The Role of Music-Making in Carceral Environments in England and Wales

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Abstract

This thesis looks to investigate the role of music-making in prisons in England and Wales. It investigates within which prisons music-making is available, the styles and genres that are provided, music-making's utility (or lack thereof) to carceral infrastructures, and where it may provide potential resistance to carcerality.

Music-making (Cohen and Duncan, 2022) draws from the concept of musicking coined by (Small, 1998) and uses music as a verb, suggesting that music is never purely an aesthetic but always bound in the socialities that surround and create it (Cohen, 2000). The core arguments of the thesis are that in order to gain access to prisons, music-making providers have adjusted their aims to fulfil a blend of medical and opportunity models where criminal behaviour is believed to be a pathology that can only be fixed by providing opportunities for the 'criminal' to change themselves (Kendall, 2000). The aims of reducing re-offending by creating an identity change (known as secondary desistance (Anderson et al., 2011, Maruna and Farrall, 2004)) through group music-making come to the forefront as they chase funding bids, access to prison, fiscal contributions from carceral institutions, and a space within which to practise. Yet the empirical sections of this thesis open up the omnidirectional affects of group music-making activities – the ways in which the participants are being as affective as they are affected (Anderson, 2009, Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, Massumi, 1995). The participants and facilitators show that music-making is used to create an 'affective abolition' of the pains of imprisonment (Crewe, 2011) as a way of managing the carceral environment. This, coupled with the facilitators' own experience of carceral pains, has created a desire for prison-based music-making organisations to value the voices of those with lived

experience and let them direct organisational practices more and more. This is

leading to a desire for advocacy and a focus on not only creating opportunities

for participants to change themselves, but also to change the situations,

structures, and systems that have caused their incarceration in the first place.

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Introducing the Prison-based Music-making Scene

This thesis is the culmination of several years of research into prison-based music-making in England and Wales[1]. Taking an extensive to intensive approach, the research draws on interviews, fictionalised narratives, and autoethnographic journals to explore the role music-making currently plays in prisons and suggests directions in which music provision might be heading. In the extensive phase, it is explained that the majority of organised prison-based music-making activities are provided by third party charities which hold little information regarding who is providing what activities and in which prisons. Therefore, the thesis discusses the generation of and presents a cartography of prison-based music-making availability, also revealing the influences of prison policy on the regularity of provision, length of provision, styles of delivery, and genres of music that have been made available to prison residents. In the intensive phase, the thesis shows how carceral environments are seen to affect the representatives of the prison-based music-making charity, Changing Tunes (CT), and the participants in their activities. Indeed, both facilitators and participants in prison music-making are shown to use music-making to manage the emotional and affective[2] struggles caused by time spent within prison (theorised in chapter one as affective pains of imprisonment).

The core arguments of the thesis are that in order to gain access to prisons, music-making providers have adjusted their aims to fulfil a blend of a medical

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[1] The choice to focus on England and Wales, rather than the U.K., was made due to the structure of prison management, which places Northern Ireland and Scotland under a different governance and is discussed in more detail in chapter four.

[2] The term 'affect' is employed here as what is sometimes referred to as 'affect theory' and is defined in chapter one. Simply, for those unfamiliar with this use of the word affect, it refers to pre-conscious influences that arrive before, produce, and create emotions and relationships between bodies (Sedgwick, 2003, Pile, 2010, Massumi, 1995).

and opportunity model, whereby criminal behaviour is believed to be a pathology that can only be fixed by providing opportunities for the 'criminal' to change themselves (Kendall, 2000). The aims of reducing re-offending by creating an identity change (known as secondary desistance (Anderson et al., 2011, Maruna and Farrall, 2004)) through group music-making[3] come to the forefront as organisations chase funding bids, access to prisons, fiscal contributions from carceral institutions, and spaces within which to practise. The intensive phase of the research opens up the omnidirectional affects of group music-making activities – the ways in which the participants are being as affective as they are affected (Anderson, 2009, Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, Massumi, 1995). The participants and facilitators show that music-making is used to create an 'affective abolition' of the pains of imprisonment (Crewe, 2011) as a way of managing the carceral environment. This, coupled with the facilitators' own experience of carceral pains, has created a desire for prison-based music-making organisations to value the voices of those with lived experience and let them direct organisational practices more and more. This is leading to a desire for advocacy and a focus on not only creating opportunities for participants to change themselves, but also to change the situations, structures, and systems that have caused their incarceration in the first place.

The thesis also makes a number of recommendations about the future of prison-based music-making practices. It suggests that prison-based music-making activities should become more inclusive by moving away from the narrowing of genres and styles of delivery created by prison gatekeepers. It

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[3] Music-making is a term used by (Cohen and Duncan, 2022). It is drawn from the concept of musicking, a term coined by Small (1998), and uses music as a verb, suggesting that music is never purely an aesthetic but always bound in the socialities that surround and create it (Cohen, 2000). Further information on musicking and music-making definitions and use in this thesis are discussed in chapter one.

challenges the current censorship of content and restrictions of types of rap music (particularly Drill music), and it suggests that the idea of a desistance-based social movement (as suggested by Maruna, 2017) should be adopted as a way to advocate for (ex)prison residents.

Research Focus

My initial interest when starting this thesis was in how musicking could change individuals and move them away from criminal lifestyles and behaviours. I believe this was heavily influenced by the mission statements and training I had received at CT. My thinking was subsequently challenged by supervisors, the university ethics board, and the scholarship in this area (particularly the work of Foucault (1977), Becker (1963), and Maruna (2017) that is reviewed in chapter one). As my understanding of recidivism, criminology, and neo-liberal penalities (Bell, 2013) grew, so the aims of investigating behavioural change were altered. More recently I have joined in monthly meetings with other prison-based musical academics, including Alexis Kallio, Aine Mangaoang, Kirstin Anderson, and Mary Cohen, who are key figures across the world in scholarship about music-making in prisons and who are all beginning to focus their research away from a behavioural change agenda.

This thesis makes its original contribution by discussing the role music-making plays within carceral systems, examining what prison-based music-making organisations aim to do, what purposes they are fulfilling, and how successful they are at fulfilling their aims. Previous scholarship in this area in the U.K. has been based around evaluations of work with the aim of increasing its provision, often funded or requested by the prison-based music-making organisations to evidence their effectiveness (for examples of these evaluations see Blagden et al., 2015, Caulfield, 2015, Caulfield et al., 2019, Ascenso, 2017, Anderson et

al., 2011, Bilby et al., 2013, Cursley and Maruna, 2015, Maruna, 2010). This thesis presents a more critical view of prison-based music-making as it asks how participants, music-making organisations, facilitators, and prisons, view and utilise it. As a self-funded student with considerable experience as a prison-based music-making facilitator (discussed below), I can combine a voice free of financial influence with my knowledge and insight into the role. The freedom to express my views, the experience of facilitating prison-based music-making sessions, and the rapport developed over many years with ex-prison residents who were interviewed for this thesis has allowed a critical view of prison-based music-making to emerge.

In this thesis I will address five main questions in order to establish the role that music-making is playing in prisons in England and Wales.

- What is available where?
- What are the aims of prison-based music-making organisations?
- How is prison-based music-making realised?
- What is the influence of prisons on the facilitators?
- How do participants experience the technologies of music?

1) What is available where?

Preliminary searches suggested that the actual scope of music-making provision available in prisons is unknown. Through further investigation it quickly became apparent that each individual prison establishment operates with such a high level of autonomy from any centralised control that no data is gathered regarding the availability of music-making or similar activities across all prisons. When I approached prison-based music-making charities directly, they themselves were unaware as to what was available where and when I spoke to individual prison establishments, they were often unsure as to what was operating even within their own prison.

The complexity of managing a 'total institution' (where a complete and enclosed round of life is administered, see Goffman, 1961) has resulted in not only HMPS[4] but also each individual prison being unaware of the majority of the activities within its walls. This is sometimes due to tendering of activities to third party organisations, education departments, or chaplaincies, but is also a result of the initiative of the residents and officers who organise their own activities at varying levels of formality.

The first task of this thesis then, is to create a cartography of what music-making activity is available in which prisons. It will commence with a narrowing of the definition of which carceral environments are considered 'prisons' and will then focus on identifying which sort of music-making intervention is available within each. As many of the officer or resident led music-making groups will be either untraceable or inconsistent (primarily due the high rate of staff and resident turnover), the focus will be on sessions provided by third-party organisations and education departments.

2) What are the aims of prison-based music-making organisations?

Whilst the majority of music-making provision comes from third-party charities and organisations (as discovered through the cartography in chapter four), the organisations are forced to enter each prison establishment on an individual basis, fulfilling the aims and desires of each establishment. With this in mind, the questions regarding prison-based music-making organisations' aims are inherently political as they are influenced by prison gatekeepers in both a literal and figurative sense.

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[4] His Majesty's Prison Service. The government agency responsible for overseeing prisons in England and Wales.

With the proposed purpose of prisons in England and Wales being the rehabilitation of offenders (see chapter one), my initial interest was in how music-making would be fulfilling that aim, but as my research progressed it became clear that claiming rehabilitation as the focus of prisons was questionable at best. Instead, the aims of prison-based music-making organisations are affected by the participants, facilitators, and prisons with a constant tension of potentially conflicting motivations and influences. Without fulfilling the aims (or proposed aims) of the prisons, music-making organisations could not gain access, yet without satisfying the desires of the participants they would fail to secure their voluntary attendance. This question therefore investigates how the tension between what are often opposing influences shape and affect organisational practices.

3) How is prison-based music-making realised?

Given the arena within which prison-based music-making is situated, the aims of the organisations affect the delivery style, genre choices, and opportunities that are provided. Or put another way, the way in which prison-based music-making is realised by each organisation and in each prison is affected by the political sphere surrounding it. This question's purpose is therefore to access the influences and biases that drive and direct prison-based music-making practices. At the same time, the autonomy of each establishment has resulted in population demographics, available space, and the relationships formed with key decision makers in each establishment, influencing the way in which a music-making session or intervention can be realised. The thesis considers the weight of these various factors in determining the nature of prison-based music-making sessions.

4) What is the influence of prisons on the facilitators?

The facilitators' perspective has been largely ignored in previous scholarship on prison-based music-making (Mangaoang, 2021), but is investigated in this thesis, assessing how carcerality is experienced *alongside* those in prison. By investigating facilitators' experience of carceral pains (Crewe, 2011) a new influence is found on the aims and delivery styles of music-making sessions. Whilst influenced by both the music-making organisations and the prison residents, the facilitators' realisation of musicking is also greatly affected by their own unique experience of carcerality.

5) How do participants experience the technologies of music?

Previous prison-music scholarship has discussed how music can help with known desistance factors (Anderson et al., 2011, Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008) and questioned if music can assist with wellbeing in carceral environments as in other areas of life (Caulfield, 2015, Chen et al., 2014, Abrahams et al., 2012, Viggiani et al., 2010, Tuastad and O'Grady, 2013). In this thesis, however, musicking's negative effects and use in control or subjugation will be investigated in relation to the carceral context.

Using the term 'technology' in the same context as Foucault (1977) in his discussions on disciplinary technologies, and DeNora (1999) as she discusses music as a technology of self, the voices of ex-prison resident musicking participants will be used to address the question posed above. Instead of investigating how technologies of music can support a desistance from crime, a more open-ended approach will be taken (although musicking as a potential path to desistance is still discussed). Technologies of music can be seen to act upon participants through the control of genre or censoring of content as well as being accessed by the participants for their own self-care and regulation of space.

Whilst in previous studies, the voices of currently serving residents have been included, I believe that the reflective view of ex-prison residents carries a greater freedom of expression with a more genuine ability to give informed consent. Their ability to look back on their experiences in and out of prison, the effects that musicking in prison has had on their lives, as well as a lack of personal repercussions in relation to the availability of music-making activities for them, results in a clear and honest insight that adds greatly to the understanding of the technologies of music in carceral settings.

Prison Experience

These questions and lines of interrogation came from my previous experience as a music-making facilitator in prisons across England. In May 2008, during my undergraduate degree in music performance (2007-2010), my drum teacher offered me the opportunity to work as a supply music facilitator in a prison. I found that people outside of prison would comment on what a noble profession this was and how good it must be for the participants. I set out with the aim of understanding why music-making was thought of as such a positive intervention for incarcerated people, completing a work placement project and my undergraduate dissertation in the field of prison-based music-making in 2010. For my work placement I ran a month long, five-day a week music-making class attempting to guide five participants through their grade three in either drums, bass guitar, or electric guitar in a group session. I also facilitated a four-day song writing course in a different prison based on the Notivate[5] syllabus, where I wrote backing music under the direction of participants and recorded them singing their original lyrics over the top. My dissertation focused on five

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[5] Notivate is a children and young people's song writing charity with whom I completed a training course before I started my undergraduate degree. See https://www.notivate.org/ for information on this charity and the work they do.

interviews with prison residents who attended my sessions, most of whom appeared to search for 'correct' answers and suggested that because they had taken part in the education music-making sessions I was facilitating, they were much less likely to re-offend. With little scholarship existing around prison-based music-making at the time, I focused on the ways in which behaviour could be modified by musicking and a possible role music-making could play as a gateway to other education courses that seemed more directly linked to desistance. It was during this time that I became aware of Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed and wrote briefly on the way the pedagogy of a group music-making session was naturally guided by the 'students' and broke down some of the teacher-student or prison worker-prison resident barrier.

Following my dissertation I found I had merely scratched the surface of the subject of prison music and gathered little beyond the notion that Scandinavian countries have exceptional prisons systems that we should strive to follow (see Mangaoang, 2021 for a discussion on Norweigian prison exceptionalism and its relation to prison-based music). I confided in my university lecturers and spoke of my disappointment in not fully understanding the process and purpose of the music-making sessions I was facilitating. The advice I was given was to save these questions for informal discussions with my friends and not let it stop me from doing what I knew to be a good thing to do. Whilst I can appreciate the kind intentions with which these words were spoken, it appeared to me that a great deal was at stake for the residents of the prison system who valued their music provision but spoke of its sporadic availability. A deeper investigation into the provision, intended purposes and actual effects of prison-based music-making (and their relationship to one another) was needed in order to explain why an activity that was valued so highly by participants was made so

infrequently available to an institution that claimed to have a focus on rehabilitation.

During my undergraduate research I developed a relationship with prison-based music-making charity CT who in 2012 (two years after I had completed my degree) acquired funding to provide music-making sessions in the prison in which I was already working. They invited me to apply for the job and for a brief time I was facilitating music-making sessions in one prison two days a week for two separate employers (CT and the Prison Education Department, at that time tendered to a college called A4e) and a day and a half in another Local Cat B prison (see below for clarification on the different types and categories of prison). During the training induction for CT, I was able to visit many of the prisons in which CT operated, including a closed female prison. Over the years I was able to take part in their 'doubling up' practice, where a CT Musician in Residence (CT's job title for a music facilitator, often referred to as an MiR) will visit another MiR and support them in their session. This gave me a broad experience of various styles of prison-based music facilitation as well as a chance to experience how differently each prison establishment operates. As the academic year ended in 2012 the policy of austerity resulting from the 2008 financial crash began to affect prison education funding and my job as a music facilitator for A4e was cut, only for me to regain employment with them in a different Cat C prison for a period of two years (2012-2014).

I was fascinated by the claim made by CT that their music-making sessions reduced recidivism by 75% (*Changing Tunes*, 2018), whilst prison education departments handed out various government documents (known as green or white papers) that would list music as part of the prison's strategy towards 'rehabilitation'. It quickly became obvious that these music-making sessions

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were part of a much larger political landscape, with various extra-musical purposes linked to the activity of making music. Yet, contrary to the statistics put forward by prison-based music-making charities or the proposed aim, suggested by the government documents, of reducing re-offending through training and opportunity, I experienced what was referred to as 'the revolving door' of the prisons – those participating in my sessions would regularly be released only to return a few weeks later.

Concurrently to my work teaching music in prison in 2010, I gained employment with a local Christian charity delivering short courses on personal development, goal setting, and developing interpersonal skills. I was intrigued to see what could be done within education beyond music to assist prison residents in their rehabilitation. For ethical reasons, in 2011 I left this job as I was uncomfortable with the prescription of behaviour and infantilisation that this intervention was producing. Instead, I started to work outside of prison for a mental health collective CIC[6] providing a free, non-referral-based music drop-in centre, one afternoon a week. As I had been made aware of the high level of mental health issues in prison, I believed this job would be a valuable place to learn about how to better support my prison resident participants who were suffering similar issues. Indeed, many of my participants from prison would drop-in once released from prison or during their short time between sentences.

In 2013 I created an ex-prison resident band, called Break III. The two other members of the band and I played cover music for three years, playing local pubs and birthday parties and engaging in weekly practices. In 2016 I left all this

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[6] A CIC (Community Interest Company) is the official title given to organisations set up in the UK which are more generally referred to as social enterprises.

work to get married and travel. It was with great sadness that I left my work in prisons and my band behind, however we played one final gig at my wedding.

My experience of working with (ex)prison residents in music-making sessions had led me to question the entire narrative that surrounded and justified prisons (referred to by Swanson and Cohen, Forthcoming as 'carceral logics'). Whilst previous scholarship on music and recidivism had put the onus of change on the individual labelled as criminal, I witnessed a failing prison system that seemed criminogenic in nature. The 'revolving door' of the prison was an often-repeated cliché, the psychological damage of incarceration was regularly discussed, the obstacles produced by a criminal record, and the issues caused by prison's disruption to housing, work, and relationships appeared as insurmountable traps laid out by a system that predetermined ex-prison residents to inevitably return to prison.

Whilst conventional narratives assumed that prison residents needed to change in order to fit back into society, I was left wondering how society could change to accommodate a wider array of people and questioning the possible role of music-making in bringing about or facilitating this change. I wished to investigate not only the potential positive results of musicking whilst incarcerated, but also the potential harms, because I saw music-making organisations attempting to fulfil the aims of a prison system that I believed to be harmful while their actions were justified by an unquestioned benevolence with which music has been imbued. It is by detaching music from its perceived benevolence that this thesis is able to make one of its original contributions, as I wanted to develop a rounded sense of the role music-making did (and potentially could) play within prisons.

In 2017, therefore, I decided to self-fund a PhD to dedicate some time to addressing the questions I had surrounding prison-based music-making, its purposes, and its best practice. I also contacted the Break III band members and we started again. After another year of playing together we changed our direction and began to write original music rather than focusing solely on the reproduction of cover songs. It did however take a further two more years for me to return to work in the prison. CT had employed a new person in my previous role; however, the prison education department was required to provide the same education opportunities for the Vulnerable Prisoner Unit (VPU) as they did the Main Block prison residents[7] (which CT lacked financial support to do) and eventually the education department found funding to employ me in the very same Saturday education job with which I had begun my prison-based music-making journey during my undergraduate degree.

After nine months of working in prisons again, the COVID-19 pandemic forced the country into lockdown, and I have not been able to return to the prison since. The restrictions put in place also greatly affected the guitarist from Break III who eventually died from what is believed to be long term substance abuse and alcoholism on which he became reliant during the periods of lockdown. Two days before he passed away, I accompanied him to a drug and alcohol meeting where they helped him adjust his medication and work towards a slow reduction and eventual detox of his alcohol intake. Whilst his exact cause of death is unknown, it is thought that he tried to detox himself too quickly and died from the sudden withdrawal. Unfortunately, since his passing, the band has lost its main driving force, and whilst I continue to meet with the drummer in monthly

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[7] Whilst the majority of prison residents in the U.K. reside in the Main Block, those who are in debt to other residents, vulnerable due to disability, or in danger due to the stigma surrounding their crime (usually those who have committed sex offences) are kept on separate wings or living blocks for their own safety. They are often referred to as VPs (vulnerable prisoners) as they reside on the VPU.

ex-prison resident sessions set up by CT, we have not yet been able to form a new band. Throughout my career I had formed many relationships with the participants of music-making sessions that have influenced my position toward the scholarship, justifications, and practices of music-making in carceral environments.

Three Stories

Based on encounters other music facilitators and I had during their sessions, I have created three composite fictionalised stories to illustrate the starting point for this inquiry in order to bring to life the experience that has led me to this research. The use of composite fictionalised accounts was chosen to protect the anonymity of the participants and still convey the affective and emotional circumstances of events that underpin this thesis. The legitimacy of these accounts as a research methodology, and important ethical reasons for their use, are discussed in chapter three (also see Piper and Sikes, 2010, Bochner and Ellis, 1998). Fundamentally, however, it is important to know that the details in the following interactions have all been substituted so that the accounts carry the same emotional and affective atmosphere yet completely anonymise those involved. No direct quotes are used, or any names or identifying details, yet the essence of the encounters is intended to stay the same.

Story one – Sick in Prison

The class was almost over. The slightly weary music facilitator – young and not fully engaged with the participants – looked at the clock and wondered if he could push his final participant any further. Facilitating a group session for what was to culminate in a set of individual music exams was proving far more challenging than he had imagined and all but one student had left early to shower before lunch. Yet with the direction of education being prescribed by Ofsted and the instigation of 'payment by results', some sort of certification was required. In this case, an outside examiner would enter the prison and assess each learner by individuals playing along to a CD. As this course immediately excluded those without an interest in learning covers and those with an inability to learn written music, the facilitator was already beginning to lose faith in finding a deeper meaning and purpose in his work.

'Hey, can I have a word?' a voice from the door questions.

Looking up, the music facilitator recognises the figure in the doorway. Racing through a catalogue of faces and names in his mind, he gives up and realises that whilst he has definitely been teaching this inmate how to play guitar over the last few weekend music sessions, he has no idea what his name is.

'Sure, we're just wrapping up here. I think Mark knows this song well enough and is gonna smash through his exam.' The facilitator gives Mark, the bassist, a cheeky wink and lets him leave a little early.

'Cool.' Says the unnamed participant, as he takes a seat on a spare chair. Nervously he warms his hands by rubbing them together whilst blowing on them, the whole time staring at a spot on the floor, making no eye contact whilst Mark leaves the room shutting the door behind him.

The 'music room' is situated on the second floor of a low security wing of the prison. It was apparently previously used by residents for gambling as it is far enough away from the offices downstairs, out of view of the CCTV and next door is the landing office, staffed by the most inattentive (and usually absent) prison guard employed by this establishment. A small, rectangular and reverberant room with glass internal walls and broken external windows, this room was ideal for music. Every sound spilled out onto the exercise yard.

 'I've a…. I'm… Fuck, I don't know how to start this,' said the prison resident, 'I've got a tumour.'

Not knowing what to say, the facilitator opted to stay silent and let the prison resident continue his story.

'It's in my head. I had one before I got sent to prison. It was benign but causing me headaches and nausea, so they took it out. And now it's happening again.' The prison resident parts his hair and demonstrates a scar to confirm his story.

'Okay.' The facilitator cautiously replies, feeling far out of his depth and wondering if maybe it would be better if music was just about passing exams. 'So, is this one benign… and are they going to operate on it?'

'I don't know.' He replied almost breaking down into tears but catching himself just before. Even with a potentially life-threatening illness, showing emotion is perceived as showing weakness in this place, and showing weakness can be dangerous. 'They wouldn't test me today and what makes it worse is that they can't tell me when they will.'

'Why not?'

'It's a matter of security. Apparently if I know when I'm being taken to hospital, I can plan an escape. So, I have to sit in my cell and wait and see when or even if my next appointment is happening. They have to do a scan and decide if they want to take it out, or if the surgery is too risky. If it's close to important parts of my brain apparently the operation is super risky. They said it could cause brain damage.'

'Wow.' The facilitator pauses to take all the information in, 'That's a pretty shitty situation to be in whilst in prison.'

'So, what do you think, should I have the operation or not?'

Taken back by the bluntness of the question, the facilitator answered with extreme honesty, 'Dude, how am I supposed to know!? What does your doctor think?'

The prison resident pulls a half smile as he realises the situation in which he has put the facilitator, 'Yeah, sorry about that. I'm not sure why I expected you to have the answer.' Pausing to think, the prison resident continues, 'The doctor says I can make my own decision once the scan result is back. The headaches are really painful at the moment, but my Dad had brain damage from a car crash and was never the same. If that's a risk of this operation, I'd rather just die.'

The facilitator pressed for more information and details on what the doctor had said whilst the prison resident repeated his concern of being disabled or suffering similar consequences to his father. They debated the risk of the operation against the current pain the growth was causing, finishing with a vague plan outlining where the pain threshold started to outweigh the risk of the operation and how his family would feel if he left something potentially life threatening untreated.

The bell sounded. It was time for the prison residents to get their lunch before being banged up[8] so the staff could get theirs. Feeling slightly more at peace having vented his fears the prison resident thanked the facilitator and got up to leave.

'Before you go,' asked the facilitator, 'why did you come to me? Haven't you been to, like, three music sessions? We barely know each other.'

'I dunno,' the prison resident's eyes focused toward the ceiling as he tried to unpick his reasoning, 'I was gonna ring my family, but I wanted to process it a bit first. And I thought I'd spend the afternoon in the chapel because I like the atmosphere there and the chaplain is really nice. But, I dunno, I just thought a music teacher would be a good person to talk to.'

This story demonstrates the ways in which relationships formed through music-making can form bonds and break through barriers and constraints. The bond formed between facilitator and participant in a relatively short timeframe seems to shock him. Is it the shared musical experience that has formed this bond? Or is this bond the product of any facilitator-participant (or teacher-student) relationship?

As the facilitator holds the position of non-incarcerated civilian staff[9], a barrier is placed between the level of friendship and trust they can afford one another. Is this barrier broken through as the participant seeks friendly advice? With the facilitator holding a role of authority and physical keys to access parts of the prison that the participant may not (and indeed the ability to leave the prison at will), was this relationship one that formed between equals, or does the facilitator's surprise that the participant wanted to confide in him speak of a type of imbalance? These questions, arising from this story and many others like it, suggested the need for close and detailed research into the relationships that are formed within prison-based music-making sessions.

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[8] Prison slang for being locked in a cell.
[9] A term given to employees within the prison who are not officers. Usually referring to education, charity, or chaplaincy staff members.

Story two – A moment of change

'I'd always been a bit of a lad.' Sitting in the pub garden the tall, well-built and slightly intimidating looking ex-prison resident spoke to me of his time in and out of prison. 'Me and my two brothers used to steal cars, go on joy rides and get in fights every weekend. Sometimes we'd fight other people. Sometimes we'd fight each other. So as a result, I spent a lot of my life in and out of prison.

I must have first gone in when I was 15, I reckon. Only for a few weeks, but then once you've been in, it's pretty easy to go back. But that's when I started on drugs, in prison, you know? I don't know if I was ever really an addict. I never did heroin or anything. Just used to do a lot of coke. Obviously, I don't do it now. I mean, I still smoke a bit of weed but then, so does everyone!' He laughed, a little nervously, analysing my reaction to see if I too, despite working in prisons, also smoked weed. I had gotten used to this assumption, all prisoners generally assumed I smoked based on my dress sense, music taste and general appearance. Plus, what sort of musician doesn't smoke weed, right?

'Anyway,' he continued, 'the last time I was in, I got seven years. Burglary. In prison there's a hierarchy. Like, no one fucks with lifers. Then you have violent crimes on normal people, you know? Stabbings and assaults. At the bottom is Bacons[10], snitches and debtors. They get what they deserve. Then you get those dickheads that snatch purses from old ladies. Anyone that attacks a vulnerable person is fair game in prison. They're the same as Bacons. Burglary ain't that bad, but it ain't right either. Robbing someone's home is wrong. So I was really embarrassed. But I only did it because…' He pauses to consider his earlier statement and realises the inconsistency, 'Well, I guess I was addicted then.'

He takes a moment before sipping his drink and continuing his story, 'I was a proper little shit anyways. I was always in fights and getting sent to the Seg[11] every couple of months. I thought I had to boss my way around and didn't want anyone to be taking advantage of me.'

I felt my facial expression change. Was he intimidating? Yes. Was he tall? Definitely. Did he fit the stereotype of an ex-prisoner who had spent most of his time in the gym? Probably! But I had known him for 3 years now. He had been learning guitar in a stressful group environment. He had never touched an instrument before he came to my classes and at times the whole class had berated him for holding them back. But not once did he lose his temper or show any sign of anger towards another person. If ever I had to describe him, I would tell people, 'He's just a big teddy bear really.'

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[10] Bacon is a slang term for a sex offender.
[11] Seg is prison slang for 'segregation unit' or solitary confinement.

Catching the momentary lapse in my otherwise neutral expression, I encouraged him to keep talking.

'No really!' he said, seeing straight through my attempts to cover up my surprise, 'I really was pretty violent. One day I attacked someone on the landing and hurt them real bad. I got sent to the Seg and stayed there for three weeks. In the third week, one of the officers opened the hatch and just said to me, 'You know, you're a bright lad. There's a lot more to ya, you know? It's actually up to you. You have the power to not come back here again if you don't want to.' And I realised, he was right. I sat there, completely broken and thought, 'I can't do this anymore.'

'And that was it. A moment of change. I decided to stop being violent and looked for a music class.'

A moment of change. Change in what? This is a question I have pondered since first hearing this story. Yet more puzzling is why his first response when wanting to change was to sign up to a music class. All prison employees will be familiar with residents professing a desire to change when they think that is what you want from them, yet this change was profound and lasting. Perhaps this change is a result of aging and maturity (Maruna, 1999), or the prison successfully deterring him from returning, or some other unknown influence. I include this story, not to show how a desire for change is created, but that this prison resident's chosen means to enact change was to start learning a musical instrument. What is it about music that he thought would assist this change he was seeking? There are many possible answers to these questions: Perhaps he wanted to improve his discipline and saw music practice as a way to do that; maybe he thought it would involve him mixing with different people and surround him with a different culture; or maybe it was something he had always desired but had never done. All of these possibilities were open.

Story three – The Carceral Affect

Sat on the floor, blanket wrapped around him, with the storm outside thundering through his broken window, Rob wondered how he got into

this mess. Trapped in a cell, no heating and only his thoughts to keep him company he wondered whether if he had just ignored that guy and not retaliated 6 years ago, he would still be in prison. It is then that he realises he isn't in prison anymore, he's on the out. Still on license? Yes. Still having monthly appointments with probation where they threaten him with prison time if he steps out of line? Of course! And still looking for a job. But for now, he can't leave his room – his new cell.

Where would he go? He doesn't know anyone in this town. What would he do? He doesn't have enough money to put his heating on, let alone go to the pub and drink with the friends he doesn't have. Trapped. Still incarcerated. He misses his parents but seeing as one of his previous convictions involved him threatening their neighbours, it would break his license conditions to live near or with them.

The intrusive thought that, at some point or another, visits many of those who are incarcerated, enters his mind again, 'Why not just end it all, right here, right now.' He looks across his room for inspiration. A knife? A rope? Either would do the job.

He spots his bass guitar. Walks over, picks it up, plugs it in and starts to play. Keeping the volume down, so not to disturb the neighbours (even a noise complaint would break his licence conditions and send him back to prison), a walking bassline from an old blues song enters his memory and runs down his arms, to his fingers, through his guitar and out into the room around him. The sound, reflected off the walls, takes him back to his music sessions in prison.

For the four and a half years he spent in prison, he lived Wednesday to Wednesday, waiting the whole week for the next music class. They were more like sessions than classes. He had freedom in them, 'This is our time' other prisoners would say. It was the only time they could take back from a system that had stolen theirs.

Rob would sit in his cell and play his bass guitar. The very same bass guitar he used now in fact. He bought it with his canteen money saved up from a job cleaning the landings for £12.50 a week. Living off Job Seeker's Allowance, he had about the same amount of spare cash now.

As the rhythm and the notes moved, so did the space around him and his relationship to time. Rob looks at his watch, not to check the time, but the day. Monday. That means tomorrow is band practice. His music facilitator from prison had organised an ex-prison resident band to meet on Tuesday nights. So now Rob was living Tuesday to Tuesday. And Tuesdays were great, it was just like being back in prison.

As Rob continued onto the next song, moving along the cadences and through the scales, he realised that music had given his time in prison a purpose.

Rob's story brought to light just how damaging carcerality can be and how extra-carceral spaces (McWatters, 2013) carry many of the same negative attributes of life inside. Many ex-prison residents have spoken to me about how, once released, they feel as though they are either still inside prison, or that they would rather be. They are imprisoned by stigma, a lack of opportunity, licence constraints, drug addictions (which often began in prison) or simply the financial position in which their time in prison has left them. Musicking, therefore, is often used for the same purpose both in and out of prison. Most predominantly this purpose is seen as escapism (Maruna, 2010) or a kind of musical asylum (DeNora, 2013a). But my observations and experiences of working with prison residents led me to believe that escapism was too simplistic an explanation. I saw effects and changes that lasted beyond the sessions and altered both the participants and me in ways I struggled to articulate. My relationship and understanding of the prison space was also altered and the participants would talk about their time of incarceration being different and having a different purpose when it involved musicking – often no longer just for punishment but also a valuable time and experience. In post-release music-making sessions (those outside the prison with ex-prison residents) I would experience the same remaking of space, a similar release of tensions, and I would hear conversations surrounding the purpose and meaning that engaging in joint music ventures was creating. For me, this thesis represents a space in which to formally consider and convey some of the complexities of music making shaped by carcerality.

Prison-based Music-making Research in the U.K.

Previous prison-music scholarship has produced an overtly positive critique of the practices and outcomes of prison-based music-making interventions, particularly in terms of improving wellbeing and reducing re-offending. In the literature based on U.K. prisons, this has primarily been because evaluations are often funded by the organisations themselves. Seven of these evaluations are based around the work of the Irene Taylor Trust (ITT) (Caulfield et al., 2019, Cartwright, 2013, Ascenso, 2017, Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008, Bilby et al., 2013, Doxat-Pratt, 2018a, Doxat-Pratt, 2018b), four are based around the work of Good Vibrations (GV) (Henley, 2012a, Caulfield and Wilkinson, 2014, Caulfield, 2015, Blagden et al., 2015), two investigate the Changing Tunes (CT) music sessions (Maruna, 2010, Cursley and Maruna, 2015), and others include Music in Detention (MiD) (Maanen, 2010), a university project (Daykin et al., 2014), and an evaluation of a music programme for ex-prisoner residents at a west London YMCA (Bruce, 2015).

The ITT evaluations focus on their Music in Prisons course (MiP) (Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008), Sounding Out project (Caulfield et al., 2019, Cartwright, 2013, Bilby et al., 2013), and Lullaby project (Ascenso, 2017). The MiP courses are usually short, intense week-long music workshops focused on song writing, whilst their Sounding Out project is a yearlong programme for ex-prison residents and the Lullaby project helps incarcerated parents write personal lullabies for their children. The MiP evaluation found '…beneficial effects on well-being, relationships, learning capacity and motivation' (Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008, p. 39), whilst the Sounding Out project was found to be effective in relation to '…ex-prisoners' motivation, aspirations and hopes; developing communication skills and relationships; increased levels of wellbeing

and self-confidence; and supporting reintegration into the community' (Caulfield et al., 2019, p. 33) as well as being a '…'stepping stone' into employment' (Cartwright, 2013, p. 34). The Lullaby project was believed to contribute 'towards a richer perspective on life and positive coping mechanisms, through the overcoming of avoidance tendencies' (Ascenso, 2017, p. 53) and 'a change in the way participants define themselves, towards a more positive self-concept, an important factor towards desistance from crime' (Ascenso, 2017, p. 54).

The belief that musicking can create a change in self-identity and that this is an important step towards desistance from crime is discussed in chapters one and two, but is also found in the research on CT. Cursley and Maruna (2015) suggest that CT participants changed 'at the level of self-identity. Often angry and isolated, participants arrived at the projects with a limited and limiting sense of their own possibilities. They found that the involvement in the music charity helped to wake something up inside of them and show them new possibilities for their lives' (p.39).

Caulfield (2015) suggested that the involvement of staff in the GV's model of short, intense Indonesian Gamelan performances changed not only the way participants viewed themselves but also the way prison residents were viewed by the staff.[12] The other three evaluations into GV echoed many of the same findings as the ITT and CT reports, demonstrating improvements in social skills and relationship building (Blagden et al., 2015), wellbeing and motivation (Caulfield and Wilkinson, 2014), and fostering '…personal attributes related to individual agency and social capital' (Henley, 2012a, p. 14). These

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[12] This evaluation focused on vulnerable women in prison and highlights the importance of feminist research in a field dominated by research on men. Whilst the majority of the empirical work found in this thesis comes from a male perspective, many of the critiques of previous prison-based music scholarship and criminological theories are routed in feminism and are discussed further in chapter one.

evaluations add to the literature by focusing their research on particular (and often overlooked in prison-based music-making scholarship) demographics: 'vulnerable women' (Caulfield, 2015), 'sex offenders' (Blagden et al., 2015), 'older offenders' (Caulfield and Wilkinson, 2014), and 'young offenders' (Henley, 2012a). The investigation led by UWE Bristol and Live Music Now SW provided musical instrument workshops in 'Young Offender Institutions, Juvenile Secure Units and Prisons, Secure Children's Homes and Youth Offending Teams' (Daykin et al., 2014, p. 1) and suggested that, '[p]articipatory music programmes provide opportunities for young people to engage alternative skills and competencies that are not routinely afforded them via conventional education and training programmes' (2014 p.150).

Due to working in the different carceral environment of immigration removal centres, Bruce (2015) and Maanen (2010) focused less on desistance but instead found that musicking increased participants' openness and helped to challenge and process difficult emotions (Bruce, 2015), as well as giving them 'choice and a sense of power in a tightly controlled and restrictive environment' (Maanen, 2010, p. 39).

Two of the more in depth and larger evaluations, Anderson et al. (2011) and Bilby et al. (2013) looked at multiple arts-based interventions across multiple U.K. prisons. Both found a strong link between engagement in the arts and what is termed 'secondary desistance' which is defined as 'the movement from the behaviour of non-offending to the assumption of a role or identity of a non-offender or 'changed person'' (Maruna and Farrall, 2004, p. 4). Whilst primary and secondary desistance are discussed in more detail in chapter one, these two investigations optimise the focus of musicking evaluations in U.K. prisons:

an agenda of change, where the prison resident must respond to fit the purposes, desires, or aims of the prison.

An assumption that has arisen in the previous scholarship on prison-based music-making is that the process of desistance operates at the level of the individual (Anderson et al., 2011), so that those labelled as criminal must change themselves in order to fit back into society once released from prison. There are notable exceptions which have laid the groundwork for a more critical prison-based music-making scholarship. Mangaoang (2013) has been able to investigate the cross over between dance, music, and the creation of docile bodies (see Foucault, 1977 and chapter one for more on docile bodies) whilst Rice (2016) was able to discuss the negative aspects of sound and noise along with the politics of wing[13] domination through stereo use. It is perhaps through investigating dance and non-musical as well as musical sound respectively that these authors have succeeded in a more balanced critique.

The benevolence that has been bestowed upon music generally has left a gap in relation to discussions of musicking's negative, controlling, or manipulative potential for prison residents. Since I started this thesis in 2017 there have however been developments in this direction. Authors such as Boeskov (2017) suggest that scholarship on community music has been excessively positive and questioned what music is being offered to Palestinians in refugee camps and why. Mangaoang (2021) has suggested that even within the highly regarded Norwegian prison system, music is considered a reward rather than a right. She goes 'beyond simplistic, romantic notions of music's function in social transformation. [There are] [c]oncerns raised for those who appear to be excluded or differentiated from music-making opportunities in prison – in

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[13] Prison living blocks are often referred to as 'wings'.

particular foreign nationals and women – suggest that (even) in the Norwegian context, music in prisons remains a 'reward' rather than a fundamental 'right.'' (2021 p.247).

Kallio (2022) has reviewed the Australian juvenile incarceration system and ended by suggesting that incarcerated juveniles can not only be changed by music but can change the systems that are disproportionately incarcerating aboriginal youth. Recent scholarship in the field of criminology by Maruna (2017) has suggested that desistance requires a social movement akin to the civil rights movement and the rise in LGBTQIA+ rights that also resulted from collective demonstrations. In a similar way, this thesis, whilst being critical of the accepted notion that musicking can act as an agent of change on the part of participants in prison-based music-making, examines how musical activities can also be implicated in changes on the part of other actors within the prison, especially key decision and policy makers, and may also influence prison culture more generally.

Key Terminology

Some key academic terminology needs to be clearly defined and understood so that the narrative and arguments made in this thesis can be correctly communicated. In this introductory section I set out some of these terms and the way in which they are employed in the text that follows.

Musicking and Prison-based Music-making

Small (1998) describes musicking as '… the present participle, or gerund, of the verb to music' (p.9) and suggests that music is *always* a verb and that '[r]ather than understanding music as an autonomous object and focusing solely on its

form… music should be understood contextually as process, experience, and action.' (Cohen, 2000, p. 147).

I find musicking a fitting term to use when discussing the relational and what are often call 'extra-musical' (DeNora, 2005, p. 58, Born, 2011, p. 377) aspects of music. In a carceral context these 'extra-musical' qualities are linked to rehabilitation, secondary desistance, and behavioural change. Yet musicking does not only refer to the playing of musical instruments or singing; it can also include active participation in the listening of music as well as dancing or acting to music. The choice of song or radio station, the reasons for listening to music, and the control of volume can all be considered acts of musicking. With its broadest definition, musicking in carceral environments would include the politics of wing domination using radios and CD players at high volume (Rice, 2016), as well as dance and theatre classes that take place in some establishments (Thompson, 1998, Balfour, 2004).

In order to narrow the scope of this research, then, I have chosen to also employ Cohen's (2022) term 'music-making' which she describes as 'rooted in Christopher Small's… concept of musicking' (p.32) but is both more general and more particular, allowing me to discuss specific musical activities without needing to include all musical activity and consciousness within my remit. In chapter four, I begin to create a cartography of available music-making activities within prisons in England and Wales, in which I am referring to organised music activities where participants are involved in the production of music (rather than being only listeners or recipients) and where music is the core purpose of the activity. This includes (but is not limited to) activities such as guitar groups, music education, choirs, band workshops, song writing courses, inter-prison-

based music awards, and music technology training and work placements.[14]

The terms 'musicking' and 'music-making' as I use them will not include organised activities where music might be considered a secondary activity such as singing in Sunday morning chapel congregations, drama, or dance groups.

If Small's (1998) use of music as a verb were to be strictly followed, it would never be used as a noun. However, in this thesis it is used as both a noun and a verb and, whilst music is always viewed as being infused with its 'extra-musical' qualities, these are still referred to as 'extra-musical' for the purpose of clarity[15]. At times the term 'music-making' is used to distinguish between playing or writing music and other listening practices that could also be considered musicking. At other times, the term musicking is used to include other musical practices that would not be considered music-making (such as listening or going to performances). I endeavour to remain cognisant of the complexity and variety of musical activity, whilst using particular musical activities as my focus.

Affect and Affective Atmospheres

Affect as a theory finds its roots in Spinoza and Parkinson's (2000) work and was rediscovered in Deleuze and Guattari (1987) where in the translators' notes, Massumi describes affect as:

> 'AFFECT/AFFECTION. Neither word denotes a personal feeling (*sentiment* in Deleuze and Guattari). *L'affect* (Spinoza's *affectus*) is an ability to affect and be affected. It is a prepersonal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another and implying an augmentation or diminution in that body's

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[14] This definition will also include non-organised activities, such as improvised music sessions held in a prison cell, or simply friends gathering to music together in any carceral environment. However, as chapters four and five will attempt to create a prison-based music cartography and such meetings would be impossible to map, only organised and formal sessions will be discussed here. In chapter seven, where ex-prison residents are interviewed, musicking will also refer to their own practice time and improvised musical sessions with friends.

[15] This becomes particularly important in chapter eight where the ex-prison residents that are interviewed suggest that the extra-musical benefits of music as they pertain to desistance were of little interest to them, but instead, the purpose of their time in prison became to music.

capacity to act. *L'affection* (Spinoza's *affectio*) is each such state considered as an encounter between the affected body and a second, affecting, body (with body taken in its broadest possible sense to include 'mental' or ideal bodies).' (Massumi in Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. xvi)

Affect is sometimes simply used as a synonym for emotion (van Goethem and Sloboda, 2011), a collection of pre-emotions (Pile, 2010, Schaefer and Carwana, 2020), or the push of life that drives action, summons motivations, or creates changes in behaviour, emotion or mood (Anderson, 2012, Thrift, 2004). It is this last definition that is most pertinent for the use of affect in this investigation.

Affect is considered non-representational (Thrift, 2008) and opens up the door for academics to investigate that which is difficult to communicate through writing but better understood through experience. With carcerality and music being best understood through experience, placing them in the academic language of affect helps prioritise emotional knowledge that has often been disregarded or excluded in critical commentary (Anderson and Smith, 2001).

In chapter one, the definition of carceral[16] will be routed in an understanding of affect whilst in chapter two, musical space and music moments have their own affects that may interplay with or juxtapose carceral affects. Each musical moment (be that a melody, motif, a song, a timbre, or a relationship to an instrument) carries with it memories, social groupings, cultural significances, and many more traits that give them meaning and salience to their listeners and performers. Therefore, musical affects, and all that they carry, are affective pushes that change mood, emotions, and behaviour, and create affective

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[16] Whilst this thesis focuses primarily on prisons, during the ex-prison residents' interviews in chapter seven the carcerality they experienced once released was regularly discussed. Therefore, the word 'carceral' is used to refer to carceral space both in and out of prisons, and prison is used when the topic under discussion may not apply to other carceral spaces.

atmospheres (Frazer, 2021, Anderson, 2009). These affective atmospheres are felt and experienced, often described as 'vibe' and 'immersion' within a musical space. They are that which joins the moment with the space, the sound with bodies, and the present with pasts and potential futures. As Anderson explains,

> 'Affective atmospheres are a class of experience that occur before and alongside the formation of subjectivities, across human and non-human materialities, and in between subject/object distinctions… as such, atmospheres are the shared ground from which subjective states and their attendant feelings and emotions emerge.' (Anderson, 2009, p. 78)

Whilst the terms 'affect' or 'affective atmospheres' are not used within previous academic work on music-making in prison, there are many discussions as to how the practice of musicking creates feelings of freedom and escapism from prisons (Anderson et al., 2011, Maruna, 2010), and I aim to demonstrate the relevance of affect to prison-based music scholarship.

Technologies of Music

This term is not to be confused with music technology (such as computers and synthesisers). Instead, the phrase as I employ it draws from Foucault's (1977) and DeNora's (1999) use of the word 'technology' when they discuss 'technologies of discipline/self/power [and many more]' and 'music as a technology of the self' respectively. Here Foucault is discussing the techniques through which discipline controls bodies, how power is structured through these disciplines, and how one can use these technologies for self-training. DeNora applies the idea of technologies of the self in conjunction to music by investigating 'mundane music consumption' (1999, p. 31) and continues this work as she goes on to investigate music in everyday life (DeNora, 2000). She argues that music is used as a technology for self-regulation, for structuring mood and action.

The focus of the thesis however is on not on the everyday life, but instead on the technologies of music(king)/music-making as applied in carceral settings. It investigates how technologies of music are made to relate to managing carceral pains (see chapter one), as well as their relation to secondary and tertiary desistance (see chapter one), creating an 'affective abolition' of carceral pains (see chapters two, seven and eight), and collectivising those with criminal labels to enact a new form of desistance (see chapters one and the thesis conclusion). Technologies of music are shown to be varied, versatile and powerful in the carceral environments of the study and in the lives of those whose words are included and considered here.

Chapter Synopsis

Given that this work is focused on prisons and ex-prisoner residents, it is important to consider how prison is conceived in contemporary society and scholarship. Chapter one discusses how the proposed purpose of prisons (according to the U.K. government) is to protect the public and rehabilitate offenders. This proposed purpose is problematised by its statistical ineffectiveness, lack of adherence to scholarship on recidivism, and by the work of theorists such as Foucault (1977) who traces the history of prisons and explores its relationship to economics and social control. Definitions of prison and carcerality are also discussed, and it is suggested that the commonly used terms of 'incarcerated' and 'formerly incarcerated'[17] are problematic due to their simplistic binary misrepresentation of the carceral experience. Ideas of carcerality presented in Crewe's (2011) revision of Sykes' pains of imprisonment are also considered, and viewed through the lens of affect theory

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[17] Throughout this thesis the term (ex)prison resident is used to replace the binary of incarcerated or formerly incarcerated as many people remain bound by license restrictions, electronic tagging, or increased police surveillance once released, as well as the affective carceral properties having lasting effects.

(Massumi, 1995), are presented as 'affective pains'. This characterisation of prisons and imprisonment is shown to be fundamental to an understanding of justifications for musical activity in prisons on the part of prison music organisations and their participants, as well as prison authorities.

In chapter two the existing scholarship surrounding prison-based music-making is discussed as well as concepts such as liminality (Boeskov, 2017, Turner, 1969) and affect (Massumi, 1995, Simpson, 2017, Pile, 2010, Frazer, 2021, Clough, 2008, Anderson, 2012, Anderson, 2009) that arise in broader music and prison scholarship. Through affect and liminality, the role that music plays in (re)configuring space is also discussed, as the idea of escapism is challenged with the suggestion that prison is being changed rather than escaped. I term this change of the relationship to prison space 'affective abolition', as I suggest that the pains that define carceral space may be affectively deconstructed through music-making.

Chapter three presents the ethical concerns and processes relating to this thesis. The methodologies employed to address the questions that arise are also detailed here, including Born's (2011) four plane theoretical framework that is employed to house the concepts of liminality and affect. Born's four planes framework was created as a means of discussing the materialisation of identities through music. In the first plane, music creates social relations; in the second music creates imagined communities; in the third plane music refracts hierarchies; and in the fourth plane music is bound by physical barriers. As well as music's role in materialising identities, this thesis discusses music's materialisation of labels (often from a criminal label to some form of non-criminal label) and its materialisation of space (particularly its constructing and deconstructing of carceral space). The roles of affect and liminality in the

process of this materialisation are situated within each of the four planes and are presented.

Chapter four looks primarily at fourth plane restrictions that limit the availability of musicking for prison residents in England and Wales. It is in this chapter that a cartography is created, mapping all knowable music interventions taking place in 2019. This snapshot of musicking availability, coupled with interviews from the founders and CEOs of some of the main prison-based music-making organisations, shows a shift of responsibility of music-making provision from government funded education departments to third party organisations and charities. Due to a policy of 'payment by results' music-making providers have had to navigate extra obstacles such as producing low-cost certificated music courses or gather their own funding and then convince each individual establishment that despite potential disruptions, music-making was a necessary intervention. It is for this reason that many organisations have funded evaluations of their work in an attempt to justify their purpose and demonstrate a link between musicking and recidivism.

Chapter five investigates how barriers to provision have affected the delivery style and the aims of third-party prison-based music-making organisations (who account for the majority of music provision). It demonstrates how they have internalised the medical and opportunity model that is prevalent in the correctional discourse (Kendall, 2000). However, also seen here is the omnidirectional affective properties of musicking that show how the musically formed relationships (Born's planes one and two) are breaking down barriers of labelling and hierarchy (plane three), leading to subsequent change in the structure and aims of prison-based music-making organisations.

Due to both ethical restrictions and the COVID-19 pandemic, the perspective from inside prisons comes from CT music facilitators in chapter six and seven rather than currently serving prison residents. Here, their own understanding of carceral pains (Crewe, 2011) is discovered as well as the way the relationship built with prison residents affects them. The bond that they form with the participants in their sessions (Born's first plane) and the pedagogical style inherent to group music-making workshops creates a participant-facilitator role for them that partially flattens the hierarchical structures found in most prison staff – prison resident relationships. This changes the aims of their sessions from rehabilitation of participants to a search for liminal spaces and affective atmospheres that have the potential to change the environment and create a purpose for time spent incarcerated.

Chapter seven continues with the empirical data drawn from the facilitators and suggests that they experience their own carceral pains through working in prison and with prison residents. It discusses their use of music-making to manage these pains and why I believe this has drawn them into a closer relationship with their participants. Their use of musicking's affective properties to temporarily abolish these pains is a key juncture at which the concept of 'affective abolitions' is evidenced.

In chapter eight, ex-prison residents are interviewed, and they discuss the ways in which carceral logics and pains were deconstructed by the purpose that musicking created for their time of incarceration, creating further evidence for the idea of 'affective abolitions'. The idea of behavioural change is also revisited, but this time it is turned around as it is the perceptions of others and the labels placed upon ex-prison residents that is affected by musicking. Reversing the question of behavioural change to a change of perception by

those in power has the potential to shed new light on previous prison-based music-making research and create new justifications for prison-based music interventions.

Chapters four to eight are titled with musical metaphors. In chapter four the 'prison-based music-making motif' metaphor evokes feelings of an incomplete and unfinished melody that arises sporadically in the way that the musicking provision appears in the cartography. In chapter five, a potential 'prison-based music-making melody' is discussed as the participants join and affect the organisations, creating a more complete story and aim for these interventions. Chapter six, 'carceral musicking's deceptive cadence' speaks of the unsatisfying, overtly positive conclusions drawn from previous prison-based music scholarship and opens up discussions on prison and musical affects beyond the proposed links to reducing re-offending. Chapter seven's 'carceral musicking's tritone' draws from the myths surrounding this chord that it was once banned from the church, with the idea that if musicking's utility as a tool for abolition was understood, it would no longer be allowed in prisons. Chapter eight's 'carceral musicking's extended play' speaks of how the musical technologies that created an 'affective abolition' are often stripped away as new forms of carcerality post-release are felt by ex-prison residents.

Through the process of creating this thesis my stance has moved from that of a prison reformist to a prison abolitionist. As the question of music-making's role in reforming prisons is beginning to be asked (rather than the question of music-making's role in rehabilitating prison residents) so this thesis concludes with thoughts on musicking's role in prison abolition. Within chapter seven I create the term 'affective abolition' that speaks of how musicking can abolish the affective aspects that define carcerality. Yet, this will be challenged by its

failings in creating any physical change in space or circumstances. It is therefore discussed in the concluding chapter how musicking may assist in collectivising (ex)prison residents to form a social movement towards desistance (see Maruna, 2017 and chapter one for more information on desistance as a social movement).

1. Conceptualising Carcerality

Introduction

To investigate the role of music-making in carceral environments in England and Wales, a definition of 'carceral' will be required as a starting point. This chapter aims to create a theoretical understanding of these carceral environments before music-making is interrogated in chapter two. Merriam and Webster's dictionary defines 'carceral' as 'of, relating to, or suggesting a jail or prison' (Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, 2022). My early understanding of the word carceral was greatly influenced by the Carceral Geography Work Group who define their field as '…geographical engagement with spaces, practices and experiences of confinement and coercive control' (*What is carceral geography?*, 2022). Whilst I have purposely used the term 'carceral' in order to allow a degree of conceptual flexibility, and to explore spaces of confinement and coercive control that lie beyond prisons, it is in prisons that my interest in the subject first started, and that this investigation begins.

The term 'incarceration' is often used synonymously with 'imprisonment' and they are regularly employed interchangeably. Whilst of course, one can be imprisoned physically, psychologically, or affectively, arguably the most complete form of incarceration occurs in buildings designed for imprisonment. At the time of writing, there are 118 prisons in England and Wales as categorised by His Majesty's Prison Service (*Prisons in England and Wales*, 2022), though with no clear definition given as to how they differ from Secure Children's Homes, Immigration Removal Centres, or other similar architectural

structures used for the purpose of incarcerating those deemed to have broken the law[18].

This chapter begins by examining prisons, exploring their perceived purposes and interrogating their effectiveness. Following this, criminological theories surrounding recidivism and desistance will be discussed in order to explore the supposed purpose of carcerality for the wider community (those who rarely consider prisons or forms of incarceration to influence their lives). This produces a brief overview of some of the major theories within criminology ending with the modern takes on the process of desistance and the potential of a desistance-based social movement (Maruna, 2017). The chapter will then continue by forming an understanding of what makes a space carceral, with an emphasis on affect (Massumi, 1995) and Crewe's (2011) pains of imprisonment. The chapter concludes by challenging the practice of music-making in carceral environments and the uncritical benevolent view that some people hold for music.

How is Prison Justified? The Proposed Purpose of Incarceration

At the time of writing, the prison population in the U.K. is around 79,000 people with 132 prisoners per 100,000 people in England and Wales (Halliday, 2022). With such a small percentage of the population spending time in prison, it would be easy to dismiss prisons and (ex-)prison residents as relatively unimportant to wider society. Yet rates of imprisonment in England and Wales are the second highest in western Europe behind Scotland, whose laws regarding imprisonment are largely the same (Halliday, 2022). This practice of incarcerating such a large population, seeks its justification through its many perceived purposes. For instance, according to Carlen:

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[18] This distinction and definition of 'prison' and how it is used to frame the empirical work in this thesis is discussed further in chapter four

> Prison is for punishment. It has other functions: storage of the
> unproductive or those awaiting trial or sentence; reform of the
> reformable; exclusion of the troublesome or already excluded;
> protection of the public; provision of employment for millions and
> unemployment for millions of others; and so on. (Carlen, 2002, p. 115)

An important question for prison-based music researchers has been to decide

in which of these purposes of incarceration musicking finds its home. As

mentioned in the introduction, the majority of prison music-making research

within the U.K. is funded by organisations which (largely in order to give

themselves chances of securing funding) have focused on 'reforming the

reformable', postulating a link between improved wellbeing, self-esteem and

employability and desistance from crime (Anderson et al., 2011, Maruna, 2010,

Cursley and Maruna, 2015, Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008, Abrahams et al., 2012).

In doing so they arguably reinforce 'reforming of the reformable' as being at the

forefront of prison's proposed purpose and support it as a core rationale for the

practice of incarceration.

The purpose of prisons as laid out by His Majesty's Prison and Probation

Service's (HMPPS) 2017/18 business plan described its aims as being to:

> • Deliver and manage efficient and effective prison, probation and
> youth justice services in England and Wales
>
> • Safe, secure and decent prisons and community services that
> protect the public
>
> • Support offenders to reform through tackling the underlying causes
> of offending
>
> • Provide a continuous path to reform by integrating the prisons
> system more closely with services in the community and making
> better use of early intervention
>
> • Deliver more effective and tailored interventions for those in our care
> who are vulnerable or have distinct needs – such as women and
> young offenders (*HM Prison and Probation Service Business Plan
> 2017/18*, 2017, p. 3)

This business plan sets out broad targets without any real indication as to the practical steps that are to be undertaken to achieve them. It does, however, give an indication as to the government's priorities for the prison service which are seemingly: (i) protecting the public by (ii) reforming those it holds captive, (iii) in a safe environment. With the exception of those who are potentially vulnerable, the needs of the prison residents are not mentioned as a primary concern of the government's prison policy according to the aims of this business plan.

> HMPPS serves the public by delivering the sentences and orders of the court. The purposes of sentencing are defined in legislation as:
>
> • the punishment of offenders
>
> • the reduction of crime (including its reduction by deterrence)
>
> • the reform and rehabilitation of offenders
>
> • the protection of the public
>
> • the making of reparation by offenders to persons affected by their offences (*HM Prison and Probation Service Business Plan 2017/18*, 2017, p. 11)

The key emphasis here, spelled out by the first two bullet points, is the punishment of offenders. Punishment is seen to be required and justified on the grounds that criminal action is the breaking of a social contract (Foucault, 1977, p. 90) with a hope that it deters individuals from repeat offending or others from offending in the first place. Following this, the next two bullet points imply the need for individual behavioural change by the offender, supposedly encouraged by the carceral system. Other than providing their staff with 'the right kind of training' (*HM Prison and Probation Service Business Plan 2017/18*, 2017, p. 3) this document is unclear as to how this behavioural change is achieved except by using prison as a deterrence. Next, 'the protection of the public' suggests that the removal of dangerous members of society into prisons is necessary to

protect the wider society and this aim is to be achieved through the reforming 'and rehabilitation' of offenders. This notion is challenged by prison abolitionists who suggest that only a 'dangerous few' are in need of incarceration via a prison system and that most would be better served through mediation and community intervention (McLeod, 2015). Finally, 'the making of reparation by offenders to persons affected' (p. 11) is to be realised through probation services by '[u]sing community penalties and earlier interventions that have the confidence of sentencers' (p. 3).

The clear purpose of the prison as justified by this document is to serve the wider society by segregating, punishing and reforming those whose actions have been labelled as 'criminal'. The individual 'criminal', once labelled as such, is then of little importance save for the fear they may cause future harm to another, 'non-criminal' citizen. For this reason, prison aims to both rehabilitate and punish simultaneously.

Prison as Punishment: A Failing System

It is important to understand that whilst incarceration is justified as a deterrence, it must therefore be punishing to those who are held captive within it to deter them from committing future crimes and to warn others not to do the same. For this reason, music-making organisations that claim to be rehabilitative struggle with prison's contradictory aims of deterrence and rehabilitation. Foucault astutely observes and records this justification as he analyses its genesis from the capital punishment that was prevalent before the increased use of incarceration:

> [The criminal] has broken the pact, he [sic] is therefore the enemy of society as a whole… The least crime attacks the whole of society; and the whole of society – including the criminal – is present in the least punishment… In effect the offence opposes an individual to the entire

social body; in order to punish him [sic], society has the right to oppose him [sic] in its entirety. It is an unequal struggle: on one side are all the forces, all the power, all the rights. And this is how it should be, since the defence of each individual is involved. Thus a formidable right to punish is established, since the offender becomes the common enemy. Indeed, he [sic] is worse than an enemy, for it is from within society that he [sic] delivers his [sic] blows - he is nothing less than a traitor, a 'monster'. How could society not have an absolute right over him [sic]? How could it not demand, quite simply, his [sic] elimination? … The right to punish has been shifted from the vengeance of the sovereign to the defence of society. (Foucault, 1977, p. 90)

Foucault here is explaining the justification behind the modern practice of incarceration. Yet, Foucault (1977) theorises six rules that are to be followed to ensure that punishment will work as a deterrence to crime. He names them: 1. *The rule of minimum quantity,* stating that the disadvantages of the punishment must (slightly) outweigh the advantages of the crime (p. 94); 2. *The rule of sufficient ideality,* stating that the representation of 'pain' (not the corporeal pain[19]) caused by the punishment must be maximised (p. 94); 3. *The rule of lateral effects* stating that the punishment should work as a deterrent to others in society that have not committed the crime (p. 95); 4. *The rule of perfect certainty* stating that crimes must always be punished. If a person believes they can evade capture, then the deterrent becomes less meaningful (p. 95); 5. *The rule of common truth* stating the crime must always be proven. If there is a chance that you could be sentenced for a crime you didn't commit, there are repercussions on prison's lateral and individual deterrence. (p 96-98); and 6. *The rule of optimal specification* stating that the punishment for a crime needs to be tailored to the specific crime and the individual (p.98-99).

Foucault's understanding of the history of punishment is that in the eighteenth century, its objective changed from vengeance enacted by sovereign power to

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[19] Foucault makes the distinction between representations of pain and corporal pain (such as the death penalty or torture), suggesting that it is the idea or the memory of pain that is the deterrent.

punishment just severe enough to prevent any recurrence in defence of society as a whole. In order for prison to work as a deterrent, according to Foucault, all these rules must be strictly obeyed. It might be argued, however, that the rule of *optimal specification* can never be followed when prison is the primary punishment for a wide array of criminal offenses, and that *the rule of perfect certainty* sets an unobtainable burden of proof. Furthermore, meaningful activities such as music-making could be perceived as breaking the first two rules (*minimum quantity* and *sufficient ideality*) as they lessen the severity and reduce the pain of imprisonment (see below and chapter two for more on the pains of imprisonment and music-making's role in reducing these effects). According to Foucault, punishment as deterrence is therefore obsolete as a strategy for the reduction of crime.

A glance at Foucault's six rules shows why policies designed around deterrence will always be ineffective. For those in poverty, the disadvantages of a crime may not always be outweighed by the advantages (breaking *The rule of minimum quantity*); many with whom I have worked have found the pains and stresses of life outside of prison to be greater than those in prison (breaking *The rule of sufficient ideality*); bias in the judicial system, class structures, and racial divides result in people being treated differently for the same actions (breaking *the rule of lateral effects*); the chance of evading capture, bribery, or mistaken identity are just a few of the ways in which people can commit crimes and not be labelled as a criminal (breaking *the rule of perfect certainty*); mistaken identity and bias in the judicial system also run the risk of sentencing innocent people (breaking *the rule of common truth*); and finally, the separation of victim and perpetrator (and the misrepresentation of these as simple binary opposites)

from the conflict through state intervention (Christie, 1977)[20], detaches the crime from the punishment (breaking *the rule of optimal specification*).

With Foucault's analysis in mind, it becomes unsurprising that the prison system is often considered a failing institution. In the US context, American judge, Richard Nygaard (1996) claimed 'I consider the current system to be a failure. A fundamental tenet of my beliefs is that vengeful sentences are economically wasteful and socially destructive. Finally and fundamentally, as a primary response to crime, the contemporary American prison will simply be inadequate to meet the challenges of crime in the Twenty-first century' (p. 677). In the U.K., the parliamentary justice committee has warned MPs that 'Prisons in England and Wales are in the grip of an 'enduring crisis' caused by short-term policymaking and a failure to invest' ('Momentum stalls on UK's private prisons,' 2018). One year re-offending statistics remain at around 50%[21] (Halliday, 2022) whilst other sources suggest that 75% of ex-prison residents return to prison within nine years (Breaking the cycle: effective punishment, rehabilitation and sentencing of offenders, 2010, Adult and juvenile reoffending statistics 2009, Moran, 2013b). As I am suggesting that prisons are not only ineffective but also conceptually flawed to meet their proposed aims, why then do they successfully demand resources and continue to exist?

Prison's Role in Wider Society

For incarceration to be continuing at the alarming level that it is, it must therefore be fulfilling other purposes beyond the proposed and conflicting goals of rehabilitation and deterrence. Through tracking the genealogy of prisons,

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[20] This classic criminology paper discusses the role the state has had on taking away the ownership of a conflict from the parties involved and how this disconnect has hindered healing and rehabilitation.
[21] Although it has been argued that re-offending statistics are, 'hard, if not impossible, to measure' (Halliday, 2022, p. 52).

Foucault (1977) suggests that prison has always had a bad record of reducing re-offending and since its inception, has always had critics regarding its effectiveness. Instead of taking the proposed purpose of prisons at face value and assuming that a prison system in modern society is an inevitable necessity, Foucault suggests that it 'should not be seen as an inert institution, shaken at intervals by reform movements' (p. 235). Throughout *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault examines how prisons came to be, the techniques they use (disciplines) to control their population and suggests that this affects the wider society, creates a justification for the police (also see Foucault and Gordon, 1980), and an exploitable underclass of 'delinquents'.

Foucault conceptualises techniques of discipline as technologies of power, used to produce docile bodies that become effective in their work and controlled without sovereign power. Through this conceptualisation of disciplines as technologies of power, one of the things Foucault is demonstrating is how attention paid to the individual is used in an attempt to make a criminal productive, effective and useful for society[22]. This technique is seen in action currently through the use of Training Prisons[23] across the UK designed to provide 'courses and training at these prisons to help stop [prison residents] committing another offence when [they] leave' (*Prison Life*, n.d.) and the Incentives and Earned Privileges (IEP) scheme (*Incentives and Earned Priviledges*, n.d.) which places prison residents in a hierarchy, labelling them as Basic, Standard, and Enhanced, with greater privileges and opportunities

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[22] This is one reading of Foucault's disciplinary technologies. He may also be explaining how a wider carceral society is functioning or using the prison complex as an example of how other carceral environments normalise and control behaviour.

[23] The official definition of a Training Prison as provided by the .gov website states 'Closed training prisons provide a range of facilities for Category B and Category C adult male prisoners and closed condition adult females who are serving medium to long-term sentences. Prisoners tend to be employed in a variety of activities such as prison workshops, gardens and education and in offending behaviour programmes.' (Gov.uk, 2019 p.1)

presented to those who achieve Enhanced status. These Training Prisons and prison courses are aimed at controlling, correcting and shaping prisoners to become members of society that are useful to its status quo. This is how Foucault suggests these disciplinary techniques are being used in action in what he terms '[t]he means of correct training' (Foucault, 1977, p. 170).

Yet, Foucault suggests that the discipline of individuals is not the only purpose of prison. In his view, prison also assists the creation of an exploitable underclass of delinquents (Foucault, 1977, p. 255). The delinquent 'is to be distinguished from the offender by the fact that it is not so much his act as his life that is relevant in characterizing him' (Foucault, 1977, p. 251). Foucault suggests that through the incarceration of those that commit crimes, the delinquent is known, and this knowledge of the individual gives power to those that have this knowledge (Foucault, 1977, p. 254). In Foucault's view, the delinquent can then be used to infiltrate other criminal circles and become an informant as well as being trapped in a low hierarchical position in society, unable to demand high wages, hold important or trusted positions of employment and can easily be discredited if they oppose current power structures (Foucault, 1977, p. 251).

Foucault observes that in the seventeenth century a change in criminal activity takes place as 'offences against property seem to take over from crimes of violence' (Foucault, 1977, p. 75). It appears that as capitalism becomes well established, the criminal who attempts to circumvent its processes becomes its enemy and prison's purpose is found in the removal and retraining of enemies of the economic system rather than the enemies of society. To do this, through prison's creation of the delinquent (an exploitable underclass of cheap labour) and technologies of discipline, this enemy of capitalism is transformed into a

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tool of which it can make use. The delinquent is conceived through the process of labelling, shaped by the disciplinary techniques enacted upon them, and utilised by the economic system of capitalism.

In the modern context of neo-liberalism[24], the term 'neo-liberal penality' has arisen to describe the situation where '…prison may be regarded as a site of exclusion *par excellence*, serving to erect physical and symbolic boundaries between those who play by the rules of market society and those who do not. It is here that the diversionary function of imprisonment becomes evident, as popular attention is focused on the moral failings of those disadvantaged individuals who find themselves behind bars rather than on the government and the economic elites whose neo-liberal policies have exacerbated the very social problems that are identified as criminogenic.' (Bell, 2013, p. 46 emphasis in original). Neo-liberal penality is seen as the driving force behind prison policy making and increasing rates of incarceration seen in many countries that adopt neo-liberal ideology.

Foucault suggests that the creation of delinquents also gives justification to a police force as '[w]hat makes the presence and control of the police tolerable for the population, if not fear of the criminal? This institution of the police, which is so recent and so oppressive, is only justified by that fear.' (Foucault and Gordon, 1980, p. 47). Here, the labelling of the lower classes as criminal, and a belief in the predetermining factors of criminal behaviour (discussed below), find their utility in creating a tolerance towards the actions of the police force. Foucault's argument has therefore turned the U.K. government's justification of

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[24] The political, social, and economic philosophy that underpinned the policies of politicians in the 1970s such as Maragret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan and Augusto Pinochet, characterised by giving greater importance to individual freedoms and responsibilities (Rogers et al., 2013, p. 426). During this time, the policies implemented resulted in a sharp increase in the use of incarceration in the UK and the USA (*Ending mass incarceration*, 2016).

prison on its head. Rather than to protect the public, prison can be seen to create fear of delinquents, stripping them of their opportunities and directing them towards further criminal activity as their most rational choice.

The purpose of prison, as seen through the works of Foucault (and those who followed him by theorising neo-liberal penality (for examples see: Bell, 2013, Wacquant, 2009, Wacquant, 2001, Harcourt, 2009) is much less to do with protection of the public or the rehabilitation of offenders than it is the control of the 'non-criminal' population and the exploitation of (ex)prison residents. It would seem that if the true aim of incarceration is to create an exploitable underclass of well-trained workers who 'play by the rules of market society' then for music-making to hold a place in prisons it would need to be fulfilling this aim. The research surrounding prison-based music-making (and how it is has attempted to justify its existence without disturbing the status quo) is reviewed in chapter two, but at this juncture it is important to understand that prison has proposed purposes enacted on those who it incarcerates (punishment, rehabilitation, and deterrence) and wider societal purposes for those it does not (the creation of exploitable labour, class division, and economic protection). If music-making organisations wish to practise in prisons without disturbing the status quo, they are forced to justify their existence within these aims.

Recidivism and Criminology

For those that attempt to understand criminality without disturbing the status quo, a wealth of criminological theories of recidivism have targeted the individual labelled as criminal and discuss how their actions and behaviours could be changed. Some of the more prominent theories on recidivism as reviewed by Kubrin and Weitzer (2003) are: Social Disorganisation Theory (Shaw and McKay, 1972); Strain Theory (Agnew, 1985, Merton, 1938); Social

Learning Theory (Akers et al., 1979); Social Control Theory (Hirschi, 2002); Labelling Theory (Wellford, 1975, Becker, 1963); Rational Choice Theory (Cornish and Clarke, 1987); and theories of Biological Determinism (Lombroso, 1876). These theories rarely attempt to create a totalising explanation of criminal behaviour but address aspects of why people may be committing crimes. As prison-based music-making organisations attempt to justify their work they regularly postulate a link between musicking and recidivism. It is important to have a basic understanding of these theories to understand how they affect prison policy and musicking practice.

Social Disorganisation Theory focuses on the kinds of communities that affect crime rates rather than the type of people involved (Kubrin and Weitzer, 2003), and suggests that 'low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, residential mobility, and family disruption lead to community social disorganization, which, in turn, increases crime and delinquency rates' (Sampson and Groves, 1989, p. 774). It is suggested that criminal behaviour can be passed from generation to generation, keeping an ongoing cycling of criminality through families, social groups and communities (McMurtry and Curling, 2008).

As Social Disorganisation Theory's macro analysis does little to expand on individual experience, Strain Theory's[25] micro level analysis on crime examines the influence of negative relationships and the idea that people may turn to crime in order to live up to expectations of society once non-criminal routes have been exhausted (Agnew, 1992). It is similar to Social Disorganisation Theory in that it holds the belief that the causes of crime can be found in poverty and broken homes (Kubrin and Weitzer, 2003). However, rather than

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[25] Strain Theory is sometimes split into different categories (anomie theory, institutional anomie theory, general strain theory and relative deprivation theory) of which the only real difference is what they consider to be the most important 'strain' that causes criminal behaviour (McMurtry and Curling, 2008).

suggesting that crime is a type of learned behaviour passed through communities, it proposes that criminal behaviour is the result of economic and social strains. The basic principle is that 'strain creates pressures that necessitate coping behaviours. Under some conditions, these coping behaviours may be deviant' (McMurtry and Curling, 2008, p. 93).

Attempting to apply Social Disorganisation Theory's macro analysis on a micro level, Social Learning Theory goes deeper into the proposal that criminal behaviour is passed down through a society and attempts to explain how this is done. Rather than simply looking at criminal behaviour, Social Learning Theory 'embraces social, nonsocial, and cultural factors' as it attempts to analyse how 'the same learning process in a context of social structure, interaction, and situation, produces both conforming and deviant behavior' (Akers et al., 2021, p. 38). The suggestion is that behaviour is learned through relationships with others and encouraged through punishment and reward (McMurtry and Curling, 2008), covering both 'criminal' and 'non-criminal' behaviour.

Rather than attempting to understand why people commit crimes, Social Control Theory turns the question on its head and attempts to establish why people *don't* commit crimes. It is suggested that individuals who form a bond with society through '(a) attachment to conventional others, such as parents and teachers; (b) commitment to conventional goals and activities, such as school; (c) involvement in conventional activities; and (d) belief in conventional norms' (Agnew, 1991, p. 126) are less likely to commit crimes. [26]

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[26] Importantly for this thesis, it is through the influence of social learning and social control theory that the process of music-making is thought to reduce re-offending, allowing participants to form bonds with 'conventional others' (their music facilitators) and rewarding hard work and practice with a positive end result (such as a nice sounding song, a sense of achievement, improved interpersonal skills, or improved wellbeing) (Caulfield et al., 2019, Cartwright, 2013, Blagden et al., 2015, Henley, 2012a, Henley, 2012b).

Social Control Theory raises questions regarding who it is that decides on the nature of 'conventionality' and who therefore determines whether 'nonconventional' people should be conceived as predestined delinquents. What are acceptable and non-acceptable 'nonconventional' actions? To answer these questions, Labelling Theory moves even further away from individual agency and suggests that those in power decide what constitutes a crime and once a criminal is labelled as such, removes their opportunities, creating a reoffending cycle. Labelling Theory has an inbuilt explanation of how prison is aiding the production of criminal behaviour and moves criminology away from its focus on the characteristics of the offender (Wellford, 1975). It finds its routes in the sociological work of Becker (1963) who examined the lives of homosexuals, marijuana smokers (both of which were illegal at the time of writing) and musicians, all of which he claims were labelled as 'outsiders' and whose treatment and behaviour was subsequently affected by that labelling.

Whilst many policies informing the use of prison as a deterrence may have been based on Social Disorganisation, Social Control and Social Learning Theory, it is Labelling Theory that has highlighted the socio-economic prejudices and system. This is therefore the first of the criminological theories cited so far that appears regularly within this thesis as music-making's role in changing and adapting criminal labels is a potential vehicle for changing individuals, society, and treatment of ex-prison residents.

The labelling of criminals, the structuring of social norms and creation of social conventions can then be seen as part of the process of creating delinquents. Prison, rather than being a deterrent from crime, becomes a part of its

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Through music-making it is then hoped that normalised and more acceptable behavioural patterns are learnt and reinforced.

architecture. Musicking is believed to aid in the process of relabelling a 'criminal' into something like a 'musician' or a 'talented person' (Cartwright, 2013, Anderson et al., 2011), although it is usually theorised as affecting self-identification (Cursley and Maruna, 2015, Ascenso, 2017) rather than the perceptions of others.

The theories discussed so far could be criticised for failing to adequately explain why people of similar cultural, sociological, and economic backgrounds vary in their behaviour as well as leaving little hope for those caught in a seemingly inescapable system of oppression. They lead to a stereotyped and predetermined view of the 'criminal' who has perhaps been considered a criminal before committing any crimes (Foucault, 1977, p. 252), a belief nurtured even more by theories of biological determinism that suggest that evolution, biology, and genetics play a part as 'crime, like all behavior has a biological basis' (Rowe, 2007, p. i). At its purest, the biological determinist argument against theories that favour social influence or personal choice is that, '[o]ne of the implicit assumptions in sociological inquiry is that individuals are the same at birth' (Guang, 2006, p. 145). At best, theories of biological determinism do not completely discount sociological effects but instead aim to find a genetic 'propensity for delinquency and crime' (Guang, 2006, p. 145). Whilst there is undoubtedly some biological influence in a person's behaviour, these theories often seem to disregard the socially constructed nature of law and definitions of criminal behaviour that are well explored in Labelling Theory. From a psychological perspective, Dubberley (2004) suggests, 'a single criminal gene is unlikely to exist, and any explanation for offending involving genetics will be a multi-factorial one' (p.5).

Biological determinism is mentioned due to its persistent influence that dates back to Lombroso (1876). The theory continues to show its presence in the normative and academic understandings that may have an influence on criminal law, prison policy, and in turn, the role of music-making in prisons. The individual labelled as 'criminal' is believed to be biologically defective or, more commonly, mentally ill. This pathologizing of prison residents (Kendall, 2000) can be viewed as an updated version of the biological determinist view and has directed much of the prison-based music-making scholarship towards health and well-being interventions that give the participants opportunities to change that which they can (this topic is discussed later in this chapter and continues in the next).

The criminological theories on recidivism thus far have produced a common theme that criminal actions are either predetermined or predominantly prescribed by their environment, biology, or socio-economic conditions. Rational Choice Theory (RCT) begins to move away from this thinking as it looks at why someone *chooses* to commit a crime rather than what *causes* someone to commit a crime. It assumes that choices people make are based on some form of rationality. By considering the relationship between the offender and the crime, RCT suggests that characteristics of both the offence and the offender influence a person's choice to commit a crime and that this choice is the result of an appraisal (Cornish and Clarke, 1987). RCT was originally developed to explain the actions of consumers and struggles as a criminological theory to account for crimes of passion (Hayward, 2007). It is also criticised for having a propensity to result in a deterrence-based model of correction (Listwan et al., 2013) with the assumption that given strong enough deterrents, no one would rationally commit crimes.

In this section, then, I have described a number of theories that can be understood to bubble beneath the surface of prison-based music-making provision. At times they provide its justification by explaining its relevance and importance, whilst at other times they redirect music-making practices or conflict with them. Aspects of these theories resurface at various points throughout the thesis and are therefore important to keep in mind as, in many ways, they underpin the aims of prison-based music-making organisations.

Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary desistance

With an understanding of criminology theories, Foucault expressed exasperation at the 'utilitarian' nature of criminological research:

> Have you ever read any criminological texts? They are staggering. And I say this out of astonishment, not aggressiveness, because I fail to comprehend how the discourse of criminology has been able to go on at this level. One has the impression that it is of such utility, is needed so urgently and rendered so vital for the working of the system, that it does not even need to seek a theoretical justification for itself, or even simply a coherent framework. It is entirely utilitarian. I think one needs to investigate why such a 'learned' discourse became so indispensable to the functioning of the nineteenth-century penal system. (Foucault and Gordon, 1980, p. 47)

This statement came as an answer to an interviewer questioning why his previous writings had been so critical of criminologists. His harsh critique may have come as a result of the lack of questioning of the *real* purpose of prisons by criminologists, rather than its political justification discussed above. Yet more modern theories from within criminology have questioned what is even meant by desistance or recidivism and postulated three theoretical categories of desistance: Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary.

> Traditionally, criminology has been focused on the study of crime and in particular on the causes of crime, as well as criminal justice responses to it. By comparison, examining how and why people *stop and refrain from* offending, and considering which criminal justice responses might support or frustrate such processes has a much

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shorter history. (Graham and McNeill, 2017, p. 434 emphasis in original)

Graham and McNeill (2017) problematise the term 'desistance' and its lack of clear definition. Often thought of as the absence of crime over an arbitrary time period (Maidment, 2007, p. 43) the previous work on desistance has conceptualised it as '…the absence of re-offending and/or the absence of processing within the criminal justice system (which, of course, are far from being the same thing)…' (Graham and McNeill, 2017, p. 435). Whereas, more modern criminological views on desistance suggest that it is a '…dynamic process of human development – one that is situated in and profoundly affected by its social contexts –in which persons move away from offending and towards social re/integration' (Graham and McNeill, 2017, p. 435).

With desistance being understood as a process rather than an absolute and quantifiable change, the action of no longer committing a crime became known as primary desistance, whereas the identity change from 'criminal' to 'non-criminal' became known as secondary desistance (Maruna and Farrall, 2004). It is within the framing of secondary desistance that research into prison-based music-making has often focused and found its most reliable results (see chapter two). With musicking being theorised as a tool for transformation of people, space, and society (see for example Born, 2011, Born, 2013, DeNora, 2013b, Dibben and Haake, 2013, Boeskov, 2017, Mangaoang, 2013, Boeskov, 2018) it would seem fitting that it could provide a role within secondary desistance.

Yet, the process of desistance is not as simple a person changing their identity or label and therefore changing their actions. As suggested in Social Learning, Social Disorganisations and Strain Theory, the surrounding socio-economic factors need to be understood as part of the desistance process. For this,

McNeill (2016) presented the idea of tertiary desistance, that refers 'not just to shifts in behaviour or identity but to shifts in one's sense of belonging to a (moral and political) community' (McNeill, 2016, p. 201 cited in Graham & McNiell 2017). Whilst this is a huge step forward, it continues to put the onus of change on the individual that is believed to need to change the view of themselves in order to fit into society. Here prison-based music-making and music performance can be seen to fulfil this aim by helping the small proportion of participants to feel accepted by a society who they believe label them as a 'musician' rather than a criminal.

Desistance as a Social Movement

Graham and McNeill (2017) expand on the theory of tertiary desistance by suggesting that '… *belonging* also implies *being a recipient of social goods* (that is, someone enjoying fair access to all the resources, rights and opportunities routinely afforded to other citizens …' (Graham and McNeill, 2017, p. 436 emphasis in original). Therefore, these new directions in criminology have begun to move beyond what had exasperated Foucault and entered the realms of social change rather than structural utility. Research on prison-based music-making in the U.K. seems so far to have been unable to link their work to primary desistance (see chapter two for discussions on why), and instead focused on secondary desistance with brief mentions of improving a participant's sense of belonging (the first part of tertiary desistance). The use of musicking to affect societal structures that could reduce strains, and enhance access to rights, resources, or opportunities not usually afforded to (ex)prison-residents, has only just begun to be discussed in prison-based music-making academic circles and papers (See Kallio 2019).

This questioning of how desistance could be achieved by not only the individual labelled as criminal and also society as a whole has grown through the work of Maruna (2017) who suggests that desistance requires a 'social movement' where those labelled as criminal use collective power to remove their criminogenic labelling and recreate society with non-criminal opportunities for themselves. Currently, those labelled as criminal are expected to mount an individual response to a collective problem – they must individually desist from crime without disturbing the very structures that caused or influenced their actions, or simply labelled their behaviours as criminogenic. Maruna (2017) discusses an important distinction between *rehabilitation* (the result of a programme or interventions) and *desistance* (the ceasing of criminal activity by the individual). 'Indeed, the term 'desistance' was initially used in the literature to refer to the opposite of rehabilitation – one either was rehabilitated by the state or else they desisted on their own, spontaneously.' (Maruna, 2017, p. 8). When rehabilitative interventions are granted access to prisons they then attempt to work on the residents, changing them in a way believed to make them better fit into society once released. Conversely, desistance-based interventions tend to follow the lead of the participants to assist their own path to re/integration or potentially changing the society to which they are returning[27].

Maruna (2017) suggests that achievements of the civil rights movement in America and the LGBT([QIA+] movement in Ireland took place over a relatively short period of time. His belief is that the social movements that surrounded

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[27] It will be suggested throughout this thesis that music-making practices are less likely to be prescriptive and more likely to be participant-led (the reasons for this are made clear in chapters six and seven through discussions with CT MiRs) and therefore tend to be more naturally desistance-based rather than rehabilitative. It is then also questioned if the participants have led prison-based music-making organisations into a desistance movement and if there are any signs that music could play a part in this.

these improvements in rights and legislation for oppressed people are the next step for an improvement in the treatment of those labelled as criminal.

> I see this as an inevitable next step on the journey for the desistance idea, as that concept moves from the Ivory Tower to the professional world of probation and prisons, back to the communities where desistance takes place. Indeed, something like a desistance movement (although it would never label itself this) is already well under way across jurisdictions like the US and the UK, partially as an inevitable outcome of the arresting and convicting of so many people. (Maruna, 2017, p. 12)

Music, of course, played a crucial role in the civil rights movement according to Martin Luther King Jr. (*Songs and the Civil Rights Movement*, 2017) and scholars who later wrote about it (Rose, 2007, McCarthy and Goble, 2002). The questions posed during the introduction of this thesis, in part aim to determine the role prison-based musicking could play in a desistance-based social movement by asking what is available where; what are the aims of prison-based music-making organisations and; what is the influence of prison on the facilitators? Rather than assuming that music will have a similar role in this potential movement as it did in the others, I feel it is important to investigate if the particularities of carceral space and interaction affect musicking's potential role in this potential movement.

Whilst Maruna is not the first criminologist to challenge prison's pathologizing rhetoric, the idea of a desistance-based social movement presents a new direction for criminological thinking. Shifting the focus away from the individual (either in terms of 'what is wrong' with the individual, or 'what has caused the individual to have something wrong with them') is a first step towards actively changing society rather than continuing on the same ineffectual carceral loop, commonly referred to as 'prison's revolving door'. 'Thinking of desistance in this way shifts the lens away from individual journeys to a much more collective

experience, drawing attention to the macro-political issues involved in crime, justice and reintegration in ways that are often masked in the typical medical language of treatment and rehabilitation.' (Maruna, 2017, p. 13). This thesis, then, begins to question where music might fit into the ideas and practices which underpin a desistance-based social movement.

The Medical and Opportunity Models

The medical language used within prison settings suggests that all who become labelled as criminal through the breaking of a social contract are akin to a 'dangerous few' (McLeod, 2015), whose actions are only comprehensible when conceptualised as indicative of a mental illness. It is also commonly believed that those maligned as criminals can only change if they want to, and no amount of rehabilitative intervention can otherwise guarantee this change. This has resulted in what Kendall (2000) refers to as a co-existence between an opportunity and a medical model of prison programmes. In these co-existing models, prison residents are labelled as 'sick prisoners' and are provided 'opportunities' to cure themselves. As will be seen repeatedly in this thesis, in research regarding prison-based music-making, the medical model is found in the narratives surrounding music's therapeutic benefits and their supposed relationship to desistance, whilst the opportunity model is found in the discourse suggesting that the cause of criminal behaviour is societal or structural and can be solved by providing (ex)prison residents with opportunities to change their resulting behavioural patterns (see chapter two for examples).

> The shift in focus from rehabilitation ('what works') to desistance ('how it works') has had subtle but important implications for criminal justice practice, echoing the debates in the field of drug addiction work between 'treatment' and 'recovery' (see Best and Lubman, 2012; White, 2000). As rehabilitation was typically conceived as a sort of 'medical model', complete with language like 'treatment effects' and

'dosage', the focus was on assessing individual deficits (risks and needs) and identifying the most appropriate expert treatment strategy to 'correct' these individual shortcomings or fix broken people…

Along with this came a shift in focus from 'correcting' individual deficits to recognising and building individual strengths (Maruna and LeBel, 2003), framing individuals in the justice system as people with 'talents we need' (Silbert, cited in Mieszkowski 1998), and designing interventions that provide opportunities for them to develop and display this potential (Burnett and Maruna, 2006). (Maruna, 2017, pp. 8-9)

Despite developments in criminological thinking, away from the medical and opportunity models of interventions, the neo-liberal penal ideology continues to reign supreme and views individuals as resources to be exploited through their 'potential' and utilising of the 'talents we need' that they have. The agency therefore required to create a social movement and structural changes that resist the causes of recidivism are therefore again at odds with the neo-liberal aim of effectively exploiting (ex-)prison residents. The agency of those labelled as criminal is therefore restricted to actions that conform and do not disrupt.

Prison's Aim of Normalisations

'The perpetual penality that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it *normalizes*.' (Foucault, 1977, p. 183)

According to Foucault, penality normalises. Or at least, attempts to do so. This is not a hidden agenda of the prison service, it is front and centre of the HMPPS business plan that counts amongst its principal aims, the rehabilitation of offenders (*Business Plan 2017/18*, 2017). For what else is meant by rehabilitation if not normalisation and the idea that we can find a 'pro-social fix for the anti-social thinking of criminalized populations' (Maidment, 2007, p. 36)? The goal of prisons to normalise and 'fix' its residents is perhaps even more flagrant in the U.S.A. where some states name the 'department of local

government that is responsible for managing the treatment of convicted

offenders' the 'Department of Corrections' (*Department of Corrections*, 2018).

As a desistance movement will need to be enacted and led by the humans who

have suffered from criminal labelling, the dehumanising aspects of incarceration

will need to be fought. Foucault's (1977) analysis of the technologies of

discipline shows its dehumanising effects through its processes. The

partitioning of individuals, the ranking of individuals in a hierarchy (usually via

quantitative means), timetabling their activities, dividing and serialising their

tasks and placing them within a wider composition in which they cease to be a

whole person and become part of a machine; these are all oppressive and

dehumanising practices. 'Any situation in which 'A' objectively exploits 'B' or

hinders [the] pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of

oppression' (Freire, 1970, p. 55) and this oppression, according to Freire (1970)

is dehumanising.[28]

> 'One of the basic elements of the relationship between oppressor and
> oppressed is prescription. Every prescription represents the imposition
> of one individual's choice upon another, transforming the
> consciousness of the person prescribed to into one that forms with the
> prescriber's consciousness. Thus, the behaviour of the oppressed is a
> prescribed behaviour, following as it does the guidelines of the
> oppressor.' (Freire, 1970, pp. 46-47)

Freire's description of prescribed behaviour of oppressed people echoes

Becker's concept of the labelling of 'outsiders'. Once again, the very process of

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[28] Freire (1996) conceptualises people as being either oppressors or oppressed (from the influence of Marx and Hegel on his thinking of bourgeoisies vs. proletariat/thesis vs. anti-thesis. Freire's synthesis is that of a re-humanised oppressed person who, in turn, re-humanises their oppressor). This form of binary thinking would seem outdated as identity is understood to be more fluid than Freire's simplistic representation of it (Linstead and Brewis, 2004). Prisoners could certainly be viewed as having both an oppressor (towards their victims) and oppressed (by society and carceral systems) identities. Nevertheless, Freire's understanding of dehumanisation and the process of resisting oppression will be used to inform this thesis as he provides valuable insight into this.

criminal labelling and incarceration is at odds with prison's proposed aims of rehabilitation and protection of the public.

Music-making practices are very likely to be at odds with these two effects of prison: exploitation and dehumanisation. As a humanising act that connects people (see chapter two) musicking would perhaps make it harder to exploit and dehumanise the prison population. However, it is in the role of normalisation that the technologies of music are perhaps of utility to the prison as it holds the potential to create pro-social soft skills such as teamwork, compromise, dedication, and commitment. In my own practice, whilst attempting to secure funding for a music-making course, it was suggested to me by a prison education manager that concentrating on these soft skills and their links to recidivism would be the best way to succeed[29]. Therefore, I would suggest that musicking in carceral environments holds the potentially oppressive character of prescription of behaviour and music-making's prescription, control, pro-social normalisation, humanising and dehumanising potential is discussed and challenged throughout the empirical chapters of this thesis.

The Pains of Imprisonment

The dehumanising technologies of discipline are amplified by further dehumanising practices of incarceration which have been termed 'the pains of imprisonment' (Sykes, 1958). Sykes aimed to understand the prison experience from the inside with his analysis of a maximum-security prison in New Jersey and categorised these 'pains' as the deprivation of *liberty*, *autonomy*, *goods and*

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[29] As it happened, this did not turn out to be a successful strategy as I was told during a meeting that I would have to focus on certification in order to justify expenditure. This became and continues to be the 'payment by results' model which prisons adopted and is discussed in chapter four.

services, security, and heterosexual relationships.[30] Sykes' conception of 'pains'

are perhaps outdated as 'modern penal practices have created some new

burdens and frustrations that differ from other pains' (Crewe, 2011 abstract).

Crewe (2011) revisits these pains of imprisonment and chooses to divide them

conceptually as: (i) depth, the way in which prison is 'oppressive and

psychologically invasive' (p. 521); (ii) weight, used to describe the

'psychological onerousness of imprisonment' (p. 521) and; (iii) tightness, a noun

that 'gives a sense of the way that power is experienced as both firm and soft,

oppressive yet also somehow light.' (p. 522). Between Crewe, Becker, Freire

and Foucault, the dehumanising and oppressive technologies of carcerality can

be better understood as these prescriptive and normalising technologies deeply

invade, heavily suppress and tightly constrict those incarcerated within them.

The dehumanising nature of these 'pains' are captured by Crewe's

ethnographic work in Wellingborough Prison and the words of those he

interviews:

> In the words of one prisoner, one's experiences and identity are
> 'formalized and institutionalized' (George), often given an enduring
> master-label, for example, as someone with 'impulsivity problems' or
> an 'anti-social personality'. Feelings of dehumanization are
> exacerbated by the sense that one's character is set in the aspic form
> of static risk factors, and by the implication that the window of
> opportunity to change is barely open. (Crewe, 2011, p. 515)

These feelings of formalisation, institutionalisation and dehumanisation result

from the simplification of an offender's character to a formalised and boxed in

set of risk factors (Crewe, 2011, Maidment, 2007, Kendall, 2000). Maidment

(2007) suggests that '[u]nder the broad banner of 'cognitive skills,' the

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[30] Listwan et al. (2013) believe that these deprivations are likely to marginally increase re-offending rates by creating an oppositional culture to which prison residents can belong (similar to Foucault's conceptualisation of the delinquent, Becker's understanding of labelling, and Freire's belief that the behaviour of oppressed people is prescribed by their oppressors).

'psy' disciplines have reinvigorated the notion of individual responsibility for criminal conduct and provided neatly prepackaged modules which can be delivered by prison staff to replace or reprogram an individual's faulty criminogenic thinking' (p.41). By oppressing the incarcerated through the depth, weight and tightness of carcerality, it would appear prisons are attempting to 'remoralise' or 'ethically reconstruct' offenders by teaching them to think 'pro-socially' (Kendall, 2000, p. 56). As prison-based music-making organisations look to justify their practice for the purposes of funding and access to establishments, they have potentially internalised the model of a prepackaged module that aims to reprogram faulty criminogenic thinking as they justify their work through its therapeutic benefits (Chen et al., 2014, Davis and Thaut, 1989, Maruna, 2010, Cursley and Maruna, 2015).

Critics of the conceptualisation of prisoner residents as a dehumanised, oppressed and controlled group of people needing to regain their agency to resist the powers of control acting upon their lives, argue that it romanticises the prisoner's struggle. Rubin (2016), suggests that studies conceptualising resistance in this way 'employ a celebratory tone to categorize the ways in which prisoners challenge authority, undermine the prison regime and exercise a margin of autonomy and free will' (p. 647). It must however be understood, that if prison is having a criminogenic effect, celebrating their struggles against this oppression is in the interest of reducing re-offending and in turn, reducing future potential victims. Furthermore, resisting the normalisation of prisoner residents and the pains of imprisonment that may be producing a delinquent underclass, could be a key part of dismantling power structures that rely on (the threat of) recidivism for wider social control. Therefore, it is my belief, part of my practice as a music-making facilitator, and indeed a key reason for the

undertaking of this research, that prison-based music-making should focus on practices that resist rather than encourage normalisation and dismantle rather than uphold carceral power structures.

Affective Pains

As mentioned in the introduction, *affect* is viewed in this thesis as the push of life that drives action, summons motivations, or creates changes in behaviour, emotion or mood (Anderson, 2012, Thrift, 2004). Perhaps best understood as a collection of pre-emotions that influence behaviour, bodies, feelings, and emotions; the analogy of *affects* being invisible water droplets and the visual and measurable results of these *affects* being a cloud (Schaefer and Carwana, 2020) is a useful visual representation of what is, in essence, non-representational.

With this understanding of affect, the metaphors of 'weight', 'tightness', and 'depth' carry the same characteristic of force found in the description of affect as a pre-emotive 'push'. Affect, then, is used to describe the pushes, the influence, or the preconscious emotions that guide choices, alter behaviours, and create atmospheres. Many of these affects are unnoticed or undetectable until their effects are seen, and even then, can never be fully represented. The concept of Crewe's pains as affective pains highlights the presence of the affective powers at play in carceral environments rather than attempting to fully describe or label individual affects, that are, by definition indescribable and illusive (Massumi, 1995). Similar to the way Barnwell (2018) describes Durkheim as an affect theorist without using the term, I am describing Crewe's pains in the context of affect despite his work having no mention of affect theory within it. Yet rather than measuring the physical or the material oppressions, Crewe's pains

describe affective pushes that result in mood, emotional, and behavioural change.

Defining Carcerality

Carceral space, then, is defined by interweaving affects, pains, technologies, and purposes. Through the interviews conducted in chapter eight, it becomes clear that carceral space is not limited to the 118 prisons defined by government label[31] and this is supported by the surrounding academic literature. Furthermore, to consider imprisonment or freedom as binary opposites and assuming that once a person is released from prison that they can adopt the label of 'formerly incarcerated' (as though all these defining affects of carcerality are now in the past) misrepresents the experience of imprisonment[32]. Properties of carcerality are found beyond prison walls whilst aspects of freedom are often experienced whilst incarcerated (McWatters, 2013, Crewe, 2009, Moran, 2014, Moran, 2013a, Moran, 2013c). As states of carcerality and freedom bleed back and forth into differing spaces, it becomes important to escape a simplistic corporeal definition of carcerality (Moran, 2014). Carcerality is not contained by prison walls but goes beyond it through systems such as the probation service, electronic tagging, criminal records and licences (Moran, 2017). And yet these are only some of the physical ways in which incarceration continues and is administered beyond prison walls. The way in which the effects of carcerality can be carried by memories, reputation, and health can blur the lines between carcerality and freedom (McWatters, 2013, Moran, 2014).

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[31] Or the many carceral institutions such as Immigration Removal Centres, Secure Children's Units, Airport Pre-Departure Accommodations, or Secure Hospitals that carry the same or similar affective properties and ideologically inflected purposes.

[32] This will be found empirically throughout chapters five and six of this thesis.

Carceral space is often framed within Goffman's (1961) concept of a 'total institution' described as, 'a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life' (Goffman, 1961, p. xiii). Goffman's framing of such spaces has influenced much of Crewe's work (Crewe, 2011, Crewe, 2009) and parallels Foucault's understanding of incarceration as it envelopes, binds, and controls its residents. However, primarily in the field of carceral geography, prisons and similar carceral spaces have been characterised as porous and 'not-so-total' (McWatters, 2013, Moran, 2014, Moran, 2013a, Moran, 2013c).

Moran (2013a) summarises the various critiques of Goffman's 'total institution' and suggests that Farrington's (1992) 'not-so-total' institution and Bear and Ravneberg's (2008) challenge of the binary view of inside/outside prison, produces a better understanding of the prison experience. Their points raise the questions of 'whether those previously imprisoned can ever really leave behind their own experience of incarceration' and heavily challenges the 'conceptualisation of the experience of incarceration as inherently corporeal' (Moran, 2013a, p. 35) suggesting that carcerality goes beyond the physical wall of the prison and the physical embodied experience. Far from a more traditional explanation of carceral space (characterised by confinement, surveillance and deprivation of freedoms (Gregory, 2009)), Moran argues that 'Inscriptions of incarceration… become corporeal markers of imprisonment, blurring the boundary between 'outside' and 'inside' the prison and extending carceral control through the stigmatisation of previously imprisoned individuals' (Moran, 2013a, p. 35). This interpretation of carcerality (as going beyond traditionally defined carceral space) has led some carceral geographers to focus on what

has been termed 'extracarceral spaces' (McWatters, 2013); those beyond the walls of places labelled as carceral to those infused with carceral properties.

McWatters (2013) suggests that Carceral Geography adds to the literature on prisons by looking at 'how prison space becomes produced, contested, personalized and segmented within these institutional environments' (p.199) and that their findings suggest that 'prisons are not, or at least are no longer, the kind of total institutions that Goffman (1961) wrote about half a century ago.' (p.199). With the rise of technology such as CD players, radios, TV, the internet, and mobile phones (whether permitted or not), music has been traversing the walls of prisons, drawing elements of the outside world into prison. Organised music-making practices are yet another expression of the 'outside world' being experienced within the prison as the songs and practices carry memories through the prison gate and back out with the residents once released.

Carceral Space as Liminal Space

The concept of 'extra-carceral' space, broadens the scope and understanding of carceral experience whilst the 'not-so-total' view of prisons sees carceral space permeated by the outside world through mediums such as technology, in the form of video linked court appearances, TV and telephone calls (Moran et al., 2016); sound, in the form of extraneous noise from outside and music from radios (Rice, 2016); and visitor halls and transportation, connecting prisoners to the outside world through family members and physical movement (Moran, 2013c, Moran et al., 2012). Therefore, carceral experience should not be considered separate from the world outside, but infused with, influenced by, connected to, and situated within it. In order to academically explore the complexity of 'not-so-total' carceral institutions, it is suggested that 'authors employ Foucault's (1998) concept of heterotopia in order to illustrate how

modern prisons are incompatible juxtapositions of heterogeneous spaces in which boundaries between inside and outside frequently become blurred and inverted.' (McWatters, 2013, p. 199). McWatters (2013) suggests that by viewing prison as a heterotopic space[33], 'experience becomes fragmented to the point that absolute clarification about prison as a singular, fixed place becomes impossible. In heterotopic space, the fixed boundaries between real and imaginary, literal and figurative, and interior and exterior become blurred as space requires a sense of ecstatic fluidity that is unbounded, dissented and sometimes even liberating.' (p.204). Here, McWatters summarises a struggle with the idea of carceral space being fixed, as authors have wrestled with the paradoxical 'total' and 'not-so-total institution' that they find both inside and outside the carceral environment. The experience, effects and influences of prison certainly go beyond the prison walls and therefore, carceral environments should be understood as space infused with carceral properties both inside and outside of prison.

Whilst heterotopia is considered to be one of Foucault's underdeveloped concepts (Johnson, 2006), carceral space is often theorised as liminal space (Jewkes, 2005, Moran, 2013a, Moran, 2013c). Sharing many of the same features (such as being both physical and imagined), liminal spaces could perhaps be seen as a subset of heterotopic spaces. However, liminal spaces are more specifically defined as spaces of change. Likened to the

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[33] Heterotopias remain one of Foucault's least developed and more confusing concepts (Johnson, 2006), but for the purposes of this discussion and to understand McWaters' (2013) contribution, heterotopic spaces should be seen as imaginary space (distinguished as different to 'place' which is fixed, space can be more fluid) that mirrors the world around. This is expanded on more below as liminal spaces (in many ways a similar concept to heterotopias), yet heterotopias deserve a mention as 'In some ways, heterotopias provide an escape route from power…[and are] an attempt to think differently about, and uncouple the grip of, power relations: to overcome the dilemma of every form of resistance becoming entangled with or sustaining power. Heterotopias in this way light up an imaginary spatial field, a set of relations that are not separate from dominant structures and ideology, but go against the grain' (Johnson, 2006 pp.87-86).

transformation from childhood to adulthood during adolescence, they refer to the temporal element of a space on the threshold of some sort of change (Cousin, 2006). One of the earliest uses of liminality within academic research was in the work of Turner (1969) who, as an anthropologist, studied rituals of the Ndembu people of Zambia. He theorised that as individuals took part in these rituals, they became liminal people who 'are being reduced or ground down to a uniform condition to be fashioned anew…' (p. 95). This process of being 'ground down' and 'fashioned anew' bares a strong resemblance to Foucault's descriptions of normalisation and docility and it is therefore unsurprising that carceral spaces are often also described as spaces of liminality.

Jewkes (2005) argues that life sentences can be viewed as permanent liminal states and draws a comparison between serving a long-term sentence and living with a chronic or terminal illness (p. 367). Both place a person in a state of (semi-)permanent liminality as they sit on a near endless threshold of change, suspended from a 'normal' life and possibly never returning to how things once were. The phrase 'betwixt and between' as well as themes of transformation, change, threshold, chaos and disorder reoccur regularly in the texts on carceral space, prisons, and liminality. Liminal spaces such as visit halls, education classrooms and gyms are described by Crewe et al. (2014) as harbouring alternative emotional climates to the rest of the prison. Crewe et al. investigate the strain of maintaining a 'masculine front' in an emotionally charged environment and the need to, 'maintain an appearance of cool indifference to their institutional circumstances' (p. 64) for the purposes of safety, security and status. These liminal spaces allow for elements of emotional camaraderie not available on prison wings or within normally permitted prisoner behaviour. Yet,

as prison aims to normalise and correct towards pro-social behaviour (see above) perhaps this understanding of this liminal element of prison – the suspension of life – is being used to place its population on a threshold of change in an attempt to affect (or push) a correction.

Nudge Theory: A Technology of Discipline Through Music-Making?

By conceptualising (extra)carceral space as liminal space (due to its suspended nature, being betwixt and between stages of life and the resulting potential for change), the technologies of discipline and normalisation are understood to be taking place in an intentionally composed space. These intentionally composed spaces, their (fictional) effectiveness in creating change, and their (perceived) innate place in society are what is referred to as 'carceral logics' (Swanson and Cohen, Forthcoming). As chapter two will also theorise musically created space as liminal space, questions will arise as to how/if music-making is assisting the normalisation of carceral populations, the bonding and camaraderie of participants not often seen throughout the rest of carceral environments, a reduction of the pains of imprisonment, or a strengthening/deconstruction of carceral logics. Music-making in carceral environments may become a carceral technology that attempts to affect and manipulate behaviour within the liminal space it creates or could become a tool incarcerated people utilise to resist prescribed change and development (in musically created liminal environments) through a newfound agency discovered in the control of sonic space.

The carceral weight of 'tightness' is potentially found in rehabilitative programmes that seem loose and free, creating a false sense of agency but attempt to nudge participants into 'correct' behavioural patterns – and music-making has the potential to become one of these programmes. Behavioural economic theories, such as RCT and Nudge Theory, suggest that people's

choices can be altered depending on how their options are presented. Whilst RCT suggests that people rationalise their choices before taking action, Nudge Theorists suggest 'choice architects' can paternalistically alter people's choices through the way their options are presented (Thaler and Sunstein, 2008, p. 3). As Foucault suggests carceral structures are attempting to discipline the individual, perhaps more modern prison interventions (and particularly the prison-based music-making interventions that are of interest to this thesis) are attempting to paternalistically 'nudge' their participants into preferred behavioural patterns.

Thaler and Sunstein (2008) suggest a 'libertarian paternalism' (p.4) is achievable, where the preferable option is placed before the subject, but they still have complete freedom of choice. This manipulation of choices by choice architects is justified by the belief that 'choice architecture is unavoidable (so why not design in ways that improve well being)' (Leonard, 2008, p. 2). When this is applied to criminal behaviour it is a compelling argument as criminal behaviour has victims, and the manipulation of a person's choices to reduce victims could then be considered a morally correct action. However, the concept of libertarian paternalism, as though someone having their agency paternalistically directed can still be considered agentic, is strongly contested (Leonard, 2008). Furthermore, Freire (1970), warns that an individual, upon realising their role as oppressor, may end up '[r]ationalising his [sic] guilt through paternalistic treatment of the oppressed, all the while holding them fast in the position of dependence' (p.49). Often seemingly well-intentioned rehabilitative interventions will therefore result in increased docility, normalisation, infantilisation, and control, as any 'libertarian paternalism' that

places normalising and oppressive options first will result in increased oppression of participants.

Freire (1970), lays out a map of how pedagogy can be either dehumanising or rehumanising. On the dehumanising side is the 'banking' style of education, where through techniques similar to Foucault's disciplinary technologies (such as rote learning), a student is simply a receptacle to be filled with knowledge defined by their teacher. If a banking style of pedagogy is being used, it will be hard to conceive of music-making interventions doing anything other than attempting to manipulate behaviour (perhaps in the style suggested by nudge theorists). On the rehumanising side is a 'problem-posing' style of education, where the student-teacher hierarchy is disrupted as both become agents in creation of knowledge. This in effect grants power and agency to the student who is now the owner and co-creator of the influences in their lives[34]. Whilst nudges and affect as the 'push of life' may seem like overlapping concepts, nudges are directed and controlled whilst affects are messy, non-representational and omnidirectional. Therefore, a problem-posing style of facilitation (rather than education) will likely result in increased agency and affective control whilst banking styles of education are more effective in the nudge theory style of paternalistic control.

Discussion

This chapter has considered a number of important theoretical concepts which frame contemporary discourse around incarceration, and which are also relevant to and frequently resurface in the consideration of music provision in

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[34] This style of pedagogy and knowledge creation became central to this thesis as I undertook the empirical portions of my research. It resulted in a drastic redirection in my thinking away from prison reform and towards prison abolition. This process and conclusions will be discussed more in later chapters, but it is important to note that the co-creation of knowledge and de-hierarchising of the teacher-student dynamic are central to my research findings.

prisons in general. My emphasis on notions of desistance as a social movement, the particularities of carceral affect, and the notion of prison as a liminal space will be seen to have particular importance for my own theorisation of prison musical practices in the empirical chapters below. I now move on to consider concepts that are more closely related to the musical focus of the thesis.

Important questions to ask are as follows: Are music-making interventions in carceral environments anything other than 'prepackaged modules which… replace or reprogram an individual's faulty criminogenic thinking' (Maidment, 2007 p.41)? Is the pedagogy of music-making somehow different to the 'banking' and normalising techniques found in other education or rehabilitative interventions? What choices and 'pro-social' normalising tactics are present in music-making and the pedagogy of music?

Therefore, of interest to this thesis is the question of how (ex-)prison residents may be successfully resisting the negative effects of carcerality through musicking or is music-making another tool of oppression, subjugation, control and docility? Are they simply exploited by the system's various processes? Are music-making interventions somehow more successful at creating docile bodies, resulting in a more subservient underclass of exploitable and disciplined workers? Or is music-making a rehumanising activity that resists carceral powers and assists (ex-)prison residents to find their own (potentially collective) path towards desistance? This research will therefore investigate how the processes employed by prison-based music-making interventions may be seen as dehumanising, rehumanising, normalising, oppressive, upholding power structures, or empowering an oppressed carceral population with the agency required to tear prisons down.

2. Music-making in Carceral Spaces

Introduction

The role that music-making plays within prisons in England and Wales is largely unexplored. Whilst a handful of academic studies and evaluations of the effectiveness of music-making charities working with these prisons do exist, their primary role has been to justify the funding spent on the interventions with the hope of increasing their income and maintaining and extending their provision[35]. It is the aim of this chapter to review the information published in articles and evaluations as well as the proposed aims of the organisations providing music-making in prisons in order to show how this thesis makes an original contribution to scholarship on prison music-making. It will also create a theoretical understanding of key concepts that are used in the analysis of the empirical work in chapters four-seven, such as musically configured spaces, liminality, and affect.

A brief look into the research already conducted on prison-based music-making in England and Wales will show the many ways in which organisations have had their aims affected by, and aligned with, the proposed aims of current carceral structures. It will be shown that these organisations look to fulfil a blend of the medical and opportunity model discussed in the previous chapter. Similarly, the use of musicking in an attempt to create docile bodies, to normalise participants, and to 'nudge' their behaviour into 'correct' patterns, will be discussed. New opportunities for the direction of prison-based music-making will also be considered, as more recent academic work has looked to use musicking to challenge carceral power structures (Kallio, 2022), dismantle

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[35] Information as to what music interventions are delivered where, within the 118 prisons, is unavailable and the reasons for this (as well as the creation of a prison-based music-making cartography) will therefore become the subject of chapter four.

carceral logics (Swanson and Cohen, Forthcoming) and perhaps even be an opening for the abolition of prisons through a collective struggle towards desistance (Maruna, 2017). In order to take prison-based music-making research further in this new direction, an understanding of how musicking can materialise new identities (Born, 2011) and form collectives (Born, 2011, Freeman, 1998) will be sought through examining music's uses in everyday life (DeNora, 1999, DeNora, 2000), through the production of 'musical asylums' (DeNora, 2013a), and in musically created affective atmospheres (Anderson, 2009).

Prison-based Music-making

Before embarking on a more complex discussion, the terms 'prison-based music-making' and 'musicking in carceral environments' require attention. They are used to distinguish this investigation from others that explore carceral soundscapes and have focused on sound regulation (Herrity, 2017), the detrimental and punishing effects of sensory penalities (Herrity, 2021, Kirkpatrick, 2013), and the acoustical agency exercised and experienced by prison residents (Rice, 2016). Similarly, others have conducted research into music's use in discipline, for instance where Indonesian prison residents are forced to perform dance routines to popular western songs (Mangaoang, 2013, Mangaoang, 2019, Mangaoang, 2014), and also the use of loud music played either constantly or intermittently for the purpose of sleep deprivation and torture (Cusick, 2020, Abels et al., 2013). Whilst soundscapes, acoustical agency, and technologies of discipline are important to this thesis, it is the active engagement with music that is under investigation, rather than music and sound that is imposed on the prison residents.

Research on musicking in prison according to this definition is in its infancy (Tuastad and O'Grady, 2013) and has been primarily focused on music's therapeutic value and role in secondary desistance. This body of research on music therapy in prisons is often quantitative in nature and focused on music as a route to enhancing prison resident well-being (see Chen et al., 2014, Davis and Thaut, 1989, Tuastad and O'Grady, 2013, Hjørnevik et al., 2022, Gold et al., 2020, Hjørnevik and Waage, 2018). Gold et al. (2020) completed a 'six-year follow-up of a randomized control trial' measuring the effectiveness of short-term music therapy on the reduction of re-offending finding, 'no significant effects of short-term music therapy on long-term recidivism' (p.550). This was unsurprising as a result of 'the very low number of music therapy sessions provided, due to the short sentence of many participants' (p.550). Chen et al. (2014) summarise the key aims of music therapy in prisons as: the provision of a safe environment for leisure and a release of energy, improving self-esteem, improving self-control and reducing stress and anxiety. Although the researchers in this study describe having access to 'qualitative data, such as the therapist logs, the participants' journals, paintings, music recordings and the prison guards' feedback…' they deemed it was not feasible '…to conduct a comprehensive qualitative analysis in this study' (p. 237). The lack of engagement with qualitative analysis is arguably a result of the positivist nature of most research on prisons and prison residents. Little importance is placed on prison resident understanding of the prison experience and ethnographic research techniques are given a secondary status to quantitative methodologies.

Hjørnevik and Waage (2018) discuss 'musical caring' and suggest that many prison residents will not want to enter a therapy session but are less reluctant to

enter a music (therapy) session. They suggest that music can therefore create spaces for emotional regulation and contact that are not commonly available in prisons. In their more recent work, whilst still focusing on music therapy sessions, Hjørnevik et al. (2022) suggest that one of their participants (Ben) showed an understanding of musicking's collective role within the prison setting as '[s]ongwriting and performing was then not only linked to individual goals for Ben, but also about acting on behalf of others, providing a voice for people around him and assuming some responsibility for the collective wellbeing of the prison population.' (p. 86).

Beyond research exploring prison-based music intervention's therapeutic aims and efficacy, in the U.K., prison-based music-making's use for escapism (Blagden et al., 2015, Caulfield, 2015); improvement of mental well-being (Caulfield et al., 2019, Ascenso, 2017, Caulfield, 2015); or its relationship to 'known desistance factors' and secondary desistance (Anderson et al., 2011, Bilby et al., 2013, Cursley and Maruna, 2015, Maruna, 2010) has been investigated in the evaluations discussed in this thesis' introduction.

Research specifically into prison-based music-making in the U.K. consists primarily of evaluations that focus on various organisations delivering a variety of musicking activities. Cox and Gelsthorpe (2008) evaluated a series of five-day music-making courses across the U.K. organised by the Irene Taylor Trust where prisoners were given a chance to write and record songs together. The study authors give some valuable insight into how self-perception and relationships with others can be changed through short term music-making interventions with prisoners again being surveyed and the results quantitively expressed with, '71.4 per cent (n=35/49) … [saying] that the project had made them feel differently about themselves' and '[a]pproximately 64 per cent

(n=23/36) of men surveyed said that the programme had made them feel differently about others' (p. 2). Cox and Gelsthorpe present data supporting the behavioural change effects of music-making interventions stating, for instance, that, '[o]f the 11 per cent (n=6/55) of participants in the project who did have adjudications[36] (some as many as four) in the three months before the project started, none received any adjudications during the project or for the 3 month follow-up period afterwards' (p. 2).

The difference between rehabilitation (done *to* someone) and desistance (achieved *by* someone) (Maruna, 2017) discussed in the previous chapter is seen in these statistical evaluations that speak rehabilitatively, as though the music-making has changed the participants rather than attempting to understand how desistance was achieved and whether the music-making (or other non-musical factors that correlated with the music-making sessions) had influenced it. Had an ethnographic approach been employed to detail the experience of these 6 participants, a richer insight into the role that music played in any potential behavioural change (towards a form of desistance) would more likely have been obtained.

CT, as 'a charity that uses music and mentoring to help people lead meaningful lives, free from crime' (*Changing Tunes*, 2018) boasts internal statistics showing a 75% reduction in the reoffending rates among those who engage with their music-making sessions on the inside and outside of the prison establishment (Maruna, 2010, *Changing Tunes*, 2018). As CT are unable to track prisoners who do not engage with post-release work, the population measured here is a self-selecting group who presumably are less likely to re-offend no matter the

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[36] Adjudications, also known as 'nickings' are part of the prison disciplinary scheme (related to IEPs). This is the tool used to punish prohibited or illegal behaviours that occur in prison and can result in loss of privileges (such as an in cell TV) or punishment through segregation.

through-the-gate support with which they choose to engage. The limitations of quantitative analysis are once again exposed as it is hard to conclude that it is the influence of CT or music that is producing or perhaps encouraging a desistance from criminal behaviour. However, at very least, this simple statistic demonstrates that those who are (perhaps) less likely to reoffend, are choosing to access the technologies of music or CT (again, perhaps) to assist their desistance from crime.

In a report by Cursley and Maruna (2015), CT was said to be, 'a model for desistance-based criminal justice interventions.' (p. 40). In an attempt to justify CT's work beyond its quantitative statistics, Maruna (2010) produced a logic model accounting 'for how CT works as a rehabilitative strategy' (p. 2).

Changing Tunes Logic Model

Changing Tunes Processes	Immediate Impacts	Longer Term Impacts
Sense of Collective Ownership/Responsibility	Emotional Energy	Increased Confidence
Therapeutic Alliance with Facilitator	Therapeutic Management of Depression	Finding One's Voice and Creativity
Group Bonding and Mutual Support	Anger Management	An Identity Separate from Being an Offender
Challenging Participants to Test Their Limits	A Drug-Free Means of Escape or Coping with Imprisonment	Increased Employability
Public Performance and Acknowledgement	A Calmer Prison Environment as a Whole	
Praise		
Fostering a Sense of Achievement		

Figure 1 Changing Tunes Logic Model (Maruna, 2010, p. 2))

The creation of Maruna's logic model opened doors for further analysis of the role of music-making interventions in the prison system. It resulted in Cursley and Maruna's (2015) report exploring in more depth the mystery of the rehabilitative process of music-making. They describe the key changes of participants in CT sessions as 'occur[ing] at the level of self-identity' and producing a 'sustained increase in feelings of self-confidence and personal self-worth.' (pp 38-39). Yet the most prominent finding was the strength of the relationship built between the CT facilitator and the participant. This finding is also mirrored by Story one – Sick in Prison (see Introduction), suggesting that either the facilitator-participant dynamic or some sort of connection found through music-making can result in strong relationships being built in a short time.

Other findings of the Maruna (2010) and Cursley and Maruna's (2015) CT evaluations include the observation of a reduction in the pains of imprisonment, a way of dealing with the dehumanising effects of prison, and a level of continuity created through post-release work. However, these were not explored in depth, nor was the process by which these effects occur investigated.

Since their respective research on their organisations, both CT and ITT have produced flow diagrams that attempt to map out a 'Theory of Change' that they see their participants experience. They show the adoption of a combination of the medical and opportunity model, as well as the effect of the individualisation and pathologizing of prison residents discussed in chapter one. In ITT's diagram (figure 2) a path is drawn that it is believed prison residents follow when participating in their 'Music in Prisons' course. The 'Starting point for participants' is believed to be, 'Stigmatised individuals on the fringes of society', 'Negative experiences of formal education', and 'Lacking skills, self-confidence

and aspirations'. The evaluations and reports created by prison-based music-making charities (cited above) certainly support this view of the prison resident. Similarly, CT's theory of change diagram (figure 3) states the 'problem' is that '[p]eople in prison often feel trapped in a downward spiral and feel they have no place in society. A feeling of hopelessness and a lack of self-belief often accompanies a resignation that life has no meaning and change is not possible'. In both cases, their 'starting point' and 'problem' begin with the societal issues that an (ex)prison-resident may face and they see the solution, and yet responsibility for change is seen as belonging to the individual. Whilst CT and ITT may attempt to imbue their clientele with agency and power, their rhetoric simultaneously lands the entire responsibility for change on the shoulders of the individual.

Figure 2 Irene Taylor Trust Theory of Change
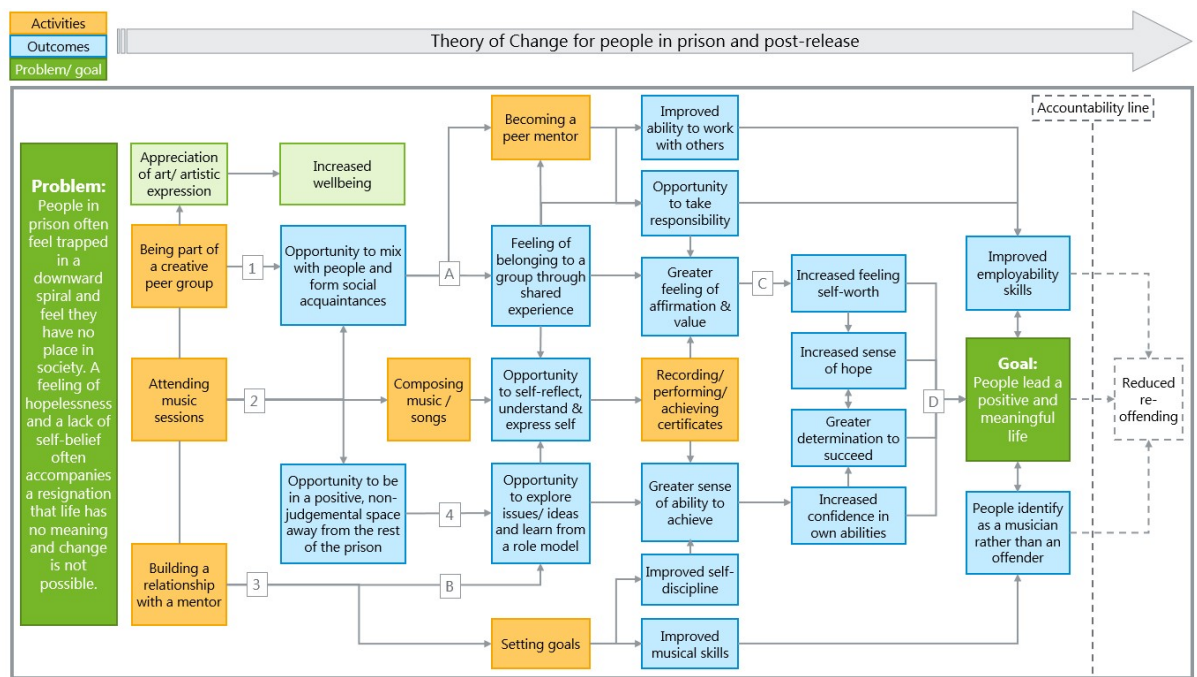
Figure 3 Changing Tunes Theory of Change

In both these theories of change, a path towards desistance is laid out. In the ITT model, again it starts with a change of the societal issues – in this case, allowing the (ex)prison residents an 'opportunity to express' – yet quickly turns towards curing the sick prisoner through 'learning by stealth', 'increasing self-efficacy and confidence', 'new identity', and 'new aspirations'. Whilst CT aims for 'increased wellbeing' through 'appreciations of art/artistic expression' for participants to lead 'positive and meaningful lives', this is to be achieved by providing pro-social opportunities that are believed to improve such traits as 'responsibility', 'self-worth', 'self-discipline', and 'self-confidence'. These theories of change are quintessential examples of what Kendall (2000) referred to as the co-existence of the opportunity and a medical model of desistance intervention. The prison resident is believed to be sick, and therefore requires opportunities to change, as it is believed that only they can cure themselves. This use of musicking – the provision of opportunity to change an individual – can be understood as an essentially disciplinary effort (Foucault, 1977). Through the means of 'correct' musical training, it is hoped that 'correct' or non-deviant

behaviour will follow. This model may have some neurological validity as group music-making activities are believed to create new neural pathways and homogenise group behaviour (Freeman, 1998). Yet the individualistic view of this change remains as the 'stigmatised individuals on the fringes of society' are expected to be the ones to change. Thus far, no academic research or theory of practice has addressed how musicking may change prisoners' stigmatisation or place in society. These evaluations and their accompanying theories of change, then, whilst well intended, fail to challenge the pathologizing narrative of current carceral power structures and perpetuate the combination of the medical and opportunity model found in many prison rehabilitative programmes and the research evaluations that accompany them.

Here is an example of how the CT study draws on the medical model with its therapeutic and even curative emphasis:

> '…they employed their newly learned musical skills as a form of self-therapy for coping with personal struggles. In particular, music's power as a memory aid appeared to benefit the important journey of 'coming to grips' with one's past, and this biographical reconstruction has been found to be crucial in the process of desistance from crime.' (Cursley and Maruna, 2015, p. 2)

Whereas, the extract from Anderson et al. (2011) shows how the opportunity model is enacted with an emphasis on the responsibility of individuals in change themselves:

> '1. Desistance from crime is a complex process, which is likely to *be made more difficult both by the social and structural disadvantages* that ex-prisoners typically face and by the experience of imprisonment itself.
>
> 2. Desistance is best understood as arising from the interfaces between age and maturation, developing social ties and shifting narrative identities.
>
> 3. Though shaped by their social and structural contexts, these interfaces and interactions can only be apprehended and experienced subjectively, *which means that desistance is an inherently individualised experience.*

4. Attempts to support desistance need to be based on an understanding of this complexity, and *need to work both with and through the individual and with and through the social and cultural contexts of his or her life*. This involves working to develop motivation for change, exploiting existing strengths and resources, developing new skills and building social networks and relationships that can support the change process.' (Anderson et al., 2011, p. 39 emphasis added)

Within the modern English and Welsh prison system, the onus of change and desistance is placed on the individual prison resident in a way that is 'consistent with the individualism underlying the philosophy of liberal democracy in Western nations' Kendall (2000, p. 83). Therefore, much prison-based music-making research in the U.K. has focused on the therapeutic benefits of group musicking with the aim of empowering individuals with their own agency, re-imagining their identities, and encouraging pro-social behaviour (Caulfield and Wilkinson, 2014, Blagden et al., 2015, Caulfield, 2015, Henley, 2012a, Henley, 2012b, Anderson et al., 2011, Bilby et al., 2013, Ascenso, 2017, Maruna, 2010, Cursley and Maruna, 2015). I believe that the research produced with and for UK prison-based music-making organisations has so far focused on fulfilling the narratives put forward by the prison regime and current correctional hegemony. Often aiming to meet 'known desistance factors' or use music-making as a gateway to other educational activities believed to produce pro-social, desisting behaviour, this research has assisted in pathologizing prison residents and creating the narrative of the 'sick prisoner'.

The academic literature on prison-based music-making, then, broadly speaking takes the form of overtly positive evaluations of individual organisations (Doxat-Pratt, 2018a), explorations into music's therapeutic value for incarcerated populations (which when related to recidivism result in a pathologized view of prison residents), or work on the oppressive and/or tortuous nature of prison soundscapes. Calls for 'up-to-date empirical research into the sonic culture of

prisons' (Rice, 2016 p.18) and prison-based music-making are found across most prison-music research (Rice, 2016; Cursley & Maruna, 2015; Hemsworth, 2016; Tuastad & O'Grady; 2013). Only more recently has prison-based music scholarship looked beyond the effects of prisons and begun to map availability (Mangaoang, 2021), look at the effects of prison-based music-making on facilitators (Mangaoang, 2021), and question how it may change carceral structures (Swanson and Cohen, Forthcoming, Kallio, 2022).

When investigating the 'transformative potentials and politics of music in juvenile justice settings' in Australia, Kallio (2022) concludes that, 'the political potentials of music (and indeed, music research) in juvenile justice settings may not (only) lie in the transformation of incarcerated youth, but the transformation of the juvenile justice system itself; recognising the existence of incarcerated youth through a shared humanity as a society of artists and already-political beings.' (p.10). My own work chimes with Kallio by moving the focus away from the aim of changing the individual, attempting to 'cure' their 'sickness', working on 'known desistance factors', or secondary desistance, but instead investigate[s] the way musicking can collectivise oppressed people, recreate space, and hold a role within a potential desistance movement and abolition of prisons.

A Correct Music for Correction?

As some of the research cited so far suggests that music-making can be used to rehabilitate prison-residents, open pathways for secondary desistance, or change behavioural patterns, there comes a belief that music has some sort of 'power' and special affordances that are potentially not found in other art forms or activities. Researchers have attempted to demonstrate music's power, for instance, to improve plant growth (Weinberger and Das, 1972, Creath and

Schwartz, 2004), improve children's ability to learn new languages (Zuk et al., 2013, Gerry et al., 2012) and enhance verbal memory (Ho et al., 2003). Much of this research regarding the power of music involves functional MRIs (testing for changes in brain activity) or surveys on children who attend music classes and their performance on set criteria against those who do not attend music classes. These lines of inquiry often fail to account for (or sometimes show no interest in) the emotional, affective, cultural and socio-economic factors that also act upon their participants, or reduce the complexity of the human experience to brain activity (as warned against by DeNora (2013a)).

A hierarchy of genres (often Jazz and Classical over Pop and Rock) is frequently assumed in these studies. Yet, '[a]rguments… that certain melodies are 'conducive to virtue' or destructive of well-being are non-explanatory; they do not offer any account for the mechanisms through which music comes to produce its alleged effects' (DeNora, 2000, p. 160). Musicologists attempting to break new ground have had to move away from hierarchised perceptions of genres or of visible effects and instead embrace a greater understanding of emotional and affective atmospheres.

Despite changes in musicological thinking, a hierarchical view of genres continues to pervade the criminal justice system as certain genres are demonised and believed to be criminogenic in nature. A recent BBC investigation, for instance, found that the lyrics of Drill music have regularly been used as evidence of motive in the conviction of suspects of violent crime (*Drill and rap music on trial*, 2021). Here the relationship between racial/class bias and music genre are shown as the article states the way in which lyrics from white musicians are considered differently to those from black or poorer musicians:

It uses violent language and imagery, but as one defence lawyer puts it, the Rolling Stones sang 'I'll stick my knife right down your throat, baby' but 'it doesn't mean (Mick) Jagger was involved in gangs' (*Drill and rap music on trial*, 2021)

Lee (2022) suggests that since 'drill music has attracted the attention of police, politicians and mainstream media for artists' alleged relationship to street-based violence' (p.446) it has increased in popularity. Lee also believes that 'the music's power is intimately related to attempts at its repression' (p.460).

This thesis will attempt to take a non-hierarchical and non-judgmental view on the characteristics of different genres. It is, however, important to understand the cultural significance with which different genres of music are imbued, and not to ignore genre as a consideration altogether. Part of music's power lies in our ability to connect prescribed behaviours, attitudes, and preferences to differing musical attributes. In the same way, '[m]usical features…. may be transferred to, transposed onto, or referred to seemingly extra musical matters, as when music's perceived structural properties serve as a template for thinking about other (extra-musical) things' (DeNora, 2005, p. 58).

Prior to this thesis, the overall landscape of current provision of music-making activities in prisons in England and Wales has remained unstudied. Yet as will be revealed in chapters four, five, and six, issues of genre bias and censorship of lyrical content have a huge impact on the style of delivery of a musicking intervention as well as which genres are encouraged and discouraged in prisons. Very little time is given to the impact of genre or the motivations towards changing participants in previous academic studies on U.K. prison-based music-making, nor is there a comparative study examining the different delivery styles or the effectiveness of these styles. It is clear, though, that certain types of music, in certain types of ways, have facilitated the prying open

of prison gates and have allowed the creation of musical spaces within prisons. In later chapters of the thesis, I go on to examine how genre becomes a key consideration in the nature and extent of prison-based music-making and examine the complex considerations which act to constrain work with some genres and enable work with others.

Music Co-opted for the Purpose of Social Control

Carceral musicking practices have primarily been explored through the lens of therapy and wellbeing. Here, musicking is presented in a positive light without challenging current carceral and power structures. Work on sonic cultures and uses of music for torture or the control of prison residents, however, opens the door for a more critical evaluation of carceral musicking. For instance, after a viral YouTube video of Indonesian prison residents performing a near flawless rendition of a dance to Michael Jackson's song, Thriller, Mangaoang (2013) investigated the ways in which the 'dance performance and its mediation… are conducive to creating Foucault's docile bodies, which operate as a tool of distraction for the masses and ultimately serve the interests of the state far more than it rehabilitates (unconvicted and therefore innocent) inmates.' (p.44). Mangaoang (2013) challenges a benevolent view of music and the arts which holds that any practice in these disciplines is a positive step towards rehabilitation, wellbeing, or a reduction of re-offending.

Beyond carceral circumstances, music (and primarily a hierarchical view of specific genres) has been used to govern, control, or attempt to affect the behaviour of populations around the world. Certain 'undesired' behaviours have been attributed with developments in musical styles and genres and manipulation of them has been used in attempts to exert power. Kong (2006) suggests that in the early 1970s-1980s the Singaporean government's view of

western music (with the exception of classical) and its relation to moral geographies was extremely negative. The perceived link between musical genres, dress, hairstyle and behaviour resulted in increased taxes on music venues and a 'moral panic' surrounding drug use suspected of being pushed by the musicians themselves (Kong, 2006, p. 105). As things began to change in the mid-1980s, the police sought to change the ethos surrounding rock music by holding rock concerts of their own, on their own grounds with distinct anti-drug messages. As police attempted to change the cultural association of rock music and drug use, Kong suggests that at this time, 'moral/national boundaries were being policed, and music played an integral role in both strategies.' (Kong, 2006, p. 107). The same notion was echoed in Great Britain by the Criminal Justice Act of 1994 which in part aimed to break up raves or 'free parties' that were growing in popularity at the time. This law included a description of music based around 'repetitive beats' that was to be clamped down on as it was seen as a defining feature relating to drug use and undesirable behaviour (Randall, 2017).

Within a carceral setting, music-making is often thought to work well at a secondary desistance level (Caulfield and Wilkinson, 2014, Anderson et al., 2011), where there is 'a change in the way that an 'ex-offender' sees him or herself' (Anderson et al., 2011, p. 32). From a desistance perspective, it would be assumed that carceral music-making participants would be empowered to remove the label of 'criminal' that is placed upon them and replace it with their own (specifically the label of 'musician'). Yet, as discussed in the previous chapter, the current prison system in the U.K. aims to rehabilitate its residents rather than empower them in their own path towards desistance. Even within the blend of medical and opportunity model discussed above, the restrictions

that define which opportunities are available in turn prescribe and limit residents' ability to relabel themselves. In the context of carceral music-making, prescriptions on genre, style, and amount of provision, are key elements used in the control of how a participant can influence their own labelling. How successful the prescription of genre and restrictions on 'certain types' of music-making are at 'correcting' or changing behaviour is difficult to measure and therefore, unclear. Did the 'undesirable' behaviours change in Singapore? Did free parties and drug culture desist in Great Britain? Do prison-based music-making interventions use genre and style prescription in an attempt to nudge participants into different social groups whose behaviours are perceived or self-labelled differently? The research cited so far leaves us with these questions unanswered but highlights a normative belief, held by governments and individuals alike, that music has the power to create change, control societies, and affect individuals.[37] Genre is, then, a core concern of this thesis as it speaks of the influence that carceral institutions are attempting to have on their residents. It will be questioned in chapter five how the music genres adopted in prison-based music-making align (or do not align) with institutional and organisational aims and objectives.

One common thread in the research cited is that different genres of music seem to attach to different social groups and that these social groups are defined somewhat by their behaviour. Freeman (1998) attempts to find a biological link between musicking and social bonding suggesting that the actions of music and dance result in "transmarginal inhibition' … [which is] … also characterized as

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[37] This is not to suggest that musicking may not also be used to evade, avoid, and disrupt control – indeed, as this thesis progresses, musicking's potential role in creating a desistance based movement will be interrogated – however, it is important to highlight that research into music has at times found its purpose for social control that this has largely been ignored in research surrounding prison-based music-making (Doxat-Pratt, 2018a)

an 'altered state' and as a trance… that is followed by a remarkable state of malleability and an opportunity for re-education' (p. 8). This research gives some explanation as to the speed at which the relationship between the music teacher and the inmate was formed in Story one (see introduction) and by postulating a link between a 'trance' and a 'state of malleability' there is a suggestion that behavioural change can be enacted through music-making, giving credence and scientific vigour to the normative belief that individual behaviour can be influenced through musicking.

Freeman (1998) states that 'the role of music as an instrument of communication beyond words strikes to the heart of the ways in which we humans come to trust one another. Trust is the basis of all human social endeavours, and a case is made that it is created through the practice of music.' (p.2). Certainly, in Story one, the prison resident was looking for someone he felt he could trust. Finding someone he could be vulnerable in front of in prison was always going to be hard and potentially dangerous in such a hyper-masculine environment. Yet through either the facilitator-participant or through a musical relationship or potentially both, an unspoken and rapid level of trust was built.

In Story two, the prison resident had already chosen to make a change before any interaction with music, yet one of his first acts to solidify a lasting, meaningful change in his behavioural patterns, was to learn a musical instrument. Whilst I am sure there were many different motivations behind this, could perhaps one of them be to find a new social grouping and a new identity? Or did he have an instinctive understanding that engagement with music would induce a 'state of malleability' through which he could create a lasting change? In story three, Rob lived for the relationships and connections he had formed

through his music sessions each week. Alone in his room he appears to have found a direct relationship to the music itself that supported him through one of his lowest moments. Does this then suggest that music has its own agency? Is this agency related to style or genre or the social groupings that form around them? Genre is, then, a core concern of this thesis as it speaks of the influence that carceral institutions are attempting to have on their residents. It will therefore be questioned in chapter five how the music genres adopted in prison-based musicking align (or do not align) with institutional and organisational aims and objectives. This is explored as the first two thesis questions of 'what is available where' and 'what are the aims of prison-based music-making organisations' are addressed.

Born's Four Planes

Having reviewed the previous prison-based music-making scholarship in the U.K. this thesis draws on Born's (2011) four planes to provide a unifying theoretical framework within which to make an original contribution. This originality is found in the integration of the concepts of musically configured spaces, liminality, and affect (discussed in the sections below), which are housed within Born's (2011) four planes and used to analyse the materialisation of identities, (reconfigured) space, (personal and societal) change, and affective atmospheres deriving from music making in a carceral context.

In her paper entitled, 'Music and the materialization of identities', Born (2011) argues 'that music is instructive in conceptualizing the materialization of identity because it opens up new perspectives on issues of materiality, mediation and affect' (Born, 2011, p. 375). Born suggests a theoretical framework of analysis that will be utilised throughout the empirical work in this thesis and expanded on further in chapter three. The framework conceptualises four planes with which

to analyse musical interactions of which 'the first two amount to socialities engendered by musical practice and experience' and 'the last two amount to social and institutional conditions that afford certain kinds of musical practice' (p.376).

Born's four planes framework has been used by Born (2011) and Boeskov (2018) to look at the materialization of identities through music and social transformation through music respectively. Its scope spans from an individual's relationship to music to the social institutions that affect it. This thesis will therefore use this framework to understand both the carceral effect on musicking and musicking's effect on the way carcerality is felt, understood, defined, and affective. As themes regarding materialization of identities, social transformation, and change regularly appear in academic work on prison-based music-making, Born's framework is a fitting tool for analysis.

In the first plane, 'music produces its own diverse social relations – in the intimate socialities of musical performance and practice, in musical ensembles, and in the musical division of labour' (Born, 2011, p. 378). In this plane, the ways in which prison-based music-making organisations form and prescribe the environment that allows for certain types of social relationships to be built and the relationships formed between both participants and participants and participants and facilitators, will be explored.

In the second plane, Born states that 'music conjures up and animates imagined communities, aggregating its listeners into virtual collectivities and publics based on musical and other identifications' (Born, 2011, p. 378). The term 'imagined communities' originated from Anderson (2016), who looked at the relationship between the people of a nation, who see themselves as part of

a national community despite not knowing the majority of the people in it. Born suggests that music is capable of creating entirely new communities and people can consider themselves akin to other members of the community through little more than a shared interest in similar musical styles, tastes, genres, or ideologies. She writes that '[t]his property of music [to collectivise] was first theorized by Will Straw (1991) in his concept of musical 'scene'. Straw develops the concept through the comparative analysis of two genres – alternative rock and electronic dance music – insisting that the social universes produced by them cannot be reduced to any pre-given social ontology. Instead, he argues, scene points to music's capacity to construct 'affective alliances' (p. 374), propagating musically imagined communities that are irreducible to prior categories of social identity.' (Born, 2011, p. 381). Therefore this thesis will investigate a potential 'carceral-musicking scene' and imagined community through which those in carceral circumstances could collectivise and, potentially, create a desistance-based movement.

In the third plane 'music is traversed by wider social identity formations, from the most concrete and intimate to the most abstract of collectivities – music's refraction of the hierarchical and stratified relations of class and age, race and ethnicity, gender and sexuality' (Born, 2011, p. 378). In this plane, it will be examined how elements such as class, race, age, gender, security level, criminal identity and criminal classification affect the 'criminal' label placed upon the participants. It will also be questioned if the hierarchical structures of the prison system are consolidated or refracted through the practice of music and what potential effects might be produced.

In the fourth plane, music is understood to be 'bound up in the social and institutional forms that provide the grounds for its production, reproduction and

transformation, whether elite or religious patronage, market or non-market exchange, the arena of public and subsidized cultural institutions, or late capitalism's cultural economy' (Born, 2011, p. 378). In this plane we see how music-making is affected by its carceral setting; how that setting changes the availability of equipment, determines the level of volume allowed whilst practising, how lyrical and musical content is censored by institutions and so on. It is in the fourth plane that uses of music-making in the practice of 'nudging' are likely to be found, as well as limitations on the effectiveness of this strategy.

Born places these four planes into two groups. The first two planes focus on how individuals form links in social groups through 'musical practice and experience' (Born, 2011, p. 378), whereas planes three and four focus on how surrounding conditions affect the musical practices (see Fig 4).
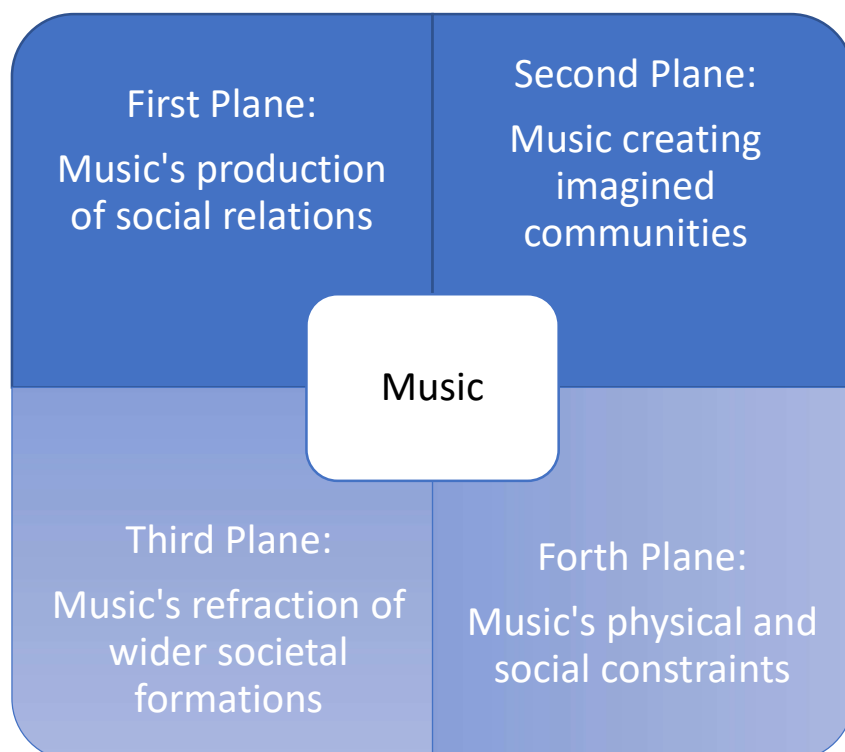
Figure 4 - A simplified pictorial representation of Born's Four Planes applied to music in general.
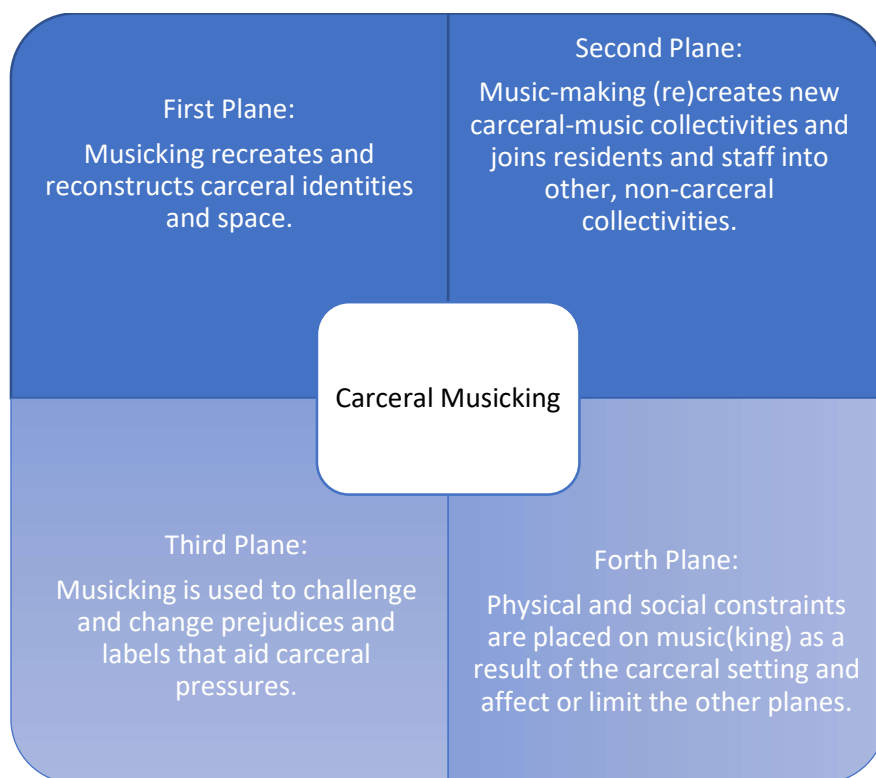
Figure 5 - Born's Four Planes applied to Carceral Environments

As chapter four (the first empirical chapter) explores the availability of and the restrictions placed on prison-based music-making, it is the second group (comprised of planes three and four) that will inform the majority of the analysis. This group continues to be the key focus of analysis in chapter five as the thesis develops to look at how the organisational aims and objectives are contrarily affected by government policy and interactions with participants. The utility of the first group (planes one and two), focusing on the communities created by and through music-making, will be considered in chapters six and seven, which focus more on individual carceral spaces and music-making's liminal properties and affectivity. However, as all four planes interact with each other, I will identify points where the boundaries of the planes cross or become blurred.

Due to the unique institutional conditions of carceral systems, some adaptations to the four planes framework will be discussed in the next chapter. However, as previously discussed, the not-so-total institution is permeated by wider

socialities and social and institutional conditions. The socialities carried through music (a potential way of conceptualising music's agency) are one of the ways the not-so-total institution is permeated. Yet, the unique institutional conditions of carceral environments will affect the 'kinds of musical practice' available to incarcerated populations and therefore the potential 'socialities engendered by musical practice and experience' (Born, 2011, p. 367). Born's framework therefore acts as a reminder of an important point: the power of musicking (whether in terms of its agency, its ability to materialise identities, its use for affecting or nudging behaviour, or even its ability to create trance states that affect the brain's ability to be re-educated) may at times be bound within material restrictions, and these restrictions may be particularly pertinent in the context of carceral musicking.

Musically Configured Spaces

Several important studies have focused on exploring music's relationship to place and space. Bull (2005), investigates how iPods can be used to create a 'privatised auditory bubble' (p. 344) and assist the navigation of 'non-spaces' (see Augé, 1995). The concept of an auditory bubble has striking similarities to Story three as Rob looked to manage his semi-permanent liminal state, betwixt and between incarceration and freedom, and his new and his old life, using music-making to manage his oppressive surroundings that are akin to a 'non-space'. Similarly, Dibben and Haake (2013), suggest that office workers use musicking to manage their 'lack of control over the environment' (p. 152) in a shared office space. Both Rob and the office workers in Dibben and Haake's research are re-imagining, re-working and re-creating the space around them through musicking.

As problematised above, previous prison-music work aimed to evaluate *if* music assisted prisoner well-being without a theoretical understanding of *how* this could be happening. Conceptualising musicking's ability to (re)configure space, supported through Story three, begins to explain *how* music's therapeutic value is working. Tia DeNora's cross disciplinary work in Sociology, Musicology and Geography (see DeNora, 1999, DeNora, 2013a, DeNora, 2013b, DeNora, 2000) has opened a doorway for researchers to look at the 'everyday' in regard to the personal relationship to music and how space can be (re)configured through it. DeNora begins to look at 'music space as healing space' in her ethnographic work with a community music therapy group.

> 'Musically configured spaces may… provide spaces for healing. In this sense, they are places where clients may pass from (on the one hand and however fleeting or fluid) illness-identities, acute treatment facilities and social sequestering, to (on the other hand) health-identities, the wider community and social connection.' (DeNora, 2013b, p. 259)

Here, DeNora refers to 'musically configured spaces' as though *the* defining factor of the space is the music. The music therapy session she is observing is taking place in a building not specifically designed for therapy or music. Her suggestion is that music can transform this space, that it is created or reconfigured by the musicking taking place within it. Further to this she is suggesting that these musically configured spaces hold the power to change an individual's identity and connection to society.

DeNora (2013a) continues to expand on the idea of transformation of space through music and parallels Bull's (2005) investigation of personal stereo use suggesting that:

> … if one wears earbuds or headphones in a public space (the NY Port Authority Terminal, for example) to listen to a personal music player, one may be simultaneously engaging in removal (the privatization of

public space) and refurnishing (the action may be read to signify that one has rejected the current audio environment in favor of something else). (DeNora, 2013a, pp. 50-51)

This refurnishing becomes poignant in chapters six and seven, where (as suggested by Doxat-Pratt (2018a)) the voices and opinions of prison-based music-making facilitators and participants are put at the forefront and the idea of 'affective abolitions' is created. In many ways, affective abolitions are a form of refurnishing of carceral space, as the pains of imprisonment are (temporarily) abolished and the auditory environment is rejected/replaced by sound created through the participants' own agency. Importantly, then, while sound has a role in creating a carceral environment (Rice, 2016, Herrity, 2019, Herrity, 2021, Herrity, 2017) it also therefore has a potential role in (re)configuring, (re)furnishing, and reimagining it.

Liminal Properties of Musically Configured Space

Working primarily with displaced people in refugee camps, Boeskov (2017) proposes viewing community music spaces as liminal spaces to allow for a critical look at music's ability to create personal and social change. The passing from one identity to another through a musically configured space speaks of the liminality of musically configured spaces. Boeskov suggests that musicians explore a liminal condition whilst performing, 'in which the meanings of symbols, identities and relations brought into the frame are questioned or subverted and in which new meanings and relations are allowed to emerge and to be experienced by participants' (p. 91). The reimagining of identities and relationships in previous prison-based music-making scholarship has focused on change within the individual (Maruna, 2010, Cursley and Maruna, 2015, Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008, Anderson et al., 2011), however, when combined with

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DeNora's (2013a) concept of refurnishing, it has implications for the structure, meanings, and impact of incarceration.

The concept of refurnishing (which suggests a permanent change) would therefore be seen as the change outcome of the musically configured liminal spaces that are temporary and transient in nature. Indeed, a key attribute of sound is its temporality, and typically its lack of visual outcomes or effects. Music's qualities are difficult to describe, stabilise and interrogate and is certainly an emotional and affective experience. It is therefore in the affective realm that I believe this refurnishing takes place, changing not the physical properties but the relationships between people and their physical or corporeal surroundings. The physicality of musicking is beyond the purely visual, and its experience is temporarily bounded, yet research on music-making in carceral spaces suggests effects that last beyond the moment of musicking. Potentially, it has the power to (re)configure space – to change that space's very meaning and purpose. Its unquantifiable and visual elusiveness may have left its processes only partially investigated (Sadie and Tyrrell, 2001), but they appear normatively understood and innately felt.

Swanson and Cohen (Forthcoming), apply this concept of music affecting space directly to carceral circumstances, suggesting that, '[p]erformative art-making programs have the potential to counter the punitive structures of carceral systems' (p.1) and therefore 'dismantle carceral logics' (p.18). By exploring 'self-compassion as a type of compassion that is essential to the abolition of oppressive structures because it builds resilient interior strength and freedom.' (p.1), Swanson and Cohen take a first step in joining the worlds of prison abolition and prison-based music-making. If the defining characteristics of carceral space are the affective pains described by Crewe (2011) (see chapter

one) and music-making is able to resist these pains through self-compassion and the reconfiguring of space, we have what I have termed an 'affective abolition' of carcerality and carceral logics. Whilst the physical and material structures remain the same, the defining characteristics of carcerality (the pains and logics that bind incarcerated peoples, whether in prisons or other forms of carcerality) are dismantled and/or abolished within the temporal and liminal space created through musicking.

Affect and Music

'… beyond the visual and artefact-centrism that characterizes theories of art and material culture, music indicates that there need not be a physical artefact or a visual object or symbol at the centre of the analysis of materiality, mediation and semiosis. Indeed, music has its own particular material and semiotic properties. Musical sound is non-representational, non-artefactual and alogogenic [sic]. In most human cultures, in the absence of a denotative or literal level of meaning, musical sound engenders a profusion of extra-musical connotations of various kinds – visual, sensual, emotional and intellectual' (Born, 2011, p. 377).

A bias towards the visual in academic research has been discussed throughout multiple disciplines and a need to expand methodologies and research practices has been widely accepted (Wood et al., 2007, Pink, 2009, Simpson, 2017). For instance, Pink (2009) advocates for a sensory ethnography that takes into account the experience of all senses on the same level (and certainly not excluding) the sense of sight, and which is needed to create a more holistic understanding of the world in which we live. Wood (2002) describes the nonvisual experiences of music within the academic field of human geography as the 'unspeakable' geographies, referring specifically to the emotional, affective and individual connections that can form between music and people. She argues that since the 'cultural turn' in geography, a bias towards visual methodologies has been challenged and that the rise of feminist geographies

further allows the emotional dimension of music to be studied. What was once considered 'irrational and, therefore, somehow unworthy of inclusion in academic pursuit' (p. 61) is now open, encouraged and validated as important experience to be studied despite the difficulties that surround quantifying, categorising, and representing them. Music (and the emotions, feelings, connections, and other such 'felt' experiences that come with it) are therefore accepted as legitimate and worthy of study (Anderson et al., 2005, pp. 640-641), for instance through the lens of non-representational theories and affect theory (see for example Anderson et al., 2005, Morton, 2005, Simpson, 2017).

As discussed in the previous chapter, affect is a useful term when discussing the pains of imprisonment that are beyond quantifiable and instead take place in the emotive and non-representable realms of life. Similarly, the non-representational turn in academic study has examined music and relationships, and the space in which these two are interacting and developing. Viewing space as a product of the world that is lived in it (see Thrift, 2008), rather than an absolute, music becomes an entity which can relate to and interact with the bodies, the instruments and the surroundings through which it is both created and received (Born, 2013). Some of the more recent research on music and space has started to build on the suggestions given by Wood (2002), Wood et al. (2007), Born (2013) and DeNora (2000) by increasing its focus on the emotional responses to music and investigating its affective capacity (see for example: Morton, 2005, Simpson, 2017).

Simpson (2017), references Morton's (2005) 'spaces of the now' and their ability to 'transform social situations' (p. 91) in his research on Victorian street music and claims that, 'In affecting the listening body, street music affected how life unfolded in social spaces, shaping social interactions as well as the embodied

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dispositions to those inhabiting these spaces' (p. 104), whilst Anderson (2002) argues that people use recorded music to form an 'affective hope, by enabling and configuring traces of how 'something better' might feel.' (Anderson, 2002 p. 224).

It is the pre-conscious and pre-emotive affects (see chapter one) that are of interest to this thesis as they 'push' and direct our relationship to place and space. As mentioned in the introduction, the freedom created from the affective atmospheres formed through music-making in carceral space are often framed as escapism (see Anderson et al., 2011, Maruna, 2010) rather than a (re)configuring of space. To think of musicking spaces within carceral environments as only escapism ignores the ways in which space is (re)constructed by the musicking (DeNora, 2013b), fails to integrate any potential lasting effects of (re)construction of carceral space, and continues to view carceral space as total, rather than not-so-total (Moran, 2014). Musically created spaces are liminal in their character (Boeskov, 2017) as individuals and spaces caught within them are (re)created, therefore being pushed onto (and sometimes over) thresholds of change. Aspects of non-carceral states and elements of freedom are carried into these affective atmospheres by the music, creating a space betwixt and between incarceration and autonomy. Whilst it will be discussed how gatekeepers and facilitators aim to use this musical power to 'nudge' participants into desired behavioural patterns, the chaotic and ethereal nature of 'affective atmospheres' prevents it being used as simple choice architecture.

These affective properties are, by definition, 'non-representable modes of thought' (Anderson, 2014 p. 79) that precede feelings and are therefore difficult to control and direct. The affective properties of music, its elusive and

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inexplicable qualities, have been left relatively unexplored by academics who have evaluated the role of musicking with prisons due to a historical focus on representation and a need to justify musicking's utility through quantifiable methodologies in order to attempt to increase provision or justify that which is already available (Doxat-Pratt, 2018a). As musical affects are felt rather than understood, they are therefore affective rather than representable, and it is in this affective realm that the power of music can be found and its purpose and place within a carceral setting can be meaningfully explored.

Conclusion

In sociological interrogations and musicological discussions, there appears to be an agreement that music is entwined with the development of relationships, trust, and social grouping. It should therefore be of no surprise to see music-making used to affect (ex-)prison resident behaviour, attempting to correct behaviour towards a pro-social agenda, as defined by current, neoliberal power structures. The aims of prison-based music-making organisations have also been co-opted by the prisons to align with their proposed aims and objectives of rehabilitation as was demonstrated through the application of the medical and opportunity model seen in both CT's and ITT's theories of change.

No scholarship currently details the frequency or availability of prison musicking across England and Wales. Along with this, there are no studies into the genre and style of musicking that is provided, why the particular style of provision is available, or how and why organisations have managed (or not managed) to gain funding and access to a prison. This thesis aims to fill these knowledge gaps.

As mentioned above, Swanson and Cohen (Forthcoming) have begun to open the door for investigations into the role of prison musicking's potential role in prison abolition. Joining theories of affect and liminality, this thesis takes this concept of abolition in a new direction by investigating what I have termed affective abolitions. Just as Kallio (2022) ends her preliminary investigation into youth offending facilities in Australia by suggesting that the focus can move from changing the individual to changing the institution, so this thesis examines how the affective properties of music-making assist in changing carceral space and the residents' and facilitators' relationship to it. Finally, taking lead from Mangaoang (2021) who interviewed music facilitators in Norwegian prisons, the positionality and experience of the facilitators is a key focus of this thesis as their voice has been rarely heard in the evaluation of U.K. prison music-making. By taking lead from the above scholars a more critical approach will be taken that challenges current power structures and carceral logics. It will also be investigated how musically created affected atmospheres can work as more than just a temporary escapism but actually (re)create carceral space, potentially forming an affective abolition of carceral logics and pains.

Affective abolitions, if seen to be an important part of a path towards change and desistance, could further bolster arguments for the physical abolition of prisons as well. Yet, instead of investigating the potential change or secondary desistance markers seen in participants, this thesis aims to investigate the role of music-making in creating a desistance social movement, with particular strategies against neo-liberal penalities, criminal labelling, and behavioural correction. Born's (2011) planes will therefore be used as a framework through which to investigate how relationships to, and understanding of, the physical space, is affected by musicking. The thesis will examine whether a

materialisation or (re)creation of carceral space that occurs through the practice of music-making has potential to bring about a dismantling of carceral logics and an affective abolition of carceral pains.

3. Accessing Prison-based Music-making – Methodologies and Ethics

Introduction

This chapter will set out the methodologies, ethical concerns and procedures, and the organisation of data underpinning the empirical work. The scope of this research was defined by the U.K. government's definition of prison, the (lack of) available data published about these prisons, and the ethical barriers that prohibited me from interviewing currently serving prison residents. The gov.uk website lists 118 prisons in England and Wales that are managed by His Majesty's Prison and Probation Service (HMPPS) and the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) (Prisons in England and Wales, 2022). The capacity to investigate musicking in prisons was limited as contact with prison residents is tightly restricted. I therefore relied on interviews with ex-prison residents that I or other CT MiRs had previously worked with whilst they were in prison, rather than current prison residents. It quickly became clear that the incarceration they felt whilst in prison, in many affective ways, was often still felt upon release. There was also some evidence of ex-prison residents experiencing greater freedom in prison than out of prison.

All participants interviewed were at one-point residents in one or more of the 118 prisons identified on the website above. The fact that prisons in England and Wales are governed and administered by a different organisation from those in Scotland and Northern Ireland worked to narrow the scope of the investigation, and including prisons in Scotland, Northern Ireland, as well as other carceral institutions in the U.K., would in any case have been too logistically challenging and too complex an undertaking for a PhD thesis.

A further narrowing of the scope of this research came as I looked to establish who was providing music sessions within prisons. To my surprise, there was no data available for this, to the extent that even the charity for which I worked (CT) had attempted and been unable to map the availability of musicking in the 118 prisons in England and Wales. After searching the Freedom of Information Act website, whatdotheyknow.com, I discovered that no centralised database of the activities provided by third party organisations and education departments was kept and that each prison was given a large level of autonomy in deciding which programmes to allow. For this reason, I decided to take an 'extensive to intensive' approach where I would create a cartography of prison-based music-making availability in the 118 prisons (an extensive approach) and then narrow the focus down to what was happening in one prison-musicking organisation's sessions and then what individual participants experienced within those sessions (an intensive approach).

My own direct involvement in prison-based music-making described in the introduction gave me a platform to employ a predominantly ethnographic methodology that investigated musical interactions, whilst bringing an analytical and theoretical framework provided by the diverse theories discussed in the first two chapters, such as affect, the pains of imprisonment, docile bodies, prison abolition, dismantling of carceral logics, (re)creation of carceral space, the materialisation of identities through musicking, and concepts of liminality.

Ethnography

Ethnography is a broad term. It can include many different methods that are used in order to study a 'particular social/cultural group with the aim to better understand it' (Allen, 2017, p. 458). The Greek roots of the word ethnography translate to 'people-writing' (Davies et al., 2014). It is most often associated with

early anthropology where '… Western researchers typically spent a year or more living in far-off, non-Western, small-scale, isolated, rural communities. They learned local languages, watched and participated in day-to-day activities… asked what was going on and why, took notes on what they saw and heard, sketched or took photographs of particular people, places or events, kept tallies, collected objects and anything else that could help to record, make better sense of and/or better represent to others what they were doing and learning.' (Cloke et al., 2004, p. 188). These multiple methods for collecting data are just a few examples of tools that can be drawn from the ethnographic toolbox. Whilst I am unable to live alongside those in prison, I have for many years been sharing (musical) time and space with incarcerated participants and decided to use different elements of an ethnographic methodology in order to represent and recreate the experiences we shared[38].

Viewing ethnography as a toolbox, with different methods as appropriate tools for specific jobs, interviews and autoethnography were the two main ethnographic tools I employed in gathering data for this thesis. Some tools (such as observations and focus groups) were unavailable to me due to ethical considerations that are discussed below. Furthermore, other more unusual methods, such as fictional writing, were used in order to attempt to capture and recreate the affectivity under investigation as well as to lay out the political and material dynamics involved in prison-based music-making.

Interviews

Interviews (n=21) were conducted in three stages across the extensive to intensive range. Whilst attempting to distinguish the role musicking played in the

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[38] As many of the experiences within music are indeed non-representational, it is my aim to discuss the affective elements and my hope that some of the fictional writing will recreate (rather than represent) these affects for the reader.

prison system, I interviewed the CEOs, founders, or general managers (n=7) of most of the major prison-based music-making organisations in order to gain an insight into their aims, motivations and the obstacles they faced. I also interviewed CT facilitators (n=7) to gain an understanding of organisational aims, their implementation and how this implementation was affected by a relationship with participants. I enquired into how facilitators in turn affected organisational aims, and how they experienced aspects of carcerality within their work. This aspect of the research has opened up new and important lines of investigation as '[s]cholarship on prison-based music-making projects and programmes to date has largely overlooked the perspectives of prison-based music facilitators, who form an integral part of many prison-based music activities.' (Mangaoang, 2021, p. 274). Finally, the focus of the interviews turned to the ex-prison residents (n=7) who were previously participants of CT sessions in prison and often current participants of CT sessions outside of prison. This intensive stage provided an understanding of the role, purpose, and utility of musicking in carceral space for those incarcerated.

As I take the view that prison is dehumanising, it was important to me not to perpetuate any dehumanisation through the interview process. Therefore, the interviews followed a semi-structured model, allowing the conversation to flow and be directed by the interviewee and giving them a chance to allow their own voice to be heard (Arksey and Knight, 1999). Whilst I prepared some basic bullet points for conversation starters, each interview took its own course, following the narrative chosen by the interviewee. I sought to provide a forum for the voices of the participants, a chance for them to have their stories told in a space where they are not typically listened to (Kinpaisby-Hill, 2011).

Autoethnography

My practice as a music facilitator in prison was informed by reading Freire's (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* shortly after starting to facilitate sessions in prison. This book led me to attempt to flatten the hierarchy of the traditional teacher-student relationship and become part of the group, being led by the participants and learning from them as much as I taught. Whilst it is never possible to completely escape the dynamic of 'keyholder' and 'prisoner' or the labels of 'civilian staff' and 'incarcerated criminal', I often felt that I was just another member of the band and participants would sometimes tell me that they would forget that I wasn't 'one of them'. For this reason, when attempting to capture data on the affective atmosphere of prison-based music-making sessions, I felt it appropriate to use an autoethnographic approach. Additionally, the experience of the facilitators in prison provides a rich and unique insight into the dynamics of prison-based musicking.

As I was unable to secure ethical permission to interview or observe current prison residents in their sessions (discussed below), my autoethnographic notes were taken in the form of a reflective journal, being careful and mindful of what could and couldn't be recorded. As an employee within a prison establishment, I received training as to what information could and could not leave the prison as well as topics I was not allowed to discuss with the public. I was permitted to record my emotional responses and my thoughts pertaining to success or improvements I could make within the sessions. Discussions and incidents between participants and myself could also be referred to within my journalling as long as any details that could render them identifiable were omitted or fictionalised. Therefore the titles of songs that we played, names of prisons or

the name of the wings on which the residents resided were all either fictionalised or omitted.

The sparse inclusion of emotional and qualitative data in criminological literature has been noted by Jewkes (2012), who suggests that autoethnography can play an important role in prison fieldwork. She argues that a key advantage it presents is that it allows the researcher to make use of emotion as an intellectual resource, a strategy that has often been underutilised is criminological texts (Jewkes 2012 p.72, also see Bosworth et al., 2005). Within a relational activity such as music-making, in particular, where facilitators are encouraged to take on a student-teacher role and become part of a unit (or band) with those incarcerated, the emotional responses felt when musicking create valuable data in regard to affective atmospheres. Whilst my own experience of prison and incarceration will (hopefully) never be the same as the CT participants, I believe my experience of the music in that place and my observations regarding the emotion, the feel, and the 'moment' hold important similarities to that which others in the group experience.

Fictional writing

My experience of working with (ex)prison residents is what has led me to this research. This rich resource of experience, however, is difficult to exploit. For much of my practice before I began to formally study prison-based music-making I did not make field notes, I did not interview any prisoner residents and kept no records of participant statements. So how can this past experience – which underpins my positionality, interest, and assumed knowledge in this field – be situated, cited and discussed? Considerations such as the accuracy of my memory, the lack of consent to quote that which I can remember and the possible identification of prisoner residents or the victims of their crimes, must

first be addressed. For this reason, I have chosen to use a composite fictional storied approach and it is this style of data production that created the three stories in the introduction of this thesis.

When discussing the sensitive subject of those accused of sex offenses against children, Piper and Sikes (2010) found they 'could simply not risk providing any clues whatsoever as to who our informants were … [and] needed to go beyond anonymity' (p. 568). For this reason, they used composite fictional stories, combining fiction and ethnographic data in order to bring 'social research closer to the richness and complexity of lived experience' (Bochner and Ellis, 1998, p. 7). The dual benefits of 'going beyond anonymity' and bringing social research into richer more complex realms make composite fictional ethnographies an excellent research style for my purposes. Regarding anonymity, the details recalled (names, places, descriptions, illnesses, interests, hobbies and so on) can be fictionalised to ensure no identification of the parties involved can be made. With reference to the accuracy of memory, this issue is mitigated as the minor details become fictionalised in favour of clearer communication of the purpose of the story as well as the affective atmospheres and emotional landscapes in play. Lack of consent to quote the (ex-)prison residents involved is circumvented by never quoting them. In fact, all interactions, whilst being based on my own real-life experiences or on the stories told by other music-making facilitators/(ex-)prison residents, are fictionalised, with only the structure of events or interactions and their purpose, meaning, and atmosphere being factually communicated.

Fact and fiction are often mistakenly perceived as antonyms, yet Bochner and Ellis (1998) suggest 'the opposite to fact isn't fiction but something like error. The opposite of fiction isn't truth but something like objectivity or actuality'

(p.13). Mistaking fact and fiction as binary opposites denies the rich source of truths found in fictional writing and disguises the subjective understanding, positionality and constructed nature of all facts.

In the more traditional research format, direct quotations from interviews or field notes/journals are used and then analysed and interpreted. This gives the reader a feeling of direct contact with the research subjects and lends a sense of legitimacy to the research. Yet the choice of quotes, the analysis of the quotations and the expansion of the quotations' meaning, will always be infused with the writer's subjectivity and positionality (Arksey and Knight, 1999, Cloke et al., 2004). Inevitably, the reader's subjectivity and positionality will affect their interpretation and understanding of direct quotations and the subsequent analysis. By not claiming the same level of objectivity as more traditional ethnographic approaches (such as interviews), fictionalised accounts create increased freedom to access and communicate the subjective, affective and emotional components of research with honesty and accuracy. As these components are of key interest to my research, finding the best way to communicate them is paramount to its success.

In the fictionalised accounts, details which may identify vulnerable individuals such as prisoner residents have, in effect, been censored for reasons of safety, ethics, and security. Important details such as towns or cities where incidents have taken place, the colour of the walls in a room, the placement of an interview, the time of day, have been omitted and plausible equivalents substituted, adding to the richness of the empirical work. The use of composite fictional writing aims to recreate the experience for the reader, bringing them closer to the liveness and richness of the real time and life experience. These stories attempt to recreate the same affective atmosphere that was

communicated and felt by myself and as communicated to me, by the characters within them.

The plots of the stories were chosen to enable the discussion of topics that were often highly sensitive or to reference issues and historical experiences that could not be raised in interviews. At times stories were also used to draw from my personal work experience with those with whom I had lost contact. As I wanted to include these experiences in this research but was unable to interview the participants in question, fictional composite stories were used to recreate the experiences and discussions that had taken place. The stories are composites of many conversations and interactions I have had with participants over several years: they typify aspects of the extra-carceral and allow moderate generalisations without universalising or losing valuable specificity.

The first three stories (found in the introduction) present some particular aspects of (extra)carceral experience and include a range of circumstances and experiential details that would not easily fall within the scope of a single interview. Stories four and five (found in chapter seven) discuss the issues surrounding relationships and the boundaries that are challenged through musically formed relationships. Story four was used to illustrate the closeness of relationships formed with participants. I felt it was important to find a medium that allowed me to convey and recreate the emotions that surrounded his death. Story five is a retelling of events that transpired outside of a time where I was keeping autoethnographic notes. I was able to confirm some of the details in a subsequent interview with one of the participants. I found the emotions that surrounded the story were brought to light most effectively through the medium of storytelling.

The stories provided a way to draw out the emotional difficulties surrounding prison and the way in which music is used to manage the space. The feelings of fear in story one, the relationship between facilitator and participant in story two, and Rob's relationship to extra-carceral space and music found in story three, help to draw the reader into affective moments relevant to the enquiry. The stories help to interrogate atmosphere and affect through a naturalistic recreation of carceral and extra-carceral musical experience.

As little as possible was changed from 'fact' to 'fiction' in these stories. Elements changed or omitted were: identifying factors including names, the instruments that a participant played, the details of their illness, the location of rooms or towns. Conversations that took place with participants were recreated either in paraphrase or verbatim (depending on whether sentences jeopardised anonymity through specific details they disclosed or via characteristic patterns of speech or use of vocabulary) in order to rehumanise and draw the reader into relationship with the participant.

Cartography

As part of my programme of research, I set out to geographically situate the role that music-making plays in prisons in England and Wales. I created a cartography of the 118 prisons, establishing which of these provided music-making opportunities. During the process I found I had to directly contact the prison-based music-making charities and organisations as publicly available information was incomplete at best and often misleading. The intricacies of categorisation, labelling, and presenting this data are discussed fully in chapter four. A cartography was initially an obvious step to take as I began my research in the Human Geography department of Exeter University, however it became an important tool for sociological analysis as it shows the effects that movement

between establishments may have on individual prison residents who will be unsure of the availability of music-making at a new location. Geographical obstacles and logistical difficulties were also highlighted through this cartographic exercise which has since been take up by Mangaoang (2021) who included a similar undertaking in her research in Norwegian prisons after our discussions.

In order to present my cartography and make it immediately available to potential users, I created a website (www.PrisonMusicCollective.org) that will be discussed in the conclusion of this thesis. I created the cartography on a spreadsheet and uploaded it to google maps – a free, online, mapping software that can be easily embedded into a website. Screenshots of this cartography are placed as figures within this thesis, but it remains available online for further inspection and I aim to continue updating it as the prison-based music-making scene is constantly evolving[39].

The National Research Council

I had previously completed an undergraduate dissertation that included interviews from four prison residents in 2010. This experience had led me to believe that the process of gaining permission to conduct further interviews would be simple due to my good relationship with governors and staff in the prisons I had worked in over the years. However, recent changes in ethical procedures have made conducting research with prisoner residents more complicated. In order to complete the research on which this thesis is based, I had to navigate both the university and the National Research Council's (NRC) ethics boards.

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[39] The organisations and prisons using this website as well as the affects it is having on the prison music scene is discussed in the conclusion of this thesis.

My original supervisor, Paul Cloke (now sadly deceased) and I, initially decided to apply for project ethics approval through the NRC. However, the NRC requested a copy of the university's ethics approval certificate whilst the university suggested they could not give permission without the NRC approving first. Paul and I spent many months designing a research plan where I would interview participants and observe sessions taking place in CTs (at the time of application) 15 prisons and evaluate the affective atmospheres and their potential effect on recidivism (one of the key areas of interest the NRC suggested within the application guidelines).

Despite the detail and many hours of work I had put into this application, it failed to get through. The feedback I received (available in Appendix A) left me with little hope that I would be successful. It included requests for further details around the 'ethnographic approach', 'how the qualitative data would be analysed' and how the 'differing methods supplemented each other'. This came as quite a shock as the guidelines had specifically requested that academic language be simplified or left out. Additionally, whilst I had demonstrated the minimal impact it would have on resources and the explorative nature of my investigation, the first bullet point of criticism stated:

> The Committee felt that the potential benefits to HMPPS (including how the findings could be operationalised) were insufficiently elaborated and did not justify the resource demands involved. (National Research Committee, 2018a)

Without much hope I applied again and strongly adjusted the tone of the application to include more academic detail and clearer explanations in regard to the research design's concern with the process (rather than the result) of desistance. This submission was met with a second negative response that included this feedback (see appendix B for the full response):

> The focus and aims of the research were still unclear. References to desistance and recidivism were made but no information given on how they would be measured.
>
> …
>
> It was difficult to follow some of the arguments as a result of the various jargons (e.g. 'liminality', 'agency in music', 'preconscious affective properties of music') and a lack of explanation for the terms or concepts used. (National Research Committee, 2018b)

Frustrated by the Catch 22 situation in which I found myself, I reached out to other academics who had sought permission to conduct research in prisons. I emailed a leading academic who had done similar work[40], whose reply summarised my feelings, validated my resulting anger at the situation, and explained how he was able to get through the ethics board:

> Dear David
>
> I am terribly sorry to hear this. Yes, "[My research team] did have similar problems in trying to get our research approved. I don't have the letter now, but I remember being furious…. basically there was no practical reason why the research shouldn't go ahead -- they just didn't think a qualitative study of arts was important. It is a real bias and it is power-tripping on their part.
>
> At the same time, I do support the idea that there has to be gatekeeping on the number of researchers who want to go into prisons. But, the lines they have decided to draw are arbitrary and I think wrong. ([Anonymised], 2018)

In my reply to him I included a copy of the feedback from my application to which he stated:

> The Prison Service has a long way to go in these dialogues with research. Fingers crossed you can find a way around this silliness. (Anonymised, 2018)

The NRC only allows a researcher to apply twice per research project and any further applications are automatically rejected. This meant that no comparative study between prison establishments could be undertaken and the conclusions that could be drawn and methodologies made available to me were greatly

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[40] Their name has been omitted at their request.

reduced. I include details of my own struggle to conduct research with serving prisoners to underscore the bureaucratic barriers that prisons researchers face, and to point to what I consider to be the unnecessarily defensive and obstructive position which is adopted by the NRC. Prisons researchers are required to have high levels of resilience, not to mention time and energy, when pursuing their projects and seeking to overcome or circumnavigate what might seem to be imaginary or artificially constructed barriers presented by committees, a point that is not frequently made in prisons research literature. I seek to encourage researchers to share details of their experiences of encounters with ethics committees, and to share knowledge in order to make interactions with those committees smoother, as well as to increase chances of success.

The next course of action available to me was to apply to a single establishment as, although applications are submitted through the NRC, individual establishments have the power to make a decision as to whether or not to allow researchers access. This time however, I applied to the university ethics board first so that I could attach the certificate of approval to my NRC application and potentially start empirical work with non-prison residents whilst continuing to attempt to gain permission for a single establishment. This process was again arduous but helped by their recognition of my disability (dyslexia). The university allowed me to speak in person to the ethics board, present my research, and answer questions. They were able to give me approval to interview ex-prison residents, the staff of prison-based music-making organisations, and to interview prison residents (pending NRC/individual establishment approval) (see appendix C). Furthermore, I received some useful

advice regarding the ethical considerations around my use of an autoethnographic journal:

> [W]e would suggest you use a research diary to note down your reflective thoughts after each session, which can be used to collect ideas to be used as prompts in interviews and focus groups. We would also consider it appropriate to use these notes to add your personal narrative to convey the non-representational aspects of events in the written up analysis of the project. These composite accounts to convey the atmosphere of settings would not be considered as ethnographic data needing consent by the committee. (Davies, 2018)

Ultimately, I decided not to apply for research permission in an individual establishment due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic. In March 2020 the U.K. went into national lockdown and it would be a further two and half years before I would be able to return to my regular job as a music facilitator in a local prison, resulting in there being no opportunity to complete research with participants currently residing in prison. I decided to continue my project using those methods for which I had acquired ethics approval.

Ethics

The main ethical concerns and how they were mitigated are discussed below and listed in the harm/benefit analysis that I completed for the university ethics application, found in Appendix D. The key concerns highlighted in this section surround: (i) the ability for prison residents to give informed consent (which it was ultimately decided that they couldn't and that ex-prison residents would be interviewed instead); (ii) the silencing of incarcerated people caused by the issue of informed consent; (iii) anonymity and identification; (iv) categorisation and dehumanisation; (v) the accuracy of retrospective data and its potential implications for the research findings, (vi) the positionality of ex-prison residents and their experience when discussing musicking whilst incarcerated.

(i) Unlike the NRC, the university ethics board gave me valuable insight into their concerns around interviewing incarcerated people. Whereas I had focused primarily on the dehumanising effects of prison and my main concern was to ensure that my practice was rehumanising (by using techniques such as semi or unstructured interviews and non-quantitative methodologies), the members of the ethics board raised concerns about the capability of incarcerated people to give fully informed consent. Their view was that an absence of coercion towards incarcerated people was near impossible. With my experience of interviewing prison residents for my undergraduate degree, I found myself in agreement with the ethics board as I felt three out of the four participants had given answers to my questions that they believed would increase their music provision, rather than being honest and representing their actual beliefs and feelings. Only one participant, with whom I had created a particularly good rapport over the course of a year, answered honestly, relaying stories of being bullied by officers and suggesting that musicking in prison would have little or no effect on recidivism rates. Additionally, between my undergraduate and post-graduate studies I had worked as a non-music educator in a Cat C and Local Cat B prison for a local charity delivering a personal development education course. I had chosen to leave for ethical reasons – finding the course to be prescriptive, infantilising and manipulative towards the participants. I felt the course was further subjugating an already oppressed population. The pinnacle of my ethical discomfort with this work came as one participant described the course content (politely) in this same negative light and received a similarly negative report from one of my colleagues that reached his parole board. This resulted in a stagnation of his security categorisation and effectively added an extension to his indeterminant sentence. Having built a rapport and level of trust with this participant, it has

become difficult for me to view prison as a place where consent can be fully informed, and freedom of speech can come without risk.

(ii) This ethical concern does need to be balanced with the unethical silencing of prison residents from influencing policy and research that pertains to their lives. Without direct dialogue and consultation with those that it effects, prison research and policy making will continue to be ineffective, dehumanising, and shaped by the preferences of the institutions especially those that grant access to researchers (Watson and van der Meulen, 2019). My research, then, can be understood to be driven by an ethical imperative of its own. A detailed harm-benefit analysis was completed (see appendix D[41]) as part of the university ethics application, before any empirical work took place. The potential harms included issues surrounding security of personal data, the potential conflicts of interest that may occur in my dual role of facilitator and researcher, any misrepresentation of the carceral experience that I may perpetuate, sensitive issues that may arise during interviews, limitations on participants' time, interruptions to participants' music-making sessions, a lack of informed consent, the feeling of participants or staff that they may be being investigated, and potential glorification of criminal activity. The potential harms and benefits of the cartography, interviews and focus groups (that ended up not being used), and potential publication of this work are also discussed in the harm-benefit analysis.

(iii) Whilst I ultimately was unable to interview current prison residents for this thesis, the key points communicated through engagement with the ethics

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[41] In this section, terms such as 'inmate' and 'prisoner' are used as I had not at this point gained an understanding of the harm those terms could be causing. It was only later that I adjusted my language to use the term (ex)prison resident or participant. I include this detail to document the extended and processual nature of my research project development.

committees (both university and NRC) were taken into the interviews I conducted with ex-prison residents. I was concerned that although not in prison, many suffered from extended licences or other forms of extra-carcerality. Therefore, questions around criminal activity (in and out of prison) were avoided and it was made clear through the use of consent forms and discussions that their answers would not affect theirs or other people's future music-making provision as this was not a formal evaluation of CT's (or any other musicking charity's) work. All participants were strongly encouraged to use pseudonyms and all prisons, family names, towns, or any other potentially identifying information was anonymised during the transcription process. The participants were given a copy of their consent form which included their pseudonyms which they could use to identify their contribution. This identification of their contribution would allow them to withdraw their quotations if they so wished.

(iv) A decision was made not to attempt to categorise prisoner residents into groups based on crime, age, length of sentence, or other such alignment as the prison experience is entirely individual and each person's reasons for being incarcerated involve a complex web of events, emotions, and judgements. This leaves attempts at categorisation beset with many problems (Ward and Carter, 2019), not least of which is the researcher's positionality, biases, and purposes for categorising them. As this thesis does not seek to find a link between musicking and types of criminal activity, there seems to be no purpose in ascertaining or stating the interviewee's criminal offence. In conjunction with this, details of their crime could make them identifiable as well as further contribute to their dehumanisation, as though their identity and the validity of their experience is in some way related to their past actions that have been

labelled and defined as criminal[42]. It is perhaps for this reason that CT facilitators rarely know the nature or details of their participants' criminal offences. Therefore, no attempt will be made to link broad categorisations of criminal offences to musicking and a reduction of re-offending in the work that follows.

(v) I had initial concerns regarding the accuracy of retrospective data, as my field notes could not be taken in the moment and, for my interviewees, their incarceration was often a long time ago and potentially traumatic (with concerns that traumatic events could affect memory recall and negatively affect mental health). However, in a review of studies analysing 'the quality of retrospective reports' (Beckett et al., 2001, p. 593), it has been argued that 'long-term retrospective histories proved nearly as good quality reports as provided by short-term retrospective histories' (Beckett et al., 2001, p. 622). The issue of trauma's distorting effect on memory is greatly contested as some traumatic experiences are suppressed and others are recalled with great accuracy (McNally, 2005). Furthermore, the accuracy of the interviewees' memories is unlikely to have an effect on this research as these details are not under scrutiny in this investigation. Instead, the lasting effects, emotions and impressions surrounding time incarcerated and spent musicking are the issues of principle interest. Therefore, the accuracy of a recollection is of secondary importance compared to its resulting affects[43] which are felt presently rather than retrospectively.

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[42] Some interviewees maintained their innocence, felt that their conviction was unduly harsh, or believed their actions to be morally correct despite being illegal. For this reason, I refer to their actions as being labelled or defined as criminal, abstaining from an absolutist or definitive further labelling and dehumanisation of the interviewees.
[43] An example of this came when discussing with a participant when they had joined a session I was running. Their recollection was of seeing a CT poster, however at that time I was working for education

Whilst the affective properties resulting from music-making sessions may be felt presently, data collected regarding the affective atmospheres created within music-making sessions from a participant's perspective will always be retrospective as the musicking must stop for it to be recorded. The data collected is therefore analysed in terms of multiple musicking sessions combined over a long period of time, rather than short-term memory of a single session.

(vi) Finally, a benefit of interviewing ex-prison residents is that once released, narratives around musicking's use around, for instance, a reduction of re-offending behaviour or in forming lasting friendships from inside to outside prison, move from the theoretical to the actual. Whilst the inability to gain permissions to interview prison residents directly, then, was once a cause of stress and anxiety, it has become an opportunity and has in fact directed me towards a preferred methodology.

Data organisation and analysis

The interviews were completed in three stages, starting with the CEOs and founders of prison-based music-making organisations, followed by the CT facilitators, and finishing with the ex-prison residents. Two of the initial interviews took place before the COIVD-19 pandemic, one with Claire Annamlai and the other with Robin Harris (both representatives from music-making organisation, Finding Rhythms). Claire Annamlai's was the only interview that took place in person, whilst the rest were done via the web application, Zoom or via telephone. The effect of conducting interviews online or via telephone rather

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and not CT. About a year later he joined my CT sessions once I had gained employment with them. The sessions under education and under CT were run almost identically, even using the same equipment, and therefore the accuracy of this detail was unimportant and went unchallenged by me. The lasting affective influence of the music-making sessions were what I was investigating with this interview.

than face-to-face seemed minimal. They increased the ease of speaking to organisation representatives, as they were more easily able to fit me into their schedules, and ex-prison residents were able to speak to me from their own homes as environments that were perhaps more comfortable for them[44]. During the COVID-19 lockdowns, many of the interviewees spoke of enjoying the chance to speak to someone, have a form of human connection, and to reminisce over the times before the pandemic.

At each stage the interviews informed and created the connections necessary to complete the next phase. Two of the interviewees held the positionality to have been interviewed in two separate categories. Gareth (see chapter six), who is part of the management team in CT has also worked for many years as a CT facilitator and therefore could have been interviewed in either stage. His contributions are primarily contained in chapter six which focuses on the facilitators experience; however, his input aided the analysis presented in chapters five and six. Similarly, Cam (see chapter eight) holds the dual positionality of ex-prison resident and CT facilitator. His contributions are contained primarily in chapter eight that discusses the ex-prison resident experience of musicking, but again, his input was key to the argumentation presented in both chapters six and seven.

The interviews, reflective journals (autoethnography) and composite fictional stories, were imported to Nvivo and separated into three pre-determined categories: extensive data on prison and prison-based music-making organisation policy and practice; intensive data on the non-prison resident experience; and intensive data on the ex-prisoner experience. The data was

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[44] Due to prison security restrictions and CT policy I would have been unable to visit and interview an ex-prison resident in their home.

then coded into themes that originated from the theories and theoretical framework discussed in the previous chapter, starting with the four planes, carceral pains (weight, depth, and tightness), affective atmospheres, liminality, and labelling. At times, themes (such as 'escapism' and being 'learner led' in the facilitators' practice) directed the investigation towards well established theories (such as Denora's notion of 'music asylums' and Friere's 'pedagogy of the oppressed'). Additional themes (such as 'purpose for musicking', 'purpose found through musicking', and 'atomisation' of prisons and prison residents) developed entirely from the interviews and were included alongside other theories as they arose from the data in a more 'grounded theory' approach. Whilst I did not engage with Grounded Theory completely, I employed the process of breaking down the interviews into smaller sections, comparing them, and then placing into categories in order to construct new themes (Walker and Myrick, 2006, p. 549).

The following chapters (four and five) start by focusing on mapping the prison landscape and analysing the political and geographical influences that create obstacles to and affect the shape of prison-based music-making. Political influence and resulting lack of resources is also seen to influence the style of delivery as well as its scarcity. In chapters six and seven, through interviews with CT facilitators and my own experiences and stories recorded in my autoethnographic notes and composite fictional stories, I show how affective atmospheres and experiences of carcerality carry a strong influence on prison-based music-making and style of delivery that, at times, opposes that desired by prison gatekeepers and policy makers. Finally, chapter eight analyses the carceral musicking experience as described by ex-prison residents as well as their use of musicking in extra-carceral environments. This chapter culminates

with an exploration and evaluation of the participatory praxis with which I engaged and documents the changes in my beliefs, practice, and ideology demonstrated through the lyrical content created in musical communion with ex-prison residents.

In each of these chapters Born's (2011) four planes theoretical framework is used to organise and structure the diverse range of concepts discussed in the first two chapters. As such, figure six aims to make clear where concepts of carceral pains (Crewe, 2011), docile bodies (Foucault, 1977), problem posing learning (Freire, 1970), liminality (both carceral (Jewkes, 2005) and musical (Boeskov, 2017)), affective atmospheres (Anderson, 2009), desistance as a social movement (Maruna, 2017), labelling theory (Becker, 1963), and the materialisation of space through music (Simpson, 2017, DeNora, 2013a) are discussed within each plane.

First Plane:

Musicking creates affective atmospheres and liminal space through which relationships to space and carceral pains are affected and changed.

Second Plane:

Music's imagined communities re-label musicking participants and create new communities through which a desistance based social movement can be formed.

Four Plane Housing of Theories

Third Plane:

The negative conotations of the labels that prison residents are given are challenged and changed. Hierachies between facilitators and participants are challenged through a problem posing pedegogy inherent to group musicking

Fourth Plane:

Security concerns and societal structures that rely on carcerality limit social movements and refractions of hierachies and labels. The use of music-making as an incentive is also used to create docile bodies that fulfil the purposes and training embedded in music-making sessions.
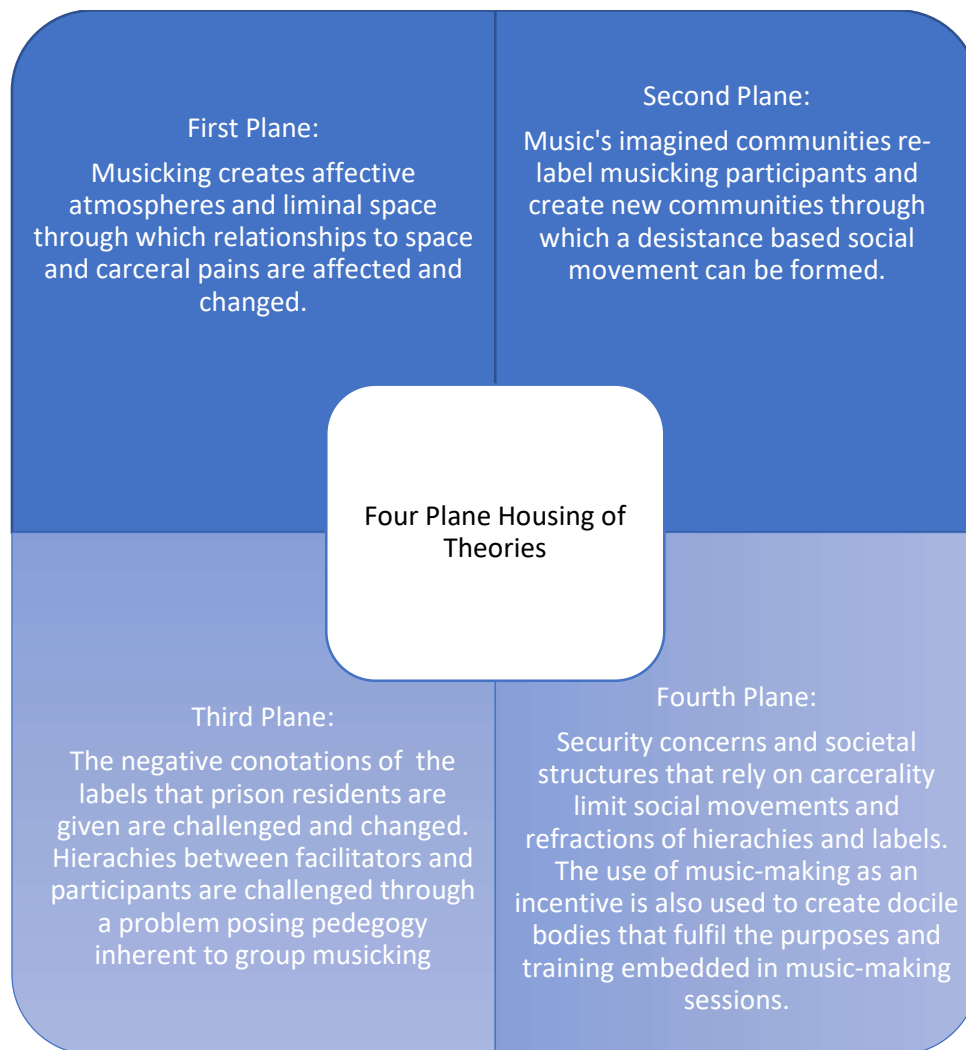
Figure 6 Four planes housing of theories

It is hoped that the empirical chapters of this thesis demonstrate the role that music-making currently plays in prisons in England and Wales, but that they will also direct future prison musicking research and praxis.

4. Prison-based Music-making Motif

Introduction

> 'Motif - An identifiable succession of musical sounds, but shorter than a complete melody.' (Khan Academy, 2020)

Music certainly has a place in all prisons. Whether it is a CD player dominating a wing's soundscape (Rice, 2016), a short term music-making activity for prison residents (Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008) or the humming of a prison officer whilst they jangle their keys (Herrity, 2017), music permeates, traverses, and engulfs the carceral. The landscape of provision for music-making activities for prison residents in prisons in England and Wales, however, is largely unknown. It emerged during the course of my research that the Ministry of Justice (MoJ), who oversee the running of these prisons, holds no centralised database of available education courses or third-party organisations providing musical activities for prison residents. Additionally, a smattering of prison resident and officer led music groups occur daily but do not leave a formal record that might make them traceable.

This unknown prison-based music-making landscape is likely to be just one of many unknown and only partially explored aspects of the carceral experience, concealed by security procedure and the substantially autonomous nature of English and Welsh prisons. This chapter, then, aims to answer the first two of the five questions posed in the introduction of this thesis: What is available where?; and what are the aims of prison-based music-making organisations? The chapter also explores who teaches, who facilitates and who supports those wishing to begin or wanting to continue musicking whilst incarcerated, and the obstacles that music-making faces in carceral environments. By exploring these

considerations, this chapter aims to investigate how carceral environments and musicking are affecting one another.

Through the searching of Prison Inspectorate reports, IMB annual reviews and by interviewing representatives from key third-party prison-based music-making organisations, this chapter addresses the above questions and produces a basic and (inevitably) partial cartography[45] of the prison-based music-making scene. By analysing the interviews and cartography with reference to Born's (2011) four planes, I aim to demonstrate musicking's value to those in carceral spaces as well as music-making organisations' struggles with a broadly apathetic prison industry and subsequent lack of financial support. I will also consider carceral prescription, and how music-making may be employed for the purposes of control, and homogenisation, and to bind and subdue its subjects. I argue that musicking in prisons is a disjointed, under-valued and misunderstood motif that has yet to fully realise the melody it could become.

The chapter starts by exploring the prison landscape, detailing how the prisons in England and Wales are categorised and how they differ. Following this is an explanation of how the data regarding prison-based music-making was collected before creating and analysing the resulting cartography. Finally, the obstacles that have restricted and affected prison-based music-making are discussed with information drawn from interviews with representatives from some of the main music-making organisations that work in prisons.

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[45] A cartography of prison-based music-making will remain partial due to the ever-changing nature of prisons. The obstacles in the creation of this cartography and the limit of the conclusions that can be drawn from this cartography will be discussed below.

The Prison Landscape

In order to understand the role music-making has in prisons and for prison residents then, I believe it is important to understand *whether* music-making does happen in a prison, *where* music-making can happen in a prison, and *how* music-making can happen in a prison. The *whether, where* and *how* of music-making in prisons are always inter-related and dependant on each other. Through my own experience of facilitating music groups in prisons, I have worked in or visited Male category B, Local B, C and D prisons as well as Female Closed prisons (see below for more information on prison categories). The *whether* was often dependant on available space and if those spaces would be secure because, as a non-operational member of staff, it has often been considered unsafe to leave me alone and isolated with prison residents. In terms of the *where*, facilitating or teaching music is often perceived to require an isolated space, separate from other prison activities or areas where prison residents may be resting, due to the volume of most musicking activities. The *where* and the *how* have always played back and forth off each other as the availability of space affects the style of delivery, and vice versa. When the *how* and *where* cannot be reconciled, there is no organised musicking activity. Also, if the *how* does not line up with the requirements, desires and aims of the key decision makers in the establishment, the chance of a musicking activity taking place is greatly reduced.

In an attempt to gain a clearer understanding of prison-based music-making, I have created a cartography of the prison-based music-making scene. Such a feat has been described by Doxat-Pratt (2018a) as 'impossible' (p. 6) and indeed, without certain restrictions and boundaries, she is correct. However, since completing this task, a similar project has been taken up by Mangaoang

(2021) who after hearing of my work, completed a cartography of prison-based music-making in Norway.

The first two restrictions and boundaries were placed around the definition of 'prison' and their geographical placement. Therefore, the breadth of this empirical work only includes prisons in England and Wales as they are governed under the MoJ, whilst prisons in Scotland and Northern Ireland are governed by their own dedicated prison services. This framework of governance became both a political and geographical boundary in which to frame this research. The second boundary has been to use the MoJ's categorisation of 'prison'. As indicated in previous chapters, the justice.gov.uk website lists 118 prisons but does not include Immigration Removal Centres (IRCs), Airport Pre-Departure Accommodation or Secure Hospitals (*Prisons in England and Wales*, 2022). All prisons in England and Wales are prefixed with the title HMP (His Majesty's Prison), YOI (Young Offenders Institute) or a combination (such as HMYOI Werrington or HMP (IRC) Maidstone which holds the dual role of being a prison and an IRC). This works as a general (although not accurate) guide as to the age of the residents in each establishment as 'HMP' suggests residents are over the age of 21, any form of 'HMP/YOI' or 'HMP & YOI' suggests 18 and above, whilst YOI on its own suggests residents are under 18, under 21 or 18-21.

There is an apparent lack of standardisation in both the prefixing of prison names (such as 'HMP & YOI Moorland' or 'HMP/YOI New Hall') and their categorisation. The simplest understanding of prison categories groups them into female and male prisons with two security categories of female prisons and four security categories of male prisons. Female prisons are either 'open' or 'closed' whilst male prisons run from category A-D with A being high security

and D being an open prison (*Your A-D guide on prison categories*, 2020). Yet, upon closer inspection, the MoJ organises its establishments into 13 different categories (*Prisons in England and Wales*, 2022) due to variations in age as well as gender and security categories with a minority of prisons fulfilling multiple roles. Additionally, the categories of 'Local B' and 'Local Female' prisons are where all prison residents start. These prisons serve the local courts and retain remand prison residents awaiting trial, sentencing, or categorisation before they are either released or move to a more permanent establishment. As a result, these prisons have the most transient populations with people serving short sentences often being released before they are categorised or having served their full term before being sentenced.

Categories	Details	Gender	Number of Prisons
A	Highest security	M	8
B	Standard security	M or M/F	11
Local B	Standard security, remand prison, serving local courts	M or M/F	27
C	Lower security prison, holding prisoners with sentences too long to remain in a Local B often referred to as training prisons.	M	40
D	Low security open prisons used to prepare long term prisoners for release	M	10
Local Female	Standard security, remand prison, serving local courts	F	4
Open	Low security open prisons used to prepare long term prisoners for release	F	2
Closed	Standard security	F	5
Closed YOI	Male 18-21 closed conditions	M	4
Juvenile Under 18s	Standard security prison for under 18s	M	3
B, C, D	A single establishment sectioned into a multiple	M	2

	category prison		
C (Foreign Nationals)	HMP Huntercombe recognises itself as a C category prison, solely for foreign nationals but not for immigration removal	M	1
C/D semi-open	HMP Kirklevington Grange holding category C prisoners as well as having open category D status	M	1

Table 1: Prison categories

To further complicate an already convoluted categorisation system, certain prisons have dual purposes and categorisations that are not found in the justice.org.uk categorisation list and are sometimes only alluded to via their prefixes (such as HMP (IRC) Maidstone being both a prison and an IRC). Similarly, each individual prison can have specific roles that are not included in their categorisation or prefix. An example of this is HMP/YOI Swinfen Hall, which at the time of writing held no prison resident over the age of 27, yet this information would not be known simply by looking at its categorisation or prefix. It is also worth noting that simply because a prison is categorised as a Local B with the prefix HMP, it may still hold YOs (Young Offenders aged 18-21). It is likely that this inaccuracy is due to the ever-changing purpose of each individual establishment, adapting to the needs of the prison system and its population. Therefore, any attempt to collate a more accurate categorisation list would be out of date as soon as it was completed.

Each of the above categories presents a different set of nuances, obstacles, and biases that affect *how, where* or *whether* music-making may take place in an establishment. Issues of gender, security, purpose, and perceived effects of musicking appear throughout this investigation and are often influenced by each establishment's category and objectives. For example, the language barriers found in foreign national or joint HMP/IRC establishments, the security issues

surrounding the movement of prisoners in mixed gender prisons, the transient populations in Local B and local Closed prisons or the employed status of many C and D category prison residents, will all effect *whether*, *where* and *how* an organised music making activity can take place. The variation in each prison's purpose, the autonomy of each establishment, and issues surrounding security, also make it difficult to determine *whether* music-making is happening in any given establishment. Therefore, because the prison landscape is complex and fluid, the prison-based music-making scene is elusive and concealed. These considerations are likely to always complicate efforts to map musicking activities in prisons.

What is Where? – The data collection

During preliminary searches of previous freedom of information requests by other researchers, it seemed that little information was centrally held by the MoJ. Many requests that asked for details regarding the provision of education or activities in prison were turned down, never answered, or only partially answered due to the lack of information that the MoJ held (for examples see: (*Wandsworth prison - education courses*, 2017, *How many prisoner's are studying towards a PhD in prison?*, 2019)). I chose to submit a broader request for information that I believed they would hold, asking for a, 'list of all the education/training courses at all levels, academic and vocational, to inmates in UK prisons along with which specific courses are available in which prisons 2017/18' (*Education courses provided in prison 2017/18 - a Freedom of Information request to HM Prison & Probation Service*, 2019) and received a reply stating:

> 'I can confirm that the MoJ holds most of the information you have requested.

The Offenders' Learning and Skil s [sic] Service (OLASS) contracts were novated from the Education and Skills Funding Agency (ESFA) to MoJ in October 2016. A full list of courses delivered between August 2017 and July 2018, which is the most recent list of provision, across male/female public sector prisons and five privately managed prisons in England (HMP Doncaster, HMP Northumberland, HMP Oakwood, HMP Birmingham, and HMP/YOI Thameside), has been provided in the attached. OLASS contracts run in academic years, from 1 August to 31 July.

This list does not include all purposeful activity or learning and skills that sit outside of the OLASS contract, which prisons deliver locally, and we do not record information in that level of detail.

The information requested for the remaining privately managed prisons in England and Wales (HMP Altcourse, HMP Ashfield, HMP Bronzefield, HMP Dovegate, HMP Forest Bank, HMP Lowdham Grange, HMP Peterborough, HMP Rye Hill, and HMP Parc) is not held by the MoJ. Learning and skills in these establishments are not delivered by OLASS providers. You may wish to write to the Directors of each of these privately managed prisons.' (*Education courses provided in prison 2017/18*, 2019)

The findings of a 2016 government review into prison education suggested that Prison Governors should be 'responsible and accountable for education… [with] the freedom to design the right curriculum and choose the delivery arrangement that best meets the rehabilitation needs of the individuals for whom they are responsible' (Coates, 2016, p. i). As a result, each prison is allowed a high level of autonomy and this is ever increasing with the new Dynamic Purchasing Scheme (DPS)[46] and Prison Education Framework (PEF) being used now to replace the OLASS system[47] (Procurement for prison education dynamic purchasing system, 2020). The DPS, PEF and previous OLASS contracts have aimed to meet the needs of individual establishments rather than centrally

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[46] Before the introduction of the DPS, funding for third-party programmes was given at the discretion of governors who control their prison's budget with no formal bidding system in place. The DPS is an attempt to formalise this process as each contract is produced and then publicly tendered to allow for a fairer bidding process to take place. This, however, has not ended the process of small pots of money being given to organisations at the governor's discretion as is discussed later in this chapter.

[47] The OLASS contracts set out the relationship between the prisons, MoJ funding, and the third-party colleges who delivered the education courses within prisons. With the PEF being only recently introduced, much of the rest of this chapter will focus on the previous OLASS contracts (particularly OLASS 4) and how this has affected the current prison-based music-making scene.

controlling and prescribing a curriculum, with the exception of English, Maths, ICT and ESOL that are considered core subjects and are required to be delivered by colleges in each of their respective prisons (*Prison education today*, 2020). As the justification for a prison system is partly found in its proposed purpose of reducing re-offending (see chapter 2), these education curriculums are designed with re-offending in mind as they aim to meet the 'rehabilitation needs' of their prison residents. Some criminological research has suggested that the absence of employment or meaningful employment are key indicators for re-offending (Baron and Hartnagel, 1997, Thornberry and Christenson, 1984, Uggen, 1999). This belief in the importance of employment for ex-prison residents is coupled with an understanding that basic literacy and numeracy skills are considerably lower in the prison population than in the general public (Creese, 2015). Prisons have therefore focused their education provision on English, Maths and vocational subjects with the aim of increasing employment (*Education courses provided in prison 2017/18*, 2019).

With music not being a prescribed core subject, it is then left up to the individual prisons to decide if they would like a music-making activity in their establishment, how they would like that activity to take place, and if they can afford to pay for it. This individualist approach is something the MoJ appears to hold in high regard and advertise with pride, as they continue in their response to my freedom of information request by explaining the new scheme despite my lack of prompt:

> 'Effective rehabilitation needs prisoners to be willing to commit to change, take advice, learn new skills and take opportunities to work. For those individuals willing to engage, the prison system must deliver.

> Our ground-breaking Education and Employment strategy, published in May 2016, sets out how we will transform our approaches to

helping prisoners develop their skills and secure employment post-custody.

We are empowering our governors. They are being given control over their budget, the power to choose providers and deliver learning that will best support their prisoners, including through the improvement of their English and maths skills. Our Dynamic Purchasing System (DPS), which was launched in November, is already proving popular, with over 160 providers signed up.' (*Education courses provided in prison 2017/18*, 2019)

Once again, the stress is on English and Maths as core subjects that are perceived to be of key importance to prisoner wellbeing and most importantly, rehabilitation through the provision of opportunity for those 'willing to commit to change'. Whilst this results in centralised control and accurate record keeping of education certificates, the MoJ does not hold records of third-party organisations or non-certificated music provisions within their prison system. Nor do they hold records for the private prisons with which they work in partnership.

Despite the incomplete picture the MoJ's response gave me, it became a useful first step because it allowed me to identify prisons that had included music classes as part of their education provision. The 2017/18 list provided identified only 19 prisons that had delivered music certificates, with a previous FOI request for the 2016/17 course list (*Education/training in uk prisons - a Freedom of Information request to Ministry of Justice*, 2018) showing 21 prisons had done so the previous year (22 different prisons across the two years). Three prisons (HMP Long Lartin, HMP & YOI Isis and HMP & YOI Swinfen Hall) had either removed music classes from their curriculum or failed to deliver any certificates to participants in 2017/18, whilst one prison (YOI Wetherby) had either gained a new music education course or successfully delivered certificates where they hadn't the previous year. In these 22 prisons, all courses

were either Level one or two (short courses at around GSCE or music grade three standard) and ranged from music ensemble performance awards to composition or music technology certificates.

This list fails to provide a complete understanding of available musicking activities delivered by education departments within prisons in England and Wales as it only includes certificated courses. Under the OLASS 4 contract (*Offender Learning and Skills Service Phase 4*, 2016), education courses were only funded if they produced recognised certificates, referred to as an 'outcome achievement payment system'[48] and this list did not include 'all purposeful activity or learning and skills that sit outside of the OLASS contract' (*Education courses provided in prison 2017/18*, 2019). Having taught non-certificated music-making courses paid for by prison colleges myself, I am aware that there may be many extra-curricular musicking activities in prisons, run for the purpose of improving OFSTED[49] results or because a prison's Learning and Skills Governor[50] has requested it. However, as education departments in prisons are tendered to third-party colleges, this payment system restricts a possible funding avenue for non-certificated educational activities and necessitates short courses that offer good value for money. Under the outcome achievement payment system, a course that is good value for money is one that requires the least amount of teaching time and produces the most well-paid certificates. In this way, the OLASS 4 contract has retained a centralised control of the curriculum and prescribed a hierarchy of intellectual importance by controlling

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[48] Also known as 'Payment by results'. The impact that this style of funding has had on music-making in prisons is discussed later in this and the next chapter, as well as being critiqued by Doxat-Pratt (2018a).
[49] OFSTED is the UK's Office for Standards in Education that inspects all education establishments that draw public money for education. This includes colleges that work within prison establishments (https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/ofsted/about#:~:text=About%20us,for%20children%20and%20young%20people.)
[50] Learning and Skills Governor is a common title in prisons for a governor that oversees the relationship between the prison and education department.

the prison education budget as they set a limit on the total funds that can be collected. In the education course lists provided by the MoJ, there are no details regarding length of course, number of certificates or number of students that enrolled on these courses. Therefore, an assumption that there is regular music-making available for residents in these 22 prisons cannot be made. We can only say that it is likely that cohorts as small as one learner or as many as 12, were enrolled on a music course lasting between three days and 12 weeks[51], once again complicating efforts to provide a comprehensive map of prison music-making.

To gain a deeper understanding as to whether there is or have been music-making activities in the remaining 96 prisons, I turned to each individual Inspectorate report and the 2018[52] Independent Monitoring Board (IMB) reports. Each prison is visited by the HMP Inspectorate of Prisons at least once every five years[53] (*About our inspections*, n.d.), whereas each prison has an IMB comprised of volunteers who regularly visit each prison and produce a yearly report. There is no requirement for either report to include a review of third-party organisations, education courses or music-making activities, but by searching (an admittedly and by necessity non-exhaustive list of) key words through each document (music, choir, drum, singing and guitar), I was able to identify 52 prisons that had some sort of music group or provision that had made a strong enough impact as to be mentioned in either report. These included organisations such as Changing Tunes (CT), The Irene Taylor Trust (ITT) and Finding Rhythms (FR) as well as further mentions of where education

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[51] The class size of 1-12 is standard within all prisons I have worked in and based on security protocols. The length of course is determined by the course level, all of which were level 1 or 2 and have guided learning hours of less than 60 hours. See *H/505/3986, Music Skills for Solo Performance - NOCN* 2020) as an example of music courses I have delivered in education departments before.
[52] The 2018 reports were the most recent reports at the time of data collection.
[53] Only the most recent Inspectorate Report was searched.

departments had music courses that were either certificated, non-certificated or embedded into other courses.

With these two methods of exploration, I had identified almost half (57) of the 118 prisons in England and Wales to have had some form of music-making activity within the last 5 years. Furthermore, I had begun to create a list of third-party organisations which were involved in music-making with the prison system. Through a combination of direct contact with these organisations, searches through their websites, the Clinks[54] directory (*Clinks Directory*) and a FOI request from September 2019 (*Current provisions available on the Prison Education Dynamic Purchasing System*, 2019) containing a list of DPS tenders, I was able to complete a list of all third-party organisations providing music-making activities in England and Wales. My findings are presented below in table 2.

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54 'Clinks is the infrastructure organisation supporting voluntary organisations in the criminal justice system in England and Wales.' (*Clinks - About us*, 2020)

3rd Party Music-Making Organisation	Information source	Notes
2MakeIt	Informal phone conversation	A brief phone conversation detailing the prison they work in and their style of delivery
Beating Time	Interview	Interview with Director, Rachel Mace
Changing Tunes	Interview	Interview with CEO, David Jones
Finding Rhythms	Interview	Interviews with Founder Robin Harris and representative Clare Annamalai
Good Vibrations	Email	Detailed email regarding prisons in which they have delivered and the obstacles that restrict them
InHouse Records	Website	No reply to contact
Irene Taylor Trust	Interview	Interview with Artistic Director, Sara Lee
Junction 42	Informal phone conversation	A brief phone conversation explaining that their choirs were run sporadically in conjunction with their Christian ministry.
Key4Life	Website	No reply to email or phone calls
Liberty Choir	Interview	Interview with Co-founder, Ginny Dougary
National Prison Radio	Email	Email detailing their areas of work and current expansion
Prison Choir Project	Interview	Interview with founder, Adam Green
SevenThreeOne	DPS listed	Listed in a single establishment with no reply to direct contact.
Sing Inside	Website, DPS list	A detailed account of their work available on their website and discussed with other charities who have worked with them.
Young Urban Arts Foundation	DPS listed	Listed in a single establishment with their website making no mention of prison work.

Table 2: List of third-party prison-based music-making organisations

Through these combined methods I identified evidence of music-making in a total of 111/118 prisons. I attempted to contact the remaining seven prisons directly with little success. One prison education department was able to tell me

that they had equipment but no money to pay for a tutor or third-party organisation to use it. In the other six cases I was either promised a return phone call that never happened, asked to email my request to a specific member of staff who never replied, or I was unable to get hold of someone from the education department or chapel. Even in the single case that did answer my questions, they admitted it would not be possible for them to know if there was an officer or prison resident led music group somewhere in the prison of which they were unaware. I have therefore recorded the final seven prisons as having 'no evidence of music-making'.

With the above information I have formed a partial cartography of the prison-based music-making scene in England and Wales which includes details regarding styles of delivery, regularity of availability, and genre of music provided. As already stated, the prison landscape is ever-changing and so is its music-making scene. Therefore, I hesitate to refer to this as a 'comprehensive' or 'complete' cartography; it is, however, the most accurate available snapshot of the prison-based music-making scene in 2019 and a significant enhancement of existing knowledge concerning the distribution of carceral musicking in England and Wales. As I will go on to demonstrate below, the cartography and the intricacies of its production allow for prison-based music-making to be analysed along the lines of Born's fourth plane, illustrating how external factors shape, control, and restrict the production of music in prisons.

Cartography

Music and prisons seem to go hand in hand, and at a glance, this would appear well evidenced by the 111/118 prisons in which I have found some evidence of music-making. The majority of these prisons, however, had their music-making provided by two charities, The Irene Taylor Trust (ITT) and Good Vibrations

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(GV), and when contacted directly to verify my findings they cast doubt on the accuracy of the data underpinning my cartography. It appeared that the data on the Clinks Directory website was not only out of date (it included every prison ITT and GV had been in over the organisations' entire history) but was also inaccurate, with the individual charities claiming they had never visited particular prisons. When I presented my findings via email to Sara Lee, the Artistic Director at ITT, she quickly responded by asking to speak to me and offering to be interviewed in order to correct the inaccuracies in this data. She opened the conversation by saying:

> 'It was really interesting to read [your email], as had you said that, 'music was happening in all these prisons'. It would have been completely the wrong picture. Completely wrong, compared to what is actually happening! For us, we have prisons that we're in every week. We have prisons that we're in regularly and we have prisons that we're in very sporadically.' (Lee, 2020)

Similarly, Katherine Haigh, the director at GV, provided me with a list of prisons in which GV had delivered courses up to the first quarter of 2016 (showing that many prisons had not been visited in quite a while) and a detailed list of the obstacles they have encountered that have restricted their work. Whilst the cartography at this stage would show music-making in almost every prison, with only small pockets of no evidence in some of the London prisons and a small group clustered in the north of England, as Lee states, this does not present an accurate picture of what is really happening day by day. To suggest that a prison has regular music-making sessions because it hosted a five-day Gamelan[55] or song writing workshop 10 years ago would be disingenuous. At the same time, I am led to believe that in the seven prisons without evidence of organised music activities there is likely to have been some music-making I

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[55] 'Gamelan music is the traditional music of Indonesia. The gamelan is a family of instruments such as gongs, chimes, drums, and xylophones.' (*Gamelan courses – Good Vibrations*, 2020)

have not been able to uncover, such as an officer running an evening guitar group, or a non-certificated music class.

A binary answer to the first question presented in this thesis of what is happening where, would therefore result in a misrepresentation of the reality and the complexity of the prison-based music-making scene. For this reason, I have chosen to represent the answer to this question in six categories expanded in Table 3 and mapped in Figure 7.

Category	Number of prisons	Description
Weekly	28	Weekly music-making sessions. Predominantly provided by CT and ITT. These are often band workshops held once or twice a week to a rolling cohort of participants but also include InHouse Records and National Prison Radio (see below for details).
Intermittent	39	Music-making workshops that visit prisons between 1 and 4 times a year, providing anything from 5-day gamelan or song writing courses to intensive month-long rehearsals for operatic performances.
Weekly & Intermittent	8	Prisons that have both of the above styles of music-making activity. These are predominantly run by ITT (6/8) providing both styles, however in 3/8 of these cases, they are provided by multiple third-party organisations.
Historical	30	Generally confirmed by GV and ITT, these are prisons that have previously allowed third party organisations to run music-making activities within the prison but there are no more planned for the future and often have not been any for some years. To draw the data in line with the inspectorate reports, any prison in which GV had provided workshops throughout 2015-2016 is included as current, yet it is likely that some of those prisons would more accurately be marked as historical. Unfortunately, GV have not been able to keep their data that up to date. In the case of ITT, Lee went through the entire list of prisons and gave me the most up-to-date information she could, based on her memory and experience. Similarly to GV, ITT has ceased to provide courses in a handful of these prisons in the last 5 years and in this case, these prisons I have marked as historical.
Unconfirmed	6	In these prisons, there is evidence of musicking found in inspectorate/IMB reports or Koestler awards but were referred to as 'prisoner led' or run by 'chapel staff' and have not been claimed by any third-party organisation. With the transient nature of prison populations and staff, along with the assumption that most chaplaincies include worship music or choirs during their religious services; I have marked these unconfirmed due to them sitting on the borderline of this chapter's

		definition of music-making sessions. It would seem to be a disingenuous assumption that these groups meet weekly or intermittently if they are even still meeting.
No Evidence	7	Prisons where no mention of music-making was made in Inspectorate reports, IMB reports, Koestler awards, education course lists, or claimed by any third party organisation.

Table 3: Prison-based music-making Intervention Styles

Figure 7: Highlighted weekly music availability

Figure 7 shows that only 31% (n=37/118) of prisons have regular, weekly music-making activities with a further 33% (n=39/118) providing music-making activities on occasions throughout the year.

In an interview Lee stated:

'It's very different [now]. The arts was lauded as something that is very necessary. And I worked for 11 years in [prison name omitted] and it was fantastic. What we were allowed to do was fantastic. There was a theatre teacher, there was A level art, there was GCSE art. There was more music than you could shake a stick at. The whole place vibed off of that. And then, it's just kind of whittled away.' (Lee, 2020)

The reasons for this 'whittl[ing] away' of arts and music-making provision might well be linked to the centralised control of the curriculum through the OLASS contracts which by the nature of its funding has forced a reduction of all education courses not centred around English, Maths or specific vocations. The details recorded in the inspectorate/IMB reports and the interviews I conducted have shown a trend away from music-making activities being education or prison led, shifting instead towards the charity sector. 32 prisons had evidence of music-making activities being related to education, either through mentions in the reports or from the education course lists. However, many of the third-party organisations provide education certificates or work closely with the education departments and are therefore likely to be the providers of this music education. In only six prisons, music education was mentioned as occurring without a third-party organisation claiming to run courses within that establishment. Whilst prison education is tendered to third party colleges, the colleges draw their funding from the government through PEF/ OLASS contracts and are therefore directed by the 'outcome achievement payment system'. This payment system informed my choice to mark all prisons providing music-making activities through education only as intermittent as the OLASS contracts favoured short courses as mentioned above. This has created a shift of responsibility for the music-making activities towards the charity sector and represents an important change in Born's fourth plane as the 'grounds for [music's] production, reproduction and transformation' (Born, 2011, p. 238) are greatly affected by this shift, altering *whether* and *how* music-making is made available.

Figure 7 shows a geographical pattern beginning to emerge regarding *whether*
music-making is happening regularly in an establishment. Predominantly in the
Southwest, London and West Midlands, prisons marked with weekly music
sessions available are geographically related to the headquarters of the third-
party organisations that provide those sessions (as shown in table 4). The shift
of responsibility for prison-based music-making towards the charity sector has
been so effective that the only organisation without charitable status in table 4 is
InHouse Records[56], who only appear to work in HMP YOI Rochester.

Organisation	HQ Location	Style of delivery
The Liberty Choir	East Sussex/ Wandsworth Prisons	Choir sessions with volunteers
Changing Tunes	Bristol	Band Workshops
InHouse Records	London	Prison-based record label
National Prison Radio	London/ Brixton Prison	Prison-based radio headquarters
Beating Time	London/Birmingham	Choir
Irene Taylor Trust	London	Band Workshops, Open Mics, Guitar Groups and Instrument Grades
2MakeIt	Surrey	Choirs, Band Workshops, African Drumming, Rap/Hip-hop recording

Table 4: Weekly session third party organisation HQ locations and styles of delivery

With the majority of the organisations being registered charities, and with a well-
established north-south economic divide (Martin, 1988, Magrini, 2020a, Magrini,
2020b) in England, perhaps it is more likely that a charity will emerge in the
southern half of England where there is more disposable time and money.
When asked about the relationship between a charity's registered address and
its relationship to the prisons in which it resides, the director of Beating Time

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[56] InHouse Records wes the only organisation who failed to respond to me when I contacted them to ask
for this information. Therefore, the only information I have regarding their provision is gathered from
their website.

(BT), Rachel Mace, suggested that the most important factor was the willingness of an individual prison to provide access. There is a lack of security for charities here, as their access to an establishment is determined by a key decision maker (often a governor), whose priorities or job will change over time.

> 'Our registered address is currently in Kent but that is because the founder, Heather… both she and I live in South-East London… It was founded in London, so the address has always been her home, but organically we've grown where opportunity has arisen. So, the first prison that we worked in – the very first one for any length of time - was Coldingley.' (Mace, 2020)

A similar story was told by many of the other organisations' representatives to whom I spoke, with CT spreading geographically out from Bristol, BT clustered around two areas (Southeast and Birmingham), 2MakeIt focused on London and Surrey, and Liberty Choir centred in London. The exceptions to this geographical restriction are FR, ITT, and GV who, rather than spreading locally, have successfully delivered courses nationwide. Whilst ITT do provide weekly musicking sessions in a small number of prisons in which they work (or have historically worked), these three charities share a commonality in their style of delivery; they focus on short, intensive courses.

The model of the intensive course differs from one organisation to the next. The three most prominent examples are: FR, delivering a 36-hour song writing course, usually spread over a six-week period, with an embedded BTEC in business studies; GV primarily running a five-day Gamelan workshop; and ITT, typically delivering a five-day song writing and recording course. The intensive style of delivery evidently helps charities to navigate three major obstacles: geography, funding, and to some extent, prison autonomy.

Geographical obstacles come in the form of availability of staff, movement of equipment, and the spread of prisons across England and Wales. With short

term courses, staff can travel large distances, bringing equipment with them for a few days at a time and staying in nearby hotels. With regular, weekly interventions an organisation needs to hire facilitators in close proximity to their place of work as well as providing a complete set of equipment for each establishment. The need for a local facilitator (generally termed, 'Musician in Residence') who can commute to an establishment result in higher labour costs as a larger team of skilled facilitators is required. The short, intensive style of delivery therefore requires less funding as fewer members of staff can reach a larger number of establishments. Intensive courses, however, sacrifice a longevity of support for their participants and change the way in which relationships can be built within the sessions.

The barrier of prison autonomy also appears to be managed more easily by providing short, intensive courses. For an organisation to gain access to an establishment, a key decision maker must be convinced of the necessity or purpose of prison-based music-making. A short, intensive course is less of a commitment for these decision makers, who will have to consider impacts on cost, staff time, and available space. Put simply, navigating these obstacles for five days a year is a much easier task for a decision maker than allowing the disruption of an activity each week. The effectiveness of the short, intensive approach is shown by the number of prisons GV and ITT have covered between them over the course of their organisations' history that far outnumbers the reach of organisations who favour long-term, weekly interventions. While both GV and ITT also run long-term weekly interventions in one and seven prison(s) respectively, the majority of their work is still found in the short, intensive courses.
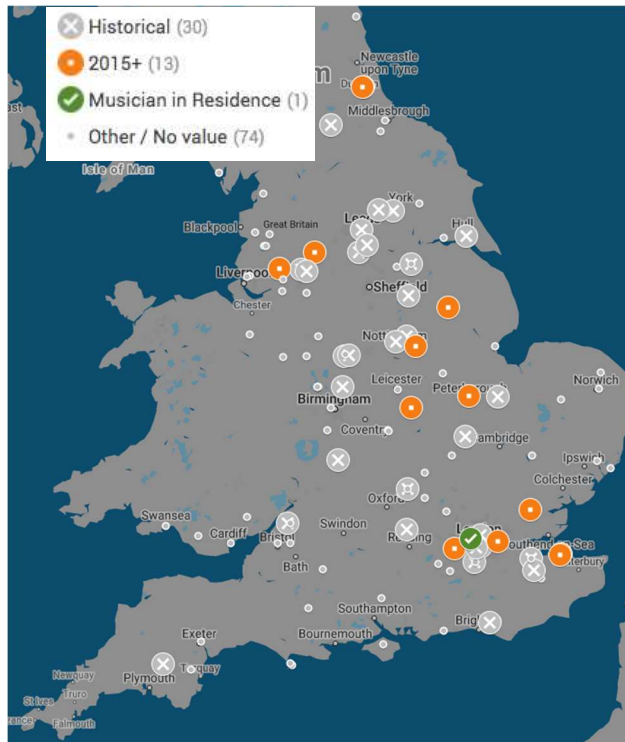
Figure 8 showing the wide geographical spread of Good Vibrations' work and that their historical work outweighs their current provision.
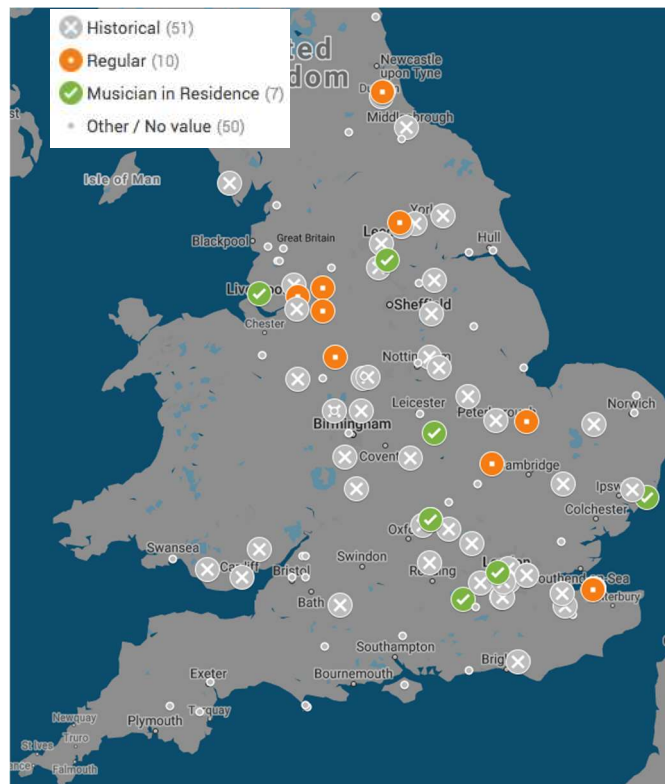
Figure 9 showing the wide geographical spread of Irene Taylor Trust's work and that their historical work outweighs their current provision.

Here again Born's fourth plane is in effect, as the obstacles that bind,

encompass, and restrain the prison-based music-making organisation prescribe

the style of prison-based music-making activities it offers. If an organisation aims to provide regular music-making activities for prison residents, they must manage the obstacles stated thus far, and be limited in their reach. If an organisation wishes to increase their reach, the obstacles appear to affect the longevity of support they are able to provide for prison residents. For this reason, establishments that only provide short, intensive courses have been labelled as 'intermittent' on the cartography to distinguish them from prisons that provide weekly, regular musicking interventions. Only ITT have regularly managed to cross both sides and provide long and short courses[57]. Having started with short courses, Lee states that:

> '…the Musician in Residence courses started 11 or 12 years ago and the best combination we've found is the Musician in Residence and the intensive weeks, so there's a real flow of music going on in the place. And then, ideally we've positioned those in prison where when people are released, they can come and take part in our external work as well.' (Lee, 2020)

This combined approach has helped defy the geographical barrier as ITT employ Musicians in Residence running weekly courses in HMP Ford and HMP Coldingley (south), HMP Liverpool (north-west), HMP Wakefield (north), HMP/YOI Hollesley Bay (east), HMP Wormwood Scrubs (London), and HMP Gartree (Midlands). Figure 10 shows the geographical spread of this style of work, with the majority of the prisons highlighted having the joint style of music-making provided by ITT. It would appear that by first building a relationship with the prison through intensive-short courses, the opportunity for weekly music-making sessions has been made available to ITT where it perhaps has not with other charities.

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[57] GV have also managed this, but only in one prison. Other organisations that run weekly sessions may include intensive periods of rehearsals for recordings, performances or education certificates, however this is done sporadically and in a less organised fashion than ITT.
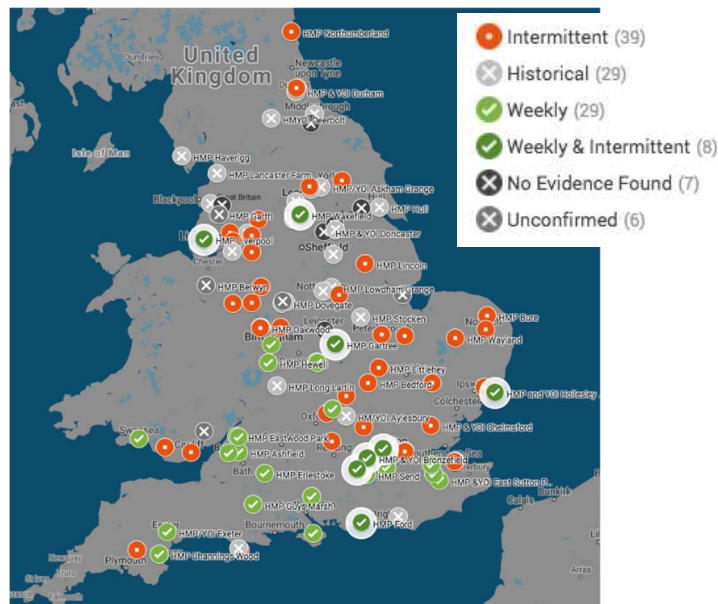
Figure 10 Highlighted prisons with both weekly and intermittent (intensive-short) courses.

Similarly, figure 11 shows how these short, intermittent music-making courses can defy the geographical barrier, reaching prisons not located near their organisation's headquarters shown in figure 12. The organisations providing these intermittent music-making activities are detailed below in table 5. Here we see the only two organisations based in the north of England, GV (Cumbria and London) and Junction 42. When broken down as individual organisations, we see GV and ITT spreading nationally and forming many relationships with different prisons across the country (figures 8-9) whilst CT and BT show examples of long-term interventions generally targeting specific locations (figures 13-14)[58]. An interesting finding here is that there appears to be no relationship between the type of prison and the spread of these organisations as they all provide music-making activities of different sorts for prisons with varying age, gender, security categorisation and purpose.

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[58] It is worth noting that historical prisons are not included in CT's data and only one is included in BT's.

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Organisation	Location	Style of delivery
Irene Taylor Trust	London	Song writing and recording workshop
Finding Rhythms	London	Song writing and recording workshop
Good Vibrations	Cumbria/London	Gamelan workshop
Junction 42	Newcastle upon Tyne	Christian organisation running intermittent choirs for performances.
Sing Inside	London	Facilitates choirs to be set up and run by university students.
SevenThreeOne	Unconfirmed	Unknown[59]
Young Urban Arts Foundation	London	Unknown
Key4Life	Somerset	Song writing and recording workshop

Table 5: Providers of intermittent prison-based music-making courses
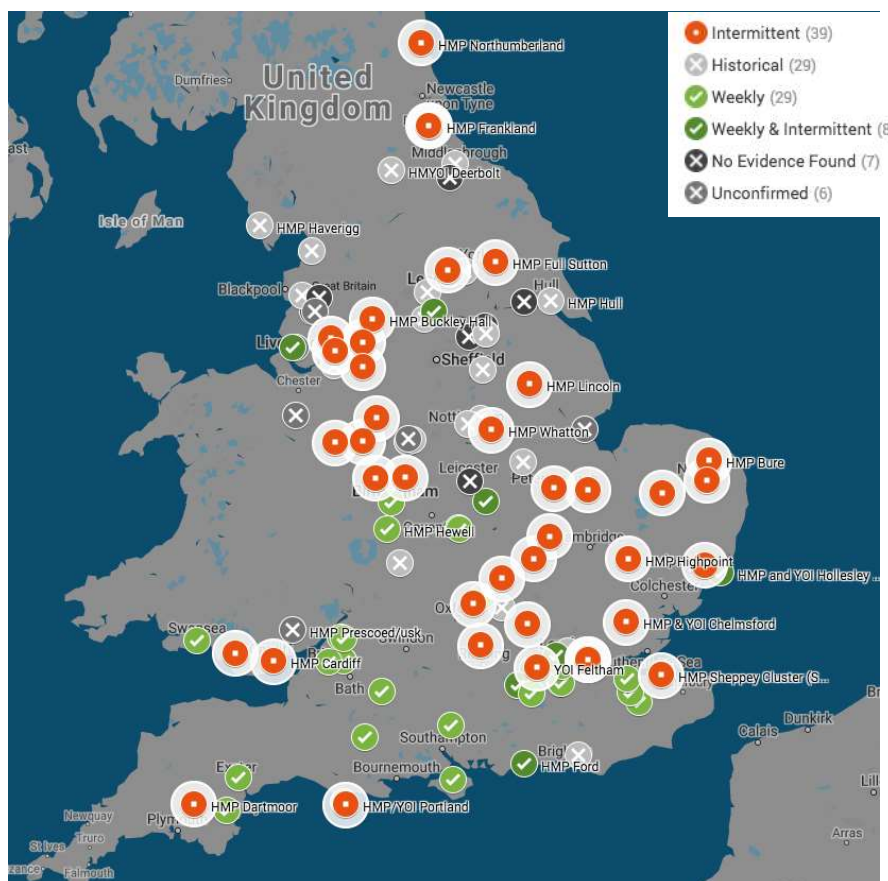
Figure 11 Intermittent musicking sessions

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[59] SevenThreeOne appear on the DPS contracts list, yet their website is under construction and they have not returned contact via phone or email. Their style of music-making activity is yet to be confirmed.
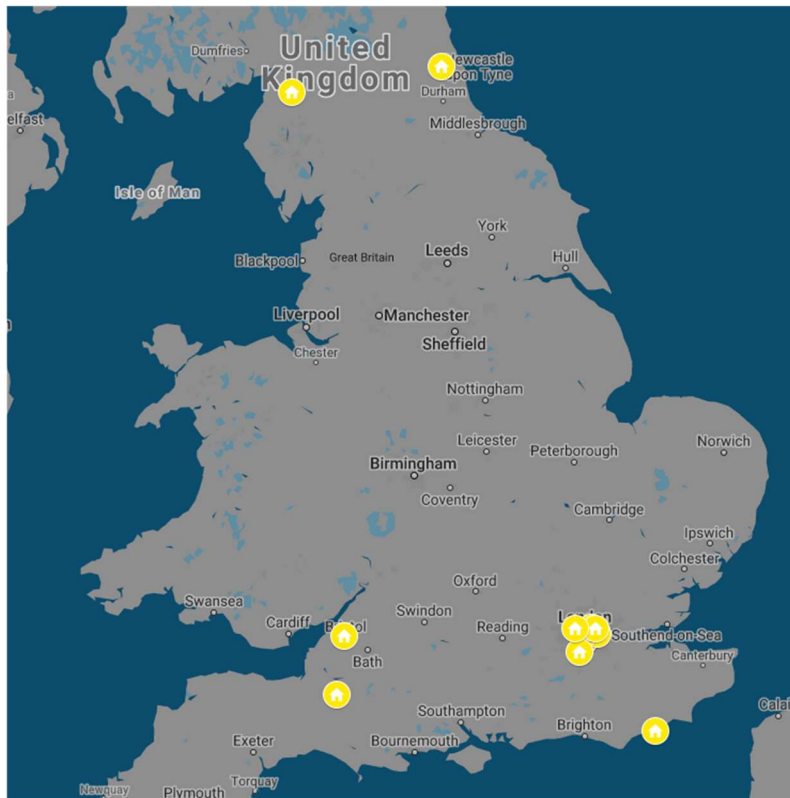
Figure 12 Prison-based music-making organisation headquarters
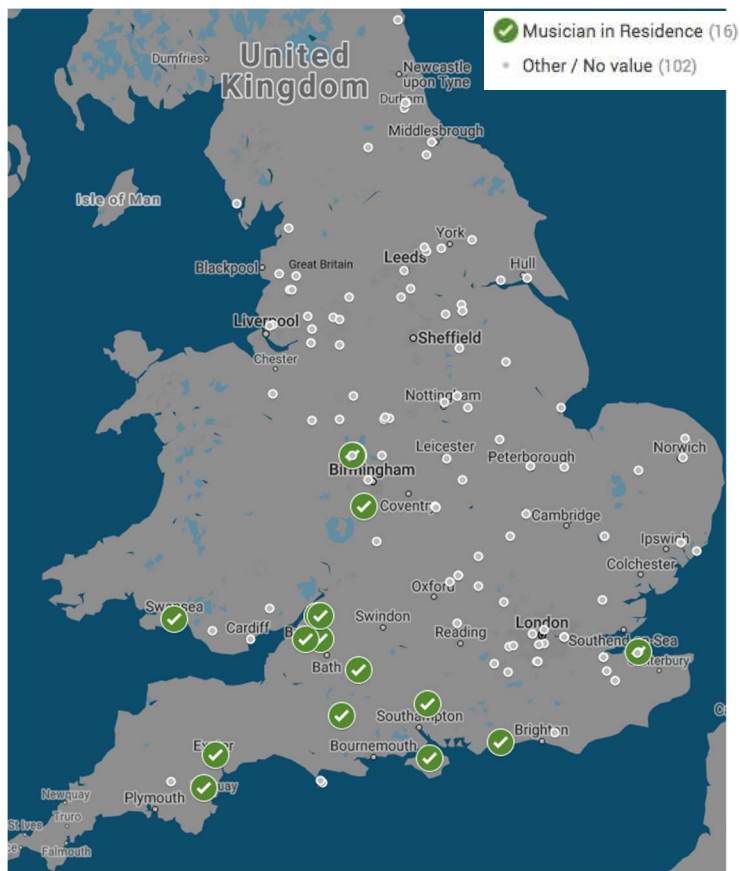
Figure 13 Changing Tunes
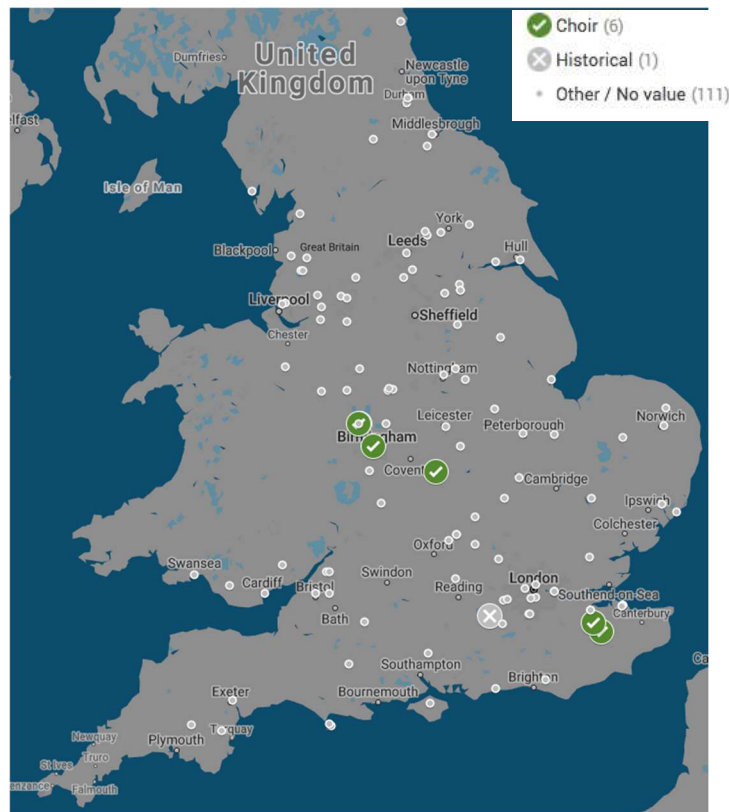
Figure 14 Beating Time

The cartography I provide here confirms a narrative to which many prison residents have alluded in conversations with me in the past; if you are a prison resident who wishes to engage in an organised music-making activity, you may have to choose between music and proximity to your family. Figure 15 demonstrates a north-south divide in music-making's availability and therefore, those serving sentences in the southern half of England who reside outside of prison in the northern half, are more likely to have to make this difficult choice. Whilst prison residents, chapel, or operational staff led music-making activities do exist, the transient nature of all these groups means that requesting a transfer to a prison for the purpose of musicking without a confirmed third-party organisation providing sessions would be risky and unreliable. As group musicking is regarded as a beneficial therapeutic activity for those in carceral environments, the lack of provision of group music-making, particularly in the north of England and its sporadic appearance in the east of England, is

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concerning. Lower rates of recidivism, rule breaking, and depression have previously been linked to regular family visits (De Claire and Dixon, 2017), meaning that this geographical barrier could be causing prison residents to choose between two therapeutic carceral coping methods – musicking and family visits and not benefitting from their combined effects. This is not an unusual conundrum for prison residents, as many have raised complaints to me about needing to transfer to different establishments in order to complete courses required by parole boards, only to find that there are no available musicking sessions in their destined establishment or that they will be moved so far away from their family that they will no longer be receiving any visits.
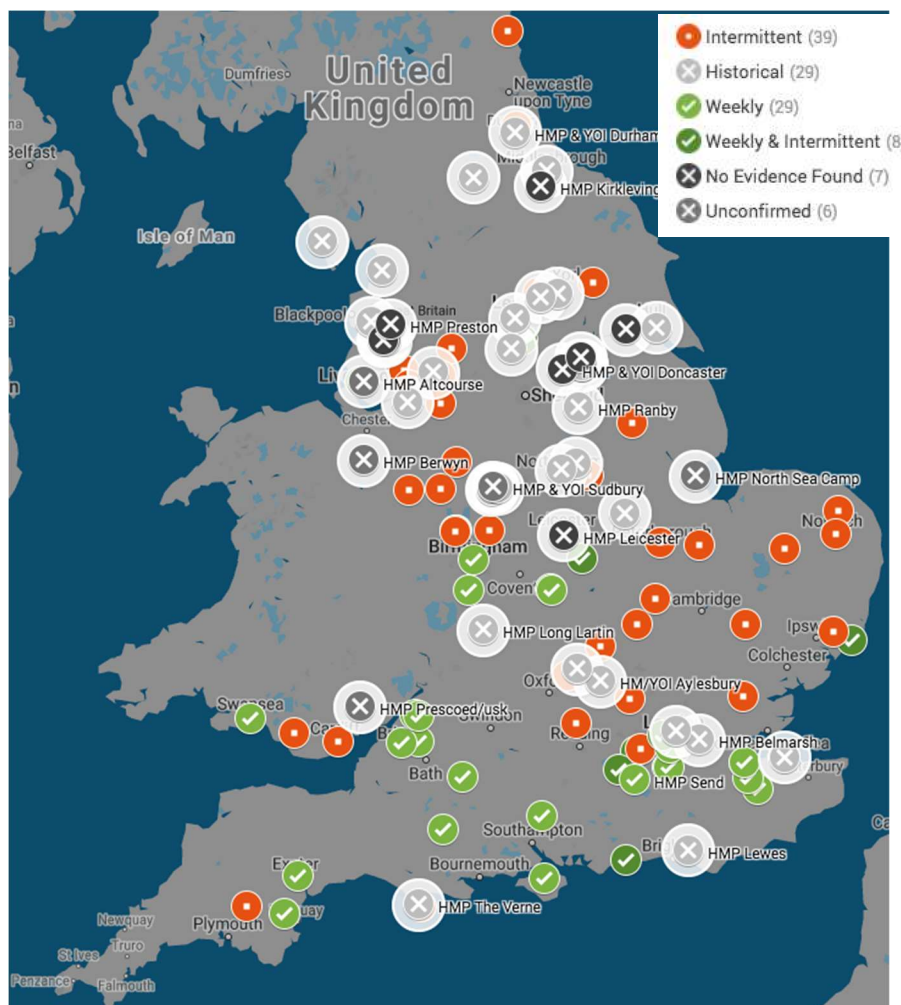
Figure 15 Prison-based music-making availability with no evidence, unconfirmed and historical highlighted

What can be understood from this simple cartographic view of the prison-based music-making scene is that the geographical spread of prisons across England and Wales has an effect on the way prison-based music-making organisations construct and structure their realisation of 'musicking'. Organisational choice and strategizing between short or long courses, intense or deep relationships, and local or national influence has defined the structure and realisation of available musicking opportunities for prison residents. Here we see an interaction between Born's fourth plane to the first and second planes, as the non-musical influences (such as geography, funding, and logistics – fourth plane) affect the formation of relationships (first plane) and imagined communities (second plane). The formation of relationships and imagined communities created between prison residents, prison staff and music facilitators will differ depending on the length of time spent together, the purpose of that time, and the way that time is structured. These interactions will be discussed further in the next chapter as I begin to examine the styles, genres and aims of each organisation, but the cartography alone shows the significant impact that the geography, coupled with a shift towards the charity sector, has had on the regularity and availability of prison-based music-making.

Obstacles

Beyond the logistical and geographical barriers, the above cartography has indicated that other obstacles are affecting the access and spread of prison-based music-making organisations. HMP Featherstone, YOI Brinsford and HMP Oakwood are an example, where both BT and CT have access to the first two but not the third, despite them being in close proximity to one another. The simplest and most obvious difference is the management of the prison, with the first two being state managed and HMP Oakwood being managed by a private

company: G4S. Yet similar inconsistencies emerge within other geographically linked prisons that are all state managed. HMP Swaleside, HMP Elmley, and HMP Standford Hill (all state managed prisons, collectively known as the Sheppey Cluster) provide intermittent, weekly and historical musicking respectively showing that just because prisons may have similar management and close proximity does not mean that musicking organisations will be equally successful at gaining access to them. In a similar geographical proximity to each other, HMP Thameside (managed by Serco) has historically or intermittently had four different organisations (Sing Inside, GV, ITT, and FR) providing music-making activities whilst state managed HMP Belmarsh and HMP & YOI Isis have historically had one, showing that the management of prisons (be it state or privately managed) does not necessarily have a direct correlation to the availability of music-making.

Indeed, there seems to be little relation between the type of prisons (category, provider, or age) and the availability of music-making in that prison. Table 6 lists the seven prisons where I was unable to find any evidence of music-making, with gender being the only universal similarity. When all prisons with unconfirmed or historical music-making evidence are included, we see a complete representation of categories, ages, genders, and providers (tables 7-8). Criminal classification too, seems to have no effect upon the willingness for organisations to provide, or for key decision makers to allow music-making into an establishment. The provision of musicking in HMP Dartmoor and HMP Ashfield, for instance, focus primarily on vulnerable prison residents or those imprisoned for sexual offenses respectively (*Prisons in England and Wales*, 2022), and still provide a variety of prison-based music-making activities.

Prison	County	Category	Provider	Gender	Age
HMP & YOI Doncaster	South Yorkshire	Local B	Serco	M	Both
HMP Garth	Lancashire	B	State	M	Adult
HMP & YOI Hatfield	South Yorkshire	D	State	M	Both
HMP Humber	East Yorkshire	C	State	M	Adult
HMP Kirklevington Grange	Cleveland	C/D semi Open	State	M	Adult
HMP Leicester	Leicestershire	Local B	State	M	Adult
HMP Preston	Lancashire	Local B	State	M	Adult

Table 6: Prisons with no evidence of music-making

Prison	County	Category	Provider	Gender	Age
HMP/YOI Askham Grange	York	Open	State	F	Both
HM/YOI Aylesbury	Buckinghamshire	Closed YOI	State	M	YOI
HMP Belmarsh	London	A	State	M	Adult
HMYOI Deerbolt	Durham	B	State	M	YOI
HMP Dovegate	Staffordshire	B	Serco	M	Adult
HMP & YOI Durham	Durham	Local B	State	M & F	Both
HMP & YOI Forest Bank	Salford	Local B	Sodexo	M	Both
HMP & YOI Foston Hall	Derbyshire	Local Female	State	F	Both
HMP Grendon	Buckinghamshire	B	State	M	Adult
HMP Haverigg	Millom	C	State	M	Adult
HMP & YOI Holme House	Stockton on Tees	C	State	M	Both
HMP Hull	Hull	Local B	State	M	Adult
HMP Kirkham	Lancashire	D	State	M	Adult
HMP Lancaster Farm	Lancaster	C	State	M	Both
HMP Leeds	West Yorkshire	Local B	State	M	Adult
HMP Lewes	East Sussex	Local B	State	M	Adult
HMP Lindholme	South Yorkshire	C	State	M	Adult
HMP Long Lartin	Worcestershire	A	State	M	Adult
HMP Lowdham Grange	Nottingham	B	Serco	M	Adult
HMP & YOI Moorland	South Yorkshire	C	State	M	Both

Prison	County	Category	Provider	Gender	Age
HMP/YOI New Hall	West Yorkshire	Local Female	State	F	Both
HMP Nottingham	Nottingham	Local B	State	M	Adult
HMP Pentonville	London	Local B	State	M	YOI
HMP Ranby	Nottingham	C	State	M	Both
HMP Standford Hill (Sheppey Cluster)	Kent	D	State	M	Adult
HMP Stocken	Rutland	C	State	M	Adult
HMP & YOI Thorn Cross	Cheshire	D	State	M	Both
HMP The Verne	Dorset	C	State	M	Adult
HMP Wealstun	Yorkshire	C	State	M	Adult

Table 7: Prisons with only historical evidence of music-making

Prison	County	Category	Provider	Gender	Age
HMP Altcourse	Liverpool	Local B	G4S	M	Adult
HMP Berwyn	North Wales	C	State	M	Adult
HMP North Sea Camp	Lincolnshire	D	State	M	Adult
HMP Prescoed/usk	Monmouthshire	C	State	M	Adult
HMP & YOI Sudbury	Derbyshire	D	State	M	Both
Whymott	Lancashire	C	State	M	Both

Table 8: Prisons with unconfirmed music-making activities. Usually chapel or prison resident led groups made with reference to inspectorate or IMB reports

With there being no discernible pattern in these 42 prisons, the question remains as to why some prisons have weekly or intermittent music-making activities whilst others, often geographically close, do not. To address this question, I conducted semi-structured interviews with representatives from CT, BT, ITT, The Prison Choir Project (PCP) and Liberty Choir (LC) and from the transcriptions generated a list of recurring themes around the subject of obstacles, including the autonomy of the prison system, funding and DPS contracts, the availability of space or staff and a lack of evidence for the reduction of re-offending.

Autonomy

Whilst the MoJ had boasted about their plans to empower their governors through control of their budget in order to meet the needs of their individual

populations, the autonomy of the prison system seems to be a key factor in the restricted growth of prison-based music-making. As the founder of FR, Robin Harris, astutely observes, without arts being a mandated part of an education curriculum or meaningful activities programming, each individual establishment or governor must be reached and convinced as to the salience of arts interventions.

> The first obstacle is: it is not mandatory for prisons to have to have arts courses in their prisons. So, they don't pay for it. So, it's down to whoever decides they think it's important to have an arts charity in. (Harris, 2019)

In fact, the most common way for weekly music-making activities to spread from prison to prison was through recommendation (from staff or prisoner residents) or the rotation of governors. With governors being the key decision makers (gatekeepers) in the prison hierarchy, to form a relationship with one (particularly with the number one governor, a learning and skills governor, or a reducing reoffending governor) seemed to be a key component for effective spread. Rachel Mace, the director at BT, suggests the spread amongst their cluster in the West Midlands (HMP Birmingham, HMP Featherstone and YOI Brinsford) happened in exactly this way.

> …in the prisons, lots of people move around within the region. They relocate Governors to local prisons and lots of the prisoners transfer out of there to category B/C prisons once they've gone through their sentencing. So, we were just building up links and it's quite a close-knit area, so it just so happened that we built the West Midlands. At the same time, we have two prisons down in Kent. We have Maidstone which is a foreign national prison - again I can't remember how that came about originally - we were contacted, and we also knew that a local individual who […] has a large family trust that focuses a lot on disadvantaged and prisoner work (it's a private family) was interested in doing some work in Maidstone and live music as well. It was just a good fit. (Mace, 2020)

Here we see two main influences on the spread of prison-based music-making; the desire of governors and the desire of those funding the projects. Both will need to be convinced of the style and purpose of music-making and thus have a controlling influence on the *whether, where,* and *how,* discussed above. These gatekeepers and funders are fourth plane restrictions that are potential explanations for the inconsistent spread of music-making availability. As the MoJ has aimed to make a more autonomous prison system, so prison-based music-making organisations have had to rely increasingly on reputation and word-of-mouth to grow their provision.

> How do we go to the prisons? It's usually recommendations, through prison staff, who have gone from Wandsworth (it sort of slightly starts at Wandsworth and then spreads out), who have worked with us and seen the difference that it makes. They recommend that we go to the prison that they've moved to. An example of that is High Down, where the governor of reducing reoffending (who we drove mad of course when we were starting up [laughs], she says we harassed her in a 'naggy' way) saw the difference that we make. We are very thrilled that this is the model - that our expansion is based on the fact that people are recommending us. It is either prison staff or chaplaincy staff, prison officers or prisoners themselves. We've had numbers of prisoners from Wandsworth and High Down in [prison name removed] and they all lobbied to have us in. (Dougary, 2020)

In this example, Ginny Dougary (Liberty Choir founder) requested the prison name to be removed as it was the chaplain who had invited Liberty Choir to run sessions in the prison, rather than a governor. Whilst chaplains do hold an important role and some authority within the prison system, this is evidence that a governor's approval is needed before an organisation can feel confident about gaining access to an establishment and again speaks to the strength of influence of key individuals in each prison.

The prisons in England and Wales are often grouped in local clusters (such as HMP Channings Wood, HMP Exeter and HMP Dartmoor, or YOI Brinsford,

HMP Featherstone and HMP & YOI Swinfen Hall), with head governors rotating between them every few years. As the governors of state prisons rotate locally, so the governors rotate separately through the private prison system. This is a potential reason for HMP Oakwood's (a private, G4S prison) lack of engagement with BT's and CT's provision despite being geographically close to YOI Brinsford and HMP Featherstone where the two organisations both deliver music-making sessions. Rachel Mace explained that, whilst HMP Birmingham has recently gone back into state management, it was previously part of a G4S cluster involving HMP Rye Hill and HMP Oakwood. Whilst the movement of the governors successfully assisted the spread from HMP Birmingham to HMP Rye Hill, it has, however, not helped them gain access to HMP Oakwood.

> When Eoin [a prison governor] was at Coldingly, he had a bit more flexibility in this budget; there was more of it, it was before austerity cuts really started and he had quite a lot of freedom. It was reduced hugely – as you'll know - for Governors in the public sector. G4S were just given a budget but had more freedom how to allocate it across different priorities within each prison at Birmingham and then subsequently at Rye Hill when the Governor team moved to Rye Hill a few years ago, they then asked us to start another choir at Rye Hill. (Mace, 2020)

It appears the autonomy of each establishment remains as important for private prisons as it does for state prisons as music-making is not mandated by G4S, Serco, or Sodexo. Perhaps, BT will need to wait until the governors rotate again (with a hope that HMP Rye Hill governors are moved to HMP Oakwood) before potentially gaining access.

Funding and DPS contracts

Whilst finding a governor who is sympathetic to the cause and purpose of prison-based music-making may be difficult enough, finding one with a budget to pay for, or to contribute to, musicking interventions seems to be even harder. As Mace suggests, private prisons are allowed more budgetary freedom whilst

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the public sector prisons have suffered considerably under austerity. It is not a surprise then that a recurring theme from these interviews was an apparent lack of fiscal contribution from the prisons themselves. Most charity organisations claimed that the prisons contribute no more than 10% to their overall costs. Mace stated that she and Heather Phillips (CEO) had only recently started to be paid for their work and, as founders and directors, were working as volunteers until 2019. Whilst trying to uncover some of the geographical anomalies with the spread of prison-based music-making organisations, she alluded to some of the financial constraints that defined the reach of BT.

> David: You're in Rye Hill but not Onley?
>
> Rachel: We have thought about Onley. Music in Prisons do work in Onley, I think. It's just capacity, frankly. We are a tiny team. (Mace, 2020)

Without a substantial prison contribution, the reach and size of prison-based music-making organisations will always be limited, and given budgetary constraints on prisons, music-making is likely to be viewed as a luxury that can be spared.

The combination of prison autonomy and constraints on prison spending appears to culminate in the Dynamic Procurement System (DPS). At the time of my interviews with FR representatives, Robin Harris and Clare Annamalai, the DPS was just starting to be used and there was a lot of trepidation and concern as to what it might mean for small charities and organisations who were already receiving money directly from prisons.

> …from our point of view we're very much in a, 'let's see what happens phase'. It will either end up with prisons giving us quite a lot more money than they do now because they've got a dedicated budget for it, or it might completely destroy the small amount that we get from them now. And the challenge is that we don't know who is going to

bid. Where they are in the country. Whether you will be successful. So it does complicate things (Annamalai, 2020)

A year later, Lee at ITT was able to expand on her experience and the nature of the DPS obstacle.

> Sara: historically, there had always been a small prison contribution with funders making up the rest of the cost and that was where the difficulties first started, the DPS didn't ask organisations how they were funded. So, now what's happened is that you put your cost on the DPS and they go, "It costs how much?!" and I say, "Yeah, that's how much it costs, but you haven't had to pay it before because trusts and foundations used to chip in." And now prisons say that they can't afford that, and I understand. Which is why that model is difficult.
>
> David: So, you can't ask them to part fund it too easily?
>
> Sara: No, because you never know if you're going to win the DPS contract. So, if I say to a funder, "we've put in a couple of bids but we don't know if we're going to win them, but could you still give us some money towards it please?" They will say, "No. Come back to us when you know for definite you have been awarded it", so it becomes a bit of a Catch 22. "The worst thing that could happen then is that we assume we could get say £15000 from some charitable trusts, we use that assumption as part of our bid, we get awarded it and sign a DPS contract and then we don't get that money from the funders, leaving us having to find that £15000 because we've signed a contract. It's something we would never do as it's too risky but it makes things pretty difficult. (Lee, 2020)

In contrast to this, CT have managed to increase the prison contribution through the use of the DPS in HMP Bristol, where they tendered for a contract that part funded an already existing music group (Jones, 2020). Yet where ITT had successfully navigated the informal way in which prisons had fiscally contributed in the past, the DPS has created a new obstacle, challenge, or potential opportunity.

Many references to 'pots of money' were made in the interviews I conducted, and it appears that the DPS is not the only way to gain a contribution from the prison towards the cost of an activity.

[Prison contributions happen] via the myriad of different pots that people seem to be able to find if they are that way inclined. We've had, kind of informal money if you like, from governors, from chaplaincies, from education departments. It's very ad hoc, it can happen one year and not the next so, it is quite difficult to rely on and there can be delays in all sorts of problems. Often, even when we are getting it, there can be six months without getting any pay - when it's informal, it's unreliable. (Jones, 2020)

Sometimes prisons let us down, and don't pay their promised contribution, or cancel on us at last minute, or fail to accommodate an essential element of the course (e.g. audio recording equipment) and so we make the difficult decision not to work with them again until something changes. (Haigh, 2020)

It is perhaps through my own experience of being employed and funded by education departments, agencies and charities, that I find it hard to see this DPS as anything other than the latest covert form of austerity. The 'outcome achievement payment system' saw a music class I once ran in a category C prison removed from an education department as the certification for such a class was not only difficult to achieve but was rewarded with less money and took more time than equivalent level English, and Maths classes. Yet my view is perhaps unfair as the contractual commitment and formalisation of the DPS could (potentially at least) become a more reliable source of funding for third-party prison-based music-making organisations than the informal pots they have been receiving in the past.

The true nature of the DPS and its effect on the prison-based music-making scene is yet to be fully evident, but what has been shown through the interviews is a substantial obstacle caused by a lack of regular and reliable prison financial contribution. The 'outcome achievement payment system' seems to have successfully diverted the financial responsibility away from the prisons and skills funding agency towards the charity sector, and perhaps the DPS will be used to push that trend further. This development has come with a substantial influence

on *whether* music-making is happening in prisons across England and Wales, as well as a change to Born's first and second planes: the way in which relationships can be formed and imagined communities can be created, are defined in large part by *whether* a charity can get access to an establishment (often through approval by an appropriate decision maker), and by whether or not charities can cope with financial insecurity.

Space and Staff

Even before funds can be applied for, the question of *where* must be answered early in the process of attempting to start music-making in a new prison establishment.

> Sometimes space is the issue and a prison no longer has a big enough venue for our project (we take in a huge gamelan orchestra!) - sometimes because another activity has taken over the space we used to use (faith, sports, industry, education activities) (Haigh, 2020)

The list of potential venues within an establishment is more varied for GV due to the size of their equipment. As a Gamelan orchestra takes up a large amount of room, making use of multifaith rooms, chapels, sports and exercise halls, industry workshops, or large education classrooms it will be contending with those buildings' original or other potential purposes. The majority of the other organisations meet in chapels or visit halls.

The style of delivery and the equipment used are therefore defining the requirements of the available space. For CT, running a band workshop with electric guitars, drums, pianos, and amplifiers, means they are limited to buildings physically separated from other areas of a prison due to noise levels. Where this is not possible, the equipment being used has to be changed. In the case of CT, a restriction on available space can change the style of delivery to focus on acoustic guitars, electronic drum kits or one-to-one sessions. FR

circumvent this issue by focusing on recorded music and using wireless headphones for all musicians and participants. For BT and LC, their format of group singing has led their sessions to primarily take place in large areas that are accessible to multiple wings of a prison at the same time. Both mention chapels, multifaith rooms or visit halls as being the most successful venues. The obstacle here is not only the size of the space being used but also the necessary staff to escort prison residents to the venue. As choirs and Gamelan orchestras can accommodate large groups of participants, an obstacle of staff availability and staff willingness is created. In times of (post)austerity, this obstacle appears to have been increased with operational staff being put under higher levels of stress and pressure through staff reductions.

Beyond convincing a key decision maker of the purpose of prison-based music-making activities, physical key holders are needed to allow prison residents to participate. For organisations with resident musicians there is an option for staff to hold keys for the establishment in which they work, but the process can be long and arduous, with one CT member of staff taking over a year to get security clearance and key training completed. For organisations running short term courses or those providing sessions in higher security prisons where they are unable to transport prison residents themselves, there is a strong reliance on prison officers to assist the sessions. This is both an obstacle and an opportunity and according to prison-based music-making organisations, the relationship with officers can be pivotal to a successful session.

> …at Maidstone they are so short of staff - the activities team just doesn't have enough officers, so we have to carry keys and a radio with a group activity, and we are in a chapel, we are not in the education sector so there is no officer at all.

> …there are definitely places where we work where we do have to have an officer because they are not safe without an officer. And

whoever the officers are, there can be difficulties getting people off the wings, not being allowed onto different sections of the prisons at movement times, then there is nothing that we can do. I think that is just a symptom of prison life. (Mace, 2020)

For those organisations whose work relies on the use of volunteers and those who deliver primarily short-term interventions, officer presence, support, and assistance will be vital. The obstacle of the 'key holder' is a fourth plane factor (where music(king) is bound by the 'institutional forms that provide the grounds for its production…' (Born, 2011, p. 378)) that interacts with the other three planes. The simple presence of an officer may deter certain prison residents from joining a group or reduce the willingness of some participants to engage (affecting considerations under Born's first plane where joint musical labour forms social relationships). It will certainly change the dynamic of any imagined communities that are created, limiting their bond by the power dynamics at play (affecting the second plane). However, it is in the third plane that particularly interesting observations are made, as the power dynamics, social statuses and hierarchies are refracted through the group musicking activities.

Yes, we had officer Krupke in Westside Story was an officer in the prison and that is a wonderful example of how you can better a relationship between prison staff and prisoners. I mean, I can't tell you the mutual respect there was for each and everyone's performance and you forget for a second that you're an inmate, you forget you're an officer. You're all part of the same process, it's just brilliant. Brilliant to see. (Green, 2020)

For many organisations, improving the relationship between prison staff and prison residents is an important part of their work. Here, music-making is being used to refract the hierarchies and recreate communities within a system that seeks to segregate and individualise its subjects. Perhaps this very aim creates a barrier for access, as governors may view a breakdown of hierarchy and a bonding of prison residents and staff as a potential security risk. At the same

time, governors know that a working relationship between staff and resident is required for a well-functioning prison system, as Adam Green from PCP recounts in his story:

> Wandsworth paid 15,000 quid for two afternoons of workshops and our trustee said, for a start, only a handful of people turned up. They didn't really show any interest, no one was bothered, it was just a bit crap, if I'm honest. At the end of it they all sat and said how nice it was to have a workshop and stuff. He said, that, by contrast, the hugging and the sense of extraordinary achievement, the adulation on these men's faces on the final curtain of Westside Story; that is fostering a better relationship times one billion than some bullshit little scheme that has cost almost as much it cost us to put on a show for two afternoons workshops which achieves nothing. (Green, 2020)

With music-making being a known tool for social bonding (see chapter two), prison-based music-making organisations are often frustrated with the lack of support – in terms of funding, personnel, space and resources – provided by the prison system. This is especially true when compared with other interventions that they see as less effective, as exemplified by Adam Green's quote above.

Evidence of effectiveness

Prison-based music-making organisations feel a need to constantly justify their existence in order to continue or expand their work. Exasperation was expressed by many organisation representatives when I asked if they believed they were good value for money.

> Compared to some of the stuff that goes on [laughs] I think we are hugely cost-effective. Not least the fact that we run on virtually nothing… We can be too apologetic about how much we might be charging for ourselves … there are a lot of organisations out there that charge thousands and thousands of pounds to hold an afternoon's event which might have a lot of people going through the door - it might have 150 prisoners but actually the real outcomes of it are nothing... yes, I think we are hugely cost-effective, mainly because we don't - and as I'm sure many of you in the charity sector know - we are not well paid by and large. (Mace, 2020)

> We will see what happens with the new prison education procurement system [DPS] that is coming into place now and how much they end

> up paying there. At the moment they get extremely good value for money. (Annamalai, 2020)

> In short, yes I do believe that it's good value for money. Bearing in mind we are still in touch with people that have been out for five or seven years and were still inputting and supporting those lives. (Jones, 2020)

The belief that prison-based music-making is cost effective is in part founded in a belief that it creates lasting change. The newly constructed identities, imagined communities, and refracted hierarchies described in Born's planes are not believed to be short term, insignificant or confined to the music-making space and time. Those who work in a prison-based music-making setting talk of lasting change that moves beyond the clientele and into the fabric of the establishment, changing the participants', officers', and other prison residents' relationships to each other.

> But it started to change things really early on in Wandsworth prison, we found that when we had evaluations, officers were saying what they've noticed is that people coming out of the liberty choir sessions would be refreshed and positive and that the singing, of course, continued throughout the whole prison. It was almost as though the whole prison had become a singing prison. (Dougary, 2020)

Yet, a singing prison, improved bonding between staff and residents, and a flattened hierarchy may not be what prison hegemony desires. With prison's proposed purpose being the reduction of re-offending, evidence of prison-based music-making's effect in this capacity may be what is required to convince gatekeepers and funders to allow such activities. Or perhaps by fulfilling the neo-liberal systemic purpose of producing docile, obedient, and exploitable participants (Bell, 2013, Foucault, 1977), prison-based music-making organisations could increase their funding and provision. Unsurprisingly, it is on the former that organisations have focused, however reluctantly.

To increase their reach and perhaps even become a mandated provision, many organisations have been involved with academic research and believe that through their statistical analysis, case studies and academic evaluations, they have strong evidence of prison-based music-making's role in fulfilling the criteria of reducing re-offending rates (Daykin et al., 2014, Anderson et al., 2011, Blagden et al., 2015, Maruna, 2010, Cursley and Maruna, 2015). However (as I experienced with the NRC ethics approval process), peer reviewed, statistical (positivist) data is required by prison gatekeepers and none of the studies on prison-based music-making in the U.K. have satisfied the demand for this type of evidence.

> Do we think it would reduce reoffending? We know that it acts on probably four of the - so there are five different things that are known to reduce reoffending – faith, relationships, employment, self-identity or identity, and self-belief and we certainly work on employability, relationships, identity and self-belief. So, to that extent, yes, we know that that's making a difference. (Annamalai, 2020)

The five factors of desistance mentioned by Claire Annamlai are based on findings from the narrative-based research known as the Liverpool Desistance Study (LDS) (Canter et al., 2001, Maruna, 2001, *Introducing Desistance*, 2013). The same research methodology was used by one of the authors, Maruna, in his research for CT (Maruna, 2010, Cursley and Maruna, 2015) which seems to have done little to bolster a belief in prison-based music-making's rehabilitative properties. Prison-based music-making organisations tend not to see desistance as their aim or purpose, but only a by-product of the important work that they do. The battle between what the organisations see as their purpose and aims, and the prisons' prescription of their own purpose and aims, is a constant friction and crucial obstacle. However, it appears that few organisations feel their empirical evidence of a reduction of re-offending is

strong enough to prove their intervention fulfils incarceration's proposed aim of rehabilitation.

> I can't put my hand on heart and say we are reducing reoffending and of course it's on our bloody website… Everyone is writing it, 'oh yeah, rehabilitation and transforming lives' and all this sort of shit. You can only do your best and believe in what you do and hope that in that vast number of people you work with there might be one or two that you think - that you cling onto through your life and you can really help and I think if we manage even that, we've done really well. (Green, 2020)

Green's response here is perhaps more candid than other organisations I interviewed, but when asked about re-offending rates, the answers were similar, if not more cautious. Along with their narrative-based research, CT boast some impressive internal statistics regarding ex-prisoner residents and claim a re-offending rate of only 2.6%. A statistical comparison is difficult to draw between the larger ex-prison resident population and those who engage with CT post-release as CT currently only regularly support 35-50 ex-prison residents. Additionally, CT's ex-prison residents are a self-selecting group who choose to engage with CT once released, so the statistics do not include all participants with whom CT have worked inside prison. Whilst the national statistics only include those who re-offend in a one-year period (see chapter one), CT's statistics include prisoners who have been engaged with CT for many years. CT's 2.6% reoffending rate actually represents a single beneficiary who re-offended in 2019 whilst the previous three years saw no beneficiaries reoffend (*Changing Tunes on Facebook*, 2019).

> I am very aware, as you headlined, that is a self-selecting group and those figures that we report are only the people we work with post-release. If we look to everybody working within prison and therefore everyone that was released, then our figures would be quite a way down… on average we see about 500 people a year in prison and we often only see 35 to 50 a year post-release. So maximum, 10% per year and sometimes more like 7%. So, for me, that is the area I would

> like to see us push upwards. I would like to see us working with 15-20% of people that we work with inside. So then, when we only have reoffending rates of 2.6%, or whatever we say, that is a much more compelling figure. That's maybe a hundred people per year. And then we become a real compelling argument for people to commission us. At the moment our numbers are just too low. (Jones, 2020)

Using these statistics, an argument could be made for the fiscal effectiveness of CT. However, due to the low percentage of engagement and a lack of detail held by CT regarding sentence length and category of crime committed by their beneficiaries, an accurate assessment is difficult to make, and it may be misleading to assume that their intervention is quite so successful. Due to data protection laws and prison security, it is also unlikely that detailed data will ever be held by third-party organisations whose administration takes place outside of prison walls. This results in any economic argument and statistical representation of change quickly coming under scrutiny by the organisations themselves and the key decision makers in each establishment, who must decide how best to use their limited resources.

> The win-win that every PhD student, and every scientist and every MoJ representative would like to ask is - think of it like the economist, yeah? - If we can show that we can reduce reoffending by engaging our programmes, then, quid pro quo, we can justify funding these courses and we can pay for these courses because it will reduce reoffending. So, the question is: How does the economist prove that? There is still no watertight evidence. I'm sure depending on whichever statistician you talk to, they can present numbers and figures in certain ways. In my opinion, and you're asking my opinion, there is no scientific proof for this because the market is so complicated. If you speak to any mentoring charity, anyone that works through the gate (working with offenders when they've been released) there are so many variables at play in society such as finances, and personal lives. There is a huge myriad of reasons why people go back into reoffending. (Harris, 2019)

As with any statistical analysis of human behaviour, the accuracy is limited by its narrow inclusion of human factors. Put simply, there is no way to know if CT's assistance was the sole cause of 97.8% of their ex-prison residents not re-

offending and so these statistics are all too easily disregarded. Yet, the need for brevity in the world of funding applications, busy governors and a watchful media, results in a necessity for this sort of oversimplification of what in real terms, is a much more complex matter.

> I have to say actually, when you're making funding applications and you talk about reducing reoffending and how we fit in with various known desistance factors that we might help with, so many people just zero in on their ideal – 'how many people haven't reoffended?' [or] 'how many jobs have you got?' blah blah blah. And it's annoying [laughs]. From our point of view, it's a bit kind of binary. But, also it is true, unless you really move the dial for somebody they do just keep coming back. (Mace, 2020)

The need for evidence of effectiveness is a fourth plane restriction on musicking that draws prison-based music-making organisations into the aims of rehabilitation – the direction and prescription of the participants' behaviour – searching for evidence that (as Robin Harris suggests above) as they postulate a correlation between recidivism and music-making. Mace, then, demonstrates a dehumanising aspect of the carceral world as ex-prison residents are reduced to criminals and non-criminals, to failures or successes, the complexity of their human experience being ignored.

Yet, as suggested in the opening chapter of this thesis, the reduction of re-offending is not what I believe to be the true purpose of prisons; it is only a justification that permits the more nefarious purposes of neo-liberal penalities (Bell, 2013, Foucault, 1977, Kendall, 2000, Carlen, 2002). The evidence on the effectiveness of prison-based music-making's relationship to recidivism is all too easily cast aside due to perceived limitations of research methodologies and a lack of robust statistical outcomes.

Conversely, these same flaws and limitations are found in research suggesting employment or increased literacy and numeracy levels are the keys to

desistance (Creese, 2015, Baron and Hartnagel, 1997, Magrini, 2020a, Thornberry and Christenson, 1984), yet English and Maths has been mandated in a way that musicking has not. One possible conclusion to draw from this is that, rather than prison-based music-making organisations lacking evidence regarding their effectiveness in terms of reducing reoffending rates, what is really missing is recognition of musicking's utility in a neo-liberal society. Or put another way, prison-based music-making organisations would not need such robust justification for their interventions if their participants were more easily exploited throughout (or as a result of) their engagement with them.

Conclusion

The production of a cartography of prison-based music-making in England and Wales has produced a partial answer to this thesis' first question (what is happening where?) and highlighted some of the key obstacles that hinder its availability. A discernible North-South divide exists as well as evidence of the effect of limited resources on music-making (and presumably all arts) in prisons. There appears to be no link between security level, gender, age, or provider and the likelihood of third-party musicking organisations being able to gain access and deliver sessions in a prison. Instead, the overriding factor is the autonomy of each establishment, creating a unique set of obstacles for each organisation in each prison. This individualisation of the prison establishment – the empowering of governors to meet the needs of their residents – rather than creating more opportunity, appears to have reduced the availability of musicking. Where autonomy has been joined with austerity and a lack of prescription, so music-making has been overlooked as a worthwhile, regular intervention in the prison service.

This chapter has demonstrated the importance of fourth plane influences on music-making in one of the most restrictive environments in British society. The constraints of prison geography, autonomy, funding, available space, and a need for evidence of effectiveness, affects the other three planes, which will be the subject of investigation in the following chapters. This chapter has also argued that without it feeding directly into employment, being seen as a universal need for all citizens (as are literacy and numeracy), music-making has struggled to gain a foothold in prison policy and hence does not have its availability prescribed as either an education course or meaningful activity. It is perhaps this obstacle, and the burden of evidence it demands, which will need to be decisively overcome before prison-based music-making can become firmly and permanently entrenched in prisons.

As I started this research, prison-based music-making organisations themselves were not sure what was available in each establishment. This has led me to produce an interactive cartography and now website (www.prisonmusiccollective.org) aimed at disseminating this information as well as encouraging greater collaboration between prison-based music-making organisations. The website also seeks to inform prison residents of the opportunities that are and are not available at different prisons. My hope is that through dissemination of this information, systemic change can begin to take place. I hope my research will bring about a recognition of the need for change, for instance, around a reliance on charity funding for prison-based music-making, leading to better resourced and more stable provision. I hope that the small and scattered motifs, currently constructing the prison-based music-making scene, when joined together, will become a fully realised melody.

5. Prison-based music-making Melody

Introduction

Stifled, sporadic, and inconsistent are just some of the adjectives that come to mind when viewing the cartography in the previous chapter. Yet the interviews I conducted hinted at a melody emerging in the prison-based music-making scene; here, 'music's refraction of the hierarchical and stratified relations of class and age, race and ethnicity, gender and sexuality' (Born, 2011, p. 378) and perhaps non-criminal and criminal labels, create a new perspective on the prison-based music-making scene.

> …evidence from both historical and anthropological research suggests that it is the autonomy of the socialities of musical performance and practice that renders them potential vehicles for social experimentation or for the exercise of a musico-political imagination, in the sense that they may enact alternatives to or inversions of, and can be in contradiction with, wider forms of hierarchical and stratified social relations. These are performed contradictions that can contribute powerfully to the nature of socio-musical experience by offering a compensatory or utopian social space – one that fashions experience differently, even as it may fail to overturn or counter broader social hierarchies and inequalities (although such an outcome is not foreclosed). (Born, 2011, p. 381)

Once the restrictions listed under Born's fourth plane have been navigated (the social and institutional forms that provide the grounds for and then subsequently effect the production of music (Born, 2011, p. 378)), a liminal music-making space is then created that holds potential for change. Yet, as Born suggests, it may fail to overturn the broader social hierarchies and inequalities which, in the case of carceral/prison environments, consist of oppressive and potentially criminogenic carceral pains.

This chapter aims to answer the third of the original five questions given in the introduction: how is prison-based music-making realised? It will demonstrate how the act of musicking is influencing the policies and practices of prison-

based music-making organisations whilst the purpose of prison-based music-making, as prescribed by gatekeepers, directs the style of delivery and the genres that are utilised. However, in reference to Born's second and third planes, musicking's omnidirectional relational qualities affect not only the participants, but the prison resident, the facilitators, the organisations, the prison staff and the prison itself.

This chapter, therefore, begins by exploring how the delivery style of music-making organisations has been affected by the fourth plane influences mentioned in the last chapter. It has a particular focus on the genres, instrumentation, and set up that have become most dominant in the prison-based music-making scene. Following this, an understanding of how the 'sick prisoner' narrative (the blend of the opportunity and medical model as mentioned in the first two chapters) is potentially being challenged is discussed, as organisations look to experts by experience ((ex)prison residents) to help direct and influence their future practice, redirecting music-making organisational aims.

Delivery Style

In order to obtain funding and satisfy gatekeepers, prison-based music-making appears to be restricted to that which is believed to have therapeutic and/or employment benefits. Through being forced to work within these structural aims and restrictions set by the correctional hegemony, prison-based music-making organisations' style of delivery and choice of genre have been prescribed, altered, and directed to meet the purposes of those in financial and governmental power. Rather than music being 'traversed by wider social identity formations', resulting in music's 'refraction of the hierarchical and stratified relations of class and age, race and ethnicity, gender and sexuality' (Born,

2011, p. 378) the gatekeepers and funders (not directly involved in the music-making itself), prescribe the genre and style of delivery, which serves to impress social identity formations upon their participants. As the relationship between participants and funders or gatekeepers does not involve music-making, the third plane factors are superseded by the fourth plane. Or put another way, if the funders and gatekeepers do not partake in music-making with prison resident participants, the third plane effects of stratifying and refracting social hierarchies and structures do not seem to be taking place. The relationship therefore predominantly travels in a single direction from the funders and gatekeepers who have the power to affect, restrict, and prescribe the music-making available for prison residents without being affected by regularly entering a musically created space with them.

The fourth plane effects on the availability of music-making activities have been discussed in the previous chapter, but this section pays further attention to its effect on the style of delivery that prison-based music-making organisations employ, even as they appear to vary greatly. CT, for example, aims to deliver weekly sessions whilst GV predominantly provides an intensive five-day course a few times a year. FR focuses on recording and composition whilst PCP concentrates on performance. CT has worked hard to distance itself from the constraints of the education system whilst FR and BT have embraced it, finding ways to evidence music-making's transferable skills and provide participants with non-musical qualifications. The differing styles of delivery are in part influenced by gatekeepers and funders, as cost of equipment, storage, noise levels, and genre have to appeal to, and be accepted by, those who decide the fate of prison-based music-making. The effect that style of delivery has on access to an establishment has been discussed above, but here I will examine

how it has affected the relationships being developed between organisations, facilitators, prison residents, and prison, as well as different organisations' aims, beliefs, and outcomes.

> We absolutely believe in the continuity, the week in week out… That is the Liberty Choir experience. Music director, the accompanist and the volunteers come in and it's an integrated choir where you have - I guess women of a certain age in bulk, but also students occasionally, mostly women but also some men. This is a very touching combination. You have these young guys with all these mother or grandmother figures. Or auntie figures really. I've tried to analyse myself, 'why is it so effective?' And I think it is that - they always say that successful rehabilitation depends on three things: having a roof over your head; having work or a job or enough money coming in; and family. And I do think that the… liberty choir ethos, is that the choirs are a family. It's just an alternative family. (Dougary, 2020)

Here, LC founder Ginny Dougary offers an explanation as to why they use a weekly-session, group singing format. The building of a relationship over a long period of time is seen to be key to reaching the goals of therapeutic support, reduction of the pains of imprisonment, or rehabilitation and desistance from crime. Here the use of musicking to create pro-social, homogenised communities with the aim of altering the behaviour of the prison resident is seen. By inviting their participants into a new family, the 'sick prisoner' is provided with the support they need to 'cure' themselves. Whilst undoubtedly this support may be welcome, altruistic, and perhaps even necessary, under the narrative of desistance which is so central to the operation of prisons in England and Wales it risks becoming prescriptive, oppressive, and dehumanising.

Whilst long-term interventions enjoy a depth of relationship, short-term interventions celebrate the intensity of their delivery style. Rather than becoming another tool of the carceral, they are far more easily seen as an outside agency, providing a respite for participants, and being viewed as something other than the everyday oppressive regime. As ITT offer both short-

term and long-term courses, I had the opportunity to enquire as to which style of delivery was more effective at encouraging participation in post-release work.

> That's interesting actually, because the idea was that we would get referrals to the sounding out project through the musicians in residence but in fact, with the intensive week projects, the relationships are really strong, and you have a chance to have conversations in a different way than when you're seeing somebody every day. And it tends to be this upward trajectory for skills increase and the amount the people engage with you. So quite often, when people are in a group having a really amazing time they say, 'This is so good. What do you do outside? Do you do any work outside?' At which point the project team can just say, 'yes we do' and we can send some information in to that person, and we can encourage them to get back in touch if they are still interested. We will have talks with them. We will find out what they're interested in. We'll find out when they going to be released, what the possibilities are. For some people it's just something that spiked their interest there and then, and then they lose interest. And that's fine because they are in jail and it's very difficult. But some have this kind of, 'oh my god this is so great. Yes, I'll be in touch' and they will regularly be in touch. And when they get released, we're able to bring them onto the project and they get the chance to work with the same musicians. They get trained to deliver workshops and training and are offered a number of other interesting creative opportunities. (Lee, 2020)

In the previous chapter, David Jones, the CT CEO, mentioned their aim to increase post-release engagement and it appears that one of their obstacles is how embedded they are in the prison regime, so they are viewed as a carceral element themselves. During my own sessions, I have enquired as to why many 'frequent flyers' had not contacted me between sentences, to which a common response was that they wanted to leave everything related to prison behind. Indeed, some ex-prisoner residents have stayed in touch with me but choose not to continue a musical relationship, in part because they view an instrument learnt inside the prison walls to be a reminder of their incarceration (see chapter eight). Yet, Lee posits a possible solution as, rather than being seen as part of the fabric of the prison, ITT's short intensive courses are viewed as separate from carceral institutions.

As organisations use music-making as therapeutic support to tackle the pains of imprisonment, many positive inferences are found in the mitigation of Sykes' (1958) theorisation of pains, yet they may result in an increase of Crewe's (2011) theorisation of pains. In other words, as music-making sessions can be seen to increase *liberty*, allow elements of *autonomy*, be a *service* for prison residents to access, as well as a place to form new *relationships* (mitigations of four of Sykes' pains), it seems these sessions can be used to further *tighten* control through prescription and censoring of content, *weighing* heavily on participants through limited availability and prescription of genre, and be more psychologically invasive through *deeper* relationships formed (an increase of Crewe's three pains)[60]. If music-making organisations need increased separation from carceral institutions in order for ex-prison residents to desire a continued relationship, then it may be important for those organisations to recognise that they are adopting and enacting elements of carceral oppression.

The fourth plane factors discussed so far appear to encircle the other planes, changing the relationships and communities formed through music and, at times, appearing to define them. Yet, such an analysis would be too simplistic if only viewing musical relationships in a single direction; the organisations or facilitators imposing their relationships upon the participants. As Born's framework suggests, in the third plane, these relationships can be altered. For those who are involved in both facilitation and the running of their organisations (such as Lee (ITT), Green (PCP) and Harris (FR)), there is evidence of the third plane relationships affecting their interaction with fourth plane practicalities.

ITT's style of delivery has grown from offering only short, intensive, intermittent music-making sessions, to employing musicians in residence in prisons where

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[60] See chapter two for more information on these two theories on the pains of imprisonment.

this has been possible. PCP have focused on one particular prison, typically

visiting for between four to six weeks every year, allowing them to repeatedly

form intense relationships with the same long-term prison residents.

> It was just really cool, and we built that connection with them over the
> years - over about four or five years - and I've really just got to know
> the guys in there (a lot of them serving long sentences), really well.
> And having established that - it's not great with the geography, but
> you keep going back and maintaining that contact and helping people
> as much as you can. (Green, 2020)

For PCP, being based in Battersea but delivering the majority of their

workshops in HMP Dartmoor, there would seem to be a large fourth plane

obstacle to be overcome. Yet, HMP Dartmoor is a Category C prison that takes

on primarily vulnerable prisoners and contains a less transient population than

the prisons for which they have only provided workshops and performances on

a single occasion (HMP Wandsworth (Local B), HMP & YOI Drake Hall (Closed)

and HMP Kirkham (category D)). The strength of relationships built with the

governor, the participants (both staff and prison resident), and audiences from

the local towns, has incentivised Green to mitigate the large geographical

barrier. Rather than running short, five-day courses, or employing a musician in

residence to work weekly, PCP and HMP Dartmoor have struck a balance that

lies between the styles of delivery of all other prison-based music-making

organisations.

The relationships between PCP and HMP Dartmoor may in fact be unique and

not easily reproduced. With a combination of HMP Dartmoor's category and

their policy of combining vulnerable prison residents, sex-offenders, and

mainstream prisoners together, the population there is not only (relatively)

stable but also older and predominantly white (*IMB annual report HMP

Dartmoor 2019-2020*, 2020). Here, the fourth plane factors of demographic,

security policy, and sentence length – the institutional forms that create this particular captive population – allow for PCP's unique approach and may explain why their style of delivery has only managed to take place regularly in this single establishment. PCP's style of choir and opera performance may be more appealing to the residents of HMP Dartmoor than other prisons with more transient and ethnically diverse populations.

It is the unique fourth plane influences listed above that I believe have led to the success of PCP, who themselves have a unique approach of producing operas once a year within prison walls. PCP have been successful in returning regularly to HMP Dartmoor, creating performances every year. Here, the creation of new social groups through music-making (Born's first and second planes) is seen as relationships between those from outside of prison (PCP staff) and those labelled as criminal (prison residents) form long lasting connections (breaking through the barriers of their labels as suggested in Born's third plane).

Genre, Censorship, and Control

One may make the mistake of assuming that the predominant and preferred genre of music amongst prison populations would be rap, drill, hip-hop, and electronic music. This assumption would be based on the average age of prison residents (predominantly under 40 (*England and Wales: prison population by age 2019*, 2019)), their racial demographic (non-white prison residents are around double the percentage of the general UK population (*Race and Prisons*, 2020, Lammy, 2017)), or, from my own experience, the music emanating from cells on a prison wing. So, it may come as a shock that the dominant style of delivery by prison-based music-making organisations in England and Wales is group singing or choirs. According to my own data, 40% (N=6/15) of music-

making organisations actively providing sessions in English and Welsh prisons regularly deliver choir or group singing activities. For BT, LC, PCP, Junction42, 2MakeIt and Sing Inside, this was their primary style of musical intervention yet, ITT, CT, and FR have additionally either joined with other organisations[61], been instructed by individual establishments, or have been led by the prison residents themselves to facilitate group singing events, sessions, or performances in some of the prisons in which they have worked.

The question of 'which genre and why?' in prison-based music-making is not easily answered as most organisations attempt to meet their participants' needs by offering a variety of genres. For some organisations, this is done by focusing on composition. ITT's short courses, FR and InHouse Records could easily be viewed as without genre as they allow their participants to compose their own music (though consideration must be given to available equipment, facilitator training and positionality, and issues of censorship). Due to prison security issues, laptops and microphones are restricted items and a good relationship with gatekeepers will need to be built before such items may be used in prison. Additionally, there is a regular practice within many styles of music creation of illegally downloading music, musicking software, and accessories, that are dominant in or specific to each genre, in which prison-based music-making facilitators cannot partake. The illegal acquisition of beats (backing tracks) from streaming platforms, large sample libraries, a preferred DAW software, and digital synthesizers, for instance, means that the way participants would create music outside of prison may differ greatly from the way music-making organisations work inside prison[62]. This fourth plane restriction affects the first

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[61] FR and BT regularly work in partnership to produce recordings of prison choirs.

[62] 'Beats' is a more common term for a premade backing track in rap music. 'Sample Libraries' are short sections of recorded music used as building blocks for new compositions. 'DAW' is an acronym for

two planes. It restricts the production of social relations as some prison residents will avoid a session that does not appear to accommodate their preferred process of music creation or genre, and it changes the imagined communities that can be built, favouring certain demographics and excluding others through the selection of equipment and skillset of their facilitators.

Whilst the permeability of the not-so-total prison institution allows a wide array of uncensored music in through CDs, radio stations and the lyrics created by prison residents themselves, prison-based music-making organisations are required to accept restrictions and censorship in order to satisfy gatekeepers.

> We have had to slightly change a model in Feltham YOI at the moment, in the last 12 months. That's purely down to the disruption that was going on in the wings there. There was a lot of internal violence. And the big issue there was really censorship of lyrical content. There were songs that we felt as a charity we couldn't publish all the material because it was inappropriate. We were seeing on two levels. On one level we had active engagement and positivity from the guys who are the most disengaged in their educational programmes - they were signing up to our course six months in advance because they want to be so much involved in our courses - and yet the downside is that some of the content that they were lyrically rapping about was first-hand personal experiences of what led them to jail, we felt that it was too edgy and too inappropriate. (Annamalai, 2020)

As discussed in chapter 2, censorship around rap, and particularly drill music, involves issues of class and race struggle, disproportionately affecting ethnic minorities and poorer communities. Annamalai is discussing above the struggle felt by prison-based music-making organisations as they are caught between the third plane refraction of these class and race genre prescriptions and the fourth plane need to satisfy prison gatekeeper requirements in order for any organised music-making to take place at all.

Digital Audio Workstation – the software used to arrange and compose music on computers. 'Digital Synthesizers' are digital instruments used commonly within rap, dance and other forms of electronic music.

When discussing ideas of musical censorship and the role of popular music in Nordic schools, Kallio (2017) suggests that 'if we are to take the democratic and inclusive ideals of popular music education seriously, classroom doors should be opened wide, to let the outside(rs) in' (p.341). Yet these ideals suffer far more stringent fourth plane restrictions in prisons than they do in schools and often in ways far more insidious than censorship through limiting styles or lyrical content.

For organisations such as CT, who focus on instrumental music, the very choice and definition of 'instrument' appears as a fourth plane factor that greatly influences the genre and style of delivery. Revolving primarily around guitar-based music, many of their sessions are based on a 'band workshop' model, with their most common instruments being guitars, bass, drums, microphone, and keyboard. This instrument selection is probably the most common in all prison-based music-making organisations with the exception of GV (as their focus is on Gamalan orchestral instrumentation). The choir organisations work either a capella or with guitar or piano accompaniment, depending on availability, and FR and ITT often use traditional instrumental musicians to support their participants in composing. As some of these interviews took place during an expansion of the Black Lives Matter movement, my questions of the choice of genre and instrumentation drew some intriguing critique of the prison-based music-making scene as viewed, for instance, by CT CEO, David Jones:

> You will be aware that the Black Lives Matter campaign has really blown up over the summer and has directed me to look at the demographics of our participants within Changing Tunes, and it is clear to me that we are massively underrepresented in the BAME community in terms of our participants. We are underrepresented in our staff scene, we are certainly underrepresented by the people in governance, and to me that is a real issue… I think that we have possibly excluded certain instruments - and I refer to a computer as

an instrument, or a [Novation] LaunchPad[63] as an instrument - when I don't think we potentially should have. I think we should be more open-minded to those sorts of instruments because I think the way we set up our rooms with very traditional instruments, is probably a barrier to certain groups of people accessing our sessions. The fact that within prisons 28% come from a BAME background - 17% in the British population, 28% in prisons and actually 51% when you get into youth offending institutes, and we are probably seeing somewhere between 5-7% BAME within our participants.

… I have less of an issue about people using a computer; what I want to make sure is that we're not going down the route of one individual creating beats for themselves in isolation with a computer. What I would love to see, is a guy with a laptop or a guy with a LaunchPad contributing to collaborative music production and I don't think that is a massive step. I think it could potentially open up more genres of music and that in turn may then appeal to certain contingents within the prison. There is nothing wrong with us playing Springsteen on traditional instruments and I would advocate for that, but actually, we should also be looking at Grime and Hip-hop and using technology which people are much more used to seeing. Who has a drum kit in their house these days? A lot of people have an iPad and can bash something out on garage band. I think it's something that we will actually see change in the next six to nine months with adequate training for staff, by raising the issue and looking internally a bit at our own prejudices. There is a bit of a perception that black music is throwaway music and the content is perceived to be misogynistic, homophobic, containing swearing, et cetera, et cetera; I think that is actually quite a naïve view and there is some high quality music within the genre, the same as there is within any genre. (Jones, 2020)

The influence of the instrumentation – its effect on the formation of identities, relationships and communities, as well as its potential role in creating further oppression and dehumanisation through prescribing 'pro-social' genres of music – has been overlooked in the prison-based music-making research that I reviewed in chapter two. The belief that music has a power to do good, and the utility of previous prison-based music-making research, seems to have eclipsed a critical view of such interventions. As prison policy and gatekeepers have forced organisations to think in terms of pro-social behavioural change and rehabilitation statistics, so the question arises regarding the choice of genres

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[63] A popular midi controller used for triggering different sounds, samples, and songs during the composition and performance of a wide range of electronic music.

and the motivations behind those deciding which genres to choose and how to facilitate them. It is perhaps easier to retain funding and navigate gatekeepers by offering a style of musicking aligned with their preferences. Similarly, it is potentially difficult to offer a style of musicking that has been used as evidence to convict prison residents and seen to be aligned with the glorification of crime.

This hierarchical view of genres has been linked to white supremacist thinking (Ewell, 2020) and could potentially be the result of a white saviour complex; as though there is a belief that 'high quality' and 'more evolved' music will prescribe 'better quality' and 'more evolved' behaviour. One of the largest contributors to the prescription of 'quality' is the Arts Council who fund many prison-based music-making organisations and necessitate a high standard of product as a result of their investment.

> So, we've got the Arts Council who have been our biggest funder. And that's been a reason to really draw attention to the fact that we aim for excellence in our musical programme. That it is an educational arts tool. You'll have seen that the musical range, that we do some Rap, but we also do Vivaldi's 'Gloria' in four-part harmony. And that has been one of the favourite songs that all guys have loved, because of the sense of pride that they can do it. And of course, Gloria's got a kind of football, anthemic quality to it. And often they find the musical history of these pieces absolutely fascinating. (Dougary, 2020)

In the same way that Jones said he would advocate for Springsteen to be played as well as Grime and Hip-hop, Dougary pulls out positive justifications for the inclusion of classical choir singing and the fun that can be had tackling musical styles that may be unusual or 'other' for some participants. However, his words also highlight the influence of funding bodies; prescribing a hierarchy of genres and a belief that classical music is perhaps more valuable and elevating than rap. Yet it is interesting that even with this prescription and influence from the funding organisations, LC continue to produce music from a

wide array of genres, sensing that such variety is important for securing their own organisational priorities.

Through my interviews I have found evidence that despite the political, institutional and logistical challenges, organisations are attempting to increase the genres and styles of musicking that they provide. One of the methods employed by CT in order to tackle the homogony of genre and participant ethnic demographic is to encourage their facilitators to 'double up', visiting and assisting sessions in a different prison. This can broaden the array of genres they are able to offer, better meet the participants' needs, and is mentioned regularly by CT MiRs in the following chapter as an improvement they are keen to see implemented.

FR's focus on recorded music and composition appears to have directed the organisation to be participant led and as a result, they have developed a model of utilising visiting musicians for each session, allowing them to provide customised support for individual music styles. Circling around CT's limitation of facilitator abilities, their short and intensive provision, combined with a wider array of visiting musicians, has led to a greater inclusion of styles, age range, and ethnicities.

> We will facilitate. We will help people make the music that matters to them. So obviously, when we go into the young prisons – Feltham, Isis – it's all Urban, Hip-hop, Grime, and Rap. But in places like Ford and Swaleside we've had Bollywood style, lots of Swing, Folk and Rock. It's really a question of them being able to express their own sensibilities and their own preferences. Obviously, we have to walk a very fine line, particularly in young guys particularly at Feltham. It's very difficult to get the balance right there, lyrically. (Annamalai, 2020)

This is not to say that CT have failed to involve a similar array of genres, but FR have certainly developed a delivery model that addresses some of the issues that Jones referred to in his analysis of CT's main participants' ethnic

demographic. FR have also addressed CT's aim of ensuring their participants do not go 'down the route of one individual creating beats for themselves in isolation and with a computer' through the use of technology.

> The other thing we do, that I think others don't do, is that we use wireless headsets. Which sounds insignificant, but actually what it does is that it means people can move around the room (particularly with young offenders who don't like sitting still and are maybe hesitant about getting stuck in right away). It gives them a chance to walk around the room and they can hear what's being recorded. They can hear what's being done, but they don't have to be physically at the heart of the process. They can sort of work their way into it as they become more confident, but they're still aware of what's going on, they can still be thinking about it and potentially writing lyrics for it, or you know, coming up with their own take on things. (Annamalai, 2020)

Here, the comparison between FR's and CT's ways of working highlights the importance of variation within styles of delivery. Whilst CT build relationships through group music-making activities, FR focus on education and composition. As they take different approaches towards music-making in prisons they attract different demographics, genres, and build relationships in different ways. Each reaches establishments and participants in a way that the others may not be able, and they achieve this through their style of delivery, use of equipment, and navigation of obstacles. I certainly would advocate for an increased availability of prison-based music-making but would encourage that this must not come at a cost to its heterogeneity. I am eager to see organisations collaborating in their efforts to reach prison populations (discussed further in the conclusion of this thesis) but would also encourage them to maintain their various styles of delivery and support, as well as their heterogeneous styles of relationship building.

The Sick Prisoner

A universal aim within the prison-based music-making organisations whose representatives I interviewed was to improve their participants' well-being. As discussed in chapters one and two, the combination of the medical and opportunity model is a result of labelling prison residents as 'sick' but also 'only capable of changing themselves'. This model has resulted in much of the discourse and research surrounding prison-based music-making focusing on well-being and music's use as therapy and self-help. Often the aim of improving wellbeing is not pursued for wellbeing's sake, but is linked to a related aim of pro-socialising, correcting, and homogenising individuals, which scholars such as Foucault (1977) and Bell (2013) argue serves to create docile bodies with neo-liberal utility. Those providing prison-based music-making sessions are caught between the neo-liberal penalities that prescribe their delivery (fourth plane influences and restrictions) and the personal relationships they form with participants which shift their focus towards improving wellbeing for wellbeing's sake (but which in turn can be understood as third plane refractions of neo-liberal aims).

> [T]he more important bits [of the work of PCP] actually, is the results in terms of the extraordinary impact it has on the individuals. I mean, just to take one case in point, there was one guy who turned up for 'Guy's and Dolls' and in the first rehearsal he doesn't speak to anybody. He doesn't speak to anyone on the wing ever. He doesn't speak to any prison officers. He never spoke to anyone. He had hair right down beyond his shoulders, a long beard and he didn't maintain eye contact with anyone. And on the first day reading through a few characters, and I wonder who might be interested in playing this particular role, he sticks his hand up for one of the main parts and I'm thinking, 'fuck, what we gonna do with this'. Anyway, he takes it on and by the end of it not only is he a fantastic presence on stage but about three days before the dress rehearsal he came up to me and said, 'Look Adam, the beard, the hair, it's all coming off'. So, he turned up and just released this extraordinary nice guy underneath and his eye - That glint behind the eyes. He was just an absolute superstar on the stage. And the number of cases like that and people as well who

have been clearly on drugs in the prison and by the end of that journey, that musical process, they've kicked the habit. And those guys I'm still in touch with now, who are out of Dartmoor and for whom that is exactly that. They are on heroin when they were in there and now, they've just got off of it. And he said, 'The actual turning point for me was having the opportunity to feel that I was given something to really focus on and do. It kept me on the straight and narrow'. And so, it's those stories that are the fascination for me. (Green, 2020)

Green's stories show the complexity of the pathologised prison resident. Whilst for many, drug addiction, self-confidence, and mental health may be difficulties in their lives that they wish to overcome, circumvent, or manage – and for which musicking might be a useful tool – in a carceral and correctional setting, these difficulties have been framed as pathologies that cause or strongly relate to criminal behaviour. The goal of dealing with personal difficulties is arguably somewhat instrumentalised by the prison hegemony, which is focused more on pro-social prescription of behaviour rather than personal well-being (Carlen, 2002, Kendall, 2000). The idea that musicking can be used to change society to be more accepting of an individual's differences is superseded by the aim of guiding participants towards normalised and homogenised behavioural patterns in a hope that it provides a safer community for those perceived as non-deviant, non-criminal, and healthy members of society. By attempting to cure the pathology perceived to cause deviant behaviour, prison-based music-making organisations are seeking a justification that fits the rhetoric of correctional institutions. Yet, as stated by Green in chapter four, whether this translates to a reduced re-offending rate is not something he thinks he can claim. The simple aim of assisting those in need through musicking may seem like justification enough, but by forcing prison-musicking organisations to compete for funding, time, and space, they are encouraged to internalise the individualising and pathologizing rhetoric of the correctional institutions.

As was shown through ITT's and CT's theories of change (chapter two), a lack

of connection to wider society is viewed as criminal pathology, whilst musicking,

as a known tool for creating cohesion and socialisation (Born, 2011), is believed

to be a potential cure.

> It is about connectivity. That is what we are trying to do. We are trying to connect with people that have been lost by society and that is it. And we do it through music. (Green, 2020)

> I think the aims are around wanting people to lead lives away from crime. That is kind of our strapline I think it is also what I see people on the ground trying to work towards. Music is the hook and music is the medium through which we work and I have read the research … about these cumulative building blocks of self-esteem and confidence in problem-solving and team working and all those sorts of things; the soft qualitative stuff. Actually, for others, I think there are other things that happen that support them to lead lives free from crime. I think the relationship with musicians in residence is often a really huge factor in their lives. They have somebody who believes in them, who is willing to take a long-term role in their life and having that person, particularly on the post-release side, it becomes much more mentoring and support. I think it's just having somebody in their life who they can speak to, who takes an interest in them, and who is in it for the long haul. That is the factor that really allows them to break some of the behaviours and some of the issues that they had in their lives that have kept them going back into prison. (Jones, 2020)

> The ultimate aim: reducing reoffending, rather obviously. But in between that, on the steps to get there - on our main singing programme, it's the obvious ones: improving mental health, improving social inclusion (well, creating any sense of social inclusion at all), and some other bits around that. Being in a choir readily creates essential soft skills like life skills you need for employability. We do family events; lots of concerts for families. So, it's very pro [for] creating opportunities for positive family experience in prison. Seeing yourself as other than criminal and creating a community asset within the prison. So, you've actually got something you can give to your prison community. (Mace, 2020)

Here we see an application of music-making as a disciplinary power, moving

prison residents away from deviance: the pro-social, disciplined, and docile

body has improved soft skills, social connections, and self-esteem. Whilst many

of these aspects seem positive, through the theoretical lens of neo-liberal

penalities, these are more employable people, arguably more easily exploited and more accepting of that exploitation.

It is worth acknowledging Kendall's (2000) belief that the motives of those working in correctional facilities are well intentioned but distorted by institutions and an individualised, neo-liberal society. Whilst music performances are likely to change an audience's perception of the performers, it is perhaps an easier and more obvious aim in carceral environments to offer opportunities for individuals to change themselves rather than attempt to enact a large-scale structural change that reaches beyond the (traditional) carceral. Enabling individual change is a noble and important role to fulfil. Yet, a societal structure that requires a deviant and exploitable underclass for the purposes of wider societal control may well find new ways to label a percentage of its population as 'outsiders' and 'deviant'. It is therefore my belief that prison-based music-making organisations are at risk of continually chasing their proverbial tails, successfully integrating one individual at a time back into society only for another to be labelled deviant and sick. I believe that the narrative needs to be flipped and the aim of prison-based music-making should be to change society so that it includes or relabels those currently labelled as 'criminal'; instead, currently the onus of change continues to be laid on the individual.[64]

Experts by Experience

Whilst I have been critical of the forth plane restrictions that gatekeepers and funders have imposed on prison-based music-making and demonstrated the resulting effect this has on styles of delivery and genre (with subsequent limitations on third plane factors), the perhaps more encouraging conclusions of

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[64] As will be discussed in chapters six and seven, the collectivisation of prison residents necessary to make such a societal change (as desistance-based social movement (Maruna, 2017)) is beset with many obstacles that music-making may struggle to overcome.

this research will be found in musicking's omnidirectional relational qualities, in particular, the effect that prison residents are having on their facilitators and also on the policies of prison-based music-making organisations. Once (fourth plane) obstacles and limitations have been mitigated, a music-making activity with prison residents takes place. Subsequent musicking relationships do not unfold in a single direction.

The building of communities within prison populations has in many ways been simultaneously shaping and influencing the way prison-based music-making organisations deliver their sessions and interact with establishments. This was evidenced by all the organisations I interviewed as they proudly announced their inclusion of ex-prison residents on their boards of trustees or as facilitators. Navigating the obstacles of DBS checks[65] and prison security, the prison-based music-making organisations I interviewed had universally appreciated the role of lived experience and wanted to hand over the direction of their charities to former participants as much as they were able.

When asked why ITT had started to deliver weekly sessions as well as their short courses, Sara Lee replied by saying:

> I think it's important to realise that people go on journey through a prison and when they get released there is this deep dark hole. [We started weekly courses] Because people asked us to do it - we'd been thinking about it for ages, but we didn't really know how to structure it or what would be useful to people. So, we came up with an idea to start with, after asking a few people and it just adapts itself every year. Some things dropout. Some things get brought in. This is exactly what the programme should do; it should be organic. It should be guided by the participants, because whilst I think I might know what might be a

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[65] A Disclosure & Barring Service (DBS) check is required for many jobs in the UK if you are working with vulnerable people. This is one way in which people with criminal records are excluded from certain industries as employers often refuse to employ someone if anything shows up on their DBS check. For prison-based music-making organisations, they will have to show that an employed ex-prison resident's crime (as recorded on their DBS) will not put their beneficiaries at risk.

good idea for them to do, I don't know. It's all guesswork. I've not been in jail. I don't know what people need. (Lee, 2020)

Whilst Rachel Mace from BT suggested:

[Y]ou don't really know what it's like and you find yourself slightly slipping if not completely falling into that paternal view of, 'this is good for you' [laughs]… I think that's probably the wrong way of putting it. You feel as if you're answering somebody's needs, but what you're [actually] doing is wearing hat of somebody on the outside who has never really experienced what it's like.

… [what you need is] somebody that understands the system and really what the needs are and what people might want… [therefore] we have two trustees who have served sentences. (Mace, 2020)

By amplifying their participants' voices through releasing recorded music and organising performances (both in and out of prison) and placing experts by experience in key roles, these charities are beginning to affect a rehumanisation of what is often considered a silenced and dehumanised population (Mangaoang, 2013, Crewe, 2011, Bosworth et al., 2005, Liebling and Maruna, 2005, Crewe et al., 2014). It would seem that rather than changing the behaviour of the (ex-)prison resident, the relationships that have been formed are beginning to shape the aims and practices of the music-making charities.

Changing the Change

It is clear from the interviews that I have conducted that all organisations are attempting to meet individual beneficiaries' needs in each establishment. Yet the largest evidence of success of their interventions is arguably found not in the rhetoric of reduced re-offending rates, the impact of their individual case studies, or in evidence of improved mental health, but in the communities that they continue to build. Relationships between participants, facilitators, and organisations are formed which are at odds with the prescriptive nature of the rehabilitative rhetoric of prisons. At the same time, the aims of rehabilitation and fixing the individual show signs of being superseded by recognition of a need to

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change the systemic issues that brought those individuals into prison in the first place and the problems with prisons themselves.

As the final interview I conducted was with CT CEO David Jones, and as I have a close working relationship with that organisation, I felt comfortable to ask the direct question of, 'what does the 'Changing' mean in the name 'Changing Tunes'?

> I think the historical importance of the word 'change' is changing the individual. And, you know, taking - this is slightly archaic language - but a broken life and trying to change it into a more positive life. And a life free from crime. I'm pretty sure that's the relevance of the word in our title.
>
> I wonder if going forward, the word changing could also be used to kind of change systems and society as well. There is huge stigma attached to ex-prisoners and we feel like we have a bit of an advocacy kind of role. To advocate for ex-prisoners and get involved in campaigns like, 'ban the box' – you know, having to state that you're an ex-offender on application forms. I feel like I'd really love us to start moving into a bit more advocacy. Fighting for conditions within prison… And I'd like to take on a bit more of a dual role, so that the change could also be a bit more systemic. (Jones, 2020)

Without forgetting the individual's needs or wanting to sacrifice the importance of assisting a person who wishes to change their life, Jones highlights the importance of tackling systemic issues as well. Most important, however, is the potential evolution of these three charities suggested from their statements above. Lee, from ITT, suggests that their Musician in Residence role and the Sounding Out project were born out of conversations and relationships with participants. Mace, from BT, describes the challenges involved in prescribing what a participant will need whilst having never been in their situation and suggests that having ex-prison residents in important decision-making positions within the organisation is key to changing this. Jones, from CT, speaks of how relationships with participants has challenged what the very name of the

organisation (specifically the word 'change') could mean and how he now hopes the organisation will look beyond just their music-making sessions and consider how they relate to wider societal change.

By placing ex-prison residents in positions of power with direction over the organisations (and therefore the organisations' relationship to society and the prison complex), they have taken their first step into the journey of advocacy. No longer holding simply the positionality of 'saviour' or prescriber of behaviour (a rehabilitative position), these organisations now have a dual and contradictory positionality – being both 'other to' and 'of' the 'non-deviant' society; being both 'criminal' and 'non-criminal' in their labelled identity. I believe this dual positionality has come as a result of the refraction of hierarchies (Born's third plane) through the shared musical labour (Born's first plane) that has resulted in a new imagined community (Born's second plane) to which participants and facilitators now belong. It is my hope that we are in the early stages of prison-based music-making organisations being involved in a potential desistance-based movement that can enact wider structural change, led by and for their participants.

Conclusion

The prison-based music-making motif continues to be disjointed and unfinished, but the hints of a full melody are appearing. As the geographical spread of prison-based music-making organisations has been defined and restricted by funding, the autonomy of prisons, the need for evidence of effective fulfilment of prison's purposes (as shown in chapter four), so the delivery style has also been defined by these fourth plane influences. A choice has had to be made by most organisations as to whether they provide short term, intensive interventions in as many prisons as possible or long term weekly musicking

sessions in fewer establishments. Whilst both styles of delivery have their benefits and shortfalls, as Sara Lee from ITT stated, the ideal is to do both. Yet the funding restrictions and lack of fiscal contribution from the prisons themselves has resulted in the majority of prison residents being unable to regularly be involved in organised music-making activities.

The fourth plane influence of prison gatekeepers was also seen to affect issues of genre, censorship and participant demographic, as the prison-based music-making organisations felt the tension of being caught between prison and resident – wanting to satisfy the musical desires of their participants whilst being bound by prison structure, rehabilitative rhetoric, and security requirements. Furthermore, the narrative of the 'sick prisoner' appears to be at least partially internalised by the organisations who look to provide a blend of medical and opportunity model through musicking's therapeutic values. This work is, however, made more complex by the desire and imperative of attending to an individual's need and assisting residents in the here and now. As prison abolitionists often accept reformations to prison as long as they do not hinder the process of prison abolition (Kaba et al., 2021), so I find myself agreeing with the aim of striving for assisting individuals in the process of desistance with the provision that the processes do not hinder a potential collectivised desistance social movement.

Prison-based music-making representatives repeatedly indicated to me in interviews that the narrative of 'rehabilitation through musicking' has become tiresome. Whilst it is a narrative that they are required to propagate in order to be part of the carceral framework, they have been unsuccessful in convincing others (or at times, even themselves) that music-making with a focus on individual change is a successful path towards desistance. The strength and

honesty that the organisations have shown in understanding their limitations has led to them to listen carefully to their participants, and where possible, include them in mentoring, facilitator, and trustee roles. Indeed, it is evident that the first and second planes – the formation of relationships and imagined communities created through the affective and non-representational elements of musicking – are gradually breaking through the fourth plane restrictions, passing through the third plane's refraction of hierarchies on their way. As ex-prison residents take up leadership roles within prison-based music-making organisations, they show the possibility of joining up the motifs, creating a new prison-based music-making melody that may be able to advocate for change in a way that rehumanises (ex)prison populations, addressing systemic prejudice rather than focusing solely on their individual participants.

The fourth plane restrictions highlighted in this and the previous chapter that define how prison-based music-making organisations can operate, do not consider the affective properties of musicking and the imagined communities that musical activity can create. It is these imagined communities (second plane) and refraction of hierarchies and class structures (third plane) that will be the subject of investigation in the next chapter.

6. Carceral Musicking's Deceptive Cadence

Introduction

Academics working on prison-based music-making have often focused on individual change and tended to adopt the medical and opportunity models introduced above (see Swanson and Cohen, Forthcoming, Mangaoang, 2013, Mangaoang, 2019, Mangaoang, 2021, Kallio, 2022, pp., for notable exceptions). As a result, an overtly positive view of this important work has created a deceptive cadence – an unsatisfying ending that equates change to conformity and good health to compliance. Whilst those working specifically on sound in carceral settings have taken a more critical stance, (Herrity, 2017, Herrity, 2019, Herrity, 2021, Rice, 2016), many of the papers on music-making in U.K. prisons are funded by or produced in conjunction with music-making organisations with the aim of increasing their reach, funding or status (Maruna, 2010, Cursley and Maruna, 2015, Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008, Abrahams et al., 2012, Anderson et al., 2011).

Viewed only through a positive lens, I suggest that the omnidirectional aspects and the complexity of musical affect have been ignored or misunderstood. Musical affects and atmospheres have been co-opted under a logic that is essentially based on hope, and the notion that through opportunities to play the right music in the right way, prisoner residents' 'incorrect' behaviour can be paternalistically nudged in the 'correct' direction. This chapter challenges the belief that participation in prison-based music-making results only in positive or healthy outcomes.

By investigating the experiences of prison-based music-making facilitators (known as Musicians in Residence (MiR)), this chapter finds that these key

actors hold an indifference towards the paternalistic aim of correction held by funders and prison establishments. It explores the relationships built between MiR and participants through the process of music-making, and how these musical interactions can affect the MiRs' priorities within their work.

This chapter addresses the third of the five thesis questions set out in the introduction: How is prison-based music-making realised? It finds that whilst prison gatekeepers and the pursuit of funding may be directing organisations to focus on rehabilitation, the omnidirectional affects of group music-making have changed the aims and direction of the MiRs.

This chapter begins by discussing the empirical data that informs the current and the next chapter. Following this a discussion on the characteristics of a CT session takes place in order to situate the findings and gather an understanding of what the MiRs view as important in their work. As we will see, their focus is on continuity (delivering regular and reliable sessions), with their key measures of success being the creation of affective atmospheres (described as a 'vibe' or a 'feel'), participant led sessions, and assisting prison residents to live lives of meaning and purpose. The aims are to some extent at odds with, or different in emphasis to wider organisational aims.

Empirical Data

Having worked in prisons as a music teacher, a CT MiR, and a self-employed workshop facilitator (as well as holding various other non-musical teaching and prison monitoring positions) since 2008, I regularly see the same faces return through prison's 'revolving door'. Many of the most striking changes I have witnessed manifested as changes of my perception of others or myself rather than any measurable change in the actions of my participants. It would seem

that the relationships I built with those in my music-making groups in particular affected me by changing my world view and the way I viewed prison residents.

To investigate this change, I kept autoethnographic reflective notes of a Saturday music group I ran in a category C prison for a period of nine months. The sessions were only on acoustic guitar and funded by the education department of the prison as a scheme set up by a Learning and Skills Governor to re-introduce music to a vulnerable prison unit (VPU) that had not had access to organised music-making sessions for a period of six years. Ironically, this was a reinstatement of a job I had lost through previous austerity cuts, the drive towards 'payment by results' (mentioned in previous chapters), and a change in the Learning and Skills Governor.

Upon the original discontinuation of this Saturday music group, I gained employment as an MiR with CT, who only had enough funding for 2 sessions a week (one morning and one afternoon) and deemed it more beneficial to run these sessions only on the main block (the larger of the two segregated prison populations). I continued with this employment for four years.

This new Saturday job was a return to the same work that supported me through my undergraduate degree and was now providing a basis for some of my PhD research. The Learning and Skills Governor who had originally started these sessions in 2008 had been promoted and demoted since then. Both his promotion and demotion coincided with the discontinuation and reinstatement of the Saturday music group – showing that the cyclical nature of the prison environment is as prevalent in staff as it is the residents themselves. I continued to work on a voluntary basis for CT who supported me in my ex-prisoner work, allowing me to continue a relationship with prison residents once released (this

is not usually an acceptable security risk, but special dispensation can be created for those organisations providing mentoring support 'through the gate')[66].

The time limit of nine-months' worth of autoethnographic notes was defined by the Coronavirus pandemic which forced all activities deemed non-essential out of the prison. However, during this nine-month period I was able to explore the differences between working under the banner of education (seemingly closely related to the prison regime) and that of a third-party charity such as CT. I was able to detail some of the differences in running an acoustic guitar group rather than the usual CT band workshop, and the length of time it took me to feel a truly affective atmosphere and build relationships with participants in a new session with a new group.

Underlying these nine-months' of ethnographic findings are the previous 12 years of prison-based music-making experience which appear in this chapter in the form of composite fictionalised stories based on my own experience, stories told to me by other MiRs, or conversations with prison residents. These fictionalised accounts preserve the meaning and affective properties of the original situations without compromising ethical boundaries and revealing identities of those involved (see chapter three).

In order to look beyond my own understanding of the prison-based music-making scene I also conducted seven interviews with CT MiRs. Spanning a range of prison categories, these MiRs gave me an insight into the similarities and differences that characterise each prison establishment and the work of each CT employee (see table 9). Significantly, with around 4.1% of the prison

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[66] 'Through the gate' is common prison terminology for organisations that work with the same people before and after they are released from prison.

population being female (*World Prison Brief*, 2021), the gender balance of CT staff and the gender description of the prisons mirrors this population skew.

MiR Name[67]	Prison Categories/Description	Prison Gender[68]	Job Title[69]
Mike	Local B, Cat C (VPU) & Cat D	Male	Musician in Residence
Gareth	Local B, Cat B, Cat C (lifers), Cat D	Male	Team Leader
Matt	Local B, Cat C (VPU)	Male	Musician in Residence
David F	Local B, Cat C	Male	Musician in Residence
David C	Secure boys' home	Male	Senior Musician in Residence[70]
Fran	Closed Female	Female	Former Senior Musician in Residence
Simon	Local B, Cat C	Male	Senior Musician in Residence

Table 9: MiR Interviewees

The common thread that makes these MiRs comparable is the employment, funding, training and direction provided by CT. Apart from their quarterly team meetings (that not all MiRs choose or are able to attend), the MiRs have a good deal of autonomy, often going months without face-to-face contact with another MiR. The senior MiR role has been created to try and tackle issues created by

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[67] Some MiRs requested their surname be left out of this research for security reasons. They request a similar security measure for the CT website as they do not wish to be easily identifiable to all (ex)prison residents.

[68] This refers to the gendered description of the prison establishment and does not guarantee the gender identification of all participants.

[69] All MiRs interviewed deliver sessions in prison at the time of writing. Gareth, who delivered sessions for around 15 years before becoming a team leader, travels to all CT prisons to support and assist all MiRs.

[70] Senior MiRs have the job of providing pastoral support for other MiRs in their area and completing additional administration work.

the geographical spread of activities, and those in this role are encouraged to visit and provide telephone support to the MiRs who report to them.

What is a Changing Tunes session?

My data indicate that CT sessions vary in their delivery, equipment, timings and space. Each prison imposes a unique set of security restrictions on items such as guitar strings (steel or nylon for example), drumsticks, and technology (such as PA systems, microphones, and recording equipment). In some prisons, guitars and keyboards are regularly lent to participants of CT sessions so they can practise in their cells. In others, instruments collect dust in locked cupboards waiting for their next two hours of use. However, almost all CT sessions consist of instrument-based music-making, often centred around a band workshop style of delivery. Participants are encouraged to find a way to play together in a group.

In my own experience, and drawing on my conversations with other facilitators, the length of a CT session is typically around two hours with between three and eight participants. In some prisons the restrictions on non-operational staff do not allow them to transport prison residents from their living blocks or wings to the location of their sessions (usually a chapel, multifaith room or unused mobile classroom). This can result in longer sessions as prison residents can only move during scheduled 'mass movement' slots, sometimes three or three and a half hours apart.

> …everyone should do a stint in a B Cat because it feels like a proper prison. [Cat D prison][71] feels very different from even a C Cat, it's a different vibe. There's the kind of hustle from working in a B cat and just the kind of sketchiness, busyness, and chaos- hustling on the wings and all of that sort of stuff. You just don't get that in other sorts of prisons. (Gareth, 2021)

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[71] Prison name removed at interviewee's request

Yet it is not only the category of prison that affects a CT session. The style of delivery can also vary from morning or afternoon, or across different prison populations (such as VPUs, Youth Offender wings, health care units, or enhanced prisoner wings). Some MiRs choose to run one session as a group for beginners and one as an advanced session. Some sessions happen in different locations across the prison so as not to mix the different segregations of prison residents. However, the vast majority of CT sessions aim to get participants playing as a group – this can be on instruments, as part of a choir, playing original songs, or covering rock and pop standards. In my previous role as a CT MiR, for instance, I chose to run 20-minute, one-to-one music lessons in the morning and then a group session with the same participants in the afternoon. Similarly, during the re-opening of activities since the coronavirus pandemic, many other MiRs have been forced to do only one-to-one or small group sessions (no more than three people in a room), in order to reduce potential transmission of the virus. Whilst this would appear to be a big shift in the way CT generally works, the MiRs attempt to focus less on teaching and more on the community aspect of playing together. Even in the one-to-one sessions, other MiRs and I find that we spend the majority of the sessions talking and jamming rather than instructing or teaching.

The simplest way of understanding the commonality that ties all CT sessions together is mentioned regularly at meetings and training sessions: CT is a relationship charity and music(king) is the catalyst to building those relationships. Rather than instructing and depositing musical information onto their participants in a classic teacher-student dynamic (Freire, 1970), CT MiRs seek to use music-making to create new identities, social bonds and communities (Born, 2011). Despite this desire, a certain amount of instructing

and teaching is required for beginner musicians and to create musical cohesion in the participants' playing. In this way, CT sessions can be considered a blend of informal music therapy and non-certificated music teaching.

Affective Atmospheres

Getting 'lost' or 'immersed' in the music is a theme that appeared in all MiR interviews and is viewed as crucial to building the MiR-participant relationship. These sorts of atmospheres are described by Anderson (2009) as '… a singular affective quality… [that] creates an intensive space–time. One that exceeds lived or conceived space–time' (p. 78). Perhaps akin to the 'trance state' referred to by Freeman (1998), reaching this state is a main goal of CT MiRs and a measure of the success of their work. As Matt hints above, many of the other MiRs reported that 'getting lost in the music' is difficult when you have to think about each participant's needs, security issues, or simply the technicality of playing and performing. These barriers to reaching an affective atmosphere are likely to be felt by the participants as well as the MiRs. Technicality is likely to be a particular issue for those of us who are, or remember being, beginner musicians. 'Getting lost in the music' or forming relationships with other musicians, is a tricky task whilst you are concentrating on keeping time or reaching the next chord, something that will be further investigated in the next chapter where ex-prison residents are interviewed on their experience of being CT participants.

Continuity

Each MiR I interviewed exhibited different aims and desires for the outcomes of their sessions. Yet a theme of continuity and cohesion appeared as an important characteristic of CT sessions. This has developed through their training practices and a system known as 'doubling up' where one MiR will

contact another and invite them to work overtime to assist in their sessions. This

often happens during performances and recordings but may also be used in

regular sessions.

> Historically musicians have felt quite– not isolated because that has some negative connotations but certainly like they are doing their thing in their context, and I think that is a necessary part of people working on their own in specific prisons.
>
> Something that we used to do when I started CT was 'doubling up'. We were much smaller, I was the third of three musicians that we had at the time, and we would muck in… and that is something that I've wanted to get back on the agenda for some time…
>
> I think there is something about the initial training as well… we take new recruits around different prisons to see CT happening in different contexts. So, a woman's prison, an open prison, a B cat, to just sort of see the very different contexts and how CT can look different… (Gareth, 2021)

This aim to combat the atomisation of the MiRs, which is in many ways caused

by the geographic and political autonomy of each prison establishment

discussed in the previous chapter, appears popular with other MiRs as well.

> I love working with other CT musicians. All the sessions I've done with [Dave C], I literally love it. I love it if I get to be in on his session and not have the responsibility of running it and just sitting on the drums or something. I love that, and you can just chat to the guys. That's great. My sessions are better when – it is just him so far – but when he's in there. I've loved coming down. I went to both of Mike's prisons, and I just loved it. That would be my biggest thing because it is isolating sometimes. I really like everyone on our team. (Matt, 2021)

This desire for community appears to be a rebellion against the atomisation and

isolation created by the carceral environment and the geographical dispersity of

prisons in England and Wales. By joining together with their nearest MiRs there

is greater opportunity to reach a positive affective atmosphere created by the

music-making as well as a chance to talk and form musical relationships and

collectives as described in Born's (2011) first two planes.

Yet, the MiRs appear to desire these 'doubling up' sessions for the sake of their participants (in order to increase the feeling of consistency across all CT sessions for the participants) as much as to ease the isolation for themselves.

> That sense of continuity, that's a really big one. A space for the beneficiaries. The space is for them, the musician is there wholeheartedly, responding genuinely from the heart. They bring their own responses but what they are responding to and what the focus of the sessions is, is the beneficiary or group of beneficiaries who come along. It's just that space where, 'this is your space now and we're making this space for you to be yourself, to find yourself and to develop you own kind of sense of musicality and your own kind of personality which comes through loud and clear through music' and then there's riches to be mined beneath the surface of that. (Gareth, 2021)

As prison residents are moved from prison to prison due to reasons such as reclassification of security risk, length remaining in sentence, or requested transfer, providing something consistent appears to be high on the priority list for CT MiRs. The desire of providing not just a consistent space, but also a space owned and defined by the participants themselves, is partially why I undertook the cartography of the prison-based music-making scene in the previous chapters, showing that this consistency has been somewhat hindered by the obstacles prison-based music-making organisations have faced when trying to access a prison. The doubling up sessions assist the aim of continuity when a prison resident is moved from one establishment where CT has access, to another where CT also has access. Knowing, performing with, or having experienced the same space can be a strong starting point for forming a relationship between MiR and prison resident. With security restrictions forbidding MiRs from discussing hometowns or possible mutual friendships with prison residents, the production of social relationships (Born's first plane) is supported instead by the doubling up process as a shared history can be found within prison spaces or in mutual relationships with other MiRs.

> I think, having worked it now, I see the value of just turning up and being regular and dependable for them. I really see the value of that now. Everyone banged on about it at the start and I was a bit like, is that really a big deal? I do see that now. Just turning up and being within the prison but not of the prison. I definitely don't feel like an officer and feel like I'm part of the establishment for them. I'm not an authority figure but I'm something – they can't just treat me as a pal. There is that kind of relationship but it's in a really positive way I've found. I think that's good. (Matt, 2021)

The production of a social relationship may also be aided by a historical co-creation of a musical space (Simpson, 2017) in another establishment and the continuity that creates. Or put more simply, if a new participant has met an MiR through a doubling up session at another establishment, they already have a shared experience of creating a musical space within a carceral environment.

Participant Led

The recreation of a carceral space into a space 'for the beneficiaries' speaks of another one of the common threads within all CT facilitated sessions; they are, as much as possible, participant led. The limits of this participant directed facilitation come from fourth plane factors such as equipment and security restrictions discussed in the previous two chapters, the abilities and experience of the MiRs, and the dynamics of the relationships between the participants.

> I just feel that it is really worth fostering connection between people to form and trying to make a space for that to happen and it's really difficult for us as humans to do good connecting with each other in certain environments, like in prison. Obviously, through CT we see that we have almost redecorated the space with the music and that then fosters the right kind of environment where you see people forming bonds and it's really good to see the trickle effect that something positive that you've started by pressing a button or setting up the space right, but then it's just released into whatever those people take on from there, do positively beyond your scope, just because they've managed to find a relationship that looks positive, like friendships that looks trusting. I just think that music speeds up and strengthens that whole process for us. (Fran, 2022)

The need to (re)decorate, (re)create, or (re)claim space for people in carceral circumstances is a rebellious act for those who battle against the 'strict regulation of space, time and human interaction' (Frazer, 2021, p. 222). Often thought of (too simplistically) as escapism, this partial deregulation of space gives participants an agency not common to prison residents. The lack of prescription in CT's ethos allows for a stronger expression of agency that uses musicking's affective power to deconstruct the weight, tightness, and depths of carceral pains (Crewe, 2011). Musicking's capacity to create imagined communities and refract hierarchies, described in Born's second and third planes, creates a temporary freedom that takes time, and consistency throughout that time, to build.

In chapter five, Sara Lee mentioned the strength of relationship formed through the intense short courses delivered by ITT. She listened to the requests of their participants and implemented a similar MiR role in order to provide the consistency they desired. The issues of trust and dependability were also pronounced in David C's experience delivering sessions in a YOI as he was repeatedly asked why he works as an MiR and if he is coming back.

> I think that weekly thing of going through– especially, I noticed with the YOIs, most of them when they started just wanted to know 'why are you here?', 'Why have you come back again?', 'Are you getting paid for doing this?' and I'm like, 'Yeah, I'm getting paid for it, but I wanna be here.' I'm not coming in if I'm not getting paid, but I wanna be here… just setting that tone that I'm going to be here whether you like it or not and you can choose to come if you want to and them having to be active about that is probably the most important thing. I think the music allows them to come again and again and again, but I think the fact that we are there regularly– yeah. (David C, 2021)

I found further extracts in my own autoethnographic notes showing that consistency and dependability were important aspects in the relationship building process between myself and participants. Six months into my role I

documented an emotional response towards a participant moving to another prison. He had been struggling to understand how to strum in time and was instructed by another participant to simply 'feel' the strumming pattern. Without directly discussing our frustration, it appeared we had bonded over our annoyance with this unhelpful and somewhat demeaning advice.

> I was very sad to say goodbye to one of the guys today, who I believe has been there for every single session. We made a joke about him needing to feel the chord changes and the strumming patterns and he pretended to punch his hand in anger. I hadn't realised that, just as much as it annoyed me, it had also annoyed him.
>
> I have a feeling he is in for something quite serious as he has a few years left and has been transferred to a lower category prison. This indicates that he has been in for a long time. It's a little confusing because he is such a nice guy it is hard to imagine him doing something that would warrant such a long sentence. However, he also said he hasn't spoken to anyone in his family or even his children for quite some time and he plans to move to a new city for a fresh start to get away from his past. It's a very sad story and I hope that he can continue to use his relationship to music therapeutically to manage the mountain of issues he now has to face. (Field notes, 12th October 2019)

When reading back through my autoethnographic notes, I was shocked that it had taken so long for an emotional connection between a participant and myself to be recorded. On reflection I realised that breaking down barriers and navigating the complexity of the MiR-participant relationship has always taken a while when a new group starts. Gaining the trust of the participants as an MiR is always a process that is never quite complete. Whilst, as Matt mentioned above, MiRs do not feel like they are officers or even necessarily representatives of the prison regime, they are still working within the regime, with the regime's permission, and must have satisfied security and other gatekeeper stipulations in order to be in the prison at all. Liebling (2011) suggests that humanising and fair treatment of prison residents is not only to do with material provision but is created through the way they are treated by staff.

The MiR's ethos of dependability (both through material provision and regularity of provision) shows an internalisation of this ideal and also a way in which it can be systemically implemented.

Lives of Meaning and Purpose

The cornerstones of a CT session as viewed by MiRs are music-making, a desire for affective atmospheres, participant led structuring, and consistent delivery. However, another common theme that appeared through the MiR interviews surrounded the purpose of their work. Whilst they all expressed a belief that CT's loose, participant led structure was successful at reducing re-offending rates, they often showed scepticism or disinterest towards the statistics and felt that the more current CT aim was to assist participants in living lives of meaning and purpose.

> Under Tim Snowdon [former CEO] we became about reducing reoffending and that was our thing. Because essentially that's what funders want to hear. Tabloids get hold of it, that's what they want to hear, and we can justify what we're doing to the rabid press. From there, that's where we came up with our theory of change which is that we were all about reducing reoffending. That is definitely a cog in the machine and an indicator that something good is happening, but bigger than that, is that we are helping people live lives of meaning and purpose and I think for me that is really important because that doesn't - you don't have to be on the out to do that…
>
> There was a time when we didn't have funding for [Category C, lifer prison]. Some guys never get release from there. We sometimes work with them for three, four, five years at a stretch before they get shipped out to somewhere else and then it's another number of years before they are ever released. I remember having the conversation with Tim Snowden for this saying that, we are not getting funding for this, funding is tight, maybe we should be focusing our efforts on places that then give us post release work. That's what we can fund. I had a very robust conversation with him at that point because I was the musician working there and I was saying, 'Look, I can see positive change happening in people's lives. We are making a massive difference and they don't get to go down the pub after we have had our sessions as they would in a post release session. They don't get to go home to their families, they go home to their cell, and this is all that they've got'. At that point in time, we didn't have the 'lives of

meaning and purpose' goal that we were aiming for. Not written down anyway. That certainly, looking back, that has been a common thread that we more recently have verbalised. (Gareth, 2021)

The MiRs have an unusual perspective as people who regularly visit prisons, but do not feel as though they are a part of the prison establishment. The consistency of visiting and musicking with the same participants has had a clear rehumanising effect on their labelling. Far from seeing participants as re-offending statistics or broken patients that need to be fixed, and even with the constriction of funding targets guiding their aims, the MiRs value the moments, the atmosphere, the connections, and the feelings above the more easily measurable outcomes. Liebling (2011) writes that '[p]risoners are struggling to find meaning or hope at the earliest stages of long and indeterminate sentences' (p. 533). Gareth discovered the same thing and found music-making to be an important tool for the participants with whom he worked in the later stages of long sentences. Being 'other' to the prison establishment and funders has directed CT to grow beyond the aims of re-offending and towards the aim of rehumanisation. This is further helped by the way MiRs are often removed from their participants' victims and crimes. Often never knowing the crime for which their participant has been incarcerated, the relationship is formed through music-making in a shared space, separate from judgement received from those who know their past.

> I don't necessarily think when I go into a session, 'how do I stop this guy ever committing a crime again'. That's not even in my head. It's like, how can we make this person feel good, or express themselves or enable them to do something that's just – I don't know, I think music is broadly positive. I don't think of that bigger picture. (Matt, 2021)

Humanisation

The separation of crime from a participant's labelling is an important part of the rehumanising process; in CT sessions, participants are usually referred to by

their first name (in contradiction to the officer-inmate relationship where surnames are predominantly used) and for a long time, no prison numbers were recorded. As illustrated in the extract from my autoethnographic notes above, upon discovering a participant's crime, or having unveiled clues as to the seriousness of it, I have often been left shocked, surprised, or confused. However, as the relationship is formed before an awareness of their previous criminal action appears, the affective properties of a participant's history are minimised in their relationship with a MiR.

With a more humanised approach to a relationship built between MiR and participant, MiRs attempt to avoid the classic teacher-student dynamic and the banking style of education heavily criticised by Freire (1970). Freire suggests that the participant led approach furthers the aim of rehumanising oppressed learners and this approach has been adopted by CT (although from my interviews it seems they have come to this conclusion without reading Freire's work). Many MiRs suggest that as much knowledge is gained from participants as is imparted by themselves. Hierarchies produced by the prison-worker/prison-resident dynamic are flattened within the musical side of a relationship as it quickly becomes clear that some participants are more technically skilled than their MiR, or perhaps create a pleasant atmosphere more effectively. The problem-based style of learning is then adopted by the whole group as both MiRs and participants work together on the problem of improving the quality of the group music output – an entirely subjective aim that cannot be conveyed well through a banking style of education.

> … you can play an Em chord and that's all you can play because literally 5 minutes ago you were taught it and you can play it, but the way you play it speaks volumes of your approach to it and therefore maybe your approach to other things. Or you can learn a new

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approach. You can be really slap dash, really down on yourself and not giving care and time to anything but you learn this new way, 'I'm gonna learn this chord, I'm gonna take care, I'm gonna take pride in it. And I'm gonna do it for the love of it and for the love of my self-respect. And that's a new thing I've learnt and I'm gonna take it into the rest of my life'. Versus, you can have someone who's an absolute shredder but when they come to something that they struggle with, they just chuck the guitar down and walk off in a strop because they haven't learnt that sense of self-respect and this is something beautiful and something that is valuable in itself for its own sake. (Gareth, 2021)

This search for the *way* something is played, rather than educating, testing, and grading technical skill, speaks of the affective atmosphere that CT MiRs hope to create. As Anderson speaks of the subjectivity of musically created affective atmospheres (Anderson, 2009, p. 78), it is the way in which things are done (rather than the substance of the activity or topic), that are believed to be symbolic of other areas of life, have far reaching consequences, and cause (potentially positive) change. In the CT ethos, the chord, the song, or the instrument are not believed to hold any special powers regarding change, but the process of music-making and the affective atmosphere created through it, potentially does.

Whilst MiRs have not managed to move completely beyond the wider institutional and organisational aims of reducing re-offending, their search for their preferred affective atmosphere is more heavily directed by a desire to (re)create space, impart agency to incarcerated people, and support participants in the moment rather than change them for the future. When trying to define what makes a CT session a CT session (in answer to this thesis' third question), the interviewees highlighted affect over technicality and relationship over music. The MiRs desire their sessions to be led by and for their participants and as a result value consistency and a high quality of

performance, measured in affective or emotional terms rather than technical or quantifiable ones.

Conclusion

The use of music-making to reduce re-offending rates became less and less of a focus as MiRs forged a community with their participants. The deceptive cadence of (secondary) desistance was instead seen as a potential fringe benefit of their work that otherwise focuses on giving incarcerated people's lives both meaning and purpose. In their view, the aim of meaning and purpose should be seen as enough justification for their provision, however in an economic climate still defined by a utilitarian (payment by results) ethos, the potential for a reduction in re-offending remains key to satisfying gatekeepers and funders, and to creating a theoretical justification to the victims of their participants' crimes. The focus for MiRs, however, is more about making a life that is worth living (in or out of prison) rather than closely prescribing the way a life should be lived.

To produce lives of meaning and purpose, the MiRs valued continuity, affective atmospheres, and increasing their participants' agency. In terms of continuity, they displayed a desire to be dependable for their participants in an uncertain environment. Their search for an affective atmosphere was described in terms of 'vibe' and 'feel' and an emphasis on the emotions created through playing over technical skill. Finally, the style of delivery appears to increase the participants' agency as hierarchies are flattened and participants become leaders in the sessions.

Whilst I believe CT may have started (and gained access to prisons) with the aim of changing the participants, it appears that the omnidirectional qualities of

musically created affective atmospheres have redirected their practice. This shift has potential effects on the MiRs who are caught in the middle of their musical relationship with participants and their prescribed aims of rehabilitation by prison gatekeepers and funding sources. The MiR experience of incarceration and the friction caused by their particular positionality is therefore the subject of the next chapter.

7. Carceral Musicking's Tritone

Introduction

A tritone (made up of two notes three tones apart) is sometimes known as the 'devil's interval' (Longdon, 2018, Smith, 1910). Although unsubstantiated, this chord was believed to be banned in churches due to its discordant and unpleasing sound (Smith, 1910). The choice to use this metaphor for the chapter title comes from my belief that if musicking's utility in the desistance process was properly understood, it would be expelled from prisons. As will become clear throughout this chapter, the MiR experience of music-making in carceral spaces results in them experiencing their own unique carceral pains (akin to the ones felt by residents), and in this way, their search for affective atmospheres that create an affective abolition of carceral pains (for both them and their participants) creates an argument for the complete abolition of prisons.

This chapter therefore addresses the fourth of the original five questions posed in the introduction: What is the influence of prisons on the facilitators? The joint enterprise of managing the oppressive nature of incarceration by creating new musically configured affective atmospheres has given MiRs an important voice when attempting to understand music-making's role in carceral environments. The important perspective of facilitators has only occasionally been explored (Mangaoang, 2021), but offers valuable insight. Their belief that music-making and its affective powers are an important activity for those incarcerated appears to come from their own experience of carcerality and the way in which musicking assists them in dealing with it.

Through relationships formed in musically affective atmospheres, many have gained a deep understanding of their participants' experience and of their

carceral reality, and it is this affective understanding and way of relating which comes to dominate their experience of facilitating prison-based music-making. In chapter five it was seen how directors, CEOs, and founders of prison-based music-making organisations were turning to experts by experience to help direct their organisations, therefore, the effect that a musical relationship with prison-residents has on MiRs may speak of the direction that organisations will take on their journey of becoming more participant led.

The chapter begins by focusing on the MiRs experience of incarceration and their own manifestation of the carceral pains of tightness and weight (Crewe, 2011). It then explores the contradictions realised through the MiRs experience that the greatest benefit of music-making for the desistance process is the affective abolition of the environment that was supposedly designed to rehabilitate them. Finally, the chapter discusses the joy that MiRs find in musically generated liminal states and affective atmospheres. In the conclusion it is suggested that the MiRs hold a dual and liminal positionality as part of the prison establishment whilst simultaneously being actively (even if not knowingly) resistant to its general practices.

Tightness – Fourth Plane, Material, and Genre Control

I have tremendous, tremendous freedom. So, for me to say – you know, it would only be like a half of a percent of [the oppressions that prison residents feel]. I get worried when I go into prison because I don't wanna fuck up. I don't wanna be the guy who gets chucked out of prison because his phone is in his bag or his pocket or what have you. I don't wanna be the guy who gets chucked out of prison because he's left the gate open. Because we are not officers, we're looked at with suspicion, or as a security risk; from the regime point of view – not individually, necessarily. Because we are not seen as – what's the word- as safe as officers. Plus, because we're musicians, we're not as safe as one of their educators, because musicians are flaky. So there's another knock down [keeping one hand up high and moving the other hand lower and lower, Simon uses hand gestures to

represent MiRs being pushed down a hierarchical structure]. (Simon, 2021)

The other MiRs and I are aware that our experiences of prison are not the same as the participants. Yet during the interviews I encountered language and metaphors used to explain the MiRs relationship to the establishment, the observations of their participants' experiences, and the emotional effects of facilitating their sessions, that included themes of weight, and tightness (Crewe, 2011). It should come as no surprise that these oppressive technologies being used by prison regimes are affecting their staff as well as their residents. MiRs, as third-party, non-operational staff members, sometimes believe they are considered outsiders by both operational staff and prison residents. As Becker (1963) theorises musicians and criminals to be outsiders, MiRs perhaps hold a more similar positionality in society to prison residents than they realise.

In previous chapters I suggested a filtering system was happening with prison gatekeepers whose biases and preferred genres of music may prescribe the style of delivery set out by prison-based music-making organisations. A similar filter is the choice of instruments and the MiR's belief in the importance of affective atmospheres created through communal playing. These considerations also influence the genres with which participants engage and potentially as will be shown, the demographics of prison musicking sessions.

> [participants] lead the sessions within a set of boundaries. There are the instruments that are there and the genres that – the people that are in there, they choose the genres and that is a self-perpetuating thing. They are learner led as they can choose which instrument they play and which songs they want to do. And in a way, how they want to do it. Like if they want to mix up styles we can totally be led by them within a set of boundaries that I can facilitate....
>
> I think if people are into [other] genres - It's visual. You know the sounds that you listen to aren't coming from a band, so that's what you see. I think it's a very difficult one for us because we want to be

inclusive, but we also want it to be a communal thing. A band lends itself to communal. If we were music teachers or education then one person can come and make a beat with you, it's much easier in that setting but to be communal, I think a band is easiest so that is what we've got to find, a way to be inclusive and I think there is something great about the communal thing if we can incorporate it with our diversifying. It's really difficult. (Matt, 2021)

As security, funding, and gatekeeper restrictions are tightly placed on CT's set style of delivery, so the common thread of instrumentation that runs across most CT sessions is a form of tightness passed on to the prison residents.

The tight constrictions allow music-making in prisons, but only in certain ways. The interviewees suggested that most popular genres were Rock, Pop, Blues and Singer-songwriter, and this aligns with my experience of facilitating for CT and Education departments. There are regular flirtations with Reggae, Hip-hop, Metal, and Gospel, whilst EDM, Grime, and Drill have been unsuccessful at taking hold within most CT sessions (a notable exception to this is David C's sessions with a YOI). Whilst all these genres of music are indeed communal, especially during their dissemination, it is instrumental musicking that is assumed to lend itself to a group communal activity more easily. Lyric writing and the production of beats or electronic music are more commonly solo musicking activities that become communal during the editing and performance stages. Whilst many songs played by bands are written autonomously, much of the learning and practising is done communally. It is even more common that bands playing cover music will learn the songs as a group activity and will often desire to practise them many times as a group before the performance stage. To frame this notion through Born's four planes, the fourth plane material influences define the types of communities that can be formed in the first and second planes before any music-making can take place.

I'm comfortable that I can't be everything for everybody and I am who I am, I have the skills and abilities and the nature and the character that I've got. I can't change that. I can be flexible. I've got probably that much flexibility [makes a gesture with his hands moving in and out from each other], so I can be flexible, but at the end of the day – for example, if someone comes in who is heavily into Grime, for example, I will learn as much as I can about it, but I can't be authentic in Grime. I can't. I will try and facilitate their passion, absolutely and I'll try and fit their passion into what the rest of the band are doing but I can't pretend to be – I can't pretend to be, I don't know, really heavily into classical music. I've had guys that want to learn classical piano for example, and I can't barely play piano, so I can't teach them classical. I can let them into my sessions, and they can sit and I can show them what I know and I can point them in directions but I can't pretend to be classical. (Simon, 2021)

Simon explains well that a single MiR is a limitation in itself. Yet across different security categories, age groups, and genders, CT has a similar instrument-based delivery style that remains exclusionary.

MiRs Dave C, Dave F, and I, all viewed this identified exclusion in three different ways. Having started when CT only employed Christian MiRs, I always felt as though our delivery style was based on Christian conversionism, with a suggestion that if participants played the same music as we did, they could be encouraged out of their social scene and into our healthier, pro-social society based on Christian values. I felt as though participants were pathologized with the labelling of being criminally unwell and that the 'right' kind of music was being proposed as potentially the 'right' kind of cure. Dave C, however, saw the set up as white supremacy and that a conversion to a correct way of living was akin to a conversion to a white way of living.

Well, CT is set up essentially as a white supremacist organisation in so much as that's what it naively reproduced, you know? Because it's part of a whole and I think it was blindsided by the idea that, 'these are the people that turn up' as opposed to thinking, 'why?'. And not reflecting on the position that pretty much everybody in the organisation was in from, trustees down to us, and how that would manifest in the music and the participants. So, while I wouldn't have come in thinking that this is white supremacy, because I wouldn't have

stuck around, and it's also not that everyone is going around like a racist, it became really clear to me at [closed YOI] that I am actively [pauses to think] – because I know what I look like even though I know my ethnicity, but I was really aware, I was like, I'm kind of getting kids that want to do country in a YOI, which is fine because you can do what you like. And a lot of that is from like the VP wing, which is like [pauses] that's just where they were, but I was like, this isn't how I'm going to continue this job. Not least if it's going to satisfy me, but even to feel comfortable doing it. So, that's how I felt about it and now we're being proactive about it. Great. (David C, 2021)

Along with the BLM protests, David C was a big influence in David Jones' decision to challenge CT's participant demographic representation. As David C describes his ethnicity as White presenting, Mixed, Black African, Arabic, his perspective as one of the few non-white employees at CT has shed a light on the exclusionary aspects of CT's setup which can be seen to be intertwined with choices of genre.

As the instrument-based style of delivery favours genre's such as Rock and Pop music from before the last twenty years, David F (also an MiR with mixed ethnicity) described the exclusion he observed as outdated and ageist rather than racist.

> David F: Yeah, I would agree that I think CT has possibly fallen into that trap of 70s 80s 90s rock as a genre of choice. But I don't think that's necessarily CT's fault, but I think that's the nature of the people that come and the nature of the set up maybe., which when CT would have first started, would have been quite current and on point. Drums, bass, keyboards, vocals, guitars… that is also what CT *is.* You know? There might be other charities doing different types of music. It's what CT *is*.

> …the first time I started to explore otherwise was after one of the concerts that we did, a large part of the crowd were young lads and a couple of the lads from the ethnic minority groups, on the way out and in the discussions after were coming up to talk, like, 'That was great. Can I get involved?'

> I said, 'Yeah of course. Did you like the tunes?'

They all said, 'Well I liked them, but I don't know any of them. I don't know one of those songs' And these were all pretty popular songs, you know?

David Lindsay: Yeah, you're playing Greenday and –

David F: Yeah, The Joker and Nirvana songs. [they said] 'Never heard of it'.

So, I said, 'Of course you can come' and I said, 'we'll try and do some of the music you are into'.

'Oh, I've got bars, I wanna spit bars'.

[chuckles] I didn't even know what spit bars meant at the time. Just showing my own ignorance but I got a sense, okay, you're rappers. And that is where it all started, the idea that there's a whole section of people that want and should have the right to come to sessions, but we are not set up for them. We are not set up for these guys at all. At that time, it didn't really strike me as a racial thing or a thing that we might not be representing. It was more of an age thing. It was young kids, they're into music from now. It was 2017, 2018, we should do more popular stuff, so I started to go home, and I photocopied things like the Fugees, Ready or Not, even though that's still really old but I thought if we get that groove going, the musicians can get the riffs. What was the other one? The Eminem one with Dido. I thought, right, that's gonna capture the essence of hip hop and rap, but it's an easy four chord loop. So, we'll try and blend some things together. So, I filled my folder with five or six things like that and thought now I can invite these guys along, which I started to do. They didn't really come though. (David F, 2021)

The influences of ageism, conversionism, and racism are likely to be intersecting rather than separate and as suggested by Dave C, unintentional and misguided. Rather than responding to the desires of the prison population and being truly participant led, it appears that when passing through the prison gatekeepers, CT has internalised a desire to prescribe participants' musical behaviour to align with that which is associated with a middle aged, white, Christian man. In this way, it appears that prison gatekeepers are attempting a style of choice architecture that attempts to nudge participants into a set of preferred behaviours through offering styles of music that they believe align with preferred behaviours.

By having their setup tightly controlled, prison-based music-making

organisations have had to pick and choose which prescriptions to push against.

Choirs and group music-making activities push against the atomisation of prison

residents but are restricted by the styles that can be reproduced. Whilst those

that focus on composition or music technology can reach a broader set of

genres, limitations on internet access, facilitator abilities, and a strict adherence

to copyright laws, create a tightness rarely felt outside of prison walls.

Additionally, all prison-based music-making organisations have to manage

issues of lyrical censorship on anything recorded or potentially heard by people

outside of the participant-facilitator relationship. The carceral tightness, enacted

primarily by gatekeepers and funders has had a strong and limiting effect on the

style of music-making made available in prisons in England and Wales, the

resulting first and second plane materialisation of identities that can happen

within the sessions, and the kind of affective atmosphere that can be produced.

This tightness does not only affect the participants, but it is also felt by the MiRs

and influences the relationships they build with the prison and its residents.

Tightness – Relationship Restrictions and Omnidirectional Affect

Viewing the tightness that binds and prescribes residents' behaviours and

opportunities as an affective carceral pain creates a partial story at best when

discussing group music-making. As the setup of CT's sessions appear to have

been affected by the desires of prison gatekeepers to use the affective power of

musicking to nudge participants into normalised and preferred behavioural

patterns, it has struggled to manage the relationship between MiR, participant

and affective atmospheres within the session. In order for group music-making

activities to work as a rehabilitative or correctional behavioural change nudge,

musical affects would have to travel in a single direction and be easily

controlled. However, atmospheres interact with multiple affects that are always forming, changing and never static (Anderson, 2009), moving beyond what is defined by the fourth plane restrictions, many of which were discussed by MiRs in the interviews I conducted. Examples included the relationship a participant or MiR has to an individual song before it is played in a session, the memories those songs carry with them for both participant and MiR, the volume of the music, the character of the individuals in the room, and the surrounding events of prison life. It is within this affective atmosphere that hierarchies can be flattened, and class relationships altered, as suggested by Born (2011). The relationships formed can challenge the tightness imposed by the carceral environment.

A key restriction (tightness) felt by MiRs is the depth and quality of relationship they are allowed to form with their participants. Being some of the few employees within the prison who are allowed to work with prison residents post-release, any relationship formed that continues 'through the gate' is a significant security risk for the prison. In order to manage this risk, MiRs have embraced a tightness that defines the MiR-participant relationship as 'friendly but not friends'. Echoing this mantra imparted through team meetings and training seminars, the MiRs felt this was important for their own safety, the security of the prison, and in order to maintain good relations between CT and the prison.

> Matt: I'd be careful not to say friendships, I'm certainly friendly and there are some people who we have built up a nice level of rapport, a nice level of trust, but for me a friendship is a two-way thing. But I don't think I can – I think I can be a friend to them but I don't think they can be a friend to me, professionally.
>
> David Lindsay: is that because of security in prisons, or safety for yourself, or relationship to their crime and how you feel about that?
>
> Matt: All of them, I think. They all make sense. There needs to be boundaries for protecting – for every nine prisoners that would not be

any trouble, there's probably one who would be, and you don't know who is who. So, you have to keep them all at a certain length. So, I wouldn't call it a friendship but there is a – I don't know what to call it (Matt, 2021)

Matt shows how fourth plane restrictions in a carceral setting cross over the material and into the affective realm. No longer simply affecting the equipment, session length, or the censorship of content, the tightness of security protocol and safety procedures limit the social relations and communities that can be formed (along the lines of Born's planes one and two). As suggested by Crewe (2011), the seemingly light constriction that prison imposes on the participant-MiR relationship allows it to develop, but only to a certain depth and only in a certain direction. The MiR can be friendly to the participant but cannot receive a reciprocal level of connection.

In musically formed relationships and collectives within a carceral setting, fourth plane restrictions attempt to impose hierarchies and structures that are only partially flattened in Born's third plane. Even more so, the attempt to use musical nudges to prescribe change in CT participants ignores the changes happening in MiRs or the wider prison community as a result of the musically created affective atmosphere during CT sessions. As Dougary from LC discussed the 'singing prison' in chapter five, so the changes resulting from musically created affective atmospheres must be considered beyond the often-desired aim of participant desistance.

The MiRs, then, find themselves caught in a liminal space betwixt and between the prison establishment and their relationship with their participants.

> [We have the] Best of other worlds. Certain boundaries in place very much because it was a prison boundary which was lovely to fall back on sometimes even if you were grasping at some excuse as to why you said no to something, because you just had a funny feeling and you want to say no and stamp something out a little bit. That was

great to just say, 'well, because prison says no'. Also, not [being] in uniform. Big thing. And I think not being utterly drained by being there fulltime with some other responsibility like security or something to distract you. But just having your own focus of going in and just looking after people within your own sessions. (Fran, 2022)

So, I feel that I bridge that gap between – I'm not an officer because I don't dress like an officer, and I don't act like an officer, but I'm not a prisoner or their peer, because I'm not. You know, I'm very clear that if I catch them doing something wrong, I'm gonna inform the authorities kind of thing. So it is that – I'm their friend – no, I'm not their friend. I'm friendly but I'm not their friend.

It's the same post release as well. I'm friendly with the guys, you know? I'm not their friend, I'm not their mate. I don't hang out with them down the pub. They don't come around [my house]

… Actually, I don't work with anybody that I wouldn't be able to invite around my house. If all bets were off and I weren't working for Changing Tunes, I could probably – yeah, I think I'd happily invite all the guys I work with around my house and hang out with them. But, it is good having that there, so that I don't have to bring that in, if you see what I mean? If someone came along who made me uncomfortable or who made me feel uncomfortable, I don't actually have to go, 'oh, actually…' And that disconnect is kind of good. (Simon, 2021)

A common example given by the MiRs that I interviewed was that they wouldn't go to the pub with their participants, but they feel as though they could. This particular example is further complicated by the many ex-prisoner bands that have formed from CT prison and post-release sessions that have now regularly performed in pubs. I personally found that maintaining boundaries in social spaces like a pub, influenced the relationships and community I was building with ex-prison residents through communal music-making. The boundaries and tightness that had been present in the relationships when in prison, were continuing beyond release, showing that extra-carceral affects follow ex-prison residents to seemingly non-carceral spaces (both musical and otherwise).

As much as participant-MiR relationships are born through musicking, they are also born through carcerality, carrying the unique carceral influence and flavour.

During a period of not working in prisons, I decided to continue working with ex-prison residents, but had to choose to maintain CT and prison mandated boundaries so that I could return to this work in the future. Despite this barrier, the below story is based on an interaction I had with an ex-prison resident.

Story four – You might have other friends

> There's something about whatever substance it is he takes that puts him on repeat. Often, it's an obsession about guitar sounds, or needing reassurance that his dad is going to be picking him up. This day it was that I'm his best friend.
>
> "I've got my dad and my girlfriend, but you're my best mate. I got no one else. I know I'm probably not your best friend, but you're mine." He waited awkwardly for the response. I think hoping that I would say that I didn't have anyone else either, but I didn't want to lie. He just started again, "No one else has stuck by me, and I've done nothing wrong. You're the best friend I have got". The awkward pause for a response happens again.
>
> We couldn't meet in our usual music studio; it had closed because of Covid. It felt like we're skimming the edge of the rules, meeting in the common room of his flat. Perhaps crossing this barrier had made him feel that what we had was now a real friendship – still, he wanted to practice in his living room, and I told him that I wasn't allowed.
>
> "I've got other close friends, but you're definitely one of them." This was definitely something I wasn't supposed to say, but I'm glad I said it. It was true, and two weeks later, he was dead.
>
> <div align="right">Based on a few one-to-one ex-prison resident sessions</div>

Upon hearing that someone I had worked with most weeks for eight years had passed away, I messaged other CT colleagues for support. I was surprised to hear that at least two others had been through similar things. I have had clients pass away before in other jobs, but this was different and the other MiRs described it as different as well. The connections we had built with ex-prison residents, our band members, our now friends, had gone beyond the boundaries set out by our job and seemed to mean something more.

> For me, you can have a group of friends, but when you have a band, there's a deeper sort of connection and that comes from what you're doing together and that's the music. The sharing of ideas, the arguing about ideas. Whatever it might be, you're coming to a common purpose and a common goal which is to get that tune sounding really good… (David F, 2021)

It would be too simplistic a conclusion to suggest that one of either carceral restrictions or musically formed friendships are more dominant than the other. Indeed, Born's third plane suggestion that through music, hierarchies are flattened and class structures are changed, is followed by an understanding of the material (fourth plane) restrictions to this. In this case, carceral affects (such as tightness) and group music-making affects (resulting in friendship forming) continually battle, forever impacting the MiR-participant relationships.

The carceral affects and the social stigma surrounding criminal labelling, appears to make the forming of collectives (Born's third plane) between participants more complicated as well. It is suggested that groups formed within CT sessions often have little contact or friendship built outside the session. Upon having to ask a band member to leave an ex-prison resident band, one MiR discovered that the other members were relieved he had gone and did not wish to be associated with the expelled member. Despite forming a band, regularly practising, and sharing similar musical tastes, the stigma associated with the expelled member's criminally labelled activities and the history of where the friendship had formed, appeared to affect their relationship. In Born's terms, the imagined community that had been created through CT sessions had stayed within that limitation of a musical imagined community – part of a wider collective of people partaking in the listening, sharing, and performing of their preferred musical scene, but failing to collectivise beyond that. Similarly, Simon

suggested that his perception of the participant-participant relationship outside of CT sessions extends little beyond the practice of musicking.

> I think there is something magical about music because it bridges gaps. It bridges between people. Different people. All the guys in my session are quite different. They wouldn't be hanging out together. But when you start making music – it's another cliché isn't it; it's like a language, you're speaking a language that you all know, your own personal -your group language. And you're speaking it and you start communicating with one another where you wouldn't communicate otherwise necessarily. You'll rub against one another in prison, but the guys in my groups won't otherwise hang out. Almost without exception, the guys in my group don't hang out. When I've got a band that's really good and really gelling you will have one guy – not one, you'll have a couple of them that might but not everybody in the band will hang out like a band, within the prison. They will go their separate ways. I haven't chatted with them, but my guess is that they will acknowledge one another in the prison, and they'll talk about stuff, and they'll drop music around to each other but once they're out of the room they don't hang out as a band, or they don't come in as a group of guys that all hang out together and then stay like that. (Simon, 2021)

Often in prison, residents who are co-defendants, or part of friendship groups or gangs, are separated for security reasons. The atomisation of residents is designed to allow some relationships to form, but in a controlled way that favours the desires of the prison establishment. Many of the groups that form within CT sessions, it appears, would not be friends without the musical connection. The shared creation of a musical space within a carceral setting is the 'bridge' that joins them into a community. This community may be only as temporary as the sound that creates it; existing in the time-space in which it was created and leaving behind its memory and any change it has been able to affect, whilst not being otherwise enduring.

Whilst the MiR-participant relationships are restricted by the 'friendly but not friends' mandate of carceral tightness, participant-participant relationships are observed to be hindered by other forms of carceral restriction, seemingly due to

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enforced segregation and stigma surrounding criminal identities and activities. These obstacles to relationship and community forming will be investigated more in the following chapter. It is pertinent at this stage however, to recognise that the carceral affect of tightness is a fourth plane restriction and an affective push that alters the delivery, the aims, and the outcomes of the CT sessions. It is a tightness that affects both MiRs and participants in different ways but ultimately limits the long-term changes that could potentially stem from musically created affective atmospheres. Instead, MiRs have become more interested and focused on the affective moments in their sessions where a vibe or immersion has taken place and have come to define the success of their work by the creation and depth of these experiences, searching for meaning and purpose rather than statistically represented outcomes or measurable longer-term change (despite their organisation's name).

The prison has influenced the MiRs who are caught between a relationship with the prison establishment and a relationship with the prison residents, not authentically being able to commit to either, so the tightness causing this begins to weigh on them. The boundaries start to produce psychological effects of dread and worry that plague many MiRs.

> I came to call it a name when it happened, 'The Grip'. It would be a period of about two to three days where sleep was really disrupted, lots of ruminated thoughts, turning over those sorts of life and death, serious big challenges and complexities in my head and kind of just being in a generally more panicky or dark, depressed state. The Grip would last for about two to three days and that would dissect things at home - I suppose I would just be wobbly about lots of things. My whole outlook of the world would be skewed and different. I'm quite, sort of – I don't know what the word is – I work really hard to help myself in those states, so I guess you could say, quite a quick turnaround almost that after day three I would scrape myself out of the pit and find some hope and goodness to hold onto and get back into a, 'Okay, I'll just be normal again' and manage the work again for the

next while, however many months. But it would cycle around, and you never really be fully free of it. (Fran, 2022)

Fran's experience of 'The Grip' played some part in why she had finished working with CT after about ten years. She questioned what the 'shelf life' of such work could be and how long a person was emotionally capable of continuing it. In many ways the stress and pressure felt was due to stories heard and relationships built with people in a seemingly desperate situation. Yet, 'The Grip' is a metaphor of tightness, a defining pain of carcerality, that was felt directly by another former MiR who claimed to never feel fully free of it.

'The Grip' is a reminder that Crewe's (2011) description of tightness is not only synonymous with restriction, but also speaks to ideas of responsibilisation, restructuring of the self in the face of uncertainty surrounding restrictions and prison rules. 'It does not so much weigh down on prisoners and suppress them as wrap them up, smother them and incite them to conduct themselves in particular ways. The term 'tightness' captures the feelings of tension and anxiety generated by uncertainty (Freeman and Seymour, 2010), and the sense of not knowing which way to move, for fear of getting things wrong.' (Crewe, 2011, p. 522)

> I struggle in situations where I'm not allowed to be myself. Or at least that I don't know who I'm supposed to be. I'm quite good at wearing a mask and just fitting in and going along with stuff. In prison you kind of want to bring your real self although it's guarded and boundaried [sic]. There is that background dread of, 'I don't know what they want from me' - as in the regime. I can't be the guy in the uniform… (Gareth, 2021)

The MiRs find themselves stuck between two conflicting communities. They are not-quite-prison-staff and a part of a musically created community with prison residents, and are therefore caught in a unique liminal experience, betwixt and between, halted by security, friendly but unable to form friendships, free but

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restricted. Whilst to gain access to a prison establishment, their work has been framed as a nudge that hopes to affect criminal behaviour in a positive way, it appears they are as affected as they are affective. Caught in musically created affective atmospheres whilst experiencing a unique set of carceral pains, the omnidirectional nature of affect has drawn some MiRs into situations that change them as much as their participants.

Weight, as Felt by MiRs and Their Justification for Changing People

Weight, as a carceral pain (Crewe, 2011), refers to the oppressive nature of the modern prison system. As tightness refers to the control and constrictions within carceral settings, weight refers to the emotional heaviness of the strains this tightness can cause. The way MiRs and their participants experienced tightness was quite different, the discourse surrounding the weight involved in working in prisons is surprisingly similar to descriptions given by prison residents. As suggested by Simon above, MiRs enjoy a tremendous amount of freedom and regular reminders of this fact – therefore, my interviewees suggested that none of them would be happy with the notion that they feel the same pains as any of their participants. But while the degree of weight experienced by each individual MiR is certainly manifested in different ways, descriptions of the weight of carcerality appeared in every interview.

> It was a common thing that as I was approaching the prison, I would get a dark cloud and a sense of, 'Ah man'. And I think it was the unknowing. What am I going to face today? Having experienced some dark stuff over the years, and maybe not processing it properly… It was almost like an instinctive response that this is somewhere I don't want to be. Even in [Cat D prison] which was reported in the tabloids as a holiday camp. Which clearly it isn't, but it is nicer than a B cat. Just a sense of, 'don't make me go in there' …
>
> I'd love the sessions. Challenging things would happen, and you would deal with them, but, yeah, the dread– the thing of the dread was

that you couldn't put your finger on it. It wasn't a specific, 'this is what I'm not looking forward to'. I guess it was similar to walking past the hospital thing. Like taking a dog to the vets. It knows the journey to the vets, and it starts freaking out halfway there because it goes, 'oh no, I know where we're going'. And by the time you get through the door of the vets, it's an absolute gibbering wreck. I never quite got to the gibbering wreck stage but that definitely rings a bell. (Gareth interview)

Gareth's analogy of driving past a hospital or an animal's experience of the vet, draws similarities with Bissell's (2016) chapter on affect and physical pain. Here we see a more ambiguous relationship between affect and a mental (carceral) pain as Gareth struggles to define the origin of his discomfort beyond a pending uncertainty and previous negative, unresolved encounters. There is a false lightness to the weight felt by MiRs who are theoretically able to walk away from their position at any point, yet the relationships formed with participants last through the gate, continue in their personal lives, and often until they next drive back to their place of work.

It was just being in that environment that made me really, really anxious. To the point that I didn't want my car journey to end at [Cat C Prison] I didn't want to be getting close to the building and I wanted to drive straight past, several times. (David F, 2021)

Feelings of heaviness, compression, and being overwhelmed appeared as a theme within the interviews, and the reasons for this feeling were described differently by each MiR. For Simon, it was a fear of making a mistake (such as leaving a gate open) and costing the residents a chance to make music. Dave F described the fear of disappointing the participants by not being well enough prepared but was comfortable with the pressures from the regime. Gareth described the regime restricting him from being authentically himself and the pressure he felt to be who they wanted him to be. Mike, however, describes a heaviness and a feeling of being overwhelmed upon exiting the prison and elaborates on the various influences that caused it:

I find it incredibly tiring… I find it too heavy. It takes over everything in my head, so I don't get- I really value time, whether it is time to do nothing, or decompress, or creative time... When I first started, the first three or four months I really struggled to not think about the guys. Leaving prison felt really emotional and I would get - I still get it now occasionally - I get this emotional feeling wash over me and I start to well up, and it's a cocktail of things. Some of it is relief that I get to leave, some of it is sadness that they don't get to leave, but hand-in-hand with the knowledge that they're in there because of reasons. Just kind of, zooming out and thinking about prisons, society and all these feelings at once. Going, 'what is my life? I get to hang out with these guys and play music'. On that level it's like, 'great, cool. That song we did today went great. They don't get to leave, that's really intense. I get to leave, phew thank goodness I've not done anything prison worthy. What the hell is prison? We cram a load of people in the building, and they aren't allowed to leave? That's bonkers' And you keep going and it all happens in this intense five-minute walk to the car, is normally how it plays out. So, I spent the whole session almost playing the character of super enthusiasm, encouraging active listening and then I walk out the door and take my lanyard off and there's that heavy swirling cocktail of emotions. By the time I get to the car it's like - now I've got to the point where it's almost like a routine, I know it's going to feel that way. Then I get to the car and sit still for a bit, choose which album I'm going to listen to on the way home and get on with it. Doing that every day, four days a week, and thinking about it all the time. It can just stay with you, like I said, it's playing that character, even though it's me, playing that amped up version is knackering…

What I found difficult at first was, like I mentioned before about leaving prison and thinking of all of that stuff once, I see it as this balance beam where if I go too far into empathy I feel, I start to feel really sad and bad for them, for those who are in prison and start thinking, 'there must be a better way, what is the solution here? Prison is brutal. This is just not fair.' If I go too far that way, this is what happens, and I lose a bit of perspective there but if I go too far the other way into - well, there are times when you meet prisoners that aren't very nice and definitely give off an intimidating, scary vibe and then if you go read about them and read what they've done and why they're in there and think, 'crikey, you're a dangerous person and it seems like prison is the best place for you to protect society from your actions' and also you have to remember that all these people have victims. This is particularly poignant for me because I was at, [cat C prison] which is a sex offenders' prison, so that was a real point of tension for me trying to justify, 'should I even be here? Giving free music lessons to these monsters who have done these abhorrent things? Which the justice system says that they have, how can I be here? This is terrible.' (Mike, 2021)

Mike's experience of walking towards the car, feeling a mixture of overwhelming emotions, and then choosing an album to drive home to in order to manage his mood, is an example of carceral affects continuing through the gate for the MiRs. They find themselves in many liminal circumstances simultaneously, betwixt and between prison and prison resident, trusted keyholders but tightly regulated and looked upon with suspicion, non-criminal but in communion and sympathetic understanding with criminality – a partial list created with unsatisfying binary representations of the complex web that constructs their unique positionality.

Mike's management of his emotional response by using recorded music for mood regulation is a well-recognised tactic for musicians and non-musicians alike (DeNora, 1999, van Goethem and Sloboda, 2011). Many MiRs found a release from this form of carceral weight as soon as they entered group music-making moments. The conversations, the community, and the music(king) were key elements that lifted the pressures of the prison system for the MiRs. Whilst this is a common use for music in everyday life and may be common in a carceral setting (Rice, 2016), music-making in prisons carries other more sinister aims of behavioural prescription and agency suppression as discussed earlier in this and previous chapters.

Carceral Music-making's Contradictory Justifications

The MiRs exhibit two main types of justification for the purpose of prison-based music-making: 1) music-making is presented as a wellbeing practice through mood regulation, escapism, and to create a sense of purpose in the moment (as discussed above) and 2) in contradiction to their beliefs regarding music-making's effectiveness in reducing re-offending rates, music-making for

recidivism has become the justification for their work in relation to victims of their participants' crimes.

The first set of justifications is that through their work a more harmonious and safer environment is created. Whilst in many ways this can be seen as an important safety and wellbeing measure, by attending (cheaply) to affective life (by providing music-making activities for example) prisons can continue to save money on material necessities, keeping the risk management costs related to prison resident mental health low, but without any costly material improvements related to securing their human rights (see Murphy and Whitty, 2007, Whitty, 2010 for discussions on the relationship between risk management and human rights). An example of this appeared during the COVID-19 pandemic when the majority of prison residents were locked in their cells for 23.5 hours a day. Unable to increase staff numbers or employ costly safety measures (such as regular testing, social distancing or more widespread use of outdoor spaces), the prisons asked for, 'distraction packs' and a few prison-based music-making organisations (including CT) acquiesced. Seeing it as an opportunity to penetrate a newly impenetrable prison system, these distraction packs were one of the few ways in which prison-based music-making organisations could reach their participants and provide some assistance towards managing their time inside. As MiRs often find themselves stuck between the prescriptions of the prison and the desires of the residents, these distraction packs appeared to give hope and encouragement to many who had no way of challenging their increased solitude but simultaneously created a technology for further atomisation that the prison establishments may continue to use long past the pandemic.

Similarly, the use of performances and recordings can be viewed as another technology of distraction and behavioural modification creating a justification for prison-based music-making that reaches the establishment's aims.

> We've had gigs in [cat D prison] (we haven't had them in [local cat B prison] because it's a logistical nightmare) but in [cat D prison], a number of really good gigs and for the whole chapel, which is packed with guys, for that time, none of them are in prison. They all go out a bit more relaxed, a bit more chilled, a bit more happy. Whilst I can see that the regime views what we do as a really soft option and 'Why do we do this? Why do we allow it to happen?' Because it's a security risk and a soft option and all that kind of stuff, but in reality, it helps their job in quite a demonstrable way. Not just me feeling like it does, it actually does. Guys are more relaxed, more chilled, perhaps more focused. (Simon, 2021)

By lifting the weight imposed by carcerality, then, Simon suggests that participants or even audience members experience a positive shift towards relaxation and focus. The agenda of change, prescription of behaviour, or sickness and cure, reappears to some degree here, with musicking seen as the catalyst. Terms such as 'relaxed' and 'more focused' in a carceral setting become synonyms for 'compliant', 'malleable' or 'fixable'. Simon also demonstrates a key contradiction of a prison system that claims rehabilitation, or a reduction of reoffending, as its aim; the most effective way for prison to aid rehabilitation is to create an affective abolition of itself. Only by creating a non-oppressive atmosphere, that temporarily lifts the carceral pressures, does Simon suggest that prison can better serve its purpose.

My somewhat negative interpretation of musicking being used to lift weight in order for a regime to cut corners or load more weight on its residents, does however, only view affect in a single direction. This time, an understanding as to how the prison regime pushes weight and tightness (affective pains) down onto and around its residents, coupled with an understanding of how music-making

is being co-opted into increasing a resident's capacity to comply to changes enforced by the pressure resulting from these pains, fails to recognise the increased agency a prison resident gains from music-making. It fails to show how casting off the weight can re-energise the prison population to challenge the injustices it often is forced to accept. It also ignores the first and second plane processes of relationship and community forming between participants, prison staff, MiRs and all others who may attend concerts or participate in CT sessions. For these relationships to form, unity to grow, and injustices to be tackled, the prison residents will need to work collectively against the carceral atomisation. As we have seen so far, there is little evidence that the collectives and communities formed by participants last and develop beyond music-making sessions. Whilst a small percentage of CT participants form lasting relationships with their MiRs, it appears that even fewer are forming relationships with other participants outside of CT activities. Sometimes this is mandated by probation and licence restrictions that forbid interactions with other former prison residents, and other times this is to avoid the perceived criminogenic influences and habits harboured by one another as seen in this story below.

Story five – Criminogenic influence

> I used to pick them up together. One of the band members would head to the other's flat before practice and I could get them from there to go to the practice room. Jason would always come straight down but Greg, who's flat it was, would take 10 or 15 minutes to appear. It was clear that Greg had been either drinking or doing some kind of drugs – I actually assumed he was just getting stoned. I know he struggled with social situations and so I figured it wasn't doing much harm. As long as he could play, I didn't mind.

> One of our practices ended up finishing quite late and it was hard for Jason to get home, so he spent the night at Greg's. I think it was after that practice that Jason stopped arriving at Greg's place before me.

He'd time it to get there at the same time. Now, he was coming from quite far away on public transport, so I assume he'd been hanging around town on his own after getting the train, rather than coming inside Greg's place. That didn't strike me as too odd until it was raining really heavily and Jason, without a coat, still hung around town first rather than going to Greg's place.

Greg was now taking longer and longer to get ready, despite knowing what time we were arriving. He was also so off his head that he could barely play guitar anymore.

After a while we stopped doing sessions together and a year or two later, Jason told me what was really going on. It turned out that Greg was trying to get Jason to inject heroin with him. The drug problems were way worse than I had realised. Jason told me that he had given into the pressure a few times, but he didn't want to be doing it every week before practice. He said he didn't want that influence in his life. He actually stopped coming to play with me for quite a while after that and it took a long time for me and him to build up our relationship and trust again. Maybe I should have spotted the drug issues earlier and tackled it head on.

When Greg went back inside, Jason wasn't surprised. He said he was sad for him because he's going to be there for quite some time, but I got the feeling he was also a little relieved. I think I was too.

<p align="center">Based on an MiRs description of the logistics surrounding an ex-prison resident session</p>

Attempting to form a community with those that don't want to be in communion with each other is a challenge that CT MiRs tackle on a daily basis.

In Matt's interview, he suggested that the material issues, class structures, and social injustices are the key obstacles placed in front of (ex)prison residents and that by forming relationships with participants he has become more aware of this.

…lots of people say that individual change is super important. My ideology is that systemic change is much more important – not more important because that sounds a bit brutal on the individual, but that's where we're going to see a more meaningful change for more people. If we can change that, I always argue for that. (Matt, 2021)

Systemic change requires collective action, yet creating systemic change with a population who may not wish to collectivise is a future problem for CT as they move towards the aim of including participants' voices and advocating for them. As many oppressed people internalise the role of their oppressors (Freire, 1970) and CT will still have to satisfy gatekeepers in order to deliver music-making sessions inside prison, it will be problematic for them to amplify voices of legitimate resistance against current carceral practices. It is mine and many other MiRs' experience that most prison residents do not wish to be labelled a criminal or be somehow related to other people labelled as criminals. This tendency creates a barrier for prison-based music-making charities who wish to continue working with participants post-release, as many (ex-)participants desire to leave all aspects of prison life behind in order to move on (this will be discussed further in the next chapter). Therefore, finding an (ex-)prison resident voice to amplify that has been through the many filtering processes that Simon mentioned above, wishes to continue with CT once released from prison, and does not simply echo the already well-established narratives of individual change and criminal pathology, is a potentially insurmountable challenge.

Joy – Found in Affective Atmospheres and Liminal Spaces

CT has often distanced itself from the label of education. Unlike other prison-based music-making organisations, it does not provide any recognised qualifications or certificates. But while they prefer to use terms such as 'music sessions' rather than 'music class', or 'facilitator' rather than 'teacher', many of the MiRs referred to the process of their work as teaching and their participants as learners. They are without a doubt, an educational organisation, but eschew a link with the banking style of education (Freire, 1970) and instead, seek to create communal liminal spaces that are engineered through musical affect.

> I think self-awareness is a huge part of it, because if you are learning an instrument you have to confront yourself. In a small way, relatively, but you have to come to terms with the fact you can't do it yet. You have to acknowledge that the person you are - I'm speaking as the learner now - as a learner I would have to acknowledge that the person I'm in a room with knows more than me and can help me progress so that I can do the thing that right now I can't, and I think that's a perfect microcosm of what human beings need a lot of the time. (Mike, 2021)

As Gareth is quoted earlier explaining the way in which an Em chord can be played and how that may speak of other aspects of a learner's life, so Mike echoes a similar sentiment here. Yet rather than focusing on how affect and emotion are communicated through acts of music-making, Mike is referring to participants becoming comfortable within a liminal space and being liminal people. The hope this time is that joy and opportunity can be found in what might otherwise be uncertain and insecure spaces.

The musically created liminal spaces are formed by, for, and with the participants. Not only do the participants enter a liminal state where they are betwixt and between musician/non-musician or knowing a song/not knowing a song, but the MiRs join them on that journey. As the hierarchies are (partially) flattened by the community they build, so the MiR learns new songs, ways of playing, and ways of relating with the participants. Both participant and MiR are on the threshold of new relationships and new imagined communities (Born's first and second planes) as they are created within the liminal space and affective atmosphere produced in CT musicking sessions. Along with much of the literature regarding music and identity (e.g. Born, 2011, Cursley and Maruna, 2015, Cursley, 2012), change of identity (sometimes over simplistically described as moving from criminal identity to musical or artistic identity) was seen to be a key factor when MiRs described the process of CT musicking and

why it was so important. This belief often stemmed from their own experience as musicians as well as their experiences within CT sessions.

> I think it's probably helped my social skills because you know you have people you are most comfortable with, like a type of person you just click with. [Participants] aren't the type of people I had historically socialised much with, so I think being able to respond to people who are quite unusual for you, in terms of the circles you walk in; I think that's been a really positive thing. It's definitely made me more socially aware in terms of wider social classes and how that can affect people. (Matt, 2021)

Alongside the educational aspects of liminality (Cousin, 2006), the social relations and communities being built through music-making are unknown to MiRs and participants both before and during a session. Within that time and space, they are on the threshold of creating new social bonds. By entering a liminal space with the participants, MiRs and participants equally open themselves up to change. Potentially it is a change that also lasts beyond the moment; beyond the music-making session. Whilst many MiRs admitted struggling with being neither of the prison nor of the residents, or friendly with their participants but not friends with them, this liminal state is a result of carceral pressures juxtaposed with the affective push of music-making.

Many of the MiRs seemed most comfortable in a liminal space, searching for a state of limbo, neither part of their surroundings nor completely outside of them. Rather than escapism, they looked to control and take ownership of the space within which they work, seeking to lift the weight of the carceral environment rather than move away from it. All metaphors used within the interviews referring to the removal of weight, talking about lifting it or seeing a visible release for their participants, rather than seeking to escape it or move out from underneath it. The pressures of the carceral are always there, music-making doesn't escape them, it temporarily manages them.

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Within my own sessions, the obstacle caused by the banner of education that hung over them (literally on the poster that invited residents to join), coupled with the prescription of acoustic guitars only, made an affective atmosphere and push towards a liminal space difficult to produce. I found myself frustrated with the lack of volume as an obstacle that hindered the creation of an affective atmosphere. Similarly, I became frustrated with the participants who were there to bank knowledge rather than create a community and produce something artistic within the session.

> … many of the participants are encouraging me to take over and make it more like a class. People exclaim that this is a place for learning and that they can practise and talk in their cells. They say that if they want to borrow a guitar, they should be a regular member of the group. These are things I don't agree with, and I think lead to further oppression, perhaps I should discuss this with them, point blank. It feels as though they are entrenched in an oppressor/oppressed dynamic and find their comfort in it.' (Field notes, 17th August 2019)

> I taught a lot this session and although this is what they request, I can't help but feel as though this comes from their understanding that it is part of education. Many of them want to soak up as much knowledge as they can whilst they are there and save the repetition part of learning for practice in their cells. It's an educator's dream that students would want to learn like this, but this banking style of learning is not what I want to be doing. I want to get to a point where we are beyond this and where we are learning to play together. I want those other skills to come through as more important. The feel, as it were. I want the otherness of music to be of more importance, rather than the current focus of: teacher deposits knowledge to students (Field notes, 12th October 2019)

My frustration in these extracts appears as a common theme throughout my autoethnographic notes. When I first began these sessions, a group of residents had already started their own music-making group on the wing, meeting every few days in one of their cells to play guitar and sing some songs. They had originally all started to come but many of them stopped attending after a few weeks. Despite my best efforts, I quickly became the main focus, often standing

at the front of a rectangular shaped classroom. Through the rest of the week the room was used for teaching IT and we were therefore cramped in a small space between computer desks, whiteboards, and swivel chairs all around the edges. Coupled with the education governor insisting that the sessions must be on the wing and therefore the noise levels must be low, we had 12 acoustic guitars. Getting everyone to play together and join in on a song was difficult. We didn't feel like a band; we didn't feel like a group. We were teacher and students. There was very rarely any musically configured affective atmosphere. We were never surrounded by the music and never truly blocking out the sound of the surrounding prison. Only once did we reach a state that I described as being immersed or lost in the music.

> Despite the small room, we all managed to learn at the same time and come back together to play a few songs as a group. This meant, that even though we were ten acoustic guitars and people were at different levels, we all felt connected when playing together. The room lifted. We all were happier and had a sense of achievement as we finished each song. (Field notes, 28th October 2019)

Whilst the participants were learning new skills within the sessions, with the exception of this one time, the threshold moments of change – moving from the state of non-musician/musician or not able to play a song/able to play a song – were happening outside of the sessions. The process of gaining theoretical knowledge and notetaking was done during the sessions, but the practice and moments of liminality and (potentially) creation of affective atmospheres, was done later in their cells. I certainly witnessed a change within the participants' confidence and identity as the sessions went on, and this allowed them to form a collective identity as a group (Born's second plane) but seemed to skip the process in Born's first plane of creating bonds between them. They remained atomised and separate, even within the group. They bonded over the shared

identity of becoming 'acoustic guitarists' (with a small division between those that could play before they joined the group and those that couldn't) but remained separate in their song choice and musical tastes. Often, we would choose a song that was a preference of a single participant and others would learn it out of politeness or because it was what was needed to be done so they could later learn a song that interested them.

It felt oppressive to be prescribing more behaviours or 'correct' ways of musicking, despite this being the request of many of the participants. I craved what many of the CT MiRs later described to me in their sessions.

> …once we're playing, everything drops away. I truly feel that. I feel it myself and see it in the guys. It's the old cliché – I've lost count of the guys that say, 'for that period of time, I wasn't in prison'. All the shit, the whole prison shit, just drops away because they're focusing on something, they're engaging, their mind isn't thinking about the million and one other crappy things that they've got going on in their lives.

> That works from the guy learning his first chords and really struggling, thinking these are like cheese wires and are cutting my fingers up, all the way through to when we've come out of a music session with the band, and it's been one of the best music experiences of my life. When the band is just kicking and it's just brilliant. And I would pay to listen to these guys. I would pay to be part of this. And it works all the way across. Once they're in there, once they're focusing. If they engage, prison drops away. (Simon, 2021)

This was exemplified more strongly by David C who had to battle visual distractions throughout his music-making sessions in his Category C prison. He described how his participants created a space that felt like their own and in many ways was separated from prison life.

> Even in [Cat C Prison] that's just a hut that's on the concourse, so where they all go when they're supposed to be free of movement, and they'll all hang out there, so pretty much the whole prison is there and you're in a hut with a window there. It is amazing to see the guys inside after a couple of weeks will start ignoring that. Whereas, when they first come in, it's almost like they see someone through the window and be like, 'yeah, yeah', or they'll be like, having a look, or

sometimes you see them cower a bit because they don't really want to be seen playing an instrument from the other guys. But actually eventually, they take ownership of the room, that they know it's theirs. Like, I'm there to facilitate something but whatever anyone is doing outside is of no consequence – well, I don't know if this is how they feel, but it's what I'm getting from them. It's like there is no consequence to what they're doing outside when they're in doing music. Whereas like, early on, because you can see the change – just the responses that they have to people outside start dwindling, so it's just like a barometer of how into it they are. So, like, some guys they kind of like never start ignoring the guys outside and they end up being the ones that don't necessarily stick around for a long time. So, you're clearly creating a space for some people that they can feel like that side of prison life isn't there, if you see what I mean. Understandably, some people don't feel like they can make that space for themselves as well. (David C, 2021)

This liminal space, neither in or out of the prison, shows again how important MiRs believe it is for participants to create an affective abolition of the prison environment; to lift off and loosen the pains of imprisonment. Dave F and I both believe that volume is an important factor if this affective abolition of carceral pains is to take place through musical affect, believing that to be immersed and to feel separate from the prison, participants and MiRs need to feel acoustically surrounded. Dave C however, pointed out other affective properties related to space and sound that contribute to the feeling of prison abolition.

I don't spend enough time in the rest of the prison to truly understand it but in the YOI, I'm in this lovely chapel. It's as modern as it needs to be and there's a big space, wooden, timber ceilings. All that, so it's like automatically, it physically feels a lot different from the rest of the prison. I think in terms of that room in particular, you just don't get a lot of the prison shit come in. So, it already feels a bit sanctuary-esk. The hallways aren't connected in the same way. When you come down the corridor the acoustics are different. The hallways in the YOI are horrendous, if you click your finger it sounds like a gunshot gone off, so when the guys are walking down there, it's like a tense atmosphere, so in that respect, it helps a lot. (David C, 2021)

The relationship between the affective properties of musicking (the push that creates emotions and social connections), musically created affective atmospheres (the changing moments that make a space feel different) and

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liminal spaces found within these affective atmospheres (where MiRs and participants are in between identities, spaces, and past and future states) are what make CT sessions what they are. They appear to be where the MiRs are most comfortable and where they see a change made that produces meaning and purpose within their participants' lives. Within an insecure and dangerous liminal prison experience, MiRs seek to create a safe and enjoyable liminal musical space for and owned by, the participants.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the ways in which music-making with participants within a prison has affected the MiRs (addressing the thesis' fourth question). MiRs seemed to experience the carceral pains of weight and tightness but spoke very little of the carceral pain of depth. Further research could perhaps determine why this is, but it is likely to be related to the far shorter length of time they spend within the prison walls. Whilst they experienced the weight and tightness differently to their participants, they showed a belief that the same technologies of music that they use to manage their carceral experience appeared to be working for their participants.

Whilst individual change is still important to MiRs, in its current incarnation, CT can be understood to assist in continuing systemic oppression by pathologizing and criminally labelling its participants, enlisting them in the reproduction of musical genres whose selection some MiRs considered to be inherently ageist and white supremacist. There are however, encouraging signs that this tendency is being challenged throughout the organisation and that the affective relationships built with participants are starting to change the organisation at the same time as the organisation is (in principle) changing them.

The MiRs hold a dual role of participant-facilitator that breaks down some of the boundaries to forming relationships, yet those relationships remain 'boundaried' in important ways. The insincerity of a friendship formed in a single direction was a problem felt by many MiRs. Whilst the boundaries are a clear hinderance to the depth of the relationships they form, the references to being comfortable with the idea of ex-prison residents visiting their house or going to the pub with them, leads me to believe MiR's are receiving more from the relationships they form with participants than they are comfortable with admitting. Having had an ex-prison resident recently pass away, I felt it was a privilege to be asked to speak at his funeral as one of his friends. The pain and sadness I felt was that of losing a friend, not a client, and speaks to the strength of bond we formed through many years of musicking together.

The bond formed through music-making (the omnidirectional affective properties of the atmosphere created) and the search for an affective abolition of carceral pains (that are felt by both MiRs and participants), potentially crosses the boundaries prescribed by prison security and gatekeepers. This places MiRs at odds with the prescriptions of separation and atomisation as set out by carceral systems and at the same time, I suggest, is a factor that causes musicians to be 'looked upon with suspicion'. Importantly, this suspicion may have the effect of potentially halting the spread and increased presence of prison-based music-making. My data suggests, however, that the institutional suspicion of MiRs is unwarranted as they are, in essence, reformers and not abolitionists. Their aim is to incrementally improve the situation with which prison residents are living, generating meaningful musical experiences within prison which residents can also draw upon to give themselves a better chance of not returning once released.

8. Carceral Musicking's Extended Play

Introduction

This thesis has shown how music-making in prisons in England and Wales is affected by government policy, prison's function in wider society, the gatekeepers and decision makers within each establishment, and by the aims and desires of charities and their funders. The focus then shifted to the CT MiRs, investigating their experience of the prison system. An investigation into the role of music-making in prisons, however, would seem incomplete without the important voice of the prison residents. As discussed in the methodology chapter, bureaucratic obstacles have prevented my accessing those voices directly, consequently preventing them from being heard. Nonetheless, this chapter aims to address the fifth of the original five questions: how are the participants experiencing the technologies of music? To answer this question, the thesis turns to interviews conducted with ex-prison residents and considers not only their experience inside prison but also the ways in which their current life outside prison has been affected by their time inside, producing an extra-carceral life (McWatters, 2013). Never truly free as a result of technologies and social markers such as electronic tagging, licence conditions, living restrictions, sex offender registers, reputations and information passed across police forces, and criminal record keeping (affecting employment and volunteering opportunities), these former prison residents have both the memory and the current lived experience of carcerality. Therefore, this chapter explores the ways in which they have used musicking in their respective, ongoing carceral environments.

The chapter starts by outlining the details of data collection from the ex-prison residents involved in the study and provides information on the interviewees. It

continues by examining the participants' different uses of musicking in and out of prison and how this reflects the different types of carcerality experienced, finding that music-making is used inside prisons to create music asylums (DeNora, 2013a), whilst fourth plane physical limitations (Born, 2011) can serve to strip this carceral coping method away from the (ex-)CT participants that were interviewed. Furthermore, this chapter uncovers how extra-carceral pains are felt less as weight and depth, but more as tightness, and questions whether musicking creates a successful asylum from this carceral pain (Crewe, 2011). Finally, the popular question of how prison-based music-making can change prison residents and prepare them for life after prison is turned on its head as the interviewees suggest that, in carceral environments, music-making itself was their final goal and was what gave purpose to their time in prison.

The Interviewees

Due to the data protection regulation and security procedures that surround ex-prison residents and their identification, the main selection criteria for research participants became availability and the rapport that I or other CT MiRs had built with them. As will become apparent throughout this chapter, life for an ex-prison resident can often be chaotic and unpredictable. From a research perspective, this makes arranging interviews very difficult as simple things like a mobile phone being lost or a lack of basic computer literacy can become large obstacles to staying in touch, arranging interviews, or building a relationship. The COVID-19 pandemic only served to make these barriers larger.

The interviewees are a self-selecting group of those who have chosen to continue a relationship with their CT MiRs once released. There is no (and unfortunately cannot be a) comparison to those who chose not to engage with CT post-release and therefore this data only represents those who have found a

use for music-making and managed to form relationships within the sessions. Conclusions are therefore limited by the generally positive experience held by the interviewees and an understanding of why people dislike or do not engage with musicking in prison or through the gate cannot be successfully gained from this data. Each of the participants have, however, engaged with CT in remarkably different ways as will be demonstrated in the table below. At the extreme ends of the engagement spectrum, one interviewee has never joined a CT post-release music-making, whilst at the other end, one has started to work as a MiR for CT.

Five of the seven ex-prison residents I interviewed were people I had worked with both inside and outside of prison. One participant, who now works for CT as an MiR chose to use his real name in line with the other CT MiRs. As his position as an ex-offender is not only linked but put at the forefront of his work as an expert by experience, he had no reason to want to anonymise himself completely. Furthermore, as the only CT employee to have spent time in prison, it seemed important to clearly link any quotations from him so as not to risk the words of an anonymised ex-prison resident being mistaken for his. Despite many of the other six ex-prison residents' disinterest in anonymity, I convinced them to choose their own pseudonyms in order to protect their identities, whilst also intending that owning a pseudonym would make them feel their contribution was personal and meaningful.

Name	Prison categories	Sentence length[72]	Instruments	Gender	Notes
Cam	A, B, Local B, C, D	Single long (10 years+)	Guitar, Vocals, Bass, Drums, piano	Male	CT Employee
Jeff Randle	Local B, C, D	Single medium (1-9 years)	Piano, Guitar, Vocals	Male	Licence complete
Michael Smith	Local B, B, C	Multiple short (less than one year) and multiple medium (one to nine years)	Drums	Male	Licence complete. Currently in his longest time out of incarceration
Martin Clark	Local B, C	One short sentence (less than one year) one medium sentence one to nine years)	Drums, Bass, Guitar	Male	Licence complete. Large gap between his two sentences.
James Sutherland	Local B, C	Multiple short sentences (less than one year) multiple medium sentences (one to nine years)	Guitar, drums, bass, keyboard, violin, percussion	Male	Currently on licence
Maya Jones	Local B, C	One short sentence (less	Vocals, Piano,	Female (served	Currently on licence

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[72] For the purpose of anonymity, details regarding sentence type, length, and release dates, as well as names of prisons, will be omitted. However, the prison categories in which the research participants resided, an idea of the number of times they have been to prison, and a representation of sentence and licence length is included in the interviews, these factors appeared to affect their carceral experience.

		than one years).	Guitar	in a male prison)	
Sarah Jane	Female Closed	One short sentence (less than one year).	Vocals	Female	Licence complete

Table 10: Ex-prison resident interviewees

With the population of prison residents that identify as female being vastly lower than male (4% in the U.K. (Sturge, 2021) for example), their perspective has often been overlooked in academic research (Shaw and Hannah-Moffat, 2000). I have made efforts to include this experience by interviewing a transgender female ex-prison resident who can speak of her experience of being female in a male prison and a cis gender female ex-prison resident who was incarcerated in a female prison. The focus of this work remains primarily on the male experience due to availability and the rapport I have developed with (ex)prison residents whilst working within predominantly male establishments.

For reasons stated in chapter three, it remains less important to understand the category of the crime that the interviewees committed (or to even attempt to categorise them), however it is important to state that the interviewees were convicted for a wide array of criminal offences. This variation also results in a variety of sentence lengths and number of sentences varying greatly amongst the interviewees. For reasons of anonymity and due to inadequate sample size, this information will not be disclosed and therefore no link between crime/sentence length and purpose for music-making/recidivism should or can be made. It should also be understood that this research addresses how music-making in carceral environments *has* been used and not how music-making in carceral spaces *is always* used. Carcerality, musicking, and criminal behaviour are indeed all individual experiences and actions created through a complex

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web of affects, therefore I argue that though certain commonalities or themes are identifiable, there should be no search for a single, one size fits all notion of the role of music-making in and after prison.

Purpose of Music-making in Prison

To understand their use of music-making, I asked the ex-prison residents how musicking assisted their time inside prison.

> What I'd do is take drugs. That's what we'd say, 'I want a bit of this to get me over the wall'. So, you take a bit of heroin or a bit of weed to get you over the wall. That wasn't it then. Drumming got me over the wall. Do you understand what I mean? That was my escape. Instead of taking substances, music was my escape. That's why it was so important to me. (Michael Smith, 2022)

> It's kind of like – it gives people an escape and a release from prison that they would only ever get from doing drugs and that… I didn't use drink or drugs in prison, it just didn't interest me in there. For me it was my time to give my body a break from all the drinking I'd done outside. I let my body relax and rest. What's the point in sitting in your cell getting drunk with nowhere to go and nothing to do? It would drive me insane. So yeah, maybe I replaced all my outside addictions with a new addiction, which was music. (James Sutherland, 2022)

The theme of escapism reoccurred regularly within the interviews with ex-prison residents and, from the rehabilitative standpoint, is often equated to the way in which drugs are used. However, the idea that by teaching music a participant's dependence on drug use will be replaced is more problematic than is alluded to in the above quotes. It does not take into the account the complexity of drug addiction and providing music-making sessions for this motive is an example of attempting to pathologize and rehabilitate participants rather than providing opportunities for desistance. The use of musicking to 'get over the wall' or 'lose yourself', however, were common responses and speak of a need for residents to rid themselves of the carceral oppressions.

DeNora (2013a) suggests that music can be something other than simply escapism, providing the concept of 'refurnishing' through interaction with music. As MiR, Fran had suggested in the previous chapter, CT helps to 'redecorate the space' and change the environment. Similarly, other MiRs had suggested that they observed weight being lifted off the shoulders of their participants and had felt a similar dismantling of carceral pains themselves.

> When actors engage in any form of refurnishing, singly or together, they are acting upon and in their environments and in ways that affect those environments, whether materially or symbolically. They are recreating, engaging literally in re-creation, replenishing, refurnishing their environments in ways that, in some way, make them more habitable. Unlike removal, which is in effect a form of retreat from the environment, a giving up of space within it, refurnishing is an advance. It is about remaking, albeit perhaps in small ways, the environment, about acting in and on that environment. (DeNora, 2013a, p. 50)

Similarly to how Moran (2014) expands on Goffman's total institution explaining the ways in which it is 'not-so-total', there is a bleeding of the outside world entering prisons through these musical asylums and creating elements of freedom from carceral pains. As music carries memories, relationships and affects formed outside of prison, they are brought into the institution with the act of musicking. Within temporary musical asylums, walls are redecorated and prisons are restructured by the agency and affective properties that music carries with it from outside of the prison walls. With a focus on desistance rather than rehabilitation, we see the capacity of music working to be used as a 'technology of self' (DeNora, 1999) and the use of musical agency to (re)create the environment, dismantling the carcerality that surrounds prison residents and meaning that this technology is used *by* them rather than being exerted *on* them.

> I've felt trapped in some places because they had nothing, not even access to a guitar and then I felt much freer in others, even in higher

security places because they still have access to music or they're encouraging people to do things. The way that you interpret your situation – you know, the size of the room – is very much context dependant on not just the context of, 'these are the number of different rooms' but how many doors each room has as well. In a room with one door, you feel more trapped than with a room with 10 possible options. (Cam, 2022)

Here, Cam's metaphor describes musicking's extra-musical abilities not as rehabilitative or a tool for changing the prison residents in a way that the rehabilitators (prisons or musicking facilitators) might desire. Instead, he describes a musical agency that deconstructs and rebuilds the environment, creating more doors and more possibilities during moments in which music-making is happening. This refurnishing isn't simply changing the colours of the walls, but breaking holes in them in a way that changed Cam's entire relationship to each individual prison establishment. Not only is there a materialisation of identities (Born, 2011), but a materialisation of a new space, with more options, and less restriction.

It is, it just makes you forget about being in prison for a while. Because you know what it's like, even when you're out of prison, you play a song and you just melt into that song, don't you? (James Sutherland, 2022)

To take this above statement as simple escapism is to miss the point of 'melting into a song'. In that moment, James is no longer who he was previously. His identity is no longer defined by that environment (a prisoner[73] in a prison). James is describing a liminal state, betwixt and between a real and imagined world – both present and elsewhere. The fact that my interviewees describe a sensation of 'melting' is interesting, too, as, following Douglas (who is in turn drawing on Sartre), it can be understood to produce a liminal condition, a feeling of between two more settled states, 'half-way between liquid and solid' and

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[73] This is a purposeful use of the term 'prisoner' rather than 'prison resident' as the utterance of 'prisoner' is a defining carceral tool that is deconstructed through this musicking

hence 'in neither one nor the other set' (Sartre, 1943, p. 696 cited in Douglas, 2005). The materialisation of a new identity is also a dematerialisation of current surroundings. A carceral space is made carceral by the very pains it brings (tightness, weight, and depth) and through the technology of music, these pains, at least partially, melt into the musicking.

Deconstructing Tightness Through Musicking

In the previous chapter it was shown that the CT MiRs had a good understanding of carceral pains in terms of weight and depth, both through observation and personal experience[74]; the tightness, however, was not referred to as readily. Whilst MiRs used metaphors relating to pressure, heaviness, and intrusion, the ex-prison residents recalled the relentlessly constricting nature of prison.

> I definitely feel I can breathe better [since being released]. Because [prison] is so stifling. I can make my own choices about when I do things. It's really strange, you become very institutionalised, very quickly…I would say that for me, it was probably about three weeks. It took about three weeks for me to become institutionalised and it took a long time for that to stop. Whereas now, if I want to have my breakfast at ten o'clock, I can have it at ten o'clock. Not eight o'clock when you tell me. I don't have to be locked up behind a door. (Sarah Jane, 2022)

Sarah only spent a few months in prison, over ten years ago, but recalls the restriction and tightness clearly and spoke these words with an air of relief that her time of prison was complete. The metaphor of restricted breath shows the damaging psychological effects of incarceration. They are felt so strongly they are best communicated in physical, corporeal terminology.

> I think [music] it's therapeutic isn't it, it's a release. Or even when you're writing a song and you can get all your shit out on that piece of paper. It's like my family used to say to me all the time; every time I

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[74] It should, however, be reiterated that the weight and depth of carceral pains felt by MiRs are not the same, felt as strongly, as presently, or as relentlessly as by prison residents.

wasn't playing my guitar, they'd ask me if I was alright. And I'd say, 'Why do you always do that?' And they'd say, 'When you're depressed and not in a very happy mood, you don't touch your guitar.' Or 'When you're in a good state of mind, you're always playing your guitar'.

… what you said before then about a mental reset and mental release, that's what I'm saying about the way it helps mental health. That's why I used to play as well. And still do sometimes, because I know I'm in a bad place now but next weekend when I'm playing my gig, I'll have a mental reset and I'll start again. (James Sutherland, 2022)

For James, the metaphor of release speaks of shedding the bonds placed around him. These bonds were at times figurative and at times literal. A sufferer of PTSD, James had learnt to play music in prison at a session I was facilitating. When interviewing him, I was unaware of the circumstances under which he had started playing. He had since worked with other CT MiRs and busked for a living in between sentences. Having been a non-musician when entering prison and then choosing to continue to play once released, he provided an interesting perspective on how music-making changed his experience of incarceration.

James Sutherland: … Every time I've been in prison, I've just kept my head down and just did my time. So, I've never been bothered by any inmates or any screws or prison officers. No one would ever really bother me. I just floated around, doing my own thing, not causing anyone any problems. Just playing my guitar.

They've got bigger idiots to deal with than me sitting in my cell playing guitar….

David Lindsay: What about when you didn't play music, was it different then or not?

James Sutherland: oh yeah, because I was just hanging around with all the idiots then, wasn't I?

David Lindsay: So, officers causing you problems then? Or inmates?

James Sutherland: Yeah, I used to get spun[75] and bloody all sorts because everyone was just messing around because there was nothing to do. (James Sutherland, 2022)

For James, a very tangible and measurable change occurred when he began music-making. His negative interactions with prison staff were reduced, the number of times his cell was spun decreased, and the friendship groups he developed changed. In terms of Born's first and second planes, James formed new friendships and joined new communities, be they friendships formed with other residents or imagined communities, which drew him into different ways of being and acting. With the materialisation of a new identity came a change of behaviours, habits, and friendship groups. The community of which he was a part was different. No longer simply labelled as a criminal, he had perhaps been labelled as a different form of outsider, a musician (Becker, 1963). With this, the biases and categorisations laid on him (perhaps by others, perhaps by himself) were refracted as suggested in Born's third plane. Although James does not allude to it, he could have potentially (re)joined the same imagined communities to which members of the prison staff belonged, rehumanising him in their view and creating a bond with the potential to cross important security boundaries.

In ways similar to James, Michael had developed a bad reputation in a particularly rough Local Cat B prison. He told stories of being held in a segregation unit for 11 weeks after attempting to start a mass protest in the form of a hunger strike having witnessed mistreatment of a fellow resident who took his own life.

David Lindsay: What were you in the seg for?

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[75] Spun is slang for having your 'cell spun' or searched. It is common practice for officers to spin cells and leave them a mess if they believe someone is hiding contraband materials or simply to remind them of who is in charge if they are causing trouble.

Michael Smith: Inciting riots. But I didn't actually do it. It was me and my brother, we – not to make too much of a big story out of it but there was a fella that I know, and he attempted suicide, but he didn't actually want to do it, he wanted to get caught by the night staff, but they missed him. I was quite friendly with him, so was my brother. He still had a pulse, but he was braindead, so they had to turn the machine off basically. What annoyed me at that was that the staff that came out of his cell said, 'only another 130-odd to go' I can't remember the number, but it was the number of prisoners that were on the wing. That really struck a chord with me, and I was still in that mindset where I didn't care, and this is what life was. So, I said, look, staff can't just do that, they can't say things like that. I said that we would all not go for dinner in protest to how he was treated and such – there's a bit more to it as well. It was actually one officer that was bullying him. The guy had OCD and wouldn't go into his cell with his shoes on and stuff like that, and this screw would come in and mess his cell up and really do things to wind him up. So, we said, in protest, we won't do anything violent or anything like that, we just won't eat. We put it round on the wing, don't anyone go to dinner. Well, the informants, whoever they were, went back and told the staff that and they traced it back to me. So, yeah, I ended up down the seg for inciting riots.' (Michael Smith, 2022)

During this time, Michael suffered a nervous breakdown and was comforted by an officer whose expression of belief in him had a lasting impact. After this breakdown he sought therapeutic opportunities, education and music as guided by the officer. Through music-making he created new friendships and built a different reputation for himself. Music-making did not change Michael, but it was the technology he chose in order to enact and sustain this materialisation of a new self.

Michael Smith: it [music] made me feel differently against everything. It softened me.

David Lindsay: Softened it all?

Michael Smith: Softened me as in, I give off vibes with my face – I don't mean to do it. Where I could be staring at someone. Just giving off a vibe that I don't like someone. It's not really what I wanna be giving off you know? Also, my temper. I had a really bad – it's originally what I went to prison for. It's like I was a coiled-up spring. Music just uncoiled. That's what it's done. That's what I mean when I said it changed me, personality-wise where – not just playing music as well - understanding music. I don't just listen to it, I understand it, like

the way it goes together and stuff, but I understand the way it makes me feel as well which is a big release for me, so I wasn't so pent up inside and taut and wanting to kill everyone (I don't mean that figuratively). (Michael Smith, 2022)

The metaphor of the coiled-up spring again invokes images and emotions relating to tightness and the uncoiling shows his use of musicking to loosen this carceral pain. Not all of Michael's carceral pains were felt in prison. Many were caused by his family and by the community in which he grew up as well as the extra-carceral pressures that surrounded him in-between sentences. Ironically, it wasn't until after his breakdown that occurred inside a prison segregation unit that he was able to find a route to be free of this generalised tightness.

The Contradictory Nature of Carceral Tightness

The interviews produced a recurring theme of injustice that was felt in relation to the tightness former prison residents experienced in prison and other carceral spaces that stifled their agency and ability to enact the pro-social changes they were expected to exhibit on release. Their time in prison lacked an important element of liminality as the ability to cross over a threshold into a changed state was stifled by the restrictive nature of incarceration. The dehumanisation resulting from the insidiousness of carceral tightness was met with anger and distain and the commonly held belief that 'prison doesn't work' as discussed in the first chapter[76], was echoed by those I interviewed. I can clearly remember that in my 14 years of working in prisons I have only met two people who believed their sentence was just, deserved, and resulted in a positive outcome for them. They stand out in my mind due to their unique stance on justice, one which was not commonly held by prison residents. More prevalent is the belief

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[76] Prison 'not working' does of course depend on the what the purpose of prison is believed to be. In this instance, the interviewees are referring to prison's proposed role of reducing re-offending and changing its residents from 'offenders' to 'non-offenders'.

that prison is an inefficient, catch-all solution to complex problems that stem from multiple affects and influences.

> … I would say that a lot of [the people I was in prison with] are probably going to re-offend. Not all of them at all by any means but quite a significant proportion are in that lifestyle of re-offending. Versus maybe people like myself who are never going to re-offend anyway so you're in there for a – it's not a holiday is it but a period of time in your life that is different to any other period of time, and you come out – because I was a bit older – you roughly were the same kind of person as you were coming out as when you went in. And I think it's the same at other end of the scale. If you get guys who were in at 22, 23 – I saw loads of guys in their early 20s and you can see them at 45, they'll still be in there for something. You just know it and I think, it's an unfortunate thing. I was thinking about this, people probably, they start on the path of going to prison the day they are born, if they're going to. Because they're born into certain things, or they're abused or they're – I don't want to say thick, but they didn't adjust very well to school. They don't understand any of that, they get into drugs, they meet the wrong people, dah-dah-dah-dah. So, there by the grace of God, I might have gone that way, you might have gone that way. (Jeff Randle, 2022)

On the occasions where incarceration has served a purpose for the resident or when attitudes that perpetuate re-offending cycles have been changed whilst inside, prison has often subsequently acted as a barrier that hinders the opportunity to *enact* any personal change or *express* growth that has been achieved. The key contradiction of imprisonment is arguably shown here as an incarcerated person cannot achieve or demonstrate desistance or be rehabilitated whilst simultaneously being dehumanised by carceral pains and restricted from participating in humanising activities. As Listwan et al. (2013) suggests, prison is likely having a criminogenic effect. From the perspective of desistance rather than rehabilitation (Maruna, 2017), those I interviewed suggested that any chance they have had to change and enact desisting behaviours was halted by their environments.

> Especially once I'd had the breakdown and I knew I'd changed inside myself, it was heavy then. It was heavy, heavy then because I knew

> I'd just had enough. That for me was when my sentence should have ended. Not when I had the breakdown, a little bit after. But I was kept maybe two years after that, and it was for nothing. Don't get me wrong, it was something for the victims, you know and serving the punishment that I was given. But it served no purpose [for me]. So, it was heavy that time, and music definitely got me through. (Michael Smith, 2022)

In the above quote, Michael explains that musicking was used to dismantle the negative effects of carcerality and the obstruction that imprisonment caused in relation to the internal changes he had experienced. At this point, prison served no purpose for him, he was left only with the weight (heaviness) of carceral pains. As Jeff's experience of other prison residents led him to believe that many were victims of abuse or had undesirable living situations outside of prison, to further oppress and abuse an already damaged person would only cause higher levels of recidivism, a point which follows the logic of strain theory (see chapter one).

Maya, a transgender woman in a male prison and a survivor of abuse, described her music sessions as a release from being tightly surrounded by those with whom she had been incarcerated, who would often boast about their abusive behaviour that led to their conviction.

> I'm not going to call myself a victim; I was a survivor. People that are talking about stuff – obviously I'm being careful what to say – but people are talking about what they've done, what they're in for, the only release I had was coming into the music sessions (Maya Jones, 2022)

Michael's and Maya's use of the technology of music to lift heaviness and release the carceral pain of tightness demonstrate that carcerality can be affectively[77] dismantled through musicking. As I have suggested that Crewe's carceral pains are the affective definition of carcerality, to dismantle them

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[77] I use the term 'affectively' here deliberately, as only an affective dismantling of carcerality is taking place. Whilst the oppressions and constraints that in many ways define prison may feel lifted and loosened, many of the corporeal elements of incarceration are not changed.

through musicking in this way is to create an affective abolition of prison. Michael found comfort and formed a relationship with an officer who assisted him in finding ways to break his re-offending cycle yet found himself stifled by the prison system and his lack of agency. It was through the use of music-making, education and a therapeutic community that he joined in a lower category prison that he managed to sustain his personal change. Yet, it was through the (partial) abolition of carceral pains that Michael demonstrates how he battled prison's criminogenic effects[78].

The pain of tightness restricts agency and negates the desired individualised change (rehabilitation) that incarceration is proclaimed to produce (a key justification for the existence of prisons). This point illustrates the contradictory nature of carcerality. Indeed, as music-making is said to have, 'got me through' by Michael or to have been 'the only release' by Maya, its affective abolition can be understood to serve the (nefarious) purpose of allowing enough agency for some participants to maintain a pro-social change on an individual level without disrupting the neo-liberal penal structure currently in place.

Temporary Partial Abolition

This dismantling of carceral pains through musicking is not a complete or permanent abolition of prison. Indeed, it potentially provides a short respite into different affective atmospheres only to sharply drop the residents back into the harsh realities of imprisonment (leaving them more able to endure further carceral pain, thus supporting the status quo).

> [Whilst musicking] You're not restricted, you're not being invaded or pressured. It's only when you stop and kind of come back to the reality

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[78] It is worth noting that in the interview Michael pointed to education, community, and sport as other technologies used for battling carceral pains. Whether the affective atmospheres that dismantle carceral pains can be created through other opportunities is a question for future researchers.

of your situation and you're like, oh shit, I remember this now. (Cam, 2022)

This was also observed by David F, one of the CT MiRs, who recalled the words of one of his participants.

> This guy was with me for about 45 minutes, and he said, 'I need to go back to the wing because I need to refamiliarize myself with where I am' you know? And it just made me think, wow. You know? Either he just isn't enjoying it and that was his excuse, or he just felt so, like, moved away from needing to be on the wing and having his chest out and having his armour on that he felt, 'this is softening me up and I can't be doing with this' I think he was telling the truth and I found that really interesting. (David F, 2021)

David F (a CT MiR) and Cam (both ex-prison resident and CT MiR) have observed and felt the temporary abolition of the carceral pains respectively, and the problems that it can cause. Bringing further evidence to Michael's understanding of musicking softening him, David F observed a participant's need to reject this softening. The contradiction of incarceration is again shown here, as Michael's path towards desistance required him to soften, but the harsh and painful (affective) environment of prison made this dangerous and difficult to do. Whilst musicking may refurnish carceral space, the other affective powers in the prison make this asylum from carceral pains (at least in many ways) temporary. Furthermore, to engage in these asylums can be difficult and coming back out of them, dangerous. Therefore, when discussing a partially affective abolition of carceral pains through music-making it is important to remember that is it 1) temporary and in many ways limited to a moment, 2) lasting effects are affective and not entirely material, and 3) music-making is a potential tool for incarcerating powers to increase carceral pains elsewhere whilst providing musicking as a technology for self-management against those same detrimental effects.

All this is not, however, to dismiss the words of MiR Fran and Cam who, in line with DeNora (2013a), speak of musical asylums having the ability to refurnish space in a more permanent way. To investigate the more permanent ways in which prison is refurnished the question of 'What are the extra-musical properties of musicking in carceral spaces?' needs to be reversed. In other words (and as has been strongly indicated by the ex-prison residents I interviewed), the more important question is, 'What are the musical properties of prison?'

The Purpose of Prison is to Music

Echoes of previous conversations came out again, with both of them suggesting that the band has given their time in prison some purpose. They felt like at least they got something out of their time, and it wasn't simply wasted. This felt like an important step towards resistance [of their (extra-)carcerality]. If prison is wasted time and has bred anger and resentment, it is going to cause further damage, akin to not forgiving someone for hurting you and not being able to move on. Yet to have gained something from your time in prison almost feels as though the oppression of the place has been fought and that all the control and submission has been shed. They talk about it as if they took control of their world like this, in a system that wished to pin them down, they found some freedom. (Field notes, 4th August 2019).

This extract from the autoethnographic diaries I kept whilst working with a group of ex-prison residents, revealed a bias held by myself and, I believe, many others who have completed research with (ex-)prison residents. Often the aims of such research have been to look at the rehabilitative aspects of creative activities for incarcerated people, with the hope of a positive outcome in the form of reduced recidivism or an improvement of 'known desistance factors' (Anderson et al., 2011, Cursley and Maruna, 2015, Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008). The (ex-)prison residents I interviewed did not choose to go to prison and look for activities to enact some sort of change. Instead, they attempted to continue their lives and find a purpose for the situation in which they found themselves.

Importantly, prison often seemingly served no purpose until they began to

music, and then music-making for them became the purpose of incarceration.

James, Cam, Sarah, and Michael had all only learnt to play whilst serving a

sentence inside different prison establishments, whilst Jeff, Maya, and Martin

had identified as musicians before entering prison. For those who considered

themselves non-musicians, prison offered them an opportunity they had not

found outside of prison, to learn to play a musical instrument and to incorporate

'musician' into their identity. For those who arrived at prison already possessing

musical abilities, they found time to increase these, learning new instruments,

joining with other musicians as they had not before, and writing albums they

had wanted to write for years.

For Martin, the point of playing music was not to enact a change in identity or

survive carcerality, the narrative was very much turned around. An all too

familiar story for many part time musicians is the struggle to practise as the

stress and workload of day-to-day life besieges free time and opportunities for

humanising activities (in this sense, the tightness of material restrictions binds

us all). Giving credence to strain theory (Merton, 1938), life without the ability,

time, or resources to music was lived before entering prison. For some of my

interviewees, one of the few ways that prisons could be seen as less restrictive

than life outside is that the opportunities to music and engage with music-

making's affective qualities appeared more abundant in prison than they had

been beforehand.

> You have to understand that right at the end [of my sentence], or
> probably midway through, that was my life, and it was the best it had
> been for a long time, so I didn't want to let that go. I had my friends
> around me, I had music and I had my own routine which I didn't really
> have [before]. So those are the good bits, so when I get out, I want to

hang on to the good bits. Do you know what I mean? So, I try and keep that going as much as I can. (Michael Smith, 2022)

The sentiment found here that a time in prison may well have been the best part of their life (up until release) is a sentiment often echoed. As Martin had once told me during a post-release music-making session, he at times enjoyed these sessions because he felt like he was back inside. This idea has sometimes been misconstrued as prisons being like holiday camps as Gareth mentioned in chapter six. As I shall discuss below, this speaks more of the injustices resulting from labelling, extra-carceral pains, and the oppressions of poverty and neo-liberalism felt by those who end up (back) in prison. In short, if life is easier in prison than once released then this does not mean that prison is too easy, but that life outside of prison is too difficult. I challenged Cam directly on this by discussing the heaviness of life experience in and out of prison, to which he answered:

> I think it's a different weight. The weight of inside is a [pauses for thought] is a constant weight, I think. It's like, the constant pressure of the place and the situation you're in and it doesn't change on a day-to-day basis. It's just there, and you have to try and deal with it. I think the weight on the outside is constantly changing, it's in different places every day. So, I think it's a different – it comes from a different source and feels different. I think, you know, I might be an outsider in saying this, but I think I've - maybe to do with the amount of time that I had to deal with it - is that I think I learnt to deal with the weight of prison fairly effectively. I think the last few years of my sentence were relatively easy compared to my life outside in the world now. (Cam, 2022)

Cam's last few years spent in a category D prison presented him with a large amount of freedom to music. He spoke of the time he spent during the week, between CT sessions, teaching one-to-one sessions with other residents in order to get them ready for the next practice or performance. By the time he was released, he was already a proficient music facilitator and spent much of his time building relationships and working with other residents. The tightness of

carcerality had been somewhat loosened through the music-making community

he had created in prison. The purpose of incarceration for both Martin and Cam

was transformed from punishment or correction, into an opportunity to music.

Michael, too, mentioned that his sentence had served its purpose post-

breakdown and he spent the remaining time looking for a new purpose for

prison. He found education, a therapeutic community wing, and music.

Similarly, Jeff discovered time that he hadn't previously had to write an album

that was many years in the making.

> …I used to write songs and I used to play instruments and went into prison – but I hadn't done that for a long time. So, going into prison there was no work, there's no businesses, so, 'Oh great, I can go back to that'. Because business stifles creativity in lots of ways because you know, if you've got to worry about getting stuff out for clients and tax returns and, 'have we got enough money in the bank' and dur, dur, dur. It's not conducive to writing another song at those times. (Jeff Randle, 2022)

Away from the monotony and stresses of life, Jeff found a chance to be creative

that he hadn't had since he was younger. Born's (2011) fourth plane restrictions

are at play here, as the static weight of incarceration (as described by Cam)

appears less restrictive towards musicking than the constantly shifting weight of

the neo-liberal and material pressures described by Jeff.

Musicking's capacity to transform space is seen best in this complete role

reversal and perspective change. Instead of being oppressive, prison became a

college. Instead of being restrictive, it provided meaningful and authentically

chosen opportunities. As music-making produces no clear statistical link to

recidivism, it cannot be confidently asserted that it is a tool for rehabilitation or

desistance, but what the interviewees have demonstrated are ways in which

prison was made different through the temporary asylums or escapism found in

musically created affective atmospheres, the affective abolition of carceral pains and a change in the purpose of incarceration.

To explore the lasting effects of these affective changes further, comparisons need to be drawn between music-making inside prison and music-making outside prison. How does music-making in these environments change? Are the purposes of music-making different? Does life once released continue to be about music, or does the focus revert to the material realities that previously restricted music-making? Are the affective powers of musicking something that ex-prison residents are able to access and for which they still find purpose?

The Purpose of Music-making in Extra-carceral Environments

As James mentioned previously, prison gave him a chance to rest his body from alcohol and was also his first chance to learn a musical instrument. These were two of the ways James managed to turn prison into an opportunity and a positive time for him. The restrictions (or tightness) imposed by a lack of opportunity, funding, or time outside of prison were lessened (or loosened) in an environment where one would assume restrictions were greater in all ways. Two key points to be reminded of at this stage are firstly that those with the least opportunities are often incarcerated more (Webster and Kingston, 2014, Wacquant, 2009) and, secondly, that for those interviewed, carceral pains appear to exist in many ways beyond the prison walls. When asked if he felt free since being released, Cam summarised very succinctly:

> Oh God. I mean. That is a massively deep question really. I suppose at times I feel free. I know that I'm free from prison. I think I feel restricted by my licence, generally. But I think that just, personally, from my own thinking, it is hard for me to consider anybody to be considered free. (Cam, 2022)

If freedom were to be measured in free time spent music-making, prison for Sarah would appear preferable to life outside. She had attended weekly music-making sessions whilst in prison, but was now only participating in one-to-one sessions, once every six weeks.

> I just think because of where I am, there is a bit of a distance and I know [CT MiR] and I have talked about it, but meeting once every six weeks is quite hard because originally it was once a month. Six weeks can be quite a long time. But obviously time and finances make it difficult. (Sarah Jane, 2022)

Martin struggled with the pressures of life outside and only sporadically played:

> 'Martin Clark: I still don't pick up a guitar very often but in there it was a great opportunity to do something and get your mind into something because there was nothing else to do, no distractions.
>
> David Lindsay: So why do you not play it as much now you're out?
>
> Martin Clark: I suppose, just too distracted and too stressed, I guess, about things… I find if I'm drinking or doing other stuff, the music really goes out the window totally.' (Martin Clarke, 2021)

All participants that I interviewed admitted to music-making far less frequently since being released. Whilst they all agreed that life once released was easier and being out of prison was 'better' than being inside, it was a common belief that there were times, relationships, and aspects of prison life that were more desirable than life outside. Whilst music-making may well have given prison a purpose, it did not fulfil the same function outside as it became swallowed up by life just as it had been before prison.

The reasons for this view were described with great similarity. Spare time, space, and a community to play with were common factors. Jeff was able to record an album once released and even enrolled in an education establishment, working towards an undergraduate degree in music but then he gained employment that forced him to cease these activities. As with many

people, he didn't start to write songs again until the national lockdowns enforced by the COVID-19 pandemic. James found that his apartment (provided by probation) was situated next to families who would put their children to bed at 8pm. By the time he had finished work as a labourer, showered and eaten, he was both too tired and it was too late to be able to play on his instruments. Cam musicked all day with his job (just as he had in prison) but was unable to steal time away from family life in a small apartment to write, record, or practise his own songs. The stigma surrounding Maya's reported crime and the current political discourse over transgender rights had left her agoraphobic and unable to leave the house. She attempted to continue to music through the use of technology but struggled without a community with which to play and found the online bigotry towards transgender women too difficult to overcome. Michael explained that his electronic drum kit had to be packed away because the only space he had for it was in the living room and the children would likely break it.

Here, fourth plane restrictions weigh heavy and restrict interviewees' ability to music. Any music-making through practice or performance was bound by material restrictions. The potential for life's purpose to be about music-making (or creativity in general) disappeared, and the extra-musical affective powers of musicking had gone too. Whilst music-making could redecorate prison and reimagine its carcerality, these affordances were taken away once released. Many of the participants still had the instruments they bought whilst in prison or were given by CT once released, yet without the time or space to play, they were left dormant.

Bell argues that a neo-liberal purpose for imprisonment is its being a source of cheap labour (Bell, 2013). Whilst in the U.S.A. prison labour has been described as a direct replacement of slavery (Alexander and West, 2012), in the U.K. the

constant flow of people in and out of prison produces labourers with little bargaining power over their wage, work hours, or vocation choice. The ex-prison residents that I interviewed demonstrated this in very real terms as Jeff, who is highly educated and had previously been a high earner, became a delivery driver in a Cat D prison, stuffed turkeys during the Christmas period and provided holiday club activities for children at various holiday camps around the country once released. Many of these jobs involved long hours and time on the road, something that as he neared retirement age took a strong and lasting physical toll, whilst none of them were as lucrative as his previous occupations. Similarly, Martin had gained employment through probation, working long and unsociable hours on the docks near his parents' house. He felt unable to leave the job as it was obtained through probation and whilst still on licence, believed he should fulfil the activities or work they had prescribed. Later, he cleaned static caravans for £10 per caravan, only to find that each caravan took two hours to clean, earning him less than the minimum wage at the time. When he attempted to clean them in an hour and a half, he was fired for the poor quality of his work.

The extra-carceral pains of weight and tightness seen here are imposed by the probation service's prescription of activities, by licence restrictions, and by criminal record labelling. It becomes clear here why David Jones (CT CEO) wished to advocate for ex-prisoner residents with his first example being the 'ban the box' campaign[79]. The financial pressures (weight) and the employment restrictions (tightness) then produce the carceral pain of depth, invading ex-prisoners' supposed freedom, stripping them of energy, time, resources, and most relevantly for this thesis, musicking. In short, as useful as the extra-

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[79] Further information on this campaign can be found here: https://unlock.org.uk/project/ban-the-box/

musical properties of music-making were on the inside, they are more difficult to access on the outside. Similarly, as music-making is rarely a profitable vocation, the opportunity for the purpose of life to be to music (as prison became) was greatly diminished and bound by fourth plane economic restrictions.

Post-release Musically Created Social Relations

Due to prison regulations, licence restrictions, geography, time of release, or preference, very few relationships formed within prison were continued post-release. In terms of ex-resident to ex-resident relationship, probation often restricts those labelled as 'criminal' or 'ex-offender' from conversing with others of the same label. A form of self-regulation occurs as well, as the friendships with those still seen to be exhibiting behaviours perceived as undesirable or criminal are often cast aside.

> 'David Lindsay: Who was the guy who was really angry all the time? Bald guy? He was on your wing.
>
> Michael Smith: [Name removed]. I did speak to him for a while, but he went back inside. I learnt quite early on that he hadn't changed. He was just doing the same thing and I couldn't risk having that stuff around me. That type of mindset and drugs and stuff like that. I couldn't have it around me because I knew where it would lead to.' (Michael Smith Interview)
>
> There were a couple of people that I kind of, I suppose, I made friends with. And if I saw them around the prison or – I got a job in the library and if I saw them in the library then we would talk but not people that I made friends with for life. (Michael Smith, 2022)

A few of the participants I interviewed had formed friendships with people that lasted beyond their musicking sessions, however only two suggested they had successfully continued this relationship once released. More commonly people wished to be distanced from the prison, prison residents, and the prison 'mindset'. Sarah suggested that, during music-making sessions, the group had

discussed '…some very famous prisoners in there and they had formed their opinion and judged them and were not very nice about them', and that '…they were wanting to go and follow to beat her up and I was saying no, that's not me, I'm not going to get involved with that' (Sarah Jane, 2022), after which she decided to 'keep herself to herself'. The above quotations demonstrate an often-overlooked aspect of musical relationship building: just because musicking can assist in forming relationships, it does not guarantee that those relationships will be positive (Cohen, 2000).

James shed further light on the issues of negative musically formed relationships when he talked about the busking scene of which he became a part between sentences. He had learnt to shake off some of the material issues that caused him to regularly return to prison (he had primarily been serving short sentences for shoplifting for food whilst homeless) by earning money through busking. This enabled him to travel, explore the country and manage his PTSD away from family members whom he feared he could potentially hurt. However, with the busking scene came busking musicians, a drinking culture and an instability that led to further re-offending.

> I don't really go busking and that anymore because busking was, for me, I used to do it at a time where I was feeding a habit, do you know what I mean? I was so – busking for me was always related for me with going hand in hand with getting pissed and that, you know what I mean? And it's not the life I want to lead anymore.
>
> I've been out a few times when I've needed to make some quick money. I used to fuck work off and everything and I used to think, why would I work here when I could make a reasonable amount of money and have fun doing it. But it was more about the drink culture I was in, that I was more relating to then, than the music. I wasn't doing it for the music, I was doing it to get pissed up. (James Sutherland, 2022)

The ideal of music's innate 'goodness' persists in this quote, as the negative effects of musicking are attributed to drinking, rather than playing and

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performing and the communities that it creates. A growing literature, however, emphasises negative aspects of music that inhere in certain musical cultures or applications (the use of music in torture or aggressive military activity for example), and the tendency for music-making in certain genres to be accompanied by drinking and/or drug taking can perhaps be considered a further dimension of its 'dark side', especially for ex prison residents (Johnson and Cloonan, 2008, Goodman, 2010, Cusick, 2013). It is important not to draw the conclusion that it is the 'right' kind or 'correct genres' of music that are needed to improve the situation for people like James, as though behaviours will be defined by styles and a person's proficiency in them. It must instead be understood (again following Born's planes), that music-making unfolds within a complex web of material considerations, social structures, relationships and affects. It would be easy to assume that music-making would carry an affective power that allows people to overcome all obstacles in life, thus challenging and changing the negative behaviours of the 'criminal class'. In practice, this is a rehabilitative perspective on music-making for incarcerated people and fails to address the affective and material powers of strains, labels, poverty, and neo-liberal penality. So, the question remains, how can musicking post-release assist ex-prison residents?

Post-release Musicking's Mechanics of Re-labelling

Engagement with music-making has the potential to improve the labels which probation workers have placed upon ex-prison residents. This is one way in which music-making appears to assist participants post-release. One CT participant with whom I worked closely for a long time was open with me about the criminal activities in which he was involved during and after incarceration. Yet his relationship with probation flourished as he revealed the details of his

musical activities and the commitment which he showed to practice and group sessions, despite his continuing alcohol and drug addiction. The perception held by those with power over his status of incarceration was greatly changed. It is likely that the structure and purpose that musicking gave him subdued the downward spiral that drugs and alcohol had induced before he was originally convicted and sent to prison (a hypothesis supported by the dire consequences that the COVID-19 lockdowns and subsequent cancelation of all group musicking activities had on his addictions and health, resulting in further convictions). But whether or not the act of musicking played a key role in the years he spent free from prison, the perceived well-being and pro-social behaviour of someone now labelled as 'musician' rather than (or at least alongside) 'criminal', had a hugely positive effect on his status of incarceration.

James however, managed to fall into a musical community that encouraged and increased his drinking habits, though he has since found other musical communities with a more positive influence on his personal struggles. For him, imagined communities formed through music-making therefore became an extra-musical tool for joining new social groups.

> …even when you go to a gig and you're playing music and people are happy and they're smiling, you're making someone's day, aren't you? It's the happiness that it brings not just me, but other people which is why I think I've committed to it so much. I try to live the best life that I can. I tried to help everyone they asked me, I always try to help anyone that reaches out….
>
> I don't get excessively drunk. You've still gotta keep a bit of a decent mind on you. I don't get excessively drunk; I might have two or three beers through the whole night. It's not really enough to affect you that much.
>
> If you have a gig at like 9 or 10 o clock and you turn up at 6 and sit there drinking all evening until your gig and drink through your gig, it doesn't work, does it? (James Sutherland, 2022)

The connection to other people that music brings is what James continually

seeks (Born's first plane). Whilst still playing gigs in pubs and surrounded by a

culture of alcohol, he has found a way to manage it through music-making –

focusing first on the quality of performance and the happiness it brings others.

Whether or not this is a successful means of management long-term remains to

be seen, but what can be said is that he is searching for a way to manage an

alcohol dependency and his struggles with PTSD through connection with other

people and musicking. In the same way that Johann Hari theorised connection

as the antonym of addiction Hari (2015), music-making would appear to be an

appropriate vehicle and metaphor for recovery.

The difficulty regarding fourth plane or material restrictions to music-making for

ex-prison residents remains an obstacle for those wishing to access music-

making's extra-musical benefits, however Michael presented a simple and

elegant solution that should challenge the way sessions are implemented by

prison-based music-making organisations. Put simply, he learnt to music

without performance. Having engaged with musical instruments for the first time

whilst in prison, Michael said that it helped change his perspective and

understanding of how he listened to music, why he listened to music, and the

variety of music to which he listened. He demonstrated the variety of music that

he selected and explained how he used that route to music's affective powers to

'uncoil' and manage his anger. Being able to music without musical instruments

or other musicians would seem to be a key skill for those with material

restrictions and a reliance on music's extra-musical benefits.

Musicking alone without contact with other musicians or a division of musical

labour may seem to be bypassing Born's first plane as it would not create new

social relationships as suggested in this framework. However, in the second

plane, musically created imagined communities are welcoming for musicians and non-musicians alike. Beyond imagined communities based around genres or styles of music, the perceived identity and imagined community of 'musicians' has fulfilled the role of creating 'diverse social relations' for Michael in this example:

> Music has definitely helped me in making more friends. Like the other night I went out to a do that wasn't really anything to do with me, I was just there as support for a friend because he knew a few people there, he didn't know a lot. There was a band setting up in [names pub]. I wasn't really talking to anybody because I didn't know anyone, so I went down and started talking to the band, particularly the drummer. What intrigued me was he had a pair of white kid gloves on, and he was really particular about it and he was polishing them as he put them on and screwing them down and stuff and I was like, I'd never seen that before. So, I went and made friends with him. I tend to gravitate more to musically minded people. I'd never had that before. It's like a talking point or I know I've got something in common with that person because it's what I like. (Michael Smith, 2022)

For both Michael and James, the wider community of which they feel a part, and to which they feel they can contribute, has been one of the greatest extra-musical gifts they have received from musicking. At the same time, as suggested by the previous chapter, it is important to think not only of how the extra-musical aspects of musicking affect (ex-)prison residents, but also to consider how they are affecting the imagined communities and social groups that they join. Musical relationships and affects travel in all directions, and so influence both the participants and the wider communities with which they engage. Considering the broader community impacts of the musicking of ex-prison residents represents a promising area of future research because it promises to grant us a fuller understanding of the variety of impacts which prison-based music-making can generate.

Conclusion

The role of music-making for (ex-)prison residents as demonstrated by those I interviewed became the inverse of what I would have predicted when I started this research. Instead of examining the role of music-making in changing the lives of ex-prison residents, questioning the role prison plays in the purpose of musicking has become central to understanding music-making's role in carceral circumstances. The ways in which prison was changed by music-making were foregrounded in this reframing. Music-making could redecorate carceral space, reduce or remove carceral pains, and even rematerialize prison's entire identity and purpose.

The carceral pain of 'tightness', in particular, was deconstructed through musicking, as more doors and opportunities were created, resulting in a feeling of greater freedom whilst still incarcerated. Music-making was used to release tension and rehumanise. Whilst music-making may be framed as a tool for docility and prescription of behaviour in prison, it can also foster agency that opens a different path towards desistance than prescribed forms of rehabilitation.

Post-release the story of music became quite different. A lack of material support 'through the gate' rendered many extra-musical tools and abilities useless in a world without time, resources, or space to music when needed. The constantly shifting weight and tightness felt outside of prison were more difficult to manage affectively as key resources were not readily available. For many it seemed that elements of life inside prison were better than once they were released. Whilst they rarely voiced a desire to return to prison, a longing for time and opportunities that they once had was definitely present.

Ex-prison residents were often unable to form lasting relationships with other formerly incarcerated people as musically created social relations rarely managed to break through the stigma of criminal labelling or the fear of criminogenic influence. Often left to rebuild their lives away from friendships and influences formed before or in prison, some ex-prison residents found musically created imagined communities were the best tool available to attempt social connection in a positive way. Here, then, musicking has the potential to draw those labelled as criminals into new social groups, showing part of the process by which some of those who continue to work with CT post-release have succeeded in desisting from crime. However, at this juncture, the ideal of creating a more substantial desistance based social movement with music as a catalyst seems little more than a fantasy, as its participants are unlikely to be well-placed to resist the neo-liberal penalities that so significantly oppress them.

Conclusion

Before the creation of the cartography in chapter four, the scope of music-making availability within prisons in England and Wales was unknown. The majority of work surrounding prison-based music-making had focused on its relationship to secondary desistance and prison resident wellbeing. The existing research based on prisons in England and Wales lacked critical analysis as it mainly consisted of evaluations of interventions which aimed to increase funding or provision. It had not yet examined prison-based music-making with any real nuance, considering how music making might even be detrimental to wellbeing, unsuccessful at reducing re-offending rates, increasing of the docility of participants and assisting of the aims of neo-liberal penalities.

When I posed the title of 'Investigating the role of music-making in prisons in England and Wales', I wanted to present a more critical view, challenging music's perceived benevolence. My experience within prisons had made me believe that, as a facilitator, I was unable to solve many of the wellbeing issues I came across and that any relationship music-making had to desistance (be it secondary or primary desistance) was unconvincing at best. To interrogate the prison-based music-making scene in England and Wales, I posed five main questions:

1) What is available where?
2) What are the aims of prison-based music-making organisations?
3) How is prison-based music-making realised?
4) What is the influence of prisons on the facilitators?
5) How are the participants experiencing the technologies of music?

As a preliminary to answering these questions, I set out to characterise carcerality and its relationship to neo-liberal power structures through existing scholarship on prisons, which allowed me to question the status of rehabilitation as the guiding force behind decision making in regard to prison-based music-

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making activities. I also set out a theoretical framework of carceral pains as affective pains, allowing me to examine the way in which the affective properties of musicking and the affective pains of imprisonment interact. By situating this investigation into affectivity in relation to Born's (2011) four planes, I then had a coherent conceptual framework through which to begin to answer the questions presented above.

The investigation has been broad, interrogating areas of prison policy and the aims of music-making organisations, the effects of these influences on genre and delivery style, the facilitators' fulfilment (or lack thereof) of rehabilitative aims, the facilitators' experience of carcerality, and the resulting experience of participants. This conclusion therefore returns to the original five questions, summarising the findings of each line of investigation, before looking at the practical and theoretical outcomes of this thesis.

What is Available Where?

The process of creating a prison music cartography proved challenging. The seemingly simple question of, 'what is happening where?' in terms of prison music is complicated by their autonomous nature and the systemic atomising of their populations (Foucault, 1977). Even when contacted directly, many prisons would either fail to give an answer or be unsure as to whether they were able to divulge the information I requested. As the risk for prison staff of penalisation for providing information without prior permission will always outweigh any potential gains, it is unsurprising that obtaining this information was difficult.

Whilst direct contact with the 118 establishments proved largely unsuccessful, the searches through the clinks.org website, my freedom of information request regarding education courses, and IMB and inspectorate reports suggested that

music-making sessions were prevalent in almost all prisons. However, when I presented this data to Sara Lee from ITT she was keen to correct the difference between historical short-term music provisions and the regular, still ongoing, weekly music-making. It appeared that the majority of traceable music-making sessions were being run by third party organisations, of which almost all held charitable status, and were only able to provide short sessions for five or six days a year. Whilst some were providing weekly sessions, this was in the minority of prisons with most having historically had some music-making provision, but with nothing planned for the future.

By limiting the scope of the cartography to organised music-making sessions and interviewing representatives from many of them, I was able to gain an insight into what is happening where with regard to music in prisons in England and Wales. Whilst only a snapshot of what was available prior to the COVID-19 lockdowns, this cartography proved invaluable when analysing the various influencing factors surrounding and prescribing the ways in which prison-based music-making is realised (question three). The obstacles of prison autonomy, funding, space, staff, and (lack of) statistical evidence of primary desistance were some of the key barriers the organisations were looking to overcome.

Prior to the push for 'payment by results' and the increased focus on English and Maths provision by prison policy makers, music-making was provided primarily by education departments. During this time, Sara Lee suggests that art and music had a more prominent place within prisons in England and Wales. Following this change music-making provision has become what I describe as a disjointed motif, not consistent and hence not supportive in terms of its availability.

The spread and reach of individual music-making organisations seemed dependant on funders and gatekeepers who had influence over not only where sessions could be provided, but which sort and by whom. At the time of investigation, the prison system was rolling out a dynamic procurement system (DPS) and this change was met with scepticism by many of the interviewees. David Jones from CT, however, had experience of DPS in other lines of work and was keen to make it work well for them. As an employee of CT, I have been told that the prison contribution to funding has been increased since the roll out of the DPS, however I remain sceptical as to how this will influence and change provision over time. With DPS funding comes contractual obligations that prison-based music-making organisations must fulfil. Future research into the effects of these contractual obligations on the delivery styles and further restrictions of participants is necessary, and will give insight both into how different funding models influence music-making provision, and which funding model might best suit appropriate and reliable music-making activities for prison residents.

What are the Aims of Prison-based Music-making Organisations?

The cartography highlighted the importance of gatekeepers and funders in relation to the availability of prison-based music-making. These elements also affected the style of delivery and aims of the organisations. In general, there appears to be an internalisation of the medical and opportunity model of rehabilitative interventions that has affected the genres and the setup of the music-making sessions. I was originally struck by the number of choirs that had formed within prisons and the lack of focus on rap, grime, and drill music. Although the lyrics of drill music have been used as evidence in the conviction of some prison residents (*Drill and rap music on trial*, 2021) it was nonetheless

surprising to me that so few organisations had a focus on this genre (of the organisations I was able to interview, only FR who focused primarily on youth offending institutions, produce rap music as their predominant style). My original suspicion was that this was due to technological restrictions and limitations on recording equipment in prison. However, almost all organisations produced recordings from inside the prison and were often able to involve participants in this recording process. More prevalent were references to censorship and a concern with quality of musicianship. It is therefore my conclusion that the process of navigating gatekeepers and searching for funding has shaped the providers of prison-based music-making and led them to internalise the medical and opportunity models of imprisonment with an aim to 'correct behaviour' through 'correct' musical genres. I have shown that the process of determining which music is 'correct' is inflected with colonial, ageist, and racist prejudices (or an intersection of the three). However, relationships formed between prison residents and MiRs, and the involvement of ex prison residents in the organisations which provide opportunities for prison-based music-making are in turn beginning to affect the aims and genre choices of those organisations. All organisations seemed eager to include the voices of experts by experience as facilitators or trustees and were open about their belief that they didn't know what was best for their participants. They were well intentioned in their efforts to help participants by providing the basic tools for music-making, and it was rare that their activities had been critically challenged in the past.

Stringent prison security measures and the belief that people in prison in some way need their lives corrected, act as fourth plane restrictions in relation to genre, style of delivery, and freedom from censorship, whilst a focus on the therapeutic value of music remains key. Greater dissemination of Maruna's

(2017) theory of desistance as a social movement will be required in order to shift the responsibility of change from the individual participant and onto the social and systemic structures that require, create, and exploit a delinquent underclass. I believe the omnidirectional affects of music-making have begun this change already, as rather than the participants being corrected by the music-making, the organisations are showing signs of being more participant led and directed towards advocacy.

How is Prison-based Music-making Realised?

The previous question highlighted the gatekeeper role in influencing prison-based music-making organisations' need to justify their work through the rehabilitative language of the medical and opportunity models. Yet the relationships formed between the organisations and their participants appears to be redirecting their aims. For the MiRs, regularly forming relationships with their participants seems to have greatly influenced the way their sessions are realised. As MiR Matt suggested that he didn't even consider how each session would rehabilitate his participants, music-making was realised in terms of what would create lives of meaning and purpose, rather than what might fix or change their participants.

The CT MiRs I interviewed looked to provide for their participants that which was not provided by the prison itself; a humanising practice that allowed participants to develop their own meaning and purpose within the sessions. One of the key components for this was continuity. Being dependable and providing a regular music-making space was high on the list of priorities for CT MiRs. This was echoed as well by Sara Lee who suggested that ITT had been directed by their participants to employ MiRs of their own and start through the gate support

through their Sounding Out project (although she also described ways in which short intensive courses were also beneficial).

Being led by the participants is a rehumanising practice that appears to have not only directed the aims of the organisations, but also the practice of the music-making sessions. MiRs looked to realise their sessions in the form of facilitation rather than instruction and attempted to allow musical expression to triumph over proficiency. Therefore, the aim of prison-based music-making no longer became to teach, bank knowledge (Freire, 1970), or prescribe ideal behaviours, but to chase after affective atmospheres, often described as 'vibes', 'moments', and 'feel'.

These affective atmospheres seemed to create a liminal space that the MiRs and participants navigated together. The change created through this liminal space has previously only been examined in terms of its relation to primary or secondary desistance (asking if prison-based music-making may result in a reduction of reoffending). Yet the omnidirectional nature of affect showed that MiRs, prison-based music-making organisations, and even the prison space itself, have been changed by this affective atmosphere. This leads me to believe that what may have started as an attempt to nudge participants behaviour into 'correct' patterns through music-making has resulted in all parties being as affected as they have been affective.

What is the influence of prisons on the facilitators?

The MiRs experience of carceral pains was far greater than I had expected. As an MiR myself, before interviewing other MiRs, I was unaware of how much I had experienced the carceral pains of weight and tightness. What Fran referred to as 'The Grip', other MiRs called 'dark clouds', 'heaviness', and 'anxiety' in

relation to their emotions entering or leaving prison. I found that on reflection this mirrored my own experience. The consensus among MiRs was that during the sessions these feelings would subside. It is important to note that the carceral pain of 'depth' was not described by MiRs, as their ability to leave and not have their life wholly directed by the prison, ceased the psychological invasiveness that this pain describes.

During the sessions, MiRs suggested they were able to physically see the weight being lifted off their participants' shoulders, whilst simultaneously feeling relief that the music-making had started and their own experience of the carceral pains of weight and tightness were being lifted and released. With the kinship formed through shared experience of managing carceral pains with music-making, MiRs and participants formed bonds that threatened the tight security restrictions to which both must abide. Suggestions that they were 'friendly but not friends' or would have participants around their house but knew that they were not permitted, showed a constant friction between the carceral tightness they experienced and the musically formed relationships they had built.

The weight felt by MiRs was in part also created by the confusion of being drawn into close relationship with people that had previously done 'abhorrent' things. Of course, the perpetrators of a crime have often been victims at some point in their life, and the participants of CT sessions can also be understood as victims of the carceral system. With no clear binary being drawn between the labels of either criminal or victim, the MiRs had to navigate complex emotions regarding the relationships they were forming. Musicking (either during music-making sessions or through self-regulating moods through listening practices) is

a tool that MiRs use to reset and reframe after or during their time facilitating sessions in a prison.

The genesis of affective abolitions came through the addressing of questions three and four (how is prison-based music-making realised and what is the influence of prison on the facilitators?). The MiRs lack of interest in the aim of rehabilitation, their desire to create affective atmospheres that led participants to feel as though 'they were no longer in prison' during their sessions, and their use of these atmospheres to release or temporarily remove the carceral pains, suggests to me that prison-based music-making's most effective use is in its abolition of the affective properties that define carceral space. The relationships and communities created through music-making with participants (Born's first and second planes) coupled with their joint experience of carcerality, leads me to believe that the aims of seeking affective atmospheres over rehabilitative practices is a result of being both participant led and drawn to the same needs through experiencing similar pains.

How are the Participants Experiencing the Technologies of Music?

The experience of the participants provided the strongest evidence for the use of the technologies of music for the affective abolition of prison and carceral logics. Whilst they often talked about prison being for punishment and that this may be important for the victims of their crimes, they also discussed punishment's lack of purpose for their own wellbeing, potential change, and desistance from crime. Music, by contrast, formed a release from carceral pains to an extent that it began to change the very fabric of the carceral.

Just as Ginny Dougherty had suggested LC sessions changed Wandsworth into a 'singing prison', so Martin spoke of using music to turn prison into a college.

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The participants sought out ways to dismantle the carceral logic of punishment (the idea that it would help set them on the path to desistance from crime) and instead discussed ways in which avenues of life that weren't available to them outside of prison were presented to them inside. Being able to join a band as part of a CT session, to work regularly with other musicians, and to be removed from drink and drug culture that had surrounded them outside of prison[80], were key factors in being able to turn incarceration into a positive experience.

Whilst incarcerated, many people feel as though their meaning and purpose in life has been taken away. Being removed from their families, work, and hobbies is generally considered to have a detrimental effect and is part of the dehumanising process of incarceration. But the rehumanising effect of music-making is seen in my research, for prison resident musicians and potential musicians, as a prior or new purpose to be (re)discovered.

However, an important balance must be struck here between dismantling carceral pains and simply making them more bearable. I would argue that an affective abolition must also be understood as an argument for corporal abolition and policy change to the purpose, use, and practice of incarceration. It has been all too easy for prison musicking organisations to fall into the medical-opportunity model of carceral oppression and view its participants as sick patients who can be cured through opportunities such as musicking. Instead, those organisations should use musicking to advocate for, and raise the voices of, participants, moving towards a re-imagining of carceral possibilities and indeed questioning the very necessity of incarceration.

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[80] Whilst it would be foolish to believe that prisons do not contain alcohol and drugs, the interviewees often talked about detoxing whilst inside and that for them it was a removal from the habits and friendship groups outside of prison that made addictions easier to manage.

Already being guided by the participants, CT continues to look to increase their post-release work. The salience of this was demonstrated by the interviewees in chapter eight who struggled to use music-making in the same way once released. Most interestingly, Michael spoke of active listening to music (musicking without music-making) and gaining a deeper understanding of its inner workings being an important step towards accessing the same technologies of music outside of prison that he did inside. However, the struggles of life (often the same ones that led to their incarceration in the first place) were still intact once participants were released and indeed these struggles were increased by the extra-carcerality they were now experiencing. This meant that whilst the dismantling of extra-carceral logics through musicking may, for instance, improve elements of mental health and improve sense of purpose for participants, it did little to change the issues of money, housing, and the influence of family and friends. Musicking did, however, show some promise in relation to relabelling and shifting away from criminal identities, as well as assisting in the creation of new social groups (Born's first and second planes). It is here, in musicking's extra-musical socialising abilities, that I find hope that music may make an important contribution to a desistance based social movement.

Affective Abolition and beyond

The phrase 'for those two hours, it felt like I wasn't in prison' has been repeated to me and other MiRs to the point of cliché. It is often thought to be little more than the use of musicking for escapism – a temporary asylum from a total institution (Goffman, 1961). Yet the understanding of prisons as not-so-total institutions (Moran, 2014) and theorising Crewe's (2011) pains as affective pains has shown this cliché to be indicative of more than just escapism. As

MiRs and participants have both described the technologies of music as a release (from tightness) or a lifting of weight it seems clear that reducing this to escapism misses a vital point: one of the key ways in which musicking is helping people is in its partial abolition of carceral pains.

To see the importance of this distinction, one must move away from the aims of reformation of prisons and towards a desire for the abolition of prisons. To accept that the merit of prison-based music-making is found in its partial and temporary abolition of that which defines carceral space is to accept that abolition should be prison-based music-making's final goal. When starting my PhD, I would have referred to myself as a prison reformist, however, engagement with the concept of affective abolitions, the literature I encountered on abolition, the relationships I have formed with (ex)prison residents, and the information I have gathered through the interviews has altered my philosophy to that of a prison abolitionist. Through the later stages of this research I joined a group of prison-based music-making academics from around the world who have become known as the International Music & Justice Inquiry Network (IMAJIN). Their experience of researching and working with prison-based music organisations has led to the generation of a similar, shared aim of prison abolition (see Swanson and Cohen, Forthcoming, Mangaoang, 2021, Kallio, 2022 for examples of published work from members of this group whose writing questions carceral logics and the necessity of prison). It is therefore my hope that through dissemination of this concept and an increase in awareness of the prison resident experience, more people will also be convinced of the need for abolition.

Carceral Musicking's Social Movement

If musically formed relationships are able to refract 'hierarchical and stratified relations of class and age, race and ethnicity, gender and sexuality' (Born, 2011, p. 378) and criminal identity, then perhaps, music is a structure from which to build a desistance based social movement. However, I saw very little encouraging evidence of this in my empirical work. Whilst at first glance the MiRs struggle to maintain the 'friendly but not friends' boundary, the boundaries were still maintained, and none of them voiced a desire to abolish prisons or create a social movement. Furthermore, the participants I interviewed seldom stayed in contact with those with whom they were incarcerated, and they usually looked to disassociate themselves from their criminal labelling rather than embrace it in a collective. This has been cited as a potential reason for a low uptake in post-release work, as many participants saw CT as part of the prison experience and wished not to engage with it further.

The hope for musicking to play a part in a desistance based social movement was instead found in the way prison-based music-making charities were affected by other movements such as BLM, their desire to be involved in advocacy roles, and to be led by their participants. As Freire (1970) suggests that a pedagogy of the oppressed requires a teaching style where the students and teachers are on a flattened hierarchy, so group musicking activities work naturally to flatten that hierarchy and the omnidirectional affects have made it difficult for music-making sessions to fulfil the prison aim of directing and prescribing behaviour. The organisations have found it beneficial and enriching to create facilitating, leadership, and trustee roles for (ex)prison residents. When involved in an organisation as an expert by experience, the label of '(former) criminal' is redefined. If the negative connotations surrounding the

label can be altered and systemic reasons behind criminal behaviour and labelling become understood, then the stigma that obstructs the collectivising needed for a desistance based social movement could be overcome.

Prison-based music Collective and Dissemination

With the aims of growing a desistance based social movement and disseminating some of the empirical data uncovered in this thesis, I started a website called the Prison Music Collective (PMC) at www.prisonmusiccollective.org. The website includes links to important research on prison-based music-making, information on the main prison-based music-making providers, and the interactive google map of prison-music availability based on my research. It is my hope that this may become a resource that ultimately helps facilitate greater access for music-making organisations into prison.

There has already been some success as I was invited to contribute to a meeting between a group of prison-based music-making organisations who looked to strategize and increase their reach and provision. Organised primarily by BT, the meeting included representatives from ITT, CT, and FR. Their aim was to create cohesion between organisations and find areas where they could cooperate rather than compete (although they were keen to keep some elements of competition so not to homogenise and lose their individuality). Some of the key points on the meeting's agenda (see appendix D) were plans for getting music into every prison, showing the effectiveness of their work through evaluations, working together with funding bids and shared resources, creating a prison-music festival, and working together to re-enter the prisons after COVID-19 lockdown restrictions had ended.

The PMC website has already fulfilled one of its aims as I was contacted through it by a prison marked as having no music provision in my cartography as they were hoping to spend some left-over money in their budget on music sessions post-COVID-19 restrictions. I was able to pass the information to many of the organisations a few of which were already in discussions and negotiations with the prison. All were grateful to receive this information from me and pleased to hear that they were not the only organisation bidding for the opportunity as they were keen for the right group to form in the right prison in the right way.

I was also contacted by the founder of Red Tangent records (http://www.redtangentrecords.com), an ex-prison resident record label recently formed with funding for experts by experience. As the founder (who wishes to keep his crime and history separate from the label and therefore remains nameless in this thesis) was planning a launch party for Red Tangent, he wanted to invite representatives from all prison-based music charities to speak and showcase some of their artists. I directed him to the PMC website and he excitedly admitted that he was using his label, in part, to help realise the same aim of getting some sort of music-making sessions available in all prisons across England and Wales. He spoke of the stark difference in his carceral experience between prisons that did and did not have music-making sessions available.

At the record label launch I was invited to speak and present some of the findings of my research. This gave me an opportunity to disseminate the ideas of affective abolition and the power of collectivising (ex)prison residents to change society rather than only changing themselves. With representatives from different prison-based music-making organisations, ex-prison residents,

and audience members from all walks of life, I was able to challenge the narrative that it is only the participants that need to change, as I believe has been the main focus of current interventions. It is my hope that this message was heard and will start to affect the way in which organisations work and hopefully generate improved cooperation between them.

As Red Tangent records has signed artists such as The Wak Therapists who were formed during CT sessions and rapper Noble1BOF who works closely with ITT, the barriers between the organisations are again being broken down but this time by the participants themselves. We are seeing the development of a prison-based music scene. It is by growing and building on this prison-based music scene that I hope a soundtrack to a social movement towards desistance can be found and systemic change can happen.

The current role of music-making in prisons in England and Wales appears to me as a fragmented and misguided attempted at changing its participants on an individual level to fit the purposes of a neo-liberal penal system. Its potential role, however, is far greater. As the omnidirectional affects of musicking have directed pedagogical practices towards a less hierarchical structure, the participants and their experience has changed the role of prison-based music-making organisations from having an agenda of change, to one of advocacy. The affective dismantling of carcerality generates a desire for the physical dismantling of the same. Perhaps, with a utopian outlook, the affective dismantling of carceral pains can become the affective dismantling of neo-liberal penality and perhaps part of the demise of neo-liberalism itself.

Appendices

Appendix A

Mr David Lindsay
University of Exeter
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Rennes Drive
Exeter
EX4 4RJ

HM Prison and Probation Service
National Research Committee
Email: National.Research@NOMS.gsi.gov.uk

20th February 2018

NATIONAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE DECISION

Ref: 2018-039
Title: Reducing re-offending - a critical look into how Changing Tunes is successfully reducing reoffending rates

Dear Mr Lindsay

Further to your application to undertake research across HMPPS, the National Research Committee (NRC) has considered the information provided, alongside the requirements set out in the HMPPS research instruction (https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/her-majestys-prison-and-probation-service/about/research) and is unable to support your project at the present time.

- The Committee felt that the potential benefits to HMPPS (including how the findings could be operationalised) were insufficiently elaborated and did not justify the resource demands involved.
- The Committee noted that research and evaluations on group music therapy, or similar, with prisoners and offenders in the community could have been drawn upon to inform the current application. It was unclear how the proposed study built upon previous related research.
- The Committee felt that the research was over-ambitious in its scope. In particular, reference is made to ex-prisoners that Changing Tunes have worked with over the past 10 years to reduce the reoffending rate by 15% was not evidenced with an original publication and/or rigorous impact analysis to confirm this. Reference comes from one line on the Changing Tunes website, not a published report.
- It was insufficiently clear how the differing methods supplemented each other and how they linked to the research aims. In particular:
  - The aims listed conflate the aim of Changing Tunes with those of the evaluation. Objectives 1 and 4 are beyond the remit of the research and evaluation work described. The three remaining objectives are, in essence, a process evaluation of the reasons for taking up and continuing involvement in Changing Tunes.

- It was not clear how the following research questions could be assessed in a non-impact evaluation: 'How is Changing Tunes creating/encouraging a choice for (ex)prisoners to desist from crime?' 'Why do some Changing Tunes participants engage well and desist from crime whilst others do not?' And 'how can Changing Tunes improve upon their impact?' These are all beyond the methodology as currently described in the application. The evaluation cannot assign impact to findings or causal relationships, so reference to both should be removed.
  - How will offenders that return to prison after previously engaging in Changing Tunes be identified?

- The Committee would have liked more detail on the ethnographic approach using participant observation, focus groups, 'discussions' and interviews. It was not clear how reflexivity would be logged and acknowledged in the analysis?
- It was felt that some of the limitations of the research were not fully acknowledged:
  - Using own and other facilitators' current and ex-prisoners for interviews and discussions, but using other prisons for observations and focus groups - what are the main implications of this for the analysis and interpretation? How would the different environmental settings be taken in to account?
  - The potential conflict of interest (or dual role) of doing sessions for Changing Tunes and extracting data / conducting the observations for the research was not addressed.
  - It was not clear how research observations would be recorded during the facilitation of sessions?

- There were some uncertainties around the identification and sampling of offenders, including the need for any inclusion/exclusion criteria.
- There was a lack of information as to how the qualitative data would be analysed.
- It was unclear how the research data would be transported, stored and destroyed and whether the data security measures were sufficient. (Please note that any recordings should be treated as potentially disclosive).
- There was a lack of detail relating to informed consent, confidentiality issues and the disclosure of certain information obtained during the research.
- For the proposed observational element of the research, further information was required as to how those being observed would be made sufficiently aware of the research and the reasons for the researcher's presence.

We appreciate that this will be disappointing for you and that this is not the response you would have hoped for.

As set out in the HMPPS Research Applications Instruction (https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/her-majestys-prison-and-probation-service/about/research), consideration can be given to one resubmission. **Please contact the National Research Committee at national.research@noms.gsi.gov.uk indicating whether or not you intend to resubmit your application within 4 weeks of the date of this letter.**

Yours sincerely,

Dr Sima Sandhu
On behalf of the National Research Committee

HM Prison and Probation Service
National Research Committee
Email: National.Research@NOMS.gsi.gov.uk

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24 May 2018

NATIONAL RESEARCH COMMITTEE DECISION

Ref: 2018-145
Title: An investigation into what ways participation in music can affect prisoners' capacity for behavioural, emotional and narrative change, and aid their journey towards desistance from crime?

Dear Mr Lindsay,

Further to your application to undertake research across HMPPS, the National Research Committee (NRC) has considered the detailed information provided, alongside the requirements set out in the HMPPS research instruction (https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/her-majestys-prison-and-probation-service/about/research). Although the revised application has addressed some of the NRC concerns, the Committee is unable to support the application at the present time for the following reasons:

- The Committee felt that the research was still over-ambitious in scope.
- The focus and aims of the research were still unclear. References to desistance and recidivism were made but no information given on how they would be measured.
- The limitations of the study were not thoroughly explored and fully acknowledged. For example, how much of the accounts presented as autoethnographies represented real conversations/events as they happened, and how much were they just inventions of the researcher.
- Although the dual role was acknowledged, it was unclear how it would be mitigated by recording field notes retrospectively.
- The Committee questioned the necessity of including a survey, interviews, focus groups and observations. In particular, the rationale for conducting observations, focus groups and interviews was unclear. There were uncertainties about (i) how many observations would be done, (ii) why observations were conducted on the researcher's own sessions given issues with conflict of interest, (iii) what would be observed during the sessions and (iv) what themes/questions would be asked in the focus groups and interviews.
- It was not clarified how decisions would be made if more prisoners volunteered for the interviews than could be accommodated for.

- Data analysis for the different data sources was not adequately addressed. There was a lack of details on how the vast amount of data would be analysed and whether the different data sources would be combined into a single dataset and content analysed or thematically analysed.
- It was not sufficiently clear how reflexivity would be logged and acknowledged in the analysis.
- There was no reference to information being stored within a lockable cabinet at the researcher's home. Similarly, it was unclear if the information would be stored under the Data Protection Act 1998.
- It was difficult to follow some of the arguments as a result of the various jargons (e.g. 'liminality', 'agency in music', 'preconscious affective properties of music') and a lack of explanation for the terms or concepts used.

We appreciate that this will be disappointing for you and that this is not the response you would have hoped for.

Please be aware that this was your final submission for this research and the NRC decision is final.
The committee wishes you all the best in your future studies.

Yours sincerely,
Wendy Smith-Yau
(On behalf of the National Research Committee)

Appendix C

CLES – Geography
Geography
College of Life and Environmental Sciences
University of Exeter
Amory Building
Rennes Drive
Exeter
EX4 4RJ
Web: www.exeter.ac.uk

CLES – Geography Ethics Committee

Dear David Lindsay

Ethics application - eCLESGeo000070
An investigation into how inmates can manage the detrimental effects of prison via music interventions.

Your project has been reviewed by the CLES – Geography Ethics Committee and has received a Favourable opinion.

The Committee has made the following comments about your application:
Thank you very much for making these edits. The Geography Ethics Committee is now able to give this research a favourable opinion. We would like to wish you all the best in your work from here.

 - Please view your application at https://eethics.exeter.ac.uk/CLESGeo/ to see comments in full.

Favourable	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee. The application will be flagged as Closed in the system. To view it again, please select the tick box: View completed
Favourable, with conditions	The application has been granted ethical approval by the Committee under the provision of certain conditions. There is no need to resubmit this application, but you should note these conditions.
Provisional	You have not been granted ethical approval. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and re-submitted for Ethical review.
Unfavourable	You have not been granted ethical approval. The application has been rejected by the Committee. The application needs to be amended in light of the Committee's comments and resubmitted / or you need to complete a new application.

If you have any further queries, please contact your Ethics Officer.

Yours sincerely

Date: 08/11/2018
CLES – Geography Ethics Committee

Appendix D

Potential Harm	Mitigation of Harm
Personal data being lost or stolen revealing the identity of participants	**Physical security and transportation of data** • As the sole researcher I will be the only person with access to the Dictaphone that any information is recorded on. • The Dictaphone will not be left unattended any time it has potentially disclosive data on it. • All data will be transferred straight from the Dictaphone to an encrypted and password protected laptop provided by Exeter University as soon as is possible. • As there is a greater level of difficulty in gaining permission to bring a laptop into the prison (as opposed to just a Dictaphone), only the Dictaphone will be transported in and out of the prison. • The encrypted and password protected laptop will be kept at Exeter University. • On my journey back from the prison, I will immediately transfer the recordings to the secure laptop and delete data from the Dictaphone. • All data will be regularly and securely backed up to the universities secure server. **Security of computer systems and files** • The laptop is secured with an encryption pass number that must be entered before any data can be retrieved from the hard drive • The laptop is secured with a second password to access the user data. • Both myself and the IT department ensure that the laptop computer software is up-to-date • All files will be password protected and will have 'no access' privileges to anyone other than myself. • The entire hard drive on my laptop is encrypted • No personal data will be sent via email. • Upon completion of this research, the laptop hard-drive will be repeatedly overwritten in order to ensure complete destruction of data. (third party software such as AxCrypt or Erase will be used to ensure this is done correctly). • All recordings will be transcribed within a week of recording and deleted once transcribed. • All transcriptions will be done by myself. • The transcriptions will be backed up and password protected on Exeter University's secure server.

	Nature of data collected • Only personal data necessary to this project will be collected. • Excessive data, especially that which is of a sensitive nature pertaining to the individual being interviewed, their family members or their victims will be omitted from the transcription and/or erased immediately from the digital recorder. • All research materials (consent forms, information sheets, transcriptions, recordings and field notes) will be stored and processed in accordance with the rights of data subjects under the Data Protection Act and the General Data Protection Regulation. • The personal data being collected will consist of prisoner's names and the location of the prison in which they are incarcerated. This information will be anonymised through the transcription process by use of pseudonym. Any further details will not be collected. • Personal data shall only be kept as long as is needed for the completion of this project. Once completed, the data will be deleted from all locations.
Dual rule of facilitator/researcher	All observations will be recorded with the autoethnographic findings after each session. This is to mitigate the effects of observing on the research findings and to reduce any issues that may rise from the dual role of being a research and a service provider. By notetaking and recording data retrospectively these actions will not interfere with the facilitating of the music session. Any prisoners who wish to attend music sessions but wish not to be involved in the research will be allowed to continue participation in the sessions and will have none of their actions recorded as part of my observations. They will also be able to attend a separate session run by CT on a Thursday by a different CT facilitator if they would prefer.
Misrepresentation of inmate experience	In all research there is a chance that those participating in it may feel misrepresented by the researcher. This is more of a potential harm in a prison setting as it may serve to increase the dehumanising experience of prison. I will mitigate this harm with the addition of focus groups and interviews allowing a strong element of participatory praxis, allowing the inmates to direct the research and have more control over the final outcome. Additionally, any inmate can withdraw their contributions at any point by contacting myself or CT and be identified by their pseudonym.
Sensitive subjects being brought up resulting in emotional (potentially dangerous and violent) responses.	If sensitive subjects or emotional discussions cause participants to feel uncomfortable or angry during discussions and focus groups, they will be ended quickly and sensitively. This is not an unusual circumstance for a CT facilitator to find themselves in and I am well practiced at defusing potential conflicts. Additionally, prisoners identified as likely to pose a risk to other prisoners, staff or themselves are excluded from CT sessions as standard prison procedure. Despite the focus of the study being on music, some sensitive subjects may be encroached upon when discussing time in prison, time away from families or obstacles to desistance from

	crime. To help reduce this risk: • Participants will be advised beforehand of the nature of this research • Anyone who is deemed unable to give informed consent will be excluded from the research • If during an interview, a prisoner becomes distressed or emotional they will have the option to take a break or to end the interview. • If during a focus group, discussions become heated or upsetting the researcher will end the discussion quickly and sensitively. • The safety of the participants and the researcher will always be paramount. • I am trained in breakaway techniques and I will familiarise myself with the safety procedures in each prison (escapes, alarms, etc). I have good experience in prisons, running discussion groups as part of education courses and dealing with individuals in one-to-one and group music sessions. I will draw on this experience to provide a safe working environment for all involved.
Time limitations resulting in not all inmates/ex-prisoners getting to be interviewed	CT sessions always run on a first come, first served basis and each facilitator keeps a waiting list for those that wish to participate once space opens up (a typical session has a maximum size of 10 participants). In the unlikely case that more participants wish to be interviewed than there is time for, a similar system will be invoked. This will be handled sensibly and sensitively in the same way the CT waiting lists are.
Interruptions and loss of personal/music session time for the inmates	Interviews will be done outside of the music sessions time slots. All participants will be made aware that they are not required to do these interviews and will be receiving no incentives to do so. The interviews and focus groups will not encroach on music sessions but be a voluntary activity during prisoner association time. It is likely that inmates will wish to engage with this in order to have their voice heard or simply be allowed out of their cell. No inmate will be forced or coerced into participating in these interviews.
Prisoners feeling as though they are being assessed or loss of prison privileges resulting from inmate statements	All interviews will be confidential, and their views and opinions expressed will have no bearing on parole hearings, OASys (Offender Assessment System) reports or any other systems/people that can affect their sentence length, privileges or personal circumstances. This will be made clear through the PIS
Prison staff feeling that they are being investigated	Research will focus on the experience within the sessions, which will be explained to prisoners and prison staff during meetings with them about the nature of this research.
During focus groups and interviews discussion involving victims and details of crimes committed could result in perceived glorification of criminal activity which encourages an inmate/ex-prisoner to reoffend or further dehumanises the victims of that or similar crimes.	Discussion involving victims and details of crimes committed will be avoided or deleted from recordings as they are of little or no interest to this research topic. If and when discussions wonder onto these topics, I will quickly and sensitively steer the conversation into a different direction. This is common practice for CT workers as prisoners look to glorify or justify their past and encourage these behaviours in others whilst CT staff attempt to avoid such narratives.

Research	Academic/Policy Benefit	Prison/Organisation Benefit	Inmate/Ex-prisoner Benefit
Extensive Survey	Greater understanding obtained regarding the purpose of prison-based music organisations. Increased understanding of the relationship between Prisons and Third-Party organisations. Findings to be disseminated through final thesis, published academic papers and conference presentations.	Increased understanding of the differing available interventions, the purposes of these interventions and their capabilities.	Produces a list of available music interventions in UK prisons. (Dissemination TDB)
Interviews	Increased understanding of the prison experience and inmate's aims and desires from an inmate's perspective.	An increased understanding of why inmates participate in music interventions	A chance for inmates'/ex-prisoners' voice to be heard in an academic environment that may affect policy and future music interventions. A chance for inmates/ex-prisoners to reflect on how their music sessions may encourage personal change that may benefit themselves.
Focus Groups	Increased understanding of the prison experience and inmates' aims and desires from an inmate's perspective.	An increased understanding of why inmates participate in music interventions	A chance for inmates'/ex-prisoners' voice to be heard in an academic environment that may affect policy and future music interventions. A chance for inmates/ex-prisoners to discuss how their music sessions may encourage person change that may benefit themselves.
Completed Thesis & Publications	Academic papers and publications potentially produced on the: Cultural Geographies of Music; Navigating Prison/Ethic Procedures;	A critical appraisal of the work of CT and prisons and music organisations and the effect this has on the delivery of such interventions.	An opportunity for the experiences of inmates to be put at the heart of academic research into rehabilitation that may result in policy change and increased funding into activities that

	Carceral Geographies Relationship to Rehabilitation; Non-representational Understandings of Music Interventions in a Carceral Environment.	The production of academic papers potentially supporting the effectiveness of such programs. This will assist funding applications and organisation expansion	they support and shape.

Draft Agenda: Teams Meeting: 8th July 21: 12.30-2.30

1. Intro's

* what's your thing…?

* where are you…?

* where are you going…?

2. How could increase awareness of the importance/ quality of Prison-based music?

* A Music Festival Week…?

* Prison Radio…?

* Way Out TV…?

* The way we Re-Open?

3. Is Music in every Prison? Could it be a shared goal to get it into every prison?

4. What can we share – to improve our offers/ make us more efficient/ effective?

* Musicians

* Back Office

* Evaluation

* Joint Funding bids

5. What else?

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