UNIVERSITY OF AGDER

Imprisoned Music

A Study of
Music Participation in
a Malawian Juvenile Prison

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This master's thesis is carried out as a part of the education at the University of Agder and is therefore approved as a part of this education. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

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Abstract Chichewa

Masiku awiri pa sabata anthu ophunzitsa kuvina, kuyimba ndi kupanga zisudzo pamodzi ndi ma “participants” amapita ku ndende ya akayidi osachepera zaka makumi awiri kukawamphunzitsa zinthuzi. Cholinga chenicheni cha pologalamu yophunzitsira akayidiwa, nkufuna kuwona m'mene akayidiwa angachilandilire pakutenga nawo gawo pa maphunzirowa. Kafukufukuyu amachitika kwa miyezi isanu ndi iwiri malingana ndi m'mene akayidiwa amabwerera kudzaphunzira. Mogwirizana ndi ma “participants” akayidiwa amakayesedwa ndi mafunso pofuna kudziwa kuti iwo akuwonapo bwanji pakutengera ndi m' mene akumvera.

Kamvedwe kawo m'maphunzirowa zimagwirizana ndi m'mene akukhalira ngati akayidi komaso amamva iwo bwanji pokhala mkayidi. Kafukufukuyu kudali kufuna kudziwa kuti kodi nkotheka kuti akayidi akhoza kutenga nawo mbali pa zoyimba, zovina kapena kupanga zisudzo.

Zofunikira:
Kuimba, kumvina, masewero, kutenga nawo mbali, kusuntha, art wekishopu, ndende ya ana, kukhala mundende, kusasuntha, Malawi, Africa, kukhala kwa ana kundende.

Abstract Norwegian

To ganger i uka arrangerer organisatorer innen musikk, dans og drama workshops i et ungdomsfengsel i Malawi. Hovedmålet med denne studien er oppnå en bedre forståelse av hvordan innsatte opplever og oppfatter deres egen deltakelse i disse aktivitetene. Dette er en kvalitativ forskningsstudie, hvor deltakerobservasjon i felten ble gjennomført i løpet av en periode på sju måneder. Semi-strukturerte intervjuer, sammen med deltakerobservasjon, utgjorde metodene som ble brukt for å utforske fangenes opplevelser og perspektiver.

Fangenes erfaringer med disse aktivitetene ses på i relasjon til deres opplevelse av fangenskap, og erfaringer og oppfatninger rundt det å være en fange. Analysen dykker spesielt ned i motsetningene mellom fangenskap og deltakelse i musikkaktiviteter.

Nøkkelord:
Musikk, dans, drama, aktiv deltakelse, bevegelse, kunst workshops, ungdomsfengsel, fengsling, stillstand, Malawi, Afrika, Young in Prison.

Abstract

Twice a week, music, dance and drama facilitators enter a juvenile prison in Malawi to host workshops. The main objective with this research is to gain a better understanding of how the inmates experience and perceive taking part in these activities. This is a qualitative research study, where participant observation in the field was conducted within a period of about seven months. Together with participant observation, semi-structured interviews constitute the method applied to explore the inmates´ experiences and perspectives.

Their experiences with these activities are seen in relation to their experience of imprisonment, and their experience and perceptions of being a prisoner. The analysis particularly delves into the contraries between imprisonment and participation in music activities.

Key words:

Music, dance, drama, active participation, movement, arts workshops, juvenile prison, imprisonment, stillness, Malawi, Africa, Young in Prison.

Foreword

In 2013 and 2014 I got the chance to live in Malawi. My perspectives have been challenged: on everything from when it is appropriate to go to bed at night (read: early), attitudes on performing music (read: it´s about sharing), to how one should *really* treat the people that happens to be around you at the given moment (read: warm and friendly). Thanks to the people I got to know in Malawi, at Music Crossroads and elsewhere, for sharing your time with me, and for being who you are. Ndathokoza kwambiri! (I am thankful).

The work on this thesis has been an exciting and challenging process, and many people have contributed to this process in inalienable ways. First and foremost: Thanks to the inmates participating in the Young in Prison (YiP) project in the prison where this study was conducted. Your approach to, and interpretation of music, and of dance, was the main inspiration for me to write this thesis. Thank you for spending time through music with me, thank you for letting me take part. A special thanks to the nine inmates interviewed. I hope you find that your thoughts and views are conveyed in a respectful way that does them justice.

Thanks to the prison service of Malawi, specifically the management of the prison where the study is conducted, for being accommodating and showing will of oppenness through allowing me to conduct the study and host interviews in the prison. Thanks to the Officer in Charge and the two guards interviewed for sharing your thoughts. Thanks to the psychologist in YiP and the coordinator between YiP and Music Crossroads for translating during the interviews. A special thanks to all involved in Young in Prison Malawi; management and facilitators, for being inspiring dialogue partners and colleagues.

Thanks to Jeunesses Musicales Norway and Mathews Mfune at Music Crossroads for making this study possible, and to Elizabeth Karonde for translations. Thanks to Lisa, Kine, Bård, Gard and Espen for time well spent. Thanks to Knut Tønsberg and Hilde Norbakken for helping me explore possible themes for the thesis. Thanks to Mamma, Torgeir and Gudrun for feedback, to Torgeir for language vetting, to friends and family for motivating chants!

Last, but not least: Thanks to my supervisor Tormod Wallem Anundsen, for taking my messy e-mails with idle thoughts seriously in the start up phase of the research, and for meeting them with openness and curiosity. Thank you for thorough feedback along the way, for holding an inspirational approach to research, and for reminding me to stay close to “the core”.

Prologue

I remember the first time I heard the term "locked-in syndrome". It was in a movie, introducing a man that had suffered from a stroke. The effect of this stroke was a paralyzed body; he could not move anything but his left eyelid. He was as conscious and awake as ever, he wanted to move, but his body refused.

Just by the sound of this term, "locked-in syndrome", as something sudden, as something permanent, I could almost sense how my own body got a bit tighter. Like the air around me grew a tiny bit thicker, like there was just a little less space around me. To me, this word not only implied physical disability, the decreased possibility to move. It also suggested an inner fight, the human will to move freely, the strong urge to be in control of your own self, your own life. It suggested a natural resistance towards being locked in, and the fight we fight when we find ourselves to not be free. It implied all the energy, will and courage it demands when you are convinced that the situation is permanent; that it will never change. It entails the tired fighter, the doubt, and the questions: When is it time to give in? What is out of my control? What do I need to accept? And how can I move when my movements are clearly restricted?

A syndrome certainly entails identity. It is always a part of you; it is glued to your understanding of yourself. Locked-in. Syndrome.

Five years later I am introduced to a youth prison while residing in Malawi.
Together with five other young Norwegian musicians I am entering the prison gates, escorted by Malawian colleagues from the music centre we are working at. After being welcomed by the management of the prison, we pass a short hallway with two prison guards. What meets us on the other side of this hallway is not a narrow and dark hallway with cells on both sides of it, as one might visually associate with a prison. The ceiling is not low; the ceiling is the sky, light and blue, with half of it covered with white clouds.

We find ourselves in an outdoor cell, where we have been told that a dance performance will take place. The area must be about 25 times 20 meter large, enclosed with white painted brick walls. Taller than to offer the possibility to climb over them, but low enough to give the sun an easy entrance to the cell. Over 200 pairs of eyes are directed towards us. These eyes all belong to teenage boys or young men under the age of 21, most of them dressed in similar

shorts and shirts with short sleeves. The clothing is not sterile white, but made from white fabric. A few of the boys wear what looks to be their private clothes: a regular t-shirt with prints, and shorts that are made from fabric in different colours. These youths are all eating the same food, sleeping, schooling and working at the same hours, and are being guarded and watched over 24/7.

The Malawian sun has made me feel overheated. I am sweating, I look down towards my feet, and I am everything but comfortable with what feels like a sudden and intensive attention towards our presence. The air feels tight and I suddenly doubt what initially seemed like an obvious decision to accept the invitation to come here. I am asking my self if this visit somehow is disrespectful to the inmates? Was I really just curious on how it was like inside a Malawian prison? Did I even consider how the inmates would experience us coming here to observe their performance before I arrived?

A hand hits the drum, another drummer immediately joins in, a powerful and evident rhythm is quickly shaped, and a group of about 10 - 15 inmates, that have gathered in a rough formation a couple of meters in front of us, start to move. The attention of the other inmates is drawn towards the performers, luckily turning us azungus (white people) from being centre of attention to being a part of the audience.

Feet hit the concrete floor, a muffled sound echoes in the walls, as it is blending with the rhythms from the drums. Bodies move with convincing decisiveness, as distinct and clear as I have rarely seen before. The expression in the movements seems strong and energetic, dragging me to the presence of the moment. Their movements appear compellingly present, artistic; coming from somewhere, lead by something, going somewhere.

The term "locked-in syndrome" again occurs in mind, but somehow it does not quite fit. Somehow this word representing a locked-in state, the static, the still, does not appear as accurate as just a moment ago.

Because these youths in front of us interact, they focus, they express, and they share.
They are locked up. And they move.

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1. Introduction

In this chapter I will introduce the background for choosing the juvenile prison as the research field for this study, and give a brief introduction to the Young in Prison project that are enabling the arts workshops in this prison. I will present the problem statements and research questions that the thesis seeks to answer. The chapter closes with a short introduction to the content and the structure of the rest of the thesis.

Background for Choice of Research Field

Between August 2013 and June 2014, six young Norwegians (aged 18 – 25) participated in a musical exchange project between musicians from Norway and musicians from Malawi, Lilongwe. This project is called MOVE (Musicians and Organizers Volunteer Exchange), and is a collaboration between Music Crossroads Malawi [1] and the organization Jeunesses Musicales Norway. [2] The project is financially supported by Fredskorpset Norway, [3] and 2013/2014 was the second time this collaboration had been carried out. I was one of the six Norwegian participants in this exchange.

Six young Malawians also stayed in Norway from January 2014 to July the same year, as a part of this exchange. The concept of exchange assumes that both groups will teach and achieve musical, cultural and / or organizational skills during the stay in their host country. All of the Norwegian exchange participants, including me, were working daily at the music centre owned by Music Crossroads Malawi, seated in Lilongwe, the capital of Malawi. Here, our job was mainly to engage in music related projects that we found exciting, and to initiate and develop projects together with Malawian or Norwegian colleagues. Such projects and

[1] Music Crossroads Malawi: www.music-crossroads.net/malawi
[2] Jeunesses Musicales Norway and MOVE: www.jmn.no/prosjekt/move
[3] FK Norway: www.fredskorpset.no/en

activities could be simply starting a band, to teach music theory or aspects of your own instrument, to be taught music theory or aspects of your own instrument, to work in the studio seated at the centre, to initiate jam sessions, or to engage in organizational work.

We stayed a 20 – 30 minute stroll from the centre, and with Malawian neighbours only we were thrown into a new culture, with new smells and tastes, norms and customs, courtesy and greetings. I will admit that my prejudice of the tin roof houses, bumpy mud roads and kids playing outside were quickly met when arriving in the area that we would call home for the next ten months; a capital suburb seated about 6-8 kilometres from the city centre. As we relied on adapting to the new environment rather quickly, I was relieved to find that the hope and expectation of the open, warm and welcoming Malawian was also rapidly fulfilled.

Through Music Crossroads I got introduced to a musical project with a social agenda. The prologue draws a picture of my first meeting with this project, called Young in Prison (YiP). This introduction took place September 2013, and I got further involved in the project on a regular basis between October 2013 and May 2014.

A Brief Introduction to the Young in Prison Project

According to the founder of the organization, the Dutch lady Noa Lodeizen, the project was first introduced in Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town, South Africa, in 2002.[4] The overall goal was to offer "projects that focused on positive activities" for young prisoners, as a way of "restoring the self-esteem of these children and to create opportunities for their future". Now, the project has expanded to Colombia, Kenya and Malawi, in addition to South Africa and the Netherlands.[5]

My first encounter with, and experience of, this project on the ground is portrayed in the prologue. Practically speaking, this project in Lilongwe involved 5-8 facilitators from Music Crossroads gathering up twice a week in a youth prison in the city centre. Their aim was to host activity sessions of traditional dance, drama and music with duration from one to one and a half hours. This is a male prison only, and most of the inmates are about 15 to 21 years of age. According to the Malawi newspaper ´Nyasa times´, distribution of birth certificates in

[4] Young in Prison history: www.younginprison.nl/page=site.home/lang=gb#page-index%286%29
[5] Young in Prison information: www.younginprison.nl/page=site.home/lang=gb#page-index%284%29

hospitals in Malawi started in 2012.[6] As birth certificates are not common property in Malawi, the age on the inmates cannot be said to be certain or exact. It is possible that some of the inmates are in fact a couple of years older or younger than the claimed age.

Young in Prison works with children and youth in prison, aiming to "teach them life skills through creative arts".[7] YiP focuses on positive personal and group development through music activities, and through this aiming to gain the society as a whole. The Young in Prison foundation was established in Cape Town, South Africa in February 2002, and later on expanded to Surinam, Colombia, the Netherlands and Malawi. YiP has been operating on a modest scale in Malawi since 2008, and expanded the program in collaboration with the local organization Music Crossroads in 2010. Music Crossroads Malawi is now an important collaboration partner for YiP, and most of the facilitators working at Young in Prison are found through Music Crossroads.

The YiP vision is to ensure that young people living in prison are given the opportunity to become "constructive, active and positive citizens". They believe that "by imparting life skills using arts and sports to youth at risk, this will empower them to change behaviour, and to participate positively in society"[8]. YiP addresses their goals at three levels: individual level, community level and governmental level. Their primary focus is on the individual level; on the activities that are done on the ground in prison. That is also the main focus in this research.

This research does not attempt to address or discuss if Young in Prison are reaching their goals or living up to their visions, which Judit Bell defines as "basing an investigation upon whether certain theories do or do not work" (Bell 2010, 108). It rather, as will be elaborated on in the methods and methodology chapter, seeks to dig into the field and the activities *that are enabled through YiP*, and from there analyse the data and "generate theories", or concepts, "from the data" (Denscombe 2010, 107). I will step-by-step elaborate the findings through developed "concepts", in the research and analysis chapter (chapter 3).

[6] Nyasa times 2012: www.nyasatimes.com/2012/07/19/malawi-starts-issuing-birth-certificates
[7] As defined in the YiP Annual Report 2011/2012
[8] In quotation marks in this paragraph: As defined in the YiP Annual Report 2011/2012

Problem Statement and Research Questions

The problem statement that this thesis seeks to answer was formed by a wish to get a better understanding of the inmates´ experiences with music activities, in this particular prison. The problem statement is as follows:

> *How do the inmates experience and perceive their own participation in music activities?*

The term *"experience"* here refers to the "there and then" experience. How do the inmates express themselves during the music activities? How is the communication between them, and between the inmates and the facilitators? How is their appearance like during the activities?

The term *"perceive"* refers to how the inmates convey their own participation. How do they talk about this "there and then" experience? What is their choice of words when speaking of their own participation? In what way does their participation affect how they understand and define themselves?

During the data collection it became apparent that the prison setting stood out as something standing in stark contrast to the music activities. The inmates´ experiences and perceptions of participating in music activities appeared to be inseparably linked to their imprisonment. New questions arose. How does the imprisonment affect how the inmates understand and define themselves? How is their appearance like before the music activities have started? How do they compare the experience of imprisonment to the experience of participating in music activities?

The workshops conducted in this prison include aspects of music, dance and drama. In this research I have studied the warm up session, which include elements from all these disciplines, the dance and traditional drums workshop, and the instruments workshops. When referring to "music activities" or "music participation" in the thesis, dance (and playing drums) is also included in these terms.

The Structure of the Thesis

The upcoming chapter (chapter 2) is on methodology. Here, I present my encounter with the field, from entrance to exit. Parallel to this, I elaborate and discuss the chosen methodology for this research. This chapter give an account to why the chosen methodology was the best one to answer my problem statement, as well as discussing ethical and practical considerations with my encounter with the field. In this chapter it is explained how the data is processed and categorised, and leads into the next chapter, where the analysis of the data is presented.

In chapter 3, "From Stillness to Movement", the findings and analysis of the study is presented. The chapter is devided in three parts. In the first part the field itself, and the inmates everyday lives are described. The analysis has formed the categories "Stillness" and "Movement", which are the second and third part of the findings and analysis chapter.

In chapter 4, the findings will be seen in relation to already existing theory.

Chapter 5 briefly sums up the objectives and the findings of this thesis.

2. Methodology and Methods: From Entrance to Exit

The methods I have used for data sampling in the field are participant observation and journaling, as well as semi-structured interviews with nine of the inmates. I regard "grounded theory" as the overall methodology. It has served as the theoretical foundation on how to approach and move in the field, and has guided me on how to implement analytical tools to better understand and be able to make sense of the data.

Denscombe says of the grounded theory approach that "the researcher embarks on a voyage of discovery" (Denscombe 2010, 108). In this chapter I will give an account for this particular "voyage", by explaining the process of my encounter with the field step by step: from entrance to exit. Through this I will clarify my ontological and epistemological point of view. In this chapter I also elaborate on the ethical considerations and assessments conducted throughout the research.

Methodological Foundation and Theoretical Framing

Charmaz (2006) states that "grounded theorists often begin their studies with certain research interests". The initial research interest of this study was the inmates' encounter with music activities. The questions posed in the prologue, represent a few of the first research questions emerging from my encounter with the field, such as: How is it possible to interact, share, focus, and express in a prison?[9] Why do these movements, that visually look so powerful and evident, appear not to suit the prison environment? An environment I at first connected with a *locked-in state,* where the restrictions and limitations of those living there seemed more prominent, also visually, than their possibilities.

Grounded theory emphasizes empirical fieldwork, and is committed to "link any explanations very closely to what happens in practical situations in ´the real world´" (Denscombe 2010, 107). Through the process of my research I have aimed to develop knowledge and understanding that would bring me close to the participant´s experience of the activities. By not only journaling what the inmates actually do during the activities, but by at the same time asking: "What do they see them self do?" (Repstad 2007, 19).

[9] As defined in the prologue.

I saw the grounded approach as an opportunity for me as a researcher to remain interested, curious and open towards the field, and to the findings that would emerge from participating in the field. Judith Bell quotes Punch (2005), and sums up the grounded theory perspective as the following: (Grounded theory) "is not a theory at all. It is a method, an approach, a strategy whose purpose is to generate theory from data . . . The theory will therefore be grounded in data´" (Bell 2010).

Through the process of generating theory from the data, the need to immerse in other theory and literature will occur for the grounded theorist, as it will for any researcher. "Theoretical frameworks differ in grounded theory from traditional quantitative research", in the way that it does not "use theories for deducing specific hypotheses before data-gathering" (Charmaz 2006, 169). Specific for the grounded theory approach is that the theoretical framework grows from the premises the data sets. The approach demands a "complex interaction between the literature and the observations" (Ryen 2012, 76).

The aim with creating a theoretical framework was to "provide an anchor" in the research, by demonstrating how the emerged concepts "*refines, extends, challenges* or *supersedes"* extant theory (Charmaz 2006, 168-169). This theoretical framework will be discussed in relation to the findings in chapter 4 (discussion). I have found it important to bring forward the findings *first,* as to emphasise that the findings has its basis *in the data,* and not in already existent theory.

Reset? On Neutrality and Objectivity

I believe that the theory that is presented in this research "depends on the researcher´s view; it does not and cannot stand outside of it" (Charmaz 2006, 130). I have therefore found it crucial to, introductory and along the way, clarify my views and understanding for the reader. Any attempt to place myself on neutral ground, I think could have made the research unclear and confusing. On seeking to be neutral as a researcher, Thomas Ugelvik says:

> Theory neutrality is about our perception of what is, and that can never be neutral (…). Value neutrality, the perception of what should be, you can put in brackets, at least during a data collection: "We can – to some extent – describe what ´is´ without always making explicit what ´ought to be´ (Liebling 2001, quoted from Ugelvik 2011, 54).

I have sought to describe "what is" from the data collected, but at the same time I have found it important to point at that what I "see – and don´t see –rest on values" (Charmaz 2006, 131). It has been an objective for me that the inmates engaged in Young in Prison should be able to recognize themselves, their perspectives and their "voices" in the analysis: that it makes "sense to those whose actions it explains" (Denscombe 2010, 109). But at the end of the day it is still "my perspective, my analysis and my inferences that will be presented" (Ugelvik 2011, 55). Summed up, the objectives of this research is to gain a better understanding of the experiences in and with music of a restricted group of people, and to be able to present these experiences in a comprehensible way, both for those included in the research, and for those who were not.

In his PhD study on musical practices of African immigrant performers in Norway, Tormod W. Anundsen reflects on the subjectivity and prejudice of the researcher, saying that "Gadamer claims that no understanding is possible without a subjective researcher, even a researcher with a pre- judgement of what he will find" (Anundsen 2014, 67). Kvale and Brinkmann points out that human beings are "historical beings, with tools of understanding that are dependent by tradition and historical life. Understanding is dependent on certain *pre-judgements*" (Steinar Kvale 2012, 69). Ugelvik sums it up firmly: "It is not possible to conduct research without it being "contaminated" of personal and political sympathies, and if it is not possible, one should stop trying" (Ugelvik 2011, 53).

The findings that have emerged through the analysis of the data, is never free from my own personal, cultural and academic background, and I have not attempted to present "what it is like to ´walk in another person´s shoes´" (Anundsen 2014, 67). This is not the aim of a study implying qualitative methods, because, as Denscombe puts it: "The key instrument of participant observation methods is the researcher as a person", and researchers using participant observation "generally choose a topic about which they have some insider knowledge and personal experience" (Denscombe 2010, 210, 211).

I approach my researcher role in line with what Charmaz define as constructivist grounded theory, where the approach "places priority on the phenomena of study and sees both data and analysis as created from shared experiences and relationships with participants" (Charmaz 2006, 130). Rather than excluding my own personal experience with the field from the

observation logs, this is understood as an important part of the data. It can bring to light my role in the project, and it can bring to light my interpretation of the phenomenon.

Preparations: Ethical Considerations

Fieldwork can last "from a few days to several years" (Repstad 2007, 75). The fieldwork of this study was conducted within a period of 7 months: between late November 2013 and May 2014. My role in the Young in Prison (YiP) project was not pre-defined, except for me to join in on activities where I felt I could contribute, or where I simply felt like taking part.

As I experienced many times during the exchange at Music Crossroads, the participant role was not so much a pre-defined role. It was more a flexible, "joining in and finding your place as you go along", kind of attendance. The first few times I came with YiP to the prison, I was engaged, and introduced, as an exchange participator working at Music Crossroads.

I was already a participator in the Young in Prison program when I decided that I wanted to ask for permission to engage in the project as a researcher, so participant observation was a natural choice of method. I had experienced the Malawian culture as quite informal, and I took this attitude into consideration when I requested to engage in the project as a researcher. With the risk of generalising: my experience from Music Crossroads was that where I wanted "lists and plans", my Malawian colleagues worked with flexibility and action, based on the situation "there and then". It was important to me to communicate clearly what would be my mission as a researcher, while at the same time not overflowing the prison service with forms and written agreements.

To avoid any misunderstandings, my role and what I wanted to achieve as a researcher was partly communicated by me in English, and also in Chichewa through the coordinator between Young in Prison and Music Crossroads. He and I had more thoroughly discussed what a research project as a part of a Masters degree represents in Norway, and the ethical guidelines I was bound to follow as a researcher at a Norwegian university.[10] The prison service was informed that I wanted to write about the inmates´ encounter with the activities

[10] In line with the guidelines presented by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) on volunteerism: www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/samtykke.html

hosted through Young in Prison, and it was clarified that I would have no constraints as to what to write about.

Most important was to communicate to the prisoners and the prison service what my aim with conducting the research was, and that taking part in the research was voluntary. I first intended to write an information letter, in line with standard Norwegian research ethichs.[11] Discussing this intention with Young in Prison Malawi, it grew clear that bringing a piece of paper with its basis in Norwegian formalities, would maybe not be the best way of presenting my intensions. Over half of the inmates in this prison cannot read and write, so the letter would have had to be read outloud.

Instead, I agreed with the coordinator between Young in Prison and Music Crossroads Malawi that he, during the next warm up session, would orally inform all inmates in the project of that I was incorporated at a Norwegian University, and explained my intensions with the research study.

I had during my stay in Malawi formed an opinion of that the inmates would not be likely to protest if they did not feel comfortable with me conducting a research there. I believed that, in the minds of the prisoners, both the prison staff and the YiP facilitators, including me, hold a place above the prisoners in this hierarchical power structure. This assumption first grew from what I found to be a hierarchical mind-set in many of my other encounters in Malawi so far. For example, most people in the organisation I worked for in Malawi would call their boss by a title implementing "boss" or "leader", or they would call him "Mister" combined by his last name. Coming from Norway, which is more flat when it comes to power structures, and where we are used to calling every one by their first name, this appeared to me as something very different.

The sense of hierarki in the prison grew from the three times I had asked to borrow one of the offices during the workshops, to be able to immediately write down observations that I found important to remember. These three times, one of the guards entered the room with a few of the inmates´ behind him. Just after entering the office, the inmates would bend their bend down, so they were almost sitting on the floor. They would bow their heads down, and put

[11] In line with the guidelines presented by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD).

their hands together. Here they would receive some kind of medicine. They were only in the room for a couple of minutes, before they returned to their workshops. The inmates' body language spoke of submissiveness caused by the prison as an institution.

I have throughout this research stressed to seek out the inmates´ reality and standpoints, and tried to flatten out the hierarchical mind-set in my encounter with the inmates. It has also been crucial to protect their anonymity through omitting any physical features or other characteristics that would separate any of them out from the crowd.

At Entrance: Insider / Outsider

> It is crucial for social researchers to clarify their researcher´s roles especially for those utilizing qualitative methodology to make their research credible. The researchers that undertake qualitative studies take on a variety of member roles when they're in the research setting" (Unluer 2012, 1).

My role in the Young in Prison project was twofold: I entered the field as an exchange participator. Based on the participation I decided to look into the possibility of making this particular area my field of research. Breen claims that insider-researchers "are those who chose to study a group to which they belong, while outsider-researchers do not belong to the group" (Breen 2007, 163).

When first visiting the youth prison (in September 2013), I had been at Music Crossroads for a few weeks already. Here, I had gotten to know most of the YiP facilitators. Most of them were either teaching at Music Crossroads or in other ways engaged in Music Crossroads musical projects on a regular basis. For example, the coordinator between Young in prison and Music Crossroads had been very much involved in the first few weeks of our stay. From making sure we had enough eggs and tomatoes, to answering all sorts of "what, where and how´s" from "never been to Africa before" - Norwegians. He was also our neighbour during the ten months we stayed in Malawi, and we spent a lot of time both with him and his family during our stay.

Looking at my relation to the facilitators of Young in Prison, one can argue that I in some way was an "insider": Not *in the field* as such, but from knowing some of those involved before the research was to be conducted. Both the idea of conducting the research in this field, and the actual access to the field, came as a direct consequence of my relations to those

employed in Young in Prison. This put me in a position where I would feel comfortable with posing questions on everything from physical safety to social codes, as I had someone to communicate with both on a professional and on a personal level. As far as I perceived, no limitations on what to write in the thesis was implied from either Music Crossroads or Young in Prison.

From an anthropological view, I was not all "fresh from the oven" in my encounter with the field: a Malawi prison. I had went through a month of living in Malawi and learning Malawi culture and codes before the research process begun. From any other angle, I would define myself as an outsider *to the field*: I had never been inside a prison before, nor studied it with specific interest in any way. I was the only woman participating in the activities (before a female psychologist joined the project after a few months). I was one out of three white people in the project (one volunteer from my group of Norwegians, and an American volunteer). To claim that I could blend in without any fuzz would be a strong exaggeration!

The fact that I stood out made me more self-conscious than I would have felt in an environment that I would have naturally blended into. As a consequence, it became important to me to not distinguish myself from the group more than necessary. For example, every Tuesday and Thursday morning, when going to work at Music Crossroads in the morning, I stopped wearing skirts, as I knew I was going to prison in the afternoon. I felt that I would separate myself from the group slightly less wearing pants.

I was also conscious to participate in the warm up sessions, when the main part of the other facilitators joined. The facilitators' participation in the warm up session occurred to me as a spontaneous participation: if you felt like it and the room was not too packed, you joined. After a couple of months I had grown comfortable enough to join in anyhow, but sometimes I had to stay in the background to get an overview of the exercise conducted (as the exercises was conducted in the local language; Chichewa).

Warming Up: Finding My Place in the Project

At first I mostly observed the dance and drum groups. The facilitator of the dance group had already started up a few drum lessons with me on my request, with the goal of teaching me some basic knowledge of the African drum called n´goma. I also felt comfortable with being

around him. After a couple of sessions observing the drum group, I decided one Tuesday to attend several of the workshops, to get an overview on how the different activities were hosted. I stopped by the choir workshop, the bass group and the two guitar groups sharing a room. At this session one of the guitarists was singing a song while playing, and two of his fellow inmates sang what seemed to be spontaneous, improvised back up vocals. Their engagement appeared to me as natural and authentic, and because of that I started considering if would engage more in this group. I personally thought it sounded beautiful and heartfelt. At the end of the day I stopped by the newly created "connecting different rhythm patterns using empty plastic bottles" – workshop.

Then, a session followed where I joined the dance group. Sitting down against the wall, I "woke up" by the drum facilitator saying; "Ingvild!" My heartbeat immediately rose, telling me that maybe I had grown a bit to comfortable with the role of an observer. "Come!" I walked over to him, sat down at the tip of the bench he pointed at and, through arm gestures and singing the rhythm, he showed me which of the rhythms we had been working on that he wanted me to play. The next couple of sessions I played the drums while the inmates were dancing. I felt excited and embarrassed at the same time, as it certainly was no secret to anyone that the inmates´ drum skills was of another league than mine.

After a few times of being in this group, a need for a facilitator on one of the guitar groups occurred. A fellow Norwegian colleague had joined the project, and he wanted to move from the guitar group in order to create a piano group. I would stay on as a guitar facilitator for the remaining time of my engagement in YiP.

Asking myself what in the project I found to be the most engaging, the answer was simply the inmates participating in the Young in Prison project, and their encounter with the music activities. Glaser's solicitation "Study your emerging data" (Glaser, 1978, quoted from Charmaz 2006, 54) was taken into consideration from the start, as a help to shape clearer research questions during the process of my research, and as a natural part of the recurrent coding and analysis conducted.

In Motion: Participant Observation and Journaling

Even though there is no particular method or data collection that is claimed to be unique to grounded theory, Denscombe states that "there are certain methods that lend themselves better than others to use within a grounded theory approach". He continues;

> These are methods that allow the collection of data in a "raw" state – not unduly shaped by prior concepts or theories. The point is to generate theories, not to test them, and so there is a preference for unstructured interviews rather then structured interviews, for the use of open-ended questions in a questionnaire rather than fixed-choice answers, and the use of field notes rather than observations based on a tick-box schedule (Denscombe 2010, 110, 111).

Participant observation "involves the researcher participating in the daily life of an individual, group or community and listening, observing, questioning and understanding (or trying to understand) the life of the individuals concerned" (Bell 2010, 193). As a newcomer in a country, even on a continent, the approach described above was also a natural one in my every day life at the time. In this matter, the approach to the field and to the inmates naturally blended in with the emphasis I already had in my encounters with people in my everyday life.

When journaling my experiences with the field, I drew inspiration from Charmaz' explanation of the coding process. She is advising the researcher to ask: "What process(es) is at issue here? How can I define it? How does this process develop?" (Charmaz 2006, 51). The observation logs recurrently give attention to the processes in the music workshops and the physical movements of the participants, in the form of body and facial expressions.

I also made numerous notes on communication and atmosphere. I have tried to reveal from the data, the answers to the questions which Charmaz poses: "what does the research participant(s) profess to think and feel while involved in this process? What might be his or her observed behaviour indicate"? (Charmaz 2006, 51). Or as Wolcott is simply asking: "what is going on here?" (Wolcott 2009, 37).

All in all, the observation data consists of eight thorough, and several shorter, observation logs from the field. Through the logs, I seek to describe what was happening during the workshops, how it was organised, my personal experiences with the prison and the activities, and what it seemed to mean to the inmates to participate. In addition to the introductory warm – ups, the traditional dance group (with the dance called "gwanyansa") and the band groups

are the basis of the observation notes. These were the ones I either participated in or directly observed.

As my mother tongue is Norwegian, the logs were written in Norwegian and then used as the starting point for the analysis. After deciding which parts of the logs to quote, I translated and extended them slightly. I have created whole sentences from key words, and added a sentence or two to clarify what was going on, if I thought that was unclear from the original notes. To be able to stay analytic towards the findings, it was important to me to separate clearly on when I was looking at the observation data *analysing*, and when I in retrospect was editing the text to make it more accessible for the reader.

Following Movements: On-going Coding and Analysis

Repstad summarize the idea of qualitative research saying it involves that we study "few or maybe only one environment, but that we in return study the environment as a whole, with all it´s specifics" (Repstad 2007, 17). The "specifics" of the field is in this research the specifics of a prison. In addition to that, it is the experience of imprisonment on one hand, and the specifics on music activities on the other hand. It occurred that field itself appeared to play a great role in how the music activities was experienced and perceived by the inmates, as will be elaborated in chapter 3.

During the process of observing and journaling, different issues were addressed. On the one side are practical aspects like how the workshops were hosted, how many inmates were participating in the project, and what they were working on during the sessions. On the other hand are aspects connected to interaction, communication, and interpretation of experience in the process of the music activities. All these aspects can in different ways help me describe and define the processes of the inmates´ encounter with the music activities.

High on the agenda in grounded theory is always to "develop the theories on the basis of empirical research and gradually build up theories that emerge from the data" (Denscombe 2010, 107). Bell is emphasising the same point by saying that "the methodological thrust of the grounded theory approach to qualitative data analysis is towards the development of theory, without particular commitment to specific kinds of data, lines of research, or theoretical interests" (Bell 2010, 16). Contrary to "amass as much detail as possible about

particular situations" (on music activities in the prison), "and then ´let the data speak for themselves´" (Denscombe 2010, 107), the process of continuously analysing the data help the researcher narrow down what she is looking for in the field. The researcher constantly selects parts of the data to look into more closely, from the basis of her recent analysis. The new data gives new insight, which again is affecting how the next piece of data is analysed and understood.

For example, the observation log describes the framework for the activities as a still, static place. It describes it like a place with absence of movement. The atmosphere in the prison the moment that the rest of the facilitators and I enter the prison gates, is described as "a bit blank", a "nothingness", like an "absence of" atmosphere. Later, in the interviews, these descriptions are accentuated by the inmates saying that they join music activities instead of "just staying inside" the prison. I find that this "nothingness" in atmosphere correspondes with their experience of being a prisoner, in that they experience that they have nothing to do, nothing to fill their days with.

If the observation data had not revealed the prison as a static, still place, I would most likely have interpreted the "just staying" differently. It would have been seen from a different angle, created from a different recent analysis. This way the categories and theories emerge directly from the data, through the interpretation and coding of the researcher. Through analysing the data from the prison, I also found that notes on the music activities recurrently revealed that something dynamic happened through the music activities, some sort of motion took place.

Even though I did not have "a rigid set of ideas" that shaped my focus during the research, I had a "focus, a general question or a problem in mind" (Denscombe 2010:108). This focus was the inmates' encounter with music activities, and a fascination and interest for their way of expressing themselves musically. From my encounter with the field grew an interest of the essence, or character, of the music activities, and how it seemed different from the core of imprisonment and being locked in. The relation between the imprisonment and the music activities developed into categories that I further on worked on shaping, that will be presented in chapter 3.

The overall analytical concepts, which were developed step by step throughout the research, are summed up in the conflict between the static and the dynamic. The prison and the music

activities on different sides of the spectrum, and the process of moving from one state *into something else*, "moving from one step to another step".[12]

Slowing Down: Information Letter and Choice of Interpreters

On the basis of the observations and the early phase, rough thematic analysis grew a clearer focus, which led to a wish to talk directly to the inmates. From that I hoped to get a deeper understanding on their perceptions on the music activities, through their own choice of words. I asked the coordinator between Young in Prison and Music Crossroads of his opinion of this, and he would further discuss the opportunity for hosting interviews, with the prison service. The communication on this matter with the prison service started in February 2014.

In this process the approval could not be admitted from the local prison, as requests on recording inside this prison would need approval "higher up" in the prison system. The request therefore had to be done in written form, unlike with the oral approval for conducting participating observation. I wrote an information letter to the prison service that I gave to the coordinator between Young in Prison and Music Crossroads. Here I explained shortly my background, why I wanted to conduct the interviews, and that the inmates would be anonymous in the thesis, in line with the guidelines on information letter.[13]

The letter was then returned to me through Young in Prison, with guidelines from the prison service on how it should be formed, and with what details it should contain. After having this letter "going back and forth" a few times, conducting and recording interviews with a few of the inmates was approved from the prison service of Malawi. Just in time: during the last two weeks of my stay in Malawi I conducted individual semi-structured interviews with nine of the inmates, on their motivations and experiences with music activities in prison. I got permission to host the interviews during the time that Young in Prison hosted the workshops in prison: within the one and a half hour on the Tuesdays and Thursdays left before I would be returning to Norway.

Ryen argues that even though it "by first glance may be perceived as very different", "to carry out research in domestic and in cross-cultural contexts", is fundamenally equal (Ryen 2012,

[12] As described by "inmate 4".
[13] In line with the guidelines presented by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD) on information letter: www.nsd.uib.no/personvern/meldeplikt/samtykke.html

230). The greatest difference I found in the cross-cultural interview, was a rather practical one. As Chichewa was still rather frail, I would be reliant on having a person interpreting by my side during the interviews. As it would have been both ethical, practical and economic challenges in including a professional interpreter, I would be reliant on finding someone suitable already connected to the prison service or the Young in Prison project.

Kvale and Brinkmann points out that eventhough the use of an unprofessional interpreter can be used to ease the contact, a challenge can occour if the "interpreter have his own agenda and imperceptibly take on the role as interviewer" (Steinar Kvale 2012, 156). Despite this risk, I found the coordinator between Young in Prison and Music Crossroads, and the psychologist working in Young in Prison, to be the most appropriate translators. Their skills in English were rather good, and practically it would be feasible. As none of them were main facilitators in any of the groups, they could join in without any of the workshops directly suffering from this. The inmates were familiar with both of them, and I considered that this would make the inmates feel comfortable with the interview situation.

Another risk on using these two as interpreters, were ironically *also* the aspect: Would the inmates really feel free to speak their mind, directly to those working in the project? This aspect also included myself; I was *also* a facilitator in the project, and by this could be seen as a representative for this project. Would it feel inappropriate or disrespectful for the inmates to criticise aspects of the music activities right to the faces of people representing it? I presume so. But, my focus during the interviews would be on how the inmates experience participating in the workshops. To participate in the workshops was voluntary. If the inmates´ had mostly negative experiences with the project, it is not likely that they would have continued to participate in it. I was conscious in forming the interview guide, that I would steer clear of evaluating and leading questions.

Also, I focused in the analysis on the issues, or concepts, where the interview data corresponds with the observation data. The fact that the analysis are not complete reliant on the interviews alone, can strengthen the validity of the analysis in that different methods used points in the same direction. On validity, Kirk and Miller quotes Webb (1966), and presents the following statement:

> The most fertile search for validity comes from a combined series of difference measures, each with its idiosyncratic weaknesses, each pointed to a single hypothesis. When a

> hypothesis can survive the confrontation of series of complementary methods of testing, it contains a degree of validity unattainable by one tested within the more constricted framework of a single method (Jerome Kirk 1986, 30).

I found it important to do my best in the interview situation to communicate that I was very interested in *their* experience, and avoid using the name of the organisation. Also I formed the questions in a way that I hoped would make it clear that I was not interviewing them as to test if Young in Prison was doing a good job or not.

Moving on: Selection of Interviewees and the Informed Consent

In choosing which inmates would be interviewed, I had decided to ask one of the inmates that had "gotten to me" especially much. One that always seemed very happy to see us. A few of the informants were picked by the translator going into the room where the inmates were doing activities, asking them if any of them wanted to be interviewed. The last couple of interviews, I asked if they could ask someone from the dance group, someone from the band group, someone from one of the other groups. It was of significance that the interviews were voluntary. I do not think it is likely that any of the inmates felt "enticed" pushed to be interviewed, as the translator went into the room and said "who wants to have a chat?" Many of the inmates expressed that they wanted to have a chat, and he only picked those who seemed most eager to join.

Before the interview started, the inmates were informed, through the person translating that the talk would be recorded, and later deleted, and that I wanted to get their perspective on music activities in the prison. At this point I told the inmates that they could choose if they wanted their names to be anonymous or not. They all wanted their names to be mentioned in the thesis. In retrospect, I see that it would have been better to say that they would anyhow be anonymous, but at this point it was not so clear to me that that would anyhow be the best option. I read their eager to get their names mentioned as a sign that they were positive towards getting their thoughts and opinions "out there". I think it also is a hint on that they wanted to get "out there" that the music activities is something positive in their lives, and / or that it gives them aspects in identity that they are proud of or want to share with people.

Delving Deeper: Semi - Structured Interviews

Denscombe points out that in grounded theory "there is a preference for unstructured interviews rather then structured interviews", and "the use of open-ended questions in a questionnaire rather than fixed-choice answers" (Denscombe 2010, 110 - 111). The interview guide therefore contained of open – ended questions, some of them in the form of key subjects. For example, a key subject was defined as "experiences with music before the prison?" In the interview setting, I would consider when, and how, it would be best to ask for their former musical experience, if it would not naturally come up during the interview.

An interview guide was formed based on the curiosity that had occurred from my experiences from the prison. What made me form open-ended questions was an interest to "understand social phenomena from the participants own perspectives and describe the world how it is experienced by the informants" (Steinar Kvale 2012, 45). This has its basis in the phenomenological understanding that "the real reality" is the reality that "human beings perceive" (Steinar Kvale 2012, 45). The interview guide formed contained the following key subjects and questions:

- *Experiences with music before in the prison?*
- *Experiences with music while in prison: how long in the project, what instrument, etc.*
- *Why they chose to participate in the music activities?*
- *What they want to achieve with participating in the music activities?*
- *What kind of feeling does it give them to participate in music activities?*
- *How would they explain the music activities contra other activities in the prison?*
- *What do they hope their musical skills can do for them, in the present and / or in the future?*
- *What role do they think music will play in their future life, after the prison?*
- *What are their dreams for the future?*
- *How would they describe the atmosphere in the group of participants before, during and after the music workshops?*
- *Why do they think that some of their fellow inmates choose to not participate in the music activities?*
- *What are their expectations around the music activities?*
- *What activities in the prison are they looking forward during a week?*
- *What activities do they on the other hand find hard to go through during a week?*

- *What motivates them (in general)?*
- *What other experiences in their life (during prison stay or before that) do they have, who is somehow equal / gives them the same feeling as when they are doing music activities?*
- *Their thoughts on what the music activities do to the participants as individuals?*
- *Their thoughts on what the music activities do to the participants as a group?*
- *How would they describe their own expectations just before the facilitators enter the prison?*
- *How long before the project starts do they start to prepare in their mind that they soon will participate in these activities?*
- *How would they describe the atmosphere in the group during the music activities?*
- *What do they feel that participation in music activities are require from them?*
- *Is it some days that they feel like not participating? (If so: why?)*

The questions emphasise the inmates' experiences with participating in music activities – during their imprisonment. It tries to capture their perceptions on how music participation is affecting them personally and as a group, both "there and then" *during* the music activities, *before* the workshops, and *after* the workshops are conducted. It overall looks for the inmates' perspectives and reflections on their own, and their fellow inmates´ participation in music.
The first interviews was conducted in a one of the workshop room that were available whilst the other inmates attended workshops, where the guard or any other person from the prison service could not hear any part of the conversation. The last half of the interviews was conducted in a room next to prison office. This might have made the inmates felt restricted in not posing negative statements towards the prison stay. As one of the guards went to ask the inmates during these last interviews, I was conscious to give him guidelines on whom to pick – "one from the guitar group", or "one playing a particular instrument" – and I emphasized that he had to emphasise, that it was voluntary to have a talk with me. As mentioned, to inform of what the research would regard, that it would be public, and that it was voluntary to participate, was strongly emphasized.

In addition to the interviews with the inmates, I conducted interviews with two of the guards working in the prison that were often on duty while the workshops were held, observing the workshops or hanging around nearby. I wished to hear perspectives on how the music activities affected the inmates, and how they interpreted the inmates´ participation in the

activities. But foremost, these interviews where conducted to get more insights on the atmosphere in the group *just before* Young in Prison are entering. In these interviews my focus was also on *the inmates´ experiences* with music in the prison. At last I interviewed the coordinator between Young in Prison and Music Crossroads, and the Officer in charge in this particular prison. In these two interviews I mainly aimed to get more practical information on the prison stay and the inmates´schedule, and similar information that could bring more insights, mainly practical, regarding the inmates experience of the prison stay.

Wrapping it up: Prosessing and Presenting the Data

After listening through the interviews, I chose five of these to be fully transcribed and translated to use them as the basis for analysis together with the observation logs. I was aware during the interview sessions that there was a chance that not all 9 of the interviews would be used as a data basis in the research. Ryen quotes Seidmann (1998) on this matter, when she sums up: "I´d rather have too many than to few" (Ryen 2012, 94).

Five of in all nine interviews with the inmates were transcribed, translated and analysed through coding and categorisation as mentioned in the previous subchapter. I asked my colleague and friend at Music Crossroads to do the translations. The process was as following: First, I translated five of the interviews conducted with the inmates. Then, I picked all parts were I wanted to get the inmates answers directly – which was, with a few exepttions, all the answers. I picked out, most parts, of the interviews, and also included the translators´ question posed in Chichewa. I cut these parts out of the recording, collected them in one file per interview, and had a few seconds pause in between the interviews. None of the interpreters' answers has been used in this thesis – only the inmates` direct answers in English and their translated answers.

It was also an ethical consideration in that I only sent parts of the interviews to the person working at Music Crossroads, for translations, and of course not including their names. To her the files were only identified with numbers. Even though the inmates´ do not speak of much provocative things, I found it important to not share their thoughts with more people than necessary, including their name, as there might be consequences that neither them or I am aware of. She has, like me, deleted the recordings after they were translated. She has also deleted the translations she has done – from her mail and from her computer.

When I had the translations returned to me, I would paste this text into the document, and could thereby compare my question to the translators' question. I chose to exclude the parts were the translator are posing leading questions, such as the already mentioned "how does participating in music activities *help* you?", as a basis in the analysis. In presenting the findings in chapter 3, these parts are presented fully where they are used, as to give the reader the opportunity to be aware when the question posed are not open – ended. In retrospect I see that I could have emphasised in my communication with the translators that the questions needed to be open – ended, but I did not think about this at the moment. I only emphasised that the questions needed to be "directly translated" in the choice of words I made.

I have chosen to anonymise the inmates so that they cannot be recognized by their names, their appearance, or details in what they said or did during the project that can reveal which inmate in the project has been rendered. Foremost, this anonymousation is done to maintain the inmates´ vulnerability regarding their position as prisoners, considering their young age (especially as some of them even are minors), and the problems regarding being fully aware of what a participation in such a study can, or will, entail. It was important to clarify for every inmate interviewed that they can choose to be anonymous, but it has been important in retrospect to actually anonomise them even though they all showed a wish to have their name presented in the research.

One of the interviews was conducted in English, and had a few linguistic mistakes. If this particular inmate`s comments are presented in the analysis, I have chosen to correct these errors. Other wise it could be easy to separate his comments from the rest, as the other interviews where conducted in Chichewa. As to not point out which of the interviews are conducted in English and which are conducted in chichewa, I have chosen to define the one asking as "interviewer" in the analysis chapter.

Again, of privacy considerations, all files revealing personal data have been deleted from my computer and mail. The person who has translated the recordings has also deleted the recordings and transcriptions from her computer and mail.[14]

[14] In line with etichal guidelines presented by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD): www.nsd.uib.no/nsddata/arkivering/011_personidentifiserbare_data.html

Culminating in: Concepts and Categorizations

> Our analytic categories and the relationships we draw between them provide a conceptual handle on the studied experience. Thus, we build levels of abstraction directly from the data and, subsequently, gather additional data to check and refine our emerging analytical categories. Our work culminates in a ´grounded theory´, or an abstract theoretical understanding of the studied experience (Charmaz 2006, 4).

Key concepts started to emerge firstly in the process of analysing the data I had collected during the observation. The process of focusing the research into categories was done not only while in Malawi, but also in several periods while back in Norway. I studied the markings I had done on the logs from the field while still in the process of figuring out the focus for the interviews. In the process of transcribing the interviews, I found that the inmates had some interesting views on the opposites that made me define the focus in the first place.

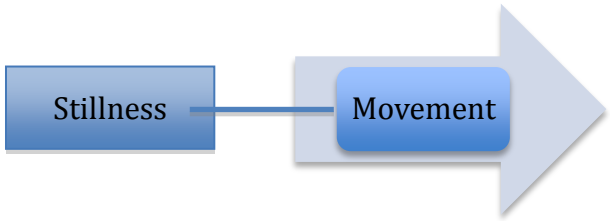
New key words emerged from the process of analysing the interviews, some concepts faded, and some grew stronger. The contraries between the prison stay and the music activities grew firm and clear when the interviews and the observation logs where gathered in the analysis.

As in the observation notes, movement was currently coded from the interviews with the inmates. The "something" they move *from* is the "just staying", the "not doing anything", something still, static; a place with absence of movement. The something they move *through* and *to,* are defined as the movement.

I have tried to explain my observations not exaggerating it or merging it into a form that is not of its nature, but rather to explain the concepts; movement or the stillness in the form *it was revealed to me,* as the concepts emerged from the data and was not pre-set. As emphasised in the introduction, it is important to remember that the categories still grew from *my* framework of understanding, and my own background. "Not all processes of analysing are seen as mechanical, linear processes. Analysis conducted, will more than anything be dependent on the researcher" (Postholm u.d., 105). In other words; the field does not speak for itself, but through the researchers´ encounter with it. The researchers personal interest and curiosity contributes in forming the empirical data into categories (Charmaz 2006). The concepts presented in chapter 3 are a result of this analytical approach to the data, and the recurrent process of analysing the data has clarified, challenged and developed the categories.

3. Analysis and Findings: From Stillness to Movement

In this chapter I will present the findings of the research. The analysis brings forward aspects of the inmates' experiences both with imprisonment and with music participation, and elaborates on how they perceive and convey these experiences. The analysis aims to get a better understanding of in which ways these experiences affect how they understand and define themselves.



The findings are sorted in two main categories, defined "stillness" and "movement". "Stillness" regards the prison environment and its effect on the inmates, while the category "Movement" regards the music participation and its effect on the inmates.

This chapter starts out with "descriptions of the field" to give the reader a better understanding of the context in which the music activities are conducted. These descriptions are obtainted from my encounter with the field, and this part has a more informative design than the rest of the analysis.

Context: Descriptions of the Field

Over the entrance leading into the indoor offices of the juvenile prison is a wooden sign, with black painted letters on it, claiming the juvenile prison to be a "Reformatory Centre". I understood "reformatory centre" as a term used mostly for political reasons. Not as a term grown from the facts on ground, but as a guideline or solicitation that comes from "higher up" in the prison service, or that is fronted politically as something to aim towards.

The juvenile prisons in Malawi are defined "reformatory centres", and the prisons for adults are called prisons. Despite the much more euphonious word "reformatory centre", the place where this study is conducted is in all other aspects than this word, a prison. The situation the

inmates in this prison share, are that they live inside a restricted area where staff are guarding them, and their imprisonment function as a punishment for a crime or while awaiting trial.[15]

Conditions and Restrictions: The Inmates´ Everyday Situation

> By a pizzeria, in a small alley in the city centre, smell from a barbeque can be sensed. Just behind this small alley, lies a brick building that looks rather small from outside the gates surrounding it. It doesn't really stand out, except from the fact that it´s surrounded with about three meter tall wire fences. The building is painted white, and the paint is flaking at the bottom of the walls. It is a brick building like any other Malawian brick building. It could have been a Malawian home, but it´s not, it stretches longer than an average family home, and inside the fences surrounding it, roughly 250 teenage boys and young men eat, sleep and live their everyday lives side by side.[16]

The entire area the prisoners live within, including the outdoors area, are from my observations smaller than 60 times 60 meter large. The building wherein the inmates spend most of their days was built about 50 - 60 years ago, and was built for about 70 inmates. A few additional cells were added, so the building supposably should be suited to host 150 inmates. The average number of inmates living in this prison has the last two years been closer to 250 than 150. The building has at times hosted up to 280 – 300 inmates at the same time.

Looking at the building from the outside, one would not think that it building could accomodate this number of people. From looking at the prison from the outside, it seems impossible that all the inmates can have enough space to lie down during the night.

I was told that if any of the inmates is feeling sick, they are provided painkillers from the prison guards, such as ibuprofen and paracetamol. One of the guards working in the prison where this research was conducted is educated to be a clinician, a well as one of the guards in another juvenile prison in Malawi. It was claimed that there is "a team" of nurses and possibly doctors that are visiting the prison or doing examinations there about every forth night, and that if the inmates are considered seriously sick, they are refereed to a hospital.

[15] Coinsides with what the Oxford dictionary defines as a prison (2015).
[16] Extended observation log, 03.02.14.

In one of the observation logs, the room where the inmates get their medication is described:

> One of the rooms that we pass moving into the workshops area leads to a squared office at about three times three meters, with walls filled with posters and notes with informative texts on them, such as a description on how to test a person for HIV, and other health related information. In this room is a handcrafted (as is usual in Malawi) wooden desk, covered with a black plastic bag. On top of plastic cover lie malaria tests, a plastic box and a couple of pens.[17]

The inmates are allowed to bring with them some private objects inside the prison, such as their private clothes, as they need them at release. During my first visits in the prison, I wondered why some of the inmates wore their private clothes, whilst most of them wore a white fabric prisoner uniform. I was told that the reason for this is that those wearing their private clothes have not yet gotten their trials. They are imprisoned and spend their daily lives as prisoners, but they have not yet been convicted. After conviction the inmates wear the prison uniform, consisting of white shorts and a white short sleeve shirt.

The Daily Schedule: All in Line

The inmates get up in the morning at about 6 a.m. They clean their cells, and then "a team" of inmates responsible for breakfast that day go to make a fire in the outdoors cooking area. I was told that the inmates all take a shower during the morning, "as there is an emphasis on keeping the environment clean, to avoiding skin diseases, etc". The inmates are also bound to take a shower in the afternoon, and it was mentioned to me that the inmates will "get in trouble" if they refuse.

Around 7-8 a.m, after breakfast, I was informed that about one third of the inmates attend a school programme, covering primary school and secondary school programs. The school programme is not facilitated by the prison service of Malawi, but by an independent organisation. The rest of the inmates are claimed to participate in practical carpentry or gardening conducted during the same time during the day, which are also activities conducted by an independent organisation. The team of inmates responsible for cooking that particular day spends much of their morning preparing this. Lunch is usually prepared before 1 p.m.

[17] Extended observation log, 21.01.14.

School are conducted in the same rooms as the music activities are held, and are only a few meters away from the cells the inmates sleep in. In one of the other juvenile prisons in Malawi that Young in Prison are engaged in, there is no school programme within the prison.

Some days of the week, the inmates are offered to go to different activities, such as music activities hosted through Young in Prison on Tuesdays and Thursdays. I was told that an organisation hosts "psychosocial activities", and that there is Christian and Muslim spiritual groups attending the prison during the week. I also observed a group of about ten inmates playing volleyball on the ground just outside the prison a few times when arriving with Young in Prison. All afternoon activities are conducted by independent organisations.

After Young in Prison leave the prison for the day at 3.30, the inmates go to their cells, and are locked up. The routine appeared to involve that the inmates are counted both in the morning and in the afternoon. After the count up in the afternoon, the inmates are not allowed to stay in the outdoor area until the next morning. It appears unnecessary to me that they stay in such a confined area from 3.30 in the afternoon to 6 a.m. the next morning, when they could have been moving in the larger outdoor cell the rest of the evening. I was not informed of the reason for this. I understood this as being the routine conducted in all the prisons of Malawi, included all the youth prisons.

On an Empty Stomach: "I Cannot Sing Without Food"

At arrival, just after passing the prison gates with the rest of the facilitators, the coordinator between Music Crossroads and Young in Prison went over to the Officer in Charge or "the replacer for the Officer in charge". The coordinator would greet the prison staff sitting in the shade of a tiny roof made of hard plastic by the entrance to the offices. They would chat for a couple of minutes, while the rest of the facilitators stay in – or by – the minibus we arrived in. One day, while sitting in the bus, two inmates passed us with nsima (the staple food of Malawi: a rather thick, starchy porridge, made from maize flour). The observation log elaborates on what I see:

> Two of the inmates pass us, we are still inside the minibus waiting for approval to go inside. Are they ready for us to come inside soon? The inmates passing us are carrying a

> few plates of nsima, and it looks darker then the other kinds I have seen so far during my 6 months stay. It looks a bit grainy; maybe it is because the boys haven't really got the technique right? Maybe this nsima is made from coarse-grained flour? Or maybe the nsima looks darker simply because it stains a bit during the stirring? Its heavy work to stir the starchy dish, and especially in such a large pot that is estimated to feed all the inmates. I wonder if they were used to cooking it themselves in their homes on a daily or weekly basis, or if they mainly had other tasks in their homes.[18]

The inmates use corn flour to prepare the meals in prison, which is cheaper, and rougher in texture, than the fine-grained one. I was told that the inmates´ daily schedule includes two meals a day: one in the morning, and one in the afternoon. In the morning, they usually eat porridge made from corn flour, and nsima in the afternoon. The nsima they eat in the afternoon are usually served together with beans, and sometimes (rarely) with a relish made from vegetables and leaves (tomato, onion and for example mustard leaves). From the meal they have in the afternoon, they save food to eat during the evening while being locked up in their cells.

In one of the observations logs, I describe how I am feeling stressed and a bit anxious as I am going to the prison. I had not join the bus from Music Crossroads at this day. I found myself running late to the workshop, and took a local bus from home to town. I hurried from the bus stop in town directed to the prison, and as I could glimpse the prison gate in front of me, I saw the drum – facilitator moving through the gate. He locked the prison gate, and moved towards me. His eyes were directed towards the ground, and he did not see me before he was about 7-8 meters from me:

> He looks so disappointed, like someone has just hit him, out of nowhere. I say his name, once, and then once more, louder. He looks up at me, he doesn´t stop moving, he says "aah", like he is discussed by something. "No workshop today", he says. He looks disappointed, discouraged, he moves past me.[19]

My immidiate thought was that he had also been running late. My second thought was that there was some kind of reason for the workshops to be cancelled just this day that both of us had forgot, for example some kind of arrangement:

[18] Extended observation log, 03.02.14.
[19] Extended observationlog, 21.01.14.

> I respond only vaguely, I say something like "ah, okay", and ask him if he is okay, He doesn't exactly look like he is in the mood for talking, so I just let him pass me. I stand there for a few seconds, asking myself what had happened. I start walking back towards the bus stop while I call my Norwegian colleague to ask him what had happened. He informs me that the workshop is cancelled because the inmates´ has not received food since yesterday. The time is now about 2 pm.

My Norwegian colleague from Music Crossroads told me over the phone that another workshop he was supposed to facilitate earlier on was cancelled, for the same reason. Lack of food is also mentioned by one of the inmates during one of the interviews:

> Interviewer: How does a person look and behave before they go to Music Crossroads in the afternoon? What do they do? Can you explain them?
> Inmate 3: Inside here, for example a lot of people, who we participate together with (at Crossroads implied here), it depends on the day. Sometimes they remember their troubles and they become weak, some people maybe when we receive food late they tend to say, "ah, we are hungry, we won't go just yet, we should eat first". So they become weak, but we still encourage them to say we should still go there and just see even though we are hungry.

The inmate interviewed points at the undeniable connection between being hungry and weak in a physical sense, and weak in motivation to participate. It will not be an exaggeration to claim that the inmates' physical and psychological starting point of both physical movement and learning is challenging. "Inmate 4" sums up the struggles in learning on an empty stomach as this:

> Inmate 4: It requires that I am full in my stomach, you know? Food first. Ye. Because I cannot sing without food.

Stillness: To be Locked up

- Experiences with Imprisonment and Perceptions of the Prisoner Identity

The term "stillness" has synonyms such as silence, *quiet, hush, the absence of motion,* and *noiselessness*.[20] The term can also be understood as being calm, or being at peace with oneself or your surroundings. In this research the term is understood as the absence of motion, the absence of going somewhere. It represent the static, the still, it represents *just staying, without doing anything.*[21]

The Prison Atmosphere: "The Absence of…"

Most of the times I arrived at the prison with the rest of the facilitators, we entered the room where the warm up session would take place before the inmates entered it. One day when we arrived in this room, the inmates where already there when we entered. I presume in retrospect that we were running late, because it looked to me like they had already been sitting up against the wall waiting for a little while. In the observation log from this day I explain the atmosphere amongst the inmates at our arrival as passive, like it did not have its own character or essence:

> The atmosphere the minute we arrived today, just the first few seconds as we entered the prison, I experienced as a bit empty, blank, absent of expectations. The inmates didn't show distinct emotions, like I have observed during the music activities earlier (like joy, presence, concentration, etc.). The atmosphere seemed closer to "nothing", the mood felt sleepy. Except from a few of the inmates that seemed to have expectations, seemed to have been looking forward, a few were eagerly greeting us when we arrived, they were smiling. I remember one of them moved his shoulders a tiny notch upwards as to straighten his shirt, with his eyes directed towards us as we entered.[22]

My perception of this "nothingness" the minute we are entering the door that leads to the workshops room, grows from the observation of clear body expressions lacking. The perception arises from the fact that their eyes were looking a bit sleepy, as they were not focusing on anything in specific, and the small amount of communication in words or gestures between the inmates. A few of the inmates were chatting with low volume voices. A

[20] Synonyms "stillness": www.thesaurus.com/browse/stillness?s=t,
and www.merriam-webster.com/thesaurus/stillness
[21] As described by one of the inmates and one of the prison guards.
[22] Extended observation log. 18.02.14.

few were smiling. But none of this communication was distinct, decisive, in the way that words were not formulated clearly and their body language seemed limp. Moving into the room where the workshops would take place at this time, my thoughts were lead to the image of someone who has just woken up in the morning. When the body and mind needs some time to adjust to the awaken state, the eyes adjusting to the light and the presence and focus in mind and body is slowly brought to life. Not quite asleep – not quite awake.

In the observation log I am asking myself if this could be a consequence of a hierarchy present in prison, a consequence of fear of punishment if appearing loud or disruptive. How much does actual lack of sleep determines this atmosphere? Surely the reason is multifaceted, and the aspects questioned in the observation logs are only assumptions. In the coming chapter I will look at one of the possible factors for this atmosphere, in focusing on the overall experience of being locked up.

The Prisoner Identity*:* "We are Prisoners, so There´s No Need to do Anything"

The inmates' framework when it comes to conditions, restrictions and limitations is so far briefly described under the headline "Descriptions of the Field". But what does being a prisoner entail to these inmates, except from in practical terms? How does if effect their general level of motivation for participating in things? How does it affect their general self – perception; how they understand themselves as people? "Inmate 4" elaborates on why some of his fellow inmates choose not to participate, saying:

> Inmate 4: You know, some people, when they come into this place, they think as though their life has ended here. So, everything that can happen here, you don´t take part. I think, most, we feel like we are prisoners, so there´s no need to do anything.

His answer includes identity aspects, when he is saying that "most, we feel like we are prisoners, so there´s no need to do something". Here, he links *feeling like a prisoner* directly to the perception that "there´s no need to do something". This claim seems to be applicable even though something is "happening", even though the opportunity to engage in something should appear. A sense that nothing you do really matters is also reflected on in the observation logs, when I describe the sleepy atmosphere meeting me and the other facilitators at arrival.

The inmates interviewed recurrently describe the word "prisoner" as if it can be directly linked to not taking an active choice. The perception that it is the prisoner's nature not to participate is also reflected by "inmate 5". He describes the understanding that if you "take it to heart" that you are a prisoner, it can lead you to not participate:

> Interviewer: Some people don't do with us what we come here to do. Why do you think they don't join us?
> Inmate 5: Ah, let's just say that the biggest thing is that these people, since this is prison, take to heart that they are prisoners, and I don't know what they think because, like the way I see it, I saw that this is one way that can change my life.

Here he explains passiveness with that fact that "this is prison". In the transcription "a strong decisiveness in his voice" is indicated. At the same time as connecting his fellow inmates' lack of participation to being a prisoner, he distinguishes himself from "the prisoner" identity by saying that "these people" think differently then how he "sees it". It can seem like he experiences that the fact that he is actively engaging, participating in the workshops, separates him from the more general prisoner identity.

Motivation for Taking Part in Music Activities: "Instead of Just Staying"

When asked how he thinks participating in the music activities affects the inmates, the response from one of the guards is short and clear:

> Guard: Since they are just staying there (nodding towards the cells), without doing things (…). You are helping them, assisting them to fresh their brains.

He refers to the alternative of participating in the music activities as "just staying", which coincides with the perception of the prisoner identity as un-active, not dynamic, describing someone at a stand - still. "Just staying" was an expression I heard several times during my stay in Malawi. It was used when describing people who could not find work, who did not have anything to fill their wallet nor their days with.

I also heard the expression from a young man approaching me in relation to another music project that I was engaged in through Music Crossroads. He seemed sad, burdened by not having an income, but also burdened by not having anything to keep him busy during the day. He told me he was "just staying". To get the chance to do something active, to not only spend

time in this passive, motionless place, he had chosen to join in on the musical workshops that was offered through Music Crossroads, hosted by myself and two of my Norwegian colleagues.

This man came over to me by the end of the sessions several times during the week the workshops lasted, to ask questions on music theory. He would ask a few questions, we discussed them, and I handed him a few tasks that he could work on until the next day. The next day when joining the workshops, he had worked on the task and appeared with follow up - questions. I felt engaged and eager as we were discussing music. I was *held accountable for something* on my side, and it made me feel good that I seemed to master what was required of me.

To be held accountable, to have someone believing in and asking for your skills or potential was possibly something we both experienced at the time: Him believing in me having knowledge and skills to teach, and me believing in him having knowledge to build on, and the ability to learn more. This includes a sort of movement, a practice of knowledge, skills or ideas, and can be seen as moving forward, as development for both parties. On question of why he has chosen to participate in the music activities, "inmate 5" answers:

> Inmate 5: What made me choose this is, we do nothing inside here, so I saw that instead of just staying inside here I'd rather participate in Music Crossroads activities. I saw that I will be getting some skills and when I am released, I will have learnt a lot of things that I did not know before.

"Inmate 5" sees the music activities as an alternative to "just staying inside" the prison, while at the same time claiming that they "do nothing" inside the prison. The prison schedule includes school or practical work and preparing meals, so in choosing the term "nothing" he does not mean in full literal sense. It might be that he is referring to the "nothing" that "inmate 4" is describing: "nothing" in the sense that it is not a place to practice knowledge, skills or ideas, it is not a place that pushes you to move forward, that motivates you to move "from one step to another step" (inmate 4).

On question of how his participation in the music activities in prison "will help him in the future" "inmate 2" says that "the music lessons that I am having will help me have something to do in future, *instead of doing nothing*. That is why I have to work hard in these groups".

Movement: To Unlock

- Experiences with Music Activities and Perceptions of Active Participation

Some of the synonyms of "movement" are: action, motion, change, development, exercise, shift.[23] Movement is connected to "the act or process of moving, changing place, position or posture",[24] a rhythmical flow. It can be understood or linked with, both in a literal sense and figuratively speaking, finding your voice and using your voice. In the literal sense you are finding and using your voice when you sing. Figuratively speaking it is about identity: to look for, and being able to use, yourself. In this research, the term is understood as the presence of motion, the "going somewhere". It represents the vibrant, the dynamic. It represents moving somewhere, with your body or mind, as opposite to standing still.

From the Outside in: "Something Fresh"

> Every Tuesday and Thursday between October 2013 and May 2014, except from a few exceptions during the holidays, a bunch of music and drama facilitators passed a small barbeque smelling alley in a white Nissan minibus in Malawi. The minibus is filled with two "n´goma´s" (traditional drums), a couple of guitars (one of them lacking the bottom string), an electric bass and the last few months: an electric piano. All instruments borrowed from Music Crossroads. Music Crossroads´ permanent driver stops the minibus a few meters after passing the alley, a prison guard opens the gate, and we drive through the gates. The mood in the group of facilitators seems to be more focused at this point than it usually appears to be along the way. Then people are usually laughing, "teasing" each other, some may be looking out of the window, some just chatting.[25]

One of the guards introduces the term "entertainment" in his interview, as an alternative to "just staying". He is of the opinion that the music activities "is some sort of entertainment to them", and he seems to view this entertainment as valuable in itself. He explains that the workshops seem to "fresh their brains".[26] When something "fresh" happens, in terms of that someone from the outstide enter the prison gates, with instruments and new ideas not existing inside the prison gates from before, is it natural to perceive that the atmosphere, the group dynamics, the established mind-set and self-perceptions potentially moves out of its established rhythm? And physically, how does this "motion" appear, this encounter of music

[23] Synonyms "Movement": www.thesaurus.com/browse/movement?s=t
[24] Dictionary "Movement": www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/movement
[25] A general description of the setting and mood at arrival, written December 2013.
[26] Definitions retrieved from the interview with one of the guards.

facilitators and the inmates? In the following conversation the atmosphere is discussed:

> Interviewer: How would you describe the atmosphere in the group, everyone who is going to Young in Prison, you know, on Tuesdays and Thursdays? You know, just before you go inside. Do you feel like its different on Tuesdays? When it's like 1.pm. Do you feel like the mood is different, than on Monday or Sunday or any day that Music Crossroads will not come? Or is it just the same?
>
> Inmate 4: No, it's not the same (clear voice, decisive tone).
>
> Interviewer: Okay?
>
> Inmate 4: It's not the same, because you can.. When Music Crossroads come here (short break), I feel good. Because its the time when we practice our.. Our skills. And.. Each and every time Music Crossroads come here, I move from this step to this step.

Many aspects can be interpreted from the inmate´s statement above. Unfortunately, the question posed is a leading one, and includes an assumption. This can clearly weaken the liability in the inmates' answer. At the same time, it should be taken into consideration that his voice sounds loud and clear from the recording – clearer than in most of his other statements. I find that he speaks with conviction, and this is the reason why I decided to include it in this chapter. In theese last few sentences, he sounded frustrated while he was looking for words. He sounds as if it is of importance to him to find the right words, and he is clearly focused in this part. He emphasizes that the workshops is a time for practicing skills, and developing, in taking these skills a step forward.

"Inmate 2" points out in the interview that there has been a few times when he has expected Young in Prison (YiP) to arrive with workshops, that they have not arrived. I assume that the reasons for why YiP did not appear are mostly practical, for example if there was a holiday, and the inmates had not been informed. During the time I was there, YiP went from Music Crossroads to the prison on all designated days, and it never seemed as an option not to go. The inmate says that he "worries a lot" when YiP have not arrived as expected:

> Interviewer: Why do you worry when Young in Prison are not around?
> Inmate 2: Because when you don't come, I get worried a lot. There are a lot of things that are burdening my life, because when we are inside, the things that we are doing there are not good things. We fight with our friends, but when you come, it means that if there was a problem like maybe we got into a

> fight with our friends, that don't happen anymore.

If the "fight" the inmate is referring to is verbal or physical, are not specified. But he also mentioned these worries later in the interview, and from this emphasis it appears that he experience these fights as frightening. It also appears as if Young in Prison to him represents a free space from these fights, and that this free space is important to this inmate. Summed up, it seems that the workshops are a relief in terms of experiencing safety. It might be interpreted from this that on the matter of feeling safe, or experiencing safety, the workshops represents something contrary to ordinary prison time.

Facilities and Possibilities: Facts on the Arts Workshops

When I first joined the project, all the workshops started with an about 20 - 30 minutes warm - up session, with all the inmates gathered in the same room. The four - five last months that I was involved, the warm up sessions where shortened down to about 10 - 15 minutes. The number of participants varied, but on average 40 - 60 boys were gathered during the warm ups. The room where the warm ups took place was also used for the traditional dance group, and was from my estimations about 6-7 times 10-12 meter large.

If there was not enough space for everyone to participate, some inmates were sitting at desks that were shuffled up against the wall, paying attention to what was going on. Usually, most of the boys participated. After the warm-ups, the facilitators and the participants would break into groups, containing choir, dance and drums, drama, a couple of guitar groups, bass, and the past few months also a piano group.

The rooms, in which the workshops take place, are described in one of the observation logs. I first pass a small hallway with a door on each side leading to offices, and then I find myself in the workshop areas:

> Just after passing these two doors, the ceiling is the sky just like in the outdoor cell where we found ourselves in when first introduced to the inmates and the performance they presented the first time. This outdoor cell is now wall to wall with the area I find myself in: an about 20 – 25 meter long outdoor corridor. It´s about two - three meters wide. In the

> middle of the wall to the left is a metal door that the inmates pass when arriving to the music workshops. This door is locked with a padlock during the workshops.[27]

The padlock is illustrating the inmates´ restrictions. At the time of the workshops this restriction separates the inmates participating in the project, both from the rest of the inmates, and from what is defined as "just staying"; a passive place. This separation seems to be experienced by some as a form of safety (as pointed out by "inmate 6" in the previous sub - chapter). A picture of the physical space, which is provided for the participating inmates, is drawn in the same observation log:

> The wall on my right side is filled with doorways (with no door), and a few glass windows to open. Here you find three rooms that function as classrooms during daytime, with blackboards and wooden desks inside. The room to my right is where the warm-ups are being held and where the traditional dance - group is conducted after splitting into smaller groups. The next one is where the instrument workshops are being held and the third one is where the choir workshops are held. In the end of this outdoor hallway is a smaller room where the drama workshops are hosted.[28]

As described in explaining what the facilitators bring with them in the bus going to the prison, the equipment used during the workshops is not especially advanced or large in number. One of the guitars was lacking a string, its body had swollen from the heat, and because of that it was unable to tune perfectly. The bass was accompanied by a small amplifier, which sometimes could not be used, at the times that the electricity was out. The drama group had a few props to work with: a hat or two, a couple of jerseys, t-shirts, a pair of shoes. In the room where the choir group was conducted, there was no piano, and no other equipment used as far as I could see. The dance group used face - and body - paint and costumes for performances, and during workshops they used two n´goma´s (drums) as equipment.

The rooms used where of classroom sizes, and had concrete floor and concrete walls. Two - three guitar groups, a piano group and a bass group where practicing in one room together. This inevitably filled this particular room with lots of sounds, which sometimes took away the participators focus, but mostly they seemed to not let it affect their concentration much. I had not noticed that the roof was a tin roof, before I conducted a guitar workshop a Tuesday in February, and it started raining. A guitar student practiced a chord on the guitar, and with the

[27] Extended observation log, 11.04.14.
[28] Extended observation log, 11.04.14.

rain hitting the roof it turned impossible to decide what kind of chord he was playing just from the sound.

With the risk of undervaluing having top equipment: it seemed to me from both the observation logs and the interviews, that the *possibilities* in the workshops and the equipment are more apparent than the *limitations*. If this claim is correct, I would interpret that the possibilities in the project described in the next subchapter, in large rely on the people involved, both facilitators and inmates. The possibilities rely on their musical and human competence, their personality, background and former experiences, their ability and motivation to learn and develop, to listen and to communicate.

How to Move with Fetter?

Fetter can be defined as "a chain or manacle used to restrain a prisoner, typically placed around the ankles.[29] The fetter is a sort of punishment, with the goal to restrain someone's physical movements. It can be seen as a visual expression on what is also the effect of the prison walls: they "lock someone up", they "restrain them".[30] In one of the observation logs I describe how the inmates were entering the room this particular day – some with fetter:

> The prisoners come dancing, into the room. The facilitator standing next to me refers to that they are in a line, and says: "That seems organized. Now that's a bit creepy". I do not agree with him that the line seems organised. I'm sure the guards have told them to walk on a line like this, but how they dance their way to the workshop do not seem organised, or planned, to me. More like saying "OK, we might have to walk in a line, but at least we can dance while doing so". They do the same movements as the ones they are working on during the dance workshops – though their movement are smaller now / "in a milder form". Two of the prisoners has what looks like an iron fetter around their ankles, I haven´t seen this inside the prison before. I wonder what they have done to get that as their punishment. I did not pay attention to who the two were exactly, I cannot remember if they had just come in to prison, or if I have seen them many times here earlier.[31]

The observation noted in the text above takes place while I am together with the other facilitators, putting down the instruments in the room where we will host instrument workshops after the warm up. The inmates are entering the outdoor hallway "dancing" in a

[29] Definition "fetter", from: www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/fetter
[30] Definition "fetter", from: www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/fetter
[31] Extended observation log, 20.01.14.

line. This was the first time I had seen the inmates entering the hallway in a line, with an almost equal distance between them.

When referring to ”dancing” in this context, what I really mean is that a few of them were moving their right foot at the same time as the others, rather fast; their left foot at the same time as the others, in small, small coordinated steps, barely lifting their feet. I saw some small movements in their hips, and their shoulders and their heads were moving from side to side in a way that appeared to me as spontaneous. They were smiling at the same time as they were looking at each other, looking over the shoulder of the person in front of them, looking more and more confident as they were getting closer to the entrance of the warm ups room.

From the log, I question if one can interpret the small dance movements they do as a tiny “protest” against something. Possibly against an execution of power being repeatedly suppressed on them, in their roles as prisoners? In retrospect, I read a tiny “hurrah” from my side from the observation note. I remember feeling a bit fascinated by their smiles at the time. What appeared to me as a “polite protest” against something was strengthen by a specific sense of togetherness in the group at the time.

I pictured that except from the two restricted by the fetter around their ankles, the inmates would, for the coming hour, move in a certain formation because they had chosen to participate in a music group, not because they were told to. That they would focus on their movements, one foot in front of the other, because *they had chosen to* focus, and that they would do this with a sort of energy that was not forced or implemented on them, but because they had found the guts to try themselves to ”move from one step to another step” (“inmate 4”). Where do these self – desided movements lead them?

Moving Away From the Prisoner Identity?

> They are dancing with powerful movements, sharp, strong, distinct. The boys look concentrated. My attention is especially drawn towards to two of them. One of them looks down, “this is his territory / his place”. He draws an invisible circle around himself, with his eyes, makes sure he has got enough space around him. The space is a bit confined physically. He makes sure he´s got enough space around him.[32]

[32] Extended observation log, 03.03.15.

The observation log above sums up a significant part of my perception on what was going on during the workshops, as it is emphasising focus, concentration, decisiveness, at the same time as it points out the space created for movement. I find that the image of the dancer drawing "an invisible circle around himself", is a visualization of the psychological space appearing in relation to the workshops. The same space that "inmate 2" describes as a space where he can let go of his worries (from the subchapter "From the Outside in: Something Fresh").

This observation makes me wonder how often during his day the dancer described above gets the opportunity to physically move with strong, distinct, movements, which he himself has chosen to exercise? The descriptions from the field, combined with the inmates views on what the music activities does to them, points towards that it does not happen very often. The physical space created for movement during the workshops, can be claimed to represent the opposite of their prisoner identity. One of the inmates distinguishes himself from those choosing to not participate, by saying that he thinks about it differently than those who do not participate do. He says:

> Inmate 3: So about them I don't know, since one can't read people's minds. Sometimes it happens that some are there, in thoughts, some there, since we all come here because of different offences, so maybe some people are constantly thinking about their crime, maybe others are just thinking about other things, so they don't take part".

To distinguish your self from the rest of the inmates, can be seen as positive for this exact inmate. On the same question, "inmate 4" answers that "it´s a part of their choice". He points out that himself, and the other people who have chosen to participate in the music activities, have actually made an active choice to take part in something. I think that his point of volunteerism towards participating can be seen as an important aspect on what motivates the inmates to participate. The aspect of volunteerism separates these activities in large from the rest of their daily actions.

"Inmate 4" seems ambiguous in the rest of his answers regarding why some choose to not participate. He alternates between giving themselves the responsibility to take a choice on one side, and at the same time showing a sort of understanding for not joining in, by wondering if "maybe they don´t think about their future". He seems quite affected, and frustrated about this question. This makes me wonder if this is a well-known issue for him on a personal level.

Maybe the choice to participate was not such an easy or obvious choice for him to take? Maybe he himself also doubted if there was any use for him to participate? This would coincide with the presented general experience of being a prisoner. Looking at his obvious frustration when answering this question, combined with the overall experience of being a prisoner described earlier, it would make sense that this could have felt like a conflicting, or challenging, choice to take also for this inmate.

During the interview with one of the guards, he says of the inmates in the drama group that "they go to prepare some costumes with their colleagues". The coordinator between Young in Prison and Music Crossroads repetitively refer to the inmates participating in the workshops as "musicians". These definitions seem to reveal a more positive label than "the inmate" or "the prisoner".

The Presence of "Here and Now": Opposite to "Absence of"

"Absence" and "presence" are autonyms. I would argue that the characteristics of someone appearing present, is that they seem focused, concentrated or committed in how they express themselves through their body language. Not at all necessarily in large movements, but in that they have firm expressions, for example in having strong eye contact, or in having a straight, but relaxed body posture. That is the opposite of what I experienced as dominant in the prison environment, at the moment when I arrived in the prison, which I described as being of a still, static character, as being a place with "absence of".

> "Name-of-prison moto! Name-of-prison fire! Name-of-prison moto! Name-of-prison fire!"[33] The boys seem to "wake up". Like as if everything is grey, and then the sun suddenly appears. They put their energy into the exercises, into the words. Getting some energy out?[34]

An exercise repeatedly used as an energizer during the warm ups was a "call and response" exercise, where the participants would lift their right hand up in the air, while energetically shouting. When we have all gathered together in the room, and the second we are about to start the warm ups, I find it to be a special atmosphere. In the observation log from 20th of

[33] The inmates and facilitators used the name of the prison in this exercise. "Moto" means "fire", something "is on fire" or something "caught fire", in Chichewa.
[34] Extended observation log, 06.02.14.

February (2014), I am explaining it as "a positive mood. Implemented in the atmosphere is that we are soon going to share activities, do something positive, experience something together." To release energy is also an aspect with the warm ups that is recurrently mentioned in the data, for example described as the following, in a log from the 6th of February (2014):

> The warm up today: The exercise that we started todays warm-up with is always so energetic. One of the facilitators says "chweee mwana chweee!", the boys answer "chwee", call-and-response-feeling. One of the others facilitators told me that the words don´t mean anything, they´re just sounds. The exercises that are used for the warm-ups are called "energizers", when I think about it. They´re used during the warm -ups also if the focus in the group is slipping. The facilitator leading the warm-ups at the time will suddenly shout "chweee mwana chweee!" out loud, the boys will answer "chwee", this will be repeated one or two times more. He will look determined at the boys, a look that says "focus", and then continue the exercise they originally were engaged in before the unrest started to sneak in to the group.[35]

The focus and commitment required to the present of the moment, is something that is also continuously mentioned in the observations. The attention that the "here and now" activity requires, is exemplified also in an exercise that occurred during another workshop:

> Another musical exercise is next: first splitting into three groups. The facilitator leading the warm - up is standing in the centre of the inmates that are standing in a circle around him; some behind the others as there is not enough space for everyone to be in the main circle. He points at one of the inmates, says "one", points at the one next to him, says "two", the next one; "three", and further the inmates counts "one, two three" as the facilitator moves around the circle looking at one and one. The "one"-group gathers up in a corner of the room, and the other two groups do the same. I really like this exercise! The inmates seem so focused. First the facilitator gives out a rhythm to the first group, then to the other group, then a rhythm to the third one. Step by step.[36]

About 10 inmates are gathered in each group, and they establish circles while "receiving" the rhythm from the facilitator. They look at each other while singing the rhythms, leaning into the middle of the group, and are naturally moving their bodies with the pulse of the rhythms. After all rhythms are "given out" by the facilitator, all the rhythms combine. What I like about this exercise is how it requires the full attention of the participants from the start, and how it is vulnerable to the extent that it is only done with the voice.

[35] Extended observation log, 06.02.14.
[36] Extended observation log, 30.01.14.

The voice naturally requires breaks in between because of the need to breathe in. This means that mistakes are easily heard: maybe that is an aspect of what makes the concentration of the inmates so strong in this exercise? At least they start out very much focused in this exercise. The first time I saw this exercise being conducted, it failed because of a lack of focus. Regaining the focus, the exercise are described as the following:

> They engage, with their bodies, their shoulders and their head from side to side, one of the inmates pretend like he is rapping / creating a rappers attitude with one of his hands closer to the mouth like he´s beat boxing. Their bodies changes from appearing "teenage lanky", to appearing more confident, present. Their eyes focus inwards in the circle; some are looking about four meters ahead, to the other side of the circle at the floor, they look concentrated. Some look at the others, laughing, some are smiling. A few big smiles appear when they have gotten into the rhythm. It´s like the eyes of two of them are sparking, has changed, they seem lighter, are communicating. The group to the right in the corner starts clapping, spontaneously as far as I know. The room seems filled with life. I am also smiling, I feel humble, happy. I want to "share"/ give, I want to communicate, they share / give, they communicate. Some are curious, smiling at me as well as at the others. I feel that it requires a lot from me to clap, sing, to be present, with my body and mind, focus, but I feel very motivated to engage. Do the participants feel like this too?[37]

The commitment I feel at this time appears after I have started to move. As if from the physical movements came a will to engage, to move, to "share", and to be present. I did not measure the quality of my movements from the way I perceived that it looked, but by my own experience of the situation and the communication between us. It felt so obvious to me that the activity was meaningful, that assessing it or evaluating it was never up to consideration in my mind. I was focused, present, and busy moving.

Moving: "It Makes Me Forget all the Burdens in my Life"

> Before the warm-ups: One of the inmates just grabs the drums from my hand when I am entering. I felt weak today, didn´t have any energy to react in any specific way; maybe I should have? I notice that I don´t feel all present today, I've got a lot of private things on my mind. Am dragged to the moment when we start with the activities during the warm – ups.[38]

[37] Extended observation log, 14.11.13.
[38] Extended observation log, 03.02.14.

When the inmates are talking about the rumination and worries they often are caught up in, they also talk about the music activity as something that gives them a break from their thoughts, as a setting in which you direct your focus at something else than their ponderings. When answering questions on how playing drums or dancing makes him feel, "inmate 1" answers:

> Inmate 1: "When I am playing the drums, it happens that if I had any bad thoughts, or if I got into a fight with a friend, I happen to ignore those things and just focus on what I am doing at that time".

He is adding on to this statement that "when I am dancing especially, it makes me forget all the burdens in my life". To be able to switch focus from worrisome thoughts towards an activity that requires attention and focus there and then, is repeated as an important aspect by several of the inmates during the interviews. On answering the question of how he feels when he is singing, "inmate 3" says:

> Inmate 3: When I am singing, my life is very happy, I think that I'm not in here, like I'm outside. I can differentiate during that time when I am singing; my life is transformed, unlike when I am inside just moving around in a place like that (referring to the prison). But when you come (refeering to Young in Prison) I find that I find something to do, work that if we take seriously can change our lives.
> Interviewer: When you are down, or you're not thinking about the things you just mentioned here, what do you worry about?
> Inmate 3: I can say that there are a lot of things to worry about, like maybe the way we were arrested, from the court the moment the magistrate made his verdict on our crimes, so we remember that, and we find ourselves hurting because we are remembering what happened, so it happens that we're thinking upon those things a lot. But if you had come (again refeering to YiP) or if another group came if you failed to make it, those things wouldn't happen. We find ourselves thinking a lot, but when you come, we forget those things instantly, because we know that they are useless, but when you come, you encourage us. We change.

The shift of focus that the workshops offer seems important to this inmate. Shift in thought, shift in focus, and shift on an emotional level. In specific, the workshops seem to represent to him a space where he does not need to deal with being a prisoner they same way he usually does.

4. Discussion and Theoretical Framing

In the previous chapter descriptions of the field were presented. The rest of the data was divided into two main categories, presented as concepts of "stillness", and "movement". The two concepts are understood as contrasting, and represent imprisonment on one hand and participation in music activities on the other hand.

In this chapter I will form a theoretical framework for the findings. In line with grounded theory, the aim of this theoretical framing is to explicate my conceptual logic and direction(s), engage leading ideas, and acknowledge prior theoretical works" (Charmaz 2006, 169). Charmaz argues that the theoretical framework in a grounded theory study "emerges from your analysis and argument about it" (Charmaz 2006, 169).

As my choice of theoretical framework should have its basis in the findings of this study, I have chosen existing theory that looks into the key consepts of the findings and analysis. I will discuss my findings in relation to exsisting theory focusing on two main topics:

- The effects of imprisonment in terms of how it makes the inmate understand himself.
- The effects of music participation in terms of how it makes the participatior understand himself.

Through this discussion and theoretical framing I will "locate the specific arguments" that my grounded theory make (Charmaz 2006, 169).

In this chapter I will discuss my findings in relation to certain aspects of the Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Freire´s concepts in "Pedagogy of the Oppressed". I have specifically found his elaborations on understanding the human being as *a subject* as opposite to an *object*, relevant to my findings. Regarding the prisoner Idenity I will refeer to Liebling and Maruna presenting a simulated prison project in "Effects of Imprisonment", and briefly refeer to an aspect of Ugelvik´s findings (Phd, Power and Resistance in a Norwegian Prison). I will also use aspects on "Music and Identity" in this chapter, as presented by the Norwegian Professor and Music Therapist Even Ruud (including Ruud`s quotes comments from Monsen and Erikson on identity).

Imprisonment: Demanding Passivity?

In this sub-chapter I will look at what existing theory says on imprisonment at the effects of this, in specific in terms of how it makes the inmate understand and define him self, and dicuss this in relation to my findings on these matters.

In a section of "The Effects of Imprisonment", the authors reflect on an experiment conducted in 1971 at a University in California, USA. The experiment is referred to as "The Zimbardo ´Simulated Prison´ Experiment". The experiment illustrates "the dangers of institutional roles in influencing human behaviour" (Alison Liebling 2005, 9). The students participating in this experiment "role-played prisoners and guards in a simulated prison. Subjects were selected after careful diagnostic testing of a large group of volunteer, male college students. Participants were randomly assigned to act as either prisoners or guards in an experiment designed to last two weeks" (Alison Liebling 2005, 9).

Particularly relevant to my findings, is what the behaviour of those participating in the experiment reveals, in specific those given roles of inmates. What occurred during the experiment was that taking on the prisoner identity, strongly affected how the students experienced and understood themselves. This was shown through prominent changes in their behaviour. The experiment was cut short after less than a week, and the reason for this was explained as follows:

> "..the researchers became startled and concerned by what they were seeing. The authors reported that the prison became a psychologically compelling environment, eliciting unexpectedly intense, realistic and often pathological reactions from the participants. The prisoners seemed to experience a loss of personal identity and reacted profoundly to the arbitrary control of their behaviour. This resulted in a syndrome of passivity, dependency, depression and helplessness" (Alison Liebling 2005, 9).

"The model prisoner reaction" in the Zimbardo experiment is summed up as: "passivity, dependence (or learned helplessness) and flattened affect" (Alison Liebling 2005, 9). This reaction strongly coincides with the findings emerged in this study conducted in Malawi, illustrated by the inmates´ passive bodily and facial expressions before the music activities started. The inmates´ experience and perception of that "there is no need to do anything", can

be addressed to their prisoner identity. Their understanding of themselves as objects[39], coincides with the findings of the Zimbardo experiment.

Institutionalisation is a known phenomenon. To be institutionalised means being "incorporated into a structured and usually well – established system".[40] In the Zimbardo experiment, the inmates' passivity and "flattened effect" was understood as a consequence of the structure of a prison, and how this structure forces the inmates to "allow others to exercise power over them" (Alison Liebling 2005, 10). Loosing the power of your own life and actions to such as an extent, passivity is seen as a logical reaction. The Zimbardo experiment connects the "loss of personal identity" to "the experience of arbitrary control".

In my study, "loss of personal identity" can in these terms be seen as a consequence of the conditions in this prison, and how it controls the inmates' everyday life. Their freedom for making their own decisions regarding their own lives is extremely restricted. The possibility of doing anything about their own situation regarding basic human needs, for example in terms of food, is absent. The daily schedule, the prison uniform, and the power structure in the prison can all be summed up as elements, which constitute a distinct "loss of personal identity". The prison stay do not encourage the prominence of their personal identities, it forces them to be "one in a line". Even Ruud quotes the psychologist Erik H. Erikson, speaking of our understanding of our identity as an interaction between *the individual* and the communal culture:

> (Identity entails..) a process ´located´ *in the core of the individual* and yet also in the *core of his communual culture,* a process which establishes, in fact, the identity of those two identities (Ruud 1997, 105).

Erikson argue that our understanding of ourselves partly is affected by the communal culture. Assuming that the communal culture of the prison puts the inmates "emotional experiences (..) in the background and others expectations and demans" in the fore, this can be seen as the inmates getting an "alienated experience" of themselves. (Ruud 1997, 119). Ruud is quoting Monsen (1991, 143) on the characteristics of this alienated experience, understanding "the socal self" as the society in which we cannot control:

[39] Object, in terms of "someone who are exposed to action (Freire:1999).
[40] Definition "Institutionalised": www.thefreedictionary.com/institutionalised

> The social self can easily become too dominating and more or less without accordance with the true self. If this become to habitual, can our own emotions appear so far in the background for our attantion that vi simply loose touch with them. To be a mentally healthy and well – functioning human being, we must feel and experience based on ourselves. If we loose this opportunity, we loose the core in ourselves. We then feel to varying degrees empty, without meaning and without substance (Ruud 1997, 119).

The experience of lacking meaning is relfected in the inmates perceptions of that "there is no need to do anything", as a prisoner. Monsen refers to the "core in ourselves", which can be linked to what the Zimbardo experiment refeers to as "personal identity". Monsen emphasises the opportunity to "feel and experience based on ourselves", and not by what are imposed on us. Ruud also refers to "the idea of "self-determined freedom", in other words being free when I decide for my self what conserns myself, rather than that I am formed by external conditions" (Ruud 1997, 118 - 119). Ruud, Monsen and Erikson all emphasise being able to make decisions for your own life, for being in touch with your personal identity.

Music Participation: A Catalyst for the Subject?

Participation is, according to Freire, the contrary of being pasivated. The term *participation* has been included as a premise in this study conducted in Malawi, when describing the inmates´ experiences with music activities. In the introduction of his book, "Pedagogy of the Oppressed", Paulo Freire argues that *subjects* are those who are active, those who act, in opposite to those who are exposed to action (Freire 1999, 19).

How the inmates´ in this study experiences to be imprisoned, seems to coincide with Freire´s definition of *an object.* The findings argue that the inmates strongly experience being exposed to action, by having in large lost power over their own lives while they are imprisoned. The findings also points towards that the inmates´ experience their participation in music activities as being someone who acts. Could it be that participation in music activities encourages them as *subjects*, in Freire´s understanding of the term: someone who actively engages? Could it be that their participation in music activities helps them reclaim a "loss of personal identity"? A loss that in the Zimbardo experiment was regarded as a consequence of the role one wears as a prisoner.

In the Norwegian translation of Freire´s "Pedagogy of the oppressed", the Norwegian writer, professor and peace activist Eva Norland has written an additional introduction. Here she argues that the first prerequisite for a human being to *participate* is that she or he is *not* "unsafe, passivated, oppressed" (Freire 1999, 13). The inmates participating in the Young in Prison project, do *participate*, they *do* "give rise to a feeling, response or action" during the music workshops. If Norland is right, that one cannot be "unsafe, passivated, oppressed", *and at the same time* participate; does that mean that the inmates´ in this particular prison, *do not* experience themselves as unsafe, passivated or suppressed inside the prison? The findings of this study argue that they do. So why, and how, can they then still *participate*, with focus, presence, with what seems to be joy, eagerness and dedication? Why do they appear *present*, during the activities, the strong characteristic of someone being active: a subject?

The analysis in this study suggests that the music activities removes, or weaken, the inmates´ experiences of feeling unsafe, passivated and oppressed. Why are these experiences removed or weakened during music participation, when the inmates are still physically imprisoned? A central aspect seems to be that the inmates through music participation are held accountable for something, they are "seen" and "acknowledged"[41] as someone exerting a voluntary, active choice. This does not match the prisoner identity, and by this it reveals opportunities to understand and define oneself outside the "pre-set" role of being a prisoner. One can if following Freire´s argument claim that the inmates´ choice to join the activities, is an active choice, and is therefore strengthening them as *subjects.* They step out of their roles as *objects*, as they have actively chosen to engage. The inmates' engagement "there and then" during the music activities are also visually illustrated by their presence, focus and decisive body language.

Looking at the safety aspect brought up by Norland: During the music activities, the one and a half hours that the music facilitators are inside the prison, the putative fear of punishment if they act loud or disruptive, seems to be less substantial. The guards, representing the prison service, physically take a step aside. They still guard the area, but they are not in control of the actions made during the workshops. Those in control are in large the facilitators and the inmates. Those "guarding" the inmates these one and a half hours are the facilitators. The facilitators are doing activities with them, focusing *with* them, *participating with* them. They

[41] Terms retrieved from Even Ruud speaking of experiences with music participation. 1997:83.

are not there to exert discipline towards the inmates; they are there to *facilitate* activities *together with* the inmates.

The Zimbardo experiment showed that those students who had had the role of guards experienced their identity as nearly contradictory to the roles of the inmates, as the guards experienced "gains in social power, status and group identification". This "guard identity" led to an "aggressive and dehumanising behaviour". The experiment points out that the power structures in a prison to a large degree cause the inmates´ understanding of themselves as objects. These power structures seem, in my study, to be flattened out in the encounter of arts facilitators and inmates. This makes it possible for the inmates to understand themselves differently during the music workshops than in other situations in the prison.

The participation in the activities conducted in the workshops, actually require presence, focus, concentration, and physical engagement. As opposite to being pacified, as opposite of "just staying", they are being held accountable for something, they are "encouraged, uphold".[42] To personally engage in something, and to engage with presence, focus and commitment, are actions "protesting" against the prisoner identity.

Thomas Ugelvik´s dissertation from 2011 regards "power and resistance" in a Norwegian prison (Ugelvik 2011). He looks at the inmates´ resistance towards the prison system, reflected in inmates actions: such as planning an attempted escape from the prison. His dissertation sees the inmates´ resistance towards the prison system as an attempt to regain control over themselves and their "personal identity"; an attempt to move away from the unwanted prisoner identity. In the sub – chapter "How to Move with Fetter?" in my study, this attempt to "move out of the line", away from the prisoner identity, is illustrated. It argues that music participation entails possibilities of "moving away from the prison identity".

The findings of this research inherently argue that the prison environment that these juvenile prisoners live in, encourage the inmates to be a person to which "action or feeling *is directed*"[43] - an object. The music activities, on the other hand, seem to encourage the individual, the

[42] Autonyms of "oppressed": www.dictionary.reference.com/browse/oppressed?s=t
[43] Definition "Object": www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/object

subject, in terms of holding the inmate accountable for something, and understanding the inmate as someone who can "give rise to" a "feeling, response, or action".[44]

5. Conclusion

The objective of this study was to gain a better understanding of how a group of inmates in a particular Malawi juvenile prison experience and perceive their own participation in music activities. The study has looked into the inmates' experience of the music participation "there and then", through exploring how the inmates communicate and express themselves during the music activities. It has explored how the inmates perceive and convey their own participation, and looked at how their participation affects how they understand and define themselves.

The findings of the study points at how the inmates´ experience and perception of participating in music activities stands in stark contrast to their overall experience and perception of being prisoners. It point out the prison as a sleepy, static, still place, where the inmates in large understand themselves as objects. The inmates seem to strongly connect the prisoner identity to being passive, a sence that "there is no need to do anything". In the discussion chapter the passivity of a prisoner is explained as a consequence of the loss of personal identity, the loss of control of your own life.

The findings argue that participation in music activities holds the opportunity for the inmates to move away from the passive prisoner identity, as the music participation requires presence, focus and engagement, and includes conducting a voluntary choice to participate.

[44] Definition "Subject": www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/subject

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