THE THERAPEUTIC POTENTIALS OF CREATING AND PERFORMING MUSIC WITH WOMEN IN PRISON: A QUALITATIVE CASE STUDY

Lucy OøGrady, PhD, RMT[1]

ABSTRACT

The aim of this research is to contribute ideas toward the possibilities of what music therapy can be, by examining the therapeutic potentials of creating and performing music within the context of an Australian maximum-security womenøs prison. The research is an intrinsic qualitative case study of a ten-week creative process that involved seven women in prison who collaboratively created and performed a musical together with artists from a theatre company. In order to examine the therapeutic potentials of creating and performing music, the researcher conducted post-performance interviews with the seven women who were in prison and also wrote session notes throughout the ten-week process. The researcher utilised grounded theory analysis in order to explain the therapeutic potentials of creating and performing music in this case.

The main results of the analysis explain how creating and performing music served as a bridge from the õinsideö to the õoutside.ö The participating women described a real and symbolic divide between their realities inside prison and the world outside the razor wire. By creating and performing music, the women were able to experience five different ways of shifting outside of their realities in prison, by moving (a) from physical and symbolic õinsideö places to õoutsideö places, (a) from the private to the public, (c) from solitude to togetherness, (d) from a focus on the self to a focus on others, and (e) from subjective thought processes to objective thought processes. The exploration of an outward-directed approach to music experience in this case can help to extend traditional music therapy practices where inward-directed therapeutic shifts are more commonly described.

INTRODUCTION

A wise old man once suggested to me that music therapy is a tautology, that music *is* therapy. The ancient notion that healing is inevitable when we interact with music is still popular and leads to the idea that it can be used prescriptively, as if it were a pill (Stige, Ansdell, Elefant, & Pavlicevic, 2010). From biblical tales of David playing the harp in

---

order to ease Sauløs depression to contemporary yet controversial reports detailing the use of Mozartøs music to treat epilepsy (Jenkins, 2001), people commonly perceive music as an object to which therapeutic outcomes are intrinsic and predestined.

However, music is not the neat and tidy object that the iPod makes it seem. Neither is it always therapeutic. For instance, listening to music can induce epileptic reactions in some people (Jenkins, 2001) and in some of its õmetalö, õrockö, and õrapö incarnations, music enjoys a notorious but contentious association with the antisocial behaviours of some adolescents (Anderson, Carnagey, & Eubanks, 2003; Baker & Bor, 2008; Bushong, 2002; Doak, 2003; Lacourse, Claes, & Villeneuve, 2001; Miranda & Claes, 2004). Sometimes, professional musicians even cultivate psychopathological experiences as a way into their work (Nelson, 2005) or succumb to the notion of the õsuffering artistö that is so firmly entrenched in our culture (Cameron, 2002).

Music is *not* therapy, nor is it always therapeutic. Certain therapeutic potentials, however, *are* inherent in music, and these can be fulfilled depending upon the ways in which music is enacted. Mapping these ways has been of particular interest to music therapists who explicitly aim to access the therapeutic potentials of music in their clinical work. Music therapists have typically described the therapeutic potentials of music by drawing upon physiological, sociological, or psychological frameworks of understanding, borrowing language and concepts from fields such as medicine, education, social work and psychology. This has enabled music therapists to apply an already existing explanatory system to their ideas while communicating their work to different health professionals (Aigen, 2005). However, in adopting these languages predominantly, music therapists have not only undernourished the development of their own indigenous theories to explain their work, they have also undervalued the types of therapeutic potentials that can be accessed through music (Aigen, 2001).

This is perhaps no more obvious than within the literature concerning the use of music as therapy with people incarcerated in prisons or forensic hospitals. Behavioural approaches to music therapy proliferate in these settings (Ficken & Gardstrom, 2002). In view of this almost singular approach, many music therapists working in the area have declared the need for more research (Ficken & Gardstrom, 2002; Fulford, 2002; Gallagher & Steele, 2002; Rio & Tenney, 2002; Wyatt, 2002). This need for knowledge is even more conspicuous when considering the dearth of research in forensic health in general, especially in relation to female prisoners (Balfour, 2006; Byrne & Howells, 2002; Cabrera-Balleza, 2003; McQuiade & Ehrenreich, 1998; Wyatt, 2002).

Aim and Scope of the Study

The research question driving this qualitative case study is:

> What are the therapeutic potentials of creating and performing music that were available in this case to the women in prison?

The case consists of a particular ten-week period in which a musical show was created and performed by seven women incarcerated in an Australian prison, in collaboration with a group of eight female artists from a theatre company that included myself as musical director. Using language and ideas that stem from the women who participated in

the research, the study adds variety to the predominantly behavioural body of related music therapy literature, while potentially contributing to the development of creative programs in forensic settings and ultimately the health of women in prison.

The scope of this study is limited to the particular case under examination because the study has not been designed to ascertain how this case is generalisable to other cases. As researcher, I focus instead on the particularities of this case and frame the research as an intrinsic case study (Stake, 2005). Despite the limited potential of the present research to generalise empirically, I still believe and intend that the study will prove useful to people in other contexts. These people may include artists, musicians, therapists, and other health professionals who work in forensic settings or who are considering the use of performance or songwriting as a therapeutic medium.

Defining Terms within the Research Question

1. *Therapeutic* - To define *therapy* is a courageous enterprise, since it is a culturally-embedded construct that is utilised in a variety of ways (Stige, 2002a). To define *therapeutic* is perhaps a little easier and certainly of more relevance to the present examination of the therapeutic potentials of music. For the purposes of this study, therapeutic is used as an adjective to describe that which changes or transforms in a positive, healthy, or healing way. Unlike therapy, the use of the word *therapeutic* does not predicate the involvement of a therapist, a specific agenda, or a particular set of procedures (Bruscia, 1998).

2. *Potentials* - The use of the term *potentials* in this monograph denotes capacities or powers and, when teamed with *therapeutic*, the term encourages an exploration of how making music has the power to inspire change or transformation in a positive or healing way in certain contexts, while also remaining true to the idea that music is not always therapeuticô that the capacity for change is not always enacted.

3. *Performing music* - *Performing music* involves an encounter between performers and an audience. What happens in this encounter depends upon many factors, including the type of story told during the performance (Deeker, 2008). As a group, the women involved in the present study performed an original musical to an audience of approximately 60 female prisoners, prison guards, and health professionals.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH QUESTION: A LITERATURE REVIEW

The role of music in human health can be examined from a variety of angles due to the fact that music interacts with us in so many ways. Some researchers, for example, have focused on the physiological and biochemical effects of musical experiences, while others have highlighted the psychological potentials. Some contemporary musicologists, beginning with David Elliot (1995) and Christopher Small (1998), emphasise the social and situated act of making music, referring to it as *musicking*. This term and its related concepts are enthusiastically discussed within a stream of music therapy discourse known as Community Music Therapy.

Fast becoming a theoretical approach to music therapy, Community Music Therapy (CoMT) emphasises *health musicing* (Stige, 2002a), where people make music together in socially-engaged processes that enhance health for individuals and communities (Stige, Ansdell, Elefant & Pavlicevic, 2010). The socially-engaged aspect of this approach can be extremely useful when working with people who are seen as õmarginalisedö or õdisadvantagedö within broader society (Stige, 2004), for example, prisoners.

Community Music Therapy and the Therapeutic Value of Performance

Due to its ecological emphases, CoMT õgives credibilityö to music therapists who facilitate encounters between their clients and an audience (Ruud, 2004, para 6). It is widely acknowledged in CoMT discourse that performance in music therapy can inspire many therapeutic outcomes (Davidson, 2004; Maratos, 2004; Powell, 2004; Zharinova-Sanderson, 2004). Ansdell (2010) observes that in collaborative music therapy performances, people

> are somehow performing a head taller than they usually are; they are somehow both themselves and ÷someone otherø within the course of performance í   social beings against the losses of their illness (p. 178).

Davidson (2004), however, warns that although the sense of self is unfixed not everyone has a performing personality, and it is important that a music therapy participant is not forced to do something that does not fit easily with her or him.

Despite some descriptions of performance in music therapy by Nordoff and Robbins (2004/1971) and Schmidt-Peters (1987), the use of performance was rarely documented in the music therapy literature (Ansdell, 2005) until the advent of CoMT (McFerran, 2010). This is in spite of anecdotal evidence that some music therapists included performance in their clinical work (McFerran, 2010). These ways of working, however, are not sufficiently reflected in the music therapy literature. Pavlicevic and Ansdell (2004) argue that this neglect of performance in the literature is due to psychotherapeutic concerns within traditional music therapy models for confidentiality, privacy, the individual, and a musical search for emotional authenticity. This leads to the idea that music therapy, especially when based on traditional tenets of psychotherapy, is an inward-focussed practice.

CoMT presents an alternative direction that in many ways draws parallels with a separate movement known in Australia as *Arts in Health*. The Arts in Health movement is rapidly gaining momentum in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States under different names (Stige, Ansdell, Elefant & Pavlicevic, 2010) and it involves the interaction of professional arts practice with health environments such as hospitals and health centres. The artists working in health settings are not usually therapeutically trained and often rely on outward-focussed ways to engage Arts in Health participants.

Community Music Therapy and the Therapeutic Value of "Outwards-and-Around" Experiences

In a recent book about CoMT (Stige, et al, 2010), the four authors state that the overall orientation of the work described within the publication is õ÷outwards-and-aroundø (in contrast to conventional music therapyøs typical concentration on working ÷down-and-withinø)ö (p. 282). This polarization is based on the authorsø critique of traditional music therapy practices that focus on the individual while prioritizing confidentiality, containment, and privacy. These authors present CoMT as an alternative, emphasizing an interest for music therapy as a performative and sociocultural phenomenon. They suggest that outwards-and-around experiences with music have

> helped people find their voice (literally and metaphorically); to be made welcome and to welcome others; to be accepted and to accept, to be together in different and better ways; to project alternative messages about themselves or their community; to feel respected and to give respect; to connect with others beyond their immediate environment; to make friendships and create supportive networks and social bridges; and, quite simply, to generate fun, joy, fellowship, and conviviality for themselves and their communities (Stige, Ansdell, Elefant & Pavlicevic, 2010, p. 277).

With the shift in socio-cultural emphasis that CoMT brings, however, conflicts are bound to arise in music therapy practices that try to balance traditional music therapy priorities such as supporting or restructuring inner processes within the individual with CoMT values that prioritise community-building and ecological awareness. Stige et al. (2010) assert that in CoMT õthe interest for music as a sociocultural phenomenon does not suggest that individuality is irrelevant and only communal processes of interestö (p. 9). Practical suggestions about how to balance the two values, however, are only just emerging.

For example, Ansdell (2010) suggests that a skilled music therapist drawing upon the community-building potentials of performance in his or her practice can ensure the therapeutic safety of the individual therapy participant by sufficiently preparing him or her for performance, reflecting and intervening in emerging or potential problems, managing the audienceøs expectations, and coping with performance pressure. Ansdell (2010) idealistically presents performance as a way of following where music and people lead, because both õoften lead up the steps, onto the stage, and towards the lights and the microphoneö (p. 186). Yet, what are music therapists to do when some of their participants want to lead them away from the dizzy lights of performance and into a contained space for deep internal work while others are busy õhoggingö the microphone? When the momentum of performance has taken hold, it is sometimes difficult to balance the needs of the individual with those of their wider communities.

Rationale for the Present Research

The therapeutic potentials of outwards-and-around experiences in music need further investigation. Stige (2004) suggests that the socially engaged nature of these experiences can be extremely useful when working with people who are seen as õmarginalisedö or õdisadvantagedö within broader society. The marginalization of prisoners, especially those who are female, is reflected even in the slim body of research concerning them (Wyatt, 2002). This is perhaps no more evident that in the literature concerning music therapy in forensic contexts. As editors of a special journal issue devoted to the topic, Ficken and Gardstrom (2002) lament õthe preponderance of behavioral approaches and activity-based protocolsö (p. 54). This may be due in part to a general lack of research within forensic health, particularly concerning female prisoners; however, it is also in part due to the limitations of the theoretical frameworks borrowed by music therapists to fully and accurately explain their work in forensic contexts. Although Ficken and Gardstrom (2002) suggest that the proliferation of behavioural approaches to music therapy in forensic settings should be counteracted with examples of psychotherapeutic approaches, an aim of the present research is instead to contribute to the development of indigenous theory; to raise õactivity-based protocolsö to new heights by illuminating their therapeutic value through the experiences and language of the music-makers involved in this research rather than through theories borrowed from psychotherapy or behavioural traditions.

METHOD

A researcherøs beliefs about the nature of truth and how truth may come to be known permeates his or her research and forms part of the overall paradigm within which the particular research is situated (Aigen, 2005b). Different ontological and epistemological assumptions contribute to different paradigmatic frameworks; for example, the interpretivist-constructivist paradigm is based on the belief that reality is not external or fixed, but fluid and actively constructed by individuals. Hence, reality is local and specific to context but elements are often shared across individuals and contexts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Fossey et al., 2002; Mason, 2002). Interpretivist-constructivists assume that the researcher and object of research are interactively linked and together they create the findings as the study proceeds. Therefore, the research process and findings cannot be value-free (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Fossey et al., 2002; Mason, 2002).

The present research is aligned with the interpretivist-constructivist paradigm. I consider the truths that I construct through this research to be inextricably linked to my own beliefs and experiences, but rather than seeing these as biases, I hold them as important resources for me in learning about the particular realities that I have explored in this research. I do not consider my constructions of truth to be the only constructions possible; nevertheless, I still hope that they prove helpful to other people in constructing their own truths about related phenomena.

The Intrinsic Qualitative Case Study

Stake (2005) identifies a particular form of qualitative case study, which he calls the *intrinsic case study*. This type of case study is undertaken because, rather than wanting to know what it is a case of, one wants a better understanding of this particular case. He writes, õIt is not undertaken primarily because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but instead because, in all its particularity *and* ordinariness, this case itself is of interestö (p. 445). The present research fits most easily into this form of case study because the underlying purpose is to explore the therapeutic potentials of creating and performing music for a particular group of women in prison rather than to propose a more general, universal explanation.

Situating the Researcher in the Research

As data were being generated for this study, I moved constantly between two different roles: musical director/workshop facilitator and researcher. As musical director/workshop facilitator, I was concerned with continuing my work as usual within the theatre company. In this role, I collaborated with women in writing songs and the script. I also directed the rehearsals and performed musically alongside the women. As researcher, I designed and implemented the research, wrote extensive session notes, and analysed the data.

Sampling

The specific sampling technique known as *theoretical sampling* is ideal in grounded theory research because it involves the selection of research participants based on theoretical grounds in order to explore emerging ideas and build theory. The applied nature of an intrinsic case study, however, necessitates a different strategy. Aldridge (2005) humorously calls this strategy *reality sampling*: "Many of us have to be content with the people that we meet in practice as the population of our sample" (p. 11). The reality for the present research was that the sample consisted of all the women in prison who were already participating in music sessions conducted by myself as part of the theatre company.

Participants

After ethics approval had been obtained from the Department of Human Ethics Advisory Group (DHEAG) at the University of Melbourne (Ref: 06092191) as well as the Department of Justice (Ref: CF/07/12317), women who were incarcerated in the prison for the duration of the research and already participating in the music program were recruited for the present study following approved procedures. Although there were nineteen different women from prison who were part of the 10-week process, the group ended up comprising seven consistent members. It was these seven women who, together with two artists from the theatre company, ultimately formed the cast for the musical and

who also agreed to participate in this research. These women ranged in age from 24 to 40 years. Four of the women were mothers, and four had previously developed musical skills in guitar, flute, djembe, and/or drum kit. Their pseudonyms are: Jane, Gillian, Sarah, Lucinda, Spark, Matilda and Majella.

Methods of Data Generation: The 10-Week Creative Process, Interviews and Session Notes

As the musical performance was being created over 10 weeks, I generated 24 typed pages of session notes. Following the performance, I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with the seven research participants. These interviews ranged in duration from 15 to 45 minutes. The 10-week creative process, techniques of interviewing and writing session notes are now outlined in relation to the research method.

The 10-Week Creative Process

The musical performance was collaboratively created over a period of ten weeks, during which five phases were evident. In the first phase, the foundations for the performance were created in the form of five original songs. One of these songs was created during a group song-writing session that I facilitated, while individual women created the other four songs across sessions in collaboration with me. All songwriting resulted from a process of play (where themes and ideas were brainstormed), transformation (whereby the themes and ideas were transformed into lyrics and musical accompaniment, either by me or a participating woman), reflection (where the lyrics and musical accompaniment were reflected back to the individual or group), negotiation (where alterations to the emerging song were negotiated by the individual or group) and collaboration (where the group orchestrated and arranged each song). Script to weave each song into a cohesive whole was then developed by one of the artists from the theatre company, utilizing the same process of play, transformation, reflection, negotiation, and collaboration.

The second phase involved consolidating and fleshing out the emerging musical through thrice-weekly rehearsals. The third phase involved bringing all parts together, including lighting, props, costumes, and rehearsal of stage entries and exits. The fourth phase was the actual performance to a group of approximately 60 prisoners, staff, and health professionals. The final phase involved debriefing via informal discussions shared with food, recording the songs, as well debriefing with each participant via the research interviews.

The In-Depth Semi-Structured Interviews

I chose the semi-structured interview as an appropriate method for data generation in this study mainly due to its ability to explore complex ideas deeply while addressing a breadth of issues (Mason, 2002). The issues discussed in the interviews for this study were the research participant's overall experience, her experience of creating songs and the entire musical, her preferred songs and why, her experience of performing, and how she believed the entire process may have affected her wellbeing.

Session-Note Writing

Session notes are analogous to õfield notesö, which are an important part of ethnographic research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The inclusion of the researcherøs observations as a data source in qualitative studies is based on the assumption that the researcher is inextricably linked to the object being studied and is therefore an active participant in the construction of knowledge (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Fossey et al., 2002; Mason, 2002). The researcherøs perspective, therefore, is another valuable form of data which, when combined with other data sources, adds to the creation of thick descriptions warranted by qualitative research (Mason, 2002). My session notes for this study generally recorded attendance, observations, significant events and what I thought or felt about these events.

Data Analysis

In order to construct some form of answer to the research question, I needed an explanatory framework that built up ideas through abstracting the data, rather than reducing ideas to their essence. Grounded theory is an ideal method for this purpose.

Grounded Theory

For the purposes of this research, grounded theory was utilised as a method of data analysis rather than a complete approach to research. Grounded theory is õa *general methodology* for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysedö (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 273). The development of grounded theory by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1967 was an attempt to link the creation of theory more closely to empirical research (Strauss & Corbin, 1994). However, Glaser and Strauss eventually disagreed about the epistemological implications and methodological procedures of grounded theory, and Strauss and Corbin have continued to change and adapt their ideas concerning the method (Amir, 2005; Daveson et al., 2008). Although grounded theory is still commonly associated with the post-positivist paradigm, Charmaz (2006) clearly outlines a constructivist approach to grounded theory.

Although grounded theory has been used in a variety of ways, and from a variety of research paradigms, Strauss and Corbin (1994) argue that all grounded theory research is founded on three principles, including (a) a direct interplay between data and theory-building, (b) processes of theoretical coding known as open, axial, and selective, and (c) the development of theory. These three foundations of grounded theory were central to the analysis of the interviews and session notes from this case study.

RESULTS

This section constructs an answer to the research question, õWhat are the therapeutic potentials of creating and performing music that were available in this case to the women in prison?ö I offer a theory to provide one possible answer to this question, supplemented by raw data and a table containing the main codes, categories, properties, and dimensions

that led to the theory. The main therapeutic potentials of creating and performing music in this case are summarized at the close of this section.

Creating and Performing Music: Bridging the Inside to the Outside

As humans, we commonly make distinctions between the õinsideö and the õoutsideö in terms of physical space: For example, our house may be divided into inside areas and outside areas. For women in prison, the razor wire surrounding the prison creates a physical space inside which is very much separate from the outside world. However, this divide between inside and outside permeates much more than just physical space for women in prison; it manifests itself in many more symbolic and complex ways, and these permeate the following explanation of the therapeutic potentials of creating and performing music in prison.

The therapeutic potentials for the women in this case who created and performed music together can be explained using an overall metaphor that describes these musical actions as a type of bridge from the inside to the outside. In effect, creating and performing music in this case provided bridges between inside and outside places, between private and public, between self-focus and others-focus, between solitude and togetherness, and between subjective and objective thought processes. Table 2 denotes these potentials in more detail and, through the use of codes, highlights the dimensions in which they occurred in the data.

Careful reading of the column containing codes highlights how creating and performing music in this case served as a *one-way* bridge; these actions nudged the womenô sometimes gently, sometimes more forcefullyô towards outside realms under the assumption that this was the direction forward. The common destination for these women moving outward was a sense of unity and a sense of õhome.ö

Table 2 ó Axial coding for õMusic as Bridging the Inside to the Outsideö

Codes	Properties of the Major Category	Dimensions: Inside - Outside	Major Category: Bridging the Inside to the Outside
It kept me in touch with the outside; Music is a window out of prison; It got me out of my cell	Physical Places	Prison - outside Cell - compound	
Took me away from such a dark place; It takes me out of my mind for the day; Music is a safe haven	Symbolic Places	Dark - safe	1. A Bridge Between Places, both Physical and Symbolic
People tell us what to do 24/7; I remembered I have initiative		Institutional-humane	
It took my lyrics to another place; Music gives the feeling		Rational-emotional	
I normally keep to myself, try to slip under the radar; I have a fear of people and groups; don∅t want to attract dramas	Women∅s usual domain in prison	Private - public	
You can feel a little naked writing songs in here; we live in a very judgmental place	Level of exposure in music	Hidden-uncovered	
Music is less exposing than drama in performance; you can hide behind your instruments; it cloaks the naked word; singing is more honest than acting	Level of exposure in performance	Hidden -uncovered Peers - strangers	2. A Bridge between the Private and the Public
It∅s scarier to perform in front of the people I live with; I prefer to perform to the people I live with	Preferred Audience		
You feel like you∅ve had a venting session; you have a chance to say things your way and be as loud and as proud as can be	Self-expression in performance	Withdrawn-venting Voiceless-heard Confident -coped	
I was rapt with my performance; I am more confident about performing now; I coped; I didn∅t overcome my fears The feedback was positive; to the point of overwhelming	Performer∅s response to exposure Audience∅s response to exposure	Supportive-unsupportive Less - more	
I have more compound access now; they didn∅t fine me	Level of punishment after exposure		
I needed to do something for me	Usual focus	Self - Others	
I was rapt to be able to help others; My happiness radiated out to everyone in my unit I used my musical skills to help others; I supported others; I felt I was doing it for the	Main focus in music	Self - Others Self - Group	3. A Bridge

group, not for me; I needed support from others			between Self-focus and Others-focus
Her lyrics really grabbed me; That song had a wicked beat Performance is like a present to others; everyone's singing the songs around the compound;	Connectivity through songs; connectivity through performance	Self - Others Self-Group-Audience	
Lockdown is the only chance we have to be by ourselves	Usual state of being, in prison;	Alone - together	
I have a fear of people and groups	Preferred state;	Alone - together	4. A Bridge Between Solitude and Togetherness
I looked forward to lock-down in order to write lyrics; I prefer to write lyrics on my own	Preferred way to write lyrics	Alone - together	
You bounce off each other and learn more in a group; I loved fitting my musical part into the whole song; I needed reassurance that my musical part fitted; All the musical parts are vital, otherwise there's a hole;	Preferred way to be musical	Alone - together	
It's easier to perform as a group		Alone - with group	
I loved how we all pulled together; I loved how it all came together; Music stitches the parts together	Preferred way to perform; Sense of unity	Separate - Together	
That song is about my past; I worried what others would think of my song; I worried it was too self-indulgent; I'm more aware of how I use my voice; I wish we could have worked on articulation from the start	Modes of thought	Intuitive-Analytical/Critical	5. A Bridge Between Subjective and Objective Thought Processes: Moving Outside the Music
You're less attached to the meaning of the lyrics when you collaborate with others; I wasn't so picky on some of the words	Distance from own creation	Close - Far	
I needed to go back to basics, to something with which I was familiar	Familiarity with music	Strange - familiar	
I haven't done anything like that for ages; I got to play the flute, guitar, drums I'm much more musical at home (in my unit) now; I'm inspired to do more musically	Musically Active	Recently- never Rarely - always	7. Destinations: Coming back to music, returning "home"
It's coming back to what you love	Love of music	Lost - rekindled	

The therapeutic potentials of this outward motion are now explained in more detail, in terms of each major category that emerged within the grounded theory analysis. The explanation of each major category is supplemented with quotes from the interviews with the women in prison.

A Bridge Between Places, Both Physical and Symbolic

Everything I do I do to stay in touch with something a bit different from what I am in touch with in here and it's something I probably would never have done on the outside but I've had the opportunity to do. (Majella)

It gives you a window out. You're not doing all the usual day-to-day jail crap. (Lucinda)

Creating and performing music in this case functioned as a bridge between physical places as well as metaphorical spaces. In the words of Majella, it brought õsomething a bit differentö to the prison, something from the outside world to the inside world of prison. Even though music has always existed inside the prison (women can listen to music in their units if they have access to a stereo or radio and music is often played through the speakers inside the leisure centre) it is usually experienced as an inside phenomenon: in solitude, internally, an interaction between the sound and the listener. Music is rarely experienced in the prison as an interaction with other people. When this type of experience does occur, it is usually through performances inside prison by bands or singers from the outside. Majella refers to the creation and performance of music in her case as something different, as bridging an õoutsideö idea to her world inside prison. For Sarah, it was also a bridge between her cell and the music room:

I used to be in my room crying 24/7 and I didn't have the confidence to even walk out of my cell. So, for me to actually come out of my cell and come down to music class all those times is just a feat in itself.

As a õwindow outö (Lucinda), creating and performing music together also functioned as a bridge between metaphorical spaces. As sound, music transported lyrics to õa different placeö (Majella), one more imbued with emotions and mood. As an action involving creativity and performance, music was a bridge between the õdarkö, õnastyö, and õinstitutionalizedö spaces experienced within the prison walls, to a õsafe havenö where women could õlet their hair downö (Lucinda); where they could õuse their initiative and remember that theyøve got someö (Lucinda); where they õremembered they were humanö (Sarah). In a symbolic sense, creating and performing music together was an escape from prison, as Lucinda stated, õLike I said, it is an outlet, you go out for the day, out of your mind.ö

A Bridge Between the Private and the Public

I'm a pretty private person anyway…I'm happy to just slip under the radar. (Sarah)

The more I involve these people in my life, the more dramas I'm going to get in. (Spark)

The level of exposure required by creating and performing music in this case meant that these actions did not always engender a sense of safety for the women and that, instead, the women were often nudged outside their comfort zones. Generally, the women described their usual domain in prison as a private oneô keeping quiet and to themselves, fearing people and groups, and not wanting to attract attention to themselves for fear of becoming involved in õdramas.ö These women often described the prison culture as extremely judgmental. Consequently, some women experienced the act of creating songs as exposing. Matilda said, õYou can feel a little naked writing songs in here.ö Some women also felt uncomfortable performing their songs for the rest of the group.

Performing the songs for an audience, however, was the pinnacle of exposure because it required the women to reveal themselves fully present to an audience of females who shared their space inside prison 24 hours a day, as well as to the prison officers and staff who upheld their incarceration. The intimacy of performing for these people, rather than for strangers, was preferred by those women who felt that performance was a gift to others and feared most by those who couldnøt trust the audienceøs feedback due to inexperience or lack of confidence. For the former women, being witnessed by an audience of õinsidersö enabled them to feel that theyød had a õventing sessionö, raising the idea of self-expression and catharsis to one of being heard. As Lucinda stated, õYou have a chance to say things your way and be as loud and as proud as can be.ö Straying outside of their comfort zones through performance also provided the women with the opportunity to perform for the people in charge of them, especially the governor. This was a simultaneously feared and coveted prospect:

> *Even to the point of the governor saying that on his day off he would come into the performance if I was in it. I think, I don't know, it just makes me happy and everything's OK.* (Matilda)

> *The fact that the regional manager of women's prisons was there, I was like, I saw him at the end. He was clapping away, having a good old time, and I thought, "Oh my goodness!*ö (Sarah)

In contrast, some women felt that it was not necessary for them to become that exposed ever again despite acknowledging the positive changes performance brought for the group:

> *I think for the wellbeing of the group, it's satisfying but on a personal level, not really…On a personal level I wouldn't want to ever do it again, be on stage, be performing, because it takes too much from me personally…At this stage, I'm 43, I don't think it's an issue that I need to change who I am, and I'm shy and I'm self-conscious…I've got this many years to do this many things and for my wellbeing, being a performer, like having to perform is not one of the things that is going to make me get by in life, I think.* (Majella)

> *I think some people like performances and some don't. I wouldn't have minded just keeping on going with the classes because that's what I really love.* (Matilda)

While some women enjoyed the thrill of performing and were happy with their performance and more confident about performing in the future, others felt that they had merely coped or had not overcome their fears. Nevertheless, most of the women saw it as an important way to provide momentum for the group and to push themselves to higher standards. And this, some of them believed, made it worth all the discomfort:

> *It might be a bit stressful leading up to it but I just think this pays off well, it was worth sticking your head out.* (Lucinda)

> *You reap what you sow.* (Sarah)

Feedback from the audience was the most tangible demonstration of bridging the private to the public through music. The women reported that all feedback was positive and at times overwhelming. Audience members were reportedly singing the songs from the performance around the compound and there were some cases of staff members granting more access around the compound and being more lenient with potential fines because they saw that these particular women were õgoing forwardsö (Matilda).

A Bridge Between Self-Focus and Others-Focus

> *I realized that I was at the acute stage of a breakdown and I thought, "Right. I need to focus on me for a little while*.ö (Sarah)

In some senses, women in prison are often focused on themselves, especially when they are new to prison and still struggling with the crisis that landed them in prison in the first place. Later on, they are often grappling with huge issues including impending court cases and custody of their children. Creating and performing music in this case encouraged women to momentarily shift their focus from themselves and their issues toward others within the group. At times, some of the women experienced this shift in focus as rewarding, while at other times, it threatened womenøs sense of autonomy.

Shifting focus to others occurred in a variety of ways. Some women recounted that their connection to others originated in listening to the songs that had been written by other women in the group; particular lyrics or õwicked beatsö resonated with them. Some women shifted their focus to others by sharing their music skills, helping others while strengthening their own feeling that they had something to give. Women buoyed each other along the journey, while some women directly asked other participants for support.

This emphasis on others over the self sometimes conflicted with a womanøs sense of autonomy. The group became bigger than the individual, and for some women this caused anxiety. Majella, in particular, felt that she participated for the benefit of the group rather than for herself:

I felt like I was doing it for the group, not for me...I followed it through to the end and didn't drop out because I probably would have regretted letting you guys down.

Gillian was another woman who felt that her sense of autonomy was threatened by the support she initially sought from Sarah:

I needed someone up there to do the song but the more I got up there the more confident I got and I thought, "I can do that on my own." I didn't need her there...I thought, "Well, here you are trying to dominate me. I can sing too."

Despite these threats to individual autonomy, the collective needs of the group won out because each woman shifted her focus in some way from the self to others whether she wanted to or not. This shift was a prerequisite for crossing the bridge between solitude and togetherness.

A Bridge Between Solitude and Togetherness

Despite the women's usual tendency towards privacy, it is difficult for them to find time when they can truly be alone in prison. According to Sarah, their only real chance for solitude is during õlock-downö, when they are locked into their individual cells for an afternoon twice a week. Despite the difficulties in finding solitude in prison, the four women who wrote songs unanimously preferred this state for creating song lyrics. Both Matilda and Gillian contributed phrases and ideas from passages they had already written in solitude and for once, Sarah even looked forward to lock-down so that she could write the lyrics to her song.

The women's desire for solitude when creating lyrics was entirely different when it came to creating and performing music. The women felt easier about performing as a group rather than performing solo, and their joy in making music together was palpable. Matilda, who repeatedly asserted that she was afraid of people and groups, acknowledged that she now preferred to play music in a group context:

I think you learn more, sitting in the class, and with other people, which is big for me. Because people bounce off each other or someone will know something or get the hang of something. You just bounce off each other. I prefer your classes than if we were to sit down one-to-one.

Interviewer: *That's an interesting insight. (Laughing) For the tape, Matilda is rolling her eyes.*

Matilda: *(Laughing) I still don't like people or groups though. Contradictions.*

In particular, most of the women spoke of the fun they experienced when collaborating musically, especially in their mission to fit their musical parts to the whole. There was a sense that all of the musical parts were vital because õotherwise there's a

holeö (Lucinda), and every woman wanted reassurance that her part fit properly and did each song justice. Songs were enjoyed because of the sense of unity that came from this melding of parts. Matilda said, õI think everyone pulled together, and thatøs why I liked all the songs.ö Each woman emphasized her joy in being part of this togetherness, describing it as õit all came togetherö or õwe all came together.ö Lucinda described music itself as the thread that õstitches everything together.ö In this way, creating and performing music were key ingredients in enabling the women to move from solitude to togetherness.

A Bridge Between Subjective and Objective Thought Processes

The collaborative nature of creating and performing music in this case required women to move from thinking in intuitive, subjective ways to more analytical, critical, and objective thought processes; in other words, to move outside the music. Once some of the women had created lyrics, they then wanted to analyse and reflect on the underlying meanings of the lyricsô to step outside their own creations and examine them more objectively. The use of these outside thought processes sometimes resulted in women becoming overly critical of their own musical work, worrying that their lyrics were too self-indulgent or that they wouldnøt be able to be related to by the audience, or that their instrumental parts werenøt supporting the songs as well as they could be. With enough reassurance from other group members and distance from the creation, however, these self-criticisms were abated. Matilda, in particular, described how, for her, the act of collaboration helped her to become less attached and therefore õless pickyö with her words:

> It's sort of like being able to kick back a couple of years later and read something you've written. It's like that. You're not so closely attached to it. You still are, but you're sharing it with other people.

Listening to their voices on recordings also encouraged some women to think in more objective and analytical ways about how they sang. Jane, in particular, enjoyed this process because it made her more aware of the physiological mechanisms she used to sing as well as helped her to reflect on her vocal tone. Spark, on the other hand, remained critical of her own singing voice, feeling that she hadnøt articulated the lyrics clearly enough.

On the Other Side of the Outward Bridge: õHomeö and Other Destinations

> It's like coming home in a way because you're coming back to what you love. (Matilda)

The irony of the continual pull toward the outside is that the ultimate destination reported by many of the women involved was an inner one, a sense of õcoming homeö to music. Most of the women involved had past experiences with music but these had commonly been õmany moons agoö (Matilda). Gillian spoke of childhood experiences that had stopped her from writing. Matilda spoke of depression that made her drop out of

everything years ago. Lucinda hadn't had access to a drum kit for a long time. Sarah hadn't touched a flute or written anything "for years and years and years." Most of the participating women were familiar with making music, and for some of them it was this familiarity that brought them there in the first place:

> *I decided, because of my mental state at the time, because I have a history of psychiatric issues…it was easier for me to do something that I have some prior knowledge on. So it was actually going back to basics.* (Sarah)

For others, it was their love of music:

> *That's why I came back because I love music and I've always loved music.* (Gillian)

In returning the women to something familiar and loved, creating and performing music in this case rekindled their musicality and their inspiration to do more. At the time of the interview, Jane had written two more songs since the one that she contributed to the performance. Matilda reported that she was now "singing a lot more and playing a lot more and sitting at dinner and I don't quite realize that I've got a pattern happening with my feet." Likewise, Gillian stated, "I write everything that I say now and write it all down, even when I'm writing letters to my partner. It just flows and I can't stop." Lucinda felt inspired to learn more songs and to start a band in the prison, while Matilda just "wanted to learn more and more and more."

Moving outwardly through creating and performing music in this case also spawned non-musical outcomes for the women involved. Some women reported increased confidence and courage, a sense of completion, satisfaction with following something through, new skills, more motivation in general, pride and a sense that they were moving forward. Two of the women also reported their satisfaction with being able to effect change not just within themselves or within the group, but also to the wider audience. Lucinda talked of performance as being a gift to others while Sarah described her increased happiness radiating out toward others in her unit. She also recounted the following:

> *There are a couple of girls who are locked down for 24 hours a day in my unit because they are a major suicide risk to themselves, and one of those girls I actually got to know, and I begged and pleaded with the unit staff to let her out and get her down there (to witness the performance) … We're not allowed to communicate with her, only the staff are. However, in the past I've communicated with her and I think she's a lovely girl. She's just mentally very unwell and it was just great to see her down there and clapping along and having a good time, a genuine good time.*

Summary of the Therapeutic Potentials of Creating and Performing Music

The therapeutic potentials for the women in this case who created and performed music together are explained in terms of bridging the inside to the outside. Each woman had the

opportunity to access the positive, health-enhancing, or healing potentials of this outward motion through shifting from the private to the public, from a focus on the self to a focus on others, from solitude to togetherness, and from subjectivity to objectivity. The therapeutic potentials of each particular outward shift are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3. The therapeutic potentials of each outward shift

Type of Outward Motion	Therapeutic Potential	Challenges
Inside spaces to outside spaces	• A sense of õescapeö, transcending confines • An injection of fresh ideas and increased stimulation associated with this	Can conflict with a womanøs need at the time to be withdrawn
Privacy to public	• An increased sense that she has something to give to others • Positive feedback from others • Experience of reciprocity where õyou reap what you sowö • Catharsis, a sense of being heard • The experience of a natural high • Improved musical standards • More freedom within prison • More courage • More confidence • Sense of completion • Increased motivation in general • Sense of pride • Sense of ─moving forwardø	Can be too exposing for some women
Focus on the self to a focus on others	• Connection with group members • Connection with audience members • Sense of being supported and being supportive • Experience of sharing and reciprocity	Can conflict with a womanøs need at the time to focus on her self
Solitude to togetherness	• Integrated sense of unity and autonomy • Increased musical skills • Joy	Can threaten a womanøs sense of autonomy
Subjective to objective thought processes	• Less attachment to creative output resulting in more creative freedom and less self-criticism	Can become overly self-critical

DISCUSSION

The interpretation that creating and performing music served the seven women in prison as a bridge from the inside to the outside represents a different type of approach to the inward-focussed approaches common to traditional music therapy practices. Music in this particular case bridged the inner world to the outer world. The women were continually nudged, pulled, and perhaps even dragged in an outward direction.

Why is moving outward necessarily moving forward in terms of health? Proponents of CoMT suggest that music therapy practice where the focus is outwards-and-around instead of down-and-within can be extremely powerful in *bridging* and *bonding* individuals and communities (Stige et al., 2010). Music therapists who work in more traditional ways may also argue that the end goal of inward-focused therapy is for the person to have healthier relationships, which can also be interpreted as an aim to bridge and bond the individual to his or her wider networks. So, does it really matter whether a person develops healthier relationships through inward-focussed personal growth or outward-directed personal growth, as long as the outcome is the same?

For women in prison, the opportunity for outward-directed personal growth is especially important, since there is such a marked divide between the inside and the outside in this context. By virtue of where they live, women inside prison are isolated from their families and friends, from the public in general, and also from outside ideas. This isolation can ultimately increase the risk that women in prison become institutionalised, a risk that is further implicated in high levels of recidivism (Cabrera-Balleza, 2003). The analysis relating to the first research question suggests that creating and performing music helped the seven women to reduce their isolation by connecting their insular worlds to the outside.

The findings also suggest that different types of therapeutic potentials can be associated with different outward shifts in personal growth. This study outlines five different outward shifts. The therapeutic potentials associated with each of these are now discussed in turn.

Outward Shifts in Personal Growth

1) *Moving from "Inside" Places to "Outside" Places, both Physical and Metaphorical*

Everything I do I do to stay in touch with something a bit different from what I am in touch with in here and it's something I probably would never have done on the outside but I've had the opportunity to do. (Majella)

Via a bridge between the physical spaces inside and outside the razor wire, the women involved were receptive to stimulation from more diverse sources than those that were available in prison. This stimulation provided the women with ideas and experiences related to music and human interaction from the outside world and, similarly to the findings of Thaut (1992) as well as Daveson and Edwards (2001), helped the women to stay in touch with a reality outside prison.

The bridge between inside and outside spaces also provided some of the women involved with a sense that they had momentarily escaped from prison. This sense of escape, or transcending confines or illness, is a commonly reported therapeutic outcome

in music therapy practice (Daveson, 2007; Maratos, 2004; Hogan, 1998). Bunt (1994) suggests that transcending reality may be one of the main features indigenous to music therapy experience. The results of this study confirm this suggestion by highlighting how the women were able to momentarily escape the harshness of their realities inside prison through making and performing music. Ironically, music in this case enabled the women to momentarily escape their most immediate realities within prison while at the same time strengthening ties with some of the realities of the outside world.

Moving from inside places to outside places was indeed therapeutic in many ways for the women involved in this research. However, sometimes this shift conflicted with a woman's overall state of being. Lucinda, in particular, described frequently feeling withdrawn, but she did not give in to this feeling because she felt it was inappropriate for such outward-focussed work. In this way, outward-focussed approaches to music experience may not always meet a participant where they are, nor follow where they lead. This contrasts with Ansdell's assertion (2003) that CoMT follows õwhere the need of clients, contexts and music leadsö (p. 31) and suggests instead that the õoutwards-and-aroundö approach involved in this particular case followed the lead of performance. Individual women were swept up byô rather than being in control ofô the outward momentum created by the impending performance. The women did not lead this momentum; instead, they were directed by it. This is congruent with Powell's experience (2004) of facilitating performances as a community musician, whereby performance is õthe driving force during the processö (p. 181).

It is possible to suggest, therefore, that the outward-focussed approach to musical experience in the case presented in this research cannot be called *client-centred* in the usual sense of the term. Traditionally, client-centred therapy refers to an approach developed by Carl Rogers in the 1940s and 50s where the client directs the therapeutic process (Rogers, 1961). Client-centred in this case, however, reflects a whole new meaning whereby even though the health of the women involved remained at the heart of the underlying rationale for the musical experience, the experience itself was õperformance-centredö and the women, music, and situational contexts orbited around this core. Approaches like these that do not practically place the client in the centre of the work may help clients to experience the sense that they are part of something bigger than themselves (O'Grady, 2005), which ultimately serves the client anyway (Aigen, 2005; Stige et. al., 2010).

2) Moving From Private to Public

Via a bridge between the private and the public, the women involved were able to experience heightened levels of exposure that resulted in the largest number of reported therapeutic outcomes despite also being experienced as the most uncomfortable feature of the entire experience (See Table 3). Matilda and Sarah, in particular, commented on how far they felt they had come and how others saw this as moving forward. This reported sense of moving forward is perhaps the most direct indicator that outward-focussed experiences can indeed be forward-moving in terms of health.

However, performance in this particular case was potentially too exposing for Majella. She reported that she never wanted to experience that level of exposure again; high levels of exposure weren't necessary for how she wanted to live her life and, in

particular, she did not feel it necessary to constantly foray out of her comfort zones. This is congruent with Davidsonøs assertion (2004) that although the sense of self is unfixed, not everyone has a performing personality, and it is thus important that music therapy participants are not forced to do something that does not fit easily with them. Some music therapy participants may not desire or be ready to move outside their comfort zones.

The idea of moving beyond comfort zones has only recently been articulated in the music therapy literature by McFerran (2010). Describing a case involving ten music therapy sessions with a group of adolescents who have misused drugs, McFerran suggests that the music therapy group in general challenged some group members to move beyond their comfort zones. In the present research, Majella did not wish to move beyond her comfort zone; instead she coveted experiences with music that were comfortable. This highlights the dual capacity of music for comfort and soothing as well as exposure and risk-taking. Perhaps moving beyond comfort zones through risk-taking in music is something that only happens naturally when the music participant has experienced enough musical comfort or soothing in the first place.

This has important implications for music therapy practice. Majellaøs experience demonstrates that spending time in comfort zones can be just as important as moving outside of them. The task for the music therapist is to collaboratively decide with the music participant whether comfort zones are providing the participant at that particular time with experiences of stagnation or experiences of necessary rest and recuperation. If stagnation is the main feature of the participantøs experience at that particular time, the music therapist might encourage the participant to move outside of her or his comfort zone by increasing the levels of publicity, for example, through musical group-work or musical performance to a larger audience. If, on the other hand, the participant needs space and time to reflect or ingest new experiences, or if he or she needs to rest, then remaining in a comfort zone may be most therapeutically ideal. In this situation, the music therapist may draw upon the comforting and soothing capacities of music, for example, by facilitating vocal improvisations that are structured to emulate the mother-baby dyad (Austin, 2001) or focusing more upon techniques of receptive music therapy (Grocke & Wigram, 2007).

3) Moving From Self-Focus to Others-Focus

Via a bridge between self-focus and others-focus, the seven women were able to build connections with each other and with the audience while also experiencing reciprocity and the opportunity to feel supported and be supportive. Moving from self-focus to a focus on others is a sign of heightened altruism, a human trait that is especially acknowledged within positive psychology literature as a major factor in the levels of happiness experienced by the individual who possesses the trait as well as the levels of happiness experienced by the beneficiaries of the altruistic act (Argyle, 1999; Lyubomirsky, Sheldon, & Schkade, 2005; Peterson, 2006). According to Nurmi and Salmela-Aro (2006), "excessive self-focus is problematic, perhaps because it leads to ruminative thinking. Although we all need sometimes to think about ourselves and evaluate our potential for changing ourselves, continuous self-focus tends to lead to a low sense of well-being" (193). Nevertheless, some people may, at different times in their lives, need to focus upon themselves (Nurmi & Salmela-Aro, 2006).

4) Moving From Solitude to Togetherness

Via a bridge between solitude and togetherness, the women involved were able to experience a sense of unity with each other while also maintaining their separateness as individuals. The potential to experience unity and individual autonomy at the same time through music in this way is often referred to by community music therapists as *musical communitas* (Aigen, 2005a; Pavlicevic & Ansdell, 2004c; Stige, 2002a). Musical communitas within group music-making is a fluid construction that is sometimes elusive. On the journey towards this ideal, some of the women involved in this research, such as Gillian, sensed that their autonomy was threatened. This suggests that musical communitas was not a static achievement in this case; instead it ebbed and flowed as the journey progressed. Furthermore, the journey toward musical communitas can be fraught with infringements upon individual autonomy.

This supports Pavlicevicøs (2003) reminder that the experience of being part of a greater whole can be both õenriching and destructiveö (p. 104) and has important implications for music therapy practice. In particular, music therapists are wise not to pursue or idealise the achievement of musical communitas or the experience of being part of a greater whole within their music therapy groups. Rather, these experiences need to be understood as fleeting aspects of the creative process that occur sometimes when people are deeply absorbed in the act of making music together. Furthermore, these experiences have a dual nature; they simultaneously involve individual autonomy and unity with others. Making music with others can sometimes involve an oscillation or sometimes even conflict between the two types of experience more frequently than a simultaneous and harmonious co-existence.

5) Moving From Subjective to Objective Thought Processes

Via a bridge between subjective and objective thought processes, the seven women were able to experiment with different shifts of awareness. The context of group-work and performance encouraged the women to think more objectively about their creative endeavours out of concern for what others in the group or audience would think of them. Paulus and Nijstad (2003) suggest that the critical, objective thoughts that form part of õconvergentö processes in creativity should occur only after people have freely generated ideas and associations within õdivergentö processes. Music therapists may help performance participants to become more consciously aware of this in an effort to contain excessive self-criticism.

The Concomitant Need for Inward-Focussed Approaches to Music Experience

The positive, health-enhancing changes that the women reportedly experienced through creating and performing music were characteristically shifts in outward directions. However,

> there is often a time to be private, and a time to be public in music therapy; a time for the nurturing of intimate communication; and a time for the performance of the fruits of achieved communication, skill and confidence (Pavlicevic & Ansdell, 2004b, p. 23).

During processes associated with therapy, people sometimes need opportunities to experience inward shifts through insular experiences associated with privacy, solitude, self-focus, and subjective thought processes. These concepts have always been emphasised within conventional approaches to music therapy where the focus is typically down-and-within (Stige et al., 2010). CoMT represents an attempt to rebalance this inward approach by emphasising the other extreme characterised by outwards-and-around approaches to music therapy. However, both approaches are vital to human health.

This is also true for processes associated with creativity. The primary stages of creativity, where intuitions are explored and õthe flash, the inspiration, the peak experienceö (Maslow, 1959, p. 91) are incubated, can be likened to inwards-and-down directions in therapy. Likewise, the secondary stages where personal forays are developed, critiqued, and ultimately shared with others can be likened to the out-and-around approach identified within CoMT discourse and represented in this study. Maslow (1959) argued that both stages of creativity are important but the õprimaryö and õsecondaryö labels he attributes to them indicate that outwards-and-around processes occur *after* down-and-within experiences. Perhaps this is also true of therapy; outwards-and-around approaches associated with CoMT may ideally follow a participantøs involvement with the down-and-within experiences available in traditional music therapy or with the primary stages of musical creativity. Some community music therapists have demonstrated how this can occur by bridging clients of traditional music therapy to their wider community when they are ready (Wood, Verney & Atkinson, 2004 , & Bunt, 2004).

According to OøGrady (2005), the natural progression from down-and-within music experiences to outwards-and-around processes in music therapy ideally follow the participantøs changing location on the health-care continuum. This continuum is represented in Figure 1 and is based on the idea that a music participantøs capacity for active musical experiences and therapeutic empowerment increase as she or he moves from acute illness or crisis through to a prolonged experience of well-being. In the context of this case study, the participantøs movement through these stages of health-care towards well-being also increases his or her capacity to participate in outwards-and-around approaches to music experience.

Figure 1. The health-care continuum

Acute illness or crisis	Rehabili-tation	Community	Well-being
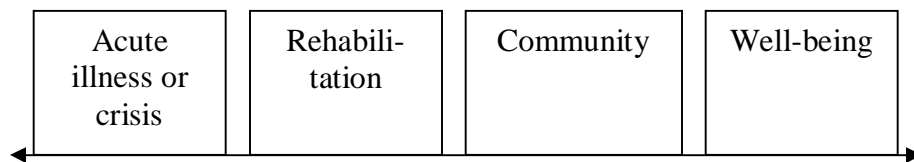
The ideal progression from down-and-within to outwards-and-around in music therapy is not always feasible or practical since it may often require longer amounts of time in therapy. This would lead to the need for involvement from the music therapy participant, funding and infrastructure that are sustainable and long-term. In most contexts, this is probably an unrealistic proposal. Finding a solution becomes more problematic if music therapists try to own the facilitation of music experience along the entire down-and-withinô outwards-and-around spectrum of musical participation. Instead, music therapists need to forge stronger connections between different arts health professionals whose work is best suited to the different phases of music experience. This is one of the biggest challenges currently facing music therapists and other Arts in Health professionals.

Dileo suggests that music therapists involved in Arts in Health projects can serve as a bridge between the client and the artist (McFerran, 2007). However, this is not always necessary; in many cases music therapists may not need to be part of their clientsø music experiences (Threlfall, 2007). Musicians and artists are also capable of facilitating positive and health-enhancing music experiences, especially for people who can be located in the õcommunityö and õwell-beingö stages of the health continuum (OøGrady and McFerran-Skewes, 2007). What seems most important here is whether the arts participant is more ready and willing for outwards-and-around or down-and-within approaches to arts experience. This is difficult for the arts practitioner to ascertain, particularly because readiness is such an interpretive, subjective construct. Perhaps it is best to follow the lead of the participant, as Ansdell and Pavlicevic (2004) suggest, but this is itself a vague concept.

Sometimes a participant may seem to lead the musical process in both directions at once. For example, Lucinda talked about how withdrawn she felt during the 10-week process and how she dragged herself to music sessions because she knew theyød be good for her. In a different situation where performance was not a fundamental part of the process, Lucinda could have followed her need to withdraw by participating in music experiences that were solitary, private, and self-focussed. However, perhaps Lucindaøs health was best served by luring her away from her instinct to withdraw. This raises the question of whether down-and-within and outwards-and-around approaches to creative experiences are necessarily mutually exclusive. In the case represented by this research, they are. Matilda and Majella, for example, often expressed the desire for more down-and-within approaches to music experience through their desire to focus more on music in the moment rather than an impending performance. The predominantly outwards-and-around approach represented by the 10-week process, however, meant that their lead in this direction could not be followed. Perhaps there will always be tension between some group music therapy participants and the over-riding approach to group music therapy, whether it be outward- or inward-focussed. Some group members in inward-focussed music therapy will want to perform their music to an audience, for example, while some participants in outward-focussed approaches will desire more insular experiences. The music therapist needs to be clear about which approach will dominate when conflicts do arise and why the direction she or he points the clients is a therapeutically valid route. This can only be achieved by embracing and deeply understanding the therapeutic potentials of inward *and* outward approaches to music therapy.

Methodological Limitations

The limitations of this particular study relate to general limitations associated with grounded theory as well as certain aspects of the design of this particular study.

Interpretivist-Constructivist Grounded Theory Analysis

Grounded theory can be aligned with a multitude of subtle variations in epistemology, which leads to arguments concerning the types of limitations that can be attributed to grounded theory research. For example, Robertson (2009) suggests that grounded theory is õlimited by its aspirations to consider primarily the emergent quality of the knowledge it seeks to produce. This can force the researcher into attempting to assume an unrealistic and inauthentic atheorical position in relation to the dataö (p. 403). This suggestion would be true of post-positivist grounded theorists who try to bracket out their biases and prior theoretical knowledge before examining the data in order to facilitate as inductive a process as possible. In contrast, Thomas and James (2006) reflect a more interpretive epistemology in their suggestion that there is lack of congruence between the formulaic method of analysis and the creativity and openness required for qualitative research. Charmaz (2005), however, clearly delineates between the method itself and the epistemological differences tolerated by grounded theory research, arguing that õthe researcherøs unfolding interests shape the content of this activity, not the methodö (p. 511). Herein lies the power of grounded theory to help construct creative and useful interpretations of phenomena that are grounded in a systematic method of analysis.

The Research Design

As is common in qualitative research, the research questions in this study continued to evolve well after data generation had been completed. In particular, the focus of this study on therapeutic potentials emerged slowly throughout the entire research process. This resulted in a number of limitations to the research design. The evidence of therapeutic change for each woman in prison involved in the research may have been strengthened if interviews had also been conducted at the beginning of the creative process, before the performance and months after the performance. In particular, this may have enabled the therapeutic potentials to be mapped more explicitly and their sustainability investigated.

Suggestions for Future Research

Documented examples of outward-focussed music experiences, such as the case provided by this research, will continue to contribute to the development of CoMT. In particular, future research into when outwards-and-around and down-and-within approaches to music experience are most appropriate is recommended. The construct of readiness could be explored in relation to this question. Furthermore, investigations into the therapeutic potentials of performance for systems broader than the individual will help music therapists to clarify their goals when incorporating performance into their practices.

Finally, the dearth of research involving women in prison continues to influence the opportunities that are presented to them in their rehabilitation. There is a pressing need for research relevant to women in prison, not only in music therapy, but also in all areas related to forensic health and beyond. If we as a society are to fully embrace and facilitate the notion of rehabilitation for women in prison, then we as researchers must first help to address the silence typically accorded these women by facilitating collaborative and non-exploitative research in the area.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research was to explore the therapeutic potentials of creating and performing music with women in prison. Using language and ideas stemming from the women involved in the study, this exploration contributes to the development of indigenous theory in music therapy. In particular, it demonstrates that outwards-and-around experiences with music can be a powerful and therapeutic activity for these women. Other people have suggested it can be a powerful and therapeutic activity for any human being (Elliot, 1995; Small, 1998).

Lucinda: *It was worth sticking your head out.*

Sarah: *I remembered I was human.*

Matilda: *It's like coming home.*

Jane: *It gets me through the day because I play every day and it sometimes makes me think that I'm not in here.*

Majella: *I didn't overcome my fears but I followed it through to the end.*

Spark: *I think it may have helped me through.*

Gillian*: I loved the way we all came together towards the end. We all gave it what we gave it, our best shot.*

REFERENCES

Aigen, K. (2005). *Music-centered music therapy*. Gilsum, NH: Barcelona.

Aigen, K. (2005b). Writing the qualitative research report. In B. Wheeler (Ed.), *Music therapy research* (pp. 210-225). Gilsum, NH: Barcelona.

Aldridge, D. (2005). Guidelines for case study design research in music therapy. In D. Aldridge (Ed.), *Case study designs in music therapy* (pp. 182-197). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Amir, D. (2005). Grounded theory. In B. Wheeler (Ed.), *Music therapy research: Quantitative and qualitative perspectives* (2nd ed.) (pp. 365-378). Gilsum, NH: Barcelona.

Anderson, C. A., Carnagey, N. L., & Eubanks, J. (2003). Exposure to violent media: The effects of songs with violent lyrics on aggressive thoughts and feelings. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *84*(5), 960-971.

Ansdell, G. (2003). Community music therapy: Big British balloon or future international trend? In *Community, relationship and spirit: Continuing the dialogue and debate*. London: BSMT Publications.

Ansdell, G. (2005). *Being who you aren't; doing what you can't* [Electronic Version}. Retrieved from http://www.voices.no/mainissues/mi40005000192.html

Ansdell, G. (2010). Where performing helps: Processes and affordances of performance in community music therapy. In B. Stige, G. Ansdell, C. Elefant, & M. Pavlicevic, *Where music helps: Community music therapy in action and reflection* (pp. 161-188). Surrey: Ashgate.

Argyle, M. (1999). Causes and correlates of happiness. In D. Kahneman, E. Diener, & N. Schwarz (Eds.), *Well-being: The foundations of hedonic psychology* (pp. 354-373). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Austin, D. (2001). In search of the self: The use of vocal holding techniques with adults traumatized as children. *Music Therapy Perspectives*, *19*(1), 22-30.

Baker, F. & Bor, W. (2008). Can music preference indicate mental health status in young people? *Australas Psychiatry*, *16*(4), 284-288.

Balfour, G. (2006). Re-imagining a feminist criminology. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, *48*, 735-752.

Bruscia, K. (1998). *Defining music therapy* (2nd ed.). Gilsum, NH: Barcelona.

Bunt, L. (1994). *Music therapy: An art beyond words*. London: Routledge.

Bushong, D. J. (2002). Good music/bad music: Extant literature on popular music. *Music Therapy Perspectives*, *20*(2), 69-79.

Byrne, M. K. & Howells, K. (2002). The psychological needs of women prisoners: Implications for rehabilitation and management. *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, *9*(1), 34-61.

Cabrera-Balleza. (2003). We're behind bars, but our issues are not. [Editorial]. *Women in Action*, *3*, 1.

Cameron, J. (2002). *Walking in this world: The practical art of creativity*. New York, NY: Jeremy P. Tarcher/Putnam.

Charmaz, K. (2005). Grounded theory in the 21st century: Applications for advancing social justice. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 507-535). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage.

Daveson, B. (2007). *A grounded theory study of music therapists' and clients' experiences and descriptions of temporality within music therapy.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Melbourne, Melbourne.

Daveson, B. A. & Edwards, J. (2001). A descriptive study exploring the role of music therapy in prisons. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, *28*, 137-141.

Daveson, B., O'Callaghan, C., & Grocke, D. (2008). Indigenous music therapy theory building through grounded theory research: The developing indigenous theory framework. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, *35*, 280-286.

Davidson, J. (2004). What can the social psychology of music offer community music therapy? In M. Pavlicevic & G. Ansdell (Eds.), *Community music therapy* (pp. 114-130). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Deeker, A. (2008). 'In one man there are many men': The prison performances of outbreak art prison city. *Contemporary Theatre Review*, *18*(1), 84-89.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.) (pp. 1-39). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Doak, B. A. (2003). Relationships between adolescent psychiatric diagnoses, music preferences, and drug preferences. *Music Therapy Perspectives*, *21*(2), 69-76.

Elliot, D. (1995). *Music matters: A new philosophy of music education*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ficken, T. & Gardstrom, S. (2002). Guest editorial. *Music Therapy Perspectives*, *20*(2), 53-54.

Fossey, E., Harvey, C., McDermott, F., & Davidson, L. (2002). Understanding and evaluating qualitative research. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, *36*, 717-732.

Fulford, M. (2002). Overview of a music therapy program at a maximum security unit of a state psychiatric facility. *Music Therapy Perspectives*, *20*(2), 112-116.

Gallagher, L. M. & Steele, A. L. (2002). Music therapy with offenders in a substance abuse/mental illness treatment program. *Music Therapy Perspectives*, *20*(2), 117-122.

Grocke, D. & Wigram, T. (2007). *Receptive methods in music therapy*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Hogan, B. E. (1998). *The experience of music therapy for terminally ill patients.* Unpublished masters thesis, The University of Melbourne, Melbourne.

Jenkins, J. S. (2001). The Mozart effect. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, *94*(4), 170-172.

Lacourse, E., Claes, M., & Villeneuve, M. (2001). Heavy metal music and adolescent suicidal risk. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *30*(3), 321-332.

Lyubomirsky, S., Sheldon, K. M., & Schkade, D. (2005). Pursuing happiness: The architecture of sustainable change. *Review of General Psychology*, *9*, 111-131.

Maratos, A. (2004). Whatever next? Community music therapy for the institution! In M. Pavlicevic & G. Ansdell (Eds.), *Community music therapy* (pp. 131-146). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Maslow, A. (1959). Creativity in self-actualising people. In H. Anderson (Ed.), *Creativity*

and its cultivation (pp. 83-95). New York: Harper.

Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative researching*. London: Sage.

McFerran, K. (2007). *Another ripple in the ongoing evolution of music therapy*. Retrieved from http://www.voices.no/columnist/colmcferran051107.php

McFerran, K. (2010). *Adolescents, music and music therapy: Methods and techniques for clinicians, educators and students*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

McQuiade, S. & Ehrenreich, J. H. (1998). Women in prison: Approaches to understanding the lives of a forgotten population. *Affilia Journal of Women and Social Work*, *13*(2), 233-247.

Miranda, D. & Claes, M. (2004). Rap music genres and deviant behaviours in French-Canadian adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *33*(2), 113-122.

Nelson, C. B. (2005). *The creative process: A phenomenological and psychometric investigation of artistic creativity*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Melbourne, Melbourne.

Nordoff, P., & Robbins, C. (2004/1971). *Therapy in music for handicapped children*. Gilsum, NH: Barcelona.

Nurmi, J.-E. & Salmela-Aro, K. (2006). What works makes you happy. In M. Csikszentmihalyi & I. Csikszentmihalyi (Eds.), *A life worth living: Contributions to positive psychology* (pp. 182 - 199). New York: Oxford University Press.

O'Grady, L. (2005). *The relationship between the ways that musicians and music therapists describe their work in community contexts: A grounded theory analysis*. Unpublished masters thesis, The University of Melbourne, Melbourne.

O'Grady, L. & McFerran, D. K. (2007). Community music therapy and its relationship to community music: Where does it end? *Nordic Journal of Music Therapy*, *16*(1), 14-26.

Paulus, P. B. & Nijstad, B. A. (Eds.) (2003). *Group creativity*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pavlicevic, M. (2003). *Groups in music: Strategies from music therapy*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Pavlicevic, M. & Ansdell, G. (Eds.) (2004). *Community music therapy*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Peterson, C. (2006). The Values in Action (VIA) classification of strengths. In M. Csikszentmihalyi & I. Csikszentmihalyi (Eds.), *A life worth living: Contributions to positive psychology* (pp. 29-48). New York: Oxford University Press.

Powell, H. (2004). A dream wedding: From community music to music therapy with a community. In M. Pavlicevic & G. Ansdell (Eds.), *Community music therapy* (pp. 167-185). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Rio, R. E. & Tenney, K. S. (2002). Music therapy for juvenile offenders in residential treatment. *Music Therapy Perspectives*, *20*(2), 89-98.

Robertson, M. (2009). Comment: The qualitative imperative. *Australasian Psychiatry, 17*(5), 402-404.

Rogers, C. (1961). *On becoming a person: A therapist's view of psychotherapy*. London: Constable.

Schmidt-Peters, J. (1987). *Music therapy: An introduction*. Illinois: Charles C Thomas.

Small, C. (1998). *Musicking: The meanings of performing and listening*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press.

Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stige, B. (2002). *Culture-centered music therapy*. Gilsum, NH: Barcelona.

Stige, B. (2004). Community music therapy: Culture, care and welfare. In M. Pavlicevic & G. Ansdell (Eds.), *Community music therapy* (pp. 91-113). London: Jessica Kingsley.

Stige, B., Ansdell, G., Elefant, C., & Pavlicevic, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Where music helps: Community music therapy in action and reflection*. Surrey: Ashgate.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1994). Grounded theory methodology: An overview. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Thaut, M. (1992). Music therapy in correctional psychiatry. In W. Davis, K. Gfeller, & M. Thaut (Eds.), *An introduction to music therapy: Theory and practice* (pp. 273-284). Dubuque, IA: W C Brown.

Thomas, G. & James, D. (2006). Re-inventing grounded theory: Some questions about theory, ground and discovery. *British Educational Research Journal*, *32*(6), 767-795.

Threlfall, C. (2007). *Changing the rhythm, keeping the beat: Keynote address*. Paper presented at the Australian Music Therapy Association's 33rd National Conference, Melbourne.

Wood, S., Verney, R., & Atkinson, J. (2004). From therapy to community: Making music in neurological rehabilitation. In M. Pavlicevic & G. Ansdell (Eds.), *Community music therapy*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Wyatt, J. G. (2002). From the field: Clinical resources for music therapy with juvenile offenders. *Music Therapy Perspectiv*es, *20*(2), 80-89.

Zharinova-Sanderson, O. (2004). Promoting integration and socio-cultural change: Community music therapy with traumatised refugees in Berlin. In M. Pavlicevic & G. Ansdell (Eds.), *Community music therap*y (pp. 233-248). London: Jessica Kingsley.