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# The pedagogy of a prison and community music programme: Spaces for conflict and safety

## ABSTRACT

*This article presents new empirical research with the aim of challenging two assumptions of community music scholarship: (1) that community musicians only report positive outcomes and (2) community musicians are not concerned with, or have no capacity to consider, pedagogy and learning. To do this, theoretical concepts from the field of human geography are used to analyse the pedagogical processes of a community music programme so as to make the complex learning processes that lead to the reported outcomes visible, thus mapping the pedagogy of the programme. Crucially, it brings together the fields of community music and human geography to address recent critiques of community music research and lead the way in finding new mechanisms for community music scholars to articulate the very complex learning processes that lie beneath what can often seem to the inexperienced eye as an unintellectual endeavour.*
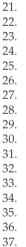
## INTRODUCTION

Recent criticisms of community music have pointed to the positive way projects are reported and the lack of intellectualism in community music scholarship (Kertz-Welzel 2016). Community music scholars have been critiqued for affirming positive pedagogy through their research, partly as a result of their perspective as practitioner researchers (Krönig 2019). Misunderstandings of both the way that learning processes manifest and are fostered, and the complexities of pedagogical decisions in prison and community music environments are exacerbated by critics who might lack the practical experience of working within prison and community music settings needed to understand these (Camlin 2015). This being the case, there is a need to explore prison and community music pedagogy in a way that reveals both positive and negative aspects of such work so as to address the criticisms of over positivity.

To this end, this article uses theoretical concepts from the field of human geography to unpack the pedagogy of community musicians who work in both prisons and in the community. The first author is a music educationist who is an experienced researcher of pedagogy and learning processes, and the second author is a social geographer working within geographies of encounter. These two perspectives enable the exploration of pedagogy as both a product and a producer of socio-musical interactions, processes and contexts. We explore how conflict, often regarded as a negative aspect of community music work, is common in music activity and we argue that the conflictual element needs to be acknowledged in order to fully understand the work of the community musician. By revealing conflict and providing a framework within which to discuss what is perceived as negative, we respond to the criticisms outlined above.

The research underpinning this article is the most recent in a sequence of studies exploring the learning processes of a well-established UK prison and community music programme that is offered in a variety of different community and secure settings – Good Vibrations. We begin with a review of the literature surrounding Good Vibrations programmes, and its presentation of the positive findings. We then discuss the methodological challenges of research and evaluation and how these might lead to over positivity. This is followed by a discussion of the trajectory and methodology of the present study and how that led to the joining together of the fields of education and human geography to conceptualize pedagogical space. We then introduce the key geographical concepts that we use to analyse and theorize the empirical data in order to show how human geography approaches can be usefully applied to a specific context in order to understand the role of conflict in transformative processes. Next, the pedagogy of Good Vibrations programmes is presented and discussed, drawing upon empirical data mainly from prison contexts but also from other community settings, and geographical conceptualizations of space are applied in order to identify pedagogical 'spaces' of conflict and safety. We finish by suggesting that understanding space as a product and producer of social relations and social practices (Lefebvre 1991), and encounter as unpredictable (Wilson 2017) and a 'topological unfolding' (Cockayne et al. 2019), provide mechanisms to reveal the pedagogy underpinning community music projects and a new way to analyse and theorize how a community music facilitator works, thus acknowledging the conflictual element of such work that is often tacit in research.

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## 1. THE GOOD VIBRATIONS JAVANESE GAMELAN PROJECT AND REPORTED POSITIVE IMPACTS

Good Vibrations[1] is a small charity that provides Javanese gamelan programmes in the United Kingdom for incarcerated populations in prisons and secure hospitals as well as people within the community in educational and community settings. The programmes are usually week-long, intensive courses that culminate in an informal performance. The types of activities that participants engage in include improvisation and exploration, composition, some traditional Javanese music and there are also opportunities to explore the wider culture surrounding Javanese gamelan through puppetry, dance and song. The musical emphasis of a programme is on enabling individuals to engage in group music making, to explore their own musicality and develop musically through their experience of creating music with others. During the programme, audio recordings are made and the final 'play-through' is also recorded. A professional CD is made and given to participants as soon as possible after the programme has finished. In the case of participants in secure settings, the CD is given to the setting to pass onto the participants.

Although it is a music programme, the aims of Good Vibrations are wider than encouraging musical engagement. They include enabling diverse individuals to develop team work and communication skills by engaging in the musical activities, with a view to helping them develop personally, socially and emotionally as well as musically. Each project week comprises a group of people who have not previously worked together, have perhaps disengaged from other education opportunities, and are considered hard-to-reach by either the prison establishment or, in the case of work outside of prisons, the particular community to which they belong. Community contexts include long-term unemployed and mental health settings as well as hospital environments. Since it began in 2003 Good Vibrations has reached over 5500 people, and the 2017–18 annual report demonstrates the diversity of people who participated in programmes during that year (Good Vibrations 2018).

The rationale for using gamelan is the communal and egalitarian nature of the collection of instruments (Kougiali et al. 2018: 15), the inclusivity that it offers and the fact that it can be played without any prior instrumental music experience (Eastburn 2003). There is a relatively small amount of technique needed to play the instruments, meaning that from the outset participants can produce a satisfying musical sound. Without the frustrations of grappling with challenging physical techniques, participants can move quickly from exploring the instruments to composing their own music. Research exploring the impacts of Good Vibrations has found the following benefits. The use of audio recording early on in the programme enables participants to listen to the music that they have created, leading to a rise in musical confidence (Henley 2017). As the music grows through collaboration and team work, a rise in musical confidence often goes hand-in-hand with a rise in personal confidence (Henley et al. 2012), and that the musical and social development experienced within a programme may be the result of the shared learning processes that arise within social music making (Henley 2015b).

Developing confidence has also been attributed to the creative nature of the musical activities. As participants engage in their own music making on their own terms, they develop pride in their learning and an increased motivation to succeed; this in turn creates a rise in confidence that provides further motivation and pride, producing a cyclic effect of confidence, pride and motivation. Moreover, the shared and communal musical experience that

the programme brings fosters the development of group ownership as well 1.
as personal ownership of the music, resulting in the building of a musical 2.
community during the project week (Henley et al. 2012). 3.

The symbiotic nature of musical engagement and social engagement 4.
within Good Vibrations programmes has surfaced in other research. Caulfield 5.
et al. (2010) attributed improved social skills to the emphasis on discus- 6.
sion and joint decision-making during a project week, suggesting that this 7.
resulted in the participants developing ownership of their project. Studies 8.
have shown that the music produced by a gamelan can have a calming effect 9.
and participants have reported lower anxiety levels during a Good Vibrations 10.
project week and are more able to cope with the stresses of their lives, so 11.
much for some, that it helped stop them self-harm (Wilson and Logan 2006). 12.
Subsequent research found that participants were enabled to express them- 13.
selves musically as well as verbally through discussion activities, resulting in 14.
an ability to cope better with the frustrations and anxieties of group work. 15.
Coping and being able to express oneself are two factors that were seen to 16.
lead to positive change (Caulfield et al. 2010; Mendonça 2010). 17.

Examples of positive change can be seen in how people have applied the 18.
rise in personal confidence and in feeling able to voice their opinions in group 19.
discussions to their prison lives after their programme ended (Caulfield et al. 20.
2010). Another example of positive change can be seen in reports of empower- 21.
ment in learning as a result of participation in a Good Vibrations programme. 22.
Both Wilson and Logan (2006) and Caulfield et al. (2010) describe how former 23.
participants have sought out further education and training opportunities after 24.
a programme ended. Furthermore, Caulfield et al. saw other areas of prison 25.
life being influenced in a positive way with former participants feeling able to 26.
take more responsibility, going on to become 'wing representatives' for exam- 27.
ple, and Digard et al. (2007) describe how prison staff had noticed improved 28.
social skills following participation in a programme. 29.

This literature contributes to a significant rise in research studies seeking to 30.
understand the relationship between prison and community music activities, 31.
personal transformation and developing identity. Whilst this body of research 32.
is necessary to interrogate the connection between musical development 33.
and developing identity, less often reported are the negative outcomes and 34.
experiences of music in prisons and community settings. The reality of work 35.
in secure and challenging environments can be different to the picture that 36.
research, including that of the first author cited above, can paint. It is right that 37.
the positive outcomes of such projects should be celebrated, particularly when 38.
considered in the context of the challenges a facilitator can face, but it needs to 39.
be acknowledged that the inter-personal interactions within projects also lead 40.
to negative outcomes such as disengagement, conflict (musical and social) 41.
and dissatisfying music making as reported within the current study. The 42.
task of the facilitator is to navigate the dynamics arising from the interaction 43.
between the people and the environment so as to get the best out of the situa- 44.
tion at hand. If the negative and conflictual aspects of community music work 45.
are not reported by research, the field leaves itself open to criticisms such as 46.
those put forward by Kertz-Welzel (2016) and Krönig (2019). The challenge for 47.
researchers working in these contexts is to report and examine such tensions 48.
without undermining the work of the community musician. We now turn to 49.
the tensions faced by community music practitioner researchers, between 50.
evaluating the outcomes of projects and accurately reflecting the complexity 51.
of the process involved. 52.

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## METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES TO CRITICAL EVALUATION OF PRISON AND COMMUNITY MUSIC PROJECTS

The evaluation culture that surrounds funded project work presents numerous methodological challenges as well as tensions in the way that findings are reported (Lonie 2018; Currie and Higgins, forthcoming). As part of funding applications, charities and organizations are required to outline what the outcomes of the project will be, and to specify how they will measure the success of the project against these specified outcomes. This evaluation culture is problematic for a number of reasons.

First, from an educational viewpoint, there are inherent contradictions with pinpointing the outcomes before the project has even identified the participants who will be involved let alone the exact nature of what the activities will be. Inclusive pedagogical approaches tell us that building on the starting points of participants is key to designing learning in a way that is inclusive and responds to diversity (Henley 2015a). If community music programmes need to identify outcomes before they know exactly who the participants are, they cannot respond to the diversity presented by each individual situation and spatial context.

Secondly, from a methodological viewpoint, research that seeks to measure success against pre-specified outcomes is potentially unreliable in a context with so many uncontrollable variables. If we accept that music can provide a means to escape reality as well as discover new realities (Tuastad and O'Grady 2013), we need to acknowledge that the people who are participating in music programmes may well be oscillating between different constructions of reality at different times. This is intensified by the environment that they are in and the challenges presented by the context, such as transient participants and intensified power relations, which contribute to the unlikelihood of producing research data that is replicable in the way that robust measurement demands.

The research methodologies used in the wider body of both prison music and community music research recognize the complexities of the research context and sound arguments are made for the use of qualitative approaches (Matsunobu and Bresler 2014; Kougiali et al. 2018), yet the evaluation culture of measurement is pushing researchers to use quantitative methodologies that may not be appropriate to the types of research questions being asked (Lonie 2018). Finally, knowing that the funding of future projects rests on the evaluation of current projects puts researchers in a potentially difficult position. As Krönig (2019) points out, in reviewing literature, and evaluation reports in particular, the number of claims of positive impacts is striking. This leads to questions related to how negative findings ought to be reported and the independence of researchers who are funded to evaluate programmes and research community music activity, as alluded to by Krönig. With all of this in mind, it is crucial to design research studies that explore music programmes in a way that produces robust evidence through using appropriate methodologies, and that places researcher reflexivity at their heart.

## ADDRESSING METHODOLOGICAL CHALLENGES IN THE CURRENT STUDY

The focus of the study reported in this article is the pedagogy of Good Vibrations Javanese gamelan programmes. The research question outlined below has been derived from the first author's previous research, and the study forms part of a sequence that explores the ways that people who participate

in Good Vibrations programmes develop musically, including the personal and social attributes that enable them to continue to progress in their musical development.

The first study was carried out as part of a doctoral research project investigating the ways that adults learn in community ensemble contexts (Henley 2009). In this doctoral study an autoethnographic strand, designed in order to address issues of researcher bias in interpreting data, resulted in the inclusion of a case study from a Good Vibrations project in a women's prison. The second study built on the doctoral research and involved a secondary analysis of data collected by a research team of psychologists in order to analyse it from an educational perspective and provide an insight into the educational processes leading to the positive change as found by the research (Henley et al. 2012). This led to a third study involving a programme in a Young Offender Institution designed to understand these musical learning processes in more depth (Henley 2015b). The study had a dual purpose in that as well as gaining an understanding of the factors that impact upon musical development in the intense environment of the prison, it enabled the methodology to be developed and tested (Henley 2015c), as detailed below.

Two key findings from these studies were:

- The relationship between the facilitator and the participants was fundamental in fostering the musical, personal and social development that occurred during the programmes.
- The spaces for discussion between the musical activities were essential in participants developing their communication and teamwork, in turn leading to progress in music making.

These two findings provide a starting point for the present study and our research question was devised to build understanding of the facilitator/participant relationship and pedagogical spaces in programmes:

How can we conceptualise the spaces within the programmes that give rise to facilitative pedagogy?

Using a qualitative methodology, this study was designed in two phases. The first phase involved semi-structured interviews with four Good Vibrations facilitators. Two had been involved with the charity for a number of years and two had been involved for three to four years, one having a management role. Interviews lasted approximately one hour and were fully transcribed and coded. As with the previous studies in the sequence, a framework taken from Cultural Historical Activity Theory was used to collate the data and initial themes were derived using the key findings from previous studies and added to as new themes emerged from the data. The semi-structured interview schedules contained three areas of questioning. Firstly questions were asked so as to draw out the reasons why the facilitators had become involved in this type of work in the first place, and how they developed their facilitation processes (or pedagogy). This involved discussing other areas of music education that they are or have been involved in and establishing their experience. The second area of questioning centred on a recall technique where interviewees were asked to recount 'moments' or 'events' within recent programmes as well as from programmes that stand out to them for a particular reason. After describing the 'moment' or 'event' they were encouraged to analyse their

1.  actions as facilitator, and how these impacted upon the participants' learning.
2.  The third area explored ways that they worked with others, including mentor-
3.  ing new facilitators, in order to draw out the ways that they develop a shared
4.  understanding of their work and might support other facilitators in devel-
5.  oping their pedagogy. The first author was the researcher and using knowl-
6.  edge and understanding gained through professional experience as a teacher
7.  educator applied through the theoretical lens provided by Cultural Historical
8.  Activity Theory (see Henley 2015c for details), she was able to analyse the
9.  data, compare commonalities and build an outline of a shared pedagogy as
10. emerged from the four interviews. This was sent back to the interviewees for
11. verification.
12.     The second phase involved clarification of the pedagogy through an
13. autoethnographic study and data was collected via diary entries during a
14. project week within a high security male prison. In addition, interviews were
15. conducted directly after the project week and also four months later. The
16. interviewer for the second phase of the present study is the second author.
17. The researcher interviews formed a crucial part of the autoethnographic study
18. as they served to verify the diary data but also provided an opportunity to
19. reflect more deeply on the experiences within the project, thus adding to the
20. robustness of the data.
21.     The methodology was developed with a keenness to embed ethical prac-
22. tice at the heart of the research. Rather than take a universal position and
23. view ethical principles as a set of rules, the research takes what Caulfield and
24. Hill (2014) describe as a consequentialist stance. Otherwise known as situated
25. ethics, this stance requires the researcher to 'consider the consequences of our
26. ethical decisions, a process which allows us to weigh up the benefits against
27. harms' (2014: 32). It acknowledges that sometimes standard ethical princi-
28. ples may in fact cause harm and places the responsibility on the researcher
29. to consider each ethical dilemma as it arises. Using autoethnography for the
30. second phase of research has enabled Author 1 to fully exercise a consequen-
31. tialist stance to ethics, weighing up each ethical dilemma as it arises in the
32. field work.
33.     During the data analysis of study's first phase, two broad categories
34. emerged: safety and conflict. The idea that the pedagogy might provide spaces
35. for safety and conflict emerged during the verification stage of the research
36. and it became clear that a conceptual understanding of space was needed to
37. theorize the data and to frame the clarification of the pedagogy undertaken
38. in the second phase. A growing body of research conceptualizing space(s)
39. in music activity is emerging within a variety of fields of study that intersect
40. with community music work, and of particular note is a previous study in the
41. field of ethnomusicology that draws specifically on human geography in order
42. to conceptualize spaces of cultural encounter within an intercultural singing
43. project (Dieckmann and Davidson 2018). Kougiali et al. (2018) explore how
44. music programmes in prisons can contribute to 'the creation of mental, spatial
45. and temporal zones of free expression' (2018: 18), and to 'affective spaces'
46. (2018: 12). The present study requires a detailed exploration of the relationship
47. between space and pedagogy and therefore a conceptualization of space that
48. intersects with the notion of pedagogy was needed. Gage (1985) explains that
49. pedagogy arises from *nomothetic* knowledge (knowledge of general strate-
50. gies) applied to each unique group using the educator's *idiographic* knowledge
51. (specific knowledge of that group), and pedagogy functions as both the prod-
52. uct and producer of a sociocultural space. Pedagogy within a music activity is

the set of socio-musical processes and inter-personal interactions that lead to learning and development in some way (Henley 2018). Human geographers are concerned with the dialectical relationship between social relations and space. We therefore suggest that 'space' as conceptualized by human geography forms a useful theoretical framework within which to understand pedagogical relationships as they play out in material and imagined space.

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: SPACE

Space is a core geographical focus and a 'central organising concept' (Valentine 2001: 2). Human geographers are concerned with how people shape, inhabit and experience the world around them. They think spatially about the social world, and use and theorize spatial scale (such as cities and institutions) to explore geographical differences and to analyse specific types of socio-spatial activities. Until the 1970s, geographers' attention to space was primarily focused on mapping, describing, and identifying geographical patterns and concentrations of social activities, groups and land uses, particularly at the urban scale. '[S]pace was conceptualized as an objective physical surface with specific fixed characteristics upon which social identities and categories were mapped out' (Valentine 2001: 3).

Geographers and other scholars then began to challenge such objective, absolute understandings of space. Radical and Marxist geographers, concerned with structural inequalities, explored how social identities and differences affected experiences and understandings of space (Valentine 2001). Spatial representations, in the form of conceptual devices such as maps and landscapes, were recognized as key in the (re)production of power relations and in the ordering of space (Gregory 2009: 710).

In the 1980s and 1990s (the latter decade saw geography's 'spatial turn'), geographers developed an increasingly relational understanding of space. The notion of 'time-space compression' (Harvey 1989) was used to denote the decreasing significance of distance as a barrier to human activities due to advances in transport and information technology, while 'timespace' reflected an understanding of time and space as integrated, rather than seeing time as change and space as static (Lefebvre 2004; Massey 2005).

A key influence in geography's spatial turn was Lefebvre, who asserted that '(social) space is a (social) product' (1991: 26), produced through social relations and practices. Lefebvre spatialized Marx's theory of capitalist inequalities, arguing that our knowledge and understanding of space reproduces capitalist power relations. In a bid to generate a unifying theory of space, he outlined a trialectic approach to understanding how social space is produced, thus seeking to surpass binary approaches to seeing the world. Perceived space, or 'spatial practices', refer(s) to physical space through which we navigate (Lefebvre 1991: 38). Conceived space, or 'representations of space', refer(s) to dominant conceptions of (capitalist) space reflected in abstract plans, for example of urban planners. To the perceived-conceived dialectic, Lefebvre added a third idea: lived space, or 'representational spaces'. Lived space is 'dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects' (1991: 38–39). Soja (1996) developed the related concept of 'thirdspace', which is 'simultaneously real and imagined and more' (1996: 11). Marxist geographers, particularly Harvey (2006), drew upon Lefebvre's ideas to interrogate processes of uneven geographical development under capitalism.

1.      Also influential in relational understandings of space was Foucault, for
2.   whom '[o]ur epoch is one in which space takes for us the form of relations
3.   among sites' (1984: 2). Foucault used the term 'heterotopia' to denote *real*
4.   places (in contrast to utopias) which are transitional spaces, such as the prison,
5.   a 'heterotopia of deviation' (1984: 5). Heterotopias are 'capable of juxtaposing
6.   in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incom-
7.   patible' (Foucault 1984: 6; see also Rose (1993: 140), who argues that we can
8.   simultaneously inhabit 'paradoxical space', or 'spaces that would be mutually
9.   exclusive if charted on a two-dimensional map'). Heterotopias 'always presup-
10.  pose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes
11.  them penetrable' (1984: 7). Foucault also criticized the privileging of sight ('the
12.  gaze') over other senses in modern western society, leading him to foreground
13.  the role of space in the application of power (1977). Drawing upon Jeremy
14.  Bentham's eighteenth century 'panopticon' prison design, Foucault demon-
15.  strated how disciplinary techniques lead not only to detailed visual control
16.  (the 'surveillant gaze') by the institutional regime or public authorities, but
17.  also to 'self-surveillance' being exercised by the imprisoned or citizens.
18.      Geographers have used Foucault's ideas to develop conceptualizations of
19.  space. Sibley and van Hoven (2009) note such work, and the 'limited [empir-
20.  ical] engagement of geographers with prison spaces' (2009: 198), but move
21.  beyond Foucauldian theorizations to explore how inmates in large, crowded
22.  dormitories in a US prison produce space. They find evidence of inmates,
23.  through 'day-to-day spatial practices and imaginings' (2009: 199), 'mak[ing]
24.  their own spaces, material and imagined' (2009: 205) in response to anxieties
25.  around contamination of personal space. This includes spatial and temporal
26.  tactics to avoid certain encounters, including seeing and being seen, as well
27.  as the deployment of spatial language. Carolan (2007), in the context of envi-
28.  ronmental projects designed to engender environmental behaviour change,
29.  develops the idea of 'tactile space' in which individuals are embedded within
30.  embodied participation in environmental projects. Tactile space 'challenges
31.  […] those forms of knowledge that center on the sense of vision' (2007: 1271),
32.  allowing representational and non-representational forms of knowledge to be
33.  exchanged, and 'epistemic distance' to be overcome. This engenders in partici-
34.  pants a strong 'sense of relationality with others and the environment', and
35.  brings about deep and lasting, rather than superficial, attitudinal and behav-
36.  ioural changes (Carolan 2007: 1264).
37.      The creation of physical and metaphorical spaces for negotiation and
38.  resistance is a key theme in geographical debates, drawing upon Lefebvre's
39.  representational space, and bell hooks' (1991) real and imagined marginal
40.  spaces, or perspectives, from which one writes or speaks. hooks argues that
41.  marginalized Black people operating in privileged, 'central' settings, 'must
42.  create spaces within that culture of domination […] space[s] of radical open-
43.  ness' (hooks 1991: 148–49) from which power relations can be resisted and
44.  marginal perspectives can be voiced. Space is now understood as active in
45.  (re)producing, as well as reflecting, social relations and identities, which in
46.  turn produce material, as well as symbolic and metaphorical spaces which
47.  can serve to enhance notions such as self and other or inside and outside
48.  (Valentine 2001: 4). Geographies of encounter increasingly contribute to
49.  scholarship exploring this socio-spatial dialectic.
50.      Valentine (2008) challenges utopian assumptions of encounter, such as
51.  that inherent in Allport's (1954) 'contact hypothesis', that positive encoun-
52.  ters will necessarily 'scale up' to acceptance of whole groups, and calls for

greater attention to be paid to 'meaningful encounter'. Indeed, geographies of encounter have increasingly focused on the nature of contact between groups and how difference is negotiated, particularly across ethnic divides, in specific spaces or 'micro-publics' such as community centres (Amin 2002) and through 'purposeful organised activities' such as sports projects designed to bring groups together (Mayblin et al. 2016). Mayblin et al. (2016: 213) identify the importance of 'banal sociality', demonstrating that 'a meaningful contact zone is not necessarily spatially or temporally bound […] because contact must occur on multiple occasions, in multiple sites, and with a variety of intensities in order to become "meaningful"'.

The permeability of *where* encounter takes place has been taken further by geographers such as Cockayne et al. (2019) who draw upon Deleuze's (1990, 1994) writings to move beyond considering space in the sense of the (usually urban) location or context within which the encounter occurs, to explore 'the spatiality of the encounter itself […] its topological unfolding […] how encounters fold into others spaces and times' (Cockayne et al. 2019: 3). Cockayne et al. (2019) use Deleuzian theory on (topological) 'space-as-difference' to 'theorise encounter as not only geographically and historically located but also as an embodied, spatial event' (2019: 10) that is spatially and temporally dynamic (2019: 8). In doing so, they further open up the field to 'the problems and possibilities of encounter' (2019: 1) that has been recognized, for example, by Wilson's (2017) attention to 'the tensions that exist between the desire to design encounters and their inherent unpredictability' (2017: 465) and her emphasis on the relationality of encounter. For Cockayne et al. (2019), Deleuze's topology is 'productive for thinking anew the recurring theme of so much work on encounter: the sense that encounters very often reinforce the conditions that produce them, even as the possibility persists that, precisely through an encounter, something new can emerge' (2019: 10). Difference becomes not an obstacle but 'a means of resonance and communication' (2019: 5). A topological approach allows us to recognize the possibilities of encounter with difference, and of the conflict that may come with them.

Foucault's (1984) 'heterotopia', Lefebvre's (1991) 'representational space', Soja's (1996) thirdspace, and topological geographies of encounter (in this case with music and with others) provide our conceptual basis for a study seeking to understand the pedagogy of community music programmes. We now use these ideas as a framework within which to analyse the interviews with the Good Vibrations facilitators.

## DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS: SPACES FOR PEDAGOGY

The field of community music has grown considerably in recent years and many community musicians are working in prison contexts alongside other community settings. In considering the parallels and contrasts between community music and music-making in prisons Cohen and Henley (2018) suggest that the 'concepts within community music – hospitality, welcome, and empowering musical freedom – are vital for music-making in prisons; however these practices run contrary to the power structures and security rules within incarceration' (2018: 159). The facilitators interviewed for this present study all have varied backgrounds as musicians and educators. Their education work crossed prisons, schools, care settings, and community-based work, and this enabled them to move between the different Good Vibrations contexts (prisons, hospitals, job centres). The wealth of knowledge brought

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1. into their Good Vibrations work was evident, and each interviewee was clear
2. that the way they worked in prisons is the same as how they worked in any
3. other context:
4. 
5.     'I don't really think that prisoners are anything other than human
6.     beings.''It's about drawing stuff from whoever you are working with and
7.     I would do that in any teaching situation.'
8.                                                  (Interviewee 1)
9. 
10. The references to their work cut across prisons, schools and other community
11. settings, but as interviewee 2 says:
12. 
13.     The one thing I want to say is that this is not particular to prisons, but
14.     certain things are more extreme and certain tensions are amplified in a
15.     prison, but this is all human behavioural stuff.
16.                                                  (Interviewee 2)
17. 
18. This reflects Foucault's rationale for focusing on prisons in order to expose the
19. role of space in the application of power more generally. The findings reported
20. here refer to both prison and community music throughout.
21.     The facilitators revealed some general reflections on their decision-making
22. processes within the timespaces of the community music projects, which we
23. present here first, in order to then identify, with the help of the geographi-
24. cal approaches outlined above, particular types of pedagogical spaces that are
25. being produced. Each facilitator has a 'framework and a selection of tools and
26. exercises to pull on' (Interviewee 4), or as Interviewee 1 said, 'we have our
27. rag bag of things to do', but the freedom that the facilitator has within the
28. programme enables them to respond to the diversity that they encounter, as
29. Interviewee 1 explains:
30. 
31.     I've said there's usually a composition, but if the group are not really
32.     responding to that, I don't do it. And we usually do a simple traditional
33.     piece. But even that, if they are not comfortable with that, there is no
34.     rule to say we must do that in a week.
35. 
36. So whereas each facilitator has their own tool kit of activities, and these often
37. contain creative activities, they are not bound to any particular activity, reflect-
38. ing a heterotopia of simultaneous opening and closing (Foucault 1984), and
39. a disruption of spatial distinctions between 'them' and 'us' (Valentine 2001).
40. Moreover, it is the way that decisions are made that enables the facilitators
41. to respond to the diversity that each group presents: '[y]ou've got to use your
42. sensitivity and intuition as to whether you plough on with something or you
43. leave it where it is. Again, you've got the freedom to do that' (Interviewee 1).
44.     With the recognition that one's own practice is constantly developing,
45. this adaptability is a result of self-reflection. Each facilitator talked about
46. the way that they notice how participants engage in the activities, how they
47. constantly question themselves and each other about the way that they work,
48. how listening was a fundamental aspect of any facilitation, and the way that
49. they responded to criticism, adjusted their language and most of all had a
50. deep concern for the experience of the individuals participating in the music
51. making. This appears to be connected with an acknowledgement that their
52. own experience is as important as the participants' experience. Interviewee 2

explained how he came to review his own practice after seeing a video of 1.
himself working. He critiqued the type of music programme that is centred 2.
on the presentation skills of the facilitator and the tool kit of activities alone, 3.
and found that he was 'always looking at the participants and thinking what 4.
do they get out of this, what are they left with after this, what is their personal 5.
development after this?'. He described, in spatial terms, what he saw as a 'lack 6.
of humanity and artificialness' in his work and began to develop his practice to 7.
ensure that he put the participants at the centre of the music making: 8.
9.

> Actually getting to know them and their needs and their challenges and 10.
> their boundaries and all of that is basic and is essential. You can't just 11.
> march in and deliver […] [you] don't just charge in and start compos- 12.
> ing their piece for them. […] I like to get out of the way rather than me 13.
> being a necessary part of it, and then noticing the changing dynamics. 14.
15.

However, the balance between democracy and leadership is important. Talking 16.
of working with younger people, Interviewee 1 described the challenges of 17.
finding this balance: 18.
19.

> If they see all adults as people who are in authority that they need to 20.
> challenge then you are up against it aren't you. Which doesn't mean 21.
> that you don't try, but it's bloody hard really to tell them that you are 22.
> there for them. But maybe that's the important point, that those particu- 23.
> lar [young people] […] that's not their experience is it? So that's another 24.
> important thing that does come across in everything that you do as a 25.
> facilitator. With young offenders, they don't give themselves a chance. 26.
27.

Participants need space to give themselves a chance – 'representational spaces' 28.
(Lefebvre 1991) – and sometimes this is by allowing awkward moments 29.
to happen and letting them work out how to get past them. Interviewee 3 30.
described this: 31.
32.

> [I am] very hands off and let them kind of explore and come to their 33.
> own realisation and methods of trying to create music. And there's that 34.
> awkward moment when they are feeling uncomfortable and out of their 35.
> depth and just a few minutes and they will fall into their natural roles. 36.
37.

Interviewee 2 explained that 'noticing when individuals need their voice to 38.
be heard, but also when individuals are not listening to others is key to the 39.
decisions you make in relation to group activities'. All facilitators gave exam- 40.
ples of the kinds of decisions that they made in order to give an individual a 41.
chance, but decisions are also made with the group in mind. 'The idea is to 42.
get the maximum possible benefit for everyone concerned but obviously that 43.
is always balanced against the other individuals in the group so that is some- 44.
thing that needs navigating' (Interviewee 2). 45.

Each facilitator does have their tool kit of activities, but what emerges in 46.
the Good Vibrations data is that it is the way that they are working beyond the 47.
tool kit that generates a pedagogy centred on creating, holding and inviting 48.
people to inhabit spaces of radical openness (hooks 1991) and dynamic spaces 49.
of encounter (Cockayne et al. 2019) for conflict and safety to which we now 50.
turn. 51.
52.

1. ### *Spaces for conflict*

Conflict in an environment that seeks to uphold the values of community music as articulated by Cohen and Henley (2018) can be seen as a failure to inspire the kindness, care and consideration for others embedded within these values, and therefore as a negative outcome. What was apparent in all interviews was the recognition that conflict is a natural part of any group process, whether that is between participants or between facilitators, as Interviewee 2 explains:

> And there are disagreements as well. But that's also part of human behaviour. It has to come out and it's natural. […] There's […] a fear of conflict and shrinking away from it and trying to get back into this politeness and "everything is lovely" mode all the time. i.e. not addressing the issues. So issues get addressed.

The way issues get addressed was illustrated by Interviewee 4's recount of a Good Vibrations event in a community setting where one facilitator challenged the politeness of the participants:

> Everyone had been very polite to each other and very nice, […] and after about 2 or 3 hours of this [a facilitator] said, 'actually I found that quite challenging what we just did there, as I found it a bit competitive, a bit aggressive. We were all trying to be in our own spotlight and we weren't really working as a group'. So she said something quite provoking. Initially you could see it as quite confrontational but the wording, the way it was done, was focussed on the music.

Recognition of conflict was deemed to be important for a number of reasons. These included the acknowledgement that conflict is a natural part of group functioning, that conflict in the music making leads to creative problem solving, and that 'certain social mechanisms that try to avoid conflict' do not necessarily help people to 'move past their boundaries' (Interviewee 2).

In line with Foucault's (1984) 'heterotopia' space of incompatible sites and simultaneous opening and closing, each facilitator recounted events where conflict emerged that involved a decision as to whether a participant should be removed from the programme, usually at the suggestion of a prison officer saying something such as, 'I can knock him off if you want me to' (Interviewee 2). Removing disruptive people from the space may be an immediate solution but is not always the best solution for either the individual or the group. Interviewee 3 explained:

> Sometimes our contacts from the prison will be, 'we will try and get rid of that guy' but we are, 'actually no let him stick it out for one more day just to see if we can get through to them' and we usually do. You want to give them a good amount of time to really get into it.

Good Vibrations facilitators often work together on a programme and conflict is also natural between facilitators. The same approach is taken and it is allowed to surface in order to get addressed. Crucial in allowing conflict to surface is the way that the facilitator both gives space, but also holds that social space:

We all have our challenges. And how those might bump up against other people, nobody knows. Without holding, conflict just scatters everything all over the place. You are holding that space that allows these things to happen safely.

(Interviewee 2)

These narratives speak to the 'problems', 'possibilities' (Cockayne et al. 2019), 'unpredictability' and 'surprise' (Wilson 2017) of encounter. Debates on encounter that emphasize its topology acknowledge the inherent relationship between space and difference in order to allow the 'new' to emerge, rather than simply reinforce the power relations that have produced the encounter (Cockayne et al. 2019: 10).

### Spaces for safety

There was a sense that it was important to know when to intervene and when to let things run their course, and that was deemed to be part of the way that spaces were held safely. This also included allowing co-facilitators the space to provide feedback without fearing conflict. Interviewee 4 described an event where she did not agree with the way one facilitator was working until she saw the result:

[He] left them too long, what I thought was too long, with this cacophony. And […] they realized, they heard the music, they started their eye contact and realized that they could improve the sound and look at each more and make it sound more integrated. So it was the fact that he didn't step in and tell them. It was much more empowering for the participants to realize that themselves and address that.

This is an example of representational or lived space (Lefebvre 1991) allowing new forms of social relations that challenge the existing social (and spatial) order of things. The musical conflict was allowed to resolve and transform through increased musical cooperation, which would not have taken place had the facilitator not held the space that enabled the participants to move beyond the initial chaotic phase of music making. Interviewee 4 acknowledged that having the courage to let the 'cacophony' happen in the knowledge that it will transform is part of the expertise of the facilitator.

Interviewee 3 explains safe spaces as being 'about letting people do it and make mistakes', and this is done by creating an environment built on trust. All interviewees mentioned how establishing trust was paramount for creating safety, with Interviewee 4 stating that Good Vibrations is 'particularly effective when the group of people that we work with are not used to being treated in such a mature trusting way'. This ranged from the ways participants were entrusted with creating their own music as Interviewee 1 explained, 'you've got to trust them to do things' and you need to know that 'you've got someone's confidence before you can [push them out of their comfort zone]', to putting them in a position of control. Facilitators make a point of learning the names of all participants as quickly as they can as a first step in establishing a trusting environment, and always call them by their preferred names:

1.    [I]t's always a constant source of confusion on the first day because they
2.    are so used to giving their surnames […] and then we usually ask them
3.    what do you like to be called. And then the prison officer will come in
4.    and call them by their surnames, so it keeps you on your toes for the
5.    first day or two to remember the proper names. I think it's an important
6.    part.

7.                                                                                    (Interviewee 3)
8.
9.    Within the one physical space there are at least two different sets of power
10.   relations at play, the first between the officers and the participants, identifiable
11.   by the use of surnames, and the second between the facilitator and partici-
12.   pants, identifiable by the use of first names, further compounding the 'heter-
13.   otopian' (Foucault 1984) nature of the space. A third set of power relations
14.   potentially lies within the participant group itself, identifiable by the use of
15.   nick-names. These multiple power relations illustrate the relational nature of
16.   Lefebvre's (1991) 'social space'.
17.        The facilitators always take on board feedback from participants as far
18.   as they are able. The activities are negotiated and all participants have a
19.   role in preparing items for the final 'play-through'. Interviewee 3 explained
20.   how transferal of power to the participants helps them to develop a sense of
21.   ownership with this shift of control creating a safe space for performance:
22.
23.        To ask someone to stand up in front of a class or an audience is quite an
24.        intimidating thing, but if you are conducting you have actually got your
25.        back to the audience, so it's kind of, it's not frightening but yet you are
26.        in control so it's a clever way of empowering someone because they are
27.        in control of the group and the composition. So they don't have to face
28.        the audience, which is terrifying for some people.
29.
30.   Whilst there is a conscious effort to transfer control to participants in order to
31.   instil a sense of ownership and a 'representational space' (Lefebvre 1991), it
32.   was clear that parameters do need to be set so as to make the physical, musi-
33.   cal and pedagogical spaces safe. Interviewee 1 recounted the way he provides
34.   some rules so as to manage the group:
35.
36.        Giving people who are quiet the space to have a voice and talk and not
37.        be dominated by the other ones. Well yes I do lay down the law about
38.        don't all talk at once otherwise we won't get anywhere, and then people
39.        realize and they say, but we haven't heard from you yet.
40.
41.   Interviewee 3 echoed this, and went on to explain how in both prison and
42.   community settings this leads to self-regulation within the group: '[t]hey kind
43.   of self police themselves you know. If someone is acting out then quite often
44.   someone else in the group is, "shhh be quiet and show some respect"'. He
45.   puts this down to the fact that they have come through a shared process and
46.   develop a shared responsibility. However, it is important for participants to
47.   have space within creative activities to try things out individually and away
48.   from the spotlight. This enables people to take a musical risk in a safe way, or
49.   as Interviewee 1 said, 'give them space so if they are not feeling comfortable
50.   they are not doing it wrong'. Similarly, this safe space also enables people
51.   to work at their own level as 'it gives the ones that can do quite elaborate
52.   rhythms and repeated patterns, they can do that too'. However, it must be

recognized, in analyzing how a facilitator handles conflict or 'makes space' for participants, that spaces are not singular or continuous, thus what can be a safe space for one participant might not be for others.

Interviewee 2 explained how these safe spaces provided a means to start the process of group composing, whether in a prison, a school or another community setting. What he does is create a space in which to 'give them an instrument and let them get on with it'. This is done whilst he is out of the way, 'the whole dynamic in a room changes when the teacher sits down and says you guys go and get on with it'. This is echoed by Interviewee 1, again referring to his work across different contexts, 'I'm listening to what they are doing, certainly, but I'm not even standing near them […] so they'll think that I'm not listening'. Participants go to different corners of the room and work on a small group task, sometimes involving the individuals working things out on their own and then bringing it back to the small group. Once participants have had the physical space and the representational space (Lefebvre 1991) to generate and develop their ideas away from the whole group and the facilitator, the facilitator begins a process of bringing together a collaborative composition through a process of reflection, evaluation and refinement. All the interviewees recognize that critical reflection on the part of the facilitator is what strengthens practice. Continued critical reflection with a variety of intensities (personal reflection, group reflection, micro reflection, macro reflection etc.) enables the encounter to become meaningful (Valentine 2008), and it is what has driven the facilitators to develop their ways of working with people and how they understand their relationships both with the participants and with each other. Thus the encounter sees a 'topological unfolding' that has multiple possibilities (Cockayne et al. 2019: 3). It cannot be designed (Wilson 2017).

## CONCLUSION: ENCOUNTERING PEDAGOGICAL SPACE

Within human geography, space is no longer seen as simply the backdrop for things to happen, but rather plays an active role in society. Spatiality is understood in terms of space being socially produced *and* consumed. This article has considered how the musical, pedagogical, social and representational spaces (Lefebvre 1991) of Good Vibrations projects are created by the actions and decisions of the facilitators and the socio-spatial interactions within them.

The combination of pedagogical decisions and managing of group interactions, which often involve not intervening, enable Good Vibrations facilitators to create physical and imagined, tactile spaces (Carolan 2007) that are inherently musical and also humanizing.

> What I want people to do is step out of their normal behaviours and for the quiet ones to start to feel that they can contribute more and for the dominant ones to realize that actually what they get out of that situation where other people are contributing is way more than they would get if they were dominating. Because then you start to feel a human thing coming back at you.

The juxtaposition of different socio-musical interactions in the 'thirdspace' of the community music programme creates a heterotopia where participants inhabit different, incompatible spaces as they gather meaning. The spaces created, and thus the pedagogy, must be understood as situated and

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1. differentiated, recognizing the multiple and intersectional nature of the iden-
2. tities and experiences involved; thus what is a safe space for one individual
3. may not be for another. The facilitator's pedagogy generates fluidity between
4. these spaces, embracing conflict rather than suppressing it. However, allowing
5. conflict to happen is challenging within itself and leads to negativity that can
6. cloud positive experiences and therefore often goes unreported.
7.     By recognizing the 'topological unfolding' of the encounter (Cockayne et
8. al. 2019), and the relational and permeable nature of the spaces (both physi-
9. cal and imagined) in which they occur, and by exploring how the pedagogy
10. produces heterotopias of isolation as well as penetration (Foucault 1984)
11. where development occurs as a result of socio-musical encounters, we have
12. revealed a very complex and purposeful pedagogy. The skill of the community
13. music facilitator is to make learning processes invisible, countering Foucault's
14. (1977) observations about western privileging of sight/'the gaze' and the exer-
15. cising of power, and therefore pedagogical processes in community music
16. programmes are not necessarily instantly recognizable by the researcher. These
17. have surfaced in detail in this study – the first phase of the study has articu-
18. lated the pedagogy of Good Vibrations programmes, and the second phase
19. has produced a rich case-study from a prison showing the intricate ways
20. the pedagogy enables people within a music project to encounter the music,
21. themselves and each other (a detailed spatial analysis of this to demonstrate
22. in more detail *why* conflict is transformative in the prison context is currently
23. being prepared for publication).
24.     The conflictual, unpredictable (Wilson 2017), experimental, heuristic,
25. embedded, relational and reflective nature of the pedagogical spaces being
26. created and the encounters being facilitated within Good Vibrations projects
27. relates to Carolan's (2007) idea of 'tactile space'. The multi-sensory, intimate
28. and emotional encounter with the music and with others is truly embod-
29. ied and allows 'epistemic distance' to be overcome and non-representa-
30. tional knowledge to be exchanged (Carolan 2007). Understanding space as
31. socially produced, and paying attention to ideas of heterotopias (Foucault
32. 1984), representational spaces – particularly how these 'overlay physical space,
33. making symbolic use of its objects' (the gamelan) (Lefebvre 1991: 38–39),
34. and thirdspaces for negotiation and imagining alternatives (Soja 1996) offers
35. scope to reveal pedagogy and to research the way community musicians work
36. with different populations. Geographies of encounter offer scope to interro-
37. gate the significance of the spatial context within which the interactions, the
38. power relations, and the music-making occur and the role of difference in
39. generating, rather than preventing, communication (Cockayne et al. 2019).
40. The utopian idea of community music that has come under heavy criticism
41. needs challenging. Exploring the heterotopian nature of a community music
42. project and analyzing the socio-musical interactions (pedagogy) using geog-
43. raphies of encounter provides a mechanism for the community music scholar/
44. practitioner to articulate the hidden, and often uncontrollable, aspects of their
45. work that contribute to project outcomes, whether they be synchronically or
46. diachronically positive or negative. This avoids a research focus on outcomes
47. alone, removing the temptation to focus on positive outcomes and recogniz-
48. ing instead the processes involved. In short, as well as providing a theoreti-
49. cal framework to analyse practice, geographies of encounter and geographical
50. approaches to understanding space provide the scholar with a safe space in
51. which to recognize conflict in order to reflect on and deepen their under-
52. standings of the way community music facilitators work.

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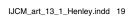42.
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