

**AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF MUSIC THERAPY IN A
NORWEGIAN PRISON:
EXPLORING MUSICKING, IDENTITY AND CHANGE IN THE CARCERAL
SETTING**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

PhD in Music Therapy
Nordoff Robbins / Goldsmiths, University of London
United Kingdom
2021

Number of words: 99965

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Declaration

I certify that the work presented in the thesis is my own. All material which is not my own work has been identified and acknowledged as such. No material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Funding statement

This study was partially funded by Bjørgvin prison, Norwegian Correctional Service Western Region, and the Centre for Research and Education in Forensic Psychiatry at Haukeland University Hospital, Norway

Abstract

This thesis explores music therapy in a low security prison in Norway from the perspective of a practitioner-researcher. A central theme is how musical participation within a prison milieu interacts with therapeutic, penal and social notions of change.

Existing research largely presents music therapy with prisoners as a forensic mental health intervention, with notions of change primarily linked to cognitive, behavioural or emotional transformation in the individual. In contrast this study examines relationships between musicking as a situated social practice and the ongoing identity work of prisoners from an ecological perspective informed by cultural criminology and Community Music Therapy.

In a pilot study, participant observation, interviews and collection of artefacts were employed to understand music's roles in the prison and relationships between music therapy and everyday prison life. This developed into a larger ongoing project involving the music therapist and prison inmates exploring music therapy through participatory action research, drawing on musical performance both as a form of action and as an epistemological practice.

The study challenges previous assumptions about the therapist-client relationship as the primary agent for change in music therapy by conceptualizing the prison as a *therapeutic music scene*. The research presents three *vectors of musical change* showing how the participants co-created identity and belonging through the musical appropriation of the carceral space, development of 'musicianhood', and the creation of musical community. Recent research in criminology emphasises the importance of social belonging and a coherent sense of identity in processes of working towards desistance from crime. The thesis argues for a focus on these factors in music therapy research and practice in prisons, and suggests that a resource-oriented music therapy practice that is aligned with Community Music Therapy principles can facilitate noncoercive forms of personal development congruent with the expressed goals of penal regimes in Scandinavia and beyond.

Acknowledgements

I am privileged to have benefitted from the musical wisdom, sharp wit and warm generosity of my supervisor Prof Gary Ansdell. He has patiently provided me with the best possible support and guidance on my PhD journey. I am also greatly indebted to co-supervisor Dr. Simon Procter for his generous input in this process. Thank you both for continuously encouraging me towards new understandings about my work, and for challenging me in just the right ways at just the right moments.

I want to express my gratitude to the extended Nordoff Robbins PhD family. In particular I want to thank the late Prof Mercédés Pavlicevic who accepted me onto the Nordoff Robbins PhD programme back in 2014. Thanks to Dr. Stuart Wood, Dr. Giorgos Tsiris, Dr. Claire Flower, Dr. Neta Spiro, Maren Mettell, Erinn Epp, Jo Parsons, Wendy MacMahon, Mario Eugster, Sergio Sorcia Reyes and Rosie Mead for our engaging seminars. Special thanks to Prof Tia DeNora for her warm encouragement and inspirational insight. Thanks also to the research community at GAMUT, University of Bergen, for valuable feedback.

This project would not have taken place without the sustained support I have received from Bjørgvin Prison, from the Norwegian Correctional Service Western Region, and from the Centre for Research and Education in Forensic Psychiatry at Haukeland University Hospital. I am deeply grateful to Harald Åsaune for his invaluable part in making my PhD project a reality. Thanks also to Ørjan Fond, Åsmund Steine, Marianne Walderhaug, Annette Mattsson and Vigdis Hareide. Special thanks to Leif Waage, an admirable champion of research and the arts in the prison setting.

I am profoundly grateful to my mum, dad, brother, sister and all my family in Norway and England for their love and support. Special thanks to dad for much valued language assistance. Arvid Olai, Kristian Oliver, Daniel James and Elisabeth Grace – you have waited patiently for ‘that year of gaming together’ that I promised. You are my inspiration and I am so proud of you all. Very special thanks to Jill, my soulmate. This thesis would not have

existed but for our many discussions and our shared love for music, for ideas and for each other.

Thanks most of all to the participants in this study for teaching me so much about people and music over the years. I hope you keep making a sound in this world!

I dedicate this work to the memory of Jennifer Christine Halstead and her strong belief in education.

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1. INTRODUCTION

This is an ethnography of music therapy in Bjørgvin prison, a low security prison in Norway where I have been employed as a music therapist for twelve years. The fieldwork is based around my own practice, and the thesis is a product of my own journey and development as a practitioner-researcher. In the research process I have drawn on ethnographic methods as well as participatory action research strategies, and the understandings presented here are informed by the people in the prison whom I have worked with, played music with and talked to as part of my fieldwork.

The research I have undertaken seemed very much like a labour of necessity. Music therapy in prisons remains a relatively small and under-researched field of practice and is therefore not particularly well-defined. My position as a music therapist employed by the Norwegian prison service was, and remains, the only such position in Norway, and possibly far beyond¹. As such, my research has been both exploratory and firmly rooted in my developing practice. In this introduction I will outline some of the challenges and dilemmas that have faced me as a music therapist researcher in this setting, and how these have ultimately shaped the guiding questions for my PhD research. I will also delineate two parallel journeys I have undertaken as a practitioner and researcher both prior to and as part of the research process and ultimately, how these have come to frame this thesis.

A central theme in the work is that of personal, social and institutional *change*, perhaps unsurprising for a thesis that explores therapy in a prison. The most significant change to be traced, is arguably my own understanding of my work and role in the field. Coming to new realisations about music therapy, crime, punishment, power, method and ethics from my immersion in the field and from the systematic processing of empirical data, is in itself my strongest claim to research validity. Being able to look back, as a practitioner, and consider my starting point as somewhat naïve, is my claim to authenticity. Yet this is not an

¹ Other music therapists work in Norwegian prisons but are primarily employed by local education authorities or other outside agencies.

autoethnography where my own process of change is the focal point. The point of interest is the prison, the people in it and our engagement in, with and through music. My own process of change is merely a device for framing understandings, for pointing to experiences and for providing a transparent vantage point up-close to 'the action'.

A TALE OF TWO JOURNEYS

The position from which I write this thesis can be understood through charting my disciplinary and professional development as a music therapy practitioner-researcher. First, I explore my journey from a training in psychodynamic music therapy towards subscribing to the paradigm of Community Music Therapy, and secondly my journey from contributing to a Randomised Controlled Trial (RCT) into music therapy in prisons, towards embracing a qualitative research paradigm in the form of ethnography.

From psychodynamic music therapy training towards Community Music Therapy

Stewart (2004) has described his professional journey as a music therapist, transitioning from psychodynamic music therapy practice towards Community Music Therapy (CoMT). Explaining how he had a 'lover's quarrel' with psychodynamic theory, he shows how this led him to explore alternative frames for his practice. Calling himself a 'no-labels' music therapist he resists aligning his practice with 'one school' (p. 281). In the following I will provide a brief account of my own transition from training as a psychodynamic music therapist, towards aligning myself with music centred approaches to Community Music Therapy (CoMT).

I trained as a music therapist within a specific strand of psychodynamic music therapy developed in the UK (Sobey and Woodcock, 1998), inspired by the legacy of music therapy pioneers Juliette Alvin and Mary Priestly. Psychodynamic music therapy draws on constructs and theories from the field of psychoanalysis (Hadley, 2003). Central to my training were

household names in the psychodynamic psychotherapy tradition and their work on object relations theory (Klein, 1948), attachment theory and the significance of providing 'a secure base' (Bowlby, 1988), group dynamics and 'maternal reverie' (Bion, 1962), play theory and 'transitional objects' (Winnicott, 1971) and intersubjectivity (Stern, 1985). Psychological defence mechanisms and interpreting transference/countertransference within the therapeutic relationship between therapist and client formed the basis for understanding the inner life of our clients and their unconscious. Psychodynamic music therapy rests to a large degree upon applying such psychodynamic constructs to musical interaction. Music is thus often considered to have a symbolic function in psychodynamic music therapy, representing an external manifestation of the client's inner world (Hadley, 2003). Clinical improvisation, where client and therapist play and sing spontaneously together, often without the use of pre-set structures (Wigram, 2004), was the primary and sometimes only method encouraged; boundaries in the form of session times and the confidential space of the therapy room were held as crucial; the therapeutic relationship between therapist and client was seen as the primary factor in the therapeutic process, and was often viewed as a recapitulation of previous relationships in the client's life, most significantly that of mother and infant. This stands in great contrast to the many examples of live performance, impromptu jamming and seemingly boundaryless musical encounters described in this thesis. All the more, it serves as an important backdrop for understanding my journey as a practitioner-researcher.

As a musician with wide experience of improvising and jamming informally with people, I was drawn to the improvisational and non-verbal universe of this particular approach to psychodynamic music therapy; my then conviction that I could know more about a person from making music with them than I could from talking to them for hours, seemed to find a home in the analytic thinking that my training represented. For someone who would consider themselves to be an introvert, the discovery that there was a caring profession built on the idea that people of all levels of ability and functioning could experience, express, share, understand and resolve complex emotions through music seemed like a blissful relief from society's insistence on words and demand for verbal representation.

I had many formative experiences as part of the training which still influence my valuing of music therapy today. Central to psychodynamic therapy practice is the notion of creating a *holding environment* (Winnicott, 1971) and being able to act as a *container* (Bion, 1962) for the pains, frustrations and traumas of our clients (Sobey and Woodcock, 1998). As much as an intellectual process of learning, the training provided me with *experiences* of what it felt like to be held musically, as part of a group of students and teachers whose expressed ambition it was to foster a sense of musical *reverie* – i.e. the (not always obtainable) ideal of the therapist's *unconditional positive regard* (Rogers, 1961). Powerfully, my training contributed to my interest in musical *present moments* (Stern, 1985) and in the significance of the micro-detail of musical interaction, an interest that should be well documented within this thesis.

I experienced a sharp contrast between training in a safely cocooned environment, and the realities of working musically in diverse settings. A defining experience from the early years of my practice came from a brief series of sessions with a man who had lived in secure mental health units in the UK for over twenty years. In addition to his psychosis and ostensibly aggressive behaviour, he was terminally ill with cancer of the kidneys and rapidly nearing the end of his life. He had a love for the blues and for playing the electronic keyboard, and once a week I would visit him on the ward for music therapy. Fresh out of college, I was eager to practice my analytic skills, seeking to understand how the music might express the hardships and traumatic feelings this man was surely experiencing in his life, and not least to be able to communicate this to the multi-disciplinary team. Pre-occupied with confirming my theories and creating material for my entry in the ward's clinical journal, I often asked the man about how he felt, and invited him to reflect on what the music that we played together meant to him. During one of our sessions he became agitated and said angrily that he wanted us to talk less and play more. Mirroring Solli's (2008) account of how he, as a music therapist on a psychiatric ward, was told by a client to 'shut up and play!' (p. 67), this was a stark illustration of how my own professional agenda was sometimes at odds with the agenda of my clients, which, as has been demonstrated e.g. by Solli (2008), is often to 'simply' make music. Sadly, the man passed away shortly afterwards, and I was devastated that our last musical encounter might not have met his needs or expectations in the way I would have wished. At the same time I took heart from

how he clearly cherished our *musical* interactions, and I valued learning the hard way the importance of adopting a pragmatic and client lead approach to music therapy in the face of changing circumstances, relationships and needs.

This pragmatism in music therapy practice is one that Procter (2013) has traced back to the work of music therapy pioneers such as Mary Priestly, Paul Nordoff and Clive Robbins. Likewise, in his account of his process of professional transition, Stewart (2004) emphasises the 'transformative power of context' (p. 281). For me too, my disciplinary journey has been spurred on by a physical journey from training with a small cohort of students, via working in psychiatric hospitals and secure mental health settings around the UK, to practicing in a low security prison in a rural setting in Norway. Each context represented different values and frames for practice.

Returning to my native Norway in 2008, I found myself transitioning from working within a medical framework in a psychiatric context with its largely pathological views of illness and health, to being plunged amidst the growing field of practice called Community Music Therapy (CoMT). CoMT had developed as a field of theory and practice since the early 2000s, although many would argue it had been practiced for a long time before that (Ansdell and Pavlicevic, 2004; Stige, 2005). Particularly in the UK, CoMT was perceived as an opposing force to the individualistic and medical underpinnings of what Ansdell (2002) has called the 'consensus model' of music therapy. CoMT placed musical performance and community at the heart of music therapy practice, challenging the well-established boundaries of psychodynamic music therapy practice such as the primacy of the closed music therapy room and the therapist/client relationship. Ansdell and Pavlicevic write that CoMT can be seen as 'an anti-model that encourages therapists to resist one-size-fits-all-anywhere models (of any kind), and instead to follow where the needs of clients, contexts and music leads' (Ansdell and Pavlicevic, 2004, p. 21). This notion that 'the needs of clients should come first and that conceptual and ethical guidelines must evolve to reflect effective practice' has in itself become a defining feature of CoMT (Aigen, 2014, p. 154).

From working in a high secure psychiatric environment where I as the therapist received or visited people for bounded sessions once a week, I was now immersed in a social prison

scene where prisoners would walk around freely within the prison perimeter, knock on my door when they wanted to talk, had a question or wanted to play. An important concept in CoMT is the 'ripple effect' (Ansdell and Pavlicevic, 2004). This refers to how 'music naturally radiates', how 'a musical event has a widening impact' and how music therapy 'works outwards' to create community (p. 16). When music was played in the prison music room, other inmates would often gather outside, looking through the windows, and frequently want to join in. As such, adopting the principles of CoMT was not an intellectually driven choice, as much as a *pragmatic* response to the situation, allowing myself to be led by the needs and wishes of the prisoners and the 'ripple effects' of music (Ansdell and Pavlicevic, 2004, p.30).

And where have clients such as the elderly man in the high secure psychiatric hospital in the UK, and the prisoners in Bjørgvin prison, lead me over the years, thus contributing to the current stance from which I write this thesis? Towards the value and challenge of *musicking* (Small, 1998)². In a broad overview of Norwegian music therapy, Ruud (2020b) has argued that Norwegian music therapy practice is largely music-centred. In research terms however, it was being introduced to the research milieu and writings associated with Nordoff-Robbins Music Therapy in London that acquainted me with the traditions and thinking of Music-Centred Music Therapy (Aigen, 2005; Wood, 2016). This provided a welcome counterbalance to what I have often experienced as a lack of consideration for *the music* in certain strands of music therapy practice and research, a sentiment shared e.g. by Bonde (2016). According to Aigen (2014), Music-Centred Music Therapy 'begins from the nature of the human engagement with music and pragmatically and empirically builds a clinical practice upon it' (p. 37). As such, *music centredness* is not simply a position on the role and status of music in music therapy, but rather an approach to musical-social relationships. This contrasts with psychodynamic music therapy where the music is considered primarily for its symbolism and its function as an expression of internal states³.

² Small (1998) defines musicking as 'to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing.' (Small, 1998, p. 9)

³ It is beyond the scope of this introduction to provide a deep theoretical discussion of the role of music in music-centered and psychodynamic music therapy practices. See e.g. Aigen (2014) and Darnley-Smith (2013) for discussions of this.

There are clearly irreconcilable differences between the psychoanalytic underpinnings of psychodynamic music therapy, and a music centred CoMT. Most significantly, psychodynamic theory is largely based on 'the study of dysfunction' (Aigen, 2014, p. 39), and the therapist is viewed as an expert offering treatment for this dysfunction through music therapy intervention. CoMT practice is often underpinned by a resource-oriented perspective (Rolvjord, 2010; Procter, 2013) where the client's resources are recognised as integral to 'making therapy work' (Rolvjord, 2015), and where music is seen as an 'essential human need that reflects healthy tendencies within the individual' (Aigen, 2014, p. 39). As will become clear throughout, this latter perspective represents my present outlook.

For me then, CoMT is a therapeutic stance, a particular approach to *music's help* (Ansdell, 2014), that recognizes the inseparability of music, person and context, and incorporates this understanding into practice. Commenting on his observation that music therapists often label themselves as music-centred, resource-oriented or culture-centred, Ruud (2020b) suggests that there should be no need to label oneself as any particular kind of music therapist. In line with his sentiment, and with Stewart's (2004) pragmatic 'no label's' music therapy, I simply define myself as a 'music therapist'. This is not because in principle I resist attaching myself to one school (Stewart, 2004). Rather it is because I acknowledge the inevitability that my therapeutic stance, regardless of which theoretical orientations I intellectually align with, will be informed by context and by multiple perspectives, including those derived from my training and experience, and is therefore constantly in a process of transformation (Stewart, 2004). To remain with the metaphor of the journey, my psychodynamic training and experience represents the cargo on my ship; to be drawn on in moments of need or thrown overboard in a storm. CoMT represents my direction of travel.

From randomized controlled trial to ethnography

When I began my job as a music therapist in Bjørgvin prison, I became involved in implementing and carrying out a randomized controlled trial (RCT) researching the effects of music therapy on levels of anxiety and depression in the prisoners (Gold et al., 2014). Participants ($n=113$) were randomly assigned either to an experimental group which would

take part in music therapy, or to a control group which would receive 'standard treatment'. Methods included self-report questionnaires pre, during and post intervention, and as an added experimental ingredient, heart rate was monitored before, during and after sessions to explore links between the findings from the self-report questionnaires and heart rate variability (HRV). The experimental design was ambitious, and the project received praise for its innovative and rigorous approach.

As the music therapist responsible for delivering the music therapy intervention I was originally not involved in collecting data. Yet as the project unfolded, certain challenges emerged from my perspective. A methodological challenge was that the RCT design included the part-goal of exploring and developing music therapy as an intervention in the setting. This meant that we were trying to measure the effects, over time and across a group of people, of an intervention that would inevitably change and develop throughout the course of the project. More importantly for me, I gradually carried out a number of administrative and data collection tasks associated with the project for practical and logistical reasons. This included administering the psychological questionnaires and overseeing their completion. It also involved me facilitating and mediating the results of the randomisation process, which entailed informing those participants who were in the control group that they could unfortunately not take part in the music activities I had been employed to offer, and which had been eagerly awaited. Most significantly I regularly administered the individual pre-session heart rate monitoring by gluing the HR monitors to the participants' bare chest and then sitting with them in silence for a specified amount of time before transferring the readings onto a PC. For someone who was trained to value the primacy and boundaries of the therapeutic relationship, this degree of bodily intimacy as a gateway to our sessions, infused with the complex dynamics of power involved, seemed antithetical to forming a therapeutic alliance. Echoing Procter's (2013) similar experiences from carrying out RCT research in music therapy in a mental health setting, I experienced that there was a fundamental mismatch between what I was trying to offer, i.e. an open, inclusive and client led approach to music therapy, and the restrictive impositions of the RCT design in terms of place, time, and separation between 'treatment group' and 'control group'. Consequently, the methods appeared antithetical to producing knowledge about music therapy *and* its effects.

The study was the first of its kind in a prison setting, and it was articulated in the design that it was a pilot study potentially preparing ground for later studies. From a methodological perspective it produced valuable understandings about the feasibility of RCT research in this setting (Gold et al., 2014). For me, it also raised fundamental questions about how research could help us to generate a better understanding of music therapy in prisons. The focus on specific psychiatric conditions in this project, which was clearly warranted in order to have *something* to measure, was based on informed assumptions that inmates suffered from anxiety and depression, and that music therapy could alleviate this. Since my overriding impression, and a conclusion of the research, was that anxiety and depression were not so prevalent (it was not an inclusion criteria), the project led me to question critically *what* music therapy might offer people in the prison. Likewise, the almost exclusive focus on metric data in this project made me critically question *how* and *on what basis* assumptions about music therapy in the prison could and should be made. In other words, taking part in this project raised questions about the ontology and epistemology of music therapy in the setting.

My understanding of how method can be seen to distort practice led me to the conclusion that a qualitative approach would be best suited to explore music therapy in this setting further. By qualitative I mean methods that 'start from the perspective and actions of the subjects studied' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000, p. 4). In line with the 'gentle empiricism' Ansdell and Pavlicevic outline as an approach to the study of 'music's therapy' (Ansdell and Pavlicevic, 2010, p. 138), I wanted to observe what was happening whilst "'saving the phenomenon'" (p. 133) as much as possible. In this case that meant observing interactions in and through musicking up-close. In other words, as opposed to the RCT, I wanted an approach that would not interfere unduly in what would otherwise be happening in the prison. This is not to say that a qualitative approach is without its problems; qualitative researchers also affect the environments that they study, and therefore it is crucial for the evaluation of qualitative research that the researcher's approach, values and positionality is attended to (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000).

The decision to conduct an ethnography was by no means a simple or straightforward choice. On the contrary it was a slow, gradual, challenging and often bewildering process that at times placed the whole undertaking of my PhD research in peril. Indeed, it is only towards the end that I have fully and confidently embraced the fact that this was indeed ethnography. After the possibility of ethnography was introduced to me early on in my PhD process, it was my engagement with the participants and the field as a researcher that gradually confirmed and, at times, forced the appropriateness of an ethnographic approach that incorporated participatory action research.

In summary, my parallel journeys as practitioner and researcher can be summed up as follows:

- *From music to musicking* - i.e. from understanding music as a symbolic representation of our inner psyche towards music as situated social action.
- *From dysfunction to resources* - i.e. from offering an intervention to treat dysfunction towards supporting the cultivation of resources.
- *From individual to social* - i.e. recognising the individual within the social and the social within the individual.
- *From therapist-led to client-led* - i.e. to 'follow where people and music lead' (Ansdell and Pavlicevic, 2004, p. 30)
- *From positivist to social constructivist* - i.e. from adapting music therapy to fit the research method, towards adapting my research methods to understand music therapy.

FORMULATING A RESEARCH QUESTION

About (not) defining music therapy

Music therapy or ‘just’ playing in a band

During a visit to the prison of a foreign delegation of prison professionals I am asked what the difference is between the inmates ‘just’ playing in a band, and music therapy. As a practitioner I am expected to answer this question with ease and conviction. As a researcher, I would rather concede that this is a complex question that sits within debates about the overlapping practices between CoMT, Community Music and music education, and one that in many ways accompanies the main themes in this thesis. I respond by pointing out that the music room, in which we are standing, is empty of participants. I then ask rhetorically what it would take for that situation to transform into a group of inmates ‘just’ playing together in a band. I explain that in the answers to that question lie the answers to what the practice of music therapy in this setting is.

A recurring question for many music therapists is ‘what is music therapy?’. As an illustration of the wealth of approaches to music therapy that exist, Aigen (2014) lists thirteen ‘music therapy orientations’ (p. 212). Instead of defining music therapy here, a central tenet of my work is that this can only be done as a mutual process between therapist(s) and participant(s), and, when presented within the framework of a written thesis, by the reader. This position, that defining music therapy is a ‘mutual process’, is another key feature of CoMT (Stige, 2012). As Wood (2016) points out ‘our discipline is not just contained in practice, it is revealed by it.’ (p. 21). As my practitioner journey highlights, music therapy in Bjørgvin prison could not simply be defined by my training, my evolving approach or theoretical (dis)orientation. Instead, music therapy has to be considered as what *came into being* in the meetings between myself, the inmates, materials and the context.

This notion that participants of music therapy shape and define it is discussed and exemplified in the literature (Ansdell and DeNora 2016; Procter, 2013; Rolvsjord, 2015; Stige et al., 2010; Wood, 2016). Offering an alternative to the research paradigms that seek to measure effects of music therapy as a readily defined intervention, Procter (2013) writes about 'the ways in which music therapy gets accomplished as a situated social practice' (p. 2). Rolvsjord (2015) has also demonstrated the contributions clients make in shaping the outcomes of music therapy (Rolvsjord, 2015, p. 296). Music therapy must then at least partly be defined by what the client does and experiences as meaningful (Aigen, 2005). If we accept this, then music therapy is constantly in emergence; defined and redefined in new ways, by new people, in new settings. Having gone through the processes outlined in my practitioner-researcher journeys, my practice and research sits within this emerging tradition of exploring music therapy as a situated social practice through close engagement and collaboration with the people who shape both the music therapy and our understandings of it.

What is music therapy in this setting?

The rehabilitated rapper

During a Norwegian national prison service event to launch a new prison service website, I witness the launch of a music video produced on behalf of the prison service, featuring a rap written and performed by a young inmate in a Norwegian prison. After the screening, a member of staff from the central Prison Service administration who was involved in the process of making the video tells me that witnessing the process of the rapper has been very rewarding. The rapper's lyrics had initially been coarse, aggressive and containing violent and abusive language. Staff had then confronted the rapper about this and encouraged him to write about something positive. When they later came to record the song, the rapper sang about his love for his mother and regrets about his crime. 'And then we knew that he was rehabilitated!' exclaims the member of staff with excitement.

This vignette illustrates how music can be perceived as an instrument of rehabilitation. In this case, changing the genre-appropriate aggression of rap music into an amenable 'redemption song' was taken as evidence of the rapper's transformation. If only relationships between music, crime and rehabilitation were so straightforward, this project may never have existed. As I will show in this thesis, they were not.

Music therapy was generally, in my understanding, positively regarded within the staff group. There were however ongoing debates about the role of activities such as music and art pitted against the importance of acquiring work experience, education, or to participate in rehabilitation programmes such as addiction and anger management. This fits in to a wider debate in the Norwegian prison system, where a sharp distinction is made formally between rehabilitative 'programmes' (a category of intervention addressing e.g. sexual offending⁴ or substance addiction), 'employment' (referring to any work opportunities within the prison, e.g. cleaning or maintenance work), and 'leisure activities' (organised activities such as sports or nature excursions, but referring largely to any activity that did not fit into the other two categories). Education was treated separately, since it is offered by outside school authorities. Placing music therapy organisationally was therefore challenging, particularly since I was the only music therapist in the country employed directly by a prison, leaving it an unlikely scenario that the prison service would adapt its categories of activity to include 'arts therapies'. It was very clear that my activities did not fit under the category of 'programmes' since these were largely psycho-educative interventions based on cognitive and behavioural models and delivered by psychologists or specially trained prison officers. Nor could it be classed as employment or a leisure activity - a recent report on the conditions in Norwegian prisons made it very clear that leisure activities were not rehabilitation (Bergens Tidende, 2019)⁵. As a music therapist, I was then located firmly in the squeeze between on the one hand promoting the importance of professional standards in our work with the prisoners, but on the other holding the view that, under some circumstances, watching movies, hiking, or 'just' playing in a band could be rehabilitation.

⁴ These programmes were not available in Bjørgvin, although sexual offenders were generally expected to have undergone these before they could be transferred to low security settings.

⁵ The report exposed how some prisons reported activities such as hiking or watching movies as 'programmes', thus bolstering their 'rehabilitative' profile.

My PhD research in many ways grew out of this lack of clarity. Having explained my reluctance to define music therapy, I must now distinguish between the act of *defining* something on one hand and seeking to *understand* something on the other. My project has been driven by the underlying question ‘**What is music therapy in this setting?**’. Along the way I have developed sub-questions to help me address this query, and true to ethnographic tradition these have changed and evolved as the study has progressed and new insights have been gleaned (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). I shall return to these, but first it is necessary to examine the primary underlying question in more detail.

The question is clearly rooted in an uncertainty as to the purpose of music therapy in prison. This uncertainty was not the result of a lack of hypotheses, but rather the presence of conflicting paradigms for understanding both prisons and music therapy, and being confronted with contrasting views about what music therapy *should* be. The different perspectives I grappled with can be paraphrased as follows:

‘The purpose of music therapy in the prison is to...

1. ...promote health and wellbeing for prison inmates through musicking.’
2. ...offer clinical interventions to treat anxiety, depression or address cognitive or behavioural deficits.’
3. ...foster social learning and the acquisition of transferrable skills.’
4. ...provide edifying experiences through immersion in the arts.’
5. ...facilitate meaningful leisure activities.’
6. ...provide employment for prisoners to help the prison meet its targets for prisoner engagement.’
7. ...punish.’

The list represents different expectations that I was confronted with at various times from prisoners, staff, management, music therapists/other professionals and myself. Each of the paraphrased expectations can find a home in different schools of thought within music

therapy and penology, and many of them are overlapping. Thus, neither turning to theory nor talking to people seemed to provide *one* single true answer to the question. I was initially employed to administer music therapy for the treatment of mental distress (2), but the prisoners ‘just’ wanted to play (5). I was expected to provide a high-quality therapy service (1, 2, 3), but my work was measured formally only through weekly statistics of prisoner employment (6). The prisoners expected me to bring joy and relief (1, 5), yet with my keys and prison employee status I was in a position of tremendous power over them (7). I was asked to rehabilitate people (1,2,3), yet I worked in a team of arts practitioners who rejected instrumental uses of the arts at the expense of art for art’s sake (4).

Some readers may query my inclusion of punishment on the list. Surely it is not the purpose of music therapy to punish? However, from my perspective, to not include punishment in the equation would be a denial of the traditions and the thinking that underpins the very existence of prisons, and of the profound realities of being incarcerated. As an employee of the apparatus of incarceration, I was inescapably linked also to the punitive dimension of the participants’ everyday lives. Other readers may find the juxta-positioning of these perspectives artificial and object that surely, music therapy can be all those things at once, or alternatively, that we can legitimately cherry-pick the perspectives that match our training, our professional conviction, or the setting. Such an approach seemed unsatisfactory to me. Not because I had difficulty in arguing for particular perspectives, on the contrary I could find merit and truth in all, but because people demand answers, and because I too, as an inquisitive practitioner, demanded answers.

Given the limited satisfaction derived from exploring music therapy in the prison through controlled experiments and deductive reasoning, my approach was to move away from these different hypotheses, to take a step back, recalibrate and begin from a perspective of status: “What is going on here?” (Ansdell and Pavlicevic 2004, p. 16). The sub-questions that I started out with were ‘What are music’s roles in Bjørgvin prison?’ and ‘What are the relationships between music therapy and everyday life?’. These questions formed the basis for my initial period of fieldwork (hereafter referred to as ‘the pilot’). A primary outcome of this phase was a critical engagement with these very sub-questions, and their subsequent reworking. Specifically, I came to the conclusion that the word ‘roles’ pointed to a

potentially instrumental view of music as something which 'in itself' fulfilled or performed a role. Instead, my fieldwork confirmed the necessity of conceptualizing music as situated social action (Small 1998). Thus, I changed my focus from 'roles' to 'affordances' for the remainder of the study (hereafter referred to as 'the main study') - affordances being a term that recognizes the interrelation between ecology and the individual agency of people (DeNora, 2013a).

Meeting a research need

Why is this research important, beyond my own grappling with what music therapy in Bjørgvin prison is or should be? Music therapy in prisons is still a relatively small field of practice, and we can speculate that this is partly related to a lack of clarity regarding music therapy's formal status and function within systems that exist primarily to punish and restrict. At the same time, music therapy practice and research are rapidly expanding in fields closely related to and often overlapping with prisons, such as mental health and addiction treatment. Prisons are thus a field with great potential for growth in the implementation of music therapy, but more research is needed. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 2, and as my own RCT experience above exemplifies, the subject has been approached by applying primarily psychiatric models for music therapy and researching these for 'effect'. There is however a case for suggesting that before we can measure effect, we need more on-the-ground research to establish what music therapy may have to offer. From the perspectives of penology and criminology, desistance theory has emerged as the most significant paradigm explaining the transition away from a criminal lifestyle, emphasising the importance of identity and belonging in processes of desistance. Music therapy research and practice in prisons has on the other hand primarily engaged with psycho-bio-medical explanations for crime and reform, and do not seem to meet increasing calls for a broader understanding of how prisons affect transitions between stages of desistance. At the same time, the number of studies of CoMT in prison settings is so far very limited. My research is an attempt to nuance our understanding of the potentials and affordances of music therapy in this setting rather than one that demonstrates effects of music therapy as a ready-made intervention. The hope is that this may in turn inform practitioners and researchers in the field.

Answering a research question

And what, after several years of PhD training and research, is the answer to the question 'What is music therapy in this setting?'. An attempt to answer a difficult question is often best approached by scrutinising the question itself (Kvale, 1997). We begin with the word 'is'. This supposes permanence and bounded definition; music therapy 'is' something. What I found, was that music therapy was in a perpetual state of 'becoming'; situated and co-created in the meetings between myself, participants, materials and the setting. The same applies to the phrase 'this setting'; the thesis demonstrates the flux, instability and continuous regeneration of the social environment in Bjørgvin prison. Thus, both 'music therapy' and the 'setting' are *becoming* entities, constantly in the making, and mutually co-constitutive.

However, the conclusion that music therapy in this setting is 'multiple' and 'becoming' is dissatisfying for all practical purposes. A more fruitful path has been to acknowledge what 'becoming' points to, namely *change*. As demonstrated in my reworking of my guiding questions, i.e. the ontological shift from music's *roles* to music's *affordances*, my conclusion is that change, be it personal or social, transformative or destructive, was not 'produced' by music. Rather, *people* brought about change by musicking. From a starting point of looking for evidence of how music therapy could change people, I arrived at the conclusion that music therapy, as described in this thesis, *was* the change. Therefore, my answer to the question lies in presenting the forms of change that took place in, through and from musicking. From the fieldwork I identified three *vectors of musical change*⁶ that took place in Bjørgvin prison: 'Spillerom' (the musical appropriation of the carceral space), 'Opptreden' (becoming musicians) and 'Musikkmiljø' (the creation of musical community). The ways in which change happened along these vectors forms the answer to the question of what music therapy in this setting became for these participants.

⁶ The concept of a vector is derived from physics where a vector is an entity that has direction and magnitude. Vectors are most often used to describe forces. This is explained in more detail on p. 133.

A brief note on terminology

Participants in research and/or music therapy are often referred to as ‘informants’, ‘collaborators’ or ‘users’. These terms have a decidedly negative ring to them, evoking images of snitches, traitors or consumers. In the prison setting they take on an even more unfortunate dimension, as they are directly linked to the terminology of the courts (‘informants’) or linked to addiction (‘users’). I have chosen to not draw on these terms where possible, and instead use the term ‘participant’ about those who part-took in musical activities, and those who engaged more actively in the research process. This is also inspired by Stige’s (2006) notion of ‘participation’ in music therapy. Throughout I also use the terms ‘prisoner’ and ‘inmate’ interchangeably to highlight the carceral reality of people’s existence and to distinguish them from people who are not incarcerated. When making this distinction is not needed, I refer to ‘people’.

About the thesis

The remainder of the thesis falls into three main parts. In Chapters 2-4 I situate the study within its research context by first presenting relevant research into music therapy and related music practices with offenders. I explain the methodology that governs my approach to researching music therapy in Bjørgvin prison and provide detailed accounts of the methods employed. Finally I present the field in the form of Bjørgvin prison within its wider penal context. Throughout this section I draw on criminology and CoMT to produce the lens through which I understand music therapy in prisons.

Chapters 5-7 are devoted to presenting data material and interpretations. The chapters are organised thematically according to three *vectors of musical change* (p. 133). Chapter 5 presents the first vector ‘Spillerom’ – *the musical appropriation of musical space*. In this chapter I show how I and the participants created musical emotion zones through a range of musical practices, and how music came to shape the emotional geography of the prison. Chapter 6 presents the second vector ‘Opptreden’ – *becoming musicians*, showing how people developed ‘musicianhood’ (Ansdell, 2014) through cultivating their musical craft and musicianship, enacting musicking personas and co-creating musical life stories. In Chapter 7 I

present the third vector 'Musikkmiljø' – *creating musical community*. Starting from the premise that a notion of community is problematic in prison settings, the chapter establishes how materials, people and practices afford connections and enable the co-creation of musical community.

In Chapter 8 I discuss the findings in relation to theory from music therapy and criminology with a particular focus on perspectives on change, suggesting the need for a nuanced view of personal transformation and development in music therapy in prisons settings. I also elaborate the concept of the *prison as a therapeutic scene* as a way of understanding music therapy in prisons and beyond. Finally I evaluate the study by critiquing its methods and focus, and by responding to broader criticisms of ethnography.⁷

⁷ It should be noted that parts of the material in this thesis has formed the basis for two articles, Hjørnevik and Waage (2019) and Hjørnevik et al. (in press). The use of this material is in accordance with § 3.2.2 (iv) of The Goldsmiths Code of Practice for Postgraduate Research and Training (p. 11).

2. CONTEXTUALISING MUSIC THERAPY IN PRISONS

In this chapter I present existing research literature on music therapy in prisons including a review of selected studies. After identifying a dominant focus in the discipline on music therapy in prisons as an intervention to treat mental illness or address cognitive and behavioural symptoms, I move on to discuss a selection of studies describing CoMT with offenders which also explore relationships between music therapy and everyday life in prison settings. I include discussions of music therapy in forensic psychiatric settings as well as other professional music practices in prisons which are of particular relevance, because of the still relatively limited practice and research into music therapy in prisons. In the second part of the chapter I draw on theory from cultural criminology and CoMT to lay the ground for a theoretical lens that locates music therapy practice in prisons at the intersection between culture, health and crime.

MUSIC THERAPY IN PRISONS: REVIEWING THE LITERATURE

A note on my engagement with literature

To explore literature in the field, I have carried out literature searches through a selection of relevant search engines and databases (e.g. Bibsys, PubMed, Goldsmiths Library, Google scholar). Such searches have been complemented by consulting published bibliographies and comprehensive literature reviews in the field, including Leith (2014), the Nordoff Robbins resource bank on music therapy in prisons and detention centres (Cripps et al., 2016), and two recent comprehensive literature reviews of music activities in prisons carried out by Coutinho et al. (2014, 2015). In addition, I have continuously carried out ad hoc searches for relevant ethnographies, criminological literature and music studies related to the prison setting. Another method for searching for literature was to hand search bibliographies of relevant books and publications. This was particularly important in compiling a body of research pertaining specifically to music therapy in the Norwegian

prison context since these are sometimes unpublished and only available in the Norwegian language.

An important aspect of compiling literature on music therapy in prisons and forensic settings was to critically consult other systematic reviews for their appraisal of the growing body of literature in the field (Ridley, 2012). When it comes to evaluating the status of literature on music therapy in prisons, there seem to be contrasting views. For instance, employing relatively similar criteria, Tuastad (2014) concludes that there is a small body of literature on music therapy in prisons, whereas Leith (2014) concludes that there is a considerable body of literature in the field. The difference in their assessment may be related to their orientations towards respectively a sociocultural understanding of CoMT through action research (Tuastad, 2014), and psychological/psychosocial outcomes within a mixed methods design (Leith, 2014). This division is in many ways illustrative of different foci in the existing literature on music therapy in prison settings which I explore further below. An important finding was that studies of music therapy with offenders are primarily concerned with music as an intervention in the treatment of psychiatric disorders in forensic mental health settings (Cauthino et al., 2015), whereas only a handful studies explore CoMT with prisoners. A similar process of searching for literature and reasoning on the basis of reading studies first-hand, as well as consulting existing analyses and reviews including meta-reviews of qualitative and quantitative research (Cauthino et al., 2014, 2015), also provided a fruitful approach to gain breadth and depth in the literature I have included from the fields of criminology, prison ethnography and penology.

Music therapy practice and research in prisons: a focus on treatment and effect

Daveson and Edwards (2001) usefully identify three broad areas of published research in the field of music therapy with offenders; music therapy in forensic psychiatry (e.g. working with offenders in secure psychiatric hospitals), music therapy in correctional psychiatry (e.g. working with people in correctional facilities who have a mental illness), and music therapy 'generally within the field of correctional services' (p. 137), e.g. community settings and prisons. A considerable proportion of available studies focus on music therapy as treatment

of mental illness or as an agent for behavioural change (Chen, 2016; Cohen, 1987; Dickinson, 2006; Fulford, 2002; Gallagher & Steele, 2002; Glyn 2003; Gold et al., 2014; Hakvoort, 2002; Kellett et al., 2019; Reed, 2002). For instance, Hakvoort (2002) provides a detailed description of music therapy as an intervention for anger management whilst Gallagher and Steele (2002) study the implementation of music therapy for offenders with dual diagnosis. The latter exemplifies studies related to offenders which are not looking at music therapy within the prison setting specifically, but focus on work with offenders in other settings, for example in hospitals or the community (others are Dickinson, 2006; Loth, 1994; Reed, 2002; Watson, 2002). The literature also includes a small number of larger-scale quantitative studies of music therapy with offenders. Thaut (1989, cited in Coutinho et al., 2014, p. 70) tested the impact of three different music therapy techniques with 50 inmates in a psychiatric prison wing and concluded that all three approaches brought about 'positive change' in terms of relaxation, mood, and perception of self. More recently, Chen et al. (2016a) carried out a study in Chinese prisons where they found music therapy to improve levels of anxiety, depression, and self-esteem for political prisoners. Also, Chen et al. (2016b) completed a meta-analysis of music therapy for offenders in correctional settings. They found that regardless of theoretical orientation, music therapy was effective in promoting self-esteem and social functioning, with anxiety and depression outcomes dependent on length of treatment. Included in this meta-study was Gold et al.'s (2014) pilot randomized controlled trial involving 113 participating inmates in Bjørgvin prison, exploring the effects of music therapy for prison inmates with a focus on anxiety and depression⁸. The study produced no clear conclusions as to the effects of music therapy, partially due to very short sentences.

In the selected literature above, there is a clear tendency towards viewing music therapy with offenders as a treatment of psychiatric or behavioural conditions, sometimes studied through quantitative methods. This is a tendency also identified by Tuastad (2014). The body of research described could, from a critical perspective, be said to fit into a larger picture of music therapy research where, as Procter (2013) points out:

⁸ This is the study recounted on p. 21.

[...] there seems to be a need to conform to the “ideal case” – one where a client presents with an identifiable (i.e. diagnosable) “problem”, music therapy of some kind or other is applied, and a significant difference becomes noticeable within the client or their life. (Procter, 2013, p. 21)

In this way a large proportion of music therapy practice and research seems to be aligned with the positivistic behavioural paradigm of the influential ‘What Works’ model for rehabilitation in prisons, described in more detail on p. 102.

Moreover, the studies discussed so far, including the comprehensive literature reviews by Couthino et al. (2014, 2015), suggest a particular relationship between views on the nature of crime, the status of offenders, mechanisms of change, music therapy approach and research methodology. To unearth this relationship in more detail I will turn to Kellett et al.’s (2019) study of Cognitive Analytic Music Therapy (CAMT) as an example. CAMT is a treatment-focussed clinical approach to music therapy with offenders in carceral settings, increasingly established in the UK.

In the presentation of their study, Kellett et al. (2019) refer to ‘the importance of providing acceptable and evidence-based treatments for incarcerated seriously mentally disordered offenders (MDOs)’ (p. 224). Quoting Fassaert et al. (2016) they explain that ‘An MDO is a person who has a disability or disorder of the mind and has been found guilty of committing a criminal offence.’ (Kellett et al., 2019, p. 225).

The wording and terminology employed here is significant. First, the act of creating the acronym MDO to label all the subjects of the study is an example of linguistic reductionism. Clearly, reductionism is a necessary by-product of any process of writing about groups of people. However, in combination with the words ‘seriously’, ‘mentally’, ‘disordered’ and ‘offender’ it generates fear, alienates the subjects from the reader and almost seems to fetishize the risks involved in forensic practice. This form of linguistic separation between reader and research subject complements the physical separation of these people from society through incarceration in secure forensic hospitals. Whilst the authors denote a clear distinction between so-called MDO’s and ‘prisoners in correctional settings’ (p. 225) in

general, the terminology serves to enhance the notion of incarcerated people as the dangerous other.

There are many reasons why employing this terminology is a valid approach even for music therapists. Music therapists must communicate to a variety of professions, fields of study, funding bodies and lay audiences, and often, the agenda to promote music therapy for the benefit of clients must interact with discourses that are readily understood and accepted within these fields (Aigen, 2014). Within my own writing there are several examples of reductionism in how I present the participants in the study, not least through use of the words *participant* and *prisoner*. Importantly the language used in Kellett et al.'s (2019) study serves to, and actively seeks to, obscure the individual and their experience in order to meet the stringent criteria for conformity in research meant to evidence treatment efficacy. Whilst such a presentation of research can be seen as distinct from the practice on which it is reporting, my own experiences from carrying out an RCT in Bjørgvin prison match those of Procter (2013) - that the research paradigms associated with this form of writing impose inevitable restrictions on the practice in the name of making the intervention and its effects measurable.

To turn now to their perspectives on crime, Kellett et al. (2019) write:

CAT [cognitive analytic therapy] would conceptualise the crimes committed by MDOs as a consequence of childhood neglect, abandonment and abuse, leading to the internalisation and then acting out of pathological reciprocal roles. (Kellett et al., 2019, p. 226)

This provides an illuminating illustration of the discourses that form the basis for the CAMT approach to music therapy in forensic settings. In Kellett et al.'s conceptualisation of crime, the MDO seems to be without agency; the crime is a consequence of factors in the past, also known as *static* criminogenic factors because they cannot be altered (Andrews and Bonta, 1998). These factors have led to acting out through a series of psychological processes.

If we now see this in connection with the authors' perspective on change, they refer to a three-phase approach to change consisting of

(1) a reformulation stage during which the patient's presenting problem are reformulated via narrative and sequential diagrammatic reformulations, (2) a recognition stage to enable the patient to better recognise when they are caught in procedures or roles and (3) the final stage of revision in which the patient and therapist work collaboratively to explore how to respond differently by changing roles and procedures. (Kellett et al., 2019, p. 226)

As the authors highlight, there are strong psychoeducative components inherent in the model (as derived from Cognitive Analytic Therapy), and although the *processes* of change are instigated and take place within the framework of the therapeutic relationship, the change itself is located firmly with and in the individual.

Their perspective thus obliterates any notion of a social situatedness of criminal actions, and with it, the idea that explanations for crime can be found outside of the individual's psyche. This perspective on change leaves little room for those views of desistance that emphasise social explanations for crime, *and* those that emphasise rational choice. This deterministic conception of crime, their perpetrators and music therapy stands in contrast to the foundations of CoMT and cultural perspectives on criminology.

Community Music Therapy in prison

A body of literature which is rarely included in international literature reviews (e.g. Coutinho et al., 2015) is a selection of Norwegian studies focussing predominantly on the project *Music in custody and liberty*, a Norwegian nationwide initiative to promote music in prisons established in 1991 by music therapist Venja Ruud Nilsen (Nilsen and Mortensen, 2020). The project has over the years initiated music activities in 42 prisons across Norway. The wide range of music activities for prisoners have included playing in rock bands, songwriting, recording and performance, and have been run by music therapists, teachers or community musicians. As such, the project inhabits an intriguing space at the intersection between music therapy, community music and music education. The associated body of research predominantly includes a focus on participants' experiences (Gotaas, 2006; Mortensen 2006; Nettet, 2004; Nilsen, 2007; Riise, 2012). Conclusions include that participation can lead to benefits in terms of increased health and social networks (Nilsen, 2007), wellbeing

(Mortensen, 2006) and ability to cope with life in prison and transitions into the community (Gotaas, 2006). Usefully, Pettersen (2008) provides a comprehensive analysis of the interface between music therapy as a young profession and the prison as an old institution. He problematises attempts to forge an alignment between the inmates' statutory rights to leisure activities, and notions of rehabilitation. He argues that music therapy in prisons should be regarded only as an entitlement, not as a means for change or rehabilitation (p. 39). *Music in custody and liberty* is of importance to my research. Not only because its wide influence in the field of Norwegian music therapy and prison welfare has informed my practice, but also because the accumulation of experience and knowledge from its practitioners, researchers and participants speaks to pertinent questions of interdisciplinary collaboration and locates music therapy in relation to other music professions in this setting. With its introduction of a three-step model (Nilsen and Mortensen, 2020) to musical integration into society (playing in bands in the prison – playing in bands in the community with an instructor – continuing music as a hobby independently in the community), the project has been described as a prime exemplar of Norwegian community music therapy (Ruud, 2020a).

In contrast to the dominant international research into music therapy in prisons, this body of research draws heavily on user perspectives, and it is interesting to note that such perspectives emphasise social integration and quality of life as the most important outcomes. Continuing this vein, the most recent and arguably the most comprehensive studies of music therapy drawing on user perspectives related to prison settings are three PhD dissertations on the subject; Tuastad (2014), O'Grady (2009) and Leith (2014). Tuastad explores the concept of the rock band as method in music therapy practice with men who are or have been in prison, through an action research project (Tuastad and O'Grady, 2012; Tuastad and Stige, 2014; Tuastad 2014). The focus is on music therapy in the transition from prison to community and as a form of aftercare in the community. Tuastad concludes that music therapy, in this case in the form of a rock band practice, offers 'a third way out' (Tuastad 2014, p. 73) of a criminal lifestyle. The other two are religion and education, which are predominant in narratives about desistance from crime (Maruna, 2001).

O'Grady (2011) carried out interviews with incarcerated women who participated in a music therapy project based around songwriting and performance in an Australian prison. Asking about the 'therapeutic potentials of creating and performing music with women in prison' (O'Grady 2011, p. 122) she identifies five categories of shifts from an inward to an outward focus brought about by participation in music therapy: from inside to outside spaces, from private to public, from focus on self to a focus on others, from solitude to togetherness and finally from subjective to objective thought processes (p. 140). She links this outward focus to CoMT's 'attempt to rebalance' (p.145) what she refers to as an inward focus in other forms of music therapy. O'Grady, herself the music therapist researcher, usefully reflects on the role of the music therapist in this context, critically questioning the *need* for music therapists in processes of music and health and arguing for more collaboration with other music professions.

Leith (2014), although not researching CoMT specifically, carried out mixed methods research based on her work as a music therapist in a UK prison for women. She explores the self-perception of women in prison and how this may change during music therapy. The study also explores whether such changes might lead to improved engagement with 'prison resettlement interventions' (Leith, 2014, p. 6). The study identified change in areas related to self-image, and a marked increase in engagement in other activities (Leith, 2014, p. 151). Leith makes an interesting comparison between music therapy and the use of music in everyday prison life, linking the former to a growth in self-confidence which was not found in everyday engagement with music. All three projects share a focus on resettlement, but whereas Tuastad (2014) primarily writes about music therapy as a part of aftercare in the community, O'Grady and Leith focus on the dynamics of music therapy work within the institution. In terms of the music therapy work under investigation Tuastad and O'Grady explicitly describe their practices as CoMT. Leith describes her practice as being 'psycho-socially rather than medically oriented' and aligns it with Rolvsjord's (2010) notion of resource-oriented music therapy. What makes these theses particularly relevant for the current study is that they all incorporate qualitative research methods, they all provide comprehensive descriptions of music therapy practice, and they all explore links to everyday life in prisons through observation and/or user perspectives. Tuastad's research is based within a Norwegian context, and as such provides a comparative reference point to my study

which is situated within the same socio-political climate. Also, they all have in common that they have researched their own music therapy practice, and as such provide useful models for how this can be approached. My study complements this small but growing body of exploratory qualitative research which specifically orientates itself to the prison as a context for music therapy and is sensitive to, and committed to, exploring relationships between music therapy and everyday life.

Other professional music practices in prisons

Whilst it is beyond the scope of my study to include a comprehensive review of educational and community music programmes in prisons, the wider international field of community music practice contains several projects that stand out as being of relevance to the work described in this study. These include Music in Prisons run by the Irene Taylor Trust (UK); Distant Voices, a songwriting project involving prisoners, staff and professional musicians in Scotland; the Good Vibrations project (UK) making use of the Javanese Gamelan; and the Oakdale Community Choir in Iowa, USA.

The Good Vibrations project is of particular importance as it is the most thoroughly documented, including through a number of evaluations and research articles (Henley et al., 2012; Mendonca, 2010; Wilson et al., 2009, Wilson and Logan, 2006). The studies demonstrate an array of benefits including increase in self-confidence, development of social skills, empowerment and education (Wilson and Logan, 2006, p. 27). The project has become prolific in criminological literature relating to UK settings. In her analysis of the project Mendonca (2010) observes a match between what participants and prison governance perceive as outcomes of the project. Significantly however, these matching outcomes are valued from different perspectives. Indeed she attributes the success of the project to its ability to meet 'several overlapping notions of transformation' (p. 304):

As far as the prisoners and project leaders are concerned, participation in the project can be seen to build self-confidence and develop social skills that help individuals to cope with life inside, and which may lead to more long-term changes [...] From the prison authorities' and government's perspective, involvement in education in prison has been statistically proven

to combat reoffending, which is, of course, an enormous financial, not to mention social, problem in an overstretched prison system.
(Mendonca, 2010, p. 304)

Thus, also in other professional music practices in prisons we can trace an emphasis on individual change e.g. in relation to self-esteem or social skills, that matches the focus on psychological and behavioural change in music therapy in prisons.

The Distant Voices project in Scotland and The Oakdale Community Choir in Iowa stand out from this picture as they do not aim first and foremost to instigate change *in* the prisoners who take part. Rather, The Distant Voices project aims, through songwriting, recording and performances, to ‘spark (sometimes difficult) conversations’ about ‘crime, punishment and reintegration’ with the ambition to make ‘positive changes in the Criminal Justice System’ (Voxliminis, 2021). Similarly, the Oakdale Community Choir, a choir bringing together incarcerated men from Oakdale prison and members of the local community, aims to create caring communities. The long running project’s philosophy is based on the South African concept *Ubuntu* which means ‘a person is a person through other people.’ (Oakdale Community Choir, 2020). In this way, we can make a broad distinction between music projects in prisons that emphasise benefits to individuals, and those that focus on change as a mutual process of care and growth between participants and community.

Prisons, music and evidence pt. 1

Recidivism seems to be the gold standard of measurable outcomes in prison research. It often trumps other indications of the effects of interventions, and even trumps debates seeking to problematise a focus on effects. Often treated as the ultimate measure of the success of an intervention, recidivism rates are intended to show to what extent people re-offend. Circumventing debates about treatment versus rehabilitation or individualistic versus social models for understanding crime, recidivism is often cast as the best suited variable to answer whether an initiative meets what is the most overt objective of the prison service: reducing crime (Mendonca 2010). However, employing recidivism rates as a measure of effect of a single intervention has proved notoriously difficult (Ugelvik, 2016). Not least because recidivism is difficult to both define, establish and document. For instance,

recidivism figures only register crimes that have been sentenced, not all crimes committed. Also, recidivism is for practical reasons only measured within limited time periods, thus excluding any crime committed outside the time period. Moreover, isolating the effects of a particular intervention from 'standard care' (terminology used in RCTs to describe the baseline services offered to both intervention and control groups), or indeed from ongoing factors affecting people after release is at best complicated (Ugelvik, 2016).

Despite such challenges, recidivism has been called for as a criterion to measure also the effects of the arts and art therapies in prisons. Meekums and Daniel's (2011) comprehensive synthesis of literature on arts in prisons draws on a vast systematic selection of studies demonstrating the effects of the arts and arts therapies in prisons. They identify an overall emphasis on 'improvements in arousal levels, emotional literacy, and quality of life' (p. 229). Given the rigour and depth of their study, it provides a solid guide to trends and issues in research into arts therapies with offenders. Their synthesis and following conclusions make two points of particular relevance to this study.

First, they found that 'Music therapists in particular have been more inclined to present accounts of measurable evidence-based practice and this is reflected in the number of music therapy articles included [...]' (p. 232). This confirms the predominant focus on documenting effects in research into music therapy in prisons identified by Tuastad (2014), and demonstrates how the quest for evidence-based practice in prison settings has implications for practice and research in the field of music therapy.

Second, despite advocating convincingly for the scientific value of the quantitative studies which form the bulk of their included literature, the authors find that qualitative studies more usefully reveal 'the immediacy of the artistic endeavour' and offer an 'ethnographic account that questions cultural and political norms.' (p. 232). They continue: 'These types of highly aesthetic accounts offer a different kind of evidence [...] carrying an emotional shadow or trace effect of the humanising potential and result of arts practices.' (p. 232). Highlighting the value of participatory action research and arts-based methods, the authors devote, contrary to their initial intentions, a large part of their review to one qualitative study of dance movement therapy (Mullen, 1999, in Meekums and Daniel, 2011).

In line with Meekums and Daniel's sentiment (2011), Kougiali et al. (2018) have argued that music programmes in prisons need to be measured and evaluated on their own terms. Kougiali et al.'s qualitative meta-study of music programmes in prisons suggests that music programmes facilitate 'a liberating process', 'encourages participation', and 'allows for noncoercive personal development' (p.1). Interestingly the authors explicitly excluded studies examining music therapy from their review. This was on the grounds that they wanted to examine 'therapeutic benefits of music stripped from the influence of any structured treatment approach' (p. 7).

Meekums and Daniel's (2011) study underlines what I have shown so far in this chapter, i.e. that music therapy with people who are serving criminal convictions is largely focused on mental health treatment or behavioural approaches to rehabilitation, often located in forensic psychiatric settings. Research into these practices tends to be focused on demonstrating the effects of music therapy, sometimes through quantitative methods. I have illustrated how these approaches to music therapy and research rest on a view of crime first and foremost as an individual and psychological phenomenon. When we examine research into other forms of music programmes and activities in prisons, there is also frequently an overt focus on demonstrating effects in relation to psychological and behavioural factors. Overall, there is little research into music therapy in prisons that engages with music as a multi-faceted cultural practice and social phenomenon. However, a small number of studies have explored CoMT practices in prisons, and some of these interrogate the boundaries between therapy and everyday life in line with CoMT's commitment. Moving on, I will draw on cultural criminology and CoMT to develop a culturally informed perspective on music therapy in prisons.

CULTURE, CRIME AND HEALTH: FRAMING MUSIC THERAPY IN PRISONS

The research I have presented so far suggests that when music therapists focus on psychopathological explanations for crime, their practice and research tend to focus on music therapy as treatment, informed by cognitive psychology/psychoanalytic theory, with a view to establish effect in the form of change in the individual. As I pointed to in my introduction, I have gradually developed a cultural perspective on both health and crime as a framework for my practice which contrasts with this research. This cultural perspective underpins the analysis and interpretation throughout this thesis, and in the following section I will outline its theoretical basis.

Cultural perspectives on music therapy and crime

Stige (2002a) illustrates the essence of what a culture-centred perspective in music therapy entails by posing a simple question to all music therapists: 'What is the relationship between the music therapy session and the context it belongs to?' (p. 21). The question embodies Stige's central thesis that under no circumstances can music therapy be construed as a 'culture-free discipline' (p. 18). What happens in therapy, musically, verbally, physically, cannot be extracted from the wider cultural landscape we find ourselves a part of, nor can it be extracted from the idea that the music therapy is itself a part of culture.

Culture has been called one of the most complicated words in the English language (Williams, 1976). Given the complexity of the concept and its importance within my thesis, I have explored multiple notions and definitions. Stige (2002) has defined culture as 'the accumulation of customs and technologies enabling and regulating human coexistence. [...] Culture then is shaping people and shaped by people, in conscious and non-conscious ways.' (Stige 2002a, p. 112)

Stige's idea that people both shape and are shaped by culture speaks to relationships between place, music and identity in music therapy. DeNora (2013a) emphasises how

culture is not simply a background against which we perform our enactments of self, but how culture is *action* and comes into being in our appropriation of cultural materials. Building on Goffman (1961), DeNora (2013a) distinguishes between the view that cultural materials (in our case e.g songs, genres and musical precedence) are merely *either* tools or restrictions, and the view that 'cultural materials – physical and symbolic – are equipment for living, that is, not merely presenting oneself to impress' (DeNora, 2013a, p. 37). This notion - that culture is simultaneously a performative engagement with established practices *and* a way of making 'sense of reality: here, now, artfully, pragmatically and with consequences' (DeNora 2014, p. 126) - underpins my understanding of music therapy in the prison setting.

Procter (2013) has identified a culture-centred perspective as a defining feature of CoMT, and a vast body of work has amassed in the past two decades to account for relationships between music, health and culture in the field (Ansdell and DeNora; 2016; Ruud, 2020; Stige, 2002a). Stige (2012) specifically outlines three perspectives on health that have been important for CoMT discourse. The first is Ruud's (1998) notion of health as related to *possibilities for action*, which extends 'beyond the individual to include community and culture' (Stige, 2002a, p. 305), and which links health to quality of life. The second is Aldridge's (1996) notion of health as performance, linking health to how the body and identity is expressed through music. The third is a salutogenic perspective on health based on Antonovsky's (1987) notion of health as 'a process of building [resistance] resources' (Antonovsky, 1987, quoted in Stige, 2002a, p. 307). This notion of health has been particularly influential in the development of resource-oriented music therapy (Rolvsjord et al., 2005; Rolvsjord, 2010). Moving beyond the health/illness dichotomy, this is an orientation that foregrounds therapy as *empowerment* (Rolvsjord, 2004).

Similarly, the drive to understand cultural dimensions of, and contexts for, crime and punishment has led to the rise of the discipline of *cultural criminology* (Ferrell et al., 2015). In the field of cultural criminology, understandings of crime as a performative social event have also developed a strong foothold, accompanied by critical analyses of relationships between media, crime and culture. Ferrell et al. (2015) emphasize an understanding of culture that foregrounds people's agency in imbuing their lives with meaning:

Culture suggests the collective search for meaning, and the meaning of the search itself: it reveals the capacity of people, acting together over time, to animate even the lowliest of objects – the homeless person’s bedroll, the gang member’s bandana – with importance and implication.
(Ferrell et al., 2015, p. 3)

The self-fulfilling prophecy suggested by Ferrell et al., i.e. that the search for meaning becomes meaningful in itself, is central to how I understand the findings of my project which are discussed further below.

An example of how criminal behaviour can also be seen as a cultural phenomenon, is Balkmar and Joelsson’s study (2014) of youth car racers in a Swedish local town which explores the social dynamics of risk-taking. Balkmar and Joelsson found that the risk-taking practices of the car racers, a phenomenon that is often seen as a pre-cursor for various forms of motoring offences and road traffic accidents, was not a side-effect of reckless thrill-seeking, nor an expression for destructive impulses, belligerent mischief or deviance. On the contrary, their study identified risk-taking practices as a deliberate and carefully planned strategy for performing control and expertise. According to Balkmar and Joelsson’s analysis this idiomatic performance of control was part of a wider local culture of negotiating and performing gender, age and class.

Music therapy, health and crime can then be construed as cultural practices that are part of our performance of self and of the social fabric within which these performances take place. What then does a cultural perspective on health and crime imply for music therapy in prison settings specifically? The literature above suggests that we become who we are in and through our engagement with culture (DeNora, 2013). Someone’s criminal lifestyle and someone’s empowering sense of musicianhood are both embedded in, and understood through, culture. A consequence is that music therapists must be critically aware of how music is achieved, received and experienced in different cultural settings (Stige, 2002a).

A critical perspective on music practices in prisons

Applying a cultural perspective on music therapy practice in prisons is to develop a critical understanding of how culture provides materials for and is enacted through music in this setting. This involves an awareness also of potentially coercive or oppressive implications of, as it were, 'putting music in jail'. Historically, music has held many contrasting roles in places of incarceration. Music has been associated with counterculture and resistance, it has been employed for its perceived edifying virtues and it has been valued as an arena for social learning and transferrable skills (Cauthino et al., 2014; Harbert, 2010; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Also, as is increasingly documented, it has been employed as an instrument of discipline, incarceration and torture (Cusick, 2008; Digard and Liebling, 2012; Grant, 2013; Moangaoang, 2013). This warrants a nuanced appreciation of music's affordances in prisons.

Noting critically that 'the study of music in carceral space does paint a largely empowering perspective' (Waller, 2018, p. 285), Waller provides an historical account of uses of music in carceral settings. Drawing on Foucault he shows how 'music's relation to the internal life of the subject' (p. 281), which he sees as central to DeNora's concept of music as a 'technology of the self' (DeNora, 2007), can also be 'applied to others, and [...] used to objectify them'. With a specific focus on the 'carceral soundscape' (Waller, 2018, p. 281) he constructs a theory of music as a technology of power in penal systems.

As a part of this picture, Waller notes the uses of music as a moral technology. Such uses appear to be built on the way music historically has been valued for its perceived capacity to instil moral values. For instance, Plato famously stated that 'Music is a moral law' (Pelosi, 2010), whilst Shakespeare condemned those not partial to music: 'The man that hath no music in himself, Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds, is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils.' (Cole, 1875, p. 775). In other words, music has been seen to contain inherent qualities that work against the depravities of crime. Waller (2018) goes on to show how such notions of art as refinement are still culturally mediated in relation to penal settings. As an example, he refers to the use of Western classical music in a scene from the film *Shawshank Redemption*, where the diegetic (i.e. within the plot) music spilling out from

the prison PA instils an immediate sense of serene contemplation amongst the prisoner characters.

The extent to which moral agendas underpin music interventions in prisons is challenging to establish since such goals are rarely articulated. It is nonetheless interesting to note that it seems to be a widely held view that people in prisons are somehow less moral than other people. This despite quantitative experimental studies that have indicated that prisoners do not have lower moral standards than the general population (Birkeland et al., 2011). Importantly, this view seems to be held fervently amongst prisoners themselves. For instance, Ugelvik (2014b) points out how inmates in an ethnographic study of Oslo prison responded to such depreciative labelling by constructing their own moral standards, e.g. by denouncing sexual offenders or 'snitches' (p. 1). This opens up questions of how music might also work as a moral technology *amongst* and *between* groups of prison inmates. There is little research pertaining to this, but from Waller (2018) and Ugelvik's (2014b) studies of prison life we can see the contours of how music can be subject to a tug-of-war between competing moral interests.

Because of this plethora of possible implications of musicking in prison settings, the introduction of music therapy to prisons is by no means unproblematic. As much as prisons are a technology of change, so is music therapy. Therefore, as a young profession in prisons, music therapists must be conscious of and navigate the inherent tensions between music as an emancipatory agentive practice on one hand, and music as a technology of incarceration aiding the production of 'docile bodies' on the other (Grant, 2013; Harbert, 2010; Mangaoang, 2013).

A focus on everyday life

Applying a cultural perspective on both crime and music in the prison is to turn to everyday life, a turn that has also been propelled by the proponents of cultural criminology. Ferrell et al. (2015) state that cultural criminology

[...] seeks to unearth and capture precisely [the] phenomenology of social life [...] its anger and adrenaline, its pleasure and panic, its excitement and humiliation and desperation. Put in historical terms, cultural criminology is designed to attune to not only the phenomenology of crime, but also to the phenomenology of everyday life as lived in the late-modern era. (Ferrell et al. 2015, p. 63).

This matches the increasing interest in everyday life in the field of music studies (Ansdell, 2014; Crafts et al. 1993; DeNora, 2000; Frith, 2002; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Relationships between music and everyday life have been approached from music psychology (Hargreaves and North, 1999; North et al., 2004; Sloboda et al., 2001), and most importantly in my case from sociological studies of music (Cohen, 1991; DeNora, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Finnegan, 1989). DeNora (2000) explores music as a technology of self in a range of everyday contexts through interviews and observation, showing how music can be a resource for health as people go about their daily activities. She has introduced the powerful notion of *music asylum* (DeNora, 2013a), a concept developed from and rooted in the work of Goffman (1961), denoting people's ability to find health in and through music. This work has become influential in the emerging field of music and health (Batt-Rawden and DeNora, 2005; Bonde et al., 2013; Skånland, 2013). Literature in the field of music therapy also engages with relationships between music therapy and everyday life. This is particularly the case within CoMT as a field of research and practice, and associated explorations of the ecological situatedness of music therapy (Ansdell, 2014; Ansdell and DeNora, 2016; Pavlicevic et al., 2015; Procter, 2013). As examples of how music therapy specifically interacts with everyday life within institutional settings, Pavlicevic et al. (2015) have explored how music therapists can, through a number of documented strategies, foster community beyond the music therapy room in the challenging social environments of dementia care homes. Likewise, Procter (2013) has shown how music therapy interacts with daily life in a community mental health centre. Despite this increasing knowledge about the importance and benefits to individuals and communities of everyday musical practices, few studies have examined relationships between music therapy and musicking as an everyday practice specifically in a prison setting. Accordingly, a subject of importance to my study is the relationship between everyday musicking and music therapy.

In the field of criminology, Ugelvik's (2014) work usefully brings out the complex interplay between power and resistance in everyday prison life⁹. Bringing Foucault's seminal work on relationships between punishment, prisons, power, resistance, subject and society thoroughly up to date, Ugelvik devoted a comprehensive ethnographic study of Norwegian prison life to an analytic lens resting on Foucault's theories. Casting resistance as an everyday activity, Ugelvik notes how even 'breaks from monotony and boredom can function as resistance in that prisoners can 'escape' from the tedious repetitiveness of everyday life that follows directly from the way (...) imprisonment is designed and implemented' (p. 45). Whilst Foucault's work is not explicitly drawn upon to a large degree in music therapy literature, DeNora's (1999) highly influential elaboration of music as a technology of self has by many been linked to Foucault's notion of 'technologies of the self' (Waller, 2018, p. 284).

Like Foucault, who observes that 'the technologies of power and self rarely function separately from each other' (Waller, 2018, p. 279), DeNora views the self as a 'reflexive project [...] whose care and cultivation rests upon a somewhat fragile conglomerate of social, material and discourse practices'. (DeNora, 2000, p. 46). Noting the tensions between external and internal drivers, e.g between 'what an individual "must" do and prefers to do', DeNora asks whether the project of 'reconciling these tensions (through forms of cultural and aesthetic appropriation) is self-emancipatory or [...] whether it is party to the "prison house" of advanced capitalism' (p. 52). In this way DeNora places music as technology of the self squarely within a perspective that is aware also of the coercive and restrictive aspects of culture, whilst critically questioning its emancipatory potentials. In addressing the struggle between inner and outer pressures and drives, DeNora's positioning of the individual in relation to culture goes to the heart of the question of free will and agency. Perhaps this is why DeNora's work in music sociology has in turn been influential to cultural understandings of crime and penology, most notably in informing notions of culture, agency and emotion in Jewkes' (2011) seminal research on relationships between masculinities and media in prison settings.

⁹ The notion of everyday life in prison may seem like an anomaly. In using the term I do not intend to ignore the extraordinariness of incarceration, but rather recognise that for many prisoners it becomes the ordinary.

To find empirical explorations of the uses of music in everyday life in carceral settings necessitates moving beyond the fields of music therapy and other professional music practices. From the field of ethnomusicology, Harbert (2010) has provided a nuanced analysis of the musical life within prisons in Louisiana, USA, including accounts of how it affords the maintenance of 'a career that spans the institutionally maintained tension between home and institutional worlds.' (p. 104). He asserts that 'musical engagement seems to provide temporary, almost fleeting, tenuous ways of maintaining self and community' (p. 303). Harbert thoroughly addresses the tensions inherent in introducing music in prison settings. First, he claims, it can be an instrument of incarceration e.g. by being part of institutional strategies to reward good behaviour or provide relief from the pains of incarceration. In such cases he argues, music is '*employed* in the creation and maintenance of docile bodies' (p. 21, emphasis in original). On the contrary, music can create a space where 'freedom, imagination, and future become possible' and where people can 'do productive inner work within and develop trust within a community' (p. 22). Whilst offering critical perspectives on potential uses of music in prison as 'palliative', Harbert concludes his impressive analysis with the analogy of music as a 'branch to hold on to' in the midst of unpredictability and suffering (p. 303).

In a similar vein, Somma (2011) provides a rich analysis of how music was used in the Zonderwater prisoner of war camp in South Africa during the second world war. Drawing on historical documents and retrospective interviews Somma highlights the role of music in creating and maintaining identity. Significantly he shows how music was employed both to meet the captors' agenda to control the Italian prisoners, and as part of the prisoners' resistance and enactment of national identity. Again this shows, like Mendonca's (2010) analysis of The Good Vibrations Project, that music can meet different and deeply conflicting needs and agendas in the prison setting. In a qualitative study of music in an Israeli prison, Edri and Bensimon (2018) too explored the role of music for both inmates and staff. They concluded that music could be a source of wellbeing for the inmates and in some cases provide a basis for good relations between staff and inmates, but that staff also to a large degree used music as a means of control e.g. as reward for cooperation and good behaviour.

Harbert (2010) writes that music complicates custody, and Waller (2018) shows how music interacts with competing moral agendas. The literature I have reviewed so far in this chapter also shows that custody complicates music(king) and therefore music therapy. Most obviously, and not to be forgotten, regimes of incarceration physically limit people's opportunities to make music together (Coutinho et al., 2015). Perhaps this is why only a relatively small selection of studies focus on music's roles in the social life of places of incarceration (e.g. Edri and Bensinmon 2018; Harbert, 2010; Somma, 2011; Waller 2018). Most research into music in prison settings focuses on describing or evaluating highly organised music activities in the form of rehabilitative programmes, formal education, devised creative projects or structured therapy sessions rather than considering the prison as a music scene.

Conceiving of the prison as a music scene

An important part of developing a cultural perspective on music therapy in the prison is to draw on concepts and ideas from the cultural study of music. During the research period my work has led me to conceptualise the prison as a *music scene*, and the entire thesis can be read as an elaboration of this idea. Bennett and Peterson (2004) have described a music scene as a

[...] focused social activity that takes place in a delimited space and over a specific span of time in which clusters of producers, musicians, and fans realize their common musical taste, collectively distinguishing themselves from others by using music and cultural signs often appropriated from other places, but recombined and developed in ways that come to represent the local scene. (Bennett and Peterson, 2004, Kindle location 187/3244).

There are however different implications at play in their definition which need to be clarified. As their terminology suggests, their conception of a music scene is informed by 'academic research on the production, performance, and reception of popular music.' (loc 109/3244). Whilst the prison certainly represents a delimited space and a specific span of time (although these could also be problematized), this definition of a scene is not readily applicable to the musicking that went on in the prison. For instance, the market/consumer labels and the division between producers and fans do not reflect the complexity of roles

and identities people took on in musicking situations. Also, the suggestion of a common musical taste and the idea that people neatly can collectively distinguish themselves from others imply a degree of conformity and unity that was only sporadic and transient in the prison. However, in distinguishing the 'scene' from 'subculture', Bennett and Peterson (2004) highlight that 'identities are increasingly fluid and interchangeable [...], most participants regularly put on and take off the scene identity [...]. (Kindle location 117/3244). My use of the term music scene relates perhaps most strongly to their analytic observation that 'the scenes perspective focuses on situations where performers, support facilities, and fans come together to collectively create music for their own enjoyment' (Kindle location 113/3244).

In her seminal study of musical life in Milton Keynes, Finnegan (1989) frequently uses the term music scene. Although she does not offer a definition, it becomes clear that for her too, the term can be linked to both place, style and genre. For instance she writes about 'national' and 'local' scenes, 'the jazz scene' and the 'country and western scene', and describes shared characteristics on different levels. As one such shared characteristic, she describes 'an awareness of belonging to a wider band world, meaningful in its own right, a shared background to their own activities.' (p. 272). Importantly, scenes can co-exist and interact, and together form a larger scene:

For though at one level each experience was an individual one and the overall patterns not necessarily fully perceived by many players, the extent of shared conventions and expectations among the practices of the small local performing bands was considerable. This was sometimes locally expressed as the 'local music scene. (Finnegan, 1989, p. 272)

Such a use of the term is in line with my own experience of the prison, but more importantly it seems to reflect the notions of community and relationship expressed by the participants in my study. Finnegan's deep analysis of musical life in Milton Keynes points to how musical activity in vastly different forms and locations, carried out by different people, were nonetheless connected in a web of 'conventions and expectations' (p. 272), or what we might call a culture of music making.

Critical reflections on CoMT as a therapeutic stance in prisons

The application of concepts such as wellbeing, possibilities for action and empowerment in a prison context can be provocative. Although it should not be radical to suggest that inmates' quality of life is important, punitive political agendas, crime victim perspectives and biomedical approaches to rehabilitation may indeed see these concepts as antithetical to penal practice.

Stige (2002) has offered a critical perspective on these concepts also from within music therapy, highlighting how ideas about 'possibilities for action' (Ruud, 1998, p. 52) may be rooted in western ideals about individual agency and autonomy, and contemporary notions of self-realization. Stige (2002) asks 'who is given the authority to define which actions deserve to be promoted and which do not?' (p. 308). Alluding here to the basic notion that someone's 'possibilities for action' has consequences beyond the individual, his question is particularly pertinent to penal systems: what does empowerment and possibilities for action mean e.g. in relation to someone who repeatedly and over time has used their position of power to coerce and abuse a child?

Continuing this trail of thought, a legitimate question is to turn the table and ask whether crime could not, in some circumstances, itself be a form of empowerment? Is for instance civil disobedience not empowering? Or, is it only empowering as long as 'we' approve of the cause? Is empowerment only reserved for the groups which 'we' are morally and ideologically sympathetic to? We need only turn to current debates around the possible de-criminalisation of possession and use of cannabis in Norway to see that questions of subjective wellbeing for inmates quickly become both political and judicial¹⁰. Drug users experience wellness when they are under the influence of illicit substances, and unwellness when they are 'clean' (Walderhaug, 2018). This sits in contrast to mainstream understandings of health, which deem their use of illicit substances to be unhealthy, and

¹⁰ In Norway there is an ongoing debate about de-criminalising possession and use of cannabis. A central slogan is that people who take drugs need help not punishment. The debate is infused with complexities. For instance, people treated for opiate addiction can legally use synthetic substitutes, whereas recreational cannabis users have their drivers licence automatically removed as the police arguably enforce their own moral agenda without proper foundation in the law (Bergens Tidende, 2020).

abstinence to be a sign of health. This simple example illustrates the complexities, even within a salutogenic perspective on health, of answering Stige's (2002) question of what actions deserve to be promoted.

Speaking of empowerment in relation to people in prison as a group is also problematic, because discussing prisoners as a homogenous group is in itself disempowering through defining them by their offender status. Any empowerment of people in prison must therefore lie precisely in the dissolution of 'the prisoner', and the creation of 'the person'. Only when we know something about people's lives, their histories, their regrets and their aspirations can we begin to think together about what empowerment would be to that person, in their life. This is not to say that as practitioners we need to maintain an individualised focus, but that we must be attuned to the differentiated and multi-faceted individual needs and interests that groups emerge and cohere around.

It seems clear that problems arise when we seek to generalize and make statements or policies that apply to swathes of people. This is the challenge, and necessary task, for much of criminology. As Tierney (2009) points out, '[...] criminology is centrally concerned with the prediction and prevention of crime [...] crime science attempts to amass and analyse "hard", "objective" data, and to use these data in order to build up predictive profiles of types of offender, patterns of offending, successful anti-crime strategies, and so on.' (Tierney, 2009, pp. 72-73). My approach, and privilege, has been to go in the other direction and pursue these questions qualitatively.

This does not imply that it is satisfactory to treat health or wellbeing purely as subjective and individual phenomena. Stige (2002a) points out that in CoMT, a salutogenic perspective on health is only applicable when it is not restricted to the individualized notions of health which underpin positive psychology. I have therefore sought to explore how both notions of crime, wellbeing and music are socially constructed and ecologically situated in the prison.

A related challenge associated with applying 'culture' as a lens for understanding health and crime, is that it lends itself to an overemphasis of a sense of uniformity and communal

allegiance, as demonstrated by Bennett and Peterson's (2004) notion of the music scene. An example of this is the term community itself:

The term community is quite special in social and political theory in that it is almost always used in a positive sense. The implied focus upon relationships and contact among people, upon shared responsibilities and efforts, and upon mutual aid and care, appeals to most of us, but is it the whole picture? I would say no. Where communities actually work like this there is usually also another side to the picture, which could be called extensive social control.' (Stige, 2004, p. 108)

Indeed, the entire prison system could be viewed as society's other 'side to the picture', exercising the social control necessary for society to function as 'we' want it to (Wacquant, 2002). And as extensions of the carceral apparatus, therapists employed by prisons must be aware of their position of power. Therefore, as Stige (2004) reminds us, in our haste to embrace the empowering and relational potentials of music we must also be vigilant of the social control that can be exercised *within* and *by* musical communities, and of how as practitioners and researchers, we may ourselves be coerced by the dynamic forces at play as people front competing interests.

Summary

In this chapter I have presented research into music therapy in prisons and forensic settings, showing how there has been a predominant focus on music therapy as a mental health intervention. There is however a growing body of practice and research that aligns with CoMT principles, and I have highlighted how this is beginning to also explore relationships between music therapy and everyday life in prison settings. In light of my own positionality as outlined in Chapter 1, I have shown how we can delineate a shared theoretical landscape between CoMT and cultural criminology as the basis for a critical, culturally informed approach to understanding how music therapy resides at the intersection between crime, health and culture. Having introduced this cultural perspective as the lens through which I understand the findings presented within this thesis, I now move on to explain the methods and the methodological framework that I drew upon to produce the findings.

3. METHODS, METHODOLOGY AND ETHICS

In Chapter 1 I explained how and why I came to choose a qualitative methodology for this study (p. 23). In this chapter I will describe in more detail the qualitative approach I have taken to researching music therapy in Bjørgvin prison, including a discussion of the ethical implications of the work undertaken. I begin with a description of the ethnographic methods employed throughout. I then discuss how and why I came to complement the ethnographic design with elements of participatory action research, and explain how this was informed by arts-based methodology. My choice of ethnography as method was influenced by traditions in the fields of CoMT and criminology/prison studies, and with reference to these traditions the chapter outlines the qualitative methodology that underpins the project, including discussions of musical performance as an epistemological practice and the use of music as data. I also describe my processes of analysis and illuminate my interpretive stance on musicking as a form of storytelling. As a practitioner researching my own practice within my own organization of work, I draw substantially on my own experience in my analysis and presentation. My thesis is written in a way that reflects this, and I seek to pay particular attention to reflexivity throughout.

METHODS

Walking through the gate

On my first day of field work I walked in through the gate aware that I was entering a place where I have gone to work regularly for the last six years. How could I hope to approach this place with a fresh pair of eyes without my pre-understandings forcing the direction of my research? Despite having read numerous accounts of similar challenges in other people's ethnographies, and studying the theoretical underpinnings of my approach, I realized that this was something I would

have to learn on the job. I did however take some comfort in the knowledge that since I started work at the prison, every cell in my body would have been replaced several times over, and by the fact that the entrance gate had recently been replaced. In this way at least, it was a new me walking through a new gate.

Having previously experienced challenges in researching music therapy in the prison through quantitative methodology and experimental designs, I specifically chose an ethnographic approach for the pilot phase of my PhD project. Pink (2009) describes ethnography as:

[...] a process of creating and representing knowledge (about society, culture and individuals) that is based on ethnographers own experiences. It does not claim to produce an objective or truthful account of reality, but should aim to offer versions of ethnographers' experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge was produced. (Pink, 2007, p.22)

Ethnography thus involves researchers drawing on their own experience in interacting with the field and in co-creating and analysing data. This subjective position must be made transparent and attended to critically and reflexively (Stige, 2005, p. 398). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) also highlight the inevitability of drawing on one's subjectivity in ethnographic research when stating that 'the process of analysis cannot but rely on the existing ideas of the ethnographer and those that he or she can get access to in the literature' (2007, Kindle location 4572/9380). Further they point to the progressive dialogue between one's own thoughts and experience and the data one co-creates, writing that 'ideas are used to make sense of data, and data are used to change our ideas. In other words, there should be movement back and forth between ideas and data' (Kindle location 4462/9380). Having already worked in the prison for six years when I embarked on this project, the ethnographic approach thus offered a position where I would both be able to draw on my experience in dialogue with the empirical fieldwork, whilst hopefully coming to new understandings through attempting to make 'strange' (Gobo and Molle, 2008, Kindle location 3340/8205) the place, people and situations I (thought I) knew so well.

Organisation of the fieldwork

The fieldwork took place in Bjørgvin prison, a Norwegian low secure facility with capacity for 90 male inmates from the age of 18 upwards¹¹. The fieldwork was organized in two phases which will be referred to as 'the pilot' and 'the main study' throughout the thesis. The pilot happened over a period of five months, from February-June 2015. This was a sufficient time span to see new people arrive and others leave the prison, allowing me to see relationships and processes develop and unfold over time. Three months was the average sentence length in Bjørgvin prison at the time, and therefore keeping my field work close to this time scale provided a good point of reference for observing what could unfold within a typical sentence length. Importantly I organised my field work around a planned music therapy performance project which involved having three music therapy students on placement for a total of 60 hours over three weeks. This allowed me to 'sit back' at various points, providing opportunities to explore different modes of observation. Throughout the pilot study, I spent three days a week at the prison, during which I considered all my time there to be part of my field work. The pilot involved ethnographic methods of interviews, participant observation, audio recording and the collection of artefacts. Emerging findings consolidated my ethnographic approach, but indicated an expansion of my methodological toolkit for the second phase ('the main study').

The main study took place over six months, from November 2018-April 2019, encompassing two periods of music therapy student placements, and several performance and recording projects both inside and outside the prison. In addition to the ethnographic methods applied in the pilot, the main study included elements of participatory action research informed by an arts-based methodology, involving participants more actively in processes of inquiry and generating knowledge through musical action. Since the pilot ended up being comprehensive both in its size and content, I treat the pilot and the main study as equally weighted stages within one and the same study.

¹¹ See Chapter 4 for a more in-depth introduction to Bjørgvin prison.

Access

When embarking on the fieldwork I had already been employed full-time as a music therapist at the prison for six years. Organisationally I reported directly to the prison manager and I was part of a group consisting of a visual artist, a novelist, a philosopher and in periods, two interior designers. In addition to my tasks directly linked to music therapy, I also took part in various teams and initiatives within the prison. For instance, outside of the data collection periods, I offered counselling as an alternative measure for those who had violated prison regulations, I provided supervision for participants on the prison service's managerial training programme, and represented the prison in connection with visits or external events.

My multi-faceted roles as practitioner-researcher offered both opportunities and challenges from a research perspective. Being employed by the prison, the usual obstacles to prison research did not apply; I was already close to the people and the environments I wanted to study, and the often reported challenges in gaining access via management gatekeepers (Harbert, 2010; Ugelvik, 2014) were not so obviously applicable. This was a practical advantage, but my status as employee also meant that prison inmates might not share certain aspects of their daily lives, particularly those that breached prison regulations, which 'outside' ethnographers could be privy to. On the other hand, since I was not wearing a uniform, did not have the authority to make formal resolutions or carry out sanctions, was not trained in physical restraint and was primarily offering music activities, most prison inmates seemed to experience a distinction between myself and other uniformed or administration staff as representatives of 'the system'.

Participant observation

A central technique in ethnography is 'deep hanging out' (Geertz, 2000); spending prolonged periods of time with people in the field as they go about their activities. In addition to carrying out my usual duties such as facilitating music therapy sessions, providing supervision for music therapy students on placements and going to staff meetings, I also allocated time specifically to spend in various places around the prison including common

rooms, corridors, the library, and occasionally in people's rooms. I deliberately allocated some of this time to the late afternoon/early evening. This is the time when the school and various work activities are finished and most staff have gone home. I noticed how my experience of the prison changed at this point; most of my colleagues had left (there are only a limited number of prison officers on duty after office hours), the office building (D-block) was dark and empty, and I caught myself thinking that the prison felt more like it belonged to the inmates. This in itself raised interesting questions about *whose* prison is this? The people who live there 24 hours a day, the people who work there, the prison officers, the management, society? Having organised most of my working life at the prison within ordinary office hours, this was in itself a valuable observation. The traditional arguments for arranging activities after work hours was the dearth of activities in the evenings and weekends. However, this observation might suggest another argument: after normal working hours the power relations can shift, perhaps making it a more suitable time for activities such as music therapy which strive for an equality in relationships between the therapist and the clients (Rolvsjord, 2010).

Arguably the most significant arena for participant observation throughout this project was that of musicking. Whilst my role as practitioner-researcher made for a complex and biased position, embedded in years-worth of pre-understandings, it importantly allowed a vantage point that was up-close and 'inside' the musical action, providing participatory access to the 'decisive moment'; the moment that 'can change everything' (Cartier-Bresson, 1952, quoted in Ferrell, 2018, p. 217).

Since the initial aim was to develop a better understanding of people's engagement with music both in music therapy and everyday life, it became important to approach this in a way that would allow for the potential richness and complexities of musical life within the prison to be somehow captured and understood. Acquainting myself with ethnographic research in the area of music therapy (Stige et al., 2010; Procter 2013; Ansdell and DeNora, 2016) and ecological perspectives on music therapy (Aasgaard, 2001; Ansdell, 2014; Stige, 2008), I became inspired to explore the micro-level of events and their inter-relation to a wider context, in what Ansdell (2014) calls 'the ecology of relationships in musicking' (p. 29), being mindful of the idea that 'even the most fragile and ephemeral musical coalition is

informed by largescale social context' (Berger, 2011, p. 39). This would involve, inspired by Pink's sensory ethnography (2009), seeing, hearing, smelling, sensing and experiencing what was happening, and use this too as a source in shaping my understandings. An example of this was how entering a crowded music room, warm, steamed-up and scented by the bodies inside it, alerted me to the physical dimensions of joining a band in this setting.

There is however a trade-off to be made. Whilst immersion in co-action affords embodied experiential knowledge and brings one close to the 'it' of musicking, it might also mean that one is less able to observe others and how the 'it' is experienced for them in the moment. The uncertainty principle in quantum physics is sometimes used as an analogy to illustrate this conundrum (Barad, 2007). The theory postulates that the more we know about a particle's position, the less we can know about its momentum and vice versa; we cannot accurately establish both at once.¹² For instance, I experienced that when I was able to sit back more as an observer, e.g. when music therapy students on practice would lead a rehearsal or when I witnessed a performance that I was not actively involved in, I noticed objects, people or events that I might otherwise not have noticed.

There is however a counterargument to this binary view that might apply to many modalities of interaction, but which I believe is particularly applicable to musical interaction. Musical interaction, and particularly the processes of musical attunement that music therapists are trained in, require an acute attentiveness to the 'other', even in, or maybe especially in, moments of *flow* (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). Thus, immersion in musical interaction as a trained music therapist does not imply a lessened focus on the other. On the contrary the immersion is mediated and enhanced by the relational dimensions of musicking (Procter, 2013). With music being widely regarded as a medium for intersubjective experience *par excellence*, immersion offers another form of access to experience which is not individual, i.e. 'mine' or 'theirs', but is co-constructed.

¹² It should be noted that Barad (2007) has criticised the inaccurate over-use of this analogy based on popular misunderstandings. I therefore do not suggest that it is an accurate analogy, but rather an evocative illustration to aid reflection.

Writing field notes

I generally did not take notes whilst being with people in the field to minimise the interruption of unfolding events. It might also have reduced my ability to be alert and focused on what was happening in the moment. There were exceptions to this, e.g. when participants engaged in lively discussion and I specifically asked if I could make a note of the arguments. During the main study, I devised a 'research pack' for myself and other participants containing a notepad and a pencil amongst other utilities. I made use of this 'research pack' handbook to document our discussions, and specifically encouraged other participants to use theirs, and also made use of white board notes which I later documented by taking pictures of them. Most often I wrote down keywords by hand when I was alone, e.g. between sessions, on a break in my office etc. At the end of the day I typed notes on the computer. These included a summary of events, followed by 'fleshed out' accounts of particular situations or incidents, drawing on audio recordings or memory (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, Kindle location 4151/9380) as well as writing down any thoughts I developed in relation to the material. Extracts from fieldnotes later formed the basis for vignettes, some of which are included in this thesis.

Audio recording

Music therapy sessions and activities such as rehearsals were not recorded systematically. This was a deliberate decision based on several considerations. First, whilst the recording of music therapy sessions is an integral part of practice for many music therapists, it had not been common practice to record music therapy sessions in the prison. From a researcher perspective I did not want to introduce something into this situation which, in my own experience, might make people feel uncomfortable or inhibited. Clearly, the presence of audio recording equipment can bring up associations of surveillance, interrogation or giving evidence, and might trigger memories or induce anxieties. Also, prison ethnographers have commented on how prisoners can be particularly concerned about confidentiality (Ugelvik, 2014). This may be linked to a fear of their status as prisoners being exposed to a wider community. Whilst audio recording was used to document interviews and live musical performances to some degree, it was widely used as a creative method in terms of digital

demo/studio recordings. Such recordings were valuable documents charting works in progress as well as being sound artefacts in their own right. The recording of songs in the prison was governed by a formal agreement between the prison and the prisoner where the artist could specify the degree to which the songs could be used by the prison e.g. for presentations, publication etc.¹³ In addition, any audio recording that took place during the fieldwork was also governed by the research participation consent forms which are discussed later in this chapter.

Another consideration was my explicit aim of not taking for granted pre-defined splits between music therapy and everyday life. From a research stance, it seemed to me that audio recording sessions systematically would 'play into' a way of thinking about sessions which adhered to such pre-defined splits. During phase two of the project, I invited participants to use a Zoom handheld audio recorder located in the accessible music room to record themselves playing, practicing or reflecting as a part of our project, but this offer was not taken up (See p. 268 for a discussion of audio recording and the participants' choice to not audio record a live performance).

Interviews

In addition to the conversations I had with people as part of the field work, I did carry out individual interviews across the two periods of fieldwork. I did not consider interviews to be an authoritative source of information about the interviewees lived experience. Instead, I saw them as a situated event (Kvale, 1997, p. 127); interactions between myself and the interviewee in a particular situation at a particular time. Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000) ask, perhaps provocatively, whether interviews can indeed reflect anything other than 'the norms for behaviour in interview situations' (p. 47). For instance, in the following extract the interview situation gave rise to a musical interaction:

¹³ For most of the recordings made in professional outside studios, the school department were responsible as the formal funders, and over time brought a standard agreement in place. During the research periods no conflicts arose regarding copyright, and no songs recorded by people during their sentence were publicly released via a record label. Some inmates chose to publish their songs on Youtube.

A musical interview

Ben [...] I remember the first thing I learnt [on the guitar] was that dandadan dadaaaan dadaaaan, dandadan dadaaaan dadaaaan [sings the melody for 'The Third Man']

Kjetil: 'dandadan dadaaaan, dadaaaan.....' [sings the continuation]

Ben: I think it was film music for a film or something.

Kjetil: 'dandadan dadaaaan....' / [Here both sing together]

Ben: 'dandadan dadaaaan, dadaaaan' /

Kjetil: Did you play the melody, then?

Ben: Yes, I did. On one string, like 'ding diding', and then I moved my finger like this 'dyndydyndydyyyyyn'. And then I could see that it actually worked, right, and then it got a bit... [laughs]

Kjetil: [laughs]

(Interview, 10. June 2015)

Here we see how Ben suddenly broke into song to illustrate the song he first learnt to play. I recognised the melody as the theme tune to the film *The Third Man*. At that point Ben was looking at me, which coupled with the fact that he repeated the melodic line suggested to me that this was not just a reference to illustrate which song he meant; he was performing the song here-and-now. I joined in, both to confirm that I recognized the song, and also to show that I recognized his rendition as a performance. We then completed the final line together. The introduction of song changed the way we related to each other in the interview situation, and came to represent something external to the unfolding conversational narrative. The use of song gave both of us opportunity and licence for an intimate shared moment, probably far from what may be conventional 'norms of behaviour' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000, p. 97) in a qualitative research interview. This interaction serves as an illustration of the wider methodological issue of how music therapy practice and research interviews were intertwined.

Any formal interviews were semi-structured (Kvale, 1997) and my approach to interviewing was guided by a wish to be open and allow the interview to unfold in the direction that the interviewee and myself would take at any one time. As such the thematic structure would be co-created and emerge as we went along. It would however be false to claim an equal relationship in the interview situation. I was the one who had initiated the interview, I set up the recorder, and ultimately, I asked the questions. I also came into each interview with ideas about subjects I wanted to approach, which would be linked to that particular person or events I had observed. I also had two underlying lines of investigation that I wanted to pursue more broadly across the whole group of participants:

1. How would they describe their relationship to music and how had music previously been, or not been, a part of their lives?
2. What had music meant for them in the prison, i.e. how had they engaged with music, what experiences might they want to tell me about, how had they experienced specific musical events?

I did not ask specifically what people 'got' from participating in music therapy, nor did I ask them to say anything about my role, what it was like for them to work with me or anything else that directly concerned our relationship. On the other hand I would actively engage in these subjects if brought up by the interviewees themselves, and in such circumstances, I also shared my experiences of participating in musical events. It should be noted that I relied more on interviews at the outset of phase one than during phase two. My experience was increasingly that the inevitable formality of the interview setting interrupted ongoing collaborative processes more than it facilitated them.

Participatory arts-based action research (PABAR)

Based on my experiences from the pilot study I decided to broaden my approach for the main study to include participatory strategies for research, informed by an arts-based methodology. My motivation to involve participants more actively in the research process was related to what I perceived as the participants' motivations and abilities to actively

reflect around their engagements in music and other matters of interest and importance. Some prisoners were linguistically articulate and seemed to enjoy the opportunity to talk about their experiences of musicking. On the other hand, others seemed reluctant or unable to engage in conversation, particularly if I pursued a more inquisitive stance. Aware of my initial inclination towards quote-friendly participants in my process of data collection, I wanted to counter such a privileging of particular forms of knowledge and expression. I did this by asking what form knowledge could take in my project, and how it could be mediated. Also, when trying to understand musicking in the prison through participatory observation during the pilot, I experienced for myself that the 'doing' (making music, talking, 'hanging out') could not be separated from the 'knowing' (analysing, interpreting, experiencing, understanding). This epistemological insight finds resonance in participatory action research; the inmates were involved in the doing, ergo they were also involved in the knowing. This needed to be acknowledged and drawn upon as a resource in the continuation of the research; for the purposes of this project music therapy could not be defined independently from the meeting between myself, the inmates, materials and the context. This agency on the part of the inmates both in terms of shaping music therapy and in creating understandings about it, made participatory arts-based action research stand out to me as the most ethically sound, strategically efficient and methodologically robust way of proceeding.

Participatory action research specifically builds on this understanding that action and knowledge are inseparable (Bradbury, 2015); if we seek to understand a certain practice, our knowledge and ways of acquiring that knowledge cannot be separated from the practice itself. Bradbury describes participatory action research as 'a pragmatic co-creation of knowing *with*, not *about*, people' (p. 2), and describes a central commitment to bring 'appreciable, positive impact through the collaborative character' of the work (p. 1). There are many forms of action research, and the interactive, collaborative and unfolding nature of action research means that it is often difficult to define before the project is finished or well underway (McNiff, 2017). Participatory action research emphasises the participation of co-researchers in (potentially) all levels of the research process, including defining 'the problems to be examined, co-generate relevant knowledge about them, learn and execute social research techniques, take actions, and interpret the results of actions based on what

they have learned' (Greenwood and Levin, 1998, p. 4, cited in Bradbury, 2015, p. 291). Moreover, and relevant both to the people in the prison and the development of music therapy in the setting, participatory action research is committed to 'the flourishing of individual persons and their communities' (Bradbury 2015, p. 291).

Traditions within ethnography and participatory action research open up to the possibility of engaging art and performance as research strategies in various ways (Stige and McFerran, 2016, p. 436). An important feature of my project was the potential to include music and other forms of artistic and creative work both as data, in processes of developing understandings, and as dissemination. Also, employing art as method in the collaborative processes of action research can help to facilitate wider participation because it opens up to forms of exploring, understanding and expressing which are not the exclusive territory of the professional scholar (Foster, 2015, Kindle location 2777/4866). Research that has art both as part of its area of study and as part of its method(ology), can help to democratise the construction of knowledge not just about arts practices but about other issues of importance (Foster, 2015, Kindle location 277/4866). For the remainder of the thesis I will use the acronym 'PABAR' to refer to the participatory arts-based action research strategies that were employed during the main study of the project.¹⁴

(Non)participatory (in)action research?

The PABAR process during the main study did not follow neat processes of forming a research group and engaging in structured cycles of action and reflection. Indeed, there were many points at which I had to consider whether to abandon the idea all together because of the fragmented nature of people's participation. Having not got very far with eye-catching posters, I was inspired by what Corbett (2018) calls 'craftivism' and her approach to 'slow activism' for 'introverts'. Instead of shouting in street appeals and using loud posters, 'craftivists' influence decision makers by handing out small handmade cards or

¹⁴ The acronym is only intended to serve my own need to efficiently refer to my method throughout this thesis. It is not an attempt to add to the plethora of acronyms used to coin various forms of arts-based or participatory research strategies.

pieces of needle work with positive messages. In line with this philosophy I made some relatively quiet paper messages which I gave to specifically selected people inviting them for cake and coffee and a chat, and this approach proved much more effective (see appendix 5, p. 338 for an example). Later, each participant, including myself, was given a 'research pack' comprising of a diary and a pen, an information sheet about the project, and, in an attempt to inspire joint thinking and perhaps writing, I handed out a draft article based on the pilot of the project (Hjørnevik and Waage, 2019).

In face of the challenges of mobilizing interest in 'research', remaining with the concept of participatory strategies required many rounds of recalibration on my part. First, and returning to Ferrell (2018), I had to recognize that absence is a very powerful form of action, and that inaction is many prisoners' most important form of resistance. Second, I had to recognize that resistance was not only directed at the 'system', but also, at times, against me. Accordingly, I had to develop ways of housing these tensions within and as part of the research process. Third, I came to recognize musical action in the prison as rhizomatic (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), i.e. how instead of a unified and one-directional force, musical action happened in apparently separate clusters which were nevertheless connected (see Chapters 4 and 8 for an explanation of how and why I draw on Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy in this respect). Fourth, I came to recognize musicking as an epistemic practice, i.e. abandoning the dichotomy between action and reflection, and instead consider musicking both as a 'way of knowing' and as the mediation of this knowing. As Barad (2007) notes, 'Knowing is not a bounded or closed practice but an ongoing performance of the world' (p. 149).

At the outset of the main study it was, true to the ethos of the participatory methods described, open ended what form the research would take, including what forms of mediation might become available to us during the process. Gradually, I decided upon the conventions of written ethnography for the PhD research. Indeed, having first grappled with the 'restrictions' of conventional writing, I have found myself increasingly aware of the necessity and benefits of manifesting this study firmly in a textual form. For me, as for most ethnographers, the structuring of the text is integral to the process of analysis, and many of the insights that I have come to have emerged through processing text. On the other hand,

the material I present in writing, is informed by insights I gained through practice. This included the musical performances that in their own ways became mediations of the forms of knowledge that the participants developed through our processes of engagement. In this way, moving between processes of writing and practice became my own cycle of action and reflection in developing this project.

Seeking to work reflexively

An issue of particular importance in reflexive qualitative research is that of one's relation to the people one studies. Traditionally the concepts of emic (insider) and etic (outsider) perspectives have been central to how ethnographers have thought about their relationships to the cultures they study (Stige, 2005). As Hammersley (2015) points out, these positions can be particularly complex in the prison environment because of its degree of physical separation from the rest of society. Also, defining what is 'inside' and 'outside' seems to be particularly complicated in cases where people study cultures which they are themselves a part of in one way or another (Bennet, 2015).

In relation to ethnography on crime and prisons, an issue has been whose 'side' the researcher is on, e.g. whether or not (s)he takes a critical stance to the prison system (Ugelvik, 2014). This is a dilemma I have encountered many times as a music therapist working in the prison. As an employee this can become an ingrained area of tension, but without having to ever state a particular position. As a researcher however, one must reflect on and justify one's position, whatever it may be. Becker claimed that taking sides is something we inevitably will do, and that we just have to be transparent about it (Becker, 1963, cited in Ugelvik, 2014, p. 36). Liebling (2001) agrees with this but posits that it is possible to take two sides at once: she felt a sense of loyalty to both prison officers and prisoners. This position resonates with my own position, although my experience was that reality was far too complex to be able to identify 'two sides'.

Sometimes, and perhaps this is an inevitable consequence of getting up close to people, it seemed difficult to identify distinct 'sides' at all. This is not something that is exclusively specific to prison ethnography. In his ethnography of music therapy in a mental health

centre in London, Procter (2013) also raises the issue of taking sides in ethnographic work. He concludes, following Becker, that researching how music therapy is accomplished in everyday life can provide a critical stance against established and dominant narratives within the profession, redressing the power imbalance he observes between 'the profession' and the clients music therapist work with who are often "'socially excluded'" (Procter, 2013, p. 46). On the other hand, in relation to prisons, Ugelvik takes the position that 'prison research does not *by necessity* have to [...] be a political statement about prison.' (Ugelvik, 2014, p. 37).

Reflexivity regarding one's own position is integral to approaches to ethnography (Stige and Ledger, 2016). To Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000), reflexivity 'means that serious attention is paid to the way different kinds of linguistic, social, political and theoretical elements are woven together in the process of knowledge development, during which empirical material is constructed, interpreted and written' (p. 5). Being a practitioner and a researcher at the same time may involve having to manage different, overlapping and sometimes contrasting agendas, demanding an even more finely tuned reflexive awareness. In my case, the conflicts between striving for a critical stance as a researcher, and seeking to promote a music therapy practice as a music therapist, carried with it a great responsibility for reflexivity concerning power relations, analytic stance and the influence of researcher participation upon the object of study (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2000; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

Perhaps the most important declaration in terms of allegiance affecting this thesis, is my belief in *music*, and what we can do with it. I seek to balance this biased outlook with critical perspectives e.g. on music in prisons, but throughout the thesis I am firmly on music's side. Perhaps this is because I so often felt that music was on my side, coming to my own rescue:

With the guitar on my back

It is the end of the working day and I am carrying my guitar on my shoulder as I walk from my office in D-block to K-block to hand in my keys. Spring has set in and it is a sunny afternoon. Suddenly I hear the thud from a foot kicking a football up ahead. A group of men are on the lawn outside K-block playing football, laughing and shouting. I instantly hope that they're not going to pass the ball my way. I never seem to be able to catch the ball, and when I do, it is invariably without any form of control or elegance. Why do they have to be playing so close to the road where I'm walking? And surely, they should keep the ball on the ground, not let it fly around in the air. It could break a window, or hit one of the parked cars, or even worse, fly off in my direction. Then it happens. One of the guys screws the ball towards another player. He tries to catch it on his head but barely brushes the ball, sending it directly towards me. I feel a strong impulse to act, and I make a small jolt to move. I immediately feel the weight of the guitar on my back and realize that any attempt to stop the ball will end in a comedy moment of football humiliation. I quickly compose myself, keep walking calmly and hope they did not see my quashed impulse to go for the ball. One of the men comes running for it. He says 'Hi'. I say 'Hi'. I say that I'm sorry I didn't catch the ball. He smiles overbearingly and says 'No worries, after all you can't play football with a guitar on your back'. (Fieldnotes, 20/5/15)

Relationships in a prison are as complicated as anywhere else, and this vignette gives an idea of how both football and music can be a part of managing our everyday contact with other people, bridging internal and social worlds.

Hammersley describes reflexivity as 'stepping outside of an activity in which one is engaged (in this case research) in order to reflect back upon it' (Hammersley, 2015, Kindle location 839/12886), which is not always a simple task. Some of these complexities of my role were rather amusingly illustrated by the caricatured depiction of myself drawn by one of the participants during the first phase of research as the main poster for a prison concert (see

fig. 1 below). The drawing portrays me in a particularly prominent position, suggesting that I held a significant function for the performance project in question. At the same time, my amplifier is portrayed as a 'prison' to someone, clearly looking to get out from behind the bars. This raises the idea that the character in the picture (me) can have an ambivalent function - I might be seen as important to the project, but I might also be seen as keeping inmates locked in and placing myself centre stage. The group were impressed by the artist's work and found my caricature funny in a way that I experienced as friendly banter. Despite my gentle prompts to consider other alternatives, the twelve-strong group decided that this was the poster they wanted for the concert. It serves as an illustration of how my role as music therapist can be seen as multi-faceted: I am someone who offers *something*, but I am also the one who locks the door to the music room at the end of the day. Such a multitude of roles had profound consequences for my ability to carry out research in the place where I work. Reflexivity is therefore not something that can be dealt with in separation - instead my attempts at a reflexive stance will hopefully be evident throughout this document.



Figure 1 - Drawing depicting Kjetil made by a participant in 2015, used as the poster for a prison concert.

METHODOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS

Ethnography in music therapy research

Stige (2005) states that 'in order to understand what goes on in music therapy, we need to understand how the participants understand this.' (p. 393). In recent years there have been several examples of ethnographic approaches to the study of music therapy (Ansdell and DeNora, 2016; Procter, 2013; Stige et al., 2010), the most comprehensive of which is Ansdell and DeNora's (2016) ten-year study of the SMART community music therapy project in London. Stige (2005), Procter (2013) and Ansdell and Pavlicevic (2010) highlight how ethnography might provide particularly fruitful approaches to the study of music therapy. Stige even suggests that 'it is possible to argue that ethnography is what music therapy researchers are doing all the time since human life, including therapy, is embedded in culture' (Stige, 2005, p. 392). Procter (2013) brings forth the notion of 'music as the ethnographic air we breathe' (p. 86) as he draws on ethnomusicology in his approach to working with music as data in ethnographic research.

A characteristic feature of the studies mentioned here is the strong presence of the voices of those who are the subjects of the research, and although e.g. Ansdell and DeNora's (2016) comprehensive study is not labelled as participatory action research, it is clear how the participants were not only shaping and developing the music therapy practice, but also how they were actively involved in the production of knowledge, engaging in processes of action and reflection. In his study of the rock band as a format for CoMT with offenders, Tuastad (2014) has explicitly combined ethnographic and participatory action research, and has more recently involved participant co-researchers in processes of research publishing and artistic mediation (Tuastad et al., 2018). As such, there is a growing precedent in the field of music therapy research for ethnography that is informed by the values and strategies that underpin participatory action research. This then, forms the backdrop for my own approach to engaging in and presenting music therapy research.

Ethnography in prison research

Ethnography also holds an important position in prison studies and criminology, particularly as an alternative to what Jewkes (2015) calls ‘a heavily quantitative approach to penology’ (Kindle location 188/12886). According to Jewkes, prison ethnography, heavily informed by Goffman’s and Foucault’s influential body of work on institutional life, power and punishment (Jefferson, 2015, Kindle location 4221/12886), and often critical of the institutions that are researched, has been obscured in what Wacquant (2002) called the ‘curious eclipse of prison ethnography’ (p. 370); a distinct lack of ethnographic prison research over the previous decades. Taking a critical stance against prison systems and what he calls ‘the penal management of poverty’ (p. 371) Wacquant suggests that ‘getting “in and out of the belly of the beast” offers a unique vantage point from which to contribute to the comparative ethnography of the state in the age of triumphant neoliberalism’ (p. 371)¹⁵. In this way Wacquant places ethnography in a political context, where the choice of doing ethnography in itself can be seen as an attempt to redress power imbalances in a political climate that increasingly uses carceral punishment as a form of social control. In response to this eclipse, prison ethnography was again put on the agenda for example through the publication of an edited book devoted specifically to prison ethnography (Drake et al., 2015).

In Norway the ethnographic study of life in prisons has gained momentum e.g. through Ugelvik’s (2014) analysis of power and resistance in a Norwegian high secure prison and Mjåland’s (2015) study of the implementation of opiate maintenance treatment in prison. Within the Norwegian prison service itself ethnography is also increasingly becoming a central method in evaluating and understanding prison life, with members of the research team at the Norwegian national prison service training and research centre (KRUS) themselves conducting ethnography (Fransson and Johnsen, 2015). Taking an ethnographic approach to commissioned research that would traditionally be addressed through more traditional interview studies or qualitative methods is a brave move that has produced rich and critical insights into the Norwegian prison system, not least in illuminating how power is distributed and enacted within the prison system.

¹⁵ It should be noted that Wacquant primarily writes about conditions in the USA.

Overall, ethnographies carried out by prison employees within their own environments are few and far between. A notable example is Bennet (2015), who offers a rare account of insider ethnography in prisons, where he, as a prison manager himself, studied the daily lives of other prison managers in the UK. Of relevance to my study, he identifies important challenges and opportunities to insider ethnography in prison. For instance, he outlines the challenges of inhabiting and reconciling what he experienced as several conflicting identities throughout the process. Whilst the research of Bennet and KRUS is insider research to the extent that they are individuals researching their own organisations, it is not insider research in relation to prison inmate communities. Academic insider studies carried out by prisoners are rare, but a notable example is Ribe-Nyhus' (2020) autoethnographic study of his own experience of serving a long sentence for murder in the Norwegian prison system. Inevitably the study has received criticism on ethical and methodological grounds (Khrono, 2020). Nevertheless, his critical analysis offers a unique insider perspective where he describes an oppressive relationship between officers and inmates, the latter having to ingratiate themselves with staff to receive perks and to not be punished. He also emphasises the limited repertoire of social roles available within the inmate community, beyond stereotypical portrayals of 'the criminal' (Ribe-Nyhus, 2020).

'The extraordinary ordinariness of prison life' – reflections on everyday life research

CoMT and cultural criminology share an increasing commitment to researching the lived experience of those we study, often through ethnography and engagement with the concept of everyday life. But what, if anything, defines 'everyday life' in penal and musical contexts, when those contexts represent a *departure* from 'the everyday' e.g. in the form of incarceration (prison) or peak experience (music). In the following I will discuss the concepts which have shaped my approach to researching everyday life in this context.

My starting point for answering the question of how to understand everyday life is DeNora's (2014) use of the term 'everyday' where she breaks down the dichotomy between what might be seen as 'mundane and repetitious' (p. xix), and what might be seen as

extraordinary. Such a dichotomy, she claims, may 'prevent us from appreciating the admixture of "special" and routine in all aspects of our lives' (p. xix) and lead to an overemphasis on place in locating and explaining the everyday. Instead she suggests a heightened focus on 'how the enactment of place, practice and meaning actually take shape' (p. xx). In my meeting with the prison world as a researcher, I conceptualized this relationship between mundane routine and, for outsiders, the highly unusual conditions of incarceration, as 'the extraordinary ordinariness of prison life'.

From a perspective of method, Brinkman (2012) takes a 'pragmatic attitude' to everyday life and places the experience of the researcher as central to the concept. He defines it as 'relative to the everyday life of the *researcher* and what mediates her activities and experiences' (p. 17, emphasis in original). His notion of everyday life in research terms thus underpins approaches to social research that are not purely observational, but participatory - ultimately, it is my own experience as a practitioner-researcher of everyday life in Bjørgvin prison that will inform and shape my understandings of it. Brinkman is however clear that everyday research must engage sufficiently with theory, lest it becomes 'nothing but a trivial recounting of our quotidian activities' (p. 19).

Brinkman outlines three strategic paths that qualitative research can follow to generate knowledge about everyday life. The first is 'making the obvious obvious', meaning to become aware of that which we already know, but that we don't necessarily *know* that we know (p. 22). Brinkman refers to this as the phenomenological stance. The second is 'making the hidden obvious', meaning to help us see meanings and patterns which are not obvious to us. Brinkman calls this the critical stance and links it for instance to uncovering 'hidden power structures that regulate human behaviours and influence human experience' (p. 23). In the prison, ironically, this often involved seeing beyond the immediately 'obvious' symbols of power and seeking to understand how power was enacted in everyday situations. This was then linked to Brinkman's third path, 'making the obvious dubious' – meaning to question relationships and conditions which we may take for granted and assume are obvious. This Brinkman calls the deconstructive stance, and the focus here is not on "what really happens" [...] but on presenting alternative versions of the real' (p. 24).

Significantly, Brinkman (2012) does not confine these stances to phenomenology, critical theory and deconstruction as separate traditions respectively, but rather puts them forward as analytic strategies for qualitative inquiry in everyday life.

‘Liquid’ and ‘instant’ ethnography: learning from cultural criminology

Traditionally, ethnography has been attuned to the ‘careful study of definable groups and settled subcultures’ (Ferrell, 2018, p. 190). In my case, despite my permanent position in the prison, the population I was studying was in a constant state of flux. On a practical level this meant that people’s participation was unreliable due to unforeseen transfers to different prisons, early release or leave arrangements (which came in addition to other factors such as people forgetting sessions or having double booked themselves). Since I was generally prohibited from following up prisoners after transfer or release, this had potentially significant consequences for my ability to pursue research leads once a participant had (often abruptly) left. This flux had implications on a theoretical and methodological level. How was I to conceptualise a ‘prison culture’ when this was always changing? This situation is mirrored in community music therapy research which engages with situations of impromptu musicking, or other ethnographic work within groups and sites of little permanent membership (Aasgaard, 1999; Ansdell and DeNora; 2016; Procter, 2013).

Ferrell (2018) uses the word *drift* to describe certain characteristics of life in increasingly destabilized communities. Outlining the basis for a ‘liquid’ ethnography, Ferrell et al. (2015) write:

Liquid ethnography [is] attuned to the dynamics of destabilised, transitory communities, and comfortable with the shifting boundaries between research, research subjects and cultural activism [...] This methodological sensitivity to ambiguity and uncertainty offers the ability to engage with illicit communities on their own terms and to explore transgression as a source of dangerous knowledge and progressive possibility.
(Ferrell et al., 2015, p. 2018)

The shifting boundaries between research, research subjects and cultural activism that Ferrell (2018) refers to seem to mirror the tendency in CoMT ethnography to draw on

participatory strategies and to involve an element of activism (Stige and Aarø, 2012). However, Ferrell specifically points to a strand of ethnography which hovers on the border of the law, where knowledge about certain groups and practices can only be generated through immersion, and to varying degrees participation, in cultures which also engage in criminal activity (Ferrell, 2018). My transgression in terms of illicit community was generally limited to smuggling pizzas into the prison outside of mealtimes, and occasionally downloading music from Youtube. A sense of being on the border of what might be considered acceptable in research terms was rarely present. It primarily occurred when I overheard information about potentially criminal acts, and also when conversations sparked aggressive comments about my colleagues or other prisoners. In such cases I would draw the line when I perceived that my professional boundaries as an employee of the prison were challenged.

Nevertheless, Ferrell's descriptions of researching a fluid world of 'illicit mobility and uncertain knowledge' (2018) bore a resonance with my experience of the prison world and the people within it, providing a useful framework for identifying and understanding the dynamics at play. Having followed American drifters, hobos, and graffiti artists Ferrell describes the difficulties in researching *absence*; chasing 'ghosts' and working sometimes only with the echoes and traces left behind by the people he studied. The brevity of (many) participants' stay in Bjørgvin prison, measured against the longevity of my stay there and the process of writing this thesis, meant that for a lot of the time, the participants were, as Ferrell (2018) puts it, 'present in their absence, visible in their invisibility' (p. 191). Absence was also an issue in other ways, first and foremost in the many counts of people missing appointments or not turning up for rehearsals. On a broader level, prisoners' abrupt departure from mainstream society, both metaphorically and physically in terms of their incarceration, makes for a form of absence from mainstream social life that mirrors the one described by Ferrell. As illustrated throughout the following chapters, this absence is strengthened by an (often self-) imposed anonymity, manifested e.g. in the pictures in this thesis which are void of faces or recognisable features. Indeed, like the hobos in Ferrell's study, many inmates expended considerable skill and effort in making themselves invisible, e.g. by not informing family, friends, colleagues or neighbours about where they were,

thereby confirming the position of the prison inmate as the unknown, invisible, and sometimes dangerous 'other'.

Rather than treating absence as an obstacle to research, Ferrell (2018) draws on it as an analytic device in understanding the hobo's interactions with contemporary society. Absence, he writes, 'constitutes a phenomenon in its own right, a void as sensually immediate and emotionally present as any matter that might fill it' (p. 191). In terms of the Bjørgvin prison music scene, people often left behind a musical legacy in the form of audio recordings on the communal music pc, hand-written lyrics on crumpled pieces of paper, and in some cases, in the form of a particular sensibility to music that lived on amongst and inspired those who had encountered it, including myself. Instead then of thinking of the prison only as a place of imposed stasis and forced *presence*, I felt it was equally a place of *drift* and *absence* (Ferrel, 2018).

The flipside of this flux and absence was the constant arrival of new people and fresh perspectives. From this point of view, the unpredictability and instability of the social environment represented a tremendous asset in that it continuously provided new possibilities for action and reflection, and for new relationships to develop. As an opposite of the immersive and fluidly attuned notion of 'liquid' ethnography, Ferrell et al. (2015) also describe 'instant' ethnography, exemplified by a study of base jumpers as they jump off a cliff, 'having only a few seconds to deploy their parachutes and negotiate a landing' (Ferrell et al., 2015, p. 218). The notion of instant ethnography, committed to capturing 'meaning's momentary construction' (p. 216) seems as appropriate to the immediacy of musical performance as it is to the immediacy of crime. As Ferrell et al. ask, 'if crime can occur in an instant, can ethnography?' (p. 215).

Theorising performance as method for research

Drawing on a wide range of ethnographies of street gangs and refugees, Ferrell et al. (2015) link the notion of instant ethnography to the tradition of performance ethnography (Conquergood, 1991). Conquergood identified the understanding amongst ethnographers that 'social dramas must be acted out and rituals performed in order to be meaningful, and

[...] the ethnographer must be a co-performer in order to understand those embodied meanings.' (p. 187). This work builds on Goffman's (1961) dramaturgy of everyday life and Turner's (1986) definition of humankind as '*homo performans*, humanity as performer, a culture-inventing, social-performing, self-making and self-transforming creature' (Conquergood, 1991, p. 187, emphasis in original).

In line with his focus on embodied knowledge through performance, Conquergood (1991) critiqued ethnographic adherence to 'the textualist bias of western civilization' (p. 188) and advocated an expansion away from purely text-based forms of knowledge and mediation in ethnography. Paraphrasing the dominant position, he writes:

It is one thing to talk about performance as a model for cultural process, as a heuristic for understanding social life, as long as that performance-sensitive talk eventually gets "written up." The intensely performative and bodily experience of fieldwork is redeemed through writing. The hegemony of inscribed texts is never challenged by fieldwork because, after all is said and done, the final word is on paper. (Conquergood, 1991, p. 189)

Conquergood sees performance as 'a way of knowing, a method of critical inquiry, a mode of understanding', and asks 'What about enabling the people themselves to perform their own experience [...] as a complementary form of research publication?' (p. 190). Performance ethnography here converges with arts-based methodology and participatory action research strategies in their objective to challenge the dominance of the written word in research, and in utilizing performance both as a subject of study, as a mode of inquiry, and as mediation. A distinction can be made between the performative enactments of culture and identity in everyday life, and performance as an 'extraordinary' artistic event (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). However, as Aigen (2014) puts it, 'There is a way of considering performance that sees it as continuous with daily life rather than as something apart from it.' (p. 159). Musical performances in Bjørgvin prison arguably represent both.

Musical performance as epistemic practice

My initiatives to encourage people to reflect on our actions in more formal ways, often turned to talk about the practicalities of music making and, in most cases, led us back to

playing. I called this ‘the relentless turn to music’¹⁶, and it was this which led me to consult arts-based methodologies (Foster, 2015; Leavy, 2017; Vaillancourt, 2011) in more depth. It seems curious that, coming from an arts therapy background, I should come to arts-based methodologies in such a roundabout way. One might expect arts-based methodologies to sit squarely at the centre of music therapy research. Yet few studies of music therapy subscribe to an arts-based methodology (Viega and Forinash, 2016). This seems especially puzzling considering that, according to Leavy (2017), arts therapies have made a considerable contribution in promoting and establishing arts-based approaches to research. One explanation might be found by returning to Meekums and Daniel’s (2011) study which concluded that music therapist were more prone to conduct quantitative research than proponents from other arts therapy modalities, and Leavy (2017) points out that ‘music [...] remains the least used artistic medium in ABR [arts based research]’ (p. 132).

There is however a sense in which this does not represent the whole picture. Viega and Forinash (2016) point out that some studies have employed arts-based methodology without explicitly labelling their research thus. They also distinguish between studies which use the arts as an ‘adjunctive method’, studies which use it as a ‘primary method’, and studies which use it as a ‘primary methodology’ (p. 493). Moreover, the ontological status of music and performance may be conceived of in different ways in different studies. For instance, if we subscribe to Small’s (1998) notion of musicking, acts of listening to and analysing musical material as part of a research process are also a form of musicking and therefore an artistic practice. Also, research is not necessarily less arts-based simply because the findings are mediated in a formal written format. As with my project, it seems that some music therapy research straddles a gap that still exists between the research approaches that our art form and our therapeutic practices invite, and the demands for publication that continue to shape the field of research. In my case, as a novice researcher and PhD student, the choice of an all-out arts-based methodology would be too premature and hazardous. Instead, I view the participatory arts-based action research during the main study as a component, nested within the broader framework of an ethnographic doctoral thesis, but which informed my overall methodology.

¹⁶ This is paraphrasing Stige’s notion of ‘The relentless roots of community music therapy’ (2002b, no pagination).

Considering musicking as an epistemic practice is not contrary to ethnographic practice. As Procter (2013) points out, and in line with Conquergood's (1991) emphasis on performance:

[...] ethnography can [...] be understood as a determined attempt to access forms of knowledge that may be less textualised in a formal and externally transmissible sense, but nevertheless grow from and mediate people's experiences. (Procter 2013, p. 46)

This, Procter argues, 'naturally includes the embodied knowledge [...] of those who are not invested with social power.' (p. 46). What we see here, is another convergence between ethnography, arts-based research and participatory action research in their commitment to not only bring forward the perspectives of the people being studied (McNiff, 2013), but also to promote and validate people's knowledge and expertise, and the expressions they employ to mediate this, in a bid to address social injustice (Vaillancourt, 2012).

Music as data

Music and musical performances form an important part of my data material, and it is necessary to make certain clarifications regarding my presentation of this. Acknowledging Ansdell's (1999) identification of the 'music therapist's dilemma' (p. 1), i.e. the inherent challenges in mediating musical experience in written or verbal form, Bonde (2016) calls for the wider reference to 'music itself' (p. 105) in music therapy research: 'The music in music therapy is not a black box. We should encourage music therapy researchers and clinicians to include description, analysis, and interpretation of the music in their published work.' (p. 106). This call is perhaps particularly relevant for those who wish to draw on arts-based methods in music therapy research and beyond, and the increasing possibilities for including audiovisual materials in published journals. The reference to music as 'data' is present throughout this thesis, as it draws on conventional harmonic/melodic analysis, lyrical analysis, as well as microanalysis of performative elements. Some distinctions should however be made between my use of music as 'data', and the notions of 'music itself' that Bonde's call might evoke.

Procter (2013) discusses the primacy of words in ethnography in relation to his own use of music as data. Describing music as ‘the ethnographic air we breathe’, he explains how ‘Music as social action is undeniably complex: nevertheless [...] ethnography can be used as a multimodal tool for the analysis of the multiple modes of social order of which it is part and which it constitutes’ (p. 86). Thus Procter, with a firm base in ethnomusicology, not only launches the analysis of musical materials as a valid part of the ethnographer’s toolkit, but he also casts ethnography as a valid approach to understanding music.

This brings us to an important distinction in how music might be thought of as data. Following Small (1998), the notion of ‘music itself’ that Bonde (2016) refers to is problematic. Small’s (1998) notion of ‘musicking’ represented an ontological shift away from views of music as an autonomous object towards music as situated action. Thus, references to - and visual representations (notation or otherwise) of – music, are inevitably translations that do not point to something that has intrinsic meaning. Rather, they are another way of describing situated action, but one that also mediates something about the sonic manifestation of this action, and thus about the co-constitutive relationship between action and sound. The strumming action of a right hand, the straining of a voice or the eye contact between two players - when zooming in on what people do, music cannot be held up as something that exists ‘in itself’ and is somehow separated from those actions. The music exists in, around and between these people and their actions. This does not mean that the music does not do something to us, but rather that in order to understand what it does and how it does it, we must break it down and look at the materials and actions that make it.

ANALYSIS

As described above, for all my ambitions to draw on participatory and arts-based strategies in the fieldwork, I have ended up producing a conventional written thesis. In this section I will outline and explain the steps that connect what I did in the field, the forms of data I collected, and what is presented in this document.

Analysis in ethnographic research

The first thing to point out about analysis in ethnography is that it is not a discrete phase which takes place after the data collection. Instead, analysis is an ongoing process which continuously informs choices of where to go next (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, Kindle location 4440/9380). At the extreme end, Kvale (1997) suggests that ideally, an 'interview is already analysed by the time the tape recorder is turned off' (Kvale, 1997, p. 178). Whilst this was far from the case in this project, particularly given my position of 'learning on the job', it is important to acknowledge that forms of analysis did take place throughout.

For me, as for many who write ethnographically, the process of producing and structuring text was integral to the process of analysis. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) point out:

[...] the ethnography is produced as much by how we write as by the processes of data collection and analysis [...] written language is an analytical tool not a transparent medium of communication [...] Writing is, therefore, closely related to analysis.

(Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, Kindle location 5323/9380)

Thus, many of the analytic concepts and ideas emerged in textual processing at different levels. From fieldnotes, via the construction of analytic vignettes - 'smaller detailed examples of data analysis that are argued to be characteristic of the overall treatment of the data, and of the emerging sense of it' (Ansdell and Pavlicevic, 2001, p. 188) - to the structuring of chapters for the thesis.

Atkinson and Hammersley (2007) write that 'in order to produce an ethnographic study that is equally rich in data and concepts, it is not enough merely to manage and manipulate the data. Data are materials to think with.' (Kindle location 4452/9380). Striving for this, I was at pains to avoid what they refer to as 'vulgar accounts of grounded theorizing strategies' (Kindle location 4449/9380). They highlight that 'some representations of analysis [...] seem to imply that there is a standard set of steps that the ethnographer should go through in

order to make sense of their data. It is vital to ignore any such implication.’ (Kindle location 4450/9380).

My analytic processes

As they nevertheless make clear, it was crucial to take a systematic approach to analysing data, and not least to develop a coherent strategy for synthesizing the different forms of data that were generated from the fieldwork. Thus, whilst analysis is recognised as an ongoing part of the process, there was also a distinct period after the data collection had finished of ‘particularly intense and systematic treatments of data materials [...] to impose an order on and deduce patterns within’ the data (Pink, 2009, p. 120). Boeije (2009) describes the process of analysis as involving familiarisation with the data, disassembly/segmenting of the data into fragments, then reassembling data in ways that are meaningful in relation to the research questions. In accordance with this, I subjected my textual data i.e. interview transcripts (transcribed verbatim from audio recordings) and fieldnotes to a process of open coding and thematic analysis (Boeije, 2009; Cresswell, 2013). This was not a single sequential process, but rather an iterative process of moving between details in the data and emerging categories (Boeije, 2009; Cresswell, 2013; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). See appendix 8 (p. 341) for an example of an interview transcript and initial coding.

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) state that ‘The ethnographer acquires a great deal more tacit knowledge than is ever contained in the written record. He or she necessarily uses “head notes” or memory to fill in and recontextualize recorded events and utterances.’ (Kindle location 4151-4154/9380). Pointing here to what Conquergood (1991) also recognized as the embodied knowledge of participant observation, I was mindful of the parts of the analytic processes that happened ‘within me’, and of the significance of context when working with analysis. Writing in my office in the prison provided a very different experience from writing in a busy café, which again was very different from my many analytic walks in nature¹⁷, during which many of my ideas took shape. Different locations,

¹⁷ This provides literal meaning to the term ‘analytic steps’.

situations and modes of movement or stillness yielded different perspectives, pointing to the fact that analysis is also a situated practice.

Seeking ecological validity

This brings me to the next point, which was my commitment to seek ecological validity (DeNora, 2013b), and particularly in the main study of the project, to pursue an epistemological shift from 'my perspective on their perspectives' towards 'our perspective', which in this thesis has resulted in 'my perspective on mine, theirs and our perspectives'. I continuously sought to share emerging ideas with participants, and to invite joint thinking around emerging themes in the research. This was also extended to involve critical peer feedback and formal presentation e.g. in the form of conference papers and journal publications (Hjørnevik and Waage, 2019; Hjørnevik et al., 2021), which provided rich critique both from the fields of music therapy and criminology. The analysis thus evolved along paths of action, as processes of *doing*; writing, reading, listening, watching, thinking, speaking and, importantly musicking.

Analysing the data

Corresponding to the methods outlined above, the body of data materials that formed the basis for the analysis included the following: transcriptions from audio recordings of 18 formal interviews (11:56 hrs/198 annotated pages), typed field notes (136 pages), hand-written field notes (2 diaries of 200 A4 pages), digital photos (83), artefacts (43, including e.g. lyric sheets and set lists) and audio recordings (23:55 hrs). Audio recordings documented the interviews, rehearsals, concerts, recorded songs and ambient recordings (see p. 65). I will now account in more detail for my engagement with different forms of data. My first step was repeated listening to audio materials and reading interview transcripts and field notes. Whilst reading I labelled segments which appeared important, interesting or surprising, or which represented a recurring theme (Boeije, 2009; Cresswell, 2013).

The next step was to identify similar, related or contrasting material *across* the different interviews. The same process was carried out for the field notes which allowed for a

dialogue between emerging themes within the different bodies of data (Crewe and Maruna, 2006). For example, a description in the field notes of a participant learning a riff on the guitar by looking at another participant's left hand on the neck as he was playing the same riff (Fieldnotes 27/04/15), mirrored Ben's description in an interview (Interview 10/6/15) of how he had learned to play the guitar from his mother (p. 228). My interest in these descriptions of learning the guitar was informed by theory about informal learning in music education (Green, 2002), as well as my own experience as a music therapist of peer learning and master apprentice relationships. This then illustrates the abductive interplay between different types of data, theory and experience (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2018).

I was aware of the tendency to privilege written forms of data, both because this formed a large proportion of the data material, and because analysis of the written word is the main focus in literature on qualitative analysis. The audio material, pictures and artefacts were continuously consulted and drawn on to support, contest and initiate lines of thought together with the other forms of data. Pink (2009) states that 'research materials can be used as prompts that help to evoke the memories and imaginations of the research, thus enabling us to re-encounter the sensorial and emotional reality of research situations' (p. 121). On some occasions it was a matter of exploring audio materials from a particular episode or issue that was described in the field notes in order to add detail and depth, or for possible triangulation (Cresswell, 2013). In other instances, re-listening to recordings brought up new ideas and areas of interest to explore across the textual and visual forms of data. An example of this was the repeated listening to recordings of the song *Flåklypa* from a live concert held in the prison as part of a performance project (p. 242), which revealed important interactions between the performers and the audience.

Working with narratives

A participant said to me that 'You hear a lot of stories in here. Not all of them are true, but most of them are good' (Fieldnotes, 14/1/19). The strong focus on narrative in the criminological study of desistance warrants an account of my understanding of narrative within my research, both from criminological and music therapy perspectives, not least because ethnography is also in essence about co-constructing a story. Presser and Sandberg

(2015) call narrative '*the creative and artful construction of coherence and consistency*' (Kindle location 275), whilst Giddens (1991) says that 'a person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor [...] in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going.' (Giddens, 1991, quoted in Presser and Sandberg, 2015, Kindle location 98).

Moving beyond the notion of a single, fixed and continuous life narrative, Victor and Waldram (2015) describe how an evolving and situated selfhood develops through 'the dynamic process of narrativization' (Kindle location 2349), supporting the notion that our stories about who we are can be seen as continuously emergent and prone to significant and rapid fluctuations along our path (Ansdell, 2014). This complicates, but does not diminish, the significance of narrative within the ecologies of illicit action, penal systems, musicking and desistance. Indeed, recent developments in the fields of cultural and narrative criminology open up to wider understandings of narrative form, and Presser and Sandberg (2015) point to a need for 'expanding the methodological toolkit' (Kindle location 5552) to complement formal interviews as the prevailing method of choice for capturing and analysing people's stories about themselves. Asserting that narratives 'need not be verbalized', Sandberg and Presser call for studying 'storytelling in context' and to scrutinize 'implicit narratives in [...] events' (Kindle location 5656). This call for a methodological shift leads us precisely into the realm of non-verbal and artistic forms of *action-as-narrative*; as people perform 'themselves' and their life stories, new stories are created through, and about, these performances (Ansdell, 2014).

This validates the inclusion of arts-based approaches to research also from a criminological standpoint. Presser and Sandberg (2015) themselves allude to arts-based methodologies when they suggest visual narrative analysis as a way of capturing the 'stories people fear telling or for which they lack a vocabulary' (Kindle location 5666). Echoing their vision I consider musicking and musical performance to represent such 'implicit narratives in [...] events' (Kindle location 5553), and I would argue that to deepen our understanding of the dynamics at play in the co-construction of self-narratives in the prison setting, the body of interview research in the field could fruitfully be complemented by arts-based approaches to research.

Musicking as storytelling

Foster (2015) has outlined how artistic performance as a form of collaborative social inquiry can help us to 'pin down ephemeral experience and narratives that are non-linear and tangled' (Kindle location 949). Life narrative in this context does then not have to refer to a fixed, linear and necessarily verbalised story, but rather to the evolving tapestry of people's stories about themselves as performed through and emerging from musical experiences. Stige (2005) has pointed out that 'it is essential for the understanding of humans' relationship to music to understand how music and narratives are linked together' (p. 397). As an analytic strategy throughout my study, and in a bid to relate to Presser and Sandberg's call, I have considered musicking as storytelling on three levels.

First, I consider musical performances to be a form of storytelling in their own right. As MacDonald et al. (2002) point out, the 'continual construction and reconstruction of the self through autobiographical narratives can occur in music as well as in language' (p. 10). Ansdell (2005) has described musical performance in music therapy as 'being who you aren't, doing what you can't' (p. 1), referring to the paradox of performing 'oneself' by being 'someone else', whilst Auslander (2006a) posits that 'what musicians perform first and foremost is not music, but their own identities as musicians, their musical personae' (p. 102). Assuming a performative musical persona e.g. in the context of a music therapy event in a prison, can be a way for people to articulate 'something about [their] relationships with their peers, the institution, and music itself' (Epp, 2007).

Secondly, throughout the thesis I consider stories that emerge *from* and *about* musical performances or events to be forms of musical storytelling. The musical discourse within the prison came to form part of people's narratives about prison life, contributing to the prison's *institutional memory*; 'the accumulation of stories an institution tells about itself' (Linde, 2009, p. 4). In this way musical events and the stories about them become part of the collective stories about Bjørgvin prison as well as being part of people's individual prison narratives.

Thirdly, I have explored how people present their unfolding *musical life stories* through conversations, interview situations, performances or lyrics. The concept of *musical life stories* has been developed and employed within the field of music therapy to specifically explore connections between music and health within a range of therapeutic and everyday contexts (Bonde et al., 2013). The focus here is particularly on the biographical coherence that musical life stories afford and on how musicking ‘helps to create, stabilise and preserve the broader dimensions of familial, cultural and national identity, class and sub-cultural affiliations, ethnic and sexual identities [...]’ (Ansdell, 2014, p. 135). This also links to the music-health-illness narratives identified in music therapy in mental health (Ansdell and Meehan, 2010).

On translation

Translating from one language into another is an act of interpretation. As Conquergood (1991) writes, translation requires ‘not a mechanical reproduction of the original but a harmonization with its *intention*’ (p. 191, highlight in original). Churchill (2005) argues that ethnography, i.e. the act of somehow presenting culture through writing, is by its very nature a form of translation, and likewise, language translation has itself been regarded as a form of cultural anthropology (Katan, 2009). In light of this, translating from one language into another can easily be construed as only another layer of the genre-defining challenges of presentation and representation in ethnography. Whilst this is ingrained in ethnographic practice to the point where many do not even address language as a methodological issue, my experience is that translation between languages bears particular significance on how people and events are represented, where one strives to convey the particularities of language that may arise within particular groups, e.g. in the form of jargon, syntax, slang, dialect, accents or lingual idiosyncrasies.

This project has involved a large degree of translation from Norwegian to English and vice versa, and I will clarify how this aspect of the work has been undertaken and thought about. Interviews, conversations and observed events have primarily taken place in Norwegian, and accordingly, interview transcripts and field notes have been written in Norwegian to capture the language of our conversations as accurately as possible. My own notes and reflection

memos have also predominantly been written in Norwegian. A decision was made to translate data only for presentation purposes (e.g. illustrative quotes). A rationale for this was to stay as close as possible to the original terms and words people used throughout the various stages of the research. My initial analysis has thus been based on Norwegian sources, and translation into English has taken place in connection with PhD course presentations, conference papers, written work, published articles, analytic vignettes and finally, this thesis. The most notable exceptions to this are original song lyrics in English, and the very few instances where participants have preferred English as their language of communication.

A specific challenge of carrying out ethnography in one language and writing it in another arises when terms, colloquialisms or slang used by the group are not easily or directly translatable. Overall, I have embraced the necessity of working across two languages as a resource in shaping my analysis, and I believe that the pursuit of legitimate and accurate translation can add sharpness by bringing our attention to subtle differences of meaning between terms which are commonly translated without much thought. As such I believe it is important to consider not only what is 'lost in translation', but also what is 'found'.

ETHICS

Carrying out any kind of research in a prison setting brings up particular ethical challenges (Ugelvik, 2014). A fundamental challenge is the question of voluntary participation and consent. In prison, this becomes an existential debate about the freedom of choice; is a decision to participate in the research project a free choice when a basic premise for that choice is involuntary incarceration? Moreover, the issue of anonymity and confidentiality is paramount in any research, but has some added dimensions in this setting, and as we shall see, can take on a wider meaning within the production of the carceral space. Many inmates choose to conceal the fact that they are serving time in prison, even to close family, friends, partners, neighbours or employers. On the other hand, anonymising the participants may be an act of removing their agency and their due credit for contributing towards the

understandings created, and may even contribute to the ritual loss of identity imposed by imprisonment. Also, from my previous experience of carrying out RCT research in this setting, I knew that people's situation as prisoners could contribute to a general scepticism towards the act of signing a document of consent, and particularly to allowing certain data collection methods such as audio or video recording. Whilst I was now not gluing heart rate monitors to the participants' chest as I did in the previously mentioned RCT (p. 21), I had to be open to the possibility that introducing the research project would affect the participants' relationship to me as a music therapist, and that it may negatively affect their ability or motivation to participate in musicking. In particular I needed to be aware that my position as an employee would create power relationships that are perhaps unusual in most ethnographic research, and that my invitations to participate might be experienced as a form of pressure.

The project required two rounds of ethical approval from the Nordoff Robbins Research Ethics Committee (NRREC). This was granted after a resubmission including requested additions and amendments. I also applied to the Norwegian Regional Ethics Committee (REK) of the local health authorities (Helse Vest), who after examining the request decided that the research project fell outside of their mandate. I secured permission to collect and store data from the Norwegian Data Collection Agency (NSD), but as the project was managed and monitored by an institution overseas (Nordoff-Robbins) they informed me that I did not require their approval. On this basis I obtained permission to carry out the research from the prison manager at Bjørgvin prison, and secured formal ethical approval from the regional administration of the prison service for both periods of fieldwork.

It proved to be a challenging yet illuminating process to seek permission from the Norwegian prison service for engaging prisoners in participatory action research for the second phase of the project. The application, whilst being approved by the Nordoff Robbins Research Ethics Committee, was initially declined by the prison service. Aside from reasonable demands to make my roles as employee and researcher more transparent to participants, an interesting objection to the research was the lack of clearly defined research questions and methods. This was despite my efforts to make clear in the application that participatory action research invites the participants to be co-researchers, and to contribute to the choice of

questions and methods. The prison service's objections were not based on a need for it to approve the methods of choice. Rather it was based on the notion that prisoners could not consent to participate in something when they did not know what that 'something' was. This paradox placed the project in a difficult position and had some serious political consequences: we incarcerate people, then through our governance of their imposed vulnerability - in this case their right to give informed consent - we disallow them a voice or a true possibility for participation and influence. This was probably not politically motivated at our local level, but it is a representation of how systemic policies can curtail the prisoners' room for action even when the intentions - i.e. protecting their right to consent - are good. Thus, already before I embarked on the main study I had learned something valuable, namely that the very act of trying to carry out participatory action research with prisoners challenged the system.

All data materials were initially stored in a locked office within the prison, where digital data such as photos and audio recordings were backed up to an external hard disc. Digital data was also stored on a portable PC belonging to the prison. This was password protected and kept in my home office. All participants were given pseudonyms and a name key was created and kept in a locked office in the prison. Field notes and interview transcripts did not contain the participants' real names either. Participants were offered the opportunity to read through any materials pertaining to their participation to ensure privacy, anonymity and ecological validity. This was practically managed by offering those interested to leave an email address for me to contact them. Only three participants took up this offer. A decision was made during the project to use the real name of the institution for presentations and written accounts of the project. Participants were used to this 'middle-ground' culture of anonymity surrounding prison life from newspaper articles and television reports where the prison was known, but where e.g. interviewees' names were replaced with first name pseudonyms. Our decision to name the prison was based on ongoing conversations involving participants, staff and management whose sentiment was primarily that it was 'silly' to use a different name, and that the research would benefit the prison and the participants more if the name was made explicit. This was also encouraged by peer reviewers of a published article (Hjørnevik and Waage, 2019) as a way of securing authenticity in the descriptions of the site. There are solid precedents for using real location names in ethnographic prison

research, e.g. Harbert (2010) and Ugelvik (2014), and some argue that it is necessary to promote accountability and facilitate interrogation (Lubet, 2018).

Participants, information and consent

Since a large number of people participated in musicking, events, conversations and action research processes throughout the study, it is important to define the status of *research participants* specifically. Most importantly, the status of research participant required a signed consent form. Participants in musicking activities who did not sign a consent form were not included in the analysis and were not counted as research participants. Members of the general prison population were not considered to be research participants (e.g. the general audience at various prison concerts). In cases where specific interactions, conversations, interviews or other forms of participation were included in the data material, written consent would be sought and the person in question would be invited to participate in both music therapy activities and further research. In some instances, inmates would consent to me using the observational data, but were not interested in any further participation. In such cases, data would be included in the analysis, but the person would not be counted as a research participant. Across both phases of data collection a total of 34 inmates and 5 members of staff were included as research participants.

Participation was open to all inmates, including those who were already involved in music activities. People's right to *not* participate was protected through a thorough process of informing about the project and securing consent at the earliest point of contact, before any audio recordings or fieldnotes were made. Prison inmates were also able to participate in music activities without being subject to research. A challenge to this particular project was the fact that I would be observing people in everyday life settings by hanging out in common areas such as lounges and corridors. When people are not there of their own free will and have limited opportunity to escape, this demands a particularly sensitive approach. The high turnover of people in the prison and the unpredictable population of communal areas inevitably meant that I would be observing the interactions of people who had not given informed consent. Seeking consent from every new inmate and keeping track of which inmates had or had not given consent would have been an insurmountable task. Therefore,

information was paramount in order to ensure people's privacy and their rights not to participate. I posted notices around the prison informing about my project and inviting people to contact me. I also handed out consent forms and information sheets to individuals or groups of people that I approached (See appendices 1-4, pp. 330-336).

My timing in when to introduce my research agenda depended on the purpose and nature of our interaction. When I was *hanging out* I would generally introduce myself briefly to new faces by making reference to the research project and the posters, which seemed to be a good strategy for getting into conversations with new people. Often, people I already had a relation to would introduce me to new people. Inevitably I was a familiar face to most of the inmates, and I rarely encountered people who did not already know that I was 'the music therapist' (although I sometimes got referred to as 'the music teacher' or 'the music man'). Because of this, I made a conscious decision to not remove my key chain and alarm whilst doing field observation. My rationale for this was that if I tried to present as 'Kjetil the music therapist' and 'Kjetil the researcher' in different situations, this would potentially cause confusion for the people I met. Instead of expecting *them* to manage such a distinction, I needed to be consistently 'Kjetil the music therapist who does research' and locate the responsibility of managing different roles and agendas firmly with myself. This created the best congruence between what *I* thought I was doing, and what inmates and staff thought I was doing. It therefore seemed to be the best way of securing an ethical practice as well as being able to generate useful data.

I also observed and collected data in music therapy sessions. This created a different set of challenges in terms of consent. Of particular concern was the fact that new people would turn up suddenly, including staff. Someone might put their head through the door to 'check out' what was happening, someone might bring a friend to their session etc. The issue of consent was particularly pertinent when we were audio recording sessions. My way of resolving this was to put up a notice in several places leading to the music room, which does have a small entrance hall, informing about the research project and additionally stating that if people entered the room they might be recorded, and that unless they asked specifically not to be recorded or included in the study, I would consider their entrance as preliminary consent until we got a chance to talk about it. All participants were of course free to

withdraw consent at any time, and this was clearly stated on all posters and consent forms. During the main study, a member of prison staff was assigned as a permanent contact person for any matters of concern that participants may have regarding the project.

Additional ethical concerns regarding action research

Expanding my toolkit towards participatory research involved some additional ethical concerns. For instance, what are the ethics of calling something action research? To claim that something counts as action research is to claim that we have engaged in truly collaborative processes of action and reflection that have led to change and new understanding. The term must therefore be used cautiously, which I have sought to do throughout this document. Also, what are the ethics of bringing prison inmates into the research process to such a degree? Being included as co-researchers places a burden of responsibility on the participants. Not only in terms of carrying out the project, but also sharing responsibility for the findings and any 'real world' consequences the project might have, whether these are experienced as positive or negative. In the recruitment process I was therefore very clear about the commitment involved in joining the project, I was sensitive to participants who wished to withdraw, and I was clear about my particular responsibilities as the project leader.

Critiquing my methods

In my study I have combined ethnography and participatory action research (PAR). Such a combination is not unproblematic. In particular, PAR and ethnography may pose contrasting agendas based on contrasting methodological foundations. On a practical and philosophical level, acts of observing, interacting with or interviewing participants in order to produce an analysis are very different from researching *with* people through the processes of planning, implementation, reflection and mediation that are characteristic of action research. It is important to note here that action research is generally not considered a methodology in itself, but rather a *strategy* for research (Bradbury, 2015). Because of the range of possibilities and directions PAR can take, the relationship between PAR as a *strategy* for research, and other modes of inquiry, must be evaluated on a case-by-case basis.

At this point I enlist the concepts of pragmatism and emergence in relation to methodology and methods in research (DeNora and Ansdell, 2017). I seek to be transparent about how my methods have resulted from an abductive and iterative exchange between my theoretical methodological standpoint, my experience and my interpretation of unfolding events. From the positivist methodology that governed my engagement in quantitative studies to evidence the effects of music therapy in the prison, I moved towards a qualitative methodology which emphasised the perspectives and experiences of the people I wanted to study. This later became informed by notions of justice and democracy, recognising the importance of participation as well as recognising music as both action and knowledge. My methods represent what I at any time, through careful consideration in dialogue with peers, supervisors and participants, considered to best serve the inquiry. In the end, I have decided to label my study an ethnography informed by participatory strategies for research. That is not because I believe that in principle action research can unproblematically be subsumed under a heading of ethnography. It is rather because in this *particular* study, the way that *these particular* participatory processes unfolded, and the *specific ways* in which these processes came to inform the overall project and the writing up of this thesis, it is what best reflects the totality of the research process.

Summary

In this chapter I have described my approach to ethnography and presented a theoretical basis for the processes of data collection, analysis and presentation in my study. In particular I have emphasised the influence on me of ethnographic traditions in the fields of music therapy and prison studies. I have explained the inclusion of participatory arts-based research strategies within the project, highlighting musicking as action and as an epistemic practice. I have also discussed the profound ethical implications of carrying out this project in the specific context of Bjørgvin prison. Having provided a detailed outline of my positionality (Chapter 1), a theoretical context for my study of music therapy in prisons (Chapter 2) and my approach to ethnography (Chapter 3), I now move on to present the setting for the study in more detail, and to lay the ground for my presentation of the data.

4. SETTING THE SCENE: BJØRGVIN PRISON AS A CARCERAL SPACE

There is an inherent dilemma in representing a practice that promotes empowerment and possibilities for action whilst at the same time being an integrated part of a structure that systematically and deliberately punishes people and curtails their freedom. To understand the intricacies of music therapy in the prison and the data materials that I will introduce in the following chapters, I first need to build an understanding of Bjørgvin prison as a carceral space. In this chapter I draw on literature and research from the fields of criminology and penology to produce a theoretical understanding of prisons and related notions of punishment and change¹⁸. I steadily zoom in on the Scandinavian setting before I introduce the specific ecological framework of the field, drawing on data and descriptions of Bjørgvin prison. As such the chapter serves as a somewhat hybrid bridge between the theoretical and methodological underpinnings for the study presented in Chapters 1-3, and the main body of my analysis in Chapters 5-7.

THE PRISON AS TECHNOLOGY FOR CHANGE

Since the ‘birth of the prison’ (Foucault, 1977), penal policymakers, administrators and practitioners have been preoccupied with the potential of the prison as an architecture and a technology for producing change in prisoners. (McNeill and Schinkel, 2016, p. 607).

¹⁸ It should be reiterated here that I am approaching the academic field of criminology from my perspective as a music therapy practitioner-researcher. My understandings are therefore not as developed, critical nor as nuanced as those of trained scholars in criminology. I have however engaged actively with the field during the research period, including publishing two articles in criminological peer-reviewed journals, and attending conferences in criminology, thus receiving critical feedback on my work.

I outlined in my introduction that a central theme in my work is that of change in various forms. In this section I take a closer look at how change has been conceptualized, theorized and implemented in the context of penology. As McNeill and Schinkel (2016) point out, prisons are largely about 'producing' change in prisoners. Even when the Norwegian Prison Service highlights in its mission statement (p. 109) the agency of the inmates in effectuating change, there is arguably an element of 'production' in the coerced facilitation of such change. This can be traced from their vision encapsulated in their caption 'Punishment that changes' ('Straff som endrer' – Kriminalomsorgen, 2021). But what is meant by change, and how are different views of change embodied in penal practice?

From 'nothing works' to 'What Works'

As a framework for understanding current policies and approaches to penology it is useful to briefly review the dominant paradigms that have influenced thinking in the field. The 1970's were marked by a sense of pessimism regarding the potentials of prisons to rehabilitate and instigate positive change based on existing research of the time (e.g. Martinson, 1974). This perspective became known as 'nothing works' - the main purpose of prison was rather to be punitive and protective of society. The pessimism regarding the 'production' of change became a legitimate alibi for treating prisons as little more than storage facilities. Gradually however, this perspective was challenged by growing evidence that psychological and educational programmes had positive effects in instigating changes in behaviour (Andrews and Bonta, 1998). Known as the 'What Works' model, this new-found optimism which was to an extent driven by critically re-analysing existing research, became an influential framework for developing strategies to penal practices across the Anglo-American and Scandinavian countries. An important concept derived from the 'What Works' model is the Needs-Responsivity principle (Kriminalomsorgen, 2021). This stipulates that interventions should be adapted to match the individual inmate's levels of risk, target their specific criminogenic needs (i.e the factors which lead to their criminal lifestyle), and match their learning styles (Andrews and Bonta, 1998). These approaches to development of interventions have relied heavily on psychology and cognitive behavioural therapy and have been accompanied by a positivistic approach to generating evidence for change in prisoners.

'What Works' has been influential to the Nordic penal regimes, and was specified as the current model of practice in Bjørgvin prison upon my engagement there.

The model has been criticised for being overly individualistic, at the expense of ignoring societal and social causes of crime (McNeill and Schinkel, 2016). In addition, the positive outlook on rehabilitation promoted by 'What Works' has been challenged by criminologists who proposit that far from being rehabilitative, prisons entrain people and set them up for a life as criminals through a combination of dehumanizing rituals and exposure to a prisoner culture that effectively acts as a school of crime (Hammerlin, 2018; Tuastad, 2014).

Perspectives on offenders and change

The question of what change *is* in a criminological context has seemed anything but straightforward to me as an 'outsider' music scholar, and views on punishment have been subject to what many call a pendulum swing between individual and social explanations of crime (Wacquant, 2002). In the following I will look closer at three statements from prominent scholars in the field of criminology to highlight different views of what change may mean on the level of the individual.

Perhaps the most influential model for thinking about change in the field of criminology in the past two decades has been that of desistance theory. In a seminal study Maruna (2001) interviewed a large number of previous offenders in Liverpool, some of whom had desisted from crime for many years. Maruna conducted narrative analysis from the interviews and developed a theory of desistance by identifying how the narratives of those managing to maintain desistance shared certain characteristics, and how they differed from the narratives of those who did not maintain desistance. From what became known as *redemption narratives*, Maruna established a connection between desistance from crime, and the ability to present a coherent life narrative that accounted both for one's journey to become someone who committed a crime, and then to becoming a law-abiding citizen. Outlining a 'phenomenology of desistance' Maruna has argued that 'to desist from crime, ex-offenders need to develop a coherent, prosocial identity for themselves.' (Maruna, 2001,

Kindle location 285). Through the legacy of the work of Maruna and others we can thus identify a notion of change that is closely related to identity and narrative.

There are however contrasting nuances to be found within this perspective. In describing the 'redemption narratives' of previous offenders, Toch (2010) states:

[...] those who are reformed have had to relinquish an old self and invent a new one. The individual is only truly reformed when he or she has acquired new purposes, a fresh set of meanings, and a satisfying new role.
(Toch, 2010, Kindle location 124/3976)

The terminology here, 'reformed', 'relinquish', 'invent', 'new' and 'fresh', conjures up a view of change as total, all-encompassing and radical. Change in this statement is firmly centred in the individual; the changes made apply to the individual, and the agency for change is located in those who have successfully changed. Toch also alludes to values and morality in the way the 'new' is portrayed in exclusively positive terms ('fresh', 'meaningful', 'satisfying') whereas nothing of the old self can apparently be salvaged. Toch continues by stating that those who desist 'show us how they have taken charge of their lives' (Kindle location 93/3976), whereas those who do not manage to desist 'continue to see themselves as passive products of inhospitable circumstance. Unfortunately, the latter type of view is more familiar to us. It is a conception that we often endorse and unwittingly reinforce.' (Kindle location 93/3976). Toch's statement thus emphasises the agency and responsibility of the individual in bringing about radical change.

Seen in isolation the above quote could be seen to represent what McNeill and Schinkel (2016) call a discourse of 'responsibilization' (p. 609); a view of desistance from crime which applies 'rational choice explanations' (Ferrell et al., 2015, p. 65) to processes of change. This view seems to contrast with views that crime is a by-product of societal and social factors, and that therefore, societal and social factors must be a part of the change process. The picture is however more nuanced, and as McNeill and Schinkel (2016) point out, even researchers who 'stress the role of personal agency in desistance processes [...] tend to stress an interactionist perspective in which social structural factors continue to be seen as important' (p. 609).

In contrast to Toch's statement, Maruna (2001) challenges the very notion of change as a process of transformation by writing that in some cases and for some people

[...] desistance can be reshaped as a process of "maintaining one's sense of self or one's personal identity" [...] rather than the "schizophrenic" process of rejecting one's old self and becoming a "new person".

(Maruna, 2001, Kindle location 1801/3976)

According to Maruna, sustained desistance is associated with coherent life narratives which integrate both crime and desistance within a stable sense of identity. Recent years have consequently seen an increased focus in criminology on the significance of identity *coherence* within the life narratives of prisoners (Giordano et al., 2001; Hunter and Farrall, 2018; Maruna, 2001; Paternoster and Bushway, 2009; Presser and Sandberg, 2015).

In my understanding, Toch's and Maruna's statements illustrate a juxtaposition between notions of relinquishing the old self on the one hand, and notions of creating a stable and coherent sense of identity on the other. I return to this juxtaposition in my discussion of change in Chapter 8.

Within both Toch's and Maruna's statements we can trace a belief in individual agency in processes of change. Whilst too big an emphasis on personal agency can be problematic, it is important to balance their perspectives against views that do away with individual agency all together. For instance, Raine (2018) brings the individualised focus further by representing a stance that turns to biology to explain crime. Writing from a neurobiological perspective, Raine (2018) asks:

If the neural circuitry underlying morality is compromised in offenders, how moral is it of us to punish prisoners as much as we do? Should we use neurobiology to better predict who amongst us are predisposed to future violence? And how can we improve the brain to reduce violence?

(Raine, 2018, no pagination)

The idea that deviance and otherness is rooted in biology has a long (and rather subfusc) history, as does the idea that biological screening can help society to predict and eradicate particular human qualities and behaviours. Raine brings up morality both as a 'compromised' faculty in offenders and as foundation for 'our' motivation for punishment. He does however not question the morality of neurobiological screening.

It is noteworthy that Raine asks 'should we use neurobiology' rather than *can* we use neurobiology, and 'how can we improve the brain' instead of asking *can* we improve the brain. Given these optimistic assumptions about a biological approach to crime prevention, the logic of his perspective is straightforward. In one way it supports Toch's (2010) statement that change is all about the individual. But where Toch suggests that individuals can and should take control of their lives and their actions, Raine's (2018) outlook suggests that offenders *cannot* control their actions, and that we should potentially not punish them because it is their *brains*, or specifically the compromised circuitry underlying their morality, which predisposes them for a criminal lifestyle. Locating the causes of crime in the subject's neurobiology in this way not only removes any notion of an interactionist perspective (McNeill and Schinkel, 2016) where social circumstances and the situated nature of criminal action are important factors. It also removes the subjects' agency, and ultimately their capacity to actively effectuate change for themselves. From this perspective, the only form of change possible is if we, as Raine puts it, 'improve the brain' (2018).

The problems with rehabilitation

In relation to Good Vibrations, the well-documented prison music project in the UK using the Javanese Gamelan, Mendonca (2010) pointed out that 'the government, public, prison authorities, prison education specialists and prisoners are all deeply invested in narratives of transformation.' (p. 304). This relentless and omnipresent drive for change and transformation seems to underpin contemporary western penal policy. A dominant discourse for thinking about change in the individual is that of rehabilitation (Mjåland, 2015). Prisoners have to interact with notions of rehabilitation both in its formal manifestation e.g. in the prison service's behavioural programmes, and through informal or colloquial meanings of the term. The term is well established within mental health care and addiction

treatment and its use in the prison service foregrounds the notion that ‘something needs to be repaired’. The term itself implies a return to a former state of acceptable and satisfying functioning within society. This again implies that committing a crime and going to prison constitutes a departure from an objective ideal state which is to be ‘habil’ (i.e. competent).

The term can be problematized by highlighting that for many, their crime, and subsequently their life in prison, does not represent a departure from something ideal that once was, but rather represents a consistent way of life in response to conditions of social deprivation (Wacquant, 2012). The rehabilitation discourse in relation to prisons has also been heavily criticised for its individualistic focus upon processes of change - processes often enforced by penal systems (Tuastad, 2014). Rehabilitation is thus sometimes viewed as a technology of power and an instrument for social control (Hammerlin, 2008). Interestingly Mjåland (2015) found that staff in a Norwegian prison were themselves critical to the term rehabilitation since it implied that they and the prison system were ‘imposing something’ on the inmates (p. 22). Yet rehabilitation serves as a significant justification for imprisonment, next to the punitive removal of freedom and the preventative protection of society (Ugelvik, 2014). Of specific relevance to this study, the Norwegian prison service website uses the term ‘rehabilitation’ to describe the nation-wide prison music initiative Music in custody and liberty¹⁹. (www.kriminalomsorgen.no).

As well as the individualised and enforced aspects of rehabilitation, the employment of a rehabilitation discourse in prisons can be problematic because of the often automatic assumption that *all* prison inmates are in need of help. Whilst on the one hand it is essential to recognise the need for and right to help, it is equally important to recognise people in prison as autonomous agents who are responsible for their actions and choices (Walderhaug, 2018). Anything else would be to take away from their value as responsible, thinking and acting human beings. There is in other words a multitude of tensions inherent in the concept of rehabilitation.

¹⁹ This project is described briefly in the literature review section p.39.

Desistance from crime pt. I: what has prison got to do with it?

On one hand prisons are viewed as an 'inherently problematic context in which to seek support for desistance' (McNeill and Schinkel, 2016, p. 612). On the other hand, their *raison d'être* is to have a 'reformatory effect' (p. 612). Given this conundrum it is curious that more attention has not been awarded to prisons as sites for desistance research. Prison communities are arguably sites of enforced desistance (King 2013), where the emergent life narratives of potential 'desisters' are continuously performed, disrupted, recreated and developed. Yet we know little about how prisoners' emergent life narratives are performed and co-created within the prison setting (King, 2013; Maruna and Toch, 2005). An explanation for this could be that, in line with Maruna's approach, the criminological study of desistance is traditionally based on interview accounts generated retrospectively (Presser and Sandberg, 2015).

Through his work, Maruna (2001) also contributed to the influential idea of *stages* of desistance. *Primary desistance* refers to when a person ceases to commit crime, for whatever reason. *Secondary desistance* refers to 'the movement from the behaviour of non-offending to the assumption of the role or identity of a "changed person"' (King, 2013). More recently, the concept of *tertiary desistance* has been developed (Graham and McNeill, 2017). This emphasises social belonging and 'the relational and structural contexts of desistance' (p. 4). Tertiary desistance thus represents a broadening of more individualised models for understanding desistance, and on a conceptual level a comparison can perhaps be drawn between this development in criminology, to the development towards more community-oriented practices in music therapy. For these reasons however, it may be especially difficult to link features of tertiary desistance to the restrictive and socially cut-off environments of prison settings.

I will return to this discussion in Chapter 8. For now, I register that empirical studies exploring desistance have focussed predominantly on researching secondary desistance as a phenomenon, rather than exploring how e.g. prisons may contribute to transitions *between* stages of desistance (Aspden and Hayward, 2015; Presser and Sandberg, 2015). This despite an increasing agreement that processes of desisting follow more complex, non-linear paths

than the distinction between primary and secondary desistance suggests (Nugent and Schinkel, 2016). In line with this, Maruna and Toch (2005) have observed that more research is needed 'to make sense of [the] complicated interactions between life course trajectories and prison experiences.' (p. 140).

Given the increasing awareness of the importance of identity and coherence in desistance from crime, we might also expect this connection to be addressed in research into music therapy in prisons. However, in my presentation of literature on music therapy in prison settings in Chapter 2, identity and theories of desistance are scarcely featured. Instead, my literature review revealed a strong focus on behavioural change and psychological functioning. Therefore, whilst the growing body of research documenting the role of the arts in prisons points to processes by which prisoners integrate the prison experience into their life narratives in meaningful ways (Couthino, 2015; Meekums and Daniels, 2011), more empirical research is clearly needed to detail how prisoners draw on music specifically, as they assemble and perform their stories about themselves in the course of everyday prison life. The current thesis responds to calls for a deeper understanding of the prison as a site for such identity work (King, 2013).

The Norwegian prison service and Scandinavian exceptionalism

It is an explicit aim of the Norwegian prison service that prisoners should serve their sentence under the least restrictive conditions defensible from a risk perspective (Regjeringen, 2007). The aims of the Norwegian prison service are defined as follows:

The Directorate of Norwegian Correctional Service are responsible for carrying out remands in custody and penal sanctions in a way that takes into consideration the security of all citizens and attempts to prevent recidivism by enabling the offenders, through their own initiatives, to change their criminal behaviour. (Regjeringen, 2007)

This statement suggests that the prison service recognises change as something that cannot be imposed, but something that the offender should actively engage in. Beyond this, any action towards change should happen 'through their own initiatives', thereby placing an

emphasis on personal motivations and agency. The prison service aims to 'enable' such action. The statement thus promotes a focus on behaviour and personal responsibility in 'preventing recidivism'. The Norwegian prison service also works to the 'principle of normality'. This states that prisoners have the same rights as other citizens, and that conditions in prisons should 'resemble outside life as much as possible' (Kriminalomsorgen, 2021)

The focus on agency and individual rights is illustrative of the humanistic values which have underpinned the development of the contemporary prison service in Norway, and which have contributed to a notion of a 'Scandinavian exceptionalism' (Pratt, 2008). This is the view that Scandinavian penal systems, with their low incarceration rates and seemingly high comfort prisons, are beacons of humane punitive conditions and a successful penal strategy. This notion has sparked a critical debate about penal policy and prison conditions in Scandinavia and beyond, in which claims to humanity and exceptionalism are being nuanced, interrogated and contested. For instance, it has been argued that conditions in Scandinavian prisons vary to such an extent that comparison is problematic, and that 'softer' regimes of punishment conceal the power exerted on prisoners (Ugelvik and Dullum, 2011). I do not provide a comprehensive review of debates in this area, but two points need to be made to account for the perspective on the matter which underpins this thesis.

The first point is laboured by the Norwegian criminologist Christie (2007) and referred to by Ugelvik and Dullum (2016), namely that pain is relative. As Ugelvik and Dullum write, we 'should be very cautious about the grading of different kinds of pain. Prison conditions and the resulting pains may not be experienced in and of themselves, but relative to the wider historical, cultural and social context' (p. 7). Referring to the relatively high suicide rates in Scandinavian prisons, they continue; 'could prison suicides be a good indication of perceived pains of imprisonment? If so, the humane conditions in Nordic prisons may be nuanced' (p. 6). This questions how we grade the pain inflicted by incarceration, and precludes a notion that more open, low secure forms of punishment are automatically 'pain free'.

The second point relates to power. According to Foucault, where 'no ability to refuse or rebel exist, no power exists' (Foucault, 2000, quoted in Ugelvik, 2014, p. 43). Outlining a

history - within theories on prisons - of seeing power and resistance as co-constitutive, Ugelvik (2014) shows a proportional relationship between institutional power and 'the prisoner's *room* for action' (p. 43, emphasis in original). From the perspective he puts forward, by which more *force* is a symptom of less *power* and vice versa, prisoners' 'freedom' can be seen as an inverted function of the power exerted on them. This paradox is illustrated most clearly by people who serve their sentence in the community with the aid of electronic monitoring technologies; despite the ostensible advantages of being able to live and work under relatively normal circumstances, this also means that the apparatus of punishment and control extends to include the prisoner's own home. I interpret this to mean that the open and free conditions of low security imprisonment are not necessarily indicative of the power that is exerted on the individuals within them.

An important contribution to this debate is the identification of *pains of freedom* (Shammas 2014). Drawing on Sykes' (1958) notion of the *five pains of imprisonment*²⁰, Shammas found that people in an open prison in Norway experienced '(1) confusion;(2) anxiety and boundlessness; (3) ambiguity; (4) relative deprivation; and (5) individual responsibility.' (Shammas, 2014, p. 104). According to Shammas, the move from physical and corporeal punishment to what is referred to as 'neo-paternalism' (Crewe, 2011, pp. 523–524) - a softer and less authoritarian use of power - has led to a situation where increasingly, the responsibility for control and rehabilitation is located with the inmates themselves. On one hand, this appears to counter commonly held views in the field of criminology that imprisonment 'deprives people of responsibility' (McNeill and Schinkel, 2016, quoting Liebling and Maruna, 2005). On the other hand, Shammas (2014) highlights the burden prisoners feel at having to ostensibly 'administer' their own punishment. Such sentiments were also expressed in Bjørgvin prison, when prisoners likened the context to a 'summer camp' yet spoke of the pain of the outside world being 'just there' (an inmate pointing to the ground directly outside the mesh fencing which, with relative ease, could be traversed).

²⁰ In his seminal text 'Society of Captives', Sykes (1958) famously identified five pains of imprisonment: 1) deprivation of liberty, 2) deprivation of goods and services, 3) deprivation of heterosexual relationships, 4) deprivation of autonomy, and 5) deprivation of security (pp. 63-83).

As mentioned, the notion of ‘Scandinavian exceptionalism’ (Pratt, 2008) has been criticised for not accounting for the great variation that exists, even within the Scandinavian countries, of penal conditions (Ugelvik and Dullum, 2011). For instance, the Norwegian flagship prison Halden has attracted international attention for its apparently luxurious facilities. The following quote is from a reportage made by the BBC:

[Halden] prison, which cost £138m to build, has won several design awards for its minimalist chic. Set in beautiful blueberry woods and peppered with majestic silver birch and pine trees, the two-storey accommodation blocks and wooden chalet-style buildings give the place an air of a trendy university campus rather than a jail. (BBC, 2019)

In contrast, Bjørgvin prison, the setting for this study, resides in increasingly dilapidated concrete buildings assembled to meet the needs of institutional psychiatry in the 1960s, and a string of recent newspaper articles document the poor living conditions, including a recent infestation of rats (Bergensavisen, 2018). This highlights the difficulty in comparing one set of conditions to another, and one situation with another. This difficulty does not only apply to institutional, organisational or national levels, but also to the individual level; as Christie (1981) shows us, each person’s experience of being in prison is unique.

Whilst this nuances the picture that Pratt (2008) paints of Scandinavian exceptionalism, there is considerable evidence that the Scandinavian model, to the extent that such a thing exists, is comparatively successful in preparing inmates for a law-abiding life in the community compared with many other countries (McNeill and Schinkel, 2016; Ugelvik, 2016). Also, based on a comprehensive study comparing prisons in England and Norway, Mjåland (TV interview - NRK, 2019) concludes, despite his critical and inquisitive outlook (e.g. Mjåland 2015), that Norwegian prisoners experience incarceration as less damaging and destructive than their English counterparts. To continue this exploration of the context for the current study, I now move on to describe and reflect on the specific setting of Bjørgvin prison.

ENTERING BJØRGVIN PRISON

[...] there are few other environments in which the relationship between constraint and agency can be so clearly observed, in which the consequences of power and powerlessness are so vividly manifested, and in which groups with divergent values and interests are put into such close proximity.
(Crewe, 2016, p. 77)

In the following I will present the specific conditions within which the field work for this study is located and link these to broader fields of knowledge about prisons and penal systems with the aim to clarify the meaning of the word *prison* for the purposes of this thesis. My study is located in what is defined in Norway as an 'open' prison; a category of low secure prisons often marked by a higher degree of freedom in terms of movement, temporary leave, phone time allocation and visits, activities and possibilities to work or study outside the prison. As such conditions will be different from for example high secure settings where people may be locked in their cells for up to 23 hours a day, but also from community settings, where people typically lead more independent lives but with certain restrictions.

Ugelvik (2014) points out that each prison becomes its own world, with its own culture. Therefore, to answer the question 'what is a prison' even in this specific context is a complex task. Aside from the buildings and the material objects which make up the site, there are staff organised into different categories carrying out different roles and functions, there are the rules and regulations imposed by the judicial system and enforced by the correctional services. Then there are the sub-cultures and hierarchical social structures within the inmate community which represent their own social rules and codes of conduct. As such, this question is not one that can be easily answered at this point, but the thesis may contribute in a small way to our understandings of what a prison is in the sense of a modern low secure facility in what is often considered one of the most humane penal systems in the world (Pratt, 2018).

Tuastad and O'Grady (2011) describe prisons as a place of paradoxes. An example is the often complicated relationships to prison officers who on the one hand can be experienced as friendly, supportive and caring individuals, but who on the other hand represent a system that oppresses and are in a position of great power. In the prison service, we thus have a system which explicitly and overtly works to goals which are about protecting the interest of the society and punishing the individual, but which does this through many more or less deliberate acts of care. This is in contrast to institutional systems whose goals might be about caring for people's welfare and health but which may exercise forms power to control their inhabitants, such as hospitals or nursing homes.

Who is in prison?

Any venture into Bjørgvin prison will immediately reveal that the prisoners are far from a homogenous group. As an illustration, during the field work for my study the age of participants ranged between 18-84. So who are people in prison? This again is best answered through the stories, interviews and songs presented in this thesis, but a cursory glance at some key numbers can help to orientate us towards the specific context of Norwegian prisons. In 2015, an average of 3746 people were serving sentences or held on remand in Norwegian prisons at any one time. 94.7% of these were men from the ages of 18 and upwards, with an approximate of 72% of these being Norwegian citizens (statistics retrieved from www.kriminalomsorgen.no 2017). Statistics tell us that people in prison are less likely to be employed (36%), to own their own home (22%) or to have education beyond secondary school (34%) than the general population (Revolv, 2015). Statistics also tell us that as many as 70% suffer from mental illness (Friestad and Skog Hansen, 2004). Of particular relevance, a study carried out specifically in Bjørgvin and Bergen prisons concluded that as many as 70% of inmates may suffer from post-traumatic stress-disorder (Stokkeland et al., 2014), pointing out that symptoms of PTSD are often mistakenly attributed to Attention Deficit Disorder. Whilst statistics remain, in many ways, statistics, it was not difficult to relate this finding to the experience of working in Bjørgvin prison, and to the many references, often made jokingly by the prisoners themselves, to ADHD.

About Bjørgvin Prison

Bjørgvin prison was established in 2006 in a group of disused institutional buildings built in the 1960s in a semi-rural location outside the town of Bergen and has a capacity of 90 male inmates. Inmates have the keys to their own rooms and can walk freely within the premises which are marked by a barbed-wire fence. However, as history has shown, the fence can quite easily be traversed and as such serves more of a symbolic demarcation of the property rather than a measure to keep people in. When the prison was new there was no fence, and the story goes that when the fence was erected, it was to stop outsiders coming in. Bjørgvin prison houses people sentenced for a wide range of criminal offences including sexual offences, drug related offences, drunk driving, petty crime, domestic violence, assault, financial crime and robbery. The length of sentences ranges from three weeks to six years, with the average being three months. Inmates are expected to engage in activities during working hours. This may include a range of work opportunities, school, or arts-based activities. Inmates also contribute to maintenance, cleaning and food services within the prison, and are responsible, under close supervision, for many aspects of the daily running of the prison. The figure below shows an overview of activities offered in the prison at the outset of the field work.

Department/responsible agent	Activity
School	Restaurant and cooking Bicycle workshop English Esperanto Norwegian Photo/media Mathematics Health and nutrition Physical education
Prison officers	Anger management programme Leisure activities (hiking, canoeing, excursions, cinema, football)
Verksdrift (Maintenance and work training)	Coffee production/barista course Production of fishing lines/hooks Building maintenance/caretaker positions Cleaning/Laundry Canteen/food services Wood workshop
Arts and Philosophy	Art (open studio with individual supervision) Writing workshop (individual and group sessions) Music therapy (individual and group sessions) Philosophy (individual and group sessions)
Outside agencies/volunteer organisations	Bi-weekly Christian service (Church of Norway) Kalfarhuset (regular visits, recruiting people to christian community organisation Kalfarhuset) Blå Kors (regular visits for existing and new members of addiction self help group)

Figure 2 - Overview of activities in Bjørgvin prison 2015

Music therapy in Bjørgvin prison

Musicking in Bjørgvin prison happens in a milieu which is marked by an ambience of labour and production; The music room is situated next to the wood mill where the different machines are in constant operation. In the summer, the sound from grass trimmers and mowers fill the area. In the 'café' where the piano is situated a quarter of the room is taken up by a coffee roasting machine, and when it is in operation the smell of roasted coffee beans permeates the air outside. Given the setting, this appears to both reflect and instil a belief in the virtues of hard work. Because of the emphasis on inmate initiative and the collaborative aspects of how the prison is run, it is a complex task to establish where such notions emanate from and how they come to be expressed in the way that they are in Bjørgvin prison. It does however tell us something about the conditions in which people are 'left' to relate to conceptions of 'rehabilitation'; an environment where work and production are valued.

The music therapy provision in Bjørgvin prison was introduced in 2008 in connection with an RCT into the effects of music therapy on anxiety and depression in prison inmates (Gold et al., 2014 – see chapter 1 for a discussion of this). Music therapy has been offered as individual and group sessions, and project based work including performance and recording projects. Music therapy is open to all inmates. Participants receive information about music therapy formally along with other services in the prison through a folder located in each room, a weekly information meeting facilitated by the school department, via posters and through recruitment initiatives including me spending time in communal areas to meet new potential participants. Informally information about the activities is also passed on via word of mouth from participants, audience members, staff and ex-inmates in the community. A core programme of recurring music therapy groups and formats over the years include guitar workshops, open jam sessions and a music café. In addition, group work is flexibly facilitated around the needs and interests of participants and may involve supporting emerging bands and ensembles in activities such as songwriting, composition, audio recording and digital music production.

Physically the music therapy room is based in a blue metal container placed centrally within the prison. At the time of the fieldwork use of the music room was regulated by me in dialogue with inmates and staff. I maintained a list of people who had an interest in using the room, and on their request officers would open the facility also during afternoons and weekends when I was not there. The layout of the room and the setup of the equipment was subject to periodical change, sometimes instigated by participants and often in connection with returning the equipment after performances in other spaces in the prison. I strived to implement basic ground rules of respect and inclusivity e.g. through the presence of a poster. The wish to protect and respect the space was shared by most of those who used it, something which was reflected in the observation that the door to the room was generally left unlocked all day even when the room was empty, and only on very few occasions during my time in the prison did things go missing or end up broken.

UNDERSTANDING BJØRGVIN PRISON AS A CARCERAL SPACE

In order to set the scene for the three following data chapters where I seek to understand how the carceral space can be transformed into musical space, we must first understand what makes spaces *carceral*. After all, in a low security prison such as Bjørgvin, prisoners have a freedom of movement beyond what many would associate with a penal environment, and many areas did not immediately reveal their carceral character.

The study of carceral spaces is often associated with Foucault's work on 'the dynamics of mobility, politics, and emotion' in total institutions (Waller, 2018, p. 280). However, as Waller points out - and in line with Ugelvik's (2014) explicitly Foucauldian analysis of prison life - in more recent carceral studies, 'the austere and immovable image of the "total institution" is supplanted by a more equivocal viewpoint based around the continual enactment of routines, relations, and flows.' (Waller, 2018, p. 280). Thus, to understand the carceral space, we need to turn our attention to everyday life.

It may seem strange to those uninitiated to Norwegian low security prisons, but nearly all new inmates in Bjørgvin prison turn up outside the gate on their own volition and ring the bell. Thus, on most mornings, new arrivals can be spotted, carrying their hold-all's, sometimes bringing with them a TV or other equipment (including sometimes musical instruments), and perhaps being accompanied by a girlfriend, a family member or a friend to wave them off. Whereas in many countries, convicts are taken directly to prison after receiving their sentence, most convicts in Norway have to wait weeks, months, and in some cases years, to serve their sentence. Bjørgvin was built specifically as a measure to reduce this queue. Research carried out recently confirms that waiting to serve the sentence has negative consequences in putting people's lives on hold and is experienced as an added punishment (Laursen et al., 2020).

For prisoners arriving in Bjørgvin prison, the first port of call is the reception where they receive information about the prison and the activities on offer, their possessions are registered and items such as mobile phones and credit cards which are not allowed are put into storage. This also applies to mp3 players that do not conform to the strict policy that it

must not contain a screen, and it must not have the ability to record audio. Given the recent developments in such technology, it is increasingly rare to find mp3 players without these features. As a result, many inmates find themselves without any form of personal audio listening device. This also means that their usual playlists, podcasts or albums are off limits.

Skånland (2012) points out that the freedom of personal musical choice seems to be a feature of our time. As one prisoner pointed out to me, although he could borrow CDs from the library, the selection was old and limited, and importantly he did not know what to borrow since he was used to Spotify picking out music for him based on the playlists that he liked - consequently he did not know the names of the songs and artists he usually listened to. Without access to the technologies and software that have come to shape music listening over the last decades, his problem illustrates the increasing technological gap between prisons and the outside world²¹. This was then one way of 'stripping inmates of their prior identities, and creating a ritual break with their past' (Crewe, 2016, p. 80, referring to Goffman, 1961). Or, as the inmate in question put it: 'We are not just bereft of our freedom, we are also bereft of our music!' (Fieldnotes, 18/3/19).

After a tour of the prison, new inmates would be allocated to their rooms, and for the next day or two, be encouraged to make themselves familiar with the various routines, activities and work opportunities available. Within the first few days new inmates would have a meeting with their contact officer; an established function for prison officers where they have special responsibility for following up a portfolio of prisoners in relation to social welfare, rehabilitation, helping them to make applications and liaising with outside agencies, and importantly, to carry out a survey called KIKS - mapping their needs, resources and formulating plans for a return to the community. In 2019 Bjørgvin had a 90% completion rate of such surveys, which was considered very high nationally.

²¹ Here it should be noted that in the recently opened Agder prison, great advances have been made in making the internet available to inmates.

The carceral topography of Bjørgvin prison

Aside from three security cells used to isolate aggressive or intoxicated inmates, most spaces in the prison appeared to communicate a high level of trust in the inmates. In the outdoor wood workshop inmates independently operated machinery such as the electric saw, wood cutting machines and the petrol belt transporter. In the kitchens, knives and other implements were fully accessible and on display. Whilst these were important social spaces in their own right, were people created pockets away from the main communal spaces, the inmates were under supervision of the responsible officers, and access to these spaces was a privilege conditional on specific modes of conduct. As such these spaces had, despite their apparent lack of physical restriction, a distinct profile of being part of the penal apparatus, and there seemed to be relative congruence between the formally intended purpose of the spaces, e.g. labour and production on behalf of the prison community, and the way they were used.

In contrast, the library and some of the school facilities such as the self-study rooms were formal spaces, yet ones that to a larger extent evaded the eyes and ears of the prison officers. The library was a popular place to hang out during the daytime. Equipped with a coffee machine and comfortable sofas and maintained by a female librarian employed by the local council, it was a place where people congregated to chat, drink coffee, and perhaps occasionally avoid those prison officers in charge of registering work activities. The library clearly fulfilled its formal function as a place to read and borrow books, films and cd's (prison inmates use libraries 40% more than the average public) However, it also functioned as a social venue, departing simultaneously from traditional notions of public libraries as quiet, increasingly unpopulated spaces, and from the other prison spaces which were under supervision of prison officers.

The next level of spatial independence from the carceral apparatus were exemplified by the smoking sheds. These were places away both from the gaze of the officers and from the general prison population. Dan, a middle-aged man playing the piano, wrote the song *Smoking Shed* about how the smoking shed was a place where he found friendship and

solace. In this way the topography of the prison offered a differentiated spatial experience, each space representing its own blend of power and potentials for action and interaction.

The cell is central to the notion of incarceration. In Bjørgvin prison, inmates referred to them as rooms and had their own keys. The room became for many a place where personal belongings, posters or pictures of loved ones could provide a semblance of normality. I was therefore surprised to find that people often left their rooms unlocked when they were out, often with the door ajar or even wide open. I later learned that this could be a sign of solidarity, signalling trust and belonging within the inmate community. Drawing on Sykes (1958) and his identification of what he called 'the inmate code', Crewe (2016) explains how prisoners often develop rules of behaviour in response to 'conditions of imprisonment' (p. 79). Some of the 'rules' identified by Sykes as long ago as 1958, e.g. 'don't rat' or 'don't steal from other prisoners' (p. 79) are also observable today (Ugelvik, 2016), also in Bjørgvin prison. These rules seem more than anything to provide prisoners with a way of showing a form of loyalty, and as Crewe (2016) points out, the inmate code takes on different forms and meanings in different contexts.

Instead of locking their doors when they were *out*, many prisoners locked their doors when they were *in*. Inmates in Bjørgvin who came from conditions of much higher security levels and were used to months of being locked in their cell for up to twenty-three hours a day, spoke of the feelings of safety that the cell provided, a cocoon were it was easy to switch off. Coming to Bjørgvin, one was suddenly free to roam around in almost all areas of the prison. This could feel overwhelming in itself, but of equal significance, everybody else was free to roam the premises too. This made some people feel less safe. For some, the prison represented their first meeting with a new and unfamiliar world of criminal milieus. For others, the prison might put them in proximity to gang members, debt collectors, people they had testified against or others that they had reason to be afraid of. Notwithstanding the prison's efforts to avoid such conflict e.g. by relocating people to different facilities, many people cultivated a low profile initially. Upon asking participant Eric in a rehearsal if he would go and fetch our drummer who had not turned up, he said 'I don't go to L-block. There's a guy there that I am trying to avoid. It is not a problem, but I really don't want to see him.' (Fieldnotes, 11/2/19).

Feelings of anxiety surrounding the lack of privacy and control of the environment were compounded by the fact that officers would regularly carry out room checks and searches unannounced, meaning that the room could be invaded at any point. In Bjørgvin prison then, where one of the distinct features is the freedom to *not* be locked in, locking the door was ironically a measure to create a sense of security.



Figure 3 - Aerial photo of the Bjørgvin prison perimeter.

Anonymous, 'untrustworthy' bodies

In absence of the walls, barbed wire and locked cell doors that so often characterise prison environments it seemed then that it was the often subtle interactions of daily life which consistently reminded the prisoners of their status. I was also a part of this 'soft' carceral apparatus:

Untrustworthy bodies

I am in my office together with Bull, a bass player who has only been in the prison for a week. He has just asked me if I would be able to provide him with the tablature for 'No Quarter', a song by Led Zeppelin. We sit by the computer and search the internet for a version that looks to be accurate. I press print, which normally sends the document to the central printer in the photocopy room. For some reason the usual confirmation message does not come up, and I am unsure whether it has printed or not. I tell Bull that I will have to go and check quickly. He says 'ok'. I get up from my chair to leave, whilst Bull remains in his seat. I stand in the office doorway for a second. He looks at me and I look at him. I say 'You will just have to come and wait outside in the corridor while I go and check. It will only take two seconds'. 'Oh yes, of course' he says, and gets out of his chair. I lock the door and leave him waiting in the corridor. When I come back, I tell him the document has not printed, and we go back into my office to try again' (Fieldnotes, 20/4/15)

This casting of people as an 'untrustworthy body' (Ugelvik, 2014, p. 158) worked in tandem with processes which made prisoners anonymous and invisible. Perhaps the most obvious was the practice of registering and referring to people by their room numbers. Mirroring countless references in popular culture (e.g. the TV-series *The Prisoner*), prisoners in Bjørgvin often referred to themselves by number. Who people were on the 'outside', was all the less apparent without the usual cultural emblems, artefacts and practices they would normally employ to identify themselves.

Ironically, some of the cultural activities designed to promote a sense of identity and self-expression, including music therapy, contributed in specific ways to this form of invisibility because of strict clauses regarding confidentiality. This was manifest in the numerous paintings and poems made by prisoners decorating the walls throughout the prison, signed only with a single first name, or perhaps with no signature at all.



Figure 4 Poetic rhyme on the wall in a D-block corridor, made by inmate with help from the prison artist; 'longing and missing, waiting and embracing'.

Anonymity was also manifest on CD's recorded by inmates where numerous original songs were credited to non-identifying first names. As such, the prison was a place where people lived, worked and created, but they left behind a legacy only in the form of traces; faceless, nameless and left to stand alone to tell their story. More than physical barriers, it was witnessing and, inevitably, contributing to this routine inscription of anonymity and untrustworthiness that informed my understanding of the prison as a carceral space.

Managing tensions

As Harbert (2010) points out, the order of prison life has historically been greatly exaggerated; whilst prisons are often associated with routines and the restrictions of movement which they impose upon their inhabitants, descriptions of everyday life in prisons often depict environments of flux, change and unpredictability (Ugelvik, 2014; Shamma, 2010; Crewe et al., 2014). Particularly marked by unpredictability are remand prisons and low security facilities which house people serving shorter sentences, such as Bjørgvin prison. In 2018 Bjørgvin had more than 450 new admissions with an average sentence time of three months. The prison community thus presents as a fluid entity in a state of constant emergence, and this contributed in itself to feelings of uncertainty for many prisoners. There was a widespread awareness that people in the prison suffered from stress, partly because of this uncertainty. Boris spoke of these pressures which contributed to what seemed like a sense of foreboding:

Boris: 'The prison feels like a pressure cooker. I can see that people walk around with a high stress level. Really. I see that it takes very small things to upset the mood. Yeah, you just forget to flush the toilet, and people go crazy. And I think that's because there is generally speaking a higher stress level in here.' (Interview, 30/3/15)

This was coupled with a perception that men in general often find it difficult to seek help or to find ways of relieving their emotional suffering:

Boris: 'In the seventies, at least in the valleys, and it's still like this, men would rather shoot themselves than go to see a psychologist [begins to laugh]. "A psychologist, are you crazy?" It's really mad. I mean, the only thing you do at a psychologist is to get to know yourself. What are they so afraid of? [Laughs]' (Interview, 30/3/15)

Men are less likely than women to seek help for mental health issues (Courtenay, 2003), and they are more likely than women to die from health neglect, risk behaviour or suicide (Furman and Dill, 2012). This has led to explanations of the relationships between health and crime which foreground gender perspectives (Karp, 2010; Lander and Ravn, 2016). Mahalik et al. (2006) argue that 'one potential explanation of why men have less healthy lifestyles is

that males are socialized to adopt masculine ideals that may put their health at risk' (p. 192). In the prison environment, any such cultural obstacles to seeking or giving help became more pronounced. Finding acceptable ways of showing care and affection could be particularly challenging in an environment where intimacy and the display of emotions was highly regulated both structurally and in terms of inmate codes (Crewe et al., 2014).

Speaking of how he himself used marihuana as a 'pause button' in his outside life, Boris identified the lack of access to illegal medicines or drugs as a contributing factor to this 'pressure cooker':

Boris: 'I am puzzled by just how many people queue up in front of the medication booth. And when people have their medicines reduced, they struggle with their psyche. Of course they do, and that adds to the stress. One less tablet, and they fly off the handle'

Kjetil: So people are stressed because they don't have access to (...)

Boris: '(...) the pause button (laughs).

(Interview, 30/3/15)

Understanding the carceral space through a lens of sexuality

Susan McClary (1991) has written that 'sexuality is one of the most intensely pleasurable and yet troubling aspects of human experience. It is at the same time the most personal of realms and also the realm most carefully constrained by social order.' (p. 53). Sexuality in prison emerged as a problematic subject on many levels. Sexuality was for many people part of their most private and intimate sphere. At the same time, sexuality was highly regulated by the prison regime and also by culture, e.g. in terms of what was considered acceptable or what was encouraged, what was moral and what was allowed. Cultural portrayals of sexuality in prison are often stereotyped e.g. through warnings against picking up the soap in the shower (Waller, 2018). At the same time, the inmate code and the machismo of prison environments limits the repertoire of acceptable sexual expression. This complex interplay between power, individual needs and social gender dynamics in male prison environments

(Ugelvik, 2014) makes sexuality a particularly apt lens through which we can understand how prison acts on our being, and how the carceral space is constructed.

In a writing competition for prison inmates held by a regional newspaper in Norway, a male prison inmate wrote:

What I miss most in the prison is physical contact. There is a reason why you see so many men hugging each other here. You need some intimacy.
(Bergens Tidende, 2016).

This man is not referring to sexuality per se, but he raises some of the difficulties for prisoners in terms of meeting their own needs for intimacy, and of realising different aspects of their identity in the prison setting. Because what happens to people's sexuality in prison? As many scholars in criminology have pointed out, a prison is without any truly private space (Ugelvik, 2014). The cell can at any moment be invaded by a prison officer. It is widely acknowledged and understood that inmates have sexual needs (Jewkes, 2011), yet, in my own experience, it was rarely addressed neither informally nor formally in the prison. Prison staff knew that visitors and prisoners had conjugal visits in the visitor rooms, and efforts were made to make visitor spaces private, yet there seemed to be little in terms of an official policy to accommodate this. Instead, sexuality became a topic e.g. when a young group of my participants used the music pc to store pornographic images (not of an illegal character). Or when it was joked about, such as when I furnished my office with a redundant reclining chair from a visitors area and an officer wryly commented 'you know what that chair has been used for, don't you?'. To which I laughed, before I cleaned the chair with disinfectant. Sexuality thus seems to challenge the prison world in many ways, and brings up some paradoxes which exemplify how people became subject to the carceral space. To illustrate this, I present two episodes which took place during my two phases of fieldwork.

Episode 1

During a prison concert where I was not present, a prisoner was rapping. As part of his performance he began to make sexual gestures towards two female prison officers. The officers were the only females, and staff, in the room, and reported having felt threatened and offended by his gestures. Many prisoners in the audience reacted with anger towards the rapper, and later described the event as embarrassing. The rapper explained how it all was an attempt at being in character. The next day he apologised to the prison management, to the officers involved and to other inmates whom had been present.

There are many ways of trying to understand this situation, but there seems to have been a clash between what on the outside would have been a culturally acceptable performance of masculinity within the style and tradition of rap, and what to the officers represented a real security threat: two women guards being undermined whilst being responsible for a large group of male inmates. On the outside the two female members of staff may not have felt so threatened by the performance. And if they did, they may not have had the same power (uniform, keys, radio, hand-cuffs) to complain. Likewise, the rapper may not have felt inclined to apologise for his performance if it took place in a venue in the city, and the audience may not have been so quick to turn against him. This shows how the prison context and its power dynamics affect how a performance of sexuality (and music) is perceived, and what consequences it has for all involved. After the event I asked myself: 'What aspects of the setting and his role within it was the rapper not alert to? What allowed his reading of the situation to be so at odds with that of the officers and the audience?'. It should be noted here that since this event took place without my involvement, we were not able to prepare as usual by reflecting on the aesthetic aspects of the performance.

Episode 2

There are three large-scale artistic photographs on the wall in a staircase in D-block. They are printed on canvas, and they show a small child asleep. With blond hair and wearing blue pyjamas, the child is tucked in under a duvet, facing away. In one picture we see the child's hands with its little fingers over the duvet. The pictures have been there since 2008, and the visual artist working in the prison at the time put them up in collaboration with a group of inmates. Their idea was that these photos touched on a theme of importance in the prison, namely that many of the prisoners have children, and that they miss them. At times, we debated whether it might be too powerful for some of the inmates to see these pictures, particularly if they were in a position of not being allowed contact with their children. We decided to leave them up.

In a meeting, a member of staff brought up the pictures in connection with an increase in the prison of people sentenced for sexual offences. The staff member believed very strongly that the pictures were inappropriate and did not want inmates to be aroused by the pictures or get a form of sexual gratification from looking at them. Several staff at the meeting agreed, others just nodded, and there was a tacit suggestion that it had been irresponsible to put the pictures up in the first place. For me, the photos reminded me of the humanity of the people in the prison, of the fact that they are not simply prisoners but also husbands, fathers, sons, brothers and friends. They reminded me of the many fates the prison houses, and of the fates of loved ones on the outside. I hope the pictures instil similar thoughts in other people that go past them. In contrast, during the staff meeting, the entire population of inmates were cast as potential sexual deviants prone to finding the pictures sexually arousing.

In this way, even the most private domain of people's lives, their sexuality, was a legitimate subject for the 'punitive gaze' (Waller 2018) of 'us', the prison staff. And again, sexuality was addressed when it was seen as deviant. Staff were able to talk about sexuality when we

discussed crimes, sexual abuse or prostitution, but we could not always reflect on, as in the case of the staff meeting, how our own prejudice about sexuality shapes our thinking, our interpretation of situations, and therefore our actions. This brought into sharp focus that sexuality in Bjørgvin prison was, for the prisoners, not a private matter. Any rights we may have to not be assigned a sexual identity based on people's prejudices, was suspended for them. When I reflected on this incident later, I asked myself: 'In whose heads did those children represent something sexual?'

But sexuality and gender were not only subject to the 'punitive gaze' of the 'system', nor were notions of the 'carceral space' produced only by the physical properties of the prison and the presence of those that worked there. Inmate communities famously regard paedophiles and other sexual offenders to be at the bottom of the prison hierarchy (Ugelvik, 2014), and the sometimes narrow definitions of what is acceptable undoubtedly restrict and suppress people in their everyday lives.

By looking specifically at how sexuality as an aspect of self was regulated, talked about and perceived in the prison, we can get a picture of how the prison, despite the caring, insightful and responsible intentions of many staff, made for a carceral space that cast prisoners as deviant, untrustworthy and dangerous. Moreover, we see from these episodes also something of the relationship between the carceral space, the subject and the arts.²²

Nuancing the picture

Contrary to my expectations when embarking on my post in the prison, many of the inmates were very forward about describing positive aspects of their prison experience. Abstaining from drugs and receiving food, shelter and often caring attention from prison officers could be a positive contrast to a meagre existence on the outside. Also, the level of activities offered was something that was appreciated by many. As a practitioner-researcher employed by the prison service I need to be aware and mindful of the inevitability of

²² I write this with an awareness of the privileged position I am in as employee *not* responsible for the overall security measures in the prison or the balances that need to be struck between the needs and safety of prisoners and staff, and between prison policy and public and political opinion.

portraying the institution where I am employed, and prisons more generally, in a biased light (See p. 72 for a discussion of reflexivity). At the same time, it is easy to over-compensate, and to view the Norwegian prison system too critically, particularly as a way of nuancing widely held views of Norwegian prisons as 'exceptional'. This is a balance that is never struck once and for all, but which must continuously be negotiated and reviewed. And most importantly, the main concern in a thesis such as this must be to bring forth the perspectives of those who possess the experience of being incarcerated in a transparent fashion.

A previous inmate wrote a parting letter to the prison and its employees upon his departure where he outlined his reflections on both positive and negative aspects of life in Bjørgvin prison. Providing a list of names of employees whom he had engaged with followed by a brief description of each, he described me as 'musical allrounder, accepting, with a good heart'. His reflections serve as an example of how the experience of being a prisoner is rarely reduceable to one sentiment:

The letter

'I want to write a few words about certain employees who deserve to hear a few good words about their engagement for the inmates. Some have taught me things I never thought I would learn. Some have supported me through a terrible sorrow. Others have just done a fantastic job that deserves praise' [...] Here at Bjørgvin things are pretty ok compared to most things. For example there are elderly people in nursing homes who do not have their own rooms, not enough people to look after them, and go to bed hungry [...] You can of course look for short comings such as the guy who received me when I arrived who was an ice-cold bastard that insisted on seeing me naked in a squatting position [...] who was completely blank when I received the message of the death of my best friend. Who denied me the one cigarette my girlfriend offered me during her only visit in here. It is allowed to smile and be nice. It is contagious [...] But we must not forget that we are in prison, we are fine, and largely surrounded by fantastic employees who make life inside very manageable. I am so ready to take part in life on the outside, with my

kids, friends and family. I am going to live life in a new and different way. Life is a gift. I have got a deeper insight into myself, others and life itself'
(Extract from letter written by music therapy participant)

This letter does not represent 'the truth' about Bjørgvin prison more than any other subjective account. However it serves as a reminder that both positive and negative experiences are the results of *actions*, and that the way those of us who work in prisons carry out our work has profound consequences not only for the individual's experience, but for the shaping of the carceral space.

INTRODUCING THE DATA CHAPTERS: THREE VECTORS OF MUSICAL CHANGE IN BJØRGVIN PRISON

I have outlined certain key aspects of the prison world and its situatedness within the Norwegian correctional system and wider discourses in prison research. I have also explained what I mean by carceral space in the context of this study, and how this is constituted both by the materials of the prison and the people within it, and through the porous boundaries between the prison and outside culture. I now move on to introduce the structure of the data chapters to follow.

During the second phase of data collection I engaged participants in more active roles in the formulation of research action and reflection processes. Returning - with new insights - to the data from the pilot and synthesising these with the emerging understandings from the main study, I created three *vectors of musical change* as overarching categories through which musical action and change in the prison could be understood. The presentation of my findings has been structured in Chapters 5-7 according to these three vectors of change which are 1. *'Spillerom'* - *Musical appropriation of the carceral space*; 2. *'Opptreden'* - *Becoming musicians*; 3. *'Musikkmiljø'* - *Creating musical community*. Throughout the three chapters I have sought to address three issues within the text; *what* is afforded by musicking? *how* do people, including myself, work to realise these affordances? and what forms of change can be traced through the data material?

Vectors and Lewin's model of change

The concept of a vector is derived from physics where a vector is an entity that has direction and magnitude, and is often used to represent forces. I have chosen to relate my use of vectors to Lewin's (1951) conception of the 'force field' in his theory of change. Lewin has been described as one of the founders of action research (McNiff, 2017). Drawing on field theory in physics, Lewin is most famous for developing a three-step model of change, also known as the 'unfreeze-change-refreeze' model. Swanson and Creed (2014) describe the model as

[...] movement from an original psychological construct through a series of added complexities in which new ideas and social interactions occur; then, a reconstruction of a clearer, distilled version of the original emerges. (Swanson and Creed, 2014, p. 32)

Lewin's theory is based on the notion that in processes of change there are forces driving change and forces constraining change. To effectuate change, actors must work to diminish the forces constraining change, and enhance the forces that drive it. In relation to prisons, a reasonable assumption would for instance be that the structural power of the penal system acts as a force that resists change for the inmates, as per the challenges I experienced in securing ethical approval for PABAR. Since, in prison studies, 'resistance' normally resides with the inmates, such a theory potentially inverts the location of power. Of course, the field was more complicated, as the following data chapters show. The prison afforded and encouraged change, and after all, any change that came about through people's co-creation of music therapy, was possible only because 'the system' employed a music therapist. As such, whilst this is a study of the affordances of music for people in prison, it is also a study of the affordances *of prison for music*.

Lewin's theories have become highly influential in the fields of corporate management and organizational psychology. However, the uses of Lewin's work have been criticized for simplifying his ideas and reducing their application to being instrumental devices. As Swanson and Creed (2014) point out:

Rather than expect the quick, neat, and tidy unfreeze–change–refreeze that others have attributed to Lewin, it is clear that 'What works in reality is a far more unsightly, chaotic, and rebellious organisation all together'. (Swanson and Creed, 2014, p. 44, citing Harford, 2011, p. 42).

It is important to stress at this point that I have appropriated Lewin's concept of force vectors as a device in constructing and representing my data. My study is not an attempt at force field analysis, nor do I engage with theories of vector psychology more deeply. And although I am not tempted by the tendency described by Swanson and Creed (2014) to simplify the field (on the contrary my quest is, as will be clear, to complicate it), I am mindful

of their sentiment that Lewin's theories lend themselves to misuse. Usefully, they cast Lewin's field theory as 'a method of analysing causal relations and of building scientific constructs' and contrasts this with 'the contemporary management view of the theory, which charts internal and external organizational variables primarily to try to find the "correct" way to move forward on a change initiative.' (p. 33). I take this as an invitation to draw on Lewin's work to complicate rather than to simplify, and to treat it as a resource for analysis, rather than as a prescriptive model for change.

Arriving at the three vectors of change

I arrived at the three vectors of change through processes of analysis during and after the main study, and I will briefly outline the steps in this process as it sheds light both on the participatory arts-based action research (PABAR) component of the project, and on the vectors of change themselves. As mentioned in Chapter 3, my attempts to create a structured group process for PABAR proved challenging. Instead of one cohesive group with a common agenda or interest, smaller units emerged, each of which developed their own areas of interest and methods for pursuing these. These included a singing group which gradually developed into a larger performance ensemble in a process which culminated in the project *Peace and Cake* (see p. 253). Another grouping was Jermaine and his collaboration with myself and others, who wanted to develop as a rap musician in order to use his music for political activism. Together we developed opportunities for a group of disenfranchised younger rappers in the prison to download hip hop music. A third unit was a staff band that performed at various staff events. This was not pursued for research purposes since there was little enthusiasm both amongst staff and inmate participants to join forces for action research.

The different groupings were not stable, rather their membership and form were subject to change. However, whilst they appeared separate, they were also closely connected by materials, practices, places and people, notably including myself. This led me to begin to see musical action in the prison as *rhizomatic* (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), and subsequently to regard the prison music scene as a rhizomatic structure:

The rhizome connects any point to any other point, and its traits are not necessarily linked to traits of the same nature; it brings into play very different regimes of signs, even nonsign states [. . .] It is composed not of units but of dimensions, or rather directions in motion. It has neither beginning nor end, but always a middle (milieu) from which it grows and which it overfills. (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 21)

Figure 5 shows how from one relationship or connection, other initiatives and groupings grew during the main study. Figure 6 shows the timeline of key events during this phase of the project.

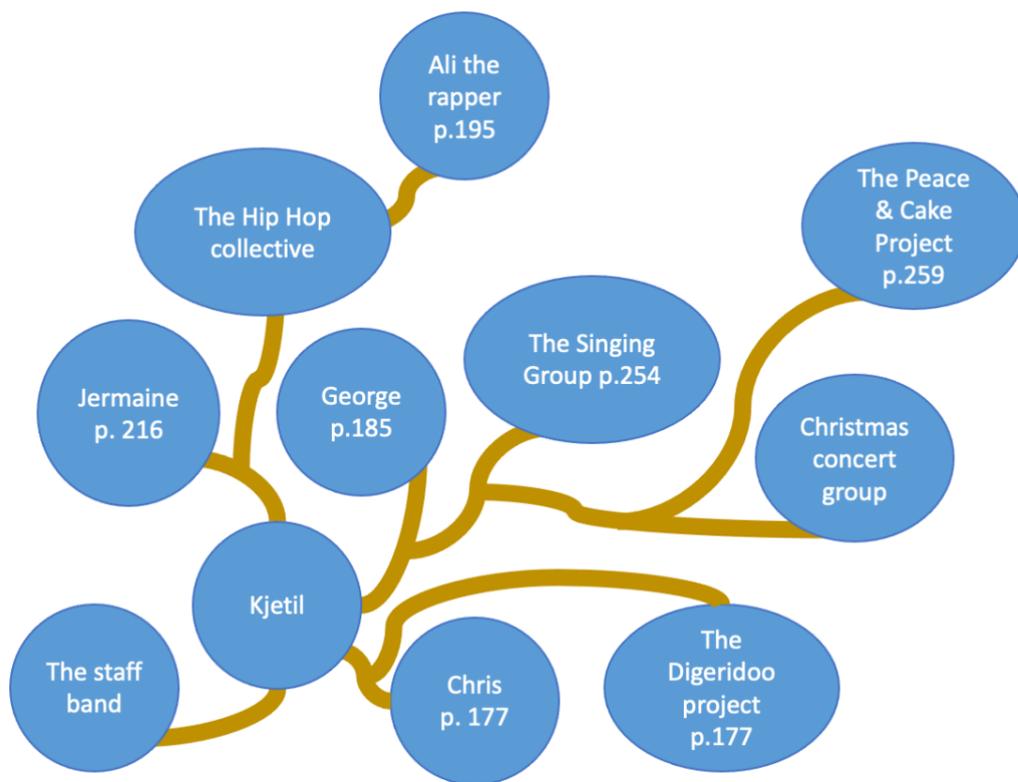


Figure 5 - The prison music scene as an emerging rhizome. Items without reference to page numbers are items that are not included in the presentation of data material, but that were nonetheless important to the prison music scene.

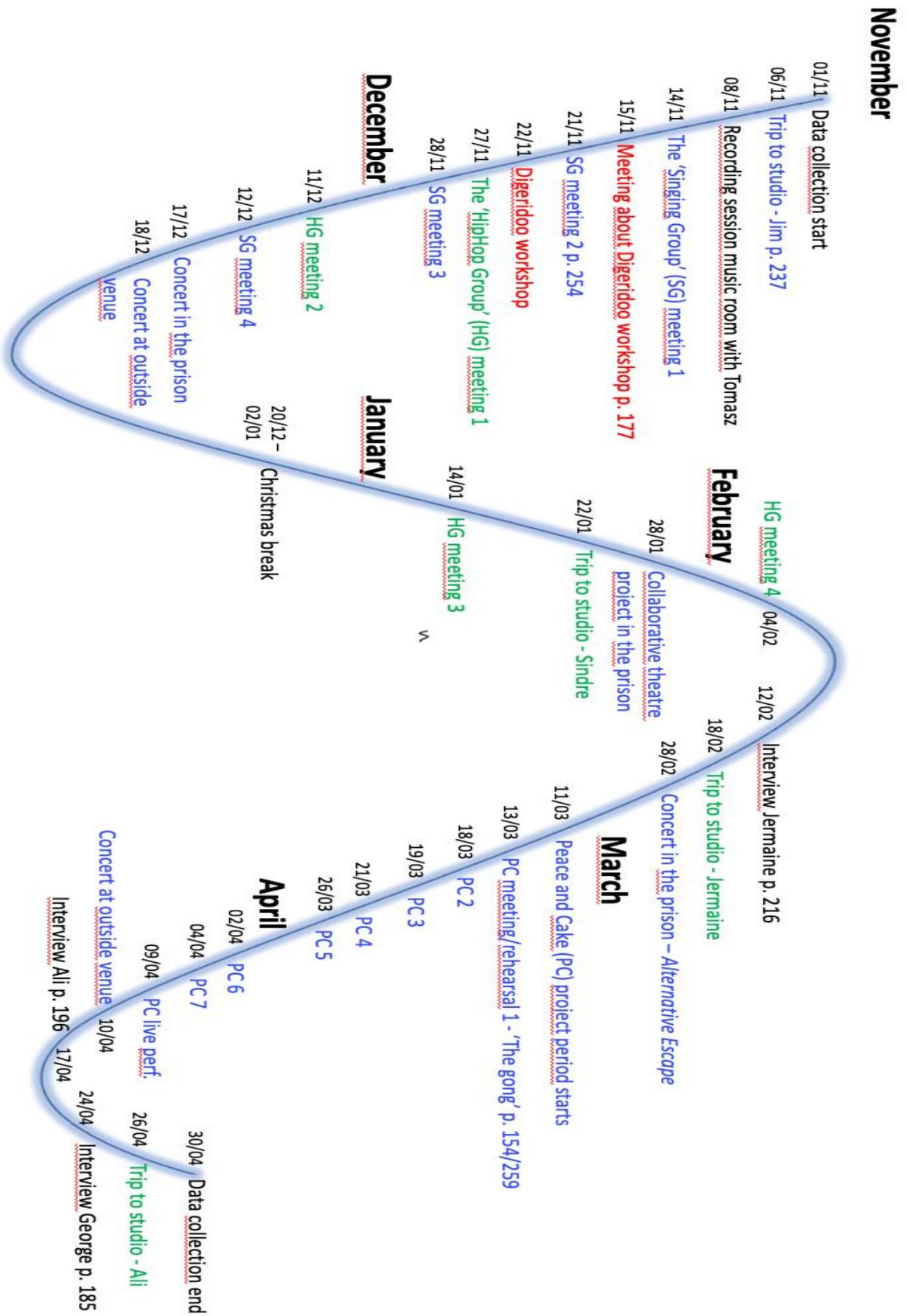


Figure 6 - Timeline main study. Same colour indicates an overlap of participants.

During and after the main study I consolidated and synthesised the practical knowing and data from the main study with data from the pilot. As I gradually attuned my lens to specifically explore change, I began to see how processes of musical change documented in the data material, some still unfolding, could be grouped into three main areas. I also saw how change within these areas could be thought of as having a direction between virtual points of reference, representing *before*, *during* and *after* (Ansdell and DeNora, 2016). From this observation, I constructed what I came to call three *vectors* of musical change. In line with my qualitative methodology these vectors of change are not intended to represent evidence of a *single truth* (Pink, 2009) about how music therapy in Bjørgvin prison unfolded nor about what it afforded. Instead they are intended to represent an understanding of the processes that I observed and that I and other participants engaged in and reflected around, as conceptual tools to potentially advance thinking around music therapy and change in prisons.

A vector indicates a trajectory from point A to point B, and change can be defined as movement along this trajectory. In line with the more complex aesthetic of the field, my conceptualization of the three vectors of musical change is not represented by three uniform and contained lines representing a unity, but, rather like when zooming in on a material, we see the grain of multiplicity that makes it up. Each line here represents micro or macro processes of musical change for individuals or groups throughout the project period, which may point in slightly different directions, but which in sum nonetheless contributed to a *sum vector*²³: a general movement *towards*. I will now explain each of these vectors in more detail.

²³ In mathematics, a sum vector represents the sum of two or more vectors.

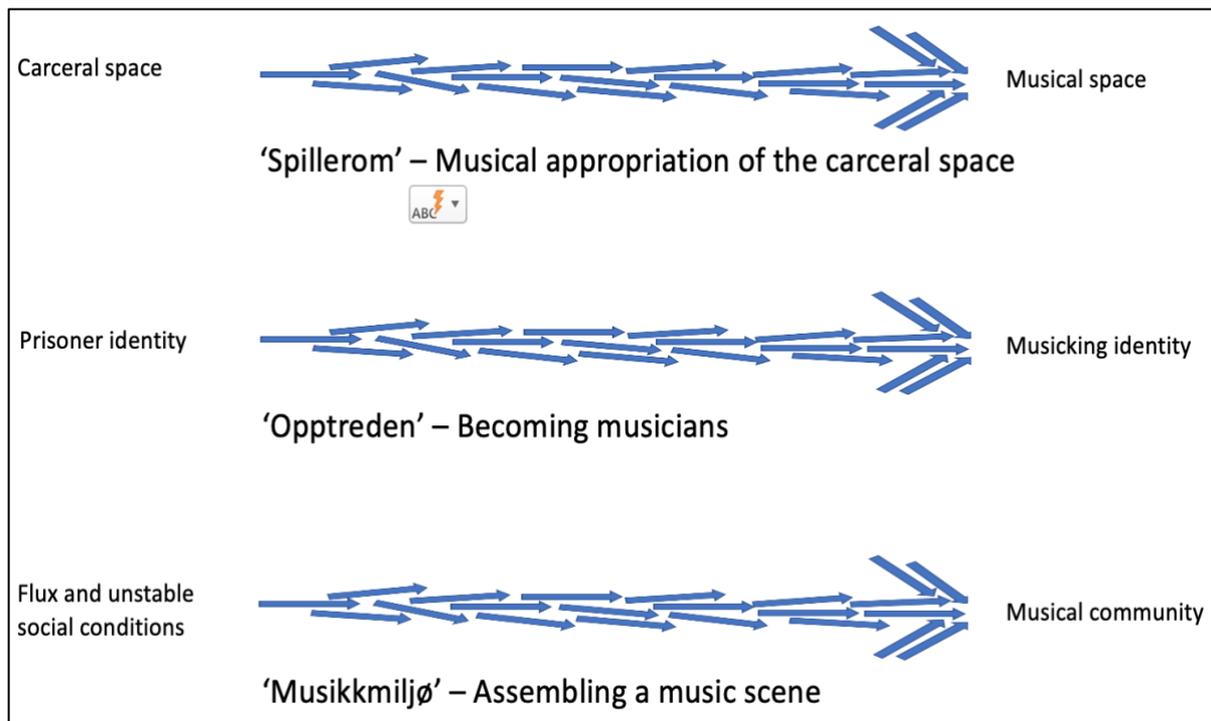


Figure 7 - Three vectors of musical change

Vector 1 - 'Spillerom': From carceral space towards musical space

Directly translated the word 'spillerom' means 'room for playing' (spill = play, rom= space). As such it is sometimes used to describe e.g. a games room or even a music room. In colloquial use it does however primarily have two meanings: room/possibility for action, and leeway. The word lends itself to wordplay with its potential for double meaning (play as in music/games, and leeway for action), and is for example used as the title of a Norwegian radio programme about contemporary music. When it was suggested by a participant as the title for a music group (p. 176), he was precisely referring to this double meaning. I have decided to use his word as the title for the first vector of musical change. I translate it by using the term 'potential musical space' which I define more closely in Chapter 5. As an explanatory caption for the first vector of change, I use the sentence 'the musical appropriation of the carceral space', and this is also in the title of Chapter 5.

Vector 2 - 'Opptreden': From prisoner identity towards musician identity

The predominant Norwegian translation of the verb *to perform* is 'å fremføre'. 'Frem' means *forward*, and 'føre' means *put/place/lead*. When people use the word 'fremføre' they thus emphasise a meaning of performance as putting something forward, opening up to questions of who/what is being put forward. However I noticed that many participants used the less formal, more colloquial and perhaps more old fashioned word 'opptre'. Whilst 'opptre' and 'fremføre' are interchangeably taken to mean *to perform*, a closer examination reveals a difference in meaning. 'Opp' means *up*, and 'tre' means *stand/step/rise*. 'Opptre' thus emphasizes a meaning of performance as an act of standing up, arising or emerging. Meanings of 'to arise' include *to come into action, come into being, come into notice, to become operative, to become visible* or *to begin to act a part*. This subtle difference in meaning speaks to the discourses surrounding musical performance in music therapy, but more importantly illuminates how participants chose to speak about live musical performance in the prison. The term 'opptre' alludes to notions of *surrection* (derived from the word 'resurrection' and based on the latin word 'surrectus' = to arise), of clear significance within the penal context and its discourses surrounding rehabilitation and change. It also alludes to *uprising*, of significance in relation to issues of power, resistance and empowerment in the prison setting. The word 'opptreden' (the word in its noun form) is the title of the second vector of musical change, and as an explanatory caption for the second vector of musical change, I use the term 'becoming musicians' which is in the title for chapter 6.



Figure 8 Wall calligraphy made by a prisoner with the assistance of the prison visual artist saying 'rise and rise until lamb becomes lion'.

Vector 3 - 'Musikkmiljø': Creating musical community

The word 'musikkmiljø' is a composite word where 'miljø' can be translated as 'milieu' or 'environment'. The word is established in the Norwegian language to the extent that the largest retailer of classical and wind instruments in western Norway is called 'Musikk Miljø'. The word refers to musical community but is also the most precise translation of the term *music scene*. It was the participants' frequent use of this word that initially led me to think of the prison as a music scene. I have used the word 'Musikkmiljø' as the title of the third vector of musical change, and as an explanatory caption I have used the sentence 'creating musical community' which is also in the title of chapter 7. The following three chapters are allocated to each of the vectors of musical change, exploring these in more depth and detail.

5. 'SPILLEROM': FROM CARCERAL SPACE TOWARDS MUSICAL SPACE

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present the first of the three *vectors of musical change* in Bjørgvin prison that I constructed: '*Spillerom*'; *the musical appropriation of the carceral space*. As DeNora (2013a) posits 'music and sound can change the relationship between public and private experience, and they can change the locations available for this experience.' (p. 63). As a part of the physical makeup of the prison, music could interrupt the soundscape, alter people's experience of space, and afford particular forms of agency, relationship and performance. Musicking was one of the ways in which inmates could make prison spaces their own, and in this chapter I show *how* participants transformed carceral space into musical space through musicking. I also show what this afforded, and how I, the music room and the materials and practices associated with music therapy in the prison, were involved in these processes.

Music and the emotional geography of prison life

An important concept in this chapter is the *musical emotion zone*, derived from Crewe et al.'s (2014) notion of *emotion zones* as part of the prison's emotional geography. Crewe et al. point out how prisons have traditionally been described as one-dimensional emotional spaces, differentiated only by the notion of backstage and frontstage domains (Goffman, 1961). Prisoners are often seen as taking on identities of hardened machismo in order to adapt to an environment of distrust and violence. Any expression of other more nuanced or 'soft' identities are often presumed to be reserved for the private sphere (Crewe et al., 2014). Prison ethnography has however shown that the distinction between frontstage and backstage is not straightforward because of the distinct lack of any truly private space (Ugelvik, 2014; Wacquant, 2002); singing in the shower was not a private matter in Bjørgvin

prison. In response to what they call 'only a partial account of the prison's emotional world', Crewe et al. (2014) challenge accounts of the prison as 'unwaveringly sterile, unfailingly aggressive or emotionally undifferentiated' (pp. 1-2). They have called for a deeper understanding of 'the emotional geography of prison life', recognising the significance of spaces within prisons as sites for varied and sometimes otherwise hidden expressions of emotion. Further, they argue that people create emotion zones which 'enable the display of a wider range of feelings than elsewhere in the prison' (p. 1). In the following I will therefore also elucidate how an understanding of musical space and relationships between music and emotion informed by theory from the sociological study of music, can contribute not only to the nuancing of the prison as an emotional space that Crewe et al. advocate, but also to a nuancing of what an emotional geography of the prison might mean.

Music as an ambivalent presence in the prison sound world

During the pilot I was attuning myself to the prison as an acoustic space more systematically and analytically than I previously had done as a music therapist, and I was repeatedly struck by how music and sound in various forms permeated everyday life in the institution. As documented on several field recordings of the ambient sonic environment, on days of dry weather the sounds from lawnmowers cutting the grass in the communal outdoor areas would compete with the sounds from the chainsaws at the wood cutting workshop. Seagulls confirmed the proximity to the fjord, whilst the footsteps of someone jogging around the perimeter or the clonking of weightlifting equipment hinted at physical exercise. Sometimes, the mesh of indistinct background sounds was interrupted by the sounds of key chains, doors being unlocked, or by walkie-talkie chatter, acting as sonic reminders that this was a prison. The ambient soundscape was in this respect a documentary by-product of many of the human and more-than-human events and activities happening in the prison. However, as part of the physical manifestation of the prison space, sound could also be an arena for exercising agency, mobilising resistance and contesting power (Rice, 2016). Walking through the corridors I often noted the music seeping out from behind closed cell doors, and as spring was setting in, inmates would gather on the lawn to the music from someone's stereo blearing out through open windows. The repertoire of recorded music filling such communal areas was predominantly rap/hiphop, electronic dance music or mainstream rock. I was

primarily occupied with how this music may afford expressions of identity or create a sense of community, but conversations with inmates also alerted me to the mixed feelings people had about music in communal spaces, and the challenges people experienced by not being in control of their sonic environment:

Charlie: Here is music all the time. At least inside. Sometimes it gets a bit much, if you ask me.

Dan: There was music at lunch today. Metallica or something.

Kjetil: Was that the radio then, or?

Dan: Yeah, it was one of the chefs who played it.

Kjetil: So there is a lot of music in the background?

Charlie: Yes.

Dan: It lifts your mood, at least when there are songs that you know.

Charlie: Not at half past seven in the morning. Not when it's like that, for me anyway.

Dan: I have been disturbed more by the nagging in the next cell, than I have by music.

Bob: Yes me too, but some people sit and play and practise the guitar and sing to themselves, and it's near the tv lounge, and if somebody wants to hear the news and they have an open door and play the guitar, it can be quite disturbing.

Dan: Yes, the news come first. (Interview, 9/3/15)

This way in which music and sound could influence, and impinge on, people's experience of spatial control made it a powerful way to occupy territory:

Music emanating from the workout room

I am walking across the yard and hear loud music blaring from the gym in the L-block basement. I hear the pounding rhythm of the bass coupled with penetrating synth sounds. I walk towards the sound and enter the room, expecting to find a buzz of activity from people working out. Instead the room is empty, the workout machines are static, and the exceedingly loud music is playing from some source which I cannot locate, reverberating

from the bare concrete walls. It is so loud that I find it difficult to remain in the room, and I almost feel physically pushed out. As I put my head through the open door to the adjacent toilet, I see an inmate attaching a floor wipe to a mop handle. I shout over the loudness to ask if it is he who has put on the music. He turns around and looks startled to see me. He shouts 'Yes'. He immediately turns around to continue cleaning the floor. I ask him what he is listening to. He curtly says that he has no idea. I get a strong sense that he does not want people around when he is working (Fieldnotes, 10/3/15)

Whilst the music initially attracted my curiosity, it quickly served the purpose of making me want to exit the room, leaving the space empty for the man to carry out his work in peace.

The observation that he did not know the music he was listening to was representative; many inmates reported that it was easier and more relaxing to listen to music which they had no relationship to.

Boris: I do have music that I feel I have a special relationship to, but I find it exhausting to pick out my own music for listening. That's why I prefer the radio. It is difficult in the prison to get my own music organised on a format that I can use and that is allowed. It is also mentally tiring to listen to my own music because choosing what to listen to requires a lot of careful thinking about, and my own music brings up a lot of memories and thoughts about the outside. (Interview, 30/3/15)

In accord with this man's preference for radio, the radio could be heard frequently, particularly in spaces associated with work duties such as the kitchen, the wood workshop or the coffee burning workshop. For some people however, such incidental music posed its own challenges:

Boris: Lately I have listened very little to music really, very little. And that is to do with my mind. I mean, in depressed periods I can experience that I cannot bear to listen to music at all. I can't bear music, it's just 'ahhh'...but that is to do with my mental state.

Kjetil: So it's not like music can help to...

Boris: Loosen up...?

Kjetil: Loosen up...

Boris: It can do, but it demands that you sit down and listen to it. I have never understood background music.

(Interview, 30/3/15)

It seemed then that the prison setting, with its inevitable stressors of incarceration and practical limitations for accessing music online, made for an environment that did not immediately encourage or enable people to engage in more personalised and emotionally involved forms of listening. On the contrary, there were indications that people had to manage their listening carefully to protect themselves from potentially unwanted experiences or memories. Having heard another inmate play the song *Wild Horses* (Rolling Stones) in the music room, Ben drew my attention to the perils in this environment of music randomly popping up beyond one's control:

Ben: There was a girl that I used to go out with, who I loved very much. And we used to listen to that Rolling Stones tune *Wild Horses*. Then we broke up, and I couldn't listen to that song anymore. Because every time I heard it, I thought 'Shit, now she is with somebody else'. That's how I was thinking, and I was like - 'Rolling Stones?' I could have shot the whole band. I hated that song. Lovesickness and music, then you're talking. Then you can talk about music and feelings and all that. And songs that we absolutely cannot listen to. Then it is very powerful. I mean, you might have listened to that music while you were making love and kissing her and all your feelings were in heaven. And then you're left behind just like a wilting tree in the autumn with no flowers on. (Interview, 10/6/15)

When acoustical agency (Rice, 2016) was exerted e.g. through playing the radio or other recorded music in communal areas, it thus impacted on others. And because of the lack of privacy offered by forced communal prison life and the resultant limited opportunities to retreat from the sonic environment, any alienating dimensions of sound production seemed pronounced. Ben experienced this in relation to singing and playing the guitar in different situations in the prison:

Ben: I am quite extrovert and I like to sing and put on a show right, and then I noticed that some people - not the foreigners, they love it, they get into music much quicker than Norwegians - but some of the other Norwegians were a bit 'oh no, there's that guitar again, now he's sat there playing, listen'. I noticed that they looked a bit grumpy. I mean, you pick up these signals pretty quickly don't you (Interview, 10/6/15)

Whilst Ben's generalisation about people's attitudes to music based on ethnicity did not match my own experience, he points to the important observation that music was received differently by people. During the pilot fieldwork there was a well-established perception that the L-Block First Floor was a calm space for mature inmates serving longer sentences. If someone played loud music in this part of the prison, it was frowned upon and suggestions were made for the individual to move to K-block, which was associated with younger, more raucous inmates, and people suffering from substance addiction. Music thus interacted with perceived social factions and carried the potential to disturb the often carefully constructed state of equilibrium created by the prisoners.

Whilst music instigated by others could be experienced as alienating or imposing, it could also be appropriated as a resource for enjoyment, relationship and comfort. Nigel described how one of his first experiences of incarceration had been musical:

Nigel: When I was first placed in the isolation cell in the remand prison I heard a girl's voice singing through the concrete wall from the cell next door. I don't know if she knew I was there or whether she was singing for me, but it felt comforting. (Interview, 20/11/18)

Ranging from such deeply private experiences of relatedness and solace between cells, to public concerts in communal spaces, the human voice was a significant part of the sound world of the prison. In such a densely populated area it was almost omnipresent, whether it was in the form of a muffled conversation on the other side of a wall, distorted through the entrance gate intercom, or loud talking and laughter emanating from the smoking sheds or the gym. When the human voice was used to *sing* however, it represented a distinct departure from the flow of the unfolding soundscape. Being the most accessible musical

instrument in the prison, as in most other settings, singing often featured spontaneously as part of seemingly mundane interactions:

Singing in the corridor

It is just after eight o'clock in the morning and I am in the corridor outside the main reception office to pick up my keys. As usual a number of inmates are gathered outside the closed reception hatch presumably waiting to pick up medication, get their mail or to make other enquiries. As I approach the loosely dispersed gang of people one of them knocks hard on the hatch. He seems exasperated, and I gather that he has been trying to make contact for a while. Suddenly the hatch opens, and an officer appears with a stern look without speaking. The man asks if the officers can open the galley kitchen for a group of inmates later that afternoon. The officer maintains the stern look and says 'no, I told you already, that room is out of bounds at the moment'. The man turns to the others in the corridor and sighs loudly. Then he turns to the prison officer with an overly stern look and sings 'Tis the season to be jolly, fallalalala Lalalala'. He gesticulates with his arms and crouches his knees slightly, making for a very comical performance. I and the others in the corridor laugh. I look at the prison officer who now has a big smile on his face and is shaking his head. The man walks away with the matter unresolved. (Fieldnotes, 23/3/15)

Foster points out that 'something transformative [...] happens when everyday issues are performed' (Foster, 2015, Kindle location 1885). Here it seemed that a brief impromptu musical performance had temporarily interrupted the unfolding of the inscribed roles of 'officer' and 'inmate', whilst elevating an apparently mundane altercation into something memorable, extraordinary and funny. An analysis of this event must however rest on the notion that the initial situation - whilst normal within the prison the setting - was not mundane, but extraordinary: the adult man having to ask for permission to cook in what was for all intents and purposes his temporary home, represents what I came to think about as the *extraordinary ordinariness* of prison life. This serves as another example of the ritualistic casting of prisoners as untrustworthy within the carceral space, and I experienced the man's musical response as an ironic theatrical commentary highlighting the extraordinariness of

the original situation. But the event was also of analytic significance to me; the medium of a humorous musical performance created an analogous space in which the man was allowed to demonstrate agency and frustration, but significantly, without posing a threat to the officer. This alerted me to how musical performance could alter the frames and premises for interaction and intervene directly with the carceral space and its power structures.

This potential for musicking to transform, subvert and interrupt the 'extraordinary ordinariness' of prison life, and the ways in which musicking seemed to change the experience of the carceral space and relationships within it, drew me towards exploring how we transformed carceral space into musical space through musical activities. Also it drew me to how musicking facilitated the creation of musical 'emotion zones' (Crewe et al., 2014) within the prison.

CREATING MUSICAL SPACE IN BJØRGVIN

As demonstrated above, musical space could be created through the act of singing in a corridor or in a cell. However, the materials, equipment and practices associated with the music therapy practice afforded a more deliberate and planned setting-up of musical space. Moving beyond my observations of the soundscape of everyday life in the prison, I now turn to explore *how* musical space was created in relation to the materials of music therapy and my practice as a music therapist.

Defining musical space

In order to understand musical emotion zones as a conceptual interface between music therapy and the criminological study of the emotional geography of prison life (Crewe et al., 2014), a closer examination of the meanings of musical space, and relationships between music and emotion in Bjørgvin prison, are necessary. To attend to the ontology of musical space, I turn to Böhme (2017) who calls music 'the modification of bodily felt space' (p. 127). He claims that it 'shapes the listeners disposition in space, it intervenes directly into one's bodily economy.' (p. 127). Thus he breaks down the dichotomy between the body and

(acoustic) space as an external entity, or between subjectivity and what he refers to as 'atmosphere' (p. 127). The musical spaces we create and our experience of self within them are co-constitutive, and at once individual and collective. This co-constitutive *becoming* relates to Mol's (2008) deconstruction of notions of subjectivity and her invocation of the term *transubstantiation*:

I eat an apple. Is the agency in the I or in the apple? I eat, for sure, but without apples before long there would be no "I" left. And it is even more complicated. For how to separate us out to begin with, the apple and me? One moment this may be possible: here is the apple, there am I. But a little later (bite, chew, swallow) I have become (made out of) apple; while the apple is (a part of) me. *Transubstantiation*. What about that for a model to think with? (Mol, 2008, p. 30)

Our creation of musical space in Bjørgvin could also be understood as a *transubstantiating* process. Musical space was created by us, and our presentation of self as enacted through musical performance/musicking was also created and conditioned by the musical spaces we found ourselves in. To speak of musical space we must therefore attend both to our internal representations and sensations of it, as well as its material, spatial, social and cultural dimensions. Or as DeNora (2011) puts it, we must 'focus on the mutually constituted, two-way relation between embodied experience, emotion, feeling, and cultural forms, which is to say a focus on emergence' (p. 173).

The extended music therapy room

Articulating his experience of the music room to a fellow inmate during a conversation in my office, Ken, a young man learning to play the guitar said:

Ken: You have to go and hang out in the music room. I like to go there. I can't play, but it makes me feel like a musician. They don't judge you down there. That's the good thing about it, that they don't judge you. (Fieldnotes, 26/5/15).

Whilst this was not always true – on the contrary some groupings could be exclusive and judgemental - Ken clearly had an overall sense of the room and the general social ambience

there as welcoming. One of the most fundamental ways in which I influenced music making in Bjørgvin prison was through the instruments I had selected and purchased in my role as music therapist, and the maintenance of the music room in collaboration with participants. As acts of *musical furnishing* (Ansdell and DeNora, 2016) my purchases had been informed by my wish to strike a balance between traditional band instruments, equipment for live performance and digital audio recording, and more traditional music therapy instruments (Djembes, Congas, xylophones, ocean drum and other percussion instruments) to provide a wide pallet of sounds available for what I envisaged could be creative, playful and spontaneous approaches to musicking. I also furnished the music room with furniture and props which I thought would be useful in creating an inviting and safe environment. It was my ambition from the outset that the music room and the equipment would lend itself open to as many forms of musical interaction and togetherness as possible.



Figure 9 - The music room at the outset of the first period of data collection. Note the three Tibetan singing bowls (top left), the shaded lamps and the carpet on the floor, the reclining chairs (bottom left) and the green curtains designed to soften the room and to cover the desk and wall of guitars when drawn.



Figure 10 - The music room during a rehearsal break in phase 2 of data collection.

From fig. 9 and 10 it is possible to detect how the music room was appropriated to meet the needs of the people using it and to serve any shared purpose. In hectic periods of rehearsal, my (and other people's) ideals for a serene atmosphere had to give way to the practicalities of ten or more people musicking together in a small space.

One of the significant developments brought about by CoMT was challenging the status of the music therapy room as a closed confidential (and possibly the only) space for music therapy. Ansdell (2014) has shown how a notion of processes of mutual tuning-in to musical situations (Schütz, 1964, in Ansdell, 2014, p. 196) could be extended beyond the situation itself; the tuning-in does not just happen as people inhabiting the same space prepare to play together – it spills out of the music room and begins long before people get there. In Bjørgvin prison too, music therapy activities took place across a range of locations inside, and occasionally outside, the prison²⁴, and often, the very notion of the music therapy room as a bounded and separate space was problematic. Instead, the music therapy room was a porous structure. Located in a temporary-come-permanent metal cabin it was not sound proofed, which resulted in any loud music spilling out and reverberating across the prison courtyard. This was compounded by the frequent need to have the windows open due to the lack of ventilation. This in turn would attract people to the cabin, and it was a frequent occurrence that people would gather outside, peep through the windows or ask to come in

²⁴ The expansion of musical space to outside the prison will be addressed further in Chapter 7. This chapter deals primarily with musical space in the prison.

to have a listen. Beyond this, there was an exchange of materials between the music room and the outside; people brought their private instruments to the music room, and conversely the classical guitars, and sometimes other instruments such as djembes or bass guitars from the music room, were available for participants to borrow. For performances in other spaces in the prison, most notably the gym hall (demolished after the pilot) and the activity room (built during the main study), almost all the equipment from the music room would be relocated.



Figure 11 - The gym hall set up for a live concert. The floor rugs from the music room are hung up in an attempt to dampen the excessive reverberation of the large space.



Figure 12 - The 'stage' in the gym hall. The lamps and carpets were brought from the music room (in addition to the musical equipment), and green plants were brought from the library.

As such the music therapy room was inseparable from most of the musicking that happened throughout the prison, and locations such as the gym hall, the activities room and even individual cells, became connected to the music room through a web of people, materials and practices. For Kenneth, the music I wrote down for him and the materials we practiced together in the music room created a link to time in his cell:

Kenneth: I must admit that I lie awake in the evenings pondering on what I need to learn, what I have to ask about next time, I always forget. Because when I'm in here anyway, I want to take the opportunity to learn certain things that I am not sure about, and ask you about it, if you can write it down, right. And then, I can do that too. (Interview, 23/6/15)

Thus the prison became an extended and distributed musical space, which I called *the extended music therapy room*. I will now examine more closely *how* musical space was set up, and what contrasting forms of musical space could afford.

The gong

As part of the planning process for a performance project in the prison called *Peace and Cake* (p. 253) I invited ten inmates selected from my prior knowledge of their interest in music, to the music room for a brainstorming session. After a presentation-round where people were invited to share something about their relationships to music and their wishes/expectations for the ensuing project, I opened up a discussion around the theme and form of a potential performance. After a discussion of contrasting views, Greg suggested that we put on a variety show. From the ensuing multilogue I gathered that there was some confusion in the group as to what this might mean.

The gong

Greg gets up from his chair and looks around the room smiling. He grabs a mallet and lifts the large and heavy gong from the wall by its rope. Holding it in front of himself he hits the gong with great force. An overpowering sound of shimmering and pulsating frequencies fills the room, drawing everybody's attention towards Greg and the gong. Slowly the sound begins to decay, leaving behind a lingering hum reverberating between the walls. Greg stands in the middle of the room with a big smile and wide-open eyes. Then he proclaims in a loud, clear and animated voice reminiscent of a circus director; 'Welcome! To prison therapy, a new way of making sure you never get bored again!'. I

feel as if the room has gone dark and a spotlight has appeared, lighting up Greg's gesticulating persona. The sound of the gong seems to have instantly created a virtual stage for him, helping me to experience the kind of theatrical space he clearly envisages for our project. Another participant stands up and exclaims 'Prison therapy!' while two others grab mallets and begin to play the bell tree and the cymbals on the drum kit.' (Fieldnotes, 13/3/19)



Figure 13 - The gong and mallet used by Greg.

The sheer loudness and chaotic timbral richness of a gong inevitably makes a physical impact on a listener. Its use in this situation, and its impact on me, was also informed by the gong's symbolic roles in spiritual rituals and its traditional use as a call for gathering, for announcements, for beginnings and endings. In our case the gong marked a transition from one state – 'the group having a relatively quiet discussion' - into another state – 'Greg performing'. As such, its abrupt sound functioned not only as a catalyst for transition, but its lingering decay became a 'liminal space' (Ruud, 2013, p. 249), affording new modes of

interacting, governed by new performative parameters. Significantly, what form this musical space would take, was open ended while the sound of the gong lingered. Given the initial structure of the meeting (sat in circle, discussion), one could imagine an alternative scenario where Greg simply would have said 'that's a nice sound isn't it, we could use that', or someone else may have said 'stop that dreadful noise!' and thus closed down the *potential musical space* created by Greg and the gong. The sound of the gong thus represented a liminal zone of unknowing anticipation, between the original frame ('group meeting') and the infinite potentialities of the new frame. Instead of explaining what he meant by a variety show, Greg musically set the scene, enabling him to enact and share with us the kind of performative space he imagined. After this musical event, we organized ourselves into smaller work groups, and people, including myself, appeared to have a shared vision of what the project could become.

The acoustic properties of a single sound, shaped by instrument morphology, human technique and spatial ecology, coupled with the particular cultural habitus of the instrument, not only changed the experience of the space as it turned into a theatre stage. They also framed and laid the ground for a group performance. The group acted on Greg's invitation to enter into the *potential musical space* by playing other instruments of similar timbral qualities (the bell tree and the cymbals). Several conditions were contributory to this. First, Greg's agency and creativity in the presence of other people who had a willingness to engage. Secondly, the presence of the gong on the wall in the music room, and the implicit permission within the frame of the situation for spontaneous and impromptu use of it. This highlights the affordances of maintaining a varied and sometimes novel selection of instruments in an environment such as the Bjørgvin music room, which was oriented materially towards rock band performance. This was especially important within the framework of my approach to music therapy, which values spontaneous musical expression. It also shows how the mutual entering into a *potential musical space* helped the group to overcome initial confusion, and instead to imagine an orientation towards the project. Importantly, Greg's use of the gong disrupted the initial form of the meeting, exemplifying how the unfolding of music therapy events was shaped by the participants and music therapists together.

Twiddling

Whereas the sound from the gong made an imposing impact central to the unfolding of events within our planning meeting, music's interruption of the soundscape was often subtle and afforded less direct forms of interpersonal relations. An example of this was the ubiquitous musical practice of 'twiddling' ('klunking'); an expression referring to playing the guitar or, very occasionally, the piano, in a private or semi-private context, in a fashion that is more akin to practise than performance. As a form of semi-private 'music asylum' (DeNora, 2013), 'twiddling' could be overheard even when taking place on the cell, and as such it represented a way of mediating one's musicality to others without making the claims for space and attention that more direct forms of performance entailed. I came to think of 'twiddling' as the *performance of practise*, and I observed it taking place in the music room e.g. during preparations for rehearsals.

A significant aspect of my job as a music therapist was to maintain and organise the letting out of guitars to inmates (see p. 226 for an analysis of the roles and functions of these guitars). In an effort to enable music making across different settings in the prison, I placed guitars in the K-block and L-block common rooms. Eric had noticed the presence of the guitar in the L-block common room, and commented on this in an interview:

Eric: What is very good now is the guitar up in the lounge. Suddenly a guitar appeared there, and then people sit down and start to fiddle around. It is incredible. I didn't even know that they could play, and then they play all this classical stuff. Those guitars are very good for twiddling, and so they get used by people who don't necessarily take part in the stuff that we do. It's amazing what they can play, but they are probably a bit shy. People see the guitar lying there, and then they go in and sit down and start twiddling to themselves, and then we get a much better mood right away.

Kenneth: In my barracks they seem to want peace and quiet. I don't think they want anyone to twiddle.

Eric: Well, in our wing, the lounge might be empty, then suddenly you hear someone twiddling, and it's someone who saw that there was nobody there, so then they go in and start playing. (Interview, 23/6/15)

Eric's perception that people twiddled to 'themselves' whilst 'we' got a better mood, points to how twiddling inhabited a realm *between* private practise (rehearsal) and public performance. Eric disconnects the performance (of the person twiddling to 'themselves'), from 'we' who are witnessing it. To draw upon the nomenclature of film and video game analysis, Eric's experience suggests a *fourth wall* (Brown, 2013) between the unfolding life-worlds of the performer, who operates within his own semi-private musical asylum (DeNora, 2013), and those going about their business, accidentally witnessing a semi-private act in which the main character does not appear to know whether or not they are being watched and listened to. This separation allowed people who were 'probably a bit shy' to nevertheless share their musicality by facilitating the listening of others, but without laying claims to be *performing*. Eric thus positions the music as diegetic (i.e. within the unfolding narrative) to the life-world of the performer, but like music emanating from a television in the lifeworld of 'we', we can chose to engage or disengage without the social accountability of being *a listener*. Thus, the music can influence the 'mood' of the space ('we get a much better mood right away') without overtly being part of an exchange between a performer and an audience. Important to note here was the perception that some people were too 'shy' to 'take part in the stuff that we do', and the therapeutic potentials in making music available to these. The twiddling in the common room set up an *in-between* musical space that mediated between backstage (the private life-worlds of Eric and the 'twiddler') and frontstage (Eric and the 'twiddler' experiencing togetherness in a communal space) domains within the physical situation of the room.

Twiddling could also serve as a more direct underscoring commentary of the unfolding socioemotional scene:

Twiddling in the corridor

There is a long queue of people in the corridor outside the kiosk waiting for it to open. A group of inmates are sat on the floor, including Gerry, who has brought an acoustic guitar with him. Earlier I, Gerry and two other participants practiced Pink Floyd's 'Wish You Were Here' in the music room. Having got the tablature for the song, Gerry is practicing the intro in the corridor as I walk past. Another inmate in the queue asks impatiently into the air 'where are the officers with the keys?' Gerry immediately begins to quietly sing the chorus of the song, approximating the chord sequence which he hasn't quite learnt yet: 'How I wish, how I wish you were here, we're just two lost souls swimming in a fish bowl, year after year'. (Fieldnotes, 3/3/15)

One moment, Gerry rehearsing the intro to the song formed an inconspicuous part of the soundscape. In the next moment, his music formed a humorous commentary in response to unfolding events. Through twiddling, Gerry had set up a semi-private musical space which afforded the possibility of drifting in and out of different modes of performance, with different degrees of interaction with the surroundings. The event further illustrates how the materials and practices of music therapy came into play in everyday situations, strengthening the notion of the extended music therapy room.

The billiards room

We have seen how the sound of the gong and the practice of twiddling could function as liminal entry points into particular forms of potential musical space. Eric's experience of the 'mood' changing when somebody 'twiddled' points us towards people's perception that music could influence ambient atmospheres (Böhme, 2017). This notion could translate into seemingly deliberate and powerful strategies to change the social dynamics of a situation through musical performance, affording a degree of influence over one's environment. As

one inmate commented upon hearing another inmate play Chopin on the piano in the music room:

Luke: We should have this music playing in the canteen at mealtimes...it would make everyone shut up. (Fieldnotes, 3/3/15)

As opposed to the in-between and often non-obtrusive musical space set up through 'twiddling', singing in communal spaces seemed to alter the social frame towards more formal notions of performance. This was a dynamic Ben was aware of and employed:

Ben: When you sing, people listen in a different way. If you talk it goes in one ear and out the other. But if you sing, and you've got a good melody, it triggers something in their brain that says *"That was good, now I have to pay attention, there, my God, that was cool"* or *"that was mystical, that was sad"*, right. People listen in a different way. (Interview, 10/6/15)

Having borrowed a guitar from the music room for the duration of his stay in the prison, Ben spoke of his experiences of playing and singing in the billiards room in L-Block:

Ben: I have been spending a lot of time in that room with the pool table, because the acoustics are good there. A very good sound. And very good reverberation. But often they [other inmates] start nagging at each other, and then it's a bit tricky because there is so much noise. But if they're just playing pool and it's fairly quiet, then the sound in there is quite fantastic. You get a particular....like....reverb. Bloody cool. Just like when you turn on an amp with reverb on it. I mean, you can be down there in the daytime and they're standing around the pool table being a bit hard and shouting at each other and yelling 'whose turn is it' and all that, but then when you start to play music, they become completely...it's just like a Sunday school. Total change straight away. Even the prison officers were stood listening yesterday, and watching, and it was really cool. Felt just like Johnny Cash. (Interview, 10/6/15)

Ben's account of his creation of musical space in the billiards room was informed by specific forms of knowledge. First, Ben had an acute understanding and awareness of acoustics and reverberation, and of the relationships between his music and the ambient sounds in the

room such as talking or shouting. Secondly, he was conscious of the cultural references his performance might represent; Johnny Cash is famed for his concerts and live recordings in San Quentin and Folsom Prisons, and was a significant cultural presence in Bjørgvin prison (see e.g. pp. 172 and 241 for other mentions of Johnny Cash). Ben's feelings of being 'just like Johnny Cash' exemplifies how cultural precedence and the legacy from famous musicians came into play in the shaping of musical space in Bjørgvin. Thirdly, Ben put a lot of effort into his repertoire. To assist Ben in his developing role as an emerging 'house musician' performing in different contexts around the prison, we had printed out a large number of lyrics and chord sheets. As a result, he had a folder of songs in his room, ready for any occasion. Speaking of another event in the billiards room, Ben explained:

Ben: Somebody said I should go and get my guitar. 'OK' I said, and then finished my game of pool and went to fetch my guitar. Then I grabbed a few lyric sheets, some that I haven't played for a long time, and some that I play a lot. Cause then I'd have a variety of stuff to play through. (Interview, 10/6/15)

Although these musical events could seem impromptu, it was clear that a lot of thought went into his performances. Also - and significant considering his reflections above regarding his playing not being received well by 'the Norwegians' - he waited for an invitation to 'go and get' his guitar. This reveals the active participation of the 'audience' in bringing about the musical event, and points to how musical space was co-created.

Section summary

The above examples show how the creation of musical space in the prison and the apparent agency people exercised through and within them, were results of the specific spatial, acoustic, social and material conditions of the prison, including the presence of a music therapy room, a specific selection of instruments (e.g. the gong and guitars for hire) as well as specific forms of knowledge, techniques and cultural practices. Spanning a spectrum from spontaneous improvisations of theatrical exuberance, via the quiet and incidental twiddling in a common room, to carefully prepared exchanges between a performer and an audience in the billiards room, the medium of sound could act as a liminal zone affording entry into

different forms of musical space, carrying the potential to interact with 'mood' and atmospheres across the topology of the prison. Music thus was a way for people to intervene with the carceral space, altering and expanding the possibilities for interaction and self-presentation.

MUSICAL EMOTION ZONES

Goffman (1961) used the term *geography of licence* to describe the ways in which different spaces could lend themselves to different forms of emotional expression (p. 205). In this section I turn to how musical spaces carried licence, but also expectations, for the performance of emotion. I also show how this was mediated and managed in music therapy situations. In their study of prisons' emotional geography, Crewe et al. (2014) do not enter into discussions about the ontology of emotion. This might be in line with their ethnographic imperative to remain close to the language prisoners themselves employ and the meanings they themselves derive from it. However, as DeNora (2011) points out, 'using music as a prism' for the study of emotion 'concentrates attention on the mechanisms by which culture comes to inform emotional experience' (p. 160). In other words, studying the situated enactment of relationships between music and emotion, can shed light on how culture, in a wider sense, comes into play in the unfolding emotional geography of the prison.

As both Eric and Ben's reflections above indicate, there was an established perception among participants that music was closely connected to feelings, moods, atmospheres and emotions:

Eric: It has to be about feeling, right. You *feel* when the rhythm is there, you *feel* that this is going well and you *feel* that... yes, you pulled this off. There are a lot of feelings, and they are positive. As opposed to just sitting in your room and watching the TV, which really gives you very little feelings. It doesn't engage you in any other way than visually. But when you are making the music yourself, it is a positive process. I would say that when you play music you

are being creative, you are creating something, making something. And afterwards you think that it was fun, and you appreciate that you were part of it.

Kenneth: Music means so much. It can make me feel relaxed and it can make me geared up. It makes me feel more healthy.' (Interview, 23/6/15)

These quotes illustrate how people used the word 'feeling' in connection with both bodily sensation ('*feel* when the rhythm is there'), mood ('feel relaxed'), and affective sentiments ('positive'). In the Norwegian language the word 'følelse' can refer to *feelings* and *emotion* interchangeably. Therefore, seeking to distinguish linguistically between these was not fruitful. My methodological challenge, and opportunity, was instead to triangulate any verbal reflections or accounts of *feeling* with observations from musicking, in a bid to understand how feeling, in its different forms and meanings, came into play in musical situations.

Creating privacy, inviting a witness

Tomas, a man from an eastern European country in his mid-twenties, was serving eighteen months for two acts of violence committed on two separate drunken nights on the town. He had lived with his mother and father in Norway for several years, but in line with existing regulations about foreign nationals who are sentenced to prison, he was deported back to his original country upon release, with no possibility for return in the next two years. Tomas was very interested in bodybuilding and came across to some as fronting a menacing and hard persona, often with a frowning facial expression. His limited Norwegian language often led to misunderstandings and arguments. On two occasions he ended up in physical altercations with other inmates, and on one occasion he was temporarily displaced to a prison of higher security. On the other hand, Tomas laughed a lot in social situations and conversation, often in a way which seemed strange, surprising and inappropriate to other people. Tomas's musical influences were very wide. In the prison he mainly listened to electronic dance music and rock, but he also had a close relationship to folk music from his original country, and to classical piano music. He came to me initially with a wish to play the piano. Entirely self-taught and very curious about music theory, he wanted to understand

how chords and scales related to each other, and generally how music ‘worked’. Consequently, we spent many hours sharing our ideas about how music ‘worked’. I wrote down music theory for him which he consequently reviewed, but did not always agree with. Gradually, our sessions developed into a format where he played the acoustic guitar and sang his own original songs in his mother tongue, whilst I accompanied him on bass, piano or percussion. He described his music as ‘melancholy’. As a part of this process, Tomas became increasingly interested in recording his music. He explained that this was primarily because he wanted to share his music with his parents and sister, whom he would not be able to see for a long time after his forthcoming deportation. Together we organised a recording session in the music room:

In the music room with Tomas

I have set up the microphone, the pc and the audio recording interface in preparation for Tomas’ session. Tomas arrives. He seems tense and I get the feeling that he might be nervous about recording himself. I close the door leading in from the small hallway and put up the ‘session in progress’ sign. Tomas closes the window blinds completely and turns off the ceiling lights, leaving only a small desk lamp to light up the room. Having first recorded the guitar part to his song, we are ready to record his vocal part. He goes to stand in the corner of the room, facing away from me. He has both feet firmly planted on the floor, his legs wide apart and with a slight bend at the knees. He puts on his headphones and holds one hand on each side of his head as if to hold the headphones in place. I ask him if he is ready. Still facing away from me and swaying slowly from side to side with his upper body, he gives me a thumbs up. (Fieldnotes, 8/11/18)

What followed, was a vocal performance of an extraordinary character. Singing a wordless melody at a very high pitch in a breathy falsetto, Tomas’ voice displayed great variation within a vast dynamic range, with abrupt transitions between extremely soft/gentle/warm and very loud/nasal/piercing vocalisations (See appendix 6, p. 339). Throughout the

acoustically ambient sequence, including during the quiet guitar introduction, Tomas' breath can be heard, evoking a sense of restrained tension. My own description from the fieldnotes reads: 'It sounds like when you are out of breath after running, but are forced to be extremely quiet' (Fieldnotes, 8/11/18). To me this was an indication of Tomas' emotional investment in this moment, and what was at stake for him.

The exceedingly slow tempo and harmonic progression of this musical sequence located it as a variation of the lament form²⁵. From a cultural and musicological perspective, this sits well with Tomas's descriptions of his music as melancholy. A final resolution of the harmonic sequence from F major via F minor to A minor, brought out by Tomas' sparsely strummed chords on the nylon string guitar firmly locates the song in the key of A minor and cements the sombre wistful atmosphere.

The nasal twang, the withheld tension, and the fragile timbre of Tomas's falsetto made for a highly unusual vocal performance. To me the overall expressive quality had a distinctly feminine character to it. I was struck by how the sounds he produced appeared to be divorced from his physical presence in the room, as a strongly built man standing with a posture that could be interpreted as very masculine. I therefore felt that I was witnessing and participating in a deeply personal and intimate moment, in which Tomas was presenting contrasting and private aspects of himself. By exposing his voice and body in this way, he performed a vulnerability that felt intensely private and was otherwise hidden.

After the recording, we talked about Tomas' sentence coming to an end, and about Tomas possibly being evicted from the country.

Tomas: I am very unhappy at the moment. I am thinking a lot about having to go back to [country]. It's hard. I have a lot of sadness inside, that is why I laugh so much, to put the sadness away. People say I laugh too much [laughs]. This is why I like melancholy music. Some people just play happy music, you know, 'Lalalalala'. They don't play what's inside. You know my roommate, he only plays happy music. I asked him to play something sad, but he said he could

²⁵ Lament form is a harmonic progression outlining a descending bassline, often in a minor key. In Tomas' song the progression suggests the descending bassline C - E7/B - F/A - Fm/Ab.

not do it, it was too hard for him. I understand why he can't do it, but for me it is only real if it comes from the heart. People don't understand how I, Tomas, can play this melancholy music. "You are a body-building, loud, tough guy, how can you play this melancholy music?" (Fieldnotes, 8/11/18)

I felt strongly that Tomas was showing me ways of being that he could only present through his music. This 'melancholy' part of him clearly contrasted with what people expected of him, but by sharing it with me, his family, and increasingly other people in the prison, it could be recognised and acknowledged. The privacy of our musical situation was important for Tomas to be able to express the sadness he said he felt inside²⁶. Physically limiting and protecting the music therapy room afforded the setup of a more private and intimate musical space where particular performances of emotion could take place.

Within the dimly lit and protected sphere we were able also to reflect on his music, and on the relationship between his music and aspects of his identity. Through his influential research into musicking in US penitentiaries, Harbert (2009) developed the novel concept of *autopsychomusicology*. He uses the term to describe a case where a prison musician used the harmonic analysis of his own compositions as a way of shedding light on significant life events in an effort to understand himself better. Echoing this, Tomas' interest in understanding *how* music 'worked' happened in parallel to his interest in understanding himself. In line with his perception that specific musical structures conveyed particular emotions (e.g. 'melancholy' or 'happy') he saw learning about music theory as a necessary step in conveying aspects of himself musically. In this sense, I became a participating witness not only to his emotive musical performance, but also to his processes of reflection around music, his sentence and his life situation. Tomas gradually became recognised in the prison for his music, and in particular for his piano playing which mainly consisted of improvisations in minor keys. It seemed then that the creation of privacy had been a necessary step in an outward oriented process of presenting himself musically.

²⁶ In other musical situations, e.g. when we both participated in a small choir facilitated by a visiting teacher, Tomas was loud and interrupting sessions to a point where other participants chose to leave.

Performing 'with feeling'

Throughout the field work it became clear that to be in control of one's feelings was a highly important task that people in the prison spent considerable energy to achieve (see p. 125 for Boris' description of the prison as a pressure cooker). Emotional restraint and self-composure were valued qualities, and the loss of control through for example emotional outbursts, complaining about one's sentence or being too forward in sharing personal issues were regarded rude and insensitive. Particularly among the more seasoned inmates, since it might upset the tightly managed emotional equilibrium. Because of this, the perceived relationships between music and emotion posed both opportunities and risks.

Ben's simple observation that his musicking in communal prison spaces was received differently by people (p. 147) resonates with theories about music and emotion which emphasise people's agency in appropriating music for 'emotion construction' (DeNora, 2011, p. 163). This stands in contrast to instrumental views of music as inducing or expressing emotions, which were traditionally coupled with a concern for the primacy of 'autonomous' musical works. According to DeNora, a sociological understanding of emotion implies a view that emotions are 'informally learned, modelled, and achieved in interaction with often tacit reference to cultural resources' (p. 163). A reading of the data through this lens reveals how it is not only the emotional performances per se, and the emotional 'content'/atmosphere of the musical emotion zones that were culturally produced. Also, the very production of these emotion zones, and the means and methods by which they were assembled, was culturally mediated. This dynamic is clearly illustrated in other ethnographic accounts of prison life. For instance, in their study of Wellingborough Prison in the UK, Crewe et al. (2014) describe how in pottery classes, 'warmth and emotion blossomed temporarily, nurtured by a female staff member who took on an explicitly maternal role' (p. 13). This suggests how spaces so to speak live up to their expectations, i.e. how our culturally derived perceptions of, in their case, gender and art, become prescriptive of the forms of action that spaces invite.

So too with music. Tomas' view that there was a direct relationship between musical structure and emotion (melancholy) and that music had to express what was 'from the

heart', and Ben's identification with Johnny Cash, all point to culturally embedded and 'learnt' relationships between music and emotion, and to how this contributed to the shaping of musical emotion zones.

Whereas Tomas made deliberate moves to shield his most emotive performances from other people than myself and his closest family, others emphasized the importance of conveying emotion in public performance. Echoing Tomas' view that music had to 'come from the heart', Ali, a young rapper in the prison, repeatedly explained to me about rapping that 'it needs to be real, otherwise there's no point. You have to sing with feeling!' (Fieldnotes, 10/4/19). This expectation, and in Ali's case insistence, that music should be performed *with feeling* marked musical performance as one of the few arenas in the prison where the perceived display of emotion was accepted and encouraged. Understanding musical emotion zones in the prison was thus about more than exploring how places became sites for particular emotional atmospheres through musicking. It was also about how the creation of musical space afforded the performance of culturally embedded notions of 'feeling' in its many and varied forms.

Like the pottery classes in Wellingborough prison, rock band rehearsals in Bjørgvin prison invited particular performative displays of emotional sentiment. In preparation for a prison concert, Gerry (vocals/electric guitar), Bull (bass), Adam (drums) and myself (acoustic guitar) rehearsed the song *Sexual Revolution* by Roger Waters. During our run-through of the song there was confusion about the tempo. Our initial attempt was too fast, leading to Gerry dropping out, the groove falling apart and the song coming to a halt. After a minimal amount of verbal deliberation, we picked up where we had left off. As the tempo settled and the groove became tighter, I registered how Gerry's performance gradually became more animated and dynamic.

Practicing *Sexual Revolution*

Gerry strikes an Em chord, picking out the quaver divisions of the beat and giving us a feel for the tempo he wants. In a rather rambling fashion we all join in, matching the tempo Gerry has set up. Now that we have established the tempo, I am contemplating putting on my director's hat and calling a halt so that we can all start together from the beginning. However, I don't want to break the flow of the band when we are on a good run. Gerry looks equally unsure; his vocal performance is low in energy with slurred pronunciation and sounds like a flat guide vocal. His face is unanimated as he looks questioning at the rest of us. Bull's questioning look matches my own hesitation; are we just playing a few bars to test the tempo, or are we continuing the run-through? Adam's drumming is loud and seems determined, as if he is working hard to get the rhythm more firmly established. He is giving us a lot of eye contact, as if to spur us on. Over the next few seconds the groove becomes tighter, and the band begins to sound really great together. Looking back to Gerry, I notice that his performance has radically picked up in energy. Instead of hesitating and looking around at the others, he now faces the mic head on, closes his eyes, contorts his face and uses his whole body to reach for the high notes with great gusto: '*I awoke in a fever, my bedclothes were all soaked in sweat, she said "you were having a nightmare. And it's not over yet!"*'. (Fieldnotes 16/3/15)

In the song *Sexual Revolution* the lyrics represent the perspective of a fictional disillusioned character. When Gerry eventually closed his eyes, contorted his face and sang in a more enlivened and expressive way, he seemingly 'gave himself over' (Gomart and Hennion, 2000) to performing the perceived emotional sentiment of the song's *protagonist* (Moore, 2012). Auslander (2006a) has identified what he calls the 'guitar face', referring to 'the distorted expressions that appear on the faces of rock guitarists, particularly when playing a solo' (p. 112). This description also relates to the animated facial contortion made by Gerry when performing *Sexual Revolution*, and by many others including myself, in countless other musical situations in Björgvin. Such cues to 'the musician's ostensible internal state' (p. 112),

embedded of course not only in rock culture but in so many different musical practice traditions (although they may manifest themselves differently and carry different meanings), provided a repertoire of gestures for Gerry and the rest of us to engage with and draw on in a collective process of performing *with feeling*.

This incident represented a typical rehearsal scenario, and illustrates my recurring observation of how performing *with feeling* was something many rehearsed as a distinct technical and performative device. It was often a distributed and co-creative act (Sawyer and DeZutter, 2009). It was also closely related to the general groove and flow of the music; only when Adam (drums) and the rest of the band had established a tight groove did Gerry engage fully in his delivery of the vocals.

A more forceful approach to musical direction on my part would have afforded less confusion in the group and possibly a more effective rehearsal schedule. However, it would have precluded the agency of the other members in musical leadership, direction (e.g. Adam taking a leading role through counting us in and keeping a written account of tempo markings) and performance, and the rehearsal of these attributes. This reflected my ambition to facilitate a genuine 'garage' band rehearsal situation, when conditions and membership allowed, where roles had to be negotiated and arrived at, rather than a quasi-teaching situation where I adopted a role as instructor. This open approach could sometimes lead to frustration, but the above session exemplifies a situation where we distributed roles between us successfully.

For Ali, the young rapper, performing 'with feeling' was a way of keeping the music 'real' (Fieldnotes, 10/4/19). In the above example, Gerry performed 'with feeling' by taking on the character of the protagonist in a Roger Waters song. This speaks to the paradoxes of musical performance identified by Ansdell (2005): 'Performance can allow you to be yourself through "being someone else"; [...] can allow you to reflect on the real through the unreal [...]'. The 'discursive domain' (Auslander, 2006a) of rock performance did not only provide Gerry with gestures and means to perform 'with feeling'. It also provided him with a vocabulary of gestures to perform expertise and control. As Gomart and Hennion (1999) point out, 'to "abandon yourself to a tune" is a phrase in which "yourself" denies the

possibility of “pure” abandonment’ (p. 8). Their study of ‘drug users and music lovers’ (1999) illuminates how giving oneself over to music (or drugs) is not so much a *relinquishing* of control, as a carefully planned and skilfully prepared act. Their concept of ‘giving over’ to music is of relevance to the switching between different modes of performance in our rehearsal. When Gerry’s performance transitioned from being flat and low in energy to being enlivened and animated, he demonstrated his expertise as a performer by ostensibly harnessing *feeling* as a performative device. This notion was strengthened when, after our subsequent live performance of *Sexual Revolution*, an audience member commented about Gerry’s performance that ‘he’s got it down!’ (Fieldnotes, 27/3/15. Translated from ‘Han har roen’ – a common expression describing someone as calm, cool and having everything under control). This suggests that what was valued about Gerry’s musical performance also included the *performance* of emotional control.

This episode thus gives an indication of how performing ‘with feeling’ was an emergent process distributed within the group. In the way that Greg’s gong created a liminal zone between two frames for social interaction (from ‘meeting’ to ‘performance’), the rock band rehearsal-frame and our rambling beginnings to *Sexual Revolution* opened up a *potential musical space* where Gerry, and all of us, could practice performing ‘with feeling’. As well as providing *license* (Goffman, 1961) for emotive performance, Roger Waters’ song, the cultural practice of the rock band rehearsal, and our interactions and gestures in the moment, afforded the means to create a transient musical emotion zone.

Andy finding a home

The potential affordance of musical spaces as a place of *feeling* contributed to the *extended music therapy room* as a site for alternative self-presentation. Andy, one of the youngest inmates in the prison during the pilot, initially isolated himself from the general prison community and spent most of his time in his room avoiding communal spaces. Gradually he spent more and more time in the music room, hanging out with others and gradually engaging in playing the guitar.

Kjetil: I remember speaking to you one of the first days after you came here and you said you didn't quite know what to expect?

Andy: I have only seen films and TV shows from America about prison. I was quite nervous. Yes, no, I didn't really know that there was music here. The first week I was thinking carefully about what I would do while I was here. Then I heard about the music, and then, well, I just went with that straight away. There were not many people I would talk to then. I mainly kept to my room. Then I would go outside to have a cigarette and then straight back into my room. Mainly sitting there, didn't eat much. But I eventually felt safer there too. (Interview, 29/5/15)

Andy joined a performance project where he gradually took on a central role (see p. 243 for his role in performing the song *Flåklypa*). In the music room Andy gradually talked more openly about his past in childcare institutions, and how learning to play the guitar had been an important bonding activity with his main carer. This coincided with our set list containing songs of particular emotional significance in the prison, such as *Hurt* (as performed by Johnny Cash) and *Smile* (Charlie Chaplin).

HURT

I hurt myself today

To see if I still feel

The needle and the pain

The only thing that's real

Lyrics from *Hurt* (Trent Reznor – as performed by Johnny Cash)

SMILE

*Smile, though your heart is aching
Smile, even though it's breaking
When there are clouds in the sky
you'll get by
If you smile through your fear and sorrow
Smile and maybe tomorrow
You'll see the sun come shining through
for you*

Lyrics from *Smile* (Turner & Parsons)

In rehearsals, Andy eventually began to play the guitar with his sleeves rolled up, exposing large scars on his lower arms:

Andy pulls up his sleeves

Andy does not seem uncomfortable with his central role in the group. I notice that his lower arms are exposed because he has pulled his sleeves up, and they have a lot of scars from cuts, going all the way up to the elbow. They look like they healed some time ago, and they look like self-harming to me. I am struck by the paradoxical sight of this big lad in black skateboard style clothes, and the image of a vulnerable person who self-harms. Yet he has the strength to show his self-harming (is it deliberate, might he even be proud of it?) and also the strength to expose himself in the music! All this time, Stan is sat in the corner, writing down ideas for a rap. This shows that Andy clearly feels safe in the group, that he can show us this. It is a way of telling us something about himself (and perhaps also an act of generosity/showing trust?) This sense of security and being able to be relaxed together seems confirmed by, and perhaps strengthened by, Stan sitting in the corner, writing away. (Fieldnotes, 18/3/15)

Whether or not this was an act of revelation about his history and identity, the room clearly represented a sanctuary from the general prison community, where it was both possible and safe to enact other aspects of self than what might be possible in other locations and situations. Commenting on the process of settling into prison life Andy indicated how the music room had come to represent something safe;

Andy: I was a bit sceptical to start with because I didn't know anybody. I'm not so comfortable with new people, I'm a bit shy and stuff. But I started to feel more comfortable with the gang down there [the music room]. I enjoyed being there and listening to the others playing. It's nice to learn from watching the others. Instead of being told to play this chord or that chord and looking like a question mark, it's good to watch others, see how they play that chord. Now I don't think of it like a prison really. More like a ...like a house. (Interview, 29/5/15)

Section summary

Across different social spaces and situations in the prison the show of emotions was highly regulated and conditioned. Through the creation of musical space we assembled arenas where people demonstrated both a license and means to display feelings, in ways that were unavailable to them in other locations and situations in the prison, or indeed outside of musical space. However, established performance traditions and discourses also meant that musical spaces carried their own regulations for the display of emotion. As per Ali's mantra that 'it needs to be real', there was often an *expectation* to show feelings in musical performance, and this could potentially seem intimidating or prohibitive. For Tomas, the inescapable fact that music without 'playing what's inside' was unthinkable led him to seek and build a confidential space for his musical expressions, where these aspects of his identity could be explored and performed in relative privacy. For Gerry, performing 'with feeling' was a deliberate performative device to be rehearsed, mediating his rock performance expertise as well as the emotive content of the song. My agenda in both cases was to seek to support them as agents in shaping the kind of musical space that allowed them to *feel* and express what they wanted and needed in the moment.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MUSICAL SPACES

The music therapy room as a contested music-emotional space

As demonstrated by Andy, Tomas and Gerry the music therapy room represented a multiple and complex space taking on a range of different expectations and meanings. The room afforded a specific physical frame for emotional expression in and through music, but it was the meeting between people, sound *and* this frame, i.e. the uniquely situated and enacted *potential musical space*, which in each case created what I, following Crewe et al. (2014) refer to as a musical 'emotion zone'. Accordingly, there were instances of musical space breaking down and being contested.

Throughout my working life in Bjørgvin I followed the principle that the music therapy room should not only be available to the inmates, but that they should take an active part in making decisions about its form and content. Although it was a room I was responsible for and that I used as my primary base in my professional role, and which I had the power to lock or unlock, from my standpoint it was also *their* room. This resulted in periods where particular participants developed a very close relationship to the room. Returning from holiday, I was introduced to a group of inmates who were all interested in electronic music. During my time away, they had imported, via visitors, considerable amounts of personal equipment for the production of electronic music, and with my permission (granted via telephone), had installed the equipment in the music room. This included a digital drum machine, a digital bass synth, a digital mixer, an analogue Moog synthesizer and an analogue step sequencer. Connecting all these pieces of equipment together, they were able to create elaborate pieces of electronic music evolving continuously over extended periods of time, sometimes hours. In my enthusiasm over this both from a researcher and practitioner perspective²⁷, on my return I offered that we make recordings of their pieces, and suggested the possibility of a live performance in the form of a prison rave party. Whilst the group did not take up any of these ideas, they did spend long hours in the music room with

²⁷ I took a particular interest in the human/machine interface, the practical and symbolic meanings and affordances of the various pieces of equipment being cabled together and processing the signals from other people's component's, and all the machines adhering to a common clock.

exceedingly loud music sounding out through the open windows. Almost immediately upon my return I was informed that the officers had received complaints from other inmates that the music was too loud, and I registered that many inmates stayed away from the music room because they felt that it belonged exclusively to the electronic music trio. As a result, the equipment was removed from the music room, and placed in one of the participants' cells. Eventually, this was brought up as a potential security issue by several prison officers, which led to an all-out ban on people bringing private instruments into the prison.

These events illustrate the curtailing of *potential musical space* on many levels:

1. The group's take-over of the music room, with my permission, with their equipment and continuous presence while I was away meant that the music room was closed down as a potential musical space for others. Even when the room was available, the presence of personal equipment limited people's ability to furnish the room in ways that they required to make their own music.
2. The officers and I shut down the potential musical space created by the group by having them remove their equipment. Their evolving and expanding (material and acoustic) space clearly afforded them valuable forms of musical asylum (DeNora) away from other aspects of prison life.
3. When the prison decided to ban any personal instruments in the prison, they shut down potential musical space for many future inmates.

On the other hand, the removal of the synthesisers from the music room opened the space up to other people and new possibilities for music making.

Musical space as respite

As we saw in the case of Tomas, talking about music was more than just an offshoot from music making, it was a form of asylum building in itself. Talking about and thinking about music thus seemed to offer something of value:

Eric: It's not very interesting to listen to other people talking about drugs. And those who have been involved in it, I feel they enjoy talking about something else, it brings them out of that line of thinking. We're talking music, and notes, and then there is that blues table, isn't that what it's called? The one that goes up and down. And so music becomes something...we can come up with songs and that, and go to you and ask for printouts, so that we can try different melodies. I know that some of these people really appreciated that we sat down and talked about something other than drugs. Because they want to get out of it, but then they come in here, and all the others are talking about the same shit, and so they want out but it becomes almost impossible, right. (Interview, 23/6/15)

In this way, musical spaces - also in their spatially and temporally distributed, derivative forms (such as conversation) - could alleviate exposure to aspects of the prison environment which were experienced as troublesome.

During phase 2 of the data collection, Chris, who had battled with an addiction to illegal drugs his entire adult life, was serving a sentence for possession and use of heroin. He had played the Digeridoo for almost twenty years. I invited him to think about how we could draw on his skills and experiences in the prison, and as a result we together organised a workshop where he instructed other inmates on how to build their own 'digis' from plastic plumbing pipes and melted bees wax. In the week following our workshop, Chris instructed the participants individually by appointment on how to produce sound on this ancient Aborigine instrument through a characteristic circular breathing technique.

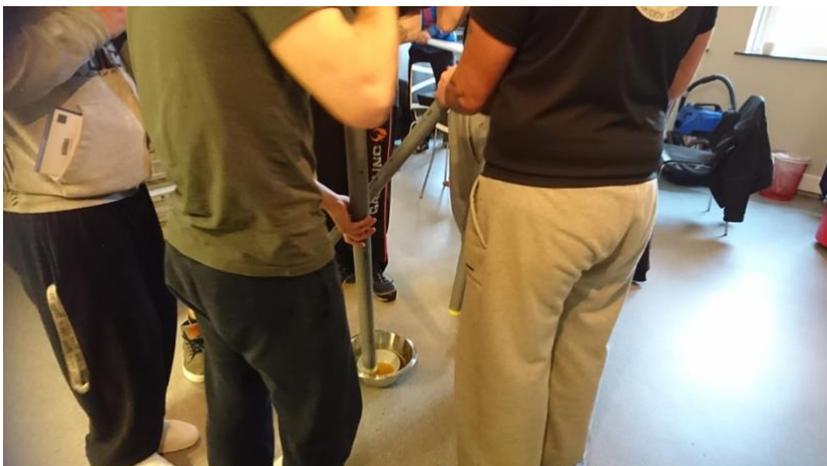


Figure 14 - Picture taken during Digeridoo workshop. Participants cut plastic tubes to a suitable length and used melted Beeswax to create a mouthpiece.

During our planning of the workshop Chris explained how playing the digeridoo was an important source of health and a way for him to resist his cravings:

Chris: It is so relaxing, you and the Digi just become one. I can sit for hours and play and just feel totally relaxed. It is better than Subutex or any other drug. I think it is because the sound is so ancient, it puts you in touch with the earth and the world and history in a special way. My life totally changed when I discovered the digeridoo. I have a friend who has been in and out of psychiatric services, but when he started to play the Digi he became well. He brought it with him everywhere. (Fieldnotes, 15/11/18)

During our conversation, we discussed the possibility of creating a permanent weekly group session on the basis of the forthcoming workshop.

Chris: It can be a place where people can just come to relax. We can call it 'Spillerom' [literal translation = 'room for playing'/inferred meaning in everyday speech = 'leeway'/room for action]. Lots of people struggle with that in here, they can't relax. Here are people on anger management and drug rehab and all kinds of things, and they are all interested in stuff like this. They really need something like this.

Sindre: Yeah, there is a lot of aggro right now. I mean, you actually got punched this morning! [Looks at Christian].

Chris: [smiles and looks at me] Yeah...

Sindre: So we need to get on and make those digeridoos!
(Fieldnotes, 15/11/18)

The significance and value of the 'spillerom' ('room for playing/'leeway') that the Digeridoo had afforded Chris over the years, was brought into sharp focus by his sad passing due to a drugs overdose shortly after being released from prison. In Bjørgvin, he had wanted to use his own experiences of music as a health resource to create a space that he envisaged could alleviate other people's tensions and help them to relax.

REFLECTIONS ON MUSICAL SPACE IN BJØRGVIN PRISON

This work of music offers a transcendence with immanence. One can temporarily subvert condemnation or reorganize the conceptual space of the prison. (Harbert, 2010, p. 22)

We saw above how musicking created platforms where people could express, perform and experience emotion in different ways. This highlights what is implicit in Crewe et al.'s (2014) influential study of the emotional geography of prison life, namely that the prison's emotional geography, insofar as spaces and our experiences of them are emergent, is constantly shifting. The ritual use of a prison location for the display of particular emotions, or as is often the case in prison, the *suppression* of emotion, can only partly be attributed to that location's spatial and material affordances. As Crewe et al. (2014) point out:

[...] a more detailed and nuanced spatial analysis of prison culture [...] would recognize that the determining force of space is not just physical or architectural, but resides in the ways that places carry meanings, harbour and cultivate particular practices and sentiments, are devised for specific activities, and are populated by certain personnel. (Crewe et al., 2014, p. 16)

In the prison it is thus the imposition of routine, security measures and a systemic resistance to spontaneity and change that mean that the emotional potentials of locations become, or appear to be, fixed. In Bjørgvin prison this 'fixedness' was made most visible when challenged, such as when the man in the corridor humorously sang 'Tis the season to be Jolly' to the apparently grumpy guard over the use of the galley kitchen (see p. 148). Similarly, the music room, and musical space in the prison more generally, became inscribed with certain notions of emotional performance.

In her study of how prison architecture shapes daily life in a youth prison, Fransson (2018) writes that 'prison architecture is not neutral. It is at all times and places involved in exerting power [...]' (p. 178). To configure space in the prison, be it through the physical manipulation of objects, through the creation of sound or through the sheer mobilization of one's

imagination, is then to intervene with structures of power. In this sense the creation of musical space in itself could be construed as a form of resistance (Ugelvik, 2014). It was however important for me to be mindful of the risk of casting every activity that happened in the prison environment as resistance per se, at the expense of pursuing other motivating forces. As the selected examples above show, the motivations for, and affordances of, musicking were complex, and often pertaining to factors well outside of the prison's physical and symbolic sphere.

To maintain a critical cultural perspective, it was important to be aware of the ways in which musical practices may also mediate restrictive or even oppressive cultural perceptions and practices. As I wrote in Chapter 4 (p. 123), music therapy and the other art activities in the prison also held the potential to contribute to the inscription of anonymity and untrustworthiness of participants. In his intriguing and rich analysis of cultural portrayals of prisons, Waller (2018) studied the music video for Elvis Presley's *Jailhouse Rock* and Johnny Cash' live concert performance/recording in San Quentin State Prison in California. About Cash, Waller writes that he

[...] enunciates a debased portrayal of prison life by affirming all the common tropes of brutality and licentiousness that are commonly associated with prisoners. Brewing moonshine, 'don't drop the soap', tapping a tin cup against his microphone, Cash is verifying his presence within the prison, and deploys its symbolic repertoire expertly. [...] Rather than appealing to the shared humanity between his audiences, Cash instead reinforces the connection between the prisoners and their separation from normal society to elaborate his own 'outlaw' image. The prisoners are depicted as a continuity of the prison, a space of separation and depravity, and are subjugated to the punitive gaze of the domestic audience. (Waller, 2018, pp. 276-277).

This unusual but perceptive critique of Johnny Cash' work raises a question of particular pertinence to music therapy in prison settings: when does music therapy, through its routine engagement with musical cultures, actively (re)produce a 'carceral space'? And by extension, through our mediations in media, concerts and presentations, to what extent might music therapy practice reproduce the reductive notions of the stereotypical 'prisoner' that I and many others seek to challenge?

Does our act of naming a prison concert 'Jailhouse Rock' (see fig. 1, p. 75), and the consistent references to Johnny Cash through recurring performances of his songs, constitute the 'production' of a carceral space that reproduces stereotypes, as much as it liberates us from them? And if so, why do people still feel liberated by it? Music therapy in a setting that is as embedded in 'culture consumption' as the prison is, despite its physical separation from the 'real world', requires a fine-tuned and critical sensitivity to these issues. My thesis does not offer the answers to these questions, but in the following two chapters these issues will be further addressed and problematized through the presentation of the other two vectors of musical change; 'Opptreden' – from prisoner identity towards musicking identity, and 'Musikmiljø' – from 'crime scene' towards music scene.

Potential musical space

Chris suggested calling the planned weekly Digeridoo session 'spillerom' ('room for playing'/'leeway'). Drawing on the descriptions of musical space in the above examples, I have chosen to translate his term 'spillerom' as *potential musical space*, representing a specific dimension of music therapy in the carceral setting. The data show us that it was not so much the *form* of the musical space itself which determined its affordances, but rather people's agency in being able to shape it. Put differently; the potentials inherent in 'having something to work with', and the opportunity to create, change and develop musical space from it, was more important than the initial material, spatial, acoustic, social and musical 'base' conditions. This was confirmed by the observation that when the music room was appropriated into a dance music techno space - with little possibility for change without the risk of reprimand and repercussions from those who owned the equipment - levels of activity plummeted; the potential musical space had been lost. Potential musical space is thus an ongoing and unfolding dimension of musical space, representing the *possibilities for action* (Ruud, 2020) available in any given musical configuration, afforded by what Ansdell (2014) refers to as the 'ecology of relationships in musicking' (p. 29).

The concept of potential space has a long history in music therapy theory and practice. In particular Winnicott's (1971) notion of a transitional space has been influential in the

development of psychodynamic and analytic music therapy approaches (Hadley, 2003). In psychodynamic theory the term refers to the potentials for intersubjective relations, in particular between therapist and client. Drawing on Winnicott, Kenny (2006) describes musical space as 'a home base, a territory that is well known and secure' (p. 6). Locating musical space as one of seven fields in 'the field of play' in music therapy, Kenny places particular emphasis on the 'intimate and private energy field created in the relationship between the therapist and client' (p. 6). Kenny's notion of musical space thus clearly resonates with the form of musical space set up e.g. by Tomas and myself (see p. 164). Christian's idea of 'Spillerom' seems however to capture a more communal notion of musical space where roles such as therapist and client are not foregrounded to the same extent.

In psychodynamic music therapy music is seen as a sonic and therefore physical manifestation of the 'potential psychic space' between therapist and client, eventually facilitating separation through music's simultaneous function as a 'transitional object' (Sobey and Woodcock, 1998). Uncovering the specific psychodynamic construct of the unconscious is not something I pursue in practice nor in this thesis. However, the notion of the *potential musical space* as a shared virtual space of 'possibilities for action' (Ruud, 2020) may still be a useful metaphor for understanding the flow of musical interaction, and how the musical base conditions and 'furnishings' (Ansdell and DeNora, 2016) lead people to find music asylum (DeNora, 2013). In line with Böhme's (2017) doing-away with the distinction between body and space, an understanding of potential musical space is to understand the possibilities for musical action that we, the instruments and the sounds facilitate and how we perform the musical unfolding. It is also recognising how different musical spaces *perform us*, in the sense that they afford new and often abrupt turns (e.g. Greg's gong), giving opportunities for new ways to respond and new ways of being in the world.

6. 'OPPTREDEN': BECOMING MUSICIANS

INTRODUCTION

'Opptreden' (performance/surrection – see p. 140) is the second vector of musical change I identified in Bjørgvin prison. In the previous chapter I showed how we created 'spillerom' (potential musical space) in Bjørgvin prison, and how this afforded the performance of feeling and presentation of self in various and contrasting ways. In this chapter I show ways in which people developed an identity as musicians and the significance of this for their 'opptreden' as a *person* rather than a *prisoner*. Throughout the chapter I trace how people's past became a part of their (prison) present, and how their (prison) present could become a meaningful part of their (projected) future. The chapter concludes with a discussion of emerging 'musical life stories' (Bonde et al., 2013) showing how the cultivation of a musician identity can contribute to the maintenance and development of a coherent sense of identity.

What is a musician

Ansdell and DeNora (2012) have identified the question 'How can I help this client to be "a musician"' as a prime concern within music-centred approaches to music therapy. By musician, they refer to someone who acts 'from their innate personal and social musicality', rather than a professional musician identity (p. 103). I employ the term in this capacity, recognizing musicality as an innate human quality (Travarthen and Mallock, 2000).

'Becoming musicians' thus refers to people's processes of accessing and cultivating their musical resources. In my study, the meaning of the term musician is however at times linked to practices of being a professional musician, since people's identity as musician was often associated with conventional norms for musicianship and activities such as studio recording and stage performance.

According to Ansdell (2014), the term 'musicianhood' describes an 'all-encompassing musical identity' that is typically 'long lasting', and which 'comes when there is a particular match

between how a person experiences themselves in relationship to music, and how this comes to be recognised and acknowledged by others' (p. 134). Because of its sometimes all-encompassing nature, musicianhood may also bear some negative consequences (Ansdell, 2014), e.g. if people are not able to engage in musicking, or if their musician identity becomes obsessive. However, musicianhood can 'also be a transitory yet key happening in a person's experience', and 'does not need to be a prolonged state to be significant' (p. 134). I primarily use the term in its latter meaning, and particularly with reference to an emphasis on how people's musician identity was strengthened through recognition by others.

Not all participants in music therapy in Bjørgvin could be said to cultivate an identity as musician. For some, participation was lacklustre, and for others, the conditions that might have encouraged them, did not come to pass. Participants found themselves on a spectrum between 'just' participating in music activities to make time pass or 'just' enjoying the social ambiance of the music room, to displaying a clear dedication to developing their musicianship and enhancing their musicianhood. Some participants were very clearly at the extremes of this spectrum, whilst others found themselves at different points of the spectrum at different times during their stay. In Bjørgvin prison, marked by its flux and transience, *becoming a musician* thus emerged as a spectrum of unfolding musical development rather than a distinct and permanent identity end-state.

Developing a musician identity was not dependent on previous experience, levels of attainment or skills. Instead it was dependent on the determination and motivation with which people engaged in what I identified as three areas of development, and which I will outline in this chapter:

Facets of a musician identity

- *Musical craft and musicianship* – Engaging in practices specifically associated with ‘being a musician’ (e.g. practicing, rehearsing, performing, composing, playing in a band).
- *Musical persona* - the presentation of self in musicking situations (modes of participation, approach to music making, style of performance).
- *Musical life story* – The co-creation of narratives bringing together history, biography, place, relationships, preferences, interests, current practice, ambitions and plans.

These three areas emerged as entangled and inseparable components in people’s processes of becoming musicians and are presented in three sections within this chapter:

Musicianship, Musicking persona and *Musical (Prison) Life Stories*. The data also illustrates how motivations to contribute to social change informed these processes for several of the participants.

MUSICAL CRAFT AND MUSICIANSHIP

George starting from scratch at 60

George was a man in his early sixties and served a sentence in Bjørgvin prison for the duration of phase 2 of data collection. When George arrived in Bjørgvin prison he explained that his experience of making music amounted to ‘singing karaoke on a few nights out in the 1980’s and 1990’s’ (Fieldnotes, 5/10/11). His voice was a powerful baritone. At first he spent

time in the music room becoming acquainted with people he could sing with informally. In particular, he spent time with people who could accompany him on the piano or the guitar, including myself. In our early sessions, George explained that he didn't know what to sing because 'I have never really done it before' (Fieldnotes, 5/11/18). He particularly stressed his inexperience of playing with and performing in front of others. He consistently depreciated his own abilities and repeated how he was not a musician at all.

Nevertheless, he took every opportunity available in the music room to instigate musicking, and to try out songs that others suggested. It became clear that others enjoyed spending time with George, and I experienced joy over his curiosity and openness to exploring repertoire and genre, either arrived at by himself or suggested by me and others. Gradually this appreciation came to be expressed by people in the prison community, to the point that it became a topic of conversation between inmates and staff. George increasingly played together with myself and others on a regular basis. I invited him along to open sessions in the music room, and organised musical meetings between George and other participants. Eventually, we developed our informal jam sessions into more focused and regular rehearsals. Over the course of six months George participated in a large number of musical events:

George's musical events

- Christmas concert in the prison (organised by myself and music therapy students)
- Concert at the school department Christmas party
- Band concert at the prison ('Alternativ Flukt')
- Theatre project/concert in the prison (organised by the school department)
- Concert at a professional venue in local town with band from Bjørgvin prison
- *Peace and Cake* – performance project/variety show in the prison
- Outdoor concert in the prison court yard.

On stage George could be visibly nervous and at times seem confused, but he was able to name this in front of the audience by making fun of himself and received a warm and apparently understanding chuckle in response. This repeated itself and became a part of our performance routine. After repeated positive feedback from staff and other inmates George gradually changed the way he spoke about himself as a musician. Whilst he maintained his self-deprecating and insecure stage and rehearsal persona, he developed an increased awareness of:

- 1) How he presented himself: 'I need some time before the sound check to decide what to wear' (Comment before performance of *Peace and Cake* - Fieldnotes, 9/4/19).
- 2) Responsibility as musician: 'I would like to say something to introduce the band, and about the music service here in Bjørgvin' (Comment made before performing at the school Christmas party – Fieldnotes, 17/12/18). George was also meticulous with his sheets of music, and I invited him to have the role of 'keeper of the sheet music' in the different groups in which he took part.
- 3) Sound: 'I think this song is too demanding for my voice, it doesn't sound the way it needs to' (Comment made during rehearsal of *Oh Night Divine* – Fieldnotes, 13/12/18).
- 4) Ambitions: 'I am worried that the activity room is going to be too small for our concert, what if the audience can't fit in?' (Comment made before Christmas concert in the prison – Fieldnotes, 8/11/18).
- 5) Expectations of others: 'When I commented to Neil that he had to change his English for his lyrics to make sense, he said something about rock lyrics not needing to make sense. I can't work like that.' (Comment made after rehearsal where George sang an original song written by another participant – Fieldnotes, 21/3/19).

He thus developed his *craft* as a musician, including finding ways of communicating and explaining his thoughts and ideas to others. His development as a musician was firmly

rooted in often mundane and detailed musical labour; he would choose challenging songs to learn and spent a considerable amount of time alone in the music room practicing along with recordings which I had downloaded and stored on the laptop PC. His song choice was motivated by the degree to which they would help him to progress as a singer and band musician. This resulted in him performing a wide spectrum of songs ranging from the 1960s until today during the second data collection period of six months.

Songs rehearsed and/or performed by George

Sitting (Cat Stevens)

Brain Damage/Eclipse (Pink Floyd)

Creep (Radiohead),

Oh Night Divine (Cappeau/Adam - Swedish version)

Space Oddity (David Bowie)

Anthem (Leonard Cohen)

First We Take Manhattan (Leonard Cohen)

Til Deg (self-written lyrics over melody from *When I Fall in Love* (Nat King Cole))

Straffekaffe (Original song written by previous group of inmates)

Paint it Black (The Rolling Stones)

Hurt (Trent Reznor – as performed by Johnny Cash)

Graveyard Paradise – (1-2-6)

Don't (Elvis Presley)

We Can Work It Out (The Beatles)

Cat People (David Bowie)

One (U2)

The Man's Too Strong (Dire Straits)

Be For Real (Leonard Cohen)

Like many other participants in Bjørgvin, George experienced difficult periods. In particular he was anxious about his financial situation and frustrated over processes, inside and outside the prison system, concerning this. This resulted in him having periods when he did not manage to participate. Contrary to my wish that music should provide relief for him and others in particularly difficult moments, George's sporadic withdrawal was representative of many of those who actively pursued musicianship goals in their participation, and who expressed that 'music is something I do when I have a surplus of energy' (Fieldnotes, 19/2/19). For George too, musical participation required energy and focus. Throughout these periods I regularly knocked on his door to see how he was doing, providing him with any new lyrics he had asked for, and taking 'requests' for songs to download onto the music pc for him to listen to.

After his stay in Bjørgvin prison George was transferred to a community unit. One of the standing criteria for transfer was to have organized activities such as work or school on a daily basis. With support from myself, the school department and his contact officer George arranged to participate in a community music programme offered by the school, which entailed weekly rehearsals. He also organized to attend weekly music sessions at a community arts centre after his release.

George was unusual in his dedication and trajectory in improving as a musician and performer, having had no previous experience of performing or playing in a band.

George: It was really a shock for me when I started singing at the age of sixty, and realising that I got a lot of praise from people for my voice. [...] And it meant a lot to me because growing up, I had a stepfather who always told me that I was no good at anything. I was not used to getting praise. [...] I wasn't really involved with music at that time, but I listened a lot to fifties rock. I really appreciated the sound of their voices and the way they sang, with a little bit of echo. And I listened to The Slave Chorus. You know, the choir. That was it really. (Interview, 24/4/19)

George's process represented typical characteristics of those who experienced the most prominent development in their musicianship in Bjørgvin prison. This included 1) a

motivation to learn and develop musicianship skills, often coupled with an interest in the 'inner workings' of music (see p. 163); 2) an openness in attitude towards repertoire and collaborative processes; 3) a strong commitment in terms of time and effort to create music and opportunities for musicking; 4) a willingness to share, ranging from personal anecdotes to musical technique and know-how.

Eric and Kenneth: Finding friendship through shared musicianship

As described in Chapter 4, a characteristic of the milieu in Bjørgvin prison particularly during the pilot of data collection were the short sentences many people served, leading to a great flux in the population. In light of research that indicates the necessity of music therapy being long term for it to have an effect (Gold et al., 2009), the short-term perspective that was dominant in Bjørgvin would pose a challenge to the idea of a meaningful music therapy process. As per Ansdell's (2014) observation that musicianhood can 'also be a transitory yet key happening in a person's experience' (p. 134), it seemed that a short sentence did not preclude people's ability to construct meaning through cultivating their musicianhood.

Eric and Kenneth were both in their mid-forties, and concurrently serving sentences of around thirty days. During their relatively brief time in the prison they learnt to play several familiar pop/rock songs on the bass guitar (Eric) and the electric guitar (Kenneth). They participated in 'open music room' sessions as well as a series of organized rehearsal sessions together with myself. Towards the end of their stay we carried out a group interview.

Despite not having played the guitar for many years, Kenneth identified strongly with being a hobby musician, and with the guitar in particular. Having a large collection of guitars in his home, he spoke of how he had used to be a part of his local music scene:

Kenneth: In [local town] we are called musicians. I have sort of been a part of the music community ['musikkmiljøet']. I was a doorman for a few years so I know a lot of musicians, like. I got the music in with the beer, to put it like that. Or the breast milk.

Eric: Which came first? (Interview, 23/06/15)

The humour and jovial tone displayed throughout our conversations was indicative of the apparently strong connection that Kenneth and Eric had developed, and that I also experienced being a part of. This relationship was facilitated by a mutual and shared inclination towards 'craft' and developing musicianship skills in a band rehearsal setting, where stories, memories, techniques and tastes could be shared and reflected upon in between focused bouts of playing.

A work-related accident and years of permanent sick leave had left Kenneth very isolated. Although he had friends who could play, he did not feel that he was adequate to play with them:

Kenneth: It irritates me that I cannot jam with them. I need to learn some more scales and get some more blues sounds into my body. (Interview, 23/06/15)

Kenneth's wish to develop as a musician was thus directly linked to his current social position, and he saw becoming a better musician as a strategy to gain entry to a larger social network.

For Eric too, learning to play an instrument had an important social dimension, affording a way for him to quickly establish a network of people he could relate to in the prison.

Eric: Since my roommate could play the bass as well, that was perfect. Because then I could get help from you [Kjetil], and then I showed it to him and he said "right, then you have to do this and this and this", so I had backup all the way. And then I was so lucky that Thomas, the other guitar player who used to pop his head in, he is also quite pedagogically minded, so then I got a lot of help from him too (Interview, 23/06/15)

Significantly, musicking filled Eric's strong need to remain active, and his determination to invest in his time in Bjørgvin prison was representative of several music therapy participants with short sentences:

Eric: [...] I think it's great to go down there [the music therapy room], because then time passes quickly, doing something that's fun, trying to get something positive out of it. Because that's the aim. Coming in here, yes it is negative, but I have to try to get something positive out of it, right, so you don't feel that you have wasted your time. So when you came along with this guitar stuff, I thought "yes". (Interview, 23/06/15)

Musicking and maintaining an identity as musician was thus a way of making the time in prison meaningful, something Ugelvik (2014) points to as a significant form of resistance against regimes of incarceration. For Eric it apparently helped to turn the negative experience of prison into something positive, whilst at the same time actively managing the temporal aspect of 'doing time' by making the days pass quicker. For Eric and Kenneth, the prison seemed to represent a genuinely cherished opportunity to achieve and experience things they would otherwise not have achieved:

Eric: I have thought about it - I mean, to get this much time to play the bass guitar and to learn, I would never have been able to do it on the outside. Because it's not like I have to run to the shop or do this and do that, and when you said I can learn to play the bass in a very short time, I thought, ok, I'm gonna do this. (Interview, 23/06/15)

In this way, Eric emphasizes how the prison offers a uniquely facilitative environment in relation to his own musical ambitions and interests. In such cases, where the prison was described as a positive contrast to an outside existence marked by the absence of social networks or meaningful activity, it could even ostensibly lessen the incentives to leave:

Kenneth: To begin with, in the container [music therapy room], I was perhaps a bit tense and awkward, but now I look forward to going in. To get hold of Eric and say that we'll pop down after dinner. I really look forward to it, I think it's fun. I have got so many positive things from it. I enjoy myself, I have told you before, I could have stayed behind another week and just played. I have nothing waiting for me, to put it like that. Because...it gives us so much (Interview, 23/06/15)

George, Eric and Kenneth all made a deliberate and sustained effort to develop musical and technical skills through engaging in practice, rehearsals and, in George's case, live

performance. For Kenneth, developing his guitar 'chops' could gain him entry to his local music scene, for Eric, learning the bass instantly integrated him in a social network in the prison and kept him busy. For all of them, the satisfactions derived from musicking were related to sound ('it just makes you feel good') and the relational and social affordances of musicking. One of which was having fun and making the time pass (Eric), and another was the recognition, from others, of them as musicians (George receiving recognition as a singer, Eric's bass playing being deeply appreciated). For all three the prison afforded access to musicking in ways that they had not previously encountered. From being a novel idea or a faint wish, the idea of being a musician became a significant way of 'doing time' (Ugelvik, 2014) and crafting an identity in the prison.

MUSICKING PERSONA

The prison as a site for creative self-presentation

The opportunity to enact aspects of one's 'outside' identity in the prison was compromised because of the restrictions to the materials and practices that the prison represented. Abstaining from practices such as drinking alcohol, driving, surfing the internet or using one's mobile phone was not just a practical and (often) emotional loss, but also meant that people could not maintain and mediate aspects of identity. Being removed from their usual environment, they were also forcefully placed in an often unfamiliar, and to many, absurd and murky environment, left to establish ways of being and presenting themselves which would see them through their sentence. A striking observation for me was how little some people knew about each other even after having spent considerable amounts of time together in the prison. This reflected the widespread culture of not disclosing too much personal information:

Bull: [...] there are always these new people coming in who are serving just a few weeks. I never tell them how long I've got or how long I've been here or what I am in for. I just make up something. (Interview, 19/5/15)

Bull's quote alludes to the potential benefits of being 'unknown' in this environment; the prison afforded an unusual opportunity to present oneself independently from everyday life on the outside. To paraphrase a mainstay trope amongst staff, the ironic statement 'everybody here is innocent' illustrates the widespread perception that Bjørgvin prison was a place where one had to take claims to the 'truth' lightly. As an officer said to me when we discussed the transfer to a high secure facility of one of my participants whom I had developed a close working relationship with:

Prison officer: He lied to a lot of people about a lot of things (Fieldnotes, 9/11/18)

At the extreme end, the opportunity to present oneself independently of one's outside identity was exemplified by a prisoner using forged identity documents to serve someone else's sentence in a bid to settle debt. For most music therapy participants however, musicking situations in the prison offered opportunities to draw on their existing experiences and competencies, whilst also exploring new ways of learning, interacting and being. As explained in Chapter 5, the creation of musical space provided opportunities to present oneself, and importantly be perceived, differently from how one was perceived elsewhere in the prison. During a performance project, participant Adam took a leading role as a drummer and musical director in the band. Having been the managing director of a small company, he struck me as talented at supporting people and creating a good working atmosphere in our rehearsals (See p. 245 for his participation in the song *Flåklypa*). After a rehearsal, a music therapy student who was co-facilitating the project encountered Adam, sitting on the floor in the corridor queueing for the kiosk amongst a large gathering of other inmates:

Mari: It was really strange to see him like that. I was used to seeing him as this leader type in the music room, being a bit strict and having full control. Then, when he was sat there on the floor, he was just one of the other inmates. (Interview, 30/4/15)

In this section I will use the term musicking persona to denote the identity people developed and presented in, and sometimes outside, the prison, in musicking situations. The term is appropriated from Auslander's (2006a) notion of *musical persona*. Drawing on theatre

studies and Goffman's concept of frame analysis, Auslander posits that 'all kinds of musicians (i.e., singers, instrumentalists, conductors) in all genres (i.e., classical, jazz, rock, etc.) enact personae in their performances' (p. 102). Importantly he does not suggest that *the person* represents some form of 'true self', nor that *the persona* is a 'false self'. Instead, he asserts that 'the version of self that a musician performs qua musician is [...] the musical persona' (p. 104). My own term *musicking persona* emphasises the momentary situatedness of musicking, whilst still acknowledging that this could represent, or over time develop into, a more stable identity. For some, like Adam the drummer, the musicking persona at first appeared to be separate and different from their presentation elsewhere in the prison, coming to the fore primarily in the music room. For many, subsequent performances and other forms of mediation meant that their musicking persona gradually informed how they were perceived in the prison community more generally (e.g. George developing a reputation as a good singer). For others again, most notably those who identified with 'gangsta' rap and hip hop (Nielson, 2010), their status as prisoners became an integral part of the musicking persona they wanted to put across.

The prisoner identity as musical resource

For most people becoming a musician was a way of not being 'a prisoner', i.e. to get away from the inscription of a prisoner identity. However, being a prisoner was clearly also a way of *becoming a musician*. For instance, we saw how for Eric, the prison provided the time, people, materials and opportunities necessary to develop his longstanding ambition to learn to play the bass guitar. Being a prisoner could also be central to some participants' development of a musicking persona.

For some of the participants who created hip hop music in Bjørgvin, being in prison aligned with well-established notions of rappers being gangsters (Nielson, 2010; Short, 2014). This notion was mediated through the ubiquitous imagery of drug dealing, prostitution, gun violence, money laundering, theft and other illicit activities present in the rap music videos I sometimes downloaded and watched together with participants who had an interest in hip hop. Identifying as a 'gangsta rapper' (Bramwell, 2018) meant overtly subscribing to a specific culture of resistance against authorities - in particular the police, and by extension,

prison officers. Accordingly, some rap lyrics written in Bjørgvin prison were in a unique position in their often aggressive language, in line with their 'outside' cultural counterparts.

For Ali, imprisonment held a perceived potential to provide credibility to his outside identity as a rapper. He disclosed his prisoner status in his lyrics and made references to it when posting his music on YouTube, something he was able to do with my help, when on leave from the prison, or via friends who had access to his online accounts. This perceived increase in artistic credibility was strengthened by the prevalence of media stories of rappers who had been to prison. Most notable was Bergen rapper Kamelen ('The Camel') who broadcast how his career started in prison and who subsequently became an established artists on the Norwegian rap scene.



Figure 15 - Newspaper article about Bergen rapper Kamelen titled 'Report from the prison' (Bergens Tidende, 2016)

Since most participants went to great lengths to keep their status as prisoner separate or even concealed from their 'outside' identity, this form of promotion was a significant and unique marker of those for whom the status as prisoner gave (perceived) credibility to their musicking persona.

In collaboration with the prison school department I facilitated intermittent studio recordings with a professional hip hop producer whom had produced leading national rap artists. This was funded by the county council as part of a recurring, almost annual, CD recording project. This could however be a controversial practice and was subject to many discussions about censorship within the group of professionals in the recording project. True to the hip hop genre, lyrics often included references to crime and violence presented in a derogatory and aggressive language, with abuse particularly directed at the police. Clearly such lyrics had the potential to cause offence among prison staff and a wider audience, and on occasion they could be interpreted as being directly threatening. This again held the potential of attracting collegial hostility towards our practice, and raise questions about our professional, ethical and artistic integrity. There was usually a consensus within the group of professionals when a lyric was not able to be included on the CD, and likewise there was a broad understanding that a high degree of leeway ('Spillerom' - see p. 139 for a discussion of the significance of this term) had to be allowed to secure the rappers the possibility of creating an expression that they experienced as authentic. This was thus not an issue which was 'resolved' once and for all within the period of data collection, but rather a recurring theme which required a case-by-case evaluation.

Ali, a young rapper very open about the resentment he harboured against the police and the prison service, wrote lyrics which contained graphic descriptions about what he wanted to do to 'someone in a blue uniform' (i.e. police/prison officer). When discussing the possibility of a trip to a professional music studio, Ali was adamant that he did not want any of the Bjørgvin prison officers to accompany him:

Ali: I don't want the officers here to come with us though. It would be really embarrassing if they heard the lyrics. Or...not embarrassing...but I don't want them to hear them, do you know what I mean? I don't want them to hear them and think they're about them. Most of them are alright. You know the score. It's not like I hate all the people that work here. That officer [name] in [another] prison, he's the best guy I've met. I just have to get these songs out my system, then I can start to write about other things. I promise. I know you don't like these lyrics, but come on, you know why I'm pissed off and why I have to get it off my chest. (Interview, 17/4/19)

This was illustrative of how antagonistic lyrics were often expressive of anger towards a faceless system of power, rather than against the people who wore the uniforms. Ali was clearly aware of the adverse reactions his lyrics could elicit, and I was surprised to find in our conversations that his bar for what he deemed shocking or provoking was lower than mine. His assumption that I did not like his initial lyrics was true, and I had attempted to give honest feedback about what I found problematic. However, I tried to keep the focus on how I experienced the song in relation to the lyrical style and traditions we operated within. Homing in on aesthetic, technical and performative aspects of his emerging rap was my strategy for being able to critique the text but still take his anger and frustration seriously. Accordingly, we maintained a close working relationship and had many conversations in my office where Ali was able to vent his frustration. Having recorded the vitriolic first track he had been working on since he was transferred to Bjørgvin prison, he was able, as he had stated, to move on to create new tracks. One of these was called *Doing Time in Style*, and the sentiment of his lyrics had altered to the extent that he was invited by the school department to perform live at an event in the prison. His first lyrics thus had to be seen as a distinct stage within a process, and for Ali, being able to go in the studio to record his frustration enabled him to move on and develop a rap persona that drew on hip hop culture and prisoner identity, whilst also being acceptable within the power regime of the institution.

Wanted Dead or Alive: Competing stances to musicking

People's musician identity was often characterized by their subscribing to particular aesthetic values, to ideas about authenticity in music (Ruud, 2013), and to approaches to musicking in general. My role involved engaging with people who represented a range of contrasting positions, and a significant aspect of my contribution to musicking in the prison was to facilitate musical meetings between these in groups and projects.

During an 'open music room' session, Henrik (congas/vocals), Ben (acoustic guitar/vocals), Andrew (electric guitar/vocals) and I (drums/piano/vocals) played together. The recording from the session and my own field notes indicate how throughout the session, two

conflicting approaches to musicking, and accompanying attitudes, came to the fore, and how through acts of *transpositioning* (see below), we managed to unite in a final song.

'Henrik's approach' - Henrik, a man in his early forties, had a previous history of playing percussion in a community music therapy band for people who had been released from prison. He had primarily played the congas and described their music as 'punk-like [...] aggression and frustration. It was good to get it out.' (Interview, 12/5/15). He came to see me on his first day in the prison, but explained that he was feeling very ill, having come in 'straight off the street'. He explained that 'once I go off the wagon I *really* go off the wagon.' (Interview, 12/5/15). Consequently he did not want to play for the first week, but promised to come back when he was feeling better. A week later he returned and said 'now I am beginning to be reliable again.' (Fieldnotes, 19/5/15). Henrik's approach to musicking involved spontaneity, humor and a gung-ho relationship to intonation and timing. This was represented by his engagement during our playing of *The Bjørgvin Song* (p. 247):

Henrik's approach

We started playing *The Bjørgvin Song*. Henrik immediately joined in singing whilst playing the congas energetically. Henrik's playing was impulsive and loud with little sense of a clear pulse or rhythm, and drifting out of time with Ben's strumming and my bass playing. He made extended eye-contact with myself and Ben, smiling widely as he sang 'I wanna go home' in full voice and moved his whole body in a jagged dance standing in front of his instrument. I felt that our rendition had a very playful energy to it. (Fieldnotes, 19/5/15)

'Andrew's approach'- Andrew was in his mid-twenties and had arrived at the prison at the same time as Henrik. He had played the electric guitar for several years but had little experience of playing with others. He had already had several jams with other participants, but had developed a reputation for being arrogant, and other inmates gradually decided that they did not want to play with him; 'I know that Bull doesn't like [Andrew], so I don't

like him out of sympathy with Bull' (Gerry - Fieldnotes, 19/5/15). I had observed that he was an above average technically competent guitar player and singer. His approach hinged on technical proficiency and accuracy in the approximation of existing material, represented by his engagement during *Wanted Dead or Alive* (Bon Jovi):

Andrew's approach

Andrew plays the guitar part to *Wanted Dead or Alive* with great precision and is faithful in his recreation of Jon Bon Jovi's vocal performance; there is a nasal quality to his voice, he uses twang in the right places, and his intonation is very similar. I find myself quite enjoying Andrew's highly accomplished performance of the song. (Fieldnotes, 19/5/15)

Our rendition of *Wanted Dead or Alive* was effectively put to an end by Henrik's disengagement with the song, and his loud vocal shouts. In return, when we subsequently played *The Bjørgvin Song*, Andrew commented that 'we sound like Dissimilis' (a famous Norwegian music group for people with learning disabilities). There seemed then to be a clash of values and lack of a shared agenda. Such a clash of musicking agendas was not unusual, and containing these within a group remained one of the consistent challenges, and resources, inherent in working as a music therapist in this environment.

After a cigarette break I encouraged Andrew to sit down behind the drums, an instrument he was not familiar with. Having put the guitar down in what I interpreted as frustration, playing the drums required him to adopt a different, more exploratory approach. I invited him to remain on the drums and showed him how to play a basic 4/4 beat, repeatedly pointing and counting aloud to indicate exactly when to play the high-hat, snare and kick drum. Finding the 4/4 rhythm pattern difficult, I encouraged him to play freely and follow the music in a more intuitive way. By moving to the drums Andrew had placed himself in the role of beginner, rather than expert. This aligned him with the less technically accomplished but more playfully spontaneous approach of Henrik. Initially, Andrew dismissed his own

playing and the sound of the band. Ben and Henrik did not respond to this. However, after playing *The Bjørgvin Song* several times, Andrew was singing along with the rest of us on the chorus; 'I wanna go home, I wanna go home, Oh I wanna go home', maintaining eye contact and laughing. This shift eventually led me to suggest that we revisit *Wanted Dead Or Alive*. This time, Henrik and Ben both engaged with the song with the same energy and humour that they displayed in *The Bjørgvin Song*, joining in singing 'Dead or aliiiiive'. Andrew still delivered the song in his usually technically proficient and stylistically appropriate way. For a moment then, Andrew's and Henrik's approaches seemed to be integrated.

This illustrates that what was performed in musical situations was shaped to an extent by what was 'allowed' or not 'allowed' in the meeting between fellow performers and/or an audience. As Auslander (2006a) puts it, the musical persona 'is [...] produced at any given performance through the negotiation of a working consensus with the audience. The audience is thus the cocreator of the persona and has an investment in it that extends beyond mere consumption' (p. 117). Andrew's musicking persona that was striving for a technically skilful version of *Wanted Dead or Alive* was initially silenced, whereas the musicking persona playing the drums intuitively, singing and having fun was encouraged. Only when the different musicking personae that Henrik and Andrew presented were broadened and made more elastic and adaptable, could we work together as a group.

This further illustrates how musicking in Bjørgvin sometimes involved censorship, exclusion and even coercion. This may be true of all musical groupings, but in our case it needs to be understood against the specific social confines of being a prisoner. Ugelvik (2014b) points out that in response to the prison's 'profound attacks on the prisoners' self-image and sense of personal self-worth', prisoners develop a 'shared response to pain and deprivation' by defining themselves as 'a group with specific values and virtues' (p. 58). The inmate code may appear in varying manifestations in different contexts, but the central thing according to Ugelvik is that shared values, whatever they may be, are established to unite *over*. This way of responding to the 'external pressures and aggression imposed by the prison environment' (p. 57) gives rise to well documented phenomena such as the inmate hierarchy, based on what types of crime people have committed, or the golden rule that one does not 'snitch' (p. 58) on other inmates. The clash between Henrik's fun and haphazard

approach to musicking, and Andrew's stylised and technically accomplished aspirations was about something more than the oft encountered animosity towards 'musos' in bands that subscribe to a more 'punk' aesthetic; Andrew's approach to musicking threatened the 'specific values and virtues' (Ugelvik, 2014b) that Henrik and Ben identified with, engaging in musicking for fun and spontaneity in the face of prison life. Henrik's deeply considered decision to initially abstain from music when he was in his drug withdrawal phase, and his comment that he was now trustworthy again and therefore could engage in music, suggested that for him, playing together was not something to be taken lightly. His approach to musicking was not about *not* taking his music seriously, but rather about protecting his idea of conviviality (Procter, 2013) through music. Threats to this seemingly threatened his very approach to being an inmate in Bjørgvin prison.

Transpositioning as music therapy method

The proceedings during the session with Henrik, Ben and Andrew illustrate what I have come to think of as the music therapy method of *transpositioning*. Employed as a technique within the fields of design and architecture (Snøhetta, 2020), the term refers to a particular approach to transdisciplinary collaboration, where different professions take on each other's roles and tasks. The aim is to overcome prejudices about the possibilities and limitations inherent within different professions and their associated skill sets, and to encourage creative collaboration through people applying their unique competencies and resources in exploring new modes of working. In music therapy groups, facilitating the experience of 'the other' through transpositioning has proven a useful approach to cultivate an understanding of other people's agendas and notions of authenticity in performance. It was therefore a frequent occurrence that I, students and participants would rotate between instruments and roles (e.g. musical direction) in a group. In the case of the above session, Andrew moving to the drums afforded a way of engaging with 'Henrik's approach' to musicking, which subsequently led to Henrik engaging sincerely with 'Andrew's approach' in our final version of *Wanted Dead or Alive*. Transpositioning was thus important in facilitating the development of a shared ground where contrasting values, skill levels and approaches to musicking could meet.

The craft of performance: Reflections from a music therapy student

Throughout both phases of field work music therapy students in practice were significant contributors to the unfolding events and to the way music therapy was practiced and experienced in Bjørgvin prison. With permission I therefore chose to consider them as participants where appropriate. Students contributed with many valuable perspectives and reflections both in our practice supervision sessions, but also separately in research interviews. As part of a performance project eight inmates together with three music therapy students on placement and myself put on a live concert in the gymnastics hall. In an interview, student Matthew reflected on how he felt about performing in the prison. I have chosen to include his reflections because they bring up issues of relevance to myself, for many of the inmates and other students. They touched on general issues about performance of significance in this environment, and they highlight key issues in our conceptualization of the performance of music therapy:

Matthew: Quite honestly, one of the things that made me nervous was my role on stage, which I thought about a lot. I get very conscious about it which can be a bit negative. What is positive, is that I can go in and out. And that is what you do when you improvise, you need to take the space, but you also need to give space. And in a concert there is also the visual aspect, so when we played the first song I thought 'shit, I shouldn't have had my hair down', because I didn't want to draw too much attention to myself. I don't normally think about it, but then I suddenly thought 'oh, now they'll expect too much from me'. That I would be the focus. And that is okay if it is my band, but in this case that was not the thing. So then I got a real...'Oh shit!', how should I do this? So I was trying to hide at the same time that I was trying to get into the feel. (Interview, 30/4/15)

Matthew here brings up an important question for music therapists working with stage performance: how can one find the balance between being truly and genuinely engaged in the performance as part of the whole, and on the other hand making sure not to take space or attention away from the other performers by skewing the performance towards personal agendas of self-presentation. As Aigen (2014) points out 'music therapists are musicians with their own needs for expression through performance' (p. 157). Clearly, how we are perceived is partly out of our control, but Matthew's reflections raise issues about managing

multiple and sometimes conflicting roles at the same time, and, as Matthew suggests, having to go in and out of different roles.

Kjetil: Sounds like you were trying to balance being a performer with being a music therapist, and being in a role where you constantly had to adapt?

Matthew: Yes, and that takes a lot of energy. I have to improvise not just on the guitar, but in terms of my role and feeling all at the same time. I didn't dare to look at the audience, I didn't dare to be put out. But what saved me was looking over to Bull [the bass player], he always had this smile. And he had looked to me for some reassurance earlier, but now it was suddenly me that needed him there. Cause he was just smiling [mimics a smile and laughs].

(Interview, 30/4/15)

Matthew's quandary about how to strike a balance between different roles was resolved through his interaction with Bull; Bull's smile allowed Matthew to put aside his pre-occupation and just participate in the moment. Significantly, Bull also recalled this moment in a later interview:

Bull: I remember the connection we had when we played. We showed each other that...that it was good. We didn't need to say anything. We could sort of talk to each other during a song, without opening our mouths. And nod to each other. I remember that very well.

(Interview, 19/5/15)

This does not mean that the dilemmas Matthew felt in being both 'performer' and 'therapist' are not real nor that they are insignificant. On the contrary, it suggests that these different aspects of identity could be integrated in a holistic role or character that did not originate from his pre-defined ideas about what a 'performer' and 'music therapist' should be. Instead it was created and confirmed collaboratively in the moment between Matthew, others in the band, the audience, and the wider context. Matthew's reflections raise the wider issue of the *craft* of stage performance in music therapy, and how any live performance inevitably interacts with various performance traditions (Small, 1998).

Matthew's description of moving 'in and out' of different roles can be understood with reference to Auslander's (2006a) notion of the *musical persona*. Matthew can be said to grapple with reconciling Matthew 'the student', Matthew 'the music therapist', Matthew 'the musician', and, quite probably, many more. His notions of these discrete roles are what Auslander refers to as different 'discursive domains' (p. 102); established ideas about what a music therapist should be (e.g. not take too much of the space and attention), and what a performer should be (e.g. more exuberant, hair down, moving around, entertain). As Auslander puts it; 'audiences and musicians alike are aware of a set of emotions and attitudes [...] deemed appropriate within the genre frame of rock music, and musicians generally draw on that vocabulary in their performances.' (p. 112)

For Matthew, inhabiting what he experienced as conflicting roles became restrictive in the sense that it made him nervous and self-conscious. This illustrates how discursive roles could both be a creative resource and provide a performative license (see e.g. p. 165), but also a significant restriction.

It seemed that Matthew was closest to feeling like 'himself' ('what saved me') when Bull's smile helped him to let go of his dissection of his own performance, and instead focus on being present in the moment. Nevertheless, Matthew's reflections, informed by his music therapy training and theoretical insight, highlight how discursive domains (Auslander, 2006a) inform the choices we make as we perform. It is clearly essential for music therapy students and practitioners alike to be aware of how this guides our practice, and what it might mean to the people we work with. Matthew's reflections usefully bring up a theme of significance to live performance as a modality of music therapy: the vulnerability of the music therapist in such situations.

Reflections on the role of musical authenticity in the prison

As the above examples illustrate, a lot of power resided in acts of censorship and defining authenticity in music, something Moore (2012) highlights: "Authenticity' is an unavoidably loaded term, for it carries an ethical charge: in some circumstances, to be declared inauthentic is, somehow, to be less than fully human.' (p. 260). In light of the carceral culture

of suspicion and untrustworthiness, it seemed that the desire for musicking to be experienced as 'real' (Interview, 17/4/19) was strong. Ruud (2013) describes the quest for authenticity as based on the notion that we have an inner, real core which can be expressed in a spontaneous and unmediated way (p. 122). He goes on to problematize this notion, stating that we must consider authenticity to be a discourse; a way we talk about and think about music (p. 124). Authenticity, according to Ruud, refers to whether or not we, or others, are *seen* to act from our own motivations and interests or whether we are *seen* to be led by forces external to ourselves. He also refers to the degree to which someone is *seen* as being original rather than a copy of images created by the media and mass markets (p. 122). Applying this understanding of authenticity to the data, Andrew's performance could be seen as less authentic since he assimilated the performance of Jon Bon Jovi to such a large degree, displacing 'himself' in lieu of replicating a product of consumerism. Ben and Henrik's approach to the same song, singing in broken English with a strong Bergen accent, may be seen as more authentic. However, as Ruud points out, and as musicking in the prison routinely demonstrated, there are many different 'authenticities' (p 124). Andrew's skilful and detailed recreation of this particular song could be seen as authentic e.g. due to the technical proficiency involved.

In this section I have introduced the notion of the *musicking persona* as an aspect of people's developing identity as musicians. Henrik and Andrew displayed competing stances to musicking which, through a process of transpositioning, were temporarily reconciled. For Ali, his identity as a prisoner added credence to his image as a gangsta rapper, and for Matthew, the intellectual challenges of inhabiting a multiple role as student, performer and music therapist in a performance situation were partly resolved by being drawn into the present through eye contact with Bull the bass player. All these examples point to how approaches to musicking were imbued with values and attitudes amounting to *signature modes of participation*. These modes were important aspects of people's unfolding identity as musicians. Importantly, these modes of participation were not fixed, but flexible and subject to change and development.

MUSICAL (PRISON) LIFE STORIES

In the data materials presented above it is already evident how people's past was brought into being in the present, and how the present could become part of people's projected future. There were however cases where people's life narratives, and the mediation of these, became integral to the development of a musician identity in more pronounced ways.

Boris: Belonging through music

Contrary to popular imaginaries about the lonely prison cell, Kenneth and Eric demonstrated how the prison might represent a social counterpoint to loneliness and solitude on the outside. This was also the case for Boris. He was a man in his early sixties who was serving a three-month sentence for possession of cannabis and for driving whilst under the influence. Coming from a small remote village in the fjords, he explained that he had felt like an outsider all his life. Music had been an integral part of his 'apartness' in that he was the only young person in his village with a love for classical music when 'everybody else' liked rock:

Boris: Beethoven was my big hero in puberty, because he has written some of the most beautiful melody lines and the grandest works, right. And that was music which fitted a struggling kid. Then I felt at peace. Even though I felt like an outsider, I became so fond of Beethoven. It became a place where I sought peace. (Interview, 30/03/15)

Paradoxically then, music represented both difference and a place of solace. His sense of connection with styles of music that were 'different' from the rock culture in his local village was linked to his family relationships:

Boris: I'd sit on my grandfather's knee when I was little and listen to violin music on the radio. He didn't play himself, but he was very interested. And my dad, he loved the brass bands. He used to play in one before he became ill. And then my ten-year older brother would come back from the city with jazz records...Ella Fitzgerald... (Interview, 30/03/15)

In Bjørgvin prison, Boris quickly became tearful when he talked about his relationship to music. This was something I and the music therapy students on placement experienced

independently when they invited him to participate in a performance project. When I met him for the first time, he told me about how he had been moved to tears when he had witnessed an American jazz band perform at a local Norwegian jazz festival in the 1980's. In our subsequent interview he was again moved to tears when recalling this incident which seemed to have made such an impression on him. When I asked him why this experience had been so powerful, he explained:

Boris: Well, its [long break] it's that it all hangs together. I mean...that tight thing. And that it swings...yeah, I don't know...it can...[long break]...I've thought a lot about that, you see. Because I think it is connected with me feeling so on the outside. And when I see that really tight stuff, and things are so well connected, then... [becomes tearful]. Because it is super-communication, right, which happens in a fraction of a second, when everybody is playing tight, and where it swings, and the whole group swings the same...I mean, it's to do with that. (Interview, 30/03/15)

Boris had clearly been moved by the display of togetherness, manifested for him in the rhythmic tightness of the band. This togetherness symbolised the quality of music-social relationship he had largely missed in his own life, outside of his family. Thinking about the performance in retrospect did not just seem to evoke an association; he seemed to be reliving and *re-feeling* the experience as he became visibly moved (tearful, breaking voice) during our conversation.

With his profound relation to musical togetherness as a backdrop, Boris took the big step of joining our performance project. The music therapy students had recruited him as they walked through the corridors of Bjørgvin and came across Boris' open cell door and saw him sitting on the bed. They were later amused by the symbolism (in relation to psychotherapeutic components of their training) of his open door, seemingly awaiting their approach. Boris suggested the song *Hurt* by Trent Reznor (in the style of Johnny Cash) because he felt it addressed issues that were important to people in the prison. With close follow-up from music therapy student Matthew, Boris eventually performed *Hurt* in front of an audience of eighty inmates and staff, singing publicly for the first time in his life.



Figure 16 - Image created from a photo of Boris performing side-by-side with music therapy student Matthew (guitar).

For Boris, coming to the music room for rehearsals was a considerable effort. Simply the physical act of coming inside the building made him anxious, and Boris stood outside for a long time. However, after repeated reassurances from the music therapy students that they would sing if he did not want to do it himself, he took the plunge. At his second rehearsal I could only attend towards the end, which allowed me to reflect on how the act of entering the music therapy room with ten people inside offered a very physical experience of becoming part of a group:

Joining a group

As I approach the cabin I expect to hear loud music, but instead it is so quiet that I suspect that the others are not there. As I walk through the door from outside I see to my surprise that the room is packed with people. Everything seems extremely well organised visually and aurally, with all of them sat calmly in a circle amidst the chaos of cables and instruments. I am immediately struck by the warm dense and stale air from what I gather must have been an intense rehearsal session, and I offer to open the window. At this point they move to their instruments and begin playing *Hurt* by Johnny Cash. Student Matthew sings in unison with Boris for a while, but it becomes apparent that Boris can hold his own now, and Matthew pulls back. (Fieldnotes 25/3/15)

Having been absent for only half a rehearsal, I sensed that I had already missed something: I was no longer privy to what the others in the group had been through together, nor where they were in the process of becoming a group. On the other hand, Boris was central to the proceedings, and appeared increasingly comfortable with singing in the group. This illustrates the speed with which groups formed, evolved and changed. It also shows how 'insider' and 'outsider' dynamics constantly shifted, and how powerful these dynamics could be in framing experiences of estrangement and belonging – something Boris also had experienced.

During the subsequent performance, Boris also performed a rhyme he had written. In his rhyme he alluded to growing marihuana. Whilst this is not an activity that would normally cause offence amongst the prison public, Boris felt afterwards that his performance had involved a level of disclosure which was not in line with the inmate codes. Moreover, he explained how he had noticed a split in how people in the prison treated him after the concert.

Boris: I experienced both stronger resistance, and stronger connections with people. I mean, some people reacted with more distance, and some were the other way. Yes, very much resistance, but that might be down to the poem I read, that I defended my 'flowers'. I mean, you have these old crooks who might have a thing about me publicising that kind of thing; punishment or what you are doing and what you are serving time for. Because the ones who have long experience from prison they don't talk openly about these things. (Interview, 30/03/15)

As well as illustrating the risks involved in performance in the prison and the possible repercussions, this also illustrates how stepping into the role of performer could lead to estrangement as well as belonging. After the project, Boris told me how he had experienced taking part:

Boris: Fantastic fun. It was. Because I was determined not to sing [laughs], and I felt embarrassed and ashamed. Yes, it was positively cringe-worthy the first few times. And getting over that was fantastic. I am eternally grateful for that. Bloody good. To perform ['opptre' = arise] in front of people. Yeah, that was a big step. Because...well, this winter has

been really heavy, and it's been such a good thing for me coming here [becomes tearful]. I mean, just getting out among people. And that is what made me take that leap. It's been a real lift for me to go to prison. Quite simply getting out among people. (Interview, 30/03/15)

As was the case for Kenneth (p. 192), coming to prison seemed to represent a new and welcome opportunity to experience forms of social bonding, in this case facilitated in and through musicking. Finally, Boris' experience became important in his planning for the future:

Boris: 'I have always wanted to join the choir in my village, I moved back there fifteen years ago and have really wanted to join [laughs], but haven't had the courage. But now, that threshold is much lower. Brilliant. So...and then I'll get out among people again, so that it also has a therapeutic effect.' (Interview, 30/03/15)

Musicking brought Boris' past and, in a sense, his whole life story into being in the present. Patterns of estrangement and belonging through musicking had become defining for his sense of identity. Re-creating and reflecting upon such experiences during his prison stay - aided by the sensitive approach of the music therapy students and others - came to form a coherent and meaningful link between his past, present and future.

Ben's musical caring: Towards therapeutic musicianship

Research has highlighted that an important affordance of music in institutional settings is the unique ways in which it facilitates experiences of intimacy (Procter, 2013). Echoing this, I found that music afforded intimate emotion zones between the men, and myself, which seemed to contrast the distance and hard front reported elsewhere (Crewe et al., 2014). Music thus opened up to specific ways of showing care and compassion for others, and this emerged as a frequent motivation to participate in music. I came to think of this as *musical caring*, building on a wide understanding that to care for someone is 'in the most significant sense, [...] to help him grow and actualize himself' (Mayeroff, 1965 cited in Noddings, 2013, p. 9).

For Ben, who was in his early thirties and serving a four-month sentence for drug and violence related offences, the act of entering the prison gates for the first time with his guitar on his back, was a way of physically carrying a part of his musical identity with him inside.

Ben: When I realized that I had to come here and I had received my sentence I had never been to prison before, so I was a bit like “arghhhh, should I run away?” I discussed it with my dad and the first thing I thought after that chat, was that I am *definitely* bringing my guitar. Because I know from experience that when I’ve had rough times, the guitar has been a good friend. (Interview, 10/6/15)

Throughout his teenage years Ben had cultivated an identity as a musician, playing and learning in a range of different situations.

Ben: No matter where you go, a guitar always pops up. Whether you’re at the cabin, in your boat, or at a party. There is a lot of stuff that I have learnt on my own, and have picked up from others, other mates and that. Cause everybody had a song, right, and if you came to a party or something when you were growing up, or you heard a song, it was “can you teach me that?” (Interview, 10/6/15)

There was a widespread awareness that people in the prison suffered from stress, coupled with a perception that men in general often find it difficult to seek help or to find ways of relieving their emotional suffering (see p. 125). In the face of this there was also an awareness that music could help people in various ways, partly rooted in people’s experiences from their own lives. For Ben, his identity as a musician was closely linked to the maintenance of his mental health, and during previous periods of hardship Ben had experienced how his music could be of help not only to himself but also to others in various ways:

Ben: The guitar has helped me to set my existence to music. Even once when I was admitted to a mental hospital. Then the guitar was a really good help for me, to get me back on my feet. And I used to sit up there and just play and relax. I played to the others up there too, and to all those nurses [laughs]. That helped me to get back on a wavelength, because I was

really exhausted. There is definitely something about music that does something to people.
(Interview, 10/6/15)

In the prison Ben continued this 'lay' practice of health musicking (DeNora, 2007) and became a central figure in the musical life of the institution (see p. 160 for a description of Ben performing, and p. 247 for a discussion of Ben's songwriting).

People were also aware of music therapy as a professional discipline because of the music therapy service in the prison with its associated information materials in the form of posters and leaflets, and intermittent media coverage. Tim, an inmate who came to enquire about singing lessons on his first day in the prison said: 'I would like to sing, but I am a bit shy. But you are a therapist aren't you, so you can make me feel better psychologically and that' (Fieldnotes, 15/4/15). Sergeij, a prisoner who practiced nursery rhymes to play to his young daughter, stated that he wanted to learn the guitar because 'I want to make people happy, like you do.' (Fieldnotes, 3/3/15). The presence of a music therapy service thus contributed to awareness and interest in relationships between music and health, and in music as a technology of care.

Musical caring was enacted through musical performance, in teaching/learning situations, and through musical gestures in group settings. The motivation to use music as a technology for care also translated into more explicit action directed at specific people in the prison. Ben often played in public spaces and common rooms throughout the prison, apparently motivated by the response he sensed in others:

Ben: I see what it does, if I play to people, how much it cheers them up. How engaged the others are. They smile from ear to ear. Their eyes light up while I'm playing over there [in the pool room], and they laugh. (Interview, 10/6/15)

Ben also specifically identified inmates whom he believed needed help:

Ben: That guy who cleans our corridor, he looks really sad, weighed down by something, whether it is just the prison or something else that has happened I don't know. But I am

going to speak to him because he looks so bloody sad. Like this other guy I sat with, he couldn't play anything, not a single instrument, he can't even sing. But still he wanted to write a song. So I helped him, and we wrote it pretty quickly too. (Interview, 10/6/15)

In this way, Ben's musical engagement with others extended beyond performing, to include teaching guitar and to co-write songs with them. He saw this as a way of helping others to express themselves, believing that this was central to relieving suffering:

Ben: People who have lived a little and have learnt things the hard way, they have it in them. They have a story to tell, they have some broken feelings, some lost love from their childhood or a mum or a dad that disappeared. They all have something they need to put feelings to, something they need to express and get out. And when you sing and play the guitar or write some lyrics...then you do get it out, don't you. You need to free your soul, or open the tap, or how can I say it. And that's what it's all about for people who have lived a bit on the edge...on the outside of society, and who have done many things they regret. (Interview, 10/6/15)

Through conversations, through working musically together in band rehearsals and audio recording projects, and through providing access to materials, I sought to support Ben as he cultivated a role as a musical carer. His musical caring extended beyond simply sharing his musicality with others. Seeking to attune²⁸ to the needs of others, he adopted a truly *listening* stance, arguably the most important qualities of any professional music therapist.

This notion that prison inmates develop creative forms of caring is not new. Tuastad (2014) has described how a rock band of ex-inmates came to define themselves as a self-help group, and Mjåland (2014) has shown how the illegal sharing of drugs in a prison environment was related to a desire to care for others. In a more formal capacity, health institutions and addiction treatment programmes employ previous patients as consultants

²⁸ The concept of affect attunement (Stern, 1985) refers to a cross-modal sharing and matching of feeling states, and is an influential concept in music therapy theory and practice (Trondalen and Skårderud, 2007; Ansdell, 2014)

(Rydheim and Svendsen, 2014), and also in the wider field of music therapy the employment of 'erfaringskonsulenter' has begun to occur. The term 'wounded healers' has been used to describe how people recovering from addiction or mental illness might help others who are not as far along a trajectory of recovery (Heideman et al., 2016). In a similar way, Ben's story exemplifies how for some, their cultivation of musicianhood drew on their own experiences of *music's help* (Ansdell, 2014) and, with any support I was able to provide, developed music into their own technology of care.

When we examine the physical location of the music therapy service, situated amongst a sawmill, a bicycle workshop, an art studio, a coffee burning workshop and cookery classes, we see an environment that is geared towards *learning* through *doing* in master-apprentice relationships (Le May and Wenger, 2009). It was not surprising then that people also could treat music therapy in this way: focusing not only on the acquisition of musical skill or the personal/social/health benefits that participation in music may bring, but on *learning* music therapy by *doing*. DeNora (2007) puts forward this notion, suggesting that we can 'see the craft of the music therapist [...] with new eyes as they seek to activate latent health-musicking skills in those with whom they work.' (p. 284). Research indicates that helping others is as beneficial, if not more, to the helper as to those receiving help (Heideman et al., 2016). Supporting this, it was clear that working musically to help others in the prison provided Ben with a strong sense of self-worth and purpose:

Ben: Growing up I struggled with low self-esteem, putting myself down and that kind of crap. That's been in my head in all kinds of situations in life and has ruined a lot for me, like in my work life, with women, all kinds of relations. But if you see that you can do things with music, it is just as if you...well, you grow...get stronger...begin to think positively about yourself, you see? (Interview, 10/6/15).

For Ben then, using music as a technology of care became one defining aspect of his growing sense of musicianhood, showing how the cultivation of a musician identity could stretch beyond issues relating to personal/musical development and expanding into action for social change.

Jermaine: Musical activism

For some participants, engagement in musical activities in the prison fitted in with a larger narrative about political activism. Jermaine came as a refugee to Norway when he was a teenager. He served a five-month sentence in Bjørgvin prison for assaulting another man outside a nightclub. He expressed a strong commitment to help other young immigrants, and he had previously done a lot of work in the immigrant community in his local town. He came across as unusually apt at straddling the boundaries between mainstream society, the immigrant community and the local youth/rap/hiphop culture. He had previously been toying with the idea of writing his own rap lyrics, but had never made any 'serious' attempts at doing anything about it until his prison stay provided an opportunity to pursue it:

Jermaine: If the songs turn out to be good, I am going to pursue music more professionally
(Interview, 12/2/19)

When Jermaine decided to participate in the music therapy research project phase 2, he explained how he wanted to reach out to younger immigrants. When discussing possibilities for musical action, he quickly established his wish to record and release a song, and to create a platform where he could meet and speak to young people. He was very motivated to go in the studio to record as part of a CD recording project, and worked at developing his lyrics and practicing his performance, something the many handwritten lyric sheets left behind in the music room were a testament to (see fig. 17).

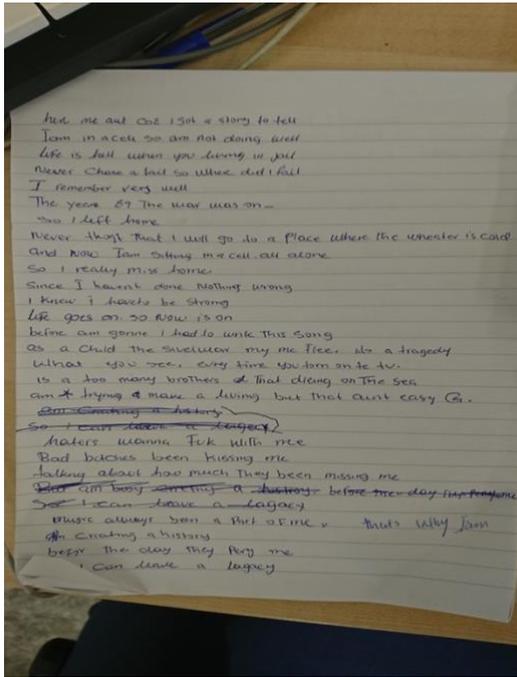


Figure 17 Picture of Jermaine's neatly handwritten lyrics for one of his songs.

In line with my wish to mediate the voices of the participants, I have chosen to include extracts from Jermaine's lyrics for one of his songs, interspersed by extracts from a longer conversation we had during his songwriting process (Interview, 12/2/19). I have organised these thematically with the aim of showing how Jermaine's songwriting specifically related to his reflections around subjects that were of importance to him.

Jermaine's Song

*I've got a story to tell
 I'm in a cell, so not doing so well
 Life is hell
 When you living in jail*

Jermaine: I am worried about the future, because prison makes it even harder to integrate. For example, if you want to apply for a job, where do you get that first reference? As an immigrant, you don't know where to go to get a reference. But if you go to prison, suddenly

it gets recorded everywhere. Prison becomes your cv, and it is never erased. And I think a lot of people have those kinds of heavy thoughts in here [Björgvin], and it gets even heavier when the people in here are together because we are forced to be. But music can help, to forget the pain. Without music, a lot more stuff would kick off in here I think. (Interview, 12/2/19)

*My history is full of misery
As a kid growing up without a family
I flew overseas, came to this cold country
Ending up seeking refuge
The only thing that was promised to me
Was pain or poverty*

Jermaine: I mean, how much opportunity do immigrants like me really have to be a part of society? There are basically two sides to being integrated. You can be integrated in the community, like, you understand where you can get hold of the cheapest milk or where you can buy secondhand clothes. But then you also need to be integrated in the system, know where to go for help, know which department does this and which agency does that, and how to fill in all the forms. But people who come here don't know where to go, and even if they do they are afraid to go because they don't trust the authorities. (Interview, 12/2/19)

*Mothers are crying every day
Coz they took their kids away
Nobody cares about what they've got to say
They don't trust the system anyway
So they just pray
Hoping somehow the pain may fade away*

Jermaine: A guy started on me in town outside a nightclub and I had to defend myself. In the fight he fell and got injuries to his head. So I was sentenced to nine months. And my defence

lawyer said 'just accept the nine months, that's nothing'. So I did. But I know a lot of people who actually have started wearing video cameras so they can prove their innocence if they end up in trouble. They feel they need it, because they feel unsafe and they feel that the system is prejudiced. And there is a lot of prejudice, like, that immigrants are more violent. Like, if people are looking for drugs they always ask a black guy like me, because they know that I couldn't possibly be a cop. And when you are already marked out in that way, how do you get a chance to become part of society? (Interview, 12/2/19)

*So I started selling weed and ecstasy
Then I got the police after me
Chasing me
Every day they' stressing me
But I never let them arrest me
It's the same old recipe
About how my life is and how it used to be
About not really having no-one close to me
Hanging with others who are not used to me
Life is tough when you're not living with your family
I wonder is that what my life is meant to be
Or is it just my destiny*

Jermaine: But music also lets you influence things. I mean, music makes it easier to communicate across different groups, because music has no colour. For me, it has to have a theme, like, asking what can be improved. So music is definitely political, because it helps people to make a statement, to reach their dreams, to develop. I would say music is the most important thing in my life. Next to that, family is the most important. It gets you connected to other people, you have something in common and you come closer to each other. Music is the key to be heard, and to speak for yourself and others. It makes problems visible in society. I mean, people talk a lot about peace, but they don't talk so much about justice. Everything is not just great, like people in Norway like to think. (Interview, 12/2/19)

*The way I flow
It's for show
It's my time to blow
So I'll let you know
Soon my music will cross the globe*

Jermaine: I want to be involved in the important issues because I want to make a better world for my kid. I have done some sports coaching, just for the local team, to help to build a platform for my kid. Because in team sports, everybody is equal. And that is what I mean about music too. I want to write about the stuff that I have been through because I don't want the people who are coming over now, who think I am an old guy, to have to go through all the same shit that I have been through.' (Interview, 12/2/19)

*Before I go I have to write this song
As a child the civil war made me flee
It's a tragedy
what you see
every time you turn on the TV
It's too many brothers dying on the sea
I'm trying to make a living but that ain't easy G
Music will always be a part of me
That's why I'm creating history
So I can leave a legacy*

In the cases of Boris, Ben and Jermaine we see how their life narratives became deeply entangled with their musicking in the prison. For Boris, recapitulating patterns of estrangement and belonging through music created a congruent narrative about the roles of music in his life, and how it had come to shape and be shaped by social relationships. For Ben, his experiences of music's help when he himself had experienced hard times, motivated him to employ music as a technology of care for others in the prison environment through acts of 'lay' music therapy. For Jermaine, his hardships as a refugee and immigrant motivated him to give a voice to others in his situation. In all three cases, the presence of a music therapy service in the prison offered opportunities for musicking that had not previously been available to them. Their musicking in the prison came to form a link between their past, present and future, and as such contributed to coherence within their unfolding life narratives.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

In this chapter I have presented the second vector of musical change in Bjørgvin prison; 'opptreden' (performance/surrection) – *becoming musicians*. The data illustrates how participants' work to establish and develop a musician identity can be understood as developments in three broad areas; musicianship, musicking persona and the creation of musical life stories. Developments in these areas have strengthened people's own sense of musicianhood through affirmative experiences and a confirmation of their status as musicians in the eyes of others. The data also show how musicking in various ways provided purpose and meaning, and how it contributed to maintaining a sense of self that rejected stereotypical notions of the 'prisoner' or 'the repenting sinner' (Ugelvik, 2014). Through acts of playing, singing, talking, songwriting, performing, recording, learning, teaching and practicing, people developed musicking as a way of *doing time* (Harbert, 2010). Not in the sense of treading water, but in the sense of *making* the prison stay meaningful. And this meaning did not just relate to the present but was derived from the way music interacted with and became part of people's wider and unfolding life stories.

To return to the meaning of 'opptreden' as 'to arise', the data also brings up how people emerged, through musicking, as responsible and caring citizens. The musical caring taking place in the prison, exemplified by Ben's lay-therapeutic practice (DeNora, 2007) speaks to the growing interest in contemporary music studies into relationships between music and empathy. Music has for instance been found to promote tolerance towards others and to generate understanding across cultural boundaries (Clarke et al., 2015). This is particularly relevant to ongoing research into empathy and crime. Research is largely inconclusive in suggesting a firm relationship between levels of empathy and crime (Barnett and Mann, 2013; Jolliffe and Farrington, 2004; Seidel et al., 2013; Van Langen et al., 2014), but still many seem to work from an assumption of empathy deficits in offenders. From such a perspective, the musical caring in Bjørgvin prison could be construed as a form of behavioural change or development of empathic capacity, and therefore, an 'effect' of music therapy. I would however argue that a focus on individual cognitive *capacity* for empathy tells us little about empathic *intentions* or capacity for empathic *interaction*. Rather than claiming that increased empathy was an effect of music therapy, I would assert that musicking provided means and opportunities for people to care in an environment where this was otherwise difficult, not least because ways of interacting were so heavily policed by staff and prisoners. For a more pragmatic understanding of prisoners' *empathy-in-action*, we can fruitfully turn our focus towards musicking and the possibilities for empathic action afforded through it.

7. 'MUSIKKMILJØ': CREATING MUSICAL COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 5 we saw how music permeates the prison and affords license and opportunities for musical performance in an environment fraught with restrictions, social codes and a lack of privacy. In Chapter 6 I looked closer at how these affordances for musicking provide grounds for developing musicianhood through creating, developing, maintaining and performing a musician identity, and how this was intertwined with notions of activism and care. In this chapter I present the third vector of musical change; 'Musikkmiljø' – creating musical community. Through an examination of the fabric of the prison music scene I show how I, the participants and other actors worked to create *musical community*, illuminating what musical community came to mean in relation to aspects of prison life.

'Musikkmiljø'

As explained in Chapter 4 (p. 141), the word 'musikkmiljø' (music scene/community) was frequently used by inmates in Bjørgvin in conversation, affirming its prevalence in cultures surrounding music making. It was also used in writing. For instance, to 'be a part of the musikkmiljø' was a frequently cited reason to request an appointment with myself. This was demonstrated by several contact request forms (see fig. 18 below). I have awarded this word particular significance within this thesis because it simultaneously captures the transient and situated dimensions of musical community (Ansdell, 2014), *and* the more stable structural and cultural dimensions of the music scene (Finnegan, 1989).²⁹

²⁹ See p. 291 for a discussion regarding the scene as client vs the community as client.

people. Throughout this chapter my aim is to show how we worked to create, maintain, nurture and develop the prison music scene as an emergent and evolving entity, and I seek to illuminate my role in crafting and embodying *connection*, as the most permanent presence involved in the prison music scene. Overall the chapter charts what I registered as developments *towards* musical community, i.e. musical change along the vector of ‘musikkmiljø’.

THE FABRIC OF THE MUSIC SCENE: GUITARS, ‘FIXERS’ AND PROFESSIONAL NETWORKS

Throughout my fieldwork I observed how musicking afforded *connections* between people within the prison, but also with friends and loved ones on the outside, allowing for the maintenance of relationships and the establishment of new social networks. Locating my practice within this web of connections involved understanding how musicking connected people, but also how connections (material, people, networks, practices) afforded musicking. The fabric of connections making up the prison music scene is evident in previous chapters, but I will now explore these more systematically and in more detail. In this section I do this by exploring connections on three levels; material (by example of the guitar), interpersonal (by example of ‘fixers’), and organisational (by example of the professional networks surrounding the music therapy practice).

Initially I valued objects for their potentials as symbolic allegory; the multi-channel studio mixer was a potent symbol for musical community. Gradually however, I came to view the function of the mixer not to be symbolic at all. It physically brings our voices together, amplifies them and mediates them out of the speakers. In other words I was increasingly aware of the agency of materials (Tilley et al., 2006; Halstead and Rolvsjord, 2017) in shaping the prison music scene. In establishing the fabric of the music scene, I thus begin with materials, and I have chosen to do this through analysing the role of guitars in the prison.

The guitar as cultural artefact in Bjørgvin prison

Guitars have held a significant position in the musical life of Bjørgvin prison since the establishment of the music therapy service in 2008 and one of the most consistent motivations for people to approach me was a wish to learn to play the guitar. As Luke flippantly put it; 'I could learn to play the bass or the drums, but I guess it's the guitar that pulls the women' (Fieldnotes, 2/3/15). This illustrates how the role and status of the guitar in the prison could be informed by cultural stereotypes and perceptions of the instrument. In this case, Luke's statement links to theory about how musical instruments are gendered (Halstead and Rolvsjord, 2017) and how this in turn shapes our engagement with them:

Kent: 'It's good for pulling women. It's true. I know that, because I have a cousin who plays a bit of guitar. He always has the guitar on show in the back of his car. He is a bit of a shyster, but he pulls a lot of women'. (Fieldnotes, 26/5/15)

The wish to learn to play the guitar could then be related to aims beyond the actual playing itself. Whether or not the flippant tone represented a genuine wish to attract sexual attention, it was significant to me that so many reported, jokingly or not, that their motivation for learning the guitar was related to *connecting* with other people.

During his stay in the prison, Ben borrowed a guitar from the music room. The guitar had already been in the prison for six years when Ben arrived and was available for inmates to keep in their rooms, often for several months. The guitar was a budget-end Yamaha C45 nylon string acoustic. Despite its modest selection of tonewoods and machine assembly it had a rich and warm sound, it kept its tuning relatively well and the intonation was good. Being a C45 model, it had a rather wide neck with a flat fretboard, mirroring traditional classical guitar design rather than the more slimline models intended for crossover (rock/classical/flamenco) guitar players. Since I purchased it in 2008 it had been let out more than forty times to as many people. The guitar had thus encountered dozens of prison cells, played hundreds of songs, thousands of chords, riffs and scales. It had been used for writing and composing original music, for practicing and for twiddling whilst watching television.

Sometimes, the guitar had been used in gatherings of people, either in a cell with the door open, in the corridors, in common rooms or in the music room. The guitar had been intimately entangled with a large number of people through their use of and interaction with it. Aside from occasionally being handed back to me for maintenance, it was passed on from one inmate to the next, like a relay-baton connecting a group of people in an unfolding process of longitudinal musicking. The guitar did not kiss and tell, but it was marked by wear and tear, evidencing its usefulness and mediating its own story of musical intimacy and versatility.



Figure 19 - Close-up of the neck of the guitar Ben borrowed, showing the wear and tear on the frets associated with basic first position chords, particularly A major, A minor, D major. Evidencing practice, or practicing evidence?

The wear on the fretboard (fig. 19) corresponded to the fingering patterns for basic first position chords such as A major/minor, E major/minor, D major/minor/7, C major and G major. When Ben played his own songs, most of which were in the key of D major, he was interacting with, reproducing and maintaining practices and sounds that had come to be physically inscribed on the guitar. In this way, the guitar represented a material connection between Ben and previous inmates, linking them through sound, practice and morphology.

The guitar also represented connections to people beyond the prison sphere. In my conversations and interviews with participants I was struck by how often they brought up significant people in their lives in connection with playing or talking about the guitar in particular. As well as linking Ben to other (previous) inmates, the guitar and its associated practices of sound production also connected Ben to his family and childhood by way of memories and associations. I spoke to Ben about his relationship with the guitar:

Ben: We lived in a house in town, and I was in the third grade, and my mum had bought a brand-new Yamaha, one of those nylon string guitars.

Kjetil: Like the ones we have here?

Ben: Yeah, pretty much. Very good sound in those guitars, right. Very easy to learn to play on. And she played a lot at that time, for us. For the kids, me and my sister and my brother. And then when I was about nine or ten maybe, I started handling the guitar myself. And then my mum would be on at me and say "you have to do fingerpicking" [laughs]. The first song I learnt was of course Tom Dooley [sings]: "Hang down your head Tom Dooley", right. It's that standard song. She played a lot of travelers' songs as well, songs from [Norwegian town] and all those tunes. Travelers are very fond of the guitar and of music.

Kjetil: So then that music became a part of your life too?

Ben: Yes. And then me and my sister argued a lot about that nylon string guitar, who should keep it in their room and who should play it. Until me and my brother got boxing gloves, then we forgot about the guitar [laughs]. (Interview, 10/6/15)

Ben showed how musical instruments could elicit memories. As such, the instrument can be viewed as what Hogg (2003) has described as a *mnemic* technology. Moving beyond associations we may make, Hogg asserts that instruments literally, by their morphology and material qualities, *reproduce* the past. The layout of the fretboard on a guitar, the shape of the neck, the string action and quality of the strings, will influence the creativity of the player in particular ways and is an important facet of the instrument's material agency (Baily and Driver, 1992; Hjørnevik 2001). But more than this, Hogg suggests that, similar to technology such as the gramophone, which allows us to hear historical performances and 'voices from the past', instruments and the associated handing down of technique facilitates a 'resurrection' of sound, which not only points to, but directly evokes the original sound. This furthers and nuances our notion of the guitars material agency in Bjørgvin prison, and its role as part of the fabric of the music scene.

Ansdell (2014) points out that 'musical community is where musical community happens' (p. 227). In the most basic sense, this could also be taken to include the subjective experience of connectedness even in situations where people find themselves alone. Such a notion of extended musical community points to the materials and practices which connected participants to a wider notion of culture, even when they were physically separated from it. Through the labour of keeping objects present in their minds. Small (1998) describes how a lone flautist standing alone in the desert playing his ethnic flute is historically linked to his ancestors through the music he plays and through interacting with the flute itself. According to Small, when someone plays an instrument, they are interacting with a physical manifestation of the musical canon of which that instrument is a part. Small's reflections around the lone flautist provides a good framework for understanding the cultural and relational *connections* (Dusselier, 2008) afforded by instruments, and their material agency. For Ben, not only did the guitar embody memories of loved ones and of his childhood, but it represented a link to what he perceived to be his ancestral musical heritage ('travelers' songs'). Through its morphology and inscribed practices, it also linked him to other inmates and to a larger community of musicians. In this perspective playing alone in a cell was not necessarily an act of solitude, but rather an act of actively connecting to a social, material and spiritual world, and linking the past to the present and the future.

Such social dimensions of practicing music alone seem particularly relevant in carceral settings where people experience enforced physical isolation. For many participants in Bjørgvin prison, time spent alone with an instrument, be it practising chords or scales, playing and singing songs, writing songs, or simply 'twiddling', made up a large, and often the *largest*, proportion of their 'musicking time'. Many inmates saw this not simply as a substitute to playing with others, nor simply as a means to an end in terms of practice or preparation. On the contrary, they described being able to play 'just to myself' as a worthwhile activity in itself. With the broadening views in the field of music therapy of where and how music therapy happens (Wood, 2016), it seems pertinent to also understand the individual and solitary practise carried out by participants in Bjørgvin within an ecological perspective, particularly when seeking to understand how music therapy supported change along the vector of *musikkmiljø*.

The guitars in Bjørgvin prison could by their very presence elicit relationships of the past, facilitate relationship in the present, connect people to wider cultures of musicking, connect people to specific sound making practices, and, as demonstrated by fig. 19, bear empirical evidence of their intimate interactions with people in the prison. As such, instruments, with their intermittent status as 'ensouled' objects (Hogg, 2003), were a significant part of the fabric of the Bjørgvin music scene and embodied an agentive function (Tilley et al., 2006) in the movement towards *musikkmiljø*.

'Fixers': Dealers in musical experience

To continue the exploration of the fabric of the music scene I now turn to people who often lurked on the periphery of musical groupings, who seldom or never took part in sound making, but who nevertheless played a key role in making musicking happen by putting people in touch with others, by advertising, recommending, organising and generally working to create *potential musical space* (see p. 181 for a discussion of this term). I came to think of this group of people as 'fixers'. Fixers were an essential resource for my practice in terms of recruitment, and in terms of strengthening the fabric of the prison music scene and creating *musikkmiljø*.

Luke, a man in his mid-twenties was in Bjørgvin prison for the fourth time in six years. His participation in music therapy activities over the years, also prior to the research project, had been peripheral yet important; he occasionally played the drums and enjoyed making electronic music on the computer, but his main way of participating had been by 'hanging around' and dropping into the music room, listening, and helping out with practical matters. During his current stay, he knew his way about the prison well, which placed him in a position where he could 'show the ropes' to newcomers.

Luke's introductions

Luke knocks on the door to my office. I say 'come in', he opens the door and introduces me to Peter, a new arrival at the prison, and says that Peter would like to learn to play the bass guitar. I shake Peter's hand and introduce myself, but before I have a chance to say anything else Luke tells me that a new piano player also arrived last night. Luke explains that he is a genius, that he can listen to a song and then play it straight away, and that he has released an album that they sell in the local petrol station in [small town they are both from]. Luke says that he will bring the new piano player to the music room later.

(Fieldnotes 3/3/15)

That afternoon, I and Luke went to the music room. Without speaking, Luke began to organise the space:

Luke prepares the music room

I notice Luke looking around the room, looking at the chairs. He moves two of the chairs so that they are in front of the desk and facing the room, and he clears away some folders from the bench in front of the window. He looks at the chairs, then at the keyboard in the middle of the room, then looks at the chairs again as if he is measuring the distance.

(Fieldnotes, 3/3/15)

Since the new piano player's arrival the night before, Luke had spoken to several other inmates about him, telling them that 'you have to hear him play' (Fieldnotes, 3/3/15). Later that same evening, a quaint musical event took place in the music room during which the new piano player performed *Nocturne in C# minor* (Chopin) in the dusk in front of five people and explained how music had saved his life. (See the Epilogue, p. 305, for the

vignette from this musical meeting). In his subtle yet determined staging of this event Luke facilitated a profound musical encounter between me, himself, Peter, the piano player and two men I later came to know as Sergej and Yosuf. The successful meeting was made possible because of Luke's expert knowledge of his artist *and* of his new-found audience, and because of his skilful ability to match their needs and desires.

If we consider what Luke did here to be an act of identifying needs and demands and assessing opportunities to meeting this demand, we acknowledge also that he is engaging in a form of affect attunement (Stern, 1985). Affect attunement is a central concept in music therapy practice, indicating the act of seeking to understand the emotional needs and states of another, and the simultaneous act of mediating this understanding³⁰. Mostly attributed to the therapist as a professional skill, it is pertinent to recognise how participants in music therapy attune to each other and to the music therapist (Rolvsjord, 2015). Bringing people 'into play' and priming them in various ways, Luke laid the ground for the musical event, and gradually the others too attuned to the *potential musical space* that was emerging. On a par with Ben's 'lay-therapy' (see p. 211) and Chris's desire to create 'spillerom' (see p. 176), I actively sought to support and encourage this form of sensitively attuned facilitation of musicking. I therefore considered it to be an extension of my own music therapy practice, and an example of how a resource-oriented approach (Rolvsjord, 2010) was instrumental in the creation of a therapeutic music scene.

The term 'fixer' was partly inspired by the use of the term in the entertainment industry to describe people who organise events, but also by the prevalence in the prison of the vernacular of drug culture, gangsterism and illicit dealing (Nielson, 2010). Luke was himself sentenced for dealing illegal drugs, and occasionally shared details from this part of his life. He saw himself as a skilled dealer, partly owing to an ability to make people feel at ease around him. This was a description I could recognise from my own experience of working with Luke. He was someone that I often looked forward to meeting and working with in the music room because of his quietly generous disposition. Musically, his participation might be described in light of Stige and Aarø's (2012) notion of *legitimate peripheral participation* in

³⁰ Stern's (1985) concept of affect attunement was based on observations of mother-infant interactions.

music therapy, building on the work of Lave and Wenger (1991). This was a prevalent form of participation in Bjørgvin prison, and dropping into the music room represented for many the first moves towards ‘finding their way [...] to fuller participation’ (Stige and Aarø, 2012, p. 230). However, it was clear that Luke was more than peripheral in terms of *making things happen*. Rather than being a bystander to congregations of happenstance, he had in this case actively sought out specific people and worked strategically to facilitate a musical meeting. From a musicking perspective (Small, 1998) his contribution was thus as important as that of those engaging in the actual sound production. Mjåland (2015) has described how skills acquired from previous illicit activities might come into play as a resource within the prison community, exemplified by people illegally distributing medicines inside the prison out of a motivation to care for and help other inmates. In our case, Luke’s initial inclination for music coupled with his skills in people matching and event organisation became a resource for musicking in the prison, including for me in relation to my own work of recruiting participants, facilitating collaboration and generally making music happen. Based on his leg work in this particular instance, I was able to establish connections with several newly arrived inmates, and offer bass guitar lessons to Peter.

Professional networks

From looking at the minutiae of interactions between participants to facilitate musical meetings, I now move to show how the structures of interdisciplinary and cross-organisational collaborations formed an integral part of my work as a music therapist, was part of the fabric of the music scene, and enabled people to establish *musical pathways* (Ansdell and DeNora, 2016) towards change and development.

During the pilot (2015) I was the only professional offering music activities in the prison. During the main study (2018/2019) the provision of music activities was greatly expanded; the school department employed three music teachers offering singing lessons, music technology, guitar lessons and band groups. Also at this time, the local health authorities, the local council and the prison service joined forces to open an addiction rehabilitation unit, *Stifinneren* (‘The Pathfinder’), within Bjørgvin prison. In connection with this a music therapist employed by the local health authorities was allocated to work part time with

those inmates in Bjørgvin who were enlisted with *Stifinneren*. In a short period of time, Bjørgvin therefore transitioned from having one music therapist, to having a total of five music professionals working with the ninety inmates on a weekly basis. A very practical consequence was that the music therapy room and other facilities across the prison now had to meet the needs of this diverse group of professionals and our different modalities of working, and times of use needed to be booked and distributed. Another consequence was that we worked musically with the same participants, but on different days. Whilst there were great potentials inherent in this situation to research collaborative strategies traversing the borders between music therapy and music education, it was beyond the scope of my research to pursue an in-depth analysis of the consequences of such radical changes which occurred towards the end of the data collection process. However, a closer look at an example of cross-disciplinary collaboration with other music professionals as well as an overview of the formal and informal organisational networks we represented together, shed a light on how working collaboratively was an important factor in facilitating musical connection and supporting the creation of musical community in, and beyond, Bjørgvin prison.

Figure 20 highlights how interdisciplinary collaboration between myself, the music teachers, other music therapists and other music professionals external to the prison (e.g. rehearsing for a concert), meant that large organisational networks were brought into play. This meant for instance that costs for projects or purchases could be shared. Also, opportunities for live performance could emerge through one organisation, which representatives of the other organisations would not normally have access to. For instance, through our connection with the local music therapy network I and the other music therapist had information about, and links to, local music therapy events which the teachers may not be aware of. Conversely, the prison education dept. had the economic and organisational resources to organise events that I would not normally have access to outside of our collaboration. Thus there was a synergy effect from our collaborations in terms of musical 'possibilities for action' (Ruud, 1998) which not only benefited individual participants by creating pathways to musicking outside, and often after, prison, but which provided a semi-robust structure for supporting the prison music scene in terms of performances, recording, material infrastructure and professional support.

NETWORK OF INTERDISCIPLINARY COLLABORATION

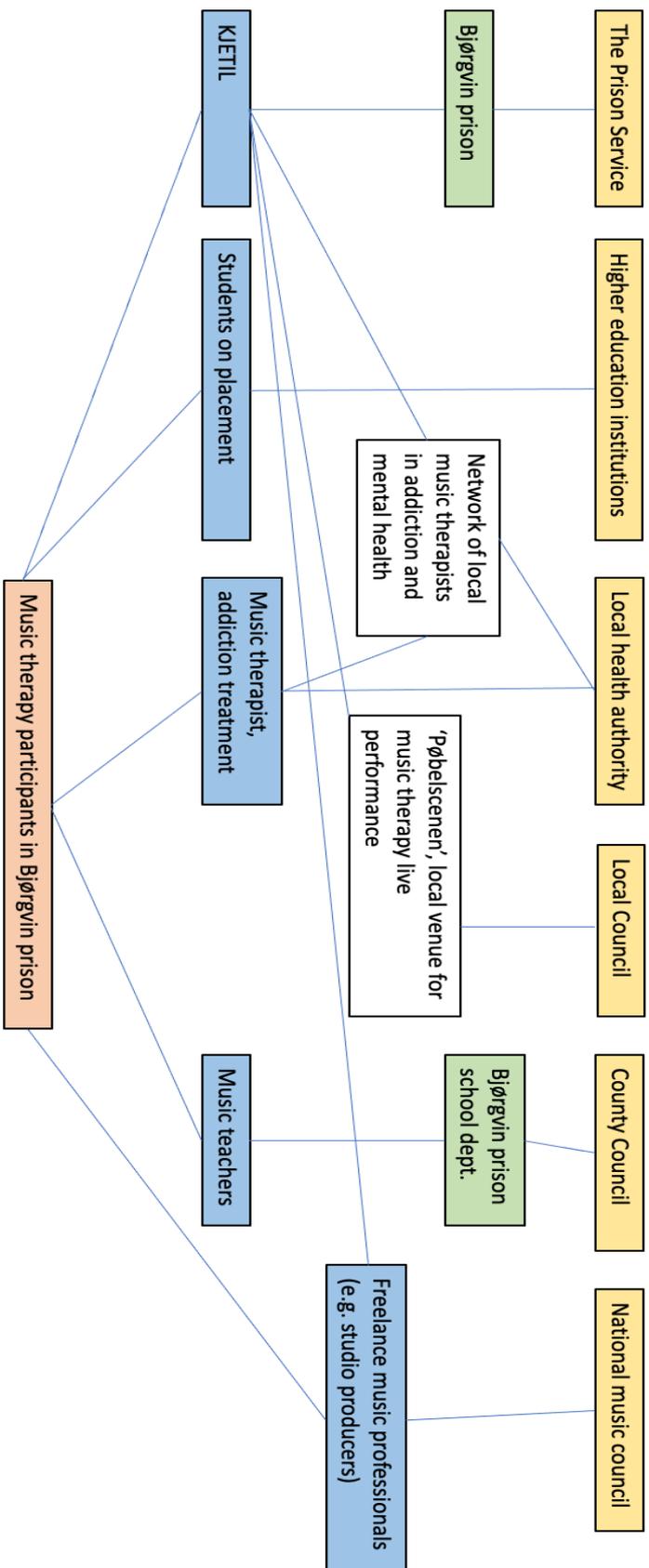


Figure 20 - Overview of interdisciplinary connections surrounding the music therapy practice in Björgvin prison during the main study.

Participant expertise among professional actors



Figure 21 - Picture of CD cover of the double CD produced by the school department and released as a not-for-sale CD.

A consistent vein of activity throughout both data collection periods was the recordings made in professional studios outside of the prison. These were predominantly funded by the local county through the prison school department, with support from the local branch of the national music council (*Musikkrådet*), and involving several other prisons as well as a community based music programme for previous offenders. Several of the recordings were released on a near annual not-for-profit CD release (fig. 21). Two studios were used for these purposes. One studio was predominantly associated with rock and pop productions, and the producer here emphasized warm and ‘natural’, stripped down mixes which brought out the live ambiance and dynamics of often traditional rock band arrangements. This studio had a large live room with vintage quality instruments such as a Fender Rhodes electric piano and an acoustic drum kit. In addition to a comfortable and dimly lit control room it also had a separate vocal booth, allowing for a band and singer to record at the same time. The second studio was primarily associated with hip hop and rap music and was thus centred more around digital production methods and the recording of vocal performances over a pre-recorded backingtrack. The two studios then offered complementary approaches to musicking, allowing us the opportunity to tailor the studio experience to the style of the participants. Rap songs were mixed and mastered in the studio on the day, whereas band

recordings, often requiring a more comprehensive process of balancing and editing tracks, were mixed and mastered after the event. In most cases students undergoing music therapy training participated in the recording projects that I was involved with. On the day of the recording, I would drive myself and any participants attending to the studio in one of the prison vans around 9.30 in the morning, to return at 15.00 in the afternoon. On all occasions we ordered pizza, which was shared between participants, me, students and the producer. These were again funded largely by the school department. As such, matters of conviviality (Procter 2013) were a significant part of what these experiences afforded.

In our sessions, we regularly listened back to different takes of the recorded song, deciding which parts to keep and which parts to re-record. During this process, there were often discussions between band members, students, me, music teachers and the studio producers. In my reflection notes after a studio session with participant guitarist and singer Jim, I wrote:

Reflections on musical collaboration

The dim lighting, the cosy sofas and retro décor are not arbitrary but the results of careful planning and professional expertise on the producers' part. The audio equipment is curated over decades, such as the old delay machine that the producer describes with such fondness. We are all sat huddled together in the small control room to listen through the last two takes of the song. We are sat in silence, and I get the impression that everybody is listening intently. There are gentle nods, frowns, and people tilting their heads as if to hear better. I am struck by the commitment to the product and the process from all these different professionals. Here we are, all gathered around a sonic product that stems from Jim's original idea and composition. And although it is an educational and therapy practice project, it has developed into something much bigger that everyone is now united around, each contributing from our own musical and professional perspective. All of us seem intent on making this product the best it can be, from the lampshades in the hallway to the vigorous bass playing of the music teacher supporting Jim's vocals through the speakers [...] (Fieldnotes, 6/11/18)

These field notes points to the significance of Jim’s contribution in this collaboration; having written the song and being the lead musician, he inhabited his own form of expertise (Flower, 2019) alongside everyone else. The shared professional/musical investment and risk brought about a sense of bonding, belonging and group cohesion, and could act as a social leveller. This observation of how Jim and his creative output were recognized and worked with in the studio, represented a stark contrast to my observations recorded when checking out of the prison earlier the same morning:

A First Officer’s warning

In the process of leaving the prison this morning I was taken aside by the 1st officer [name]. He warned me of the severity of Jim’s sentence, and the potential risks of taking him out on escorted leave. [Name] said that I should not have let him know in advance where we were going in case he was able to plan for someone to meet with him. He asked me if I had undergone the security training and reminded me of what to do in the event of Jim absconding. (Fieldnotes, 6/11/18)

It must at this point be noted that the 1st officers were invariably supportive and positive to participants being granted escorted leave to record in the studio. The reminders from the 1st officer were part of a routine checklist before allowing people to bring inmates out on escorted leave, and were designed to protect me, the inmate, and society. However, the contrast between how Jim is represented in the two accounts illustrates how the systemic need for security may obscure aspects of an individual’s identity and resources. On the other hand, it illustrates how the privilege of *not* being the person responsible for dictating security measures allowed us, as music professionals (therapist, teacher, producer, musician) to engage with Jim in a different way.

Section summary

As has been demonstrated in the above section, materials (exemplified by the guitar), people (exemplified by 'fixers') and multi-disciplinary/cross-organisational collaboration facilitated a fabric of musical connections between people. These musical connections could be fleeting and transient, they could be suspended and procured across time and space (e.g. Ben engaging with the musical practices enscribed on the Yamaha C45 guitar) and they could be embedded in the meeting betwixt organisational practices and structures (e.g. the CD projects). This web of connections meant that musicking in Bjørgvin was not attributable to a single 'music therapy practice', a 'music education programme' or people's individual acts of musicking. Instead, the web of connections facilitated a recurrence of *possibilities* for musicking and for the creation of musical community. As such it represents an extended notion of *potential musical space*. The described trip to the studio above opens up to a notion of the music therapist role as decentred, at times even peripheral to particular events and processes, yet still imperative in facilitating the participation of clients and creating such potential musical spaces. To draw on Stige's (2006) identification of different modes of participation in music therapy for clients, the concept of legitimate peripheral participation, could thus usefully be applied to the music therapist under certain conditions. Having explored the basic foundations of the prison music scene in the form of materials (the guitar), people (fixers), and professional networks, I now move on to explore the role and function of songs in creating musikkmiljø in Bjørgvin prison.

A COMMUNITY OF SONGS

As is already clear from the data presented so far, songs were integral to the ways in which people connected musically in Bjørgvin prison, and they were therefore integral to the fabric of the music scene. Some songs afforded pivotal one-off moments in musicking situations, others facilitated cultural coherence and expressions of shared identity. Songs also afforded longitudinal collaborative processes and contributed to cultural exchange between the prison and outside worlds. As well as being a crucial part of my practice as a music therapist

and of the fabric of the music scene, songs also became an important part of the data material and of my analysis. Because of this, a closer look at what songs *are* and the functions they came to hold in the building of *musikkmiljø*, is necessary.

What are songs and what can they tell us?

To get a sense of the complexities involved in defining precisely what a song is, one only has to look to the judicial fields of copyright and licensing. Inhabiting a composite ontological status as text (e.g. lyrics/score), sound (melody/harmony/rhythm/timbre/form), situated event (e.g. the impromptu performance of a popular song), unfolding cultural practice (e.g. the evolving roles and meanings of particular songs throughout history) and artefact (e.g. recordings, lyric sheets, the song as an imaginary object), songs turned out in my project to be one of the most significant arenas through which meaning was created, negotiated and expressed, and through which my own understanding of musicking in the prison took shape. Seeking to address all the above dimensions of songs and their functions, my approach to working with songs in research and practice was informed by my overarching ecological perspective on music as situated action (Small, 1998), and by theory about songs as intertextual practices (Moore, 2012). Moore explains:

Intertextuality is [...] about transgressing the unity, the self-containedness, of the utterance [sic], and about the opening of it to other utterances [...] a focus on intertextual presence is commensurate with the downgrading of the importance of the author as the inscriber of meaning.
(Moore, 2012, p. 271).

Cover songs

The intertextual status and ecological situatedness of songs served to frame my analysis of them as the appropriation of cultural materials, and how people created meaning from it in different situations. The most prevalent form of appropriation of songs in Bjørgvin prison was the rehearsal and performance of cover songs. Epp (2007) has highlighted how the performance of cover songs can be experienced as an authentic form of self-expression in music therapy. Challenging music therapy's historical pre-occupation with the (assumed)

immediacy of improvisation or the revelatory potentials of songwriting, Epp suggests that 'self-expression may not be spontaneous, impulsive and primal (as is commonly thought); it is often carefully constructed and rehearsed.' (2007, no pagination). In my data material this was demonstrated for instance by Andrew's rendition of *Wanted Dead or Alive* (p. 198). The most prolific songs during the data collection periods were:

Ten prolific songs performed in Bjørgvin prison

Hurt (Trent Reznor, as performed by Johnny Cash)

Folsom Prison Blues (Johnny Cash)

Sweet Home Alabama (Lynyrd Skynyrd)

Hotel California (The Eagles)

Space Oddity (David Bowie)

Wish You Were Here (Pink Floyd)

Nothing Else Matters (Metallica)

Black Magic Woman (Peter Green, as performed by Santana)

First We Take Manhattan (Then We Take 'Bjørgvin') (Leonard Cohen)

Creep (Radiohead)

A closer analysis reveals that these songs are heavily guitar based and part of an established repertoire associated with learning to play the guitar (see fig. 19 p. 227 illustrating how the wear of the fretboard of the Yamaha C45 guitar corresponds with the chord shapes associated with much of this repertoire). Further, the ten songs represent a selection of themes which appear relevant to life in prison. *Folsom Prison Blues*, *Hotel California* and *First We Take Manhattan* all directly address being locked up or confined, e.g. 'You can check out any time you like, but you can never leave' (*Hotel California*), whereas *Space Oddity* and *Wish You Were Here* both have wistful and melancholy references to being lost, detached and wanting to be somewhere else. In line with the ecological and intertextual status of songs, this is not to say that songs embody prescriptive meanings. Rather, as Epp (2007)

points out, meaning is derived from 'a sense of accomplishment in performing a "real song," a sense of connection to one's peers through the fact that the song was a shared cultural artefact, experienced together in real time, and a sense of identity and location in time and space' (no pagination). Beyond a core of frequently recurring songs, the range of music represented in Bjørgvin prison was vast. As such, the most significant observation was that my initial attempts to identify and define a particular 'prison repertoire' were not sustainable, and that the variety of music with great probability mirrored what one might encounter in any other setting where groups of men engage in musicking together.

The repertoire does however broadly suggest a strong cultural affinity among participants with mainstream rock music from the 1960s onwards. It was therefore all the more important to be critically aware of the influence of my own background in guitar-based rock music on participants' engagement with and access to music. For instance, I registered that even very young inmates seemed to identify with this music, and frequently participants told me that this repertoire connected them to a dad, stepdad, an uncle or other relative. In these situations I had to remind myself that their sharing of this information was framed by me sitting in the music room, often with a guitar, surrounded by rock band paraphernalia, and (increasingly throughout the project period) representing the musical generation of their parents. Being occupied with my own attunement (Stern, 1985) to *their* presentation, I did not always spot *their* attunement to mine. Likewise, it was important from an analytic perspective not to exaggerate or overemphasise my impact on people's choice of music. The presence of musical styles ranging from classical, folk and rock to rap and hip hop throughout both phases of data collection should be testament to the independence from me with which people approached musical genre.

Flåklypa - sociomusical arranging

Certain songs did take on a more prominent function in terms of defining the prison music scene and in connecting people beyond the immediate spheres of the 'band' or sporadic performer/audience relationships. These were predominately original appropriations of existing songs, or entirely original compositions. An important aspect of developing songs from original sources or raw ideas into something to be performed, was creating a musical

arrangement of the song. Musical arranging is a central technique for music therapists working with performance, and a frequent aim is to create musical arrangements which provide accessibility, invite different modes of participation and facilitate the expression of aesthetic values (Wood, 2016; Næss and Eggen, 2018). Rather than musical arranging being a matter of me devising scripts for performance (although this could also occur), arrangements most often developed through collaborative processes within groups, pointing again to the intertextuality of working with songs (Moore, 2012).

An example of such collaborative arranging was our rendition of the song *Flåklypa*, an instrumental musical theme from the Norwegian animation film *Flåklypa* from 1975 which received a cult status. The piece is built up around a haunting melody played by a harmonica. During a performance project in the pilot phase, this song was performed as the headlining number. Exploring the assemblage of this arrangement shows how it facilitated a group performance with members from highly disparate social factions within the prison who might otherwise not have collaborated musically. By adapting the musical theme to create a distinct folk feel with a powerful rock energy we created a space where everyone in the band could feel at home musically. The arrangement also facilitated that more fragile and vulnerable participants could 'front' the song in the performance. I will explore this musical arrangement by outlining the participation of the most central characters:

Andy – Periodically the youngest inmate in the prison during the pilot study (see p. 171 for a description of his use of the music room). He introduced the song *Flåklypa* to the rest of us in rehearsal by playing the main melody on lead guitar, using one finger on one string to fret individual notes. This was a melody Andy had learnt from a social worker at a child welfare service, and one of the few melodies he could play on the guitar. On the evening of the performance, Andy held a prominent role musically and physically on stage during this headlining song and became the big hero of the performance.

Stan – Another young inmate, Stan had spoken to others about his interest in rap but denounced the idea of participating in music therapy activities. He was therefore peripheral to the project at first, but members of the group persisted in encouraging him to take part. I suggested that we incorporate a rap as a middle section in *Flåklypa*, and introduced a simple

ascending four-chord vamp for Stan to freestyle over. Stan subsequently wrote a rap during and between rehearsals. The rap was not complete until the performance, adding tension and ultimately, great release for the band, as Stan entered the stage in the middle of the song on cue for his rap to begin, to great applause from the audience.

Albert – At eighty-three, Albert had been a semi-pro accordion player with a repertoire mainly comprising folk and popular songs (Norwegian/Swedish, English and American) from the 1940s to the 1960s. (See fig. 22 for picture of Albert’s ‘setlist’). Albert’s participation in the performance project was by no means a given, as he often complained that the music of ‘those youngsters’ was too loud for him. I did however recognize that *Flåklypa* shared many characteristics with Albert’s favourite repertoire. An harmonic analysis of this material reveals that many of the songs are based around similar chord progressions, including what Albert repeatedly described as his favourite chord progression (highlighted in yellow).

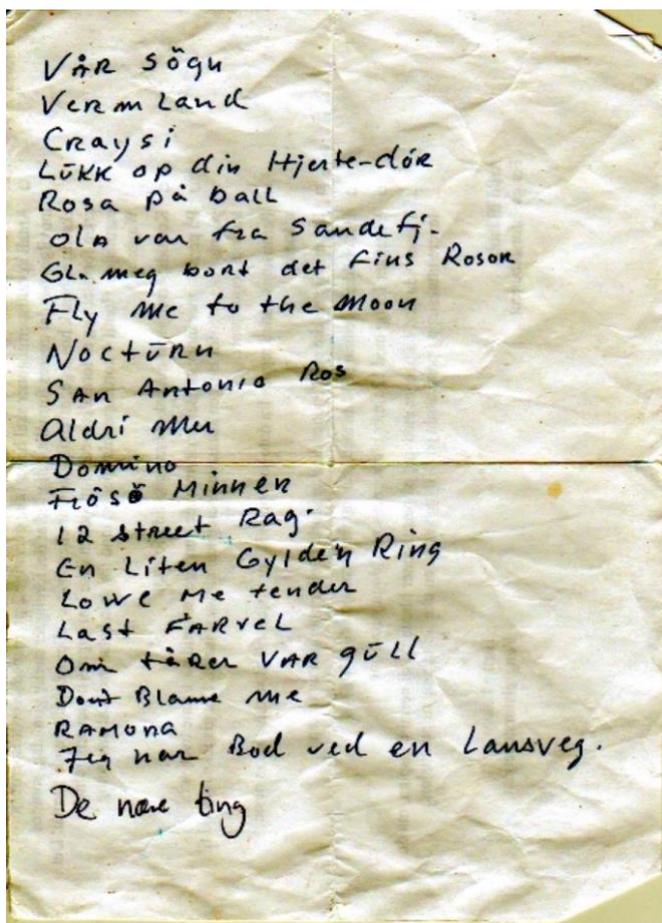


Figure 22 - Albert’s handwritten list of songs presented to me in one of our early individual sessions, representing songs he could ‘still remember to a decent standard’.

Variations of Albert's favourite harmonic progression

Vårsøg: Am – F – G – Am, Am – F – G7 – C, Dm – G – Em – Am, Dm – E7 – Am

Värmland Du Skjøna: Am – E7 – F – G – C, Dm – Am – B7 – E7, Am – E7 – Dm7 – G – C, Dm – Am – E7 – Am.

Flåklypa: Am – E7 – F – G – C, Am – Dm – Am – E7

I pointed this out to Albert and invited him specifically to come to listen to our rehearsal of *Flåklypa*. As Alfred heard our rendition of the song, he exclaimed in his usual dry wit that 'This is almost music!'. He subsequently joined the band for rehearsals, and at the performance, in addition to playing accordion on *Flåklypa*, he also accompanied Boris singing the song *Smile* (Chaplin), and accompanied two of the music therapy students singing his favorite song *Vårsøg* (see harmonic analysis above). In this way, the chord progression he was so fond of became a signifying feature of our setlist.

Adam – Taking on a role as musical director for many of our songs, Adam enforced a strict adherence to rehearsal schedules and routines to help drive the project forwards. As the drummer in the band, he used a metronome to establish the tempos for each song (see p. 167 for his playing on the song *Sexual Revolution*). Saying about himself that 'I am a bit nazi about these things', his approach to others in the band was inclusive and accommodating. In particular he assisted Andy, e.g. by helping him before rehearsals to find a full and rich tone setting on his guitar amplifier. In *Flåklypa*, the first section was played by Adam and Andy alone, with Adam providing a steady kick drum beat over which Andy played the melody. During this section, Adam would maintain close eye contact with Andy, and throughout the song would provide Andy with cues (nods, shouts and smiles) for different sections.

The whole band - Our emerging rendition of the song also contained another example of 'inclusive arranging'. It soon became clear that Andy could play the A section of the melody, but not the B-section. To be able to perform it, we needed him to learn the B-section as well. Despite individual help from music therapy student Matthew, Andy did not develop the confidence to play this section. The first times when we arrived at the B-section in rehearsals we were left with no melody. As a preliminary way of leading us through the sequence, and potentially relieving Andy of pressure to play, I sang the melody, vocalizing on 'La-la-la-la'. On subsequent repetitions Adam (drummer), Matthew (guitar), Bull (bass guitar) and several of the others joined in with this singing. This eventually turned into a loosely harmonized vocal chorus section of the whole band singing at full head voice, producing a powerful traditional folk music aesthetic reminiscent of both romantic male voice choirs and viking-inspired Black Metal music.

By adapting the film music theme of *Flåklypa* to create a distinct folk feel (chorus singing) whilst retaining a powerful rock energy (distorted lead guitar, a heavy backbeat, power chord riff in the middle section) on a harmonic progression that held such particular and lifelong significance for Albert (vi – IV – V – I), we created a space where both Albert, Andy, Stan and the rest of the band could feel at home musically. Moreover, the arrangement facilitated that people whose participation was fragile and vulnerable (Andy and Stan), could 'front' the song in a physically and sonically prominent position, whilst still being supported by the band (Adam's solid beat, the chorus taking over Andy's melody line for the B-section, Stan's rap being accompanied by a vamp of considerable drive and energy). In this way, the song as it was performed became a physical manifestation of the affordances of musical arranging as a device for inclusion, and of the group's commitment to collaborative forms of musical care for each other. The connections created through the development and performance of this arrangement also carried on beyond the duration of the project. Weeks after the music therapy students had left and most of the participants involved had been released, Andy (20 years old) joined myself and Albert (83 years old) for many subsequent music sessions, learning the chords for several of the songs on Albert's list.

At this point it should be noted that whilst the processes around the creation of this arrangement were highly representative, musicking was not always as ameliorative. On the contrary, in the process of preparing for the same concert, there were several moments of conflict. A significant example of this was the first time Albert joined the group on my invitation and had brought his accordion. My communicated intention was for Albert to hear us play, and for us to hear him play something on his accordion. Given the fragile nature of the setup and Albert's mild hearing loss which meant that he did not always hear comments, register the more subtle social dynamics of a situation, or adapt quickly to changing circumstances, I had wanted this to be a 'down' moment of calmness. Albert, who was used to sitting in the music room for extended periods of time and playing songs from memory, did not show signs of stopping, and I could see that he was enjoying the attention from the group. I viewed it as a positive sign of participation and did not want to rush him. I was however unaware that the group had arranged to rehearse Gerry's song *Sexual Revolution* immediately afterwards, and time was running out. Gerry, who was impatiently waiting to perform his song, became visibly stressed and upset to the point that he stormed out of the music room, pushing his way past me without acknowledgement or eye contact as he made his way to the door (Fieldnotes, 18/3/15).

This latent and ever-present potential for conflict in musicking situations does not mean that a focus on music's stabilising affordances is contraindicated. Rather, it highlights the importance of 'inclusive' musical arranging in this setting, and the hard-won achievement it was for many groups to work successfully together. Since the expressed aim of my thesis is to present perceived affordances of musicking for people in the prison, and not to present a full picture of 'the truth', a focus on conflict should not subsume the thesis in the name of producing a 'balanced' account. Conflict is after all rife across all aspects of prison life and well documented in the literature elsewhere (Crewe, 2015).

The Bjørgvin Song: expressing a shared sense of identity

Remaining with songs as a practice for creating musikkmiljø, I will now explore how a particular song became a vehicle for a longitudinal notion of musikkmiljø; across time and place. Using the country music classic *Detroit City* (Dill and Tillis 1963 – also known as 'I

wanna go home') as a template, Ben wrote *The Bjørgvin Song*, a humorous account about doing time in Bjørgvin prison. The original song is about a man who is disillusioned with his life in the big city, longing to go home to his family and his girlfriend. Ben's choice of this song as a template, with its famous hook 'I want to go home, I want to go home, Oh I want to go home' seemed in itself to speak to shared sentiments among the prison population. In his own Norwegian version, Ben alluded to similar themes, but introduced several humorous references to alcohol, women, food, and what seemed obligatory in all the humorous prison songs that emerged over the years; an unflattering reference to the police.

The Bjørgvin Song (extract translated from Norwegian)

*I'm sitting locked up here at Bjørgvin
And I am so bloody fed up
I really fancy a pint
And a girl with big bosoms
And never ever again having to look at
This sad old fence*

*Now I want to go home
I really want to go home
I want to travel far away from here*

Ben first introduced the song during an 'open music room' session stating 'I wrote a new song last night' (Fieldnotes, 19/05/15). We initially practiced the song with Ben singing and playing acoustic guitar, myself playing the bass guitar, and Henrik playing the congas. Over the following weeks different incarnations of the song were developed in different band constellations that Ben participated in, allowing for the input from fellow inmates. The different emerging arrangements of the song were thus a collective effort. The song was also recorded multiple times; first, a recording was made on a hand-held recording device (Zoom

H4) in the music room. Secondly, the song was recorded in a professional music studio outside the prison. This made for a high-quality recording in a professional environment, with the input from industry producers. Ben did not feel that the version of the song was good enough, and subsequently, using multi-track digital recording technology available to us in the prison, a third version of the song was recorded over an extended period of five weeks. This allowed for newly arrived inmates to contribute to half-finished tracks, e.g. the guitar part, made by previous inmates who had already left the prison. A live version was broadcast on the regional radio station in connection with a radio interview where a reporter came to the prison to talk to inmates about their participation in music therapy. Later, the song was performed at a public concert in a local venue and released on a non-commercial CD (see p. 236 for a description of the collaborative CD projects). After Ben had left the prison the song was still performed by other inmates, and on a number of occasions, including one which took place more than one year after the song had been conceived, new inmates arriving in the prison spoke of *The Bjørgvin Song*.

Versions of *The Bjørgvin Song*

1. Informal rehearsal version recorded in the music room in Bjørgvin prison (Ben, Kjetil, Henrik, Andrew – 19/05/15)
2. Recording made in professional music studio in Bergen (Ben, Kjetil, Bull, two sound engineers – 26/05/15), later released on a non-commercial CD produced by the County prison education branch.
3. Demo recording initiated in the music room using Logic software (Ben, Kjetil, Harry, Nick, Thomas – 09/06/15), added to by two other participants over the summer of 2015.
4. Performance by Ben on radio (the regional branch of the national broadcasting corporation NRK – 19/06/15)
5. Performed as a sing song at a concert in a venue in Bergen for bands made up of previous and current prison inmates (Ben, Kjetil, Bull – 31/01/16, post the pilot phase of data collection)

6. Comedy version performed in theatre project in Bjørgvin prison (Frank, Aslan – 16/5/16, post the the pilot data collection)

The song also became well known amongst inmates and staff due to several impromptu performances of it inside the prison.

Ben: ‘The officers came over and said “have you made a song about Bjørgvin?” I had just been messing around singing ‘I wanna go home’, I hadn’t started playing properly yet. So I said “yeah, do you wanna hear it?”. You know, I think it took them by surprise. So then I just went for it, and I noticed they were just stood there like this [mimicks a surprised look on his face]. Both of them [laughs]. It was hilarious. There I was, singing about tit...no, about beer and bosoms, and their eyes just got bigger. They probably thought “what on earth is he on about” (Interview, 10/6/15)

Ben’s account of his interaction with the officers provided a, for me, rare window into how participants and officers interacted around music when I was not present. Since I did not have the officers’ account of this, what was of interest was how Ben, in his account, viewed himself through the imagined gaze of the officers, and the relationship he sketched between himself and the officers. Firstly, he portrayed the officers as genuinely curious about his music, and of a disposition to casually approach him about it. Secondly, he inferred that his mention of bosoms and beer might have shocked them. This seems to be a highly considerate and sensitive assumption to make in the meeting with officers who in their daily work may encounter verbal abuse and even physical violence. Thirdly, he suggested that the officers may have written his performance off as just nonsense (‘what on earth is he on about’), but crucially, that they kept these thoughts to themselves, or even tried to conceal them (‘just stood there’/‘their eyes just got bigger’/‘they *probably* thought [...]'). Whatever the officers’ own perception of events, Ben sketches a relationship with the officers which is marked by a high degree of mutual respect, trust and humour on both parts. This serves as an example of how everyday musicking could be a resource in shaping relationships between prison officers and inmates.

Several affordances of songs and their aesthetic agency can be gleaned from the emergence of *The Bjørgvin Song*:

Musicking community across time and space - In the making and recording of the song, contemporary music production technologies afforded a cumulative, longitudinal creative process, even between prison inmates who had never met, allowing people to over time mould a representative musical expression on behalf of many. As such our process mirrored established modes of working collaboratively, particularly within popular music practices. For instance, The Beatles' *Free as a Bird*, which was initially only captured on a poorly recorded demo made by John Lennon in 1970, was subsequently completed and added to in the studio by the remaining three Beatles almost three decades later. This way in which musical collaboration and connectedness could be stretched across time and place, is an aspect that is rarely discussed from a perspective of music therapy method, but which is particularly significant in social environments which are so marked by flux and instability. Aasgaard's (2000) tracing of the life of a song on a children's oncology ward provides an insightful analysis of the geography of songs and the ways in which a song can resurface in different locations at different times and provide grounds for a multitude of musical interactions and relational connection.

Songs as shared identity - With his lyrics, Ben seemed to have captured certain shared sentiments within the prison population, and he developed this understanding into an artistic expression that people could not only relate to, but which they contributed to and made a part of *their* story about serving time in Bjørgvin prison. As such, the song took on a dual narrative function; it told a collective story about being a prisoner in Bjørgvin prison, contributing to a sense of shared identity and community within and beyond the prison gates. In addition, the unfolding story *about* the Bjørgvin song and its creation became a story about how people, and Ben particularly, imbued the prison experience with meaning through musicking. Linde (2009) has shown how institutions foster their own institutional memory and a shared sense of identity. Through the legacy of *The Bjørgvin Song* Ben remained a part of the prison music scene, contributing in absentia to its institutional memory.

Cultural exchanges between 'inside' and 'outside' - As in Aasgaard's (2000) study of a song in the oncology ward, *The Bjørgvin Song* was publicly broadcast. It is difficult to estimate who and how many people would have listened to that particular programme, but it forms a part of an increasing body of public media portrayals of music therapy locally in the Bergen region. Whilst not possible to trace directly in this particular case, we can detect a cycle of cultural exchange between the prison and the world outside: *Folsom Prison Blues*, *Jailhouse Rock* and innumerable Gangsta rap songs are inspired by popular imaginaries of prisons and prisoners. In turn, musicking in the prison was overtly informed by these artefacts of popular culture. These cultural materials were then appropriated and redesigned to express and embody meaning and identity for the prison inmates. Through local and social media, and other channels of mediation, these new cultural expressions of prison life were made available to the public, contributing again to imaginaries about prisons and prisoners (see p. 196 for a description of how prison rappers identified with gangsta rap). This illustrates how, as DeNora (2014) puts it, 'we adopt cultural identifications, inserting ourselves into them and shaping ourselves in relation to them, and in ways that in turn modify those identifications iteratively.' (p. 51).

In this way, songs held a potential for the presentation of self far beyond the prison scene. Significantly however, inmates invariably insisted on anonymity in such situations. Therefore, as well as the deeply authentic, personal and creative qualities of many songs, an inevitable part of what was mediated was also the image of the 'faceless' prisoner.

Songs came to life in unique and emergent forms as the intertextual appropriation of cultural materials through collaborative processes. As such, and as an attempt to shed light on the ontology of songs in this music therapy context, I have accounted for songs as both action (i.e. acts designed to achieve specific music social aims) and artefact. Songs afforded connections between inmates, between inmates and staff, and between the prison population and the outside community. I have also shown how songs could express and embody a shared sense of identity and contribute to institutional memory, and as such be central to the creation of *musikkmiljø* beyond the peaks and troughs of musical activity, beyond the forming of bands and projects, and beyond the incarceration and release of specific people.

Reflections on music therapy methods

The presentation of *The Bjørgvin Song* and *Flåklypa* brings up how adopting a 'band' approach to music therapy (e.g. Tuastad, 2014), challenges the way we often categorize both methods and music in music therapy (Wood, 2016). In much of the literature, music therapy methods are described as e.g. 'songwriting', 'songsharing', 'improvisation', 'composition', 'performance'. Clearly it is necessary to give names to what we do as music therapists both in order to communicate it, understand it, and for teaching and learning purposes. However, the development of such categories as discrete modes of working, can divorce these modes of working from the ways in which musicking 'naturally' happens in the wider culture. If music therapy practice artificially forces people into bracketed ways of working musically that contradict what is happening on 'the ground', it may also alienate clients from musicking. For instance, as the data in this and previous chapters have shown, popular music practices typically draw upon all the above modes of musicking rolled into one. When such compartmentalisation of music practices is coupled with a tendency to 'compartmentalise' people in terms of diagnosis, age, or other signifiers (such as e.g. the 'mentally disordered offenders' mentioned on p. 37), it can lead to more rigid, compartmentalised understandings of the relationships between music and health.

PURSUING CHANGE THROUGH THE CREATION OF COMMUNITY

So far I have demonstrated how materials, practices, professional networks, songs and people, including myself, embodied a web of *connections* (Dusselier, 2009) through musicking, and how these connections made up the prison *musikkmiljø*. Without placing any intrinsic value on community as 'positive' or 'negative' per se, the data illustrate the different kinds of work that went into fostering musical togetherness and community within the prison. In the final section of this chapter I will trace a process where I and a group of participants assembled a small group as a part of the PABAR strategy (p. 68). This eventually led to a (in prison terms) large scale in-house performance, involving eleven inmates, myself

and two music therapy students, which the group chose to call *Peace and Cake*. I will show how the group developed and expressed their intention to promote social inclusion, political awareness and the value of music. This also exemplifies how the participatory action research process unfolded to elicit a focus upon arts-based inquiry and methodology (see Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of the emergent methodology across different stages of the project). As described in Chapter 3, the PABAR project led me to distil four pillars of research (areas of interest that we pursued together) which to a large degree corresponded to my three vectors of change (my analytic concept for organising and structuring the forms of musical change that I identified). As previously noted, the distinction between the three vectors of change is artificial in that they are all entangled aspects of musicking in the prison. The following section reflects this; whilst the creation of community is the overarching theme within it, it also serves to show precisely how processes of musicianhood, musico-spatio-emotional emergence and community happened concurrently.

‘The singing group’: The relentless pursuit of music

‘The singing group’ was the pre-cursor to the Piece and Cake project and developed as a result of me encouraging George (see p. 185 for an introduction) to invite a selection of people to the café to think about possibilities for the PABAR project. George was deeply concerned about the increasing unrest in the world, and took great interest in global politics, conflicts, and environmental challenges. He felt that the politicians were no longer trustworthy. He explained how he felt powerless over not having a voice in relation to these matters, and described this as one of his greatest frustrations over being imprisoned.

In our second group meeting (21/11/18), discussion started off with a focus on practicalities around musicking in the prison:

The singing group's initial discussion points

- Access to download music
- Create timetable for music room in the evenings
- Make music room less exposed
- Have access to several rooms so more people can practice at the same time.
- Need for more teaching – a lot of people want to learn to play.

Gradually, the discussion turned towards affordances of and conditions for musicking:

Jim: It is nice to be able to teach others and pass on things. It creates community ['miljøskapende'].

George: It takes a long time to develop trust and to expose ['utlevere'] oneself musically. That is why we need a lot of time for preparation. So you, and really everyone who works here, have to be patient with us.

This led to more existential reflections around what music offered in the prison specifically:

Raj: For me music is about freedom of the soul. I get it from listening to him [nods towards Mikael]. Or from listening to George. And that is why I like it. There are some sharp spikes in there [nods in direction of L-block where he lives], so music is important.

George: We have some things in common when we're stuck behind the walls. There are a lot of things we miss out on. We can see all the injustice that is happening out there, but we don't have the opportunity to express our opinions in the same way as those on the outside. We don't seem to have a say, and we don't have the same access to information. We become undernourished of information.

George: Lyrics can become important expressions. Look at Les Miserable for example. The communality they create. That is what I would like to do. To arrive at something that means something, and to express something that we have in common. Like when we do singsongs. Here is a lot of insecurity, and music can create some security in our miserable existence ['elendighet']. Music creates community ['miljøskapende'], and there is a lot of comfort in a common fate.

This led in turn to a suggestion that we watch a Swedish movie about a prison choir that eventually escaped when they were on tour. After humorous suggestions that we do the same, this led to more serious mentions of starting a choir in Bjørgvin prison:

Kjetil: So you would like us to start a choir in here?

Mikael: Yes, but the level mustn't be too high. It has to be something that can bring together the whole prison. Now things are very divided.

George: What about that song by Bob Dylan?

Kjetil: Blowing in the Wind?

George: Yes, Blowing in the Wind. That's one that everybody knows.

Kjetil: Do you think other people might be interested?

George: Sure. Given half a chance I am sure I could make anybody sing over there [nods towards L-block].

In a very short space of time, our reflections around access to and affordances of music had turned to a practical suggestion of starting a choir and even picking a song. Next, the others suggested more songs and we quickly compiled the following list:

Songs suggested by 'the singing group'

- *I Can See Clearly Now* (Jimmy Cliff)
- *Seasons In The Sun* (Terry Jacks)
- *Country Roads* (John Denver)
- *Heard It Through The Grapevine* (Marvin Gaye)

During the following cigarette break I printed out and brought the lyrics to the suggested songs. With my guitar accompaniment we sang the songs quite gently, sometimes including attempts from George or myself to harmonise. Having attempted them all, Raj commented:

Raj: We shouldn't make it too big in the beginning because then nobody will come [shakes his head]. This was nice. It doesn't have to be more than this

George: No, it doesn't have to be so big. But what about that guy you have been spending time with? [Looks at Raj].

Raj: Oh yes him, I can ask him. He will definitely come. (Fieldnotes, 21/11/2018)

The session culminated in a return to practical issues surrounding the organisation of the use of the music room in the evenings.

The extracts from our group meeting show how our discussion, which originated with my invitation to brainstorm possible ideas for participatory action research, evolved into musicking. As such, it was exemplary of how my invitations for people to participate in verbal reflection as co-researchers invariably led directly to forms of musical action. This consistent 'turn' towards music was something I initially, and from a perspective of hindsight – ironically, found myself ambivalent to as a researcher; how would I reconcile my own

ambitions for participatory action research with the other participants' apparent lack of interest in 'reflecting' upon our actions?

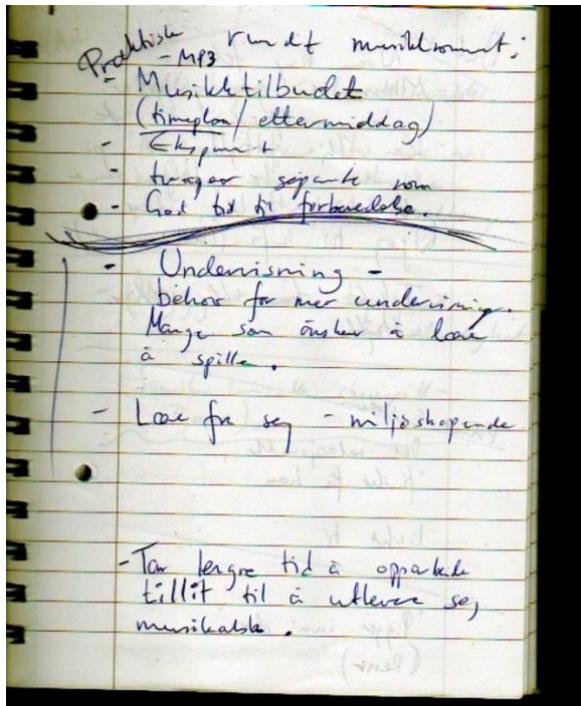


Figure 23 - Picture taken of page in the notepad that was part of my 'researcher pack'.

As quickly became clear, approaches that were prescriptive or formalised rarely attracted interest. My strategy was therefore not to attempt to engage participants in conventional platforms such as formal focus group discussion or in other ways impose my own expectations of what shape 'reflection' should take. Instead, PABAR needed to happen on their terms, and I realised that it was 'the relentless pursuit of music' that was the matter of interest in itself. This led to two significant shifts in my conceptualisation of the methodology. First, to recognise musicking (in 'itself') as a valid form of action. Secondly, to recognise musicking as an epistemological practice, simultaneously embodying and mediating processes of knowledge production (see pp. 82-84). This represented a development from simply recognising music as 'data' and musicking as activity; within the framework of PABAR, music *was* the action, music *was* the reflection, and music *was* the change.

Concurrently with my growing understandings of this, George later in the project period put forward the idea for a peace concert in the prison. Excited by his initiative, I invited the

people in the prison that we knew were involved with music, by letter, to attend a brainstorming meeting to plan a project. In addition to myself and two music therapy students on placement, ten participants turned up. Positioned in a circle in the music room, we started off with a round where everybody could say something about our relationship to music, and what we might be interested in doing as a group. As usual there was some curiosity about who the music therapy students were, what they played and what they were studying. When it was George's turn he brought forward his idea for a peace theme. However, several of the others felt it was premature to establish a theme so early on in the process. The group agreed on an open approach, with the possibility to include theatre and dance in what was referred to as a variety show (see p. 154 for a description of how Greg introduced the idea of a variety show by playing the gong).

During the meeting, Greg pointed out the following:

Greg: Peace could be a good theme, but in the show we can't all just sing about peace and love. We have to have other things as well. We need to make it fun. We need to make it so that those who come to see us will see that this is fun and worthwhile and makes a difference to us who are in it. I mean, maybe having fun is the best way to stand up against all the misery in the world anyway. (Fieldnotes, 13/3/19)

The last statement seemed enlightening and significant in relation to what musicking could afford in this particular setting. And, as with Henrik who was 'serious about having fun' during his performance of *The Bjørgvin Song* (see p. 198), it turned out that fun was a relative concept, a subjective experience, and not to be taken lightly.

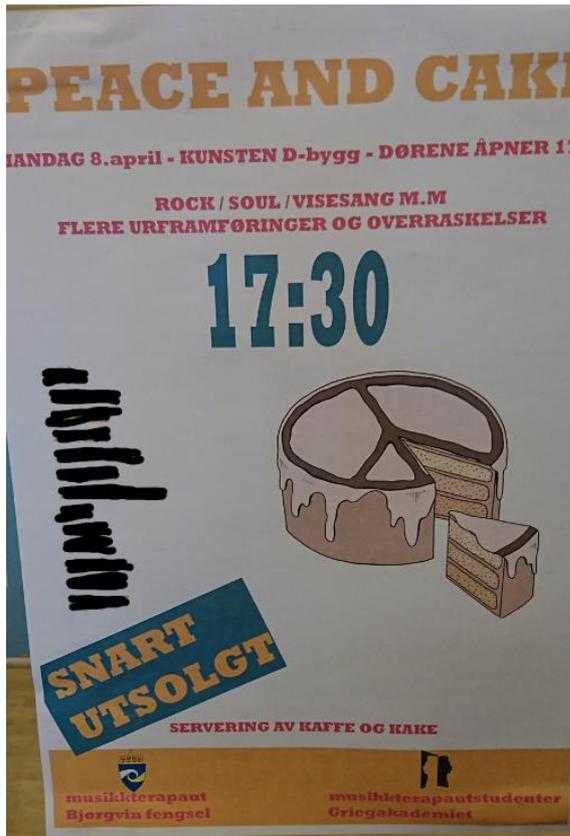


Figure 24 - Picture of the poster made by participants for the Peace concert. Note their reference to myself and MT practice students and the use of the official logo's of the prison service and the students' institution of education. Names have been covered for purposes of confidentiality.



Figure 25 - The prison activities room prepared by the participants for the performance of Peace and Cake

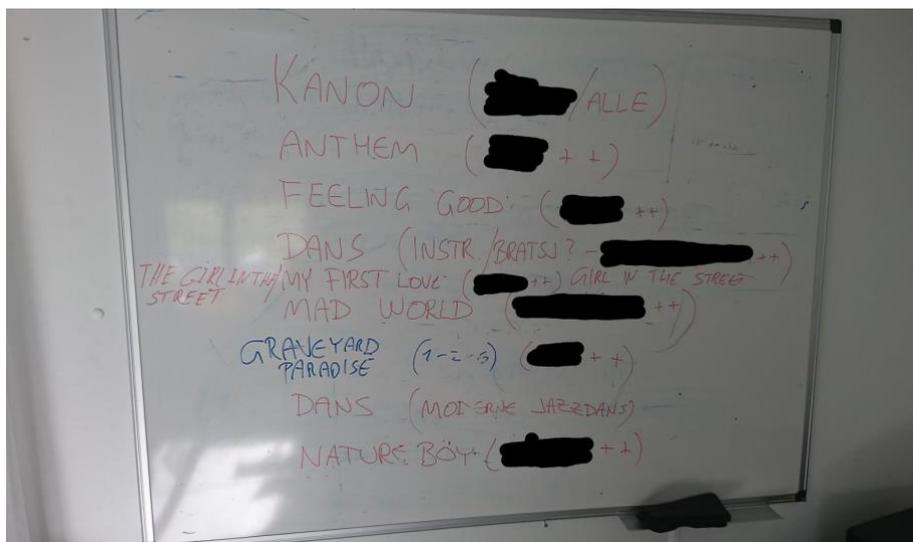


Figure 26 - Picture of the whiteboard in the music room, containing a list of preliminary suggestions for songs.

Incorporating difference

As the project developed over the next weeks, the preliminary setlist and the different personnel involved with rehearsing each song gave rise to smaller units within the group. Throughout these processes of rehearsing and putting together the performance, it emerged that the group encompassed people with a wide range of conflicting values and ideas, musically, politically and religiously. At times this gave rise to tension in rehearsals and meetings. At the same time, I had noted that most of the members in the group were serving sentences, some unusually long for Bjørgvin prison, for sexual offences. Since this is a group of inmates that is often ostracised in prison communities (Ugelvik, 2014), I was concerned about how this musical grouping and the coming concert would be received. In this way, the theme of *difference* became increasingly prominent, brought to the fore by individuals, relationships and songs. I will now explore these differences in more detail to understand the dynamics of difference in this process, and musicking interacted with it.

Religious and political difference:

- Two members of the group were both active Christians, open about their agenda to convey a Christian message through their music. For one of them, his conviction led

him to not be able to participate in certain songs that he deemed too far removed from his values. This was in particular the case with the song *Paint It, Black* (The Rolling Stones).

- A third member of the group was devout Muslim, and his contribution to the concert was an original instrumental piece performed on his synthesiser using a backing track (generated by a pre-set demo on the keyboard) and superimposing a melody inspired by Kurdish folk music.
- A fourth participant was a self-professed agnostic. In our rehearsals, he repeatedly raised the issue that some people in the audience might react negatively to overt religious content. For him, music was the nearest he could get to having a religion. Explaining how he saw music as an international language that could bring people together, he composed a song about how people profess to hold the truth, failing to see how their view is only shaped by their own position in the world³¹.
- George's political agenda was socialist and left wing. His sentiments were represented in the repertoire by the songs *Anthem* and *Graveyard Paradise*, a Norwegian protest song from the 1970's (see p. 188 for an overview of the songs George learnt and performed as part of his stay). Others, and particularly those representing a Christian faith, expressed a clear opposition to socialism in rehearsals.

The performance thus contained music which actively fronted three contrasting world views, and the group harboured people who openly disagreed with the views of the others.

Gender difference

As a part of the programme, Gavin performed a dance routine. With previous experience from dancing in a youth dance company, he was particularly fond of jazz ballet. Having initially planned to dance to a backing track of a contemporary Norwegian pop song performed by a teenage girl artist, I wondered aloud whether he might feel exposed and

³¹ Because of this participant's concerns about copyright further information about the song has been omitted.

vulnerable if he performed on stage to a backing track totally on his own. Secondly I suggested that given our setting and the prevalence in our group of people convicted of sexual offences, some audience members might react negatively to the song choice. This was also partly motivated by how I knew staff may react to such a display (see p. 129). Instead, I suggested that he develop a dance routine to one of the live music numbers. In parallel with this, another inmate suggested singing *Nature Boy* (Nat King Cole). This is a slow jazz ballad about a 'strange, enchanted boy' who passes on the life lesson that 'the greatest thing you'll ever learn, is just to love, and be loved in return'. After considering different alternatives, Gavin decided to choreograph a dance to this song. The song was arranged for vocals and piano only, leaving plenty of space for the lyrics and the choreography to come through. Through his physical appearance with long hair, a slender body and a feminine walk, Gavin's jazz ballet performance represented an unprecedented display of difference and challenge to the stereotypical macho appearance (Crewe et al., 2014) in the prison.

Ugelvik asks how adult men can 'retain their masculinity [...] when they, as prisoners, are given less freedom than a child?' (Ugelvik, 2014, back cover), raising important issues regarding how men's ability to perform gender are restricted in prison. An additional question brought up by the rare spectacle of a male dance performance was 'how do certain notions of masculinity restrict these men's freedom to express themselves?'. Music, and the collaborative creative environment of the group, seemed to provide Gavin with the tools to disrupt dominant notions of masculinity in the prison, and to challenge the ways in which gender and sexuality was performed. (See p. 126 for a discussion of how the management of sexuality forms part of the carceral space)



Figure 27 - Pictures of the hat and umbrella-come-cane I purchased for Gavin in our attempt to re-create a Fred Astaire-esque appearance in line with the 1940's jazz feel of *Nature Boy*.

Musical difference

The levels of experience of musicking was highly varied within the group. At one end of this spectrum, participants had semi-professional experience from theatre, performance and choir singing, at the other were those who had never sung nor performed in front of an audience before. As had also been the case with previous performance projects, the process of developing this project was marked by master/apprentice relationships and informal learning, where those who were seen to be more experienced not only passed on knowledge to those less experienced, but also adopted a more general role of looking out for those who apparently required more follow-up (see p. 211 for a discussion of musical caring). Fabio, another peripheral participant (Stige, 2006) would often arrive at the music room just before the end of a meeting, and sit down with the guitar and play whilst others were packing equipment away, tidying up and leaving the room. He played the same song each time; a song he explained that he had written called *Mad World*. Håkon, an experienced chorister who was also singing *Nature Boy*, said that he would work with Fabio to include the song in the show. During a rehearsal when the group had split into smaller units to work on specific songs, Håkon drew on his choir experience and coached Fabio in his vocal delivery. He also very neatly wrote out a lead sheet for Fabio's song by hand, including

the lyrics and the notated melody (figure 28), exemplifying how mentorship was an important part of the evolving profile of this musical community.

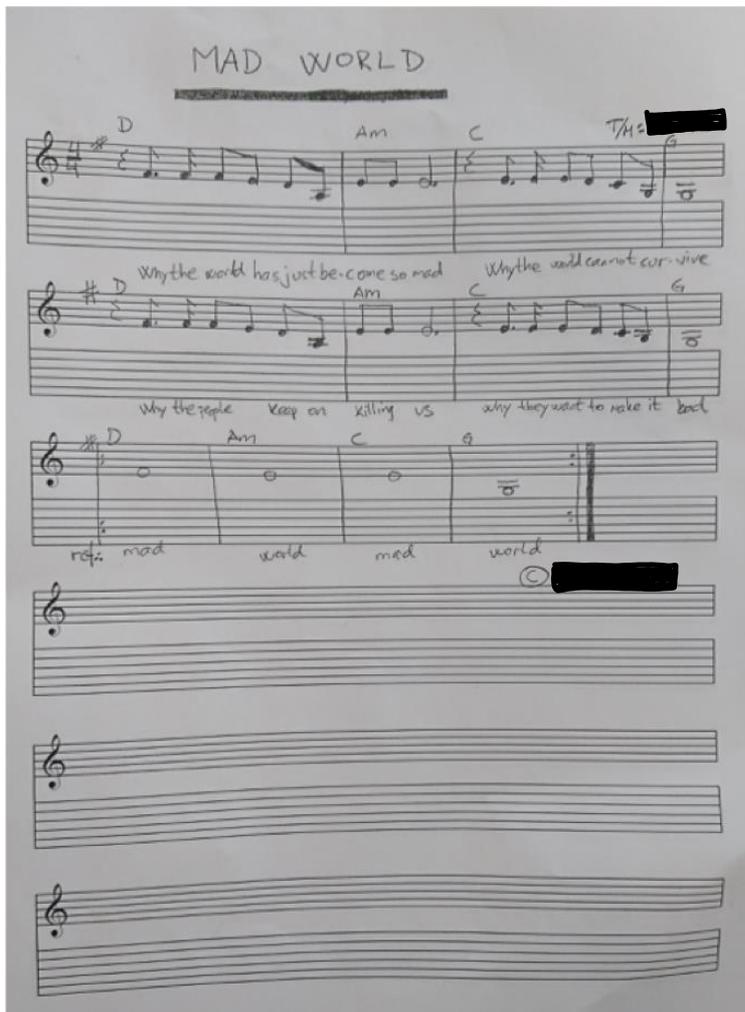


Figure 28 - Sheet music of the song Mad World.

Difference through shared stigma

As mentioned a high proportion of the members in the group were convicted of sexual offences. This was the sentence category which, despite being very wide and encompassing a vast array of offences, led to the most speculation and prejudice in Bjørgvin prison. In our case a number of people who shared this particular predicament had come together without any overt references being made to this issue throughout the course of the project. It was however not at the exclusion of others, and others did not to my knowledge abstain from the group because of this. It was a significant yet unspoken characteristic of the group, and

we can speculate that this contributed to the inclusive and supportive attitudes surrounding the musical collaborations.

Community *through* difference, difference through community

With contrasting religious beliefs, political viewpoints and the disruption of gender stereotypes directly represented in the repertoire, the group and the show we created came to thematise difference. This was not articulated overtly, although people did quip that it would be ironic if the peace project ended in a fight. But more than this being a process of 'tolerating' difference, a concept Barenboim (2009) describes as condescending, it seemed that difference became a driving force in the creative processes within the group in three ways. First, there was the impetus to 'make a difference'. This was done by creating a group with the explicit ambition, as expressed e.g. by Greg and George, to spur a sense of musical community and create a performance which would benefit the wider inmate population. The show would also make a difference by making a statement about the political status quo, thus mediating voices from the prison, and by modelling an idealistic notion of peace through musical action.

Second, differences between the people in the group were central to the quality and content of the show, and to the processes of working towards the performance. The differences contributed to tensions which led to discussions and sometimes arguments, which again led to reflections and strategies for overcoming these. A more homogenous group might not have arrived at such a varied and interesting setlist, and would also not have been able to fulfil their ambition of modelling the 'ideal' blend of music and peace and love with the same integrity. Thirdly, their shared difference from the rest of the prison population in terms of sentence category seemed to contribute towards a sense of cohesion. This shared predicament may indeed have contributed to the group overcoming other often deep-seated differences of religious and political nature. The process resulted in a highly successful performance in the prison that was well received by the audience of other inmates and staff, with hot chocolate and cake provided by the school department. The following day, a smaller select group from the ensemble travelled into town and performed parts of the setlist in a local public venue.

'Indifference' vs. indifference: reflections on musical community

From the perspective of music therapy practice, the presence of difference in this project speaks to issues around how and why groups come together, how we incorporate true and sometimes irreconcilable difference, and how we work with and within ecologies and discourses which sometimes encourage 'indifference', not in the sense of a lack of concern but in the sense of *sameness*.

The prison could in many ways be said to be an institution that promotes and even forces such 'indifference'. For example, the most influential models for rehabilitation in prisons are the established behavioural psychology programmes which target specific offender groups or behaviours such as the sex offender programme, the anger management or addiction management programmes. The idea of targeting specific groups of inmates e.g. based on behavioural characteristics, sentence category, age or ethnicity is thus firmly rooted in everyday manifestations of the system. Is not such artificial and imposed 'indifference' in danger of contributing to a systematic indifference towards the individual? What *Peace and Cake* brought forth was precisely the opposite notion; this was not a homogenous group, but rather one that encompassed considerable difference, in age, background, ethnicity, religious and political beliefs and in musical preference and experience, and which managed to overcome and harness these differences in a collaborative effort.

This modelling of a collaborative process illustrated the resources inherent in the group in the forms of musicianship, musical caring and musical activism. It thus shows what musical community has the potential to do: to help us let go of notions of community as 'indifference', and rather let us experience community through the ethical values arrived at through a shared commitment to music (Ansdell and DeNora, 2016). In this connection, it is important to register the rarity in my data of groups where the cohesion of the group hinged on its exclusivity. This is particularly noteworthy since the format of the rock band, so bound up with images of exclusivity, was central in Bjørgvin prison. We may speculate that this is linked to the flux of people in Bjørgvin prison, but we could also postulate that the general awareness of music *as* therapy in the prison and the underlying attitudes of inclusivity that I and the music therapy students strived to model had an influence.

To have or not to have a voice? - Reflections on recording

Both in my capacity as music therapy practitioner and researcher I documented various activities and events extensively. However, as discussed in chapter 3, issues of confidentiality presented a major obstacle to conventional methods of documentation both for practice and research purposes. The PABAR phase of the project also exemplified important ethical dimensions of documentation practices through the process of developing *Peace and Cake*.

Video recording and photography that could identify individuals was invariably declined as an option by participants. As a result, visual documentation was limited to the forms presented in this thesis, e.g. drawings and pictures of artefacts, empty rooms or unidentifiable people. On the contrary, audio recording had not only been accepted as a mode of documentation for practice and research purposes, but was throughout the project period requested and sometimes initiated by the participants themselves. Beyond the recordings made in the studio or on the PC, people often wanted their live performances recorded as a memorandum, as a way of sharing their music with others, and as a way of developing their musicianship. In these instances, our needs for documentation were aligned.

During preparation for the *Peace and Cake* project I got a strong sense that this would be significant to my research, and also that it would stand out as an artistically and therapeutically interesting project, in that, from a music centred perspective (see chapter 1 p. x), the repertoire so clearly embodied the theme of difference and the associated processes of tension and collaboration through its variety. As a result I was keen to document this process and the performance particularly well. In service of this agenda I encouraged the participants to use a hand-held audio recorder to document rehearsals, record their reflections or anything else they felt was relevant to the process. This was met with a lukewarm response, and in the end nobody made use of the recorder. I also suggested we make a recording of the live performance, but to my surprise, this suggestion was also rejected. Several attempts to mobilise enthusiasm for recording the event were met with mild reluctance, and eventually I interpreted this as a stable resistance to the idea. One participant was particularly concerned about copyright regarding his own original

contribution, and was therefore against others in the group having a recording of the event. He explained how he had had original songs stolen in the past, and was therefore protective of his material to the point where it was challenging for me to borrow the original lead sheet to make photocopies. Whilst I was disappointed that the group did not want to record the performance, it was imperative for me from a research and practice ethics perspective to be sensitive to and respect their wishes fully in this matter. Under no circumstances did I want my position of power as music therapist, as researcher or as employee of the prison, to coerce people into doing something that was against their convictions. I interpreted the unusual reluctance to audio recording in our group in three ways. First, this participant's lack of trust suggested that there may be wider issues of distrust within the group, leading to insecurities about their performance, about ownership and exposure of recorded materials at a later stage. Secondly, the ever present and deeply understandable wish for confidentiality many prisoners expressed, regardless of trust, caused people to be afraid that they could be identified outside the prison. Thirdly, a more positive interpretation was that the group concerned itself more with the here-and-now, and that the value of the process and the event was not further strengthened by the presence of a recording. As George pointed out:

George: sometimes when I hear recordings of myself singing it sounds completely different from how I remembered it [gesticulates]. Like when I listened back to that other concert, I couldn't believe that it was me, that I had done it. (Peace and Cake meeting, 4/4/19)

When George made this comment others in the group nodded, suggesting that for this group, preserving the memory was far more valuable to them, than my suggestions of documenting the event.

Summary

In this chapter I have shown relationships between musical *connections*, music *scene* and musical *community* as facets of the *musikkmiljø* as it was manifest in Bjørgvin prison. Specifically I have shown how materials such as guitars, people such as the 'fixers', and practices such as songs formed the fabric of the prison music scene and afforded ways for

people to connect and realise notions of community. Conversely, the data shows how connections *between* people and networks, e.g. the professional interdisciplinary collaborations of the school department CD project, afforded musicking. All these levels of connection and community are, I would argue, encompassed by the term *musikkmiljø*. The data reveals *musikkmiljø* as something that was desired and as something that had to be achieved, and for instance the processes surrounding the *Peace and Cake* project and the creation of *The Bjørgvin Song* show how people worked musically to actively build and achieve *musikkmiljø*. In this, the data also show how I as a music therapist supported such processes of working towards musical community, e.g. through the socio-musical arranging of *Flåklypa*.

We have also seen in this chapter how the three vectors of musical change i.e. the musical appropriation of the carceral space; the development of a musician identity; and the creation of musical community, unfolded concurrently through musicking. Having explored these three vectors of change in detail in chapters 5-7, I proceed in the final chapter to an explication of the prison as a *therapeutic* music scene in light of theory from the fields of CoMT and criminology, linking the findings to research into desistance from crime.

8. DISCUSSION

In the previous three chapters I have shown how musical change along the vectors 'spillerom', 'opptreden' and 'musikkmiljø' afforded identity, belonging, agency and meaning. The pursuit of musicking in itself and the many affordances of musicking, cannot be understood only as individualised processes or subjective experience. Instead, these must be understood as products of, and as integral to, *the prison music scene*. I have shown how in a number of ways I as a music therapist supported and facilitated the prison music scene and individuals within it, but that it was in the meeting between myself, the participants, the materials and the prison, that the *therapeutic* music scene emerged.

In this chapter I will discuss these understandings in more detail. In doing so I will relate them to theory on desistance in the field of criminology. Not with a view to suggest causal connections between music therapy and desistance, but to contribute more broadly to thinking about relationships between desistance, arts and therapy by reflecting on how music therapy in prison may contribute to the identity work that is important in the progression from *primary* desistance towards *secondary* and eventually *tertiary* desistance. I will also explicate what I have come to call *scene thinking* as a music therapeutic stance with a basis in the data I have presented. Finally, I reflect on the implications of the study for the fields of music therapy and criminology, before concluding with a critique of the study and its methods.

AFFORDANCES OF MUSICKING IN BJØRGVIN PRISON

In the pilot study identity, belonging, agency and meaning were identified as primary affordances of musicking in Bjørgvin prison. These affordances were confirmed throughout the main study and can be traced throughout the data chapters. Waller (2018) states that studies of music in prisons have a tendency to paint an 'empowering perspective' (p.285).

The identification of meaning, agency, identity and belonging as affordances of musicking in Bjørgvin prison certainly falls into this category. I have however attempted to nuance these concepts in two particular ways. First, by maintaining a critical awareness that musicking was not always ameliorative or unproblematic, but on the contrary how it could involve conflict, exclusion, controversy, coercion and disappointment. Secondly, by recognising that meaning, agency, identity and belonging, although potentially empowering, are not in themselves 'positive' entities. Meaning can be derived from ruthless violence, identity can be built around the skilful craft of drug dealing, and people experience belonging and community through organised crime. What my data presents is meaning derived from *musicking*, agency through *musical appropriation*, identity as *musicians* and belonging to a *musical* community. These affordances were not always present or realised, nor were these musical identities the only ways in which the participants presented themselves in the prison. However, these were the affordances of musicking that the participants in a myriad of ways suggested, emphasised and attached importance to through our interactions and through their progression along the three vectors of musical change that I identified.

Vectors indicate forces and their direction, and suggest a motion from point A towards point B. In my study, point A for all three vectors of musical change was the basic conditions I observed in the prison, presented as my understanding of Bjørgvin prison as a carceral space (Chapter 4). This was marked by the inscription of anonymity and untrustworthiness, by flux and social instability, by tensions and social restriction, and a lack of access to technologies of self. Along the first vector of musical change, the prison was 'musicalized' (Stige, 2002a) into a *potential musical space* where performances of self were made possible (Chapter 5). Along the second vector of musical change people emerged as musicians and developed musicianhood through their evolving musical craft and musicianship, through developing a musicking persona and through co-creating musical-prison-life stories, thus challenging the notions of a prisoner non-identity (Chapter 6). Along the third vector of musical change, people achieved musical community by appropriating the material, structural, social and cultural resources available to them, thus countering the social instability and notions of the prison as a 'crime school' (Chapter 7). Throughout I have illustrated how I interacted with these processes, how I and sometimes music therapy students sought to model and promote a culture of musical openness and inclusion.

Change for people in prison is a complex field marked by tensions between notions of individual, social and structural reform, between different notions of treatment, rehabilitation and punishment (Chapter 4). This study shows how music therapy can encompass and engage with this complex field by affording possibilities for action (Ruud, 2020). In the following section I will discuss in more detail how these findings can be related to central questions around change in the fields of penology and criminology.

MUSIC THERAPY IN PRISONS AND THE COMPLEXITIES OF CHANGE

*We're only particles of change I know, I know
Orbiting around the sun
But how can I have that point of view
When I'm always bound and tied to someone (Joni Mitchell)*

Having 'correct knowledge' does not of itself lead to change, attention also needs to be paid to the 'matrix of cultural and psychic forces' through which the subject is constituted. (Winter, 1987, p. 48)

Music therapy and the meanings of incarceration

Questioning the prison as a site for supporting desistance, McNeill and Schinkel (2016) ask whether 'we might find that desisting from punishment is one of the best ways of supporting desistance from crime' (p. 619). My own experience of working within the prison system has been that everyday prison life is marked by the paradox of accepting that successful rehabilitation primarily needs to happen in the community (McNeill and Schinkel 2016), whilst at the same time having to justify imprisonment partly from a perspective of rehabilitation. To most of the participants in the study, rehabilitation was something that primarily applied to 'other people'. Rehabilitation was seen as changing people who 'had something wrong with them', e.g. 'the druggies' or the 'paedophiles', whereas in relation to

themselves, most people did not express a need to change per se; some had 'just' committed something 'stupid', some experienced their sentence as inaccurate, some saw structural forces in society as their main problem. Held together with Mjåland's (2015) finding that prison staff found rehabilitation to be an imposition, this suggests that for many inmates and staff alike, rehabilitation represented something they did not feel they were a part of or had ownership of. Instead, the concept caused a sense of discomfort and alienation.

Nevertheless, rehabilitation often features as the true meaning of incarceration; 'The first thing we do when people arrive in prison, is to start the preparation for their release' (Norwegian prison director – NRK, 2019). This is a sentiment that reflects the Norwegian policy 'tilbakeføringsgarantien', a nationwide legal obligation for public services and agencies, including the prison service itself, to work together to ensure prisoners' re-entry to the community (Kriminalomsorgen, 2021). Representing the underpinnings of 'Scandinavian exceptionalism', this obligation matches McNeill and Schinkel's (2016) recommendation that 'a wider circle of society should be encouraged to take responsibility for helping people stop offending' (p. 611). It also mirrors music therapy practice and research with offenders in prisons and the community which emphasizes music therapy as a bridge *from* the prison *back* to the community (Tuastad, 2014; Leith, 2014). Music therapy bridging 'inside' and 'outside' worlds has also been a strong theme in this study, both in terms of the cultural exchange between these domains, but also in the practicalities of how music therapy supports people in pursuing musical goals beyond the prison walls.

There is however a sense in which the necessary and well-conceived professional gaze towards *the release*, a gaze shared by prison management, agencies, welfare organizations and researchers alike, and no doubt by many prisoners, can obscure debates around what goes on *within* institutions, *during* people's time there. Focusing too much on the point of release seemed sometimes to be a way of not having to confront uncomfortable challenges to the *meaning* of incarceration. Indeed, an exclusive focus on 'the end' suggests that the only meaning of imprisonment is to get out. As we have seen, many participants derived great meaning from their participation in music therapy, some experienced the prison stay

as a positive experience, and some even enquired about the possibility of staying on to participate in performance projects.

Christie (1981) might argue that the true meaning of incarceration is to punish, and that rehabilitation attempts to hide this fact:

[...] imposing punishment within the institution of law means the inflicting of pain, intended as pain. This is an activity which often comes in dissonance to esteemed values such as kindness and forgiveness. To reconcile these incompatibilities, attempts are sometimes made to hide the basic character of punishment. In cases where hiding is not possible, all sorts of reasons for intentional infliction of pain are given. (Christie, 1981, p. 1)

If the meaning of a piece of art lies in the experiences it affords rather than the meanings the artist or a critic may ascribe to it, then so it is for prisons too. Shamma (2014) identified the meaninglessness of incarceration experienced by inmates in increasingly open and 'exceptional' penal conditions. This notion was mirrored by many in Bjørgvin prison. Rehabilitation was for 'the druggies', and the meaning of the prison as punishment was questioned by inmates saying that 'it feels like a summer camp'.

I would contend that what this study shows perhaps more than anything, is the participants' work in *making* the prison stay meaningful through musicking. As Eric pointed out, 'coming in here, yes, it is negative, but I have to try to get something positive out of it, right' (Interview, 23/06/15). For him, it was learning to play the bass and all the social possibilities it created, that brought meaning. In this way, music therapy served as a way for participants to meet the expectations of The Norwegian prison service and perhaps society more generally; that they should make changes to their criminal behaviour 'on their own initiative' (Stortingsmelding nr. 37).

Importantly, the opportunity to make changes on your own initiative in music therapy hinges precisely on the reluctance inherent in CoMT to define music therapy, and instead sharing the responsibility for shaping music therapy and give it its content and direction, with the participants. This caused frustration for some in Bjørgvin prison, particularly if they expected

a tailor-made programme of activities, neatly planned and executed, for them to like or dislike. As the data shows, the participants were faced with accountability, ownership and support. Aims to 'follow where people and music lead' (Ansdell and Pavlicevic, 2004, p. 30) have manifested themselves in this study as a firm expectation of the participants to lead the way with the necessary care and accompaniment.

Does this mean that after all, CoMT only reinforces the rehabilitative focus of prisons and the camouflaged power structures of the neo-paternal (Crewe, 2011) punitive regimes of Scandinavian exceptionalism? Does it mean that CoMT, with its resource-oriented outlook, could even be accused of promoting neoliberal agendas of 'responsibilization' (McNeill and Schinkel, 2016, p. 609)? Holmes and Gastaldo (2002) have shown how in some areas of health care, *caring* has been replaced by supervision for *self-care*. According to them, professionals can derive great power from transferring the responsibility for health onto the patient. This paradoxical conundrum can only be resolved by asking what forms of change were made, and on whose terms.

Music therapy in prisons – whose technology of change?

As much as prisons are a technology for change (McNeill and Schinkel, 2016), so are many approaches to music therapy. The question is what forms it takes, and whose technology of change it becomes. Having distanced myself, throughout the course of this study, from the idea that music therapy can be applied as a ready-made and clearly defined intervention in the prison setting, and instead aligned myself with the tenets of CoMT that music therapy is defined by practice (Wood, 2016), and therefore by participants and contexts as much as by the therapist, I have also let go of the idea that music therapy 'changes people', but rather that, as 'skilled facilitators' (Procter, 2013), music therapists support people as they make changes through music therapy.

My position on this is illustrated through my evolving relationship with what was the working title of this thesis for the duration of the project: *Playin' the changes*. The phrase is taken from jazz terminology and refers to how jazz players adapt their melodic improvisation to match the underlying harmonic progression (chord changes) of a song. It implies the

knowledgeable engagement with, and often the adherence to, the structural framework of a given chord progression. 'Playin' the changes' thus symbolises versatility, flexibility and expertise in responding to conditions around us, or what we might call 'the score' that is given to us (Flower, 2019). Someone who does *not* play the changes, might only employ one scale/tonality independently of the changing backdrop. This second approach is central to aesthetics of blues and rock and idiomatic of many other styles of music, but in jazz it may be considered rigid, uncreative and suggest a lack of technical ability. As my study progressed, I rejected the title. The reactionary position suggested by the term, i.e. that people's playing was simply a response to a 'script' provided by their circumstances, or the suggestion that the changes they made through musicking were only acts of conforming to pre-set institutional or societal ideals for change ('the score'), did not match my findings. On the contrary, the emerging picture was one of people challenging notions of rehabilitation and rather valuing the experiences of belonging and identity afforded through musicking as important to their health and personal development. In other words, my findings suggested people were *not* playing the changes, but rather (sometimes defiantly) making an effort to stick with a metaphorical familiar blues scale in the face of often chaotic circumstances and expectations for transformation around them.

However as the study unfolded, PABAR (participatory arts-based action research) led me to reflect on how people's participation in musicking in itself constituted change, and how their participation had 'ripple effects' (Ansdell and Pavlicevic, 2004) in their own lives and within the prison music scene. Aigen (2005) explains how musicking itself is a legitimate goal of music therapy:

The use of purely musical clinical goals is legitimate when this dovetails with the client's agenda, whether this is stated explicitly by the client or is conveyed implicitly by the client's actions, affect, or expression [...] The overriding clinical purpose in this perspective is to bring people into contact with music and musical experiences in a way that can enrich their lives. They may change as a result— their personality structures, modes of relating to others, sense of purpose in life, ability to express themselves, self-image, and sense of purpose in life, among other things, may change.
(Aigen, 2005, pp. 109-110)

In line with this, Stige (2002) asserts that for participants, musical means and clinical ends are not dichotomies in music therapy. This study supports that notion. Change happening in and through musicking, was as valid and significant a form of change for the participants as any other. The processes we went through did not need to be verbalized nor intellectualized in order to effectuate some form of *extra-musical* change (Aigen, 2014); musicking *was* the change, and these changes had real, and sometimes far reaching, consequences. In light of this perspective, my provisional title ‘playin’ the changes’ gained new meaning. No longer referring to people responding to dictates for change as in the jazz vocabulary (e.g. in the form of rehabilitation), but in reference to people as agents effectuating changes in their lives and to their surroundings, in and through musicking. Based on this research, I would argue that when working from the paradigm of CoMT, music therapy provides people in prison with a technology for what Kougiali et al. (2018) call ‘noncoersive personal development’ (p. 1); making changes *on their own terms*, and that this is in line with the Norwegian Prison Service’s emphasis on prisoners making changes on their ‘own initiative’ (www.kriminalomsorgen.no).

Reflections on music therapy and moral out-of-tuneness

Being a prisoner is to be placed in a position of psychological, social and moral ‘out-of-tuneness’ with mainstream society. This is illustrated by recurring suggestions that ‘criminals’ lack empathy or moral standards (Raine, 2018), and conversely by prisoners’ expressions of a disdain for ‘straight’ people leading ‘A4’ lives and their values (Walderhaug, 2018)³². There was at times a sense of loss at having departed from a collective sense of morality, that contributed to a deep sense of being in discord with society, of being ‘other’. Kenneth alluded to this when he described the burden of being forcefully exposed to a community where people talked only about crime, and the relief of being able to talk and think about music instead. Ugelvik (2014) has written about how prisoners create their own moral hierarchies, and how, in response to being cast as immoral, cultivating notions of other identities such as ‘the good father’ (p. 152) can be important. In immersing myself in the prison scene I have in a sense explored this moral out-of-tuneness through a critical lens

³² Walderhaug conducted research into her practice of practical philosophy with prisoners in Bjørgvin prison. Her findings are therefore representative of the specific site of this study.

which includes an understanding of such phenomena as situated and ecological, rather than purely individual. I believe this study shows how music could to an extent 'repair' the experience of a relational collapse with a 'moral' community. However, since 'the community' is by and large out of reach for prisoners, the participants had to create their own 'moral' community. An example of this was the *Peace and Cake* project, where difference was harnessed as a musical and social resource, making for a culture of acceptance and mutual care and support.

Exploring 'moral tuning' and the uses of musical metaphors in the work of philosopher Adam Smith, Sivertsen et al. (2018) suggest that as with musical tuning, morality is relative and mutually negotiated. If we contend that musicking can redress a balance in terms of relating morally to a social world, we might move away from using *out-of-tuneness* as a metaphor for prisoners' moral separation from society, towards seeing moral relationships between prisoners and society as a real musical phenomenon. In their study of the SMART community music therapy project in London, Ansdell and DeNora (2016) discuss how such outcomes from CoMT practice is not necessarily something people actively or consciously pursue, but rather that they are secondary outcomes of people's pursuit of musicking. They identify 'the social virtues of appreciation, recognition, respect, trust, support, belonging, generosity, conviviality, celebration' as a "'secondary" menu of "good things" that emerge from and within musical community (p. 172). Calling musicking 'collaborative respect in action' Ansdell (2014, p. 214) explains how ethics and aesthetics are entangled in musicking. In this way we may legitimately ask whether musicking can encourage and enable forms of moral tuning within a prison community. Arguably this could be drawn upon to construe music therapy in prisons as a *moral technology* (Waller, 2018). Crucially however, I would contend that the data shows that musicking became *our* moral technology, not mine nor the prison's.

Changing whilst remaining the same

I shall live in the past, the present and the future! (Ebenezer Scrooge)

In Dickens' novel *A Christmas Carol* the lead character Ebenezer Scrooge, a cold-hearted and cynical tyrant, is implored by the ghosts of his former business partners to 'change!'.

Through a process of revelation and insight he changes his ways and becomes a beacon of generosity and kindness. From Freud's psychoanalysis to contemporary life coaches selling quick-fix solutions for a better life, narratives of transformation are deeply embedded in our culture and informs contemporary ideas of what it is to be human. As influential as narratives of redemption such as Scrooge's, are narratives of how people can be corrupted and fall from grace. Such stories also have their counterparts in musical folklore; blues guitarist Robert Johnson allegedly traded his soul for unparalleled musical virtuosity and recognition in a deal with the devil made at a crossroads in Mississippi. Like Robert Johnson, many participants in this study became musicians at the cost of their freedom. However, their deal was not with the devil, it was with the Norwegian Prison Service. And as the data suggests, they did not abandon their souls, rather, many crafted an evolving sense of identity.

In Chapter 4 I deliberately juxtaposed Toch's (2010) focus on all-encompassing change in the form of 'shedding one's old identity and creating a new one', and Maruna's (2001) emphasis on coherence and maintaining one's sense of self for people who desist from crime. Based on the data material I have presented I argue that the premise for this dichotomy is false. Instead, the experiences of the participants in my study suggest that effectuating personal change is not a matter of *either* 'knifing off' one's identity (Maruna and Roy, 2007, p. 107) *or* maintaining a sense of self, but both. This position of changing whilst remaining the same represents a paradox well known from fields as disparate as psychoanalysis (Bromberg, 1998) and genetic science (Tsutsumi et al., 2017). The classic metaphor illustrating this paradox is growth; the growing plant is at once changing and remaining the same. In our context of music therapy, we can turn to Ansdell and DeNora (2012) for an understanding of growth: 'When music flourishes, people flourish too' (p. 111). Changing whilst remaining the same is only paradoxical insofar as we consider change to be a purely individual process, and

as long as we consider the (healthy) self to be a singular concept. When, on the other hand we see the self as multiple (DeNora, 1999), and we see change as mutual (Stige, 2012), then changing whilst staying the same only points to the performative situatedness of identity. Personal change is then not an individual process of transitioning from one state to another, or from one *modus operandi* to another. Instead, to borrow Lewin's terminology, forces driving change and forces resisting change interact, evolve and fluctuate.

The data chapters show that many people in Bjørgvin used music as something to 'hang on to' (Harbert, 2010, p. 303). In face of the maintained focus in penal practice upon reform and a break with the past self e.g. through mechanisms of 'identity decoupling' (Rogers et al., 2017, p. 219), people's engagement in musical activities rather seemed to reconnect them to aspects of their past which instead of being 'cast-off' (King, 2013, p. 152), were cultivated and mobilised as resources (Rolvjord, 2010).

At the same time, they also needed, wanted and cherished opportunities to develop, to learn, to create and to form new relationships, skills and competencies. Music, as the data suggests, provided people with materials, means and opportunities to fulfil both these needs. For Boris, music was his link to the past and a sense of identity, at the same time as it afforded him a new arena in which to experience belonging and recognition. For Tomas, his traditional melancholy piano music and developing identity as a performer sparked thought processes about how he wanted to live his life and who he wanted to be. In both cases, a growing awareness of their past and their sense of musical identity was the starting point for exploring new ways of being and taking steps towards making changes in their lives. Importantly, this exploration and these steps were *musical* explorations and *musical* steps: Boris performed live for the first time and experienced the affirmative togetherness a music ensemble can offer, leading him to explore possibilities of joining his local choir. Tomas explored new tonalities and scales as explicit metaphors for his emotions, leading him towards a firm musical identity that challenged his image as a body-building tough guy, and for which he received recognition from his fellow inmates. To return to my psychodynamic music therapy roots, Bowlby's (1977) concept of 'the secure base' seems to describe what musicking offered in these cases. However, rather than being based on unconscious processes of attachment to a maternal figure through a recapitulation of the mother-infant

relationship, it was the experience of musical identity and community and the enactment of this in the present that provided *both* the secure base from which to explore, *and* the field of exploration.

The findings from my study suggest that music therapy in prisons must recognise that identity coherence and identity transformation are not dichotomies, but aspects of the same unfolding process. In Bjørgvin prison, uncovering, becoming aware of and promoting musical resources *became* the change, in line with music-centered (Aigen, 2005) and resource-oriented principles (Rolvjord, 2010). It seems then that many of the participants in my study could agree with Scrooge's quote that redemption must involve integrating the future, the present *and* the past, and based on my findings, music therapy could well have helped Scrooge in this quest.

Desistance from crime pt. 2: What has music therapy got to do with it?

McNeill and Schinkel (2016) point out that prisons are widely considered to work against the rehabilitative factors identified by desistance researchers e.g. by depriving people of responsibility, damaging positive social ties, 'cement spoiled identities rather than nurturing positive ones' and detaching people from the 'desistance-supporting routines that need to be established in the community' (p. 612). Other criminologists have argued that prisons act as crime schools, serving only to induct young offenders to a life of increasingly serious crime by exposing them to criminal milieus (Tuastad, 2014). This study suggests that reality in Bjørgvin prison was nuanced. For instance, Boris described how coming to prison had been a positive social experience for him (p. 211), and Eric explained how the prison afforded possibilities for musicking, learning and musical-social experiences that he would never have had access to in the outside community (p. 191).

In line with this observation, McNeill and Schinkel (2016) also argue that despite the disabling qualities of imprisonment, 'under certain conditions, prisons can support personal development but [...] it is both rare and difficult for them to do so' (p. 618). Further, they contend that 'imprisonment sometimes does play a positive role in the narratives of those who have desisted' (p. 613). My data suggest that people's participation in music therapy

activities can contribute to people integrating their prison stay into their life narratives in positive ways. I would further contend that it is relevant to relate the expressions of coherence, belonging and identity that musicking in the prison afforded, to the sense of coherence and identity that has been identified as fundamental to those who desist from crime (Maruna, 2001).

Maruna's (2001) and Maruna and Roy's (2007) emphasis on developing a coherent sense of identity resonates with the wider study of identity in music, where relationships between music and identity have formed a longstanding focus for interdisciplinary inquiry (Ansdell, 2014; DeNora, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2013; MacDonald et al., 2002; Ruud, 2013).

Increasingly the ubiquity and significance of musical identity in places of incarceration is also well documented (Coutinho, 2014; Harbert, 2010; Mangaoang, 2013; Somma, 2011). Music therapists are, as Ansdell (2014) points out, particularly concerned with the *disruption* of identity through illness, disability or trauma, and a salient observation from the field of music therapy research is how music can help people to reconnect with healthy aspects of the self by rekindling practices, relationships, memories and resources (Ansdell, 2014; DeNora, 2013; Krüger, 2012; Rolvsjord, 2010; Solli, 2015). This work in music therapy to foster identity and coherence can be seen as aligned with Maruna's (2001) emphasis on the importance of coherence in desistance narratives. The 'biographical disruption' Ansdell describes (2014, p. 122) is experienced by many in the prison setting, e.g. due to trauma³³ from childhood neglect, addiction and a criminal lifestyle (Stokkeland et al., 2014), or even, as is sometimes suggested, from the experience of imprisonment itself (McNeill and Schinkel, 2016).

With its focus on narrative and what Kougiali et al. (2018) suggest is a mechanistic view of stages of personal transformation, desistance theory and the notion of primary and secondary desistance could be said to have a largely individual focus. There also seems to be a tendency to view and understand people's desistance narratives in separation from both prisons and their regimes of punishment and rehabilitation (King, 2013). However, certain criminological perspectives on desistance emphasise that change towards desistance is not

³³ A recent study based in Bergen and Bjørgvin prisons indicated that as many as 70% of inmates may suffer from PTSD, the symptoms of which are often mistaken for ADHD (Stokkeland et al., 2014).

only an individual process. As mentioned on p. 108, an increasingly influential concept that bridges individual psychological needs and processes with an ecological and social understanding of crime and desistance, is the notion of *tertiary desistance*:

[...] referring not just to shifts in behaviour or identity but to shifts in one's sense of belonging to a (moral) community [...] since identity is socially constructed and negotiated, securing long-term change depends not just on how one sees oneself but also on how one is seen by others, and on how one sees one's place in society. Putting it more simply, desistance is a social and political process as much as a personal one.

(McNeill and Schinkel, 2016, p. 608).

The concept of tertiary desistance thus offers a view of trajectories of change that addresses the often confusing, contrasting and developing perceptions people have of themselves by emphasising the social dimensions of desistance and the importance of how one is seen by others (p. 608). In their discussion of tertiary desistance, McNeill and Schinkel (2016) hold up Scandinavian penal practices as examples of how the importance of social belonging and community *can* be integrated into the justice system. Ugelvik (2016) points to the same when he highlights how prisons in Norway are perceived as a part of the welfare system, rather than as a 'last resort alternative' to it (2016, p. 389).

As an employee of the prison service I was prohibited from working with or having any other form of relation to previous inmates (see chapter 3 for more information about method). Partly as a result of this, this study has not been concerned with following up prisoners in the community after release. Instead I am primarily interested in how what appears to be the essence of tertiary desistance, namely a sense of belonging to a moral community, was achieved in the prison setting in ways other than through criminal endeavours or loyalty to the inmate code. As I argued above, in lieu of the 'outside' community, participants created their own 'moral' community to belong to, and rather than this sense of morality being based on shared loyalties to illicit modes of being (Ugelvik, 2014), it was based on music. This challenges the prevailing view that prisons rarely overcome their status as crime schools. This study suggest that CoMT as an approach to music therapy in prisons can contribute to making the prison a site not only for transitions towards secondary desistance through identity work, but also interacts with the factors that promote transitions towards

tertiary desistance. Or perhaps more precisely, my findings suggest that CoMT can help prisons change from being 'crime scenes' towards becoming (musical) *scenes of desistance*. Consequently this study suggests that the further development of music therapy in prisons as a field of practice should incorporate a focus on identity coherence and sense of belonging through supporting the creation of *musikkmiljø*.

In this connection it is important to reiterate that the study presented in this thesis has taken place in a low security facility in a Scandinavian country, also known as *open* prisons. The conditions of this open environment, which allows inmates to move relatively freely with the premises and to manage their own time, has been an essential aspect of the therapeutic music scene described. Under stricter penal regimes the forms of musicking recounted here may not have taken place at all. Moreover, the chance encounters, fleeting corridor conversations and brittle connections that were such an important aspect of our interaction would have been impossible. It is thus safe to suggest that if we value the affordances of the prison as a dynamic and therapeutic music scene, we must also value the principle of the Norwegian prison service that people should serve under the least restrictive conditions possible. In recent years, the tendency for less restrictive prison conditions in Norway has been challenged. Budget savings and a political drive for harsher sentencing has led to the closing down of several successful open prisons, whilst newbuilds are tailored to higher levels of security (Nymo and Skotte, 2019). Whereas a key argument for lower levels of security is the often improved quality in the relationships between staff and inmates (Nymo and Skotte, 2019), this study also suggests that open prisons uniquely afford notions of musical community that can have profound effects on people's sense of belonging and identity, and therefore interacts with factors that may support desistance.

Reflections on performance

To have a focus on identity coherence in music therapy in prisons speaks to decisions we as prison professionals make around performance. And by this I do not simply refer to live public performances of music in music therapy, but to the *performance of transformation*. What is performed, and who benefits from our performance? Who, for instance, benefitted from the video performance of 'the rehabilitated rapper' at the prison service website

launch described on p. 26? Just like Maruna (2001) identified 'redemption narratives' amongst his 'desisters', so we need not look far to find 'transformation narratives' (Mendonca, 2010) in the prison services' promotional materials, nor indeed in the field of music therapy.

Such narratives are important in promoting awareness of services and communicating their value. The growing use of social media and the internet therefore offer a welcome arena for practitioners and service users to mediate their success stories and expand their practices. The empowering potentials of these technologies must be accompanied by a professional critical awareness that when certain narratives become ever more visible, the invisibility of prisoners who have no access to these technologies, who have pressing personal reasons for not wanting to be publicly identified, or who cannot identify with snappy narratives of rehabilitation, becomes even more pronounced. To suggest a focus on identity coherence, is to suggest, with Tuastad et al. (2018), that participants in music therapy must shape also how they want their music therapy to be mediated and broadcast, or, in the words of Ali who incorporated his prisoner status into his public rap persona; how to 'keep it real'.

THE PRISON AS A THERAPEUTIC MUSIC SCENE

Having accounted for my practice, for the musicking that happened, for the interactions that took place, for my cultural perspective on crime and health, and for notions of change in criminology and music therapy, I now turn to a discussion of what characterised Bjørgvin prison as a *therapeutic music scene*. The first question to address is on what grounds we may call the prison music scene *therapeutic*? As a starting point for this discussion I enlist Bunt and Stige's (2014) discussion of the word 'therapy':

Rather than referring to therapist-centred interventions 'done to people', many authors stress that music therapy takes place within the creative context of a developing relationship [...] The focus is [on] aspects drawn from the Greek meaning of *therapeia*, namely the human qualities of caring, attending and serving. (Bunt and Stige, 2014, p. 17)

Musicking was clearly of consequence to people's experience of identity, meaning and health in Bjørgvin prison. Musical canons and performative practices provided both an emotional vocabulary *and* the license to employ it. However, conditions in Bjørgvin prison did not naturally encourage the spontaneous and varied musical encounters required to sustain a dynamic music scene. Musicking needed nurturing and supporting in specific ways. In my conception of the therapeutic music scene, Bunt and Stige's 'caring, attending and serving' is therefore complemented by 'supporting'. In the following I explain what is meant by this in the context of the Bjørgvin prison music scene.

Music therapy as 'extended'

The notion of the prison music scene being *therapeutic* cannot only refer to subjective experiences of participants. Instead, it must refer to a particular quality of the *culture* of musicking. The data shows how the presence of the music therapy service modelled and enabled particular qualities of musical interaction, and consequently contributed to the creation of a scene where working individually or communally were not binary positions but a part of supporting the whole. There was an awareness of music therapy as a concept, coupled with people's folk notions of music being therapeutic. In addition, I and music therapy students worked to model and facilitate a general attitude of inclusivity, acceptance and support. Returning for instance to Adam's performance of *Flåklypa* (p. 245), we see how the group to a large extent developed attitudes of care. I would not suggest that there was a causal relationship between the agenda of myself and music therapy students and the attitudes of various groups, but rather that there were mutual processes in which *cultures* of musical caring became evident in various groups at various phases of the project. As such, I would argue that the data is illustrative of a particular shift in thinking about music therapy that CoMT has represented over the last two decades, but which has not been articulated specifically in relation to music therapy in prisons. This shift can be summarised as a progression from asking "how can music therapists help people?" (Bruscia, 1998 – my paraphrase), via asking "how can music therapists assist people in helping themselves?" (Rolvjord, 2004 – my paraphrase), towards questions of "how can music therapists support mutual help between people?" (DeNora, 2007 – my paraphrase). It is when this third

dimension of the famous ‘ripple effect’ (Ansdell and Pavlicevic, 2004) of CoMT is tangible, that we can speak of a *therapeutic* music scene.

In accordance with this shift, I suggest that to *support* a therapeutic music scene implies an *explicit* focus on how music therapists support and facilitate extensions to, or ‘ripples’ from, our own practice. Practices of ‘lay-therapy’, musical caring, activism and mentoring, such as we saw e.g. in the cases of Ben, Jermaine, *Flåklypa* and *Peace and Cake*, are central to my conception of the therapeutic music scene, and key here is the role of the music therapist as ‘de-centred’ (Flower, 2019) and ‘peripheral’ (Stige, 2006) when, like a referee on the football pitch, the most important thing is to not be in the way, yet providing leadership, guidance, supervision and support when needed.

Music therapy as participatory arts-based action research (PABAR)

In Chapter 4 I linked music scenes to the concept of the rhizome (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) and explained how it allowed me to see action that would otherwise be perceived as fragmented, disconnected, chaotic and directionless, as part of a bigger connected whole. Rhizomes are ‘ever-growing horizontal networks of connections among heterogenous nodes that can be discursive or material. There are no beginnings and no ends; the rhizome continually creates the new.’ (Ruud, 2020, p. 23). Ruud’s summative elaboration of a ‘sociology of music therapy’ draws heavily on Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) concepts of ‘the rhizome’ and ‘becoming’ as ways of understanding the development of music therapy as discipline and profession. Likewise, Wood (2016) has employed their philosophy in conceptualizing a matrix for CoMT practice. Deleuze and Guattari’s own work draws on music as an exemplar, and Wood’s (2016) research highlights why their work is especially relevant to prison life:

Much of the underpinnings of Deleuze and Guattari are based in power struggle. Their work is tied directly to the politics on the streets of Paris and to specific settings: the university, the psychiatric clinic. They posit a philosophical world concerned with the relationship between forces, bodies, organizational systems, and territories, with the intention of reframing hierarchies and traditional roots of power. Into this, music is placed not as a

destabilising influence, but as a system that can in fact reterritorialize, revisiting its own stuckness or chaos and “remusicing” it. (Wood, 2016)

The metaphor of the rhizome has been influential across a wide range of disciplines, particularly in cultural studies, anthropology and sociology. For instance theory on the uprisings during the Arab spring have drawn on this concept (Strenges, 2015), as have studies of terrorist cells and the networks through which they emerge and operate (Kuronen and Huhtinen, 2017). Deleuze and Guattari’s writings have also influenced thinking on the origins of and the desistance from crime (e.g. Phillips 2017; Thomas 2020), and significantly for this thesis, Kougiali et. al (2018) draw on the metaphor of the rhizome in their meta-review of music in prisons. The rhizome therefore offered a well-founded model for understanding how seemingly separate musicking groups or individuals were connected through materials, places, practices, and people in Bjørgvin prison. Importantly, as my data shows, these groupings and individuals could be separated in time as well as space, and still be connected. Examples are the processes and people involved in the creation and performance of *The Bjørgvin Song*, and the different ‘units’ in the PABAR project which culminated in the *Peace and Cake* project. Whilst these units were for all intents and purposes separate phenomena, they were connected through a web of materials, practices, people including myself, and music.

To recognize music therapy as a form of PABAR in itself, refers to the understanding already made explicit in this thesis, that the music therapist (me), the ‘client’ (the prison music scene and the people in it), and music therapy, mutually co-constitute each other; constantly in emergence, continuously defined and redefined in new ways. Music therapy as it has been manifested in this thesis is then what we might call *rhizomatic intra-action*. If we accept this, we accept that engaging in music therapy is to advance it, to co-create it, to co-create ourselves, to bring something new into existence. For instance, despite my move away from psychodynamic notions of the confidential and boundaried therapy room, Tomas created precisely this through his appropriation of the Bjørgvin prison music room and of our relationship within it (see p. 163). This again led him to perform himself in new ways and come to new realisations about himself as a musician and as a person. Thus, to engage in music therapy on any level is, by definition, an act of change; it is *action*. At the same time,

as I have outlined in the methodology chapter and showed in the presentation of the data, musicking is an epistemological practice – it is inquiry, it is knowing and it is mediation; it *is* research. A logical conclusion from this particular reasoning is that my study supports the notion that music therapy in prisons *is* action research.

Therapeutic accountability

To recognise music therapy as rhizomatic intra-action in the ways suggested above has practical and ethical implications. The practical implications are that participants shape not only the *content* of music therapy, but also the conceptual framework for the practice; its values, its goals and its meaning. Like most music scenes, the therapeutic music scene resists definitions made by actors external to the scene; in my data we see how the participants not only questioned notions of rehabilitation and subverted structures of power through musicking, they also appropriated musical materials in surprising or even irreverent ways thus challenging cultural stereotypes. The Prison Service was slow to grant me permission to carry out PABAR, which points precisely to a tacit and unconscious institutional resistance to this potential for subversive action.

The ethical implications are related to the distribution of responsibility and accountability. Within a theoretical paradigm of resource-oriented thinking that recognises the contribution of the client as essential in making therapy work (Rolvjord, 2015), that strives for equality in therapist/client relationships and that locates expertise with the client, some degree of client accountability seems inescapable. At first it may seem antithetical to the core therapeutic principles I have outlined following Bunt and Stige (2014) - caring, attending, serving - and my additional *supporting* - to hold a client accountable for their own music therapy. We can imagine situations where this might be unethical or even impossible, and I have already discussed the possibility that resource-oriented music therapy could be open to criticism from those who argue that professionals gain power by placing responsibility for care with the client (Holmes and Gastaldo, 2002). However Ansdell (2014) offers a model for thinking about the inequality inherent in most relationships by describing the 'asymmetrical obligation' (p. 158) that may occur e.g. in relationships between therapist and client, and

how structural asymmetries can be ‘compensated by mutuality in face-to-face interactions’ (p. 213).

Clearly each participant in music therapy in Bjørgvin prison had some responsibility for their own engagement and how they treated others. In the data we have seen a variety of modes of engagement, from the inclusive and caring practices of Ben (p. 211), to the conflicting and excluding approaches of Henrik and Andrew (p. 198). I will however pause at this point to challenge the dichotomic thinking that underlies the distinction between therapist and client. Since we have already established that it is the *scene* that is the client, any therapeutic accountability that is ascribed to the client must reside with the entire scene. We have also established that the scene included not only the participants, but also the ecology of the institution and crucially, myself as the music therapist with my professional obligations and ethical standards. Thus we can formulate the logical conclusion that if the prison music scene is the *client*, and the therapist (me) is (a part of) the *scene*, then, as per the notion of ‘extended’ music therapy, the ‘client’ becomes *the therapist*. Therein lies the meaning of the therapeutic music scene and the essence of what I have come to think of as *scene thinking* as a therapeutic stance. This does not imply the absolution of my specific responsibilities as a professional actor adhering to professional codes of conduct. On the contrary it implies an increased awareness of the power relationships and ethical, practical and musical responsibilities that the role as music therapist entails.

***Scene thinking* - reviving a notion of ‘musikkmiljøterapi’**

Aasgaard (1999) demonstrates through his practice-based research into music therapy with children in hospitals how a particular place or institution can be ‘musicalized’ (Stige, 2012, p. 86). He has previously suggested the term ‘musikk-miljøterapi’ (“music environmental therapy”) as a way of describing his ecological approach to music therapy practice. He identified three levels of attention for the music therapist; the physical environment, the social environment and the symbolic or cultural environment (Aasgaard, 1998, p. 170). My notions of the potential musical space and the prison as a therapeutic music scene correspond to these. Although his work is very much concerned with the wider community and the boundary-transcending nature of CoMT, e.g. illustrated by his concept of the

'geography of songs', his research is also distinctly focussed on the institution through his acute sensitivity to the local ecology of the hospital. In this sense my exploration of the prison music scene resonates with his conception of 'music environmental therapy' ('Musikk-miljøterapi'). Aasgaard discussed music environmental therapy as a musical approach to the established Norwegian discipline of 'miljøterapi' (environmentally focussed social work). Following Aasgaard, I too am interested in what the Norwegian word 'musikkmiljø' yields in describing music therapy practice, but not with reference to the discipline of 'miljøterapi'. Instead, there are linguistic affordances of the word 'musikkmiljø-terapi' in the Norwegian language to describe music therapeutic work with music scenes. Whilst 'music-scene therapy' (my translation of musikkmiljø-terapi) does not immediately seem to enrich our existing terminology, and since it is beyond the scope of this thesis to pursue this linguistic detail further, I will refer to my notion of *musikkmiljø-terapi* as *scene thinking* in music therapy.

There are many examples in the CoMT literature of what I take to mean *scene thinking* in music therapy practice. To remain with Aasgaard's work, which foregrounds the notion of 'miljø', it illustrates vividly the web of connections created by people and materials, within, but also beyond a specific institution. In his work, what we might consider 'therapeutic' elements are clearly directly related to and derivative of his work, but it transcends his presence and becomes a part of the environment. In this way, *scene thinking/musikkmiljø-terapi* is based on the notion of the 'ripple effect' (Ansdell and Pavlicevic, 2004), and what I have called 'extended' music therapy above.

This study suggests that a distinction between *community* as client (Stige, 2012) and *scene* as client can usefully be made. As Dusselier (2009) has pointed out, and as my data supports, it is problematic to talk of the prison and the people in it as 'a community', since people are placed there against their will and forced to proximity. Communities can clearly be defined by place, and people forced together in prisons may be thought of as a 'community of circumstance' (Ansdell, 2014). However, defining the participants as a community specifically and primarily for the things they all have in common, i.e. being incarcerated men and having been sentenced for a crime, might also have disempowering connotations that are contrary to the agendas of CoMT. As already described, the terms 'prison community' or

'inmate community' are often imbued with visions of debased and immoral characteristics. Instead my data shows that, as Ansdell (2014) puts it, 'community is a social achievement, a performance.' (p. 204). Thus, *when* a sense of community was achieved through music in Bjørgvin prison, such as during the Peace and Cake project, it was very much a case of it applying to 'these people' at 'this time', and to their situated experience and enactment of community. In other words, in Bjørgvin prison, *communities* were transient and fleeting.

As Finnegan (1989) shows us in her study of musical life in Milton Keynes, and Cohen (1991) in her study of bands from Liverpool, the term music scene suggests a more robust spatial and material fabric than the term musical community. The music scene is not only linked to place; in many cases it *is* the place, be it a local, regional, national, global or virtual scene, a street, a recording studio, a night club, or indeed, a prison. The scene as client therefore transcends flux and social instability, such as we find in Bjørgvin prison. Indeed, the Bjørgvin prison music scene remains despite all its inhabitants being replaced (which they have been many times over during the length of this project), and it will remain also without me, only in different form. Moreover, and perhaps of particular significance to music therapy in institutions of turbulence and flux, the scene remained also when conflict and factions lead to fragmentation, disorganisation and a breakdown of community. In this way, the scene as client encompasses the plurality of the rhizome, i.e. different groupings and *communities* emerging in different places at different times. I therefore argue that in Bjørgvin prison, the *scene* was the client, and *community* was the goal.

Prisons, music and evidence pt.2

Music therapy in prisons is a small field of practice despite the work that has been done to document its effects particularly over the last two decades (p. 34). The research presented in this thesis gives grounds to reflect on why this may still be the case. As pointed to in the introduction (p. 28) there were ambiguities and conflicting agendas attached to the implementation of music therapy in Bjørgvin prison. I suggest that these ambiguities surrounding not only music therapy, but arts in prisons more generally, may be a contributing factor to the limited practice of music therapy in prisons. In a climate of evidence-based practice, a challenge to music therapists and other arts professionals

working in prisons is not so much *how* to gather the evidence, as to decide *what* to gather evidence for. As previously mentioned, proving efficacy of particular programmes through statistics of recidivism is at best difficult, and certainly a long process³⁴. In lieu of such conclusive ‘evidence’, we often default to document change in the individual, addressing criminogenic factors as a way of pointing towards a hope of lower recidivism. My thesis suggests that music therapists can fruitfully engage with the concept and theory of desistance, also when their practice is bound by institutional frames. As opposed to recidivism rates or depression scale questionnaires, the discourse of desistance relates to people’s agency, experience, identity, relationships and networks, and offers ways of thinking about music, crime, the individual and community from a resource-oriented position (Rolvjord, 2010). Instead of hinging evidence on individual processes of change alone, often linked to behavioural or psychological outcomes, my thesis suggests that music therapy in prison can also be evaluated and ‘evidenced’ through the forms of community it facilitates, through the artistic output it generates, and through the vectors of musical change it supports.

Reflections on future research

Beyond what *scene thinking* affords as a concept for understanding music therapy in the prison setting and possibly similar ones, the interest lies in what it yields for thinking about CoMT practices for the future, where digital technology, the internet, social media and rapidly evolving globalised practices of musicking encounter an increasingly progressive and expanding profession, to become still new forms of music therapy that transcend institutional and disciplinary boundaries.

To provide an example, I draw on the local context for my own work, which is partially illustrated in Chapter 7 (see fig. 20, p. 235), and argue that it is now pertinent to think about my entire local region as a *therapeutic music scene*. Music therapists from the fields of mental health, addiction treatment, prison and child welfare communicate and collaborate via social media platforms, mediating performance opportunities and events, co-hosting

³⁴ See Gold et al. (2020) for an example of how this may be done based on an RCT into music therapy in Bjørgvin prison.

participant lead events and online forums where participants in music therapy can share and promote their own music. These platforms are also open to other professionals, so that music teachers, community musicians, music therapists and performers work alongside each other to create both formal and informal pathways (Ansdell and DeNora, 2016) for participants who want to pursue musical change at all levels. Clearly, this ongoing development will require critical perspectives to maintain ethical standards, and already, participatory action research has highlighted problematic aspects in relation to the stigma of the word 'therapy' in the marketing of events (Tuastad et al., 2018), showing that the balance between professional needs for mediation and expansion, and the participants' need for a differentiated, and sometimes less public, approach must be attended to with great sensitivity. With its attention to place, time, people and materials, and the notion that smaller scenes can combine to make up larger ones (Finnegan, 1989) I would argue that the notion of *scene thinking* can be a useful strategy for exploring local towns, regions and even online domains as therapeutic music scenes, which will not only highlight any vectors of musical change (which will no doubt be different, or at least differently manifested), but also shed further light on interdisciplinary collaboration between music therapists and other (music) professionals, and music therapists' role in *making* music scenes therapeutic.

CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY

I have sought to maintain a critical perspective on my own research throughout this thesis. I believe however that it is apt to include some further areas of critique of my chosen approach. First, I will explore critical perspectives on ethnography by way of engaging with Lubet's (2018) 'interrogation' of the ethnographic method. Secondly, because I myself claim to inhabit a critical perspective, I will discuss critique as a stance in light of Latour (2004). Thirdly, I will critique my own study from a perspective of validity and credibility.

Critiquing ethnography

Wacquant (2002) has pointed out how an 'eclipse' of ethnography in prison studies in the early 2000s corresponded with increased incarceration rates and the 'penal management of

poverty' (p. 371) in the US penal system. Linking this eclipse to political issues of funding and access, he suggests that prison ethnography is an essential social force in what he calls an age of 'triumphant neoliberalism' (p. 371). Research into music therapy in prisons can also be evaluated in this light: to which degree does music therapy practice and research related to prisons seek to uncover, nuance or even challenge systemic power structures?

Ethnography may seem to yield promise in this respect. However, although the fields of prison studies and music therapy draw on ethnography as a significant way of generating knowledge, ethnography is also under criticism from many angles.

In his book *Interrogating Ethnography*, Lubet (2018) makes a case for 'evidence based ethnography' by subjecting it to a particular form of scrutiny which is inspired by his experience, as a lawyer, from the courtroom and the world of law. Lubet's choice to understand ethnography through the lens of criminal justice makes for an intriguing link to my study, and since my submitted papers to journals of criminology have been critiqued with reference to Lubet, I have decided to engage with his 'interrogation' in more detail. Lubet's main message is that ethnography needs to be made more accountable in proving its claims, and as a means for this he suggests an "'ethnographic trial," in which the researcher imagines that he or she has been accused of ethnographic malpractice' (p. 1). Inspired by standards in 'quantitative science', Lubet suggests that ethnography should be subjected to standards of replicability, fact-checking and 'external verification' (p. 127). To support his call, Lubet refers to a number of studies where, so the implication is, information has been 'made up' or falsified. His main position seems to be represented by his quote that 'the quest for telling a compelling story' too often leads researchers to 'sculpt data to fit their preferred theory of the world.' (p. 130).

The critique of ethnography is not to be taken lightly. Particularly not in an era when the value of science and knowledge is consistently being undermined and threatened by accusations of 'fake news', and when initiatives such the flat earth movement, climate change scepticism and conspiracy theories are gaining support. In this light, calls for evidence in ethnography can be seen as a valid approach to meet demands for accountability in research and consolidate the trust that society needs to have in systematic and critical methods of knowledge production. Lubet's (2018) call for transparency and

critique, and his rejection of superficial or even insincere ethnographic exploits, are difficult to disagree with. From my perspective however, it seems that what is often being attacked is not ethnographic practice *per se*, but ethnography done badly. For instance, Lubet seems to suggest that ethnographers habitually or even deliberately exclude ‘contrary witnesses’. Luckily there are plenty of examples where his stringent expectations are not only met, but exceeded, and where ethnographers put themselves and their methods under painstaking scrutiny. Indeed, there are few other research disciplines that devote such a large proportion of their written presentation of research to accounting for their own positionality and methodological stance (Atkinson, 2014).

Lubet’s (2018) analogy between ethnography and the courtroom reveals instead a fundamental conflict in views of what ‘facts’ are, and what they try to achieve. Stating that ‘ethical ethnographers ought to assume a greater burden of disclosure when it comes to presenting evidence, because there is neither a judge nor opposing counsel present to keep them honest.’ (p. 9), Lubet seems to fall into a trap that is difficult to escape in the critique of ethnography, which is blurring the distinction between on the one hand proving *that* an event took place, and on the other hand seeking to prove *what* the event was. Lubet suggests that while ‘everyone recognizes that a trial lawyer is an advocate’, ethnographers typically maintain that ‘they have presented a reality as it actually exists.’ (p. 9). This statement casts both lawyers and ethnographers as proponents of whichever ‘truth’ serves them best, but whereas lawyers are open about their deceit, ethnographers dishonestly claim objectivity. This view of ethnography is in stark contrast to for example Pink’s conception of ethnography that I enlist at the start of Chapter 3 (see p. 59).

As an example, Lubet criticizes Edin and Schaefer (2015), and their famous study ‘\$2.00 a day – Living on almost nothing in America’. In their study, an informant talks about a school trip to Washington D.C. during which it transpired that the schoolchildren, from a deprived area of Mississippi, did not know what an elevator was. Edin and Schaefer (2015) present this to illustrate the poverty and ‘separateness’ that marked the culture where these children came from. In such cases, Lubet (2018) insists that instead of accepting the informant’s claim, ethnographers should carry out further research to seek to verify them. It is clearly a good strategy to pursue areas of interest that emerge from an interview. In my

understanding of ethnography Lubet here fails to regard and value the interview as a co-constructed social event; exploring the processes of meaning making of the people we interact with, rather than as a method for uncovering 'the truth' (Kvale, 1997). As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) point out, 'it is a seriously inadequate form of ethnographic analysis to present interview material as if it provided direct evidence about the events that are recounted' (Kindle Location 4788-4789). Here, the ethnographic concern seems to depart from that of the courts. Whilst both the courts and ethnographers are interested in learning about the event and the person's experience of it, the court must by necessity 'dig' (Kvale, 1997) ever closer to what happened whereas the ethnographer is more concerned with how the defendant makes sense of his experience. Is the teacher's recounting of the story of the school children from Mississippi not in itself an indication of 'separateness' due to poverty? This does not mean that factual circumstances surrounding the event should be obscured, but rather it is a matter of emphasis. In Lubet's case, he finds it 'virtually impossible to accept that several American sixth-graders [...] were unaware of the very existence of elevators in the twenty-first century' (p. 46). Acting on this, as prosecutor in his self-assembled 'ethnographic trial', he details how he investigated the claim by checking media and TV portrayals of elevators that would have been available to the children. He also spoke to senior representatives of the children's community who refuted that these children could not know what an elevator was.

I would assert that the bone of contention, if there is one, between Lubet's call for evidence and the practice of ethnography, is not about evidence *per se*, but about evidence for *what*. Moreover, Lubet's critique does not extend to interrogate the analogous system he draws on to critique ethnography. He seems to suggest that a sentence in a court room unproblematically represents the final word on any matter. Having worked with prisoners for twelve years, I have read large numbers of court sentence documents, and heard innumerable claims along the lines of '...but that's not how it really was'. The only plausible strategy to maintain faith in the judicial system *and* in the prisoner in front of me, was to accept that neither story represented 'the truth' about events, but that rather, they pointed to events from different viewpoints.

Critiquing critique

Lubet's (2018) critique must be seen within the bigger context of the current political climate, where long established and hard-won claims to knowledge through scientific method are undermined, and where confidence in science is declining. Latour (2004) has put forward the idea that critical qualitative research may have contributed to the devaluing of, and even resentment against, science and research in general:

I myself have spent some time in the past trying to show “the lack of scientific certainty” inherent in the construction of facts. I too made it a “primary issue.” But I did not exactly aim at fooling the public by obscuring the certainty of a closed argument—or did I? After all, I have been accused of just that sin. Still, I'd like to believe that, on the contrary, I intended to *emancipate* the public from prematurely naturalized objectified facts. Was I foolishly mistaken? Have things changed so fast? [...] good American kids are learning the hard way that facts are made up, that there is no such thing as natural, unmediated, unbiased access to truth, that we are always prisoners of language, that we always speak from a particular standpoint, and so on, while dangerous extremists are using the very same argument of social construction to destroy hard-won evidence that could save our lives. (Latour 2004, p. 227)

Where does this tendency leave the study presented in this thesis, which is not only based on the interpretive practice of ethnography, but which also advocates bringing forward the voices of participants in the co-production of knowledge? Surely, such a quest to ‘democratize’ research is only going to add water to the mill for those who draw the legitimacy of research into question. It is in this light we must also see calls for evidence in ethnography. Unless we subscribe to Lubets’ (2018) ideological standpoint, unless we ‘interrogate’ ethnography, will the drive towards more user involvement and participatory inquiry in research further water down and diffuse knowledge, and add fuel to arguments that not only qualitative research, but ‘science itself’, is nothing but subjective opining? This represents a paradox and I will position myself in relation to it through the following argument:

The devaluing of science as knowledge, generated and mediated through academic and empirical pursuits, can be paraphrased as 'seeing is believing'; unless I can see for myself that the world is round, I do not know if it is true, because I cannot trust science. Research in such a perspective, is at best just an unreliable form of translation. On closer inspection, we see that this position makes *action* (seeing) a prerequisite for knowing. From this perspective, involving people as co-researchers in scientific pursuits can be construed as a means to provide access to 'seeing'. Thus participatory action research and the democratization of knowledge can promote an agenda that seeks to strengthen research validity by rooting it in people's own 'seeing'. One of the estranging features of much research is the distance between the phenomenon studied and the receiver of mediated knowledge; the act of 'translation' is distancing in itself. Examples abound in the current thesis, where descriptive references to performances, musical processes, products and artefacts, form the basis for my analysis, in lieu of the reader experiencing the music for themselves. Employing the very processes we study as mediation of their epistemological status helps to reduce the need for translation, thus diminishing the distance between the phenomenon and the receiver of information. In this perspective, I would argue that in the current climate, participatory and arts-based approaches to research, rather than e.g. RCT's, can aid in diminishing the distance between 'science' and people, and contrary to what Lubet suggests, experiential and interpretive forms of knowledge strengthen rather than weaken our response to society's demand for evidence.

To return to the inadequate analogy between ethnography and the courtroom, perhaps our pre-occupation as researchers should not be with deciding whether or not the prosecution or the defence manage to produce sufficient evidence to support their case (this is after all a job for the judge and jury), but rather to ensure that the courts remain open and transparent, and that as often as possible, we bring the public with us to court so they can watch the spectacle and decide for themselves. As recommendation for future research specifically in the field of music therapy in prison, I therefore propose participatory arts-based strategies to research, involving not only those incarcerated, but all stakeholders in the development of our criminal welfare system and the roles of music within it.

To conclude my critical reflections around methodology I remain with Lubet (2018) and Latour (2004), and their different approaches to the challenges faced by science and claims to knowledge. Latour writes that we must (re)instil a faith in knowledge and facts, but the answer is not to engage in 'wars' where we 'might not be aiming at the right target' (p. 225). Whilst academics fight over claims to knowledge, others exploit the arguments to promote their own destructive agendas. Instead, he sees the solution in a shift from focusing on 'matters of fact', towards 'matters of concern'. This sentiment truly emphasizes the moral, ethical, social and political dimensions of research. Arguing for a rethinking of critique (in response to his previous rhetorical question 'was I foolishly mistaken?'), he writes:

The critic is not the one who debunks, but the one who assembles. The critic is not the one who lifts the rugs from under the feet of the naive believers, but the one who offers the participants arenas in which to gather. The critic is not the one who alternates haphazardly between antifetishism and positivism [...] but the one for whom, if something is constructed, then it means it is fragile and thus in great need of care and caution. (Latour, 2004, p. 246)

In contrast, Lubet (2018) spends a considerable number of pages in his book (and hours of his time) making it his focus to lambast research that aims to illuminate the nature and consequence of social deprivation in the US, for mediating a teacher's claim about disadvantaged children - a claim that Lubet, from his position as a lawyer and professor, finds it 'impossible to accept' (p. 46).

Critiquing my focus: where's 'the community'?

Returning to the thesis in hand, certain additional criticisms must be made with regards to methods, scope, area of study and generalisability (Stige et al., 2009). The most significant critique I would level at my own work is that it purports to study relationships between music, crime and community, yet neither the practice described nor the research presented interacts to a large degree with what is often considered to be the most important aspect of both CoMT in institutional settings and the rehabilitation of offenders: to create links with local community networks and to ease (and often accompany) the transition from institution to community (McNeill and Schinkel, 2016). Instead, my study has a distinct and explicit

institutional focus. This is a legitimate criticism. An important contributing factor to this, was the fact that I was prohibited, as an employee of the prison service, to contact or work with prisoners after release, meaning that my music therapy work with clients has always been terminated with their release. A weakness of my research from a desistance research perspective is clearly that it cannot explore desistance from a retrospective position; we do not know if the participants will become 'desisters', or what role music might hold within their future desistance narratives. However, as Presser and Sandberg (2015) have stressed, the retrospective research position also comes at a price, and we need to understand better how people's stories about themselves are shaped also within and during the conditions of imprisonment. My study seeks to contribute to meeting this objective. Moreover, it is important that efforts to support and research processes of (re)integration in the community do not obscure efforts to understand the dynamics of the carceral condition and their effects. By researching together with prisoners *as* they find themselves in prison, my study may contribute in a small way to what Graham and McNeill (2017) call "'epistemic emancipation" [...] giving greater credence to the expertise and experiences of people with convictions' (p. 2). In this connection it is important to note that ex-prisoners are not prisoners; their perspectives are different, and ex-prisoners cannot give voice to those currently serving time.

Assessing the validity of my research

The qualitative approach chosen for this study implies a responsibility to demonstrate the reliability and validity of my own research (Stige et al., 2009). Given the long-term nature of my employment in the prison and the prison's partial funding of my research, it is pertinent to suspect that this has influenced my analytic stance and my willingness to mediate findings that compromise my employer. The lack of follow-up interviews weakens the validity of the analysis (Stige et al., 2009), and the entirely un-controlled conditions make reproducibility of the study impossible (Lubet, 2018). My response to this is to reiterate that the qualitative methods in this study have not been employed with the intention to evidence *the* truth about music therapy in prisons. Instead, the aim has been to illuminate the affordances of musicking for people in Bjørgvin prison, and ways in which I as a trained music therapist may have supported such musicking. This has been done from my perspective in close

collaboration with project participants. By attempting to be as transparent and rigorous as possible in describing the processes of generating, analysing and presenting the data, I hope that whilst the relationship between this thesis and *the* truth can never be sufficiently accounted for, the relationship between my thesis and *our* truth is convincing to the reader, and therefore of value as one particular, transparent and reliable perspective.

Another criterium against which qualitative research must be evaluated is that of generalisability (Stige et al., 2009). The location of this study in a low security facility within an 'exceptional' Scandinavian penal system suggests that the findings have limited transferability to other, and predominantly more harsh, penal conditions. As previously pointed out, much of the activity reported in this thesis could not have taken place in more secure carceral regimes. The time- and place-specific dimensions of this research is an inevitable consequence of studying culture unfolding *in situ*; communities, like people, are unique. Each prison has the potential to be its own unique music scene, with its own, different set of vectors of change and development. What this thesis *does* offer that is transferable, is a way of thinking about and analysing such scenes. I would argue that the relationships between power/music/agency mediated in this thesis are of relevance to a broader set of carceral conditions and therefore of relevance to thinking more widely about the arts in prisons and penal practice in general. The findings may also be of relevance to music practitioners in carceral settings beyond the prison, such as detention centres and mental health facilities which offer similar conditions. Moreover, I would argue that the relationships between culture, identity and music therapy discussed in this thesis are of relevance to music therapy practitioners who see themselves as working with an institutional milieu from an ecological and resource-oriented perspective. It is my hope that the many examples from practice within this thesis and the accompanying analysis can contribute to legitimatise a truly client-led approach to music therapy also within penal environments, and in that way be of use to music therapists, participants, decision-makers and other stakeholders in the field.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The name of the Norwegian prison service is Kriminalomsorgen. Literally translated, 'omsorg' means care. Throughout my project I witnessed musical caring in a setting which is best known for its walls and barbed wire fences, locked doors, forced incarceration, degrading rituals, macho culture and strict inmate codes. Music afforded mutual care between the inmates, between myself and participants, and between staff and prisoners. But it also afforded a mutual care between the organisation and the people within it. When we lift the gaze from within the perimeter of Bjørgvin prison to see the institution in its wider global context and the plethora of penal practices that exist, it seems clear that hiring a music therapist who was not only given free reins to 'follow where people and music lead' (Ansdell and Pavlicevic, 2004, p. 30), but also to research the practice through a critical lens, becomes an act of care in itself. Ugelvik (2016) has described Norwegian prisons as an extension to the welfare state, and the inclusion of music therapy in the programme of activities may contribute in a small way to this being the case. In return, the prison and the people within it bestowed a particular form of trust upon 'the system'. Music therapy could well function as what Mjåland (2019) has called a 'legitimizing practice'; practices that instil trust and validates the work of the prisons in the eyes of those who are incarcerated there. Not as a smoke screen designed to subdue the prisoners, but as a medium for genuine personal growth. In this sense we could say that music therapy as reported in this thesis is *kriminalomsorg* in practice. Not in the sense of an intervention given to the participants by the prison service, but in the sense of a mutual process of recognition and care that involves the whole institution and the people within it.

EPILOGUE

Nocturne in the prison

It is half past four in the afternoon. Dinner for the inmates finished half an hour ago, and the usual gathering of people smoking and chatting outside has dissolved. Daytime staff have gone home, the hustle and bustle of school activities, administration opening times and various work activities have subsided. Now it is getting dark, the weather is winter chilly and all is quiet. I am tidying away cables in the music room after the afternoon session when a prisoner comes in and introduces himself as Trond. He looks to be in his early thirties and is tall, dark, suave and handsome. He sits down at the electric piano and plays a series of lush, slowly arpeggiated chords. During the day the natural light from the windows illuminated the room, but now we find ourselves in a blue dusk heading towards darkness. As Trond is playing two men appear outside the window. They look inside, stretching their necks to get an overview. They say that they have heard that Trond is really good at playing, and they ask if it is ok to come in. I look to Trond who says 'of course'. They sit down and he asks into the air what he should play. Then he says 'You will like this!'. He begins to play *Nocturne in C# minor* by Chopin. As he begins to play, two other men enter the room. One of them looks at me as if to ask if it is ok to come in. I gesture by pointing and nodding towards a vacant chair in the corner. He walks slowly towards it with an overly crouched back, tiptoeing and lifting his knees up high with each step in an exaggerated attempt at walking quietly. He smiles with an apologetic look, giving me the impression that he is not being flippant, but rather demonstrating his wish to not interrupt the unfolding musical performance. Now there are five of us sat in a row facing Trond. He is playing fluidly and expressively, his eyes closed, his upper body swaying with the music, crouching down and almost touching the keyboard with his head, then tilting back and looking upwards. The room has got dark in the short time we have been there, but my eyes have grown accustomed to it and I see the four other men sitting absolutely still, two of them with their eyes shut. It strikes me that here are no tapping

feet, no twitching legs, no fidgeting hands. As the piece comes to an end Trond looks up at us without speaking. For a moment we are sat in absolute silence. Then one of the men leans forward and says 'That was beautiful!'. Trond answers calmly 'Yes, music has saved my life, it really has. I would not be here if it had not been for the music'. (Fieldnotes, 3/3/15)

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Information sheet, pilot project (translated from Norwegian).

Informasjon om forskningsprosjekt

Playing the changes – An exploratory study of music's roles in music therapy and everyday life within a prison community

WHO

Hi! My name is Kjetil Hjørnevik and I work here at Bjørgvin prison as a music therapist. I am also doing a PhD in music therapy at Nordoff-Robbins Music Therapy in London.

WHAT

As a starting point for my doctoral research I want to find out more about the different roles music plays in people's lives here in Bjørgvin prison, both in music therapy and in everyday life. To find out more about this I want to talk to people in the prison, observe and video some of the music therapy activities and observe everyday situations. I particularly want to talk to people about their relationship to music, and at the same time observe how music occurs and is used in different connections. This can tell us something about how music may be a resource and how it may help us in different ways.

WHEN

The project period will be from 2nd February – 29th May 2015.

HOW

As a part of my research I will spend time in the community talking to people and observing people, interactions and events. I may also ask to interview people, both staff and inmates. Interviews will be recorded in order that I can listen through what we talked about afterwards. I will also make observations in the music therapy sessions, and ask permission from participants to video some of these.

IMPORTANT! I will not make any audio/video recordings without asking all involved for permission first.

WHAT HAPPENS TO THE INFORMATION?

Audio/video recordings and notes will be stored safely on a password protected pc in an office in the prison and will only be shown to the research supervisors and the research group at Nordoff-Robbins, London. Analysis of this material will form part of the basis for my doctoral thesis, and quotes from the interviews may be used to illustrate the findings. All information will be anonymised so that it cannot be directly linked to specific people. The thesis will be published and I will present findings in public settings. Those who participate in the project will be offered the opportunity to read through any written work for approval prior to publication. Any recordings or notes will be destructed within five years after the end of the project.

WHAT DOES MY PARTICIPATION ENTAIL?

You can participate in the project through participation in music therapy activities, through engaging in conversations or interviews with myself and/or allowing me to observe situations where you are present. Participation in the project is voluntary and will not incur any consequences for your stay in the prison. You can at any point withdraw from the project without giving a reason. In this case any information based on your participation will be deleted immediately. During the project period participation in any open music therapy groups will require that you agree to me making observations from the sessions. However, you may be able to have individual sessions without participating in the research project. This will be dealt with on an individual basis and subject to availability. If you have any concerns or questions regarding participation in the project you can speak to 1st Officer [REDACTED] in confidence.

WHY IS MY PARTICIPATION IMPORTANT AND WHAT'S IN IT FOR ME?

By participating in the project you contribute to new knowledge about whether and potentially how music can be a help and a resource for people in prison. This knowledge may help develop music therapy further in the prison setting and beyond. In this way future inmates may benefit from your participation. You may also take part in music therapy activities, and you will be able to share thoughts and ideas with a listener who is very interested in what you have to say.

Do you have any questions, thoughts, views or experiences you want to share? Please find me in my office (1st floor, D-block), come by the music room (the blue container), or get in touch when you see me around the prison.

FUNDING

The study is funded by Bjørgvin Prison and Kompetansesenter for sikkerhets-, fengsels-, og rettspsykiatri, Helse Vest. The PhD training and supervision is provided by Nordoff Robbins Music Therapy, London.

Kjetil Hjørnevik
Musikkterapeut, Bjørgvin fengsel
PhD-kandidat, Nordoff Robbins London
kjetil.hiornevik@nordoff-robbins.org.uk

Appendix 2. Consent form, pilot study (translated from Norwegian).



Kriminalomsorgen
Bjørgvin fengsel

Attachment E5ii – consent form

CONSENT FORM – RESEARCH PROJECT ABOUT MUSIC THERAPY

Project title: *Playing the changes* – An exploratory study of music's roles in music therapy and everyday life within a prison community

(En eksplorerende studie av musikkens roller i musikkterapi og hverdagsliv i et fengsel)

Researcher: Kjetil Hjørnevik, music therapist at Bjørgvin fengsel and PhD-candidate at Nordoff Robbins, London.

Thank you for considering taking part in this project. Please read the points below and circle your answer for each point.

1. I have read and understood the content of the information sheet YES/NO
'Informasjon om forskningsprosjekt'

2. I consent to participate in the project in the following way(s):

• **Music therapy:** I consent to my participation in music therapy activities being observed by the researcher. YES/NO

• **Audio/video recording:** I consent to my participation in music therapy activities being audio/video recorded. YES/NO

• **Observation:** I consent to being observed by the researcher in daily life contexts within the prison. I decide when and in which contexts I want to be observed. YES/NO

• **Interview:** I consent to being interviewed by the researcher, and that these interviews are audio recorded. I understand that quotes from the interviews may be used to illustrate the findings from the research. YES/NO

<i>Kriminalomsorgen region vest</i>			
Postadresse: Dokumentsenter Postboks 694 4305 Sandnes	Besøkadresse: Olav Bjordalsvei 63	Telefon: 55 25 11 90 Telefaks: 55 25 11 91 Org.nr: 890286712	Saksbehandler: kjejhjorn E-post: bjorgvin.fengsel@kriminalomsorgen.no

3. I understand that audio/video recordings and research notes will be stored on a pc that is password protected and kept safe, and that these will only be shown to the project supervisors and the research group at Nordoff Robbins, London. YES/NO
4. I understand that I can withdraw from the project at any time without giving any reason for this, and that any information based on my participation will then be deleted. YES/NO
5. I understand that the findings from the research will be published and presented in public, and that I am offered the opportunity to read through any written work prior to publication. YES/NO
6. I understand that my privacy, anonymity and confidentiality will be protected at all times. However, I understand that the researcher will have to breach confidentiality if he uncovers unsafe practice. YES/NO

Date and place: _____

Name: _____ (capitol letters)

Signature: _____

Please give this form to Kjetil Hjørnevik, music therapist in Bjørgvin prison.

<i>Kriminalomsorgen region vest</i>			
Postadresse: Dokumentsenter Postboks 694 4305 Sandnes	Besøkadresse: Olav Bjordalsvei 63	Telefon: 55 25 11 90 Telefaks: 55 25 11 91 Org.nr: 890286712	Saksbehandler: kjejhjorn E-post: bjorgvin.fengsel@kriminalomsorgen.no

Appendix 3. Information sheet, main study (translated from Norwegian).

Informasjon om forskningsprosjekt

***Playing the changes* – A participatory action research project exploring how music can make a difference for people in a prison**

WHAT

Would you like to participate in a research project where we together explore how music can make a difference? You will be part in deciding what questions are important, and how to find answers to those questions. The project might include playing, listening or using music in different ways, but you do not need to have any experience from playing music to take part in the project. Maybe taking part can make a difference in your life? Maybe it can make a difference to what it's like being in the prison? Maybe it can teach us something about how to work together? Maybe it can teach us something about music?

WHO

My name is Kjetil Hjørnevik and I will be project leader. I am studying for a PhD in music therapy at Nordoff-Robbins Music Therapy in London, and I also work here at Bjørgvin prison as a music therapist. Together we will be co-researchers with other people who live or work in the prison and have an interest in exploring how we can use music to make a difference.

WHEN

The data collection period will be from the 1st November 2018 – 30th April 2019. In this period I will be in my researcher role for up to two (2) working days per week. Specific days and times for research will be agreed amongst the co-researchers and communicated to staff and inmates at the prison.

HOW

We will decide together how we want to use music and what questions we want to ask about it. We will also decide together how we want to find the answers to those questions. I am interested in how working together like this can give us new knowledge about how music can make a difference in a prison environment. What are you interested in? We might develop new understandings from making music together (this might involve you playing in a band, rehearsing, taking part in a musical performance, writing your own songs or making recordings of your music) talking about it, making video/audio recordings to document our musical and research activities, or keeping a diary of your experiences. You will decide which of these activities you wish to take part in, and you can withdraw from the project at any time without being asked to provide a reason.

WHAT HAPPENS TO THE INFORMATION THAT WE GIVE OR COLLECT?

Any research materials we produce will be stored safely on a password protected pc in a locked office in the prison and will only be shared with my PhD research supervisors and the research group at Nordoff-Robbins, London. All information will be anonymised so that it cannot be directly linked to specific people. This means that you can take part in the project and be anonymous to people outside the prison. However, if you decide to help to write something about the project, to present it to others or to take part in a public performance, audiences will be able to see and hear you. Participants should not take part in anything they do not want to or feel comfortable with. Anything I write about this project as a researcher in my PhD thesis you will be able to read and comment on. Any research data we collect will be destructed at the end of my PhD research project period which is scheduled for May 2020.

WHAT DOES MY PARTICIPATION ENTAIL?

Participation in the project is voluntary and will not incur any consequences for your stay in the prison. You can at any point withdraw from the project without giving any reason for this. In this case any information based on your participation will be deleted immediately. If you join the project you agree to be a co-researcher. This means that we are together responsible for what happens in the project, including making sure that we follow ethical requirements for research. However as the project leader it is my responsibility that you always know what is expected and how we can meet those expectations. If you have any concerns or questions regarding participation in the project you can speak to [REDACTED]

WHY IS MY PARTICIPATION IMPORTANT AND WHAT'S IN IT FOR ME?

By participating in the project you contribute to new knowledge about how music can make a difference, and you may benefit from the differences we manage to make together. This knowledge and experience may help us to develop music therapy further in the prison setting, and may also be of help in your life. In this way both you and others may benefit from your participation. You may also find that you enjoy the process of working together with others doing music research.

Do you have any questions, thoughts, views or experiences you want to share? Please speak to [REDACTED]

FUNDING AND ACADEMIC SUPERVISION

The PhD research is funded by Björgvin Prison. The PhD training and supervision is provided by Nordoff Robbins Music Therapy, London.

Kjetil Hjørnevik
PhD-kandidat, Nordoff Robbins London
kjetil.hjornevik@nordoff-robbins.org.uk

Appendix 4. Consent form, main study (translated from Norwegian).

CONSENT FORM – PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH PROJECT

Project title: <i>Playing the changes II – A participatory action research project exploring how music can make a difference for people in a prison</i>
Project leader: Kjetil Hjørnevik, PhD-candidate at Nordoff Robbins, London.

Thank you for taking part in this project. Please read the points below and circle your answer for each point.

1. I have read and understood the content of the information sheet 'Informasjon om forskningsprosjekt' YES/NO
2. I consent to participate in the project in the following way(s):
 - **Co-researcher** I consent to being a co-researcher in this project, meaning that I intend to take part in planning and carrying out the project in collaboration with the other participants YES/NO
 - **Audio recording:** I consent to activities I take part in being audio recorded. YES/NO
 - **Video recording:** I consent to activities I take part in being video recorded. YES/NO
 - **Group discussions:** I consent to taking part in group discussion, and that these are audio recorded. I understand that quotes from these may be used to illustrate the findings from the research. YES/NO
3. I understand that audio/video recordings and research notes will be stored on a pc that is password protected and kept safe, and that these may be shown to the project academic supervisors and the research group at Nordoff Robbins, London. YES/NO

- | | |
|---|--------|
| 4. I understand that I can withdraw from the project at any time without giving any reason for this, and that any information based on my participation will then be deleted. | YES/NO |
| 5. I understand that the findings from the research may be published and presented in public, and that I am offered the opportunity to read through and comment on any written work prior to publication. | YES/NO |
| 6. I understand that my privacy, anonymity and confidentiality will be protected at all times. However, I understand that the project leader or other members of the research group will have to breach confidentiality if he/she uncovers unsafe practice. | YES/NO |

Date and place: _____

Name: _____ (capitol letters)

Signature: _____

Please give this form to the project leader Kjetil Hjørnevik, PhD candidate Nordoff Robbins Music Therapy, London.

Appendix 5. Invitation to PAR meeting, main study.

Psssst!

Er du opptatt av musikk? Har du lyst til å være medforsker i et prosjekt der vi undersøker hva musikk kan bety i Bjørgvin fengsel, og hvordan vi kan videreutvikle musikktilbudet? Du trenger ikke å kunne noe om musikk eller forskning, du trenger bare være nysgjerrig! Kom til kafeen (1. etg. D-bygg) onsdag 14. november mellom kl. 16.30-17.30 for en prat og å finne ut mer 😊

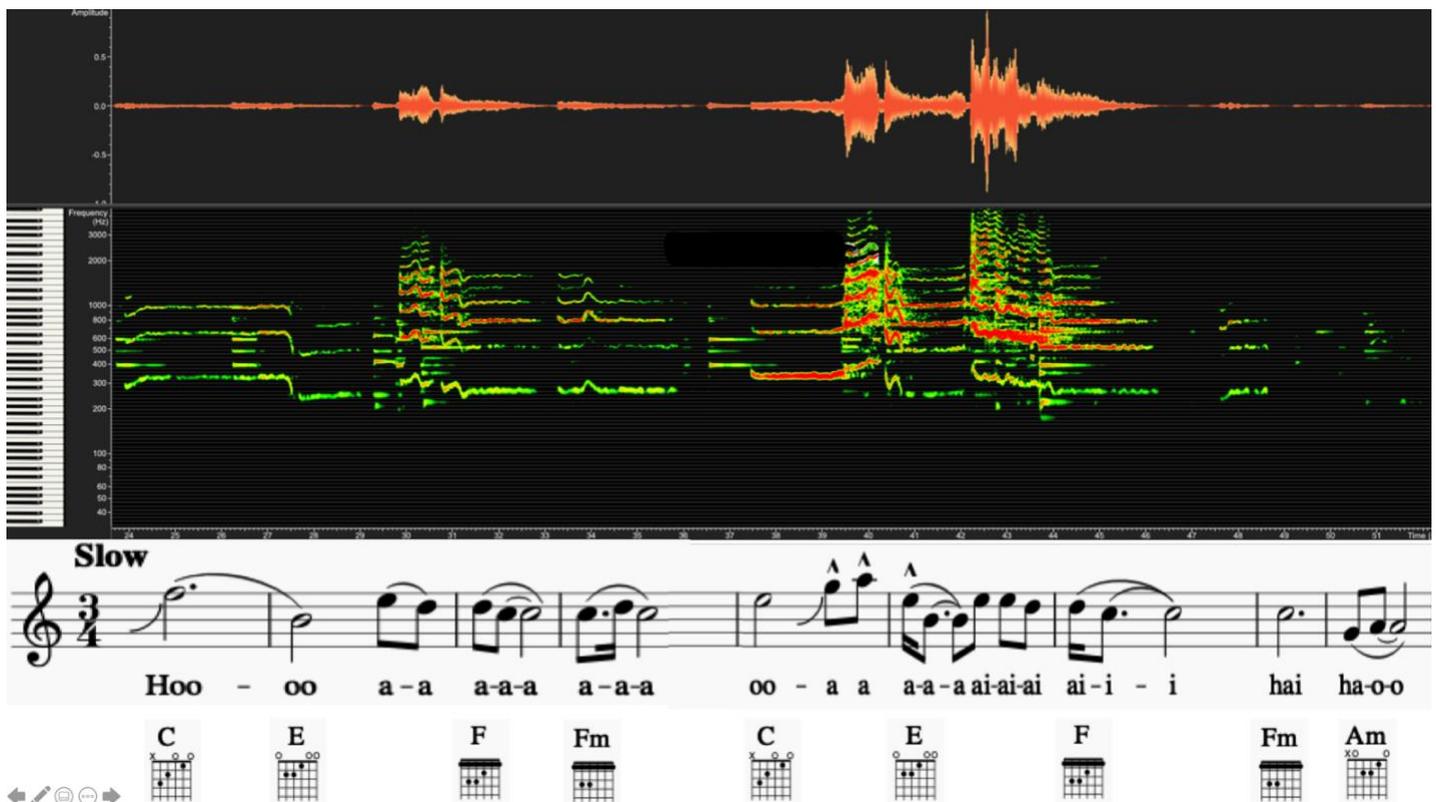
Are you interested in music? Would you like to be a co-researcher in a project where we explore how music matters in Bjørgvin prison, and how we can develop the music service? You do not need to know anything about music or about research – you just need to be curious! Join me in the café (ground floor D block) on Wednesday November 14th between 16.30-17.30 to find out more 😊

Kjetil – musikkterapeut (music therapist)

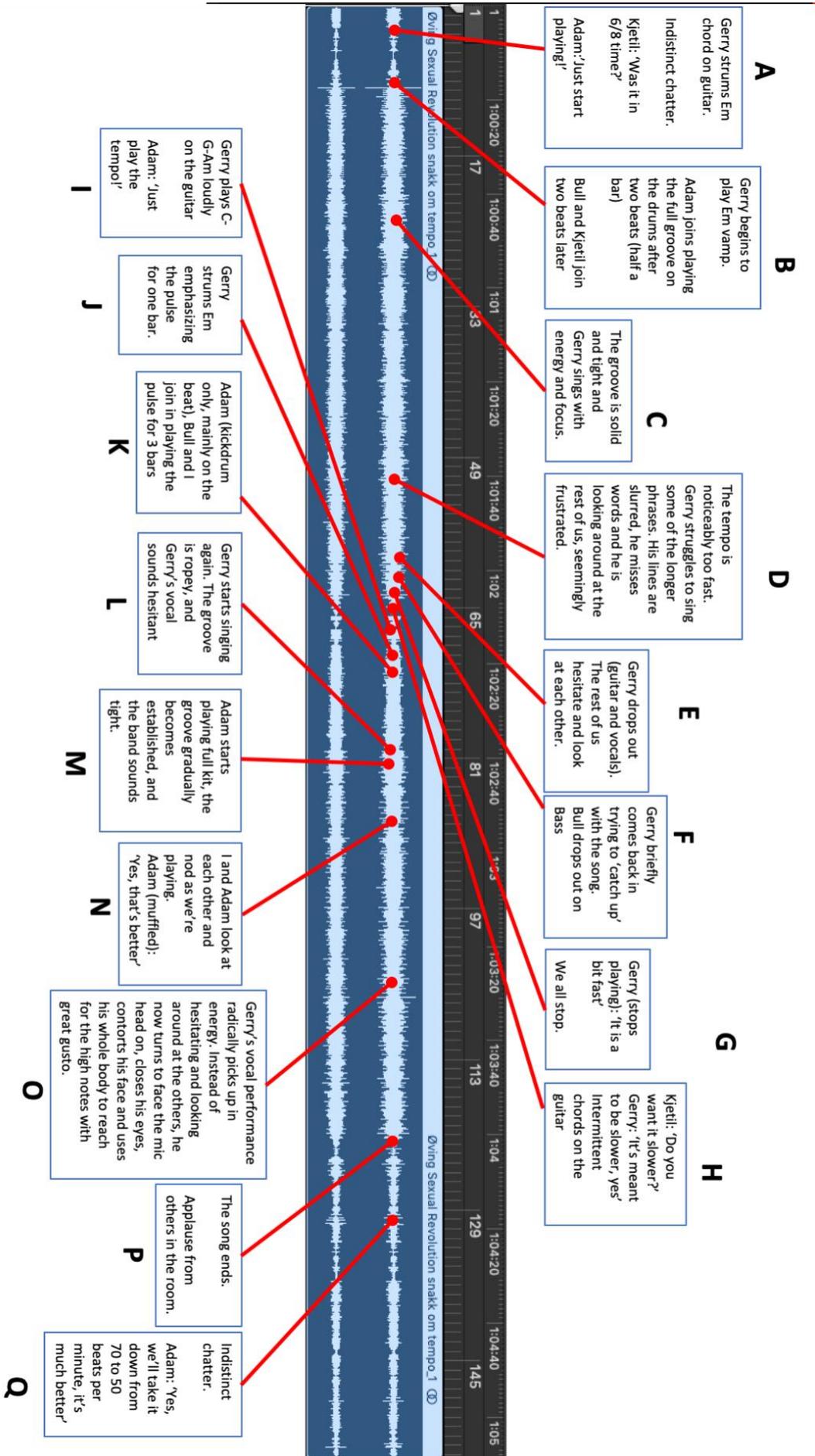


Appendix 6. Sample analysis – *Inspiracja Muzyczne* (p. 164).

The waveform (top) shows the dynamic range and variation of Tomas' performance. Note the contrast between the loudest and the quietest notes. The spectrogram (middle) shows the frequency spectrum of his falsetto timbre, falling inside the range that is usually associated with soprano singers. As we can see, his last note is so gentle and quiet it is almost inaudible. The notation shows my own rhythmic/melodic interpretation of the melody. The guitar boxes indicate the harmonic structure of the sequence, and the 1st position chord shapes Tomas used to play the chords.



Appendix 7. Sample analysis – *Sexual Revolution* (p.).



Appendix 8. Sample interview transcript with emerging codes. Interview with Boris, 30/3/15.

Coding	Main text	Comments and reflections
Relationship to music - dependent on mood	K: Dersom du skulle sei noko om ditt forhold til musikk, litt sånn åpent...? B: Det svingar veldig opp og ned i forhold til mine depresjonar.	He immediately links his relationship with music to his mental health; follows the ups and downs of his depression. This is his first association.
Musical talent - being gifted. Musical talent - Feeling apart	Eg er fødd og oppvaksen med eit veldig godt gehør, så eg har hatt vanskar, eller hadde tidlegare vanskar med å høyre på folk som song surt.	Having good ears made it difficult to listen to people who were out of tune. (Did this alienate him from other children, e.g. since there was a lot of singing in schools in those days?) Term – surt, ‘fødd og oppvaksen’
Relationship to music - genre.	Eg drog mot det klassiske altså, fordi at der var det skulerte folk som spelte reint.	Associates classical music to ‘schooled’ people playing in tune. Term – spele reint
Relationship to music - a relationship you have to work at	Det tok lang tid for meg å eigentleg like rock and roll. Ja for...det var så mangen som song surt og altså, eg huskar når punk rocken kom, då skjønnte eg ingenting, (ler), altså atte det var nesten så eg ikkje kunne kalla det musikk.	Expressing alienation from punk/rock. Not defining it as music, yet he took time to learn to like it. Learning to like musics.
Family relationships – paternal (father and grandfather)	Besten satt eg på fanget til når eg var liten, og hørte på Søndags ettermiddag på folkemusikktimen, og det var fela det gjekk i. Han spelte ikkje sjøl, men han var no interessert. Og far min, han var jo opptatt av brass band og han har jo spelt i musikkorps sjøl tidlegare, eller før han vart sjuk, og...og så klassisk musikk.	Grandfather, paternal line of music relationships. A wide variety of influences from folk, brass bands, classical.
Family relationships - brother	Og så kom bror min frå Bergen med jazz, eller frå gymnaset med jazz, eg har ein ti år eldre bror, og då var eg ti år gammal. Og spelte Ella Fitzgerald.	Links jazz with education and ‘the big city’. He seems to emphasise here the unusual about a ten year old boy listening to Ella Fitzgerald. Again family relation (brother) was important. (Only men, where were the women?)
Relationship to music - how we become introduced to new musics	Og så Louis Armstrong, for eg spelte i musikken sjølv, og då spelte eg trompet.	
Relationship to artists		

Appendix 9. Emerging statements, affordances of musicking in Bjørgvin prison - pilot study.

Musicking affords...	Example
1. Co-creation of rituals.	Matthew and Josh develop a ritual where at the beginning of each rehearsal Matthew asks for the note 'A' to tune his guitar, and Josh sings 'Aaaaa', upon which they both laugh.
2. Co-creation of narratives.	Ben writes a song about what it is like to be an inmate in the prison. It becomes a hit in the prison, was performed on the radio and is still played by others long after his release.
3. Motivation to participate.	Yosuf says that he wants to learn the piano after hearing Trond play.
4. Goals and processes of moving <i>towards</i> these.	Eric learns to play the bass in three weeks having 'always wanted to learn the bass'.
5. The continuation of customary ('outside') <i>musical ways of being</i> to continue.	Ben has opportunities to play in small social gatherings on the ward, as he is used to doing on the outside.
6. Experience of meaningful activity	Eric says he ' <i>might as well do something useful</i> ' when he is in prison.
7. Ways of establishing/maintaining relationships.	Bull records an instrumental song on CD and sends it to his two-year-old daughter who lives in a different part of the country.
8. A multitude of participatory modes	Josh took Arney under his wing and taught him guitar in a mentoring/master-apprentice relationship. When Josh was released, Bull 'took over' and continued to play guitar with Arney.
9. Opportunities for expressions of musical identity.	Eric manipulates the mixer to achieve what he says is ' <i>just the right sound</i> ' for his ' <i>DJ-voice</i> '.
10. Ways to influence the use and experience of spaces in the prison.	Gerry sits on the floor in the corridor waiting in a long line for the kiosk. He picks up his guitar and starts to play a blues riff.
11. Ways of structuring the experience of time	Eric says that playing music makes time pass quicker.
12. Strategies for managing social situations and subverting power dynamics	John sings a funny song to a grumpy officer outside the officers' booth.

13. Musical collaboration	The making of the song <i>Wicked Ways</i> happens over time and involves several group constellations.
14. Social unity and division	Glynn feels alienated by loud rock music and does not want to join a group preparing for a concert. Later, the group include several songs in the 1950's style that Glynn likes, and he joins the group.
15. Intimacy	Kenneth says to Eric that it feels good when Eric's bass note comes in during the introduction to Pink Floyd's 'Another Brick In The Wall – Pt. II'
16. Confirmation and disruption of identity	Andrew emphasizes his technical ability on the guitar and experiences that the others do not engage with his music.
17. Co-creation of norms and values	Harry says that his suggestion to put on a concert was only intended to give the band a goal. 'The real joy', he says nodding to the others, 'lies here in the rehearsals'.
18. Collaborative musical caring	The group in a performance project included Andy by playing his song, adapting materials for him and working collaboratively to give him good experiences.
19. Social status	Luke assembles a musical event by spreading the word about a talented piano player who has arrived at the prison. Luke becomes someone who people come to in order to find out more.
20. Informal learning	Ben looks intently at how Bull fingers a chord on the fretboard of his guitar.
21. Having fun and feeling good	Kenneth says playing together with others makes him feel fantastic.

Appendix 11. Timeline, pilot study.

This timeline is designed to provide a sense of the chronological relationship between key events during the data collection period of the pilot study. It is not an exhaustive list of *all* significant events during the research period.

