQ+ community in clubs.

[10] *Clubdances*: Dance styles which emerged in clubs around the 60s and 70s in the US. Dance genres include house, locking, waacking, and vouging. Important to note is that vouging also belongs to ballroom, a culture that arouse in New York in the 60s in LGBTQ+ communities as a result of racism and discrimination.

4. Results

As stated earlier, this thesis tackle the following research question: *How do community-based organizations engage in social and political tensions in their urban environments with and through alternative performing arts?* The following chapter presents the findings of the qualitative research conducted with people involved in the organizations WORM, Rapolitics, Hiphophuis and Soul Sessions Oslo. The findings are based on 13 semi-structured interviews, resulting in over 11 hours of data. After a thematic analysis, four themes emerged which will be used to answer the research question.

In the first theme, *Engagement in and Beyond the City,* concrete examples of how the organizations engage in social and political tensions are presented. Findings show how the scope of this engagement extend beyond the city in which the organizations are based, which is argued to have been overlooked in previous literature on this topic. In the second theme, *Engaging Communities from the Bottom-Up,* it is presented how the organizations have a unique ability to engage different communities in social and political tensions. It is argued that this success is due to how the organizations are created and managed from the bottom-up, as well as their focus on alternative artforms. In the third theme, *Intrinsic Motivation as a Driving Force*, it is argued that intrinsic motivation is essential to the continuation of both the artistic and socially/politically engaged work of the organizations. It is further shown, as expected, that external intervention perceived as controlling rather than supporting *crowds-out* intrinsic motivation (Frey & Jegen, 2001). This is seen both inside the organizations, as more formalized processes are implemented, and outside the organizations as they are subject of intervention from external top-down institutions. Lastly, in the fourth theme, *The Relevance of Working Outside the State and Market,* it is presented how the organizations work outside the state/market dichotomy, though self-governance, to engage in social and political tensions. The focus is put on how they relate to the theory of urban commons. They organize as urban commons by creating alternatives to institutionalized education, and by creating organizations that have low barriers for participation (Borch & Kornberger, 2015).

4.1 Engagement in and Beyond the City

In the literature review presented earlier in this dissertation, it was suggested by the researcher that previous literature on engagement can be summarized in three main categories: Social engagement, political engagement, and place-specific engagement (Hoop et al., 2022; Kaddar et al., 2022; Morea & Sabatini, 2023; Zilberstein, 2019). This section will present how the three types of engagement are reflected in the case studies. Firstly, it will be presented that their engaged activities do not only take place in the cities where the organizations are situated, but also at national and international level. Formal and informal initiatives to create impact outside the city are presented. The researcher argue that the scope of this impact has been overlooked in previous literature. Following this, concrete examples of social and political engagement will be presented in reflection to previous literature.

While the organizations are strongly rooted in their respective cities, their impact extends beyond their immediate environment. This is most clearly illustrated with formal initiatives that reach beyond the city in which the organizations are based. One evident example of this is Soul Sessions Community. Kristin Agnes (Soul Sessions Oslo) is the project leader of this initiative. She explains how they aim to have an impact in different parts of Norway through this project. This is done by allowing organizations (e.g., dance schools) across the country to apply to be part of Soul Sessions Community. A handful of organizations are accepted each year. These organizations then collaborate with Soul Sessions Oslo. As Kristin Agnes explains: "… they gather youth locally and receive a program from us with visits from different teachers and so on." [11] (Kristin Agnes, Soul Sessions Oslo).

Rapolitics also has several projects that extend far beyond their immediate city. Mads (Rapolitics) explain how they have made a shift in recent years to focus more on Denmark, after having had many international projects in the past. He argue that a reason for this is that they want to strengthen the projects they have in Denmark, before expanding them internationally. However, some international projects are still ongoing. Manus (Rapolitics) explain their approach when going beyond the borders of Denmark:

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[11] See Appendix D for original quote in Norwegian

"We got projects in Egypt and Jordan and Palestine, in Cambodia, Bolivia. And typically, what we do is send rap coaches and meet up with local rappers and kind of educate them on being rap coaches and mentors. So, it's kind of like help for self-help. … We teach the facilitators more than we actually teach youth in other countries."

The organizations WORM and Hiphophuis also have an impact beyond the city of Rotterdam, however, their approach is less planned. Janpier explain how WORM has both a local, national, and international reach: "…it is connected very well interlocally, so not only in Rotterdam but also with other kindred spirits in the in the rest of the country, but also in the rest of the world." This can be illustrated with how people travel far distances to attend events at WORM. James (WORM) brought up how people travel from other countries to attend events like Playground and Zine Camp, and how this illustrate their reach beyond Rotterdam.

For Hiphophuis, their impact outside their city is also evident. Aruna (Hiphophuis) explain that their different projects, and their online reach, allows them to engage with people outside Rotterdam. They also experience that people travel to attend their events, for example from Belgium and France. Aïda (Hiphophuis) explains that their reach out of Rotterdam is two-folded: They program outside the city, for example through collaborations, but they also have people in their programming in Rotterdam that attracts audiences from other cities and countries.

Several concrete examples of social and political engagement conducted by the organizations will now be presented. In regard to social engagement, it is especially relevant to notice how the organizations create a place that promotes personal development (e.g., confidence, self-expression), and the strengthening of interpersonal relationships. Hoop et al. (2022) describe *Artistic intervention as social communication* as the act of creating places where communal encounters are promoted through artistic interventions. This type of social engagement is very present in the organizations of this study. It was repeatedly argued by participants that they create places where individuals can feel safe, develop personal characteristics, and build human relationships. Building confidence was especially frequently brought up as an important aspect of their social engagement, explicitly mentioned by all three participants from Rapolitics, as well as Janpier (WORM), Willy (Hiphophuis) and Aruna (Hiphophuis). While it is clear for all participants of this study that

their organization have some sort of social impact, Rapolitics is the only organization that have attempted to measure it. Through external partners, they utilize surveys, interviews, and focus groups to measure their impact and improve on their methods.

Another type of social engagement is what Zilberstein (2019) label *Cultural Representation.* This type of social engagement is concerned with the representation and prioritization of the identity of marginalized groups. This type of social engagement is especially evident in the work of Hiphophuis. Aïda (Hiphophuis) explain how they aim to create a safe space for minority groups through their programming:

> It's also really important to understand that we do program with the lens that is for black and brown people, but … everyone is welcome and the classes are always very mixed. So, it's not about excluding, it's about … making sure people feel comfortable. Because if you are white, … you feel comfortable everywhere, because the spaces are for you. (Aïda, Hiphophuis)

Beyond social engagement, the organizations also engage politically. The four organizations illustrate political engagement in two ways: Firstly, by engaging in non-arts related topics, and secondly, through the inherently political nature of their artforms. The most evident political engagement of the organizations is shown when they engage in non-arts related topics. An example of this is how they tackle topics like feminism, racism, and human rights. This is similar to the political engagement type *The Political Artist* as presented by Kaddar et al. (2022), where socio-political issues are reflected in artworks that aims to create reflection and communication.

A concrete example of this is how the rap-workshops of Rapolitics tackle topics like human rights. Alexander (Rapolitics) explains how he use topic like human rights when teaching workshops to youths: By allowing the participants to engage with different human rights, they simultaneously learn about the thematic itself while also creating lyrics that reflects this socio-political topic. Manus (Rapolitics) elaborated on this, stating that it is a clear goal for them to engage youth in political discussions: "…the goal in itself is creating a brave youth movement, who take part in discussions, and who has an understanding of their role in making societal change for the better."

Engaging youth to take part in political debates is also important for Hiphophuis. Willy (Hiphophuis) brought up one concrete example of how Hiphophuis recently engaged politically by facilitating voting in the local election of March 2022 in Rotterdam. He highlighted how they as an organization believes that it is important that the youth votes, and that they in 2022 contributed to this by making it possible to vote at Hiphophuis. He further explained how this made himself vote for the first time:

> … normally, when I was hanging out [with] my friends and stuff, nobody cared about voting because we always thought like, our voice doesn't matter, you know. And here in Hiphophuis, it was like, your voice does matter, even though it's maybe a little bit. (Willy, Hiphophuis)

The second type of political engagement done by the organizations is related to the inherently political nature of their artforms. When asked if they view their organization as political, many participants pointed to an inherent political engagement of the artforms they focus on. Mathias (Soul Sessions Oslo) explain how he views the two-folded political engagement of Soul Sessions Oslo:

> I think there are two ways to say it, and they both go hand in hand. The one thing is that the subcultures that we promote and practice are political in themselves. So, by nature what we do is political. … And then the other aspect that is very like curating obvious, like specific political things … like with Womanhood, let's go into feminism. (Mathias, Soul Sessions Oslo)

As previously discussed, political tensions like questioning of authority, social awareness and resistance are inherent in hip-hop culture (Alridge & Stewart, 2005; Miller et al., 2014). This is reflected in how the organizations engage in political tensions through subtle actions. Rather than loud political statements, this type of inherent political engagement is illustrated in how people act, their norms, their views, and their culture. While this type of engagement might be more difficult to spot, it is still an important part of how the organizations engage in political tensions in their environments.

4.2 Engaging Communities From the Bottom-Up

In this section, it will be presented how the organizations engage people through a bottom-up approach. It will be argued that the organizations impact and engages a variety of communities across different (sub)genres of alternative art, as well as demographics like age and ethnicity. This is achieved by being built *by people and for people* in these communities, illustrating the importance of a bottom-up approach to social and political engagement. As previously discussed, to work bottom-up means to start with individuals in society, rather than rules and regulations proposed by politicians (Easterly, 2008). How this is done in practice by the four organizations will now be presented.

Being part of *the community* can mean different things. In the case of Soul Sessions Oslo, one important factor is to be involved as a dancer in the genres they represent. In the case of Hiphophuis, being part of the community can mean to relate to the values and norms of hop-hop culture, or to be of minority background, without necessarily having a background as a dancer. This is illustrated with how Aïda (Hiphophuis) talks about her own experience of being involved in the organization. She explains how hip-hop culture is relatable to her, despite not being a dancer herself:

> I'm not a trained dancer, but I connect to hip-hop as a culture in many other aspects. So, it doesn't matter from which aspect or perspective you enter this culture, because you have these basic values in common. … I think hip-hop is, of course, very attractive to people who come from a migrant background. (Aïda, Hiphophuis)

While the four organizations might, from the outside, look like they focus on a very specific audience segment, this is not how they experience it themselves. The organizations state they encompass a large variety of different of communities across artistic (sub)genres and demographics. Aruna (Hiphophuis) explain that when she refers to the hip-hop community, it encompasses many different groups of people:

> "We want to be an organization that has an effect on the hip-hop community. And with the hip-hop community, I also mean the ballroom community, the beatmaker community, the house dancer community, the DJ community. I don't mean one specific community." (Aruna, Hiphophuis)

Mathias (Soul Sessions Oslo) also elaborate on this topic. He argues that while the organization might seem specialized from the outside, they actually welcome a broad variety of communities connected to different dance genres. He uses the example of *locking*, which is a dance style typically categorized as a *funk-dance style* rather than *hip-hop* dance*: "…* we are not specialized as an organization, but from outside, we are really specialized. But actually, we would be really specialized if we if we were like a locking organization." (Mathias, Soul Sessions Oslo) As mentioned in part 3.3.4, Soul Sessions Oslo (as well as Hiphophuis) focus on a variety of dance styles (e.g., hip-hop, house, locking, popping, break) which all have their own aesthetic language and cultural norms.

It was highlighted by a large number of participants that people from migrant backgrounds, and other unprivileged backgrounds, are at the focus of their work. Alexander (Rapolitics) explain how they reach groups of people that other institutions (e.g., institutionalized education) struggle to reach, specifically referencing boys between 15 and 25 years old who are involved with gang environments. He further elaborate on how he sees it as a strength that he himself is from a similar background as the youth they are trying to reach. He describes himself as having been "a troubled young kid" and argues that this better allows him to connect with the youth they are working with.

The bottom-up way of organizing is especially evident in how Aruna (Hiphophuis) explains that Hiphophuis was created. She emphasized that the organization was created out of a need for a place that was both *for* the people and *by* the people of the hip-hop community. She elaborates on how this is still reflected in their organization today:

> … one of the principles that I can relate to is for us by us, and that's why I think we are as well a community organization. Most of our staff comes from the community, comes from the scene. … for me it means that if we are close, or even part of those communities, it makes it so much easier to have an impact there. … the other side is like having an organization that's very strategic and has a system to pinpoint different communities to work with them, but they themselves are not part of any community. (Aruna, Hiphophuis)

The label *community-based* was also used by Hoop et al. (2022) when describing *Artistic intervention as social communication*. Working bottom-up is reflected in how the

organizations continue to have a *community-based* approach to how they offer services to their people*.* James (WORM) explain the community-based approach to how he works with programming:

> … community-based, or we can say community-centered programming, for me is like looking for people who are already doing work within their community, and then seeing how we can give like resources, advice, space, whatever to help them take the next steps and their projects. (James, WORM)

Several participants argue that the artforms that the organizations focus on also has a role in how they stay connected with their communities. Mads (Rapolitics) explain why they focus on hip-hop, and rap specifically, in the work they do:

> … we do it through rap and hip hop because it's super relatable, and more relatable than they [the youth] think. Hip-hop is everywhere. It's pop culture, it's in the music we hear, the most popular music genre in the world is rap music. … it's in … almost every aspect of their lives, even though they don't realize it. So, we just kind of use that, and make them form opinions through that. (Mads, Rapolitics)

The close ties between the organizations and their communities do not go unnoticed by external institutions. This can sometimes create tensions. Participants from both Hiphophuis and Soul Sessions Oslo explained how top-down institutions (e.g., local and national governments) notice their connection to communities that they too want to build connection to. This often results in feelings of being instrumentalized by these external top-down institutions. Cassandra (Soul Sessions Oslo) expressed that while their relationships with top-down institutions are improving, there is still a worry of being instrumentalized:

> More and more the institutions see the value in what we do, which allows us to do more of what we want to do anyway. But then there is always this afterthought of, do they really want to work with us or are they just gaining some credit for having diversity of youth with them once a year because we are there. [12] (Cassandra, Soul Sessions Oslo)

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[12] See Appendix D for original quote in Norwegian

Aruna (Hiphophuis) emphasize that she does not want Hiphophuis to be measured by well-being standards, even though it is evident that they have a social impact. For her, it is much more important to get artistic recognition for hip-hop as an artform: "I don't want to be validated because people are building confidence. I want to be validated because hip-hop is amazing, hip-hop is beautiful. And not because hip-hop leads to less problems." (Aruna, Hiphophuis). These findings illustrate the importance of artistic recognition of alternative artforms, to avoid *creating* rather than *solving* tensions among the organizations and other actors (e.g., top-down political institutions) in their environment.

4.3 Intrinsic Motivation as a Driving Force

In this section, the focus will be on intrinsic motivation as a driving force for both artistic and socially/politically engaged work. The findings show how the survival of the organizations depend on the intrinsic motivation of the people involved. This intrinsic motivation is relevant for the artistic work of the organizations, but also extends to their social and political engagement. It will be presented how this intrinsic motivation is affected by the methods of working within the organizations, which are often characterized as being chaotic and dynamic. Furthermore, the effect of external intervention by institutions will be discussed. Both of these findings will be linked to crowding theory (Frey, 1999), as findings suggests a strong tendency of *crowding-out* of intrinsic motivation when external intervention is experienced as controlling. This will lastly be seen in relation to the inherent political tendency to question authority in hip-hop.

In previous literature on this topic, it has been argued that intrinsic motivation is *crowded-out* (i.e., decreased) when external intervention is experienced as controlling rather than supporting (Frey, 1999). This is reflected in the findings in two manners: Firstly, personal intrinsic motivation is affected when more formalized processes are implemented in the organizations, depending on whether they are experienced as controlling or supporting. Secondly, the organizations are subject to external control from other parties, especially public funding institutions, which also crowds-out intrinsic motivation when perceived as controlling. These findings are in line with what previous literature have found (Frey, 1999).

It is evident that the starting point for the intrinsic motivation of the participants begins with the art itself, rather than a motivation to engage in social and political tensions. The majority of the participants are active as artists (e.g., dancers, rappers) or have been so in the past. Cassandra (Soul Sessions Oslo) reflected upon how it impacts the organization that everyone employed in the organization are also working part-time as freelance dancers. She argues that this is important aspect to their organization: "…that's what makes us us, because we also do other things, we are active in the culture and in all the things we work with."[13] (Cassandra, Soul Sessions Oslo)

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[13] See Appendix D for original quote in Norwegian

Intrinsic motivation, compared to extrinsic incentives like high salaries, is argued to be the main driver to continue the work of the organizations. Manus (Rapolitics) illustrates his own intrinsic motivation, as well as that of his colleagues, when explaining how working in Rapolitics is both his job and hobby:

I think definitely that we have passionate people working because, like there's been lots of periods where people have to go down in pay, … It's more than just a job from 9 to 5, and the same goes for me. Like, I'm on a 37-hour contract, I probably work more between 60-65 hours a week. … So, it's both my hobby and my job. That's what has made Rapolitics survive. It would not be able to survive if we were in a more corporate way of working. (Manus, Rapolitics)

Non-corporate ways of working is here mentioned as an important part of keeping the intrinsic motivation of people in the organization. Participants across all four organizations brought up how it is important to find a balance between working in a dynamic environment that promotes creativity and freedom, and more formalized structures. Participants from WORM, Hiphophuis and Soul Sessions Oslo expressed that they are currently searching for this balance. Participants from Rapolitics expressed more contentment with the working methods they have now found, having implemented changes in recent years.

The participants from WORM often use the term *creative chaos* to refer to their manner of working. This is seen as something that is important for the organization, and something that promotes creativity. However, burnouts are also mentioned as a possible consequence of working this way, especially in the long run. As James (WORM) puts it: "… just as many other cultural institutions, it kind of runs on this energy of excitement. But that also leads to burnout, …". Emilia (WORM) argues that more structure could create more space for said creative chaos, and that one does not exclude the other. When asked if it is possible to find a balance of these two different ways of working, Epifania (WORM) answers: "We do want more structure, but also we want to stay authentic and be as messy as we are, basically. But you need to find a sort of middle ground, and I think that's what we're trying to do."

Mathias (Soul Sessions Oslo) also reflected upon the challenges of being an organization that is driven by passion, which still has to work within frameworks of money. He highlights how they aim to be driven by intrinsic motivation (passion and excitement), without killing the capacity of the people working in the organization. After all, he states, they all have to pay rent and eat. Cassandra (Soul Sessions Oslo) expressed similar feelings, arguing that while their value should not be measured in monetary terms, they still need to get enough financial support to pay their workers for them to avoid burnouts.

Similarly, Alexander (Rapolitics) explains how he as a rap coach feel more supported now, compared to earlier years, as a result of the coaches receiving higher (and in his opinion, more fair) wages for teaching workshops. It is interesting to note here how extrinsic and intrinsic motivation intertwines: While the people are clearly intrinsically motivated to do the work they do, their basic need still need to be met. The workload of the roles they hold are high, and when this is continued over long periods of time without adequate financial rewards, burnout is often a result. Furthermore, intrinsic motivation seem to be crowded-in when they feel acknowledged and supported through a fair monetary compensation. The danger is, of course, that intrinsic motivation is crowded-out when monetary incentives are introduced to tasks that previously relied only on intrinsic motivation (Frey, 1999; Frey & Jegen, 2001). However, the findings does not suggest any indication of this. Rather, the people seem intrinsically motivated to treat their roles in these organizations as their job, rather than voluntary positions. Monetary rewards are therefore important to secure that this can continue. This is also important to keep key people from leaving the organization, which was pointed out by Mathias (Soul Sessions Oslo).

Intrinsic motivation is also affected when external intervention from actors outside the organization is experienced as controlling. This is mainly seen when the organizations apply and report for public financial support. Aruna (Hiphophuis) expresses frustration around the strict procedures to apply for funding from the Dutch national government. She explain that when doing so, they have to plan five years ahead. She then argues that this is challenging, and that the "really interesting stuff" is difficult to plan so far ahead of time. Aïda (Hiphophuis) explain how they underestimated the changes they had to do internally when receiving funding from their national government, to adhere to their rules and regulations for reporting. In contrast, Janpier (WORM) express how they experienced it as

an acknowledgement, and felt supported, when WORM received funding from the Dutch national government. He explains that while they had to implement some changes, the process for them was still relatively in line with how they had already been working. For Cassandra (Soul Sessions Oslo), the main frustration related to this is how they have to apply to many separate funding parties, which all provide small sums of money. Applying and reporting to all these different parties creates a heavy workload. A better situation, she argues, would be to get a larger sum that they would be given freedom to use as they saw fit, to create the best possible impact for their community.

The findings that were now presented are very much in line with previous research on motivated crowding theory (Frey, 1999; Frey & Jegen, 2001). We have seen several examples of how external intervention seen as controlling crowds-out intrinsic motivation, for example as expressed by Aruna (Hiphophuis) and Cassandra (Soul Sessions Oslo). In contrast, intrinsic motivation is crowded-in when external intervention is seen as supporting, as in the case Janpier (WORM) described. Furthermore, the argument that intrinsic motivation is crowded-in when the organizations are given autonomy and freedom is supported through what Cassandra (Soul Sessions Oslo) expressed would be the ideal situation for public funding of their organization.

Lastly, the crowding-out effect of intrinsic motivation due to controlling intervention could be seen in relationship with the inherent political background of hip-hop. Critical questioning of authority is an inherent part of this artform and culture (Miller et al., 2014). The researcher therefore wonders if the crowding-out effect can be especially strong in organizations focused on hip-hop and alternative artforms. If so, external parties should be aware of this effect, if the aim is to support the organizations in the work they do.

4.4 The Relevance of Working Outside the State and Market

In this theme, it is illustrated how the organizations work outside the dichotomy of state and market when engaging with social and political tensions in their environments. As seen in the theoretical framework, the commons address self-organized communities that goes beyond the state/market dichotomy in how they manage resources and services (Ostrom, 1990). In the context of cities, scholars refers to this as *urban commons* (Borch & Kornberger, 2015). As we will see in the following paragraphs, the organizations stands as strong examples of urban commons. Especially is this shown in how they provide services that assist people to succeed outside traditional systems, by self-organizing around shared resources like hip-hop culture. This allows the organizations to create environments that are easy to access and to participate in, and which works as alternatives to institutional arrangements (e.g., education).

For Janpier (WORM), the way that WORM works is, as a whole, a political statement. He argue that the organization provide an example of how it is possible to create alternatives to the institutional system we have today:

> I think WORM as a whole is also a political statement. … it's a statement for trying to work outside of the system, or creating a system or an environment where it's … very easy to access, that don't have to fill in forms or wait for days to get a response on the e-mail, that is very human. And I think, as a response to what is happening in let's say the institutional world, I think you can consider that as a statement. (Janpier, WORM)

Similarly, Hiphophuis also works as an example of an organization where the bar to participate is low. Aïda (Hiphophuis) argue that while there are arguments that support implementing more formalized processes in their organization, this also makes it easy to lose what attracts people to them. She explains that people are quicker to participate in organizations that are based on trust rather than formalized processes: "It's more based on trust, not very formalized. People are much quicker to be able to participate in that kind of organization. Because they come from all kinds of understandings and backgrounds." (Aïda, Hiphophuis)

Mathias (Soul Sessions Oslo) explain that the grassroot mentality of their organization reflects his own life and education, in regard to how he does not have any

formal higher education: "It's kind of like a really cool parallel to my life in the sense that I don't have an education after high school". He refers to how they just *went ahead* to start the organization, without having any relevant higher education. Despite this, he argues, the organization has had a lot of success. This illustrates how the organizations are created outside the traditional dichotomy of state/market, specifically outside traditional educational institutions.

Cassandra (Soul Sessions Oslo) explain another example of how Soul Sessions Oslo work outside the state/market dichotomy, to have an impact on education. They aim to be an example of how one can succeed outside top-down institutions like KHIO (Oslo National Academy of the Arts) by attending the events of their own and similar organizations:

> You don't need an institutions, you don't need to attend a ballet school or KHIO, you can just hang out at Sentralen[14] on a Sunday or at Subsdans[15] when classes are done after 10pm, and just jam[16], and you can be the s*** from doing that … You don't have to fit into the boxes of others to be good at something and to be seen and heard and respected. [17] (Cassandra, Soul Sessions Oslo)

Working outside the institutionalized educational system is also very relevant for the work of Rapolitics. While they often teach workshops at schools (as well as at youth prisons, festivals, and other locations), they still manage to be an alternative for the youth that do not feel a belonging in the traditional schooling system. By providing services for the youth that don't feel seen, they empower them to engage in social and political tension, as well as their own future:

> … the target audiences are the people sitting … on the back row of the classrooms that you know, don't feel seen. You always get told they're not good enough in school, and so on, and that's kind of where they can get a successful experience from our workshops, and boost their confidence, and maybe even make them believe that they can apply for higher education or the job they never thought they could get. (Manus, Rapolitics)

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[14] See part 3.3.4
[15] Subsdans is an evening dance-school focused on street and club dances, which Soul Sessions Oslo work closely with.
[16] To «jam» means to practice together with other dancers, often with a DJ present.
[17] See Appendix D

If we analyze the organizations through the theory of the commons, we see that the resources they share are many, and that they relate to both to theory on both cultural,- innovation,- and urban commons. The main resource they share is the alternative cultural expressions they focus on, e.g., hip-hop culture. Most important for the focus of this thesis, is how the organizations illustrate examples of urban commons (Borch & Kornberger, 2015). This is reflected in how they create places not only for artistic development, but also social and political engagement, through the shared resource of alternative cultural expressions. This is done both in their own buildings (especially in the case of WORM and Hiphophuis), and in places which are not their own. The resources of hip-hop and alternative culture are shared by the communities, and places of artistic expression, self-development and political participation are created. The communities provide services for their people, for example through support that builds personal confidence. The organizations illustrate how they actively create alternatives to institutions, which fulfills needs in their communities which are not met by the state or market. This is done through creating low barriers for participation in their organizations and proving that there are alternative ways to succeed (artistically and professionally) which does not require people to follow institutionalized education.

The organizations also show behavior that can be linked to theory of cultural,- and innovation commons. As Santagata et al. (2011) explain, artistic movements can be classified as cultural commons. The organizations can therefore also be analyzed through this sub-section of the theory of the commons. The organizations of this study clearly represent artistic movements, which challenge more institutionalized artforms. Furthermore, as explained earlier, Dekker (2020) has drawn upon hip-hop as an example of how innovation commons do not collapse. The researcher wants to point to how findings of this research suggest that the organizations continue to act as innovation commons both artistically, and in how they organize. New ideas continue to flourish and the commons does not show signs of collapse.

5. Conclusion & discussion

In this thesis, the following research question has been the subject of investigation: *How do community-based organizations engage in social and political tensions in their urban environments with and through alternative performing arts?* Data from 13 semi-structured interviews with people in the organizations WORM, Hiphophuis, Rapolitics, and Soul Sessions Oslo was analyzed through thematic analysis, which resulted in four themes to answer the research question. To conclude, the research question is answered as followed. Firstly, the organizations engage in social and political tensions in a variety of manners, for example by creating safe places where confidence, self-expression, and political engagement is fostered. The scope of their engagement extends beyond the city where they are located. Secondly, the organizations show an effective ability to engage their communities in social and political tensions, as a result of organizing from the bottom-up and focusing on alternative art forms. Thirdly, intrinsic motivation is the main driver to continue the work of these organizations, and as expected, this is crowded-out when external intervention is seen as controlling. Lastly, the organizations illustrate how self-governance outside the state/market dichotomy is relevant to solve social and political tension in urban environments. This is done by managing their alternative artistic expressions and cultures as urban commons. Concretely, it is shown in how the organizations create organizations with low bars for participation, and alternatives to institutional education.

In the first theme, *Engagement in and Beyond the City*, concrete examples of social and political engagement were presented and seen in relation to previous literature (Hoop et al., 2022; Kaddar et al., 2022; Morea & Sabatini, 2023; Zilberstein, 2019). It was shown how this engagement extends beyond the immediate city where the organizations are based. This reach outside the city is done both intentionally and unintentionally. The scope of their impact is argued by the author to have been overlooked in previous research on engagement in urban environments (Hoop et al., 2022; Morea & Sabatini, 2023; Zilberstein, 2019). Social and political engagement is illustrated as followed: Social engagement is mainly done by creating places that promote personal development and interpersonal relationships, while political engagement is done both by tackling concrete political topics and through the inherently political backgrounds of the alternative art forms.

In the second theme, *Engaging Communities From the Bottom-Up*, the author presented how people become active in these organizations in a bottom-up manner (Easterly, 2008), and how this has resulted in social and political engagement in different communities. People from a variety of communities (e.g., hip-hop dance, rap, LGBTQ+, minority groups) are active in these organizations in formal and informal roles, which results in increased social and political engagement within these communities. The relevancy of the organizations' focus on alternative art forms is also presented as a contributing factor to their strong ties with these communities. Tensions of instrumentalization from top-down institutions, due to their unique ties with communities, were also discussed, and artistic recognition was highlighted as a solution.

In the third theme, *Intrinsic Motivation as a Driving Force*, it was presented how intrinsic motivation is seen as the driving force to continue the artistic and socially/politically engaged work of the organizations. It was presented how the organizations balance formalized methods of working with dynamic and chaotic environments, which both fosters and hinder intrinsic motivation. This was linked to crowding theory (Frey, 1999; Frey & Jegen, 2001). Intrinsic motivation was observed to be both crowded-in and crowed-out as more formalized processes were implemented, depending on whether it was experienced as controlling or supporting. As expected, external intervention by top-down institutions experienced as controlling rather than supporting was shown to have a crowding-out effect on intrinsic motivation. The author argues that these findings should be seen in relation to the inherent political background of questioning authority in hip-hop (Miller et al., 2014).

In the fourth theme, *The Relevancy of Working Outside of the State and Market*, the organizations' positioning as urban commons was discussed in relation to how they engage in social and political tensions in their urban environments (Antonucci, 2020; Bertacchini et al., 2022; Borch & Kornberger, 2015). Concrete examples of how the organizations work outside traditional systems, especially regarding education, were presented. This was linked to the theory of innovation,- cultural,- and urban commons. Especially relevant for the scope of this research is how the organizations stand as examples of urban commons, as they self-organize around intangible resources related to their alternative artistic expressions, to provide services for their communities. Each in their own way, the organizations work as alternatives to institutionalized education, as well as alternatives to

institutions with high barriers to participation. The result is that the organizations create safe places for social, political, and artistic activities in their cities.

The main limitation of this research is its representativeness. A study of four organizations will never be representative of a whole population, especially when chosen purposefully and across different countries. However, the author argues that the research has nonetheless managed to highlight important and relevant examples that contribute to the academic field. The researcher justifies choosing cases in different countries by pointing to the many shared characteristics of the organizations, as presented in part 3.2. The relevance of going beyond one city is also reflected in the results of the thesis, as it has been shown that the organizations share many similarities in the methods, aims and challenges of their work. A second limitation of the research is the inherently lack of reliability of all qualitative research. The researcher has attempted to the best of her ability to overcome this limitation by being transparent about how the cases were selected, and how the data was analyzed. See, for example, the full list of codes applied to the data in Appendix C.

Academically, the key contribution of the research is to the theory of urban commons and social/political engagement, providing perspectives that are often overlooked in research by focusing on alternative performing arts. Organizations focused on alternative art forms provide valuable insight into how self-governance can be conducted successfully in our modern society, which contributes greatly to academic research on the theory of the (urban) commons and social/political engagement. Further research should consider putting a greater focus on alternative art forms, like hip-hop, to better understand their role in our modern societies. Future inquiry into this topic should also delve more specifically into each of the sub-cultures within alternative performing arts, to provide a better framework to understand the different communities.

Lastly, some practical applications of the research should be considered. The aim of this research has not been to argue that hip-hop and other alternative art forms should be instrumentalized for their effective ability to engage in social and political tensions. On the contrary, it has been illustrated how perceived instrumentalization by external top-down institutions limits the organizations' ability to do so. It has rather been the goal of the researcher to highlight the many unique qualities of the organizations, and how they provide new perspectives to governance in the cultural sector. First and foremost, the findings of this research are relevant for organizations which themselves are self-governed

around alternative cultural expressions. The researcher sincerely hopes that this research can give them a stronger case going forward in obtaining institutional recognition for their artistic expressions and manners of organizing. Furthermore, the research is relevant for local and national governments who want to better understand how organizations like the ones described can be supported, and how tensions between them can be avoided. These learnings are important to consider as we move forward to shape our modern societies.

Words: 17,509

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE

| INTRO | How would you explain this organization to someone who knows nothing about it? |

SELF-GOVERNANCE

RELATION TO INSTITUTIONS	How is the organization funded? · What services do you offer?
	How do you view the current funding model of the organization?
	What is your organization's view on commercial work? · Does your organization receive public funding?

DECISION-MAKING	How are decisions taken?
	How are roles divided?
	To what degree are decisions made through democratic processes?

COMMUNITY	Which groups of people are involved in this organization?
	How does the organization work with communities?
	How did you get involved in this organization?

ENGAGED BEHAVIOUR

| SOCIAL | Does your organization have an impact on people? · Does your organization have an impact on society? |

| SOCIAL/POLITICAL | Why does your organization exist? |
| | Has your organization's purpose changed over time? |

| POLITICAL | Does your organization engage in political topics? |

| PLACE-SPECIFIC | What is your impact on your local area? · Where do you have an impact? |
| | Do you have an impact beyond the city where you are located? |

SELF-GOVERNANCE + ENGAGED BEHAVIOUR

	What would help your organization reach its purpose more efficiently?
	How has your organization managed to remain over such a long period of time?
	Are there any tensions between how your organization is governed, and your purpose?
	How do you hope this organization look like in the future?

| OUTRO | Is there anything else you would like to add that you think would be relevant for my research? |
| | Do you know any organizations like you, either in this city or somewhere else? |

APPENDIX B: OVERVIEW OF PARTICIPANTS

Important: Please note that the "roles" are only meant as an indication of the persons' responsibility in the organization. Many of the participants experience that their responsibilities and tasks expands way beyond their official titles.

Organization	First name	Role	Date of interview	Length of interview	Language	Place
Rapolitics	Manus	Director	27.03 (11:00)	46:54	English	Zoom
	Mads	Project coordinator & communication responsible	27.03 (13:00)	44:00	English	Zoom
	Alexander	Project leader	27.03 (15:00)	46:46	English	Zoom
Hiphophuis	Aruna	General director	28.03 (14:00)	52:42	English	Zoom
	Aïda	Marketing & Development	11.05 (11:00)	52:52	English	Zoom
	Willy	Marketing	29.03 (12:00)	37:11	English	Physical
WORM	Epifania	Social Media & PR	04.04 (13:00)	39:03	English	Physical
	Emilia	Intern (Social media & PR)	04.04 (14:30)	48:45	English	Physical
	Janpier	Former director *(from 2017 to Nov 2022)*	04.04 (16:00)	01:16:09	English	Physical
	James	Project coordinator (WORM Pirate Bay)	26.04 (13:00)	52:46	English	Zoom
Soul Sessions Oslo	Mathias	Artistic leader	07.05 (12:00)	01:14:38	English	Zoom
	Cassandra	Administration worker / Project coordinator	08.05 (10:00)	56:54	Norwegian	Zoom
	Kristin Agnes	Administration / Project coordinator	09.05 (15:00)	55:58	Norwegian	Zoom

APPENDIX C: CODEBOOK

THEME 1: Engagement in and beyond the city

Extensive social impact (Groundedness: 125)
Extensive social impact: Belonging
Extensive social impact: Belonging in city
Extensive social impact: Build community
Extensive social impact: Career opportunities
Extensive social impact: Confidence
Extensive social impact: Drug free
Extensive social impact: Empower
Extensive social impact: Give space to artists
Extensive social impact: Give voice
Extensive social impact: Implicit social value
Extensive social impact: Individual
Extensive social impact: Measurement bad
Extensive social impact: Measurement good
Extensive social impact: Meet / connect people
Extensive social impact: Preventive work
Extensive social impact: Safe space
Extensive social impact: Self expression
Extensive social impact: Self-awareness
Extensive social impact: Stop gentrification
Extensive social impact: Well-being

Implicit political engagement (Groundedness: 41)
Implicit political engagement: Anti-capitalist
Implicit political engagement: Artists politically engaged
Implicit political engagement: Be neutral
Implicit political engagement: Clearly political
Implicit political engagement: Excluding certain views
Implicit political engagement: Implicit statements
Implicit political engagement: Inherently political
Implicit political engagement: Political trough partnerships
Implicit political engagement: Promote voting

Importance of place (Groundedness: 81)
Importance of place: Effect of own building
Importance of place: Effect on surrounding area
Importance of place: Importance of city center
Importance of place: International impact
Importance of place: Layout of event
Importance of place: National impact
Importance of place: Only local
Importance of place: Physical place to meet
Importance of place: Prison
Importance of place: School

Non-art topics adressed (Groundedness: 51)
Non-art topics adressed: Arab spring
Non-art topics adressed: Architecture
Non-art topics adressed: Citizenship
Non-art topics adressed: Cultural heritage
Non-art topics adressed: Culture
Non-art topics adressed: Danish culture & heritage
Non-art topics adressed: Danish language
Non-art topics adressed: Democracy
Non-art topics adressed: Disabilities
Non-art topics adressed: Discrimination
Non-art topics adressed: Diversity
Non-art topics adressed: Empathy
Non-art topics adressed: Equality
Non-art topics adressed: Female empowerment
Non-art topics adressed: Freedom of speach

Non-art topics adressed: History
Non-art topics adressed: Housing crisis
Non-art topics adressed: Human rights
Non-art topics adressed: Inclusivity
Non-art topics adressed: Iran
Non-art topics adressed: LGBTQ+
Non-art topics adressed: Personal stories
Non-art topics adressed: Racism
Non-art topics adressed: Religion
Non-art topics adressed: Ukraina war

Positive effect on youth (Groundedness: 55)
Positive effect on youth: Catch their attention
Positive effect on youth: City not focus on youth
Positive effect on youth: Connect the classroom
Positive effect on youth: Difficult background
Positive effect on youth: Engaged in activities
Positive effect on youth: Exercises in classroom
Positive effect on youth: Focus on youth
Positive effect on youth: Informal education
Positive effect on youth: Long term
Positive effect on youth: Long term impact
Positive effect on youth: No place to go
Positive effect on youth: Overcome fear
Positive effect on youth: Pursue higher education
Positive effect on youth: Run by youth
Positive effect on youth: Scared of politics
Positive effect on youth: Solve learning difficulties
Positive effect on youth: Take action
Positive effect on youth: Teach the next generation
Positive effect on youth: Teacher as role model
Positive effect on youth: Teacher is active
Positive effect on youth: Teamwork
Positive effect on youth: Theoretical

THEME 2: Engaging Communities from the Bottom-Up

Reach unprivileged audience (Groundedness: 57)
Reach unprivileged audience: Artforms interesting
Reach unprivileged audience: Authenticity Important
Reach unprivileged audience: Bring diversity
Reach unprivileged audience: Definition
Reach unprivileged audience: Different backgrounds
Reach unprivileged audience: Give back
Reach unprivileged audience: Informal programming
Reach unprivileged audience: Institutions not reaching audience
Reach unprivileged audience: Many attending
Reach unprivileged audience: Marketing channels
Reach unprivileged audience: Method
Reach unprivileged audience: Migrant background
Reach unprivileged audience: Not customers
Reach unprivileged audience: Programming important
Reach unprivileged audience: Represent people of the city
Reach unprivileged audience: Rooted in community
Reach unprivileged audience: Successfully reaching audience

Broad variety of scenes (Groundedness: 42)
Broad variety of scenes: Also more institutionalized art
Broad variety of scenes: Alternative definition
Broad variety of scenes: Focusing on one genre
Broad variety of scenes: Importance of alternative
Broad variety of scenes: Many artforms

Broad variety of scenes: Many target audiences
Broad variety of scenes: Successfully gives them space
Broad variety of scenes: Tensions
Broad variety of scenes: Underground scene
Employees connected to community (Groundedness 38)
Employees connected to community: From the community
Employees connected to community: From unprivileged background
Employees connected to community: Move up from bottom
Employees connected to community: Not formally educated
Employees connected to community: Not from community
Underground specific discourse (Groundedness: 58)
Hiphop specific discourse: Aknowledge hiphop artistic value
Hiphop specific discourse: Battles discourse
Hiphop specific discourse: Danger artform dying
Hiphop specific discourse: Educate hiphop history
Hiphop specific discourse: Focus on elements
Hiphop specific discourse: Jam as meeting place
Hiphop specific discourse: Neg assumptions about people
Hiphop specific discourse: Popular
Hiphop specific discourse: Rap as a tool
Hiphop specific discourse: Relatable
Hiphop specific discourse: Teach values

THEME 3: Intrinsic Motivation as a Driving Force
Discourse roles (Groundeness: 119)
Discourse roles: Artist AND organizer
Discourse roles: Change of staff
Discourse roles: Director role
Discourse roles: Formal roles
Discourse roles: Freelance artists
Discourse roles: Importance of good teamwork
Discourse roles: Informal hiring
Discourse roles: Intrinsic motivation
Discourse roles: Lack of work-life balance
Discourse roles: Management roles
Discourse roles: Multiple job holding
Discourse roles: Need for leader
Discourse roles: Part time
Discourse roles: Project leader role
Discourse roles: Sense of family
Discourse roles: Training new employees
Discourse roles: Use of interns
Discourse roles: Use of volunteers
Discourse roles: Working full time
Discourse roles: Workload too heavy
Discourse roles: Youth input
Discourse structure (Groundedness: 91)
Discourse structure: Increase impact
Discourse structure: Informal structure
Discourse structure: Local approach to expansion
Discourse structure: Need more time
Discourse structure: Negative view on structure
Discourse structure: Passion vs. structure
Discourse structure: Positive view on structure
Discourse structure: Searching for ideal structure
Discourse structure: Standarized procedures
Discourse structure: Uncertanty about definition
Discourse structure: Want more structure
Efficiency struggles (Groundedness: 71)

Efficiency struggles: Afraid of structure
Efficiency struggles: Artists demanding
Efficiency struggles: Burnout
Efficiency struggles: COVID
Efficiency struggles: External communication bad
Efficiency struggles: Internal communication bad
Efficiency struggles: Lack of finances
Efficiency struggles: Lack of people
Efficiency struggles: Many simultaneous projects
Efficiency struggles: No template
Efficiency struggles: Part time negative
Efficiency struggles: Slow decisions
Efficiency struggles: Unclear roles
Adaptable organization (groundedness: 74)
Adaptable organization: Changing over years
Adaptable organization: Changing roles
Adaptable organization: Currently changing
Adaptable organization: Different activities
Adaptable organization: Experimentation
Adaptable organization: Feedback
Adaptable organization: Follow youth trends
Adaptable organization: Growing
Adaptable organization: Move away from oldschool mentality
Adaptable organization: Open-minded
Adaptable organization: Renewal needed
Adaptable organization: Short term planning
Adaptable organization: Survival

THEME 4: The Relevance of Working Outside the State and Market
Discourse collaborations (Groundedness: 45)
Discourse collaborations: Importance equal size
Discourse collaborations: Listen to partners
Discourse collaborations: Negative experience
Discourse collaborations: Networks
Discourse collaborations: Positive
Discourse collaborations: Rely on partners
Discourse collaborations: Shared values
Discourse collaborations: Unsafe partner
Discourse public funding (Groundedness: 75)
Discourse public funding: Admin / operations
Discourse public funding: Competency write application
Discourse public funding: Difficult to plan far ahead
Discourse public funding: From city
Discourse public funding: From state
Discourse public funding: Fund / Foundations
Discourse public funding: Funding not affecting mission
Discourse public funding: Happy with finances
Discourse public funding: Large workload apply
Discourse public funding: Loosing funding
Discourse public funding: Measure impact
Discourse public funding: Positive
Discourse public funding: Puzzle
Discourse public funding: Recognition
Discourse public funding: Regional differences
Discourse public funding: Reporting
Discourse public funding: Slow
Discourse public funding: Subsidies affecting mission
Discourse public funding: Subsidies affecting structure
Discourse public funding: Support inside

Discourse public funding: Survival depend on subsidies
Fluctuating relationship w/ institutions (Groundeness: 31)
Fluctuating relationship institutions: Dependent finance
Fluctuating relationship institutions: Instrumentalized for diversity
Fluctuating relationship institutions: Negative view
Fluctuating relationship institutions: Not supporting organization
Fluctuating relationship institutions: Organization = institution
Fluctuating relationship institutions: Positive experience
Unique financial characteristics (Groundeness: 36)
Unique financial characteristics: Donations / private funding
Unique financial characteristics: Give micro grants
Unique financial characteristics: Importance of fair pay
Unique financial characteristics: Inclusive pricing
Unique financial characteristics: Paid according to experience
Unique financial characteristics: Pay what you can
Unique financial characteristics: Project based
Unique financial characteristics: Shared values grants
Unique financial characteristics: Wish for bottom-up financing
Value based commercial work (Groundeness: 59)
Value based commercial work: Challenges
Value based commercial work: Expansion
Value based commercial work: Extra profit
Value based commercial work: Freedom
Value based commercial work: Mix
Value based commercial work: Negative
Value based commercial work: No commercial work
Value based commercial work: Not only for profit
Value based commercial work: Not very profitable
Value based commercial work: Positive
Value based commercial work: Protect integrity
Value based commercial work: Selling services
Value based commercial work: Shared values
Value based commercial work: Teaching
Value based commercial work: Tickets

APPENDIX D: TRANSLATED QUOTES

[9] "… samler de liksom ungdom lokalt, så får de et opplegg av oss da med besøk av ulike pedagoger og sånt." (Cassandra, Soul Sessions Oslo)

[10] "… mer og mer så ser institusjonene verdien i det vi gjør, som gjør at vi får lov til å gjøre mer, altså mer av det vi vil uansett. Men så er det alltid den der baktanken med vil de egentlig jobbe med oss, eller skal de bare få litt credit for at de har mangfold med ungdommer hos seg en gang i året fordi at vi er der." (Cassandra, Soul Sessions Oslo)

[11] "… det er det som gjør at vi er vi, fordi at vi også gjør andre ting, og vi er aktive inne i kulturen og i alle tingene vi jobber med." (Cassandra, Soul Sessions Oslo)

[15] "… man ikke trenger en institusjon, at man ikke trenger å gå på ballettskole eller på KHIO eller, at man kan henge på Sentralen en søndag eller på Subsdans når klassen er ferdig etter klokken ti og stå å jamme, og du kan bli the shit av å gjøre det … At du ikke må inn i de der boksene til alle andre for å bli god i noe, og bli sett og hørt og respektert." (Cassandra, Soul Sessions Oslo)

APPENDIX E: CONSENT FORM

Standard EUR Informed Consent Form template
M. Nariman and M. Domingus, December 2016 (incl. adjustments ESHCC)

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Project Title and version	Built to create change – A qualitative study on bottom-up organizations and social engagement *(working title)*
Name of Principal Investigator	Emilie Schei
Name of Organisation	Erasmus University Rotterdam – Erasmus School of History, Culture, and Communication.
Purpose of the Study	This research is conducted as part of the researchers' MA thesis. The purpose of the study is to investigate the relationship between organizational structure and social engagement.
Procedures	You will participate in an interview lasting 40 – 70 minutes. You will be asked questions about the organization you are part of. Sample questions include: *How is your organization structured?* *What is the role of your organization in society?* You must be at least 18 years old.
Potential and anticipated Risks and Discomforts	There are no obvious physical, legal or economic risks associated with participating in this study. You do not have to answer any questions you do not wish to answer. Your participation is voluntary and you are free to discontinue your participation at any time.
Potential Benefits	Participation in this study does not guarantee any beneficial results to you. As a result of participating, you may gain a better understanding of how organizations can be structured efficiently to reach their (social) goals. You may also request to include your participation in this study in future reports and applications.
Sharing the results	The thesis will be sent to participants that request to read it after the project has been finalized 09.07.2023.

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Standard EUR Informed Consent Form template

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Confidentiality	Your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. Moreover, only trained research staff will have access to your responses. Within these restrictions, results of this study will be made available to you upon request.
	As indicated above, this research project involves making audio recordings of interviews with you. Transcribed segments from the audio recordings may be used in published forms (e.g., journal articles and book chapters). In the case of publication, pseudonyms will be used.
	In the thesis, the researcher wish to identify participants with *first name* and *role in organization*. This request can be agreed upon or denied at the bottom of this document.
	The audio recordings, forms, and other documents created or collected as part of this study will be stored in a secure location in the researchers' offices or on the researchers password-protected computers and will be destroyed within ten years of the initiation of the study.
Right to Withdraw and Questions	Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may choose not to take part at all. If you decide to participate in this research, you may stop participating at any time. If you decide not to participate in this study or if you stop participating at any time, you will not be penalized or lose any benefits to which you otherwise qualify.
	If you decide to stop taking part in the study, if you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or if you need to report an injury related to the research, please contact the primary investigator:
	566690es@eur.nl
	+47 48247096
Statement of Consent	Your signature indicates that you are at least 18 years of age; you have read this consent form or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction and you voluntarily agree that you will participate in this research study. You will receive a copy of this signed consent form.
	For research problems or any other question regarding the research project, please contact Emilie Schei, or alternatively, supervisor Dr. Valeria Morea.
	If you agree to participate, please sign your name below.

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Audio recording	I consent to have my interview audio recorded ☐ yes ☐ no
Secondary use	I consent to have the anonymised data be used for secondary analysis ☐ yes ☐ no
Identity	I consent to be identified in the thesis with first name and role in organization ☐ Yes ☐ No

Signature and Date	NAME PARTICIPANT	NAME PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR Emilie Schei
	SIGNATURE	SIGNATURE
	DATE	DATE

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