UNIVERSITY OF WINCHESTER

Representation, Recognition and Repositioning of Identities: A multi-sited, qualitative study into the ways in which identity features in the accounts of participants and providers of music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution

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Doctor of Philosophy

June 2020

This assignment has been completed as a requirement
for a postgraduate research degree of the University of Winchester.

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Acknowledgments

I owe huge thanks to all the people who allowed me to spend time with them and to make music with them for the purposes of this research study. You chatted with me, shared your stories, and invited me into wonderful musical experiences. The generosity of everyone I met in the course of this study fills the pages of this thesis, and made my research possible. Thank you.

I want to acknowledge the unyielding dedication of my supervisors, The Rev Prof June Boyce-Tillman and Prof Norma Daykin. Their support for my work was often against the odds, but they remained constant and impressive. The kindness of their presence was beyond any expectations that I could possibly have held. Their academic commitment and belief in the potential of research in my area of study is an inspiration. Thank you June and Norma.

In addition, Dr David Walters, for his work as the Director of the Centre for the Arts as Wellbeing that enabled this PhD, and for his guidance in the role of advisor.

Friends and colleagues from whom I learnt, who supported in valuable ways, or who simply asked how I was getting on and took the time to listen to my reply.

My parents and family always believed I would get this finished. Thank you.

To Anna - when I was feeling like I really could not spend another moment on this research project, I would look at you and smile, and be refreshed by the most glorious parts of life. Thank you for all your patience, kindness and love.

And Atma, for sitting on my keyboard, typing letters in long, repetitive chains, deleting whole passages of text, and head butting me into submission to stroke you. You made me take note, emerge from this thesis, and realise that other things are more important.

My son, maybe one day you'll read this. Love you, x.

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Abstract

Representation, Recognition and Repositioning of Identities: A qualitative study into the ways in which identity features in accounts of participants and providers of music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution

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People who emigrate from war or persecution, seeking asylum in a new country, often face long and challenging processes of bureaucracy and adaptation; both of which raise questions of identity. These challenges are compounded by prevalent discourses that represent people with migrant identities in reductive and generalised terms related to the threats they pose or the needs they have. Such acts of representation, manifested through media representation as well as political rhetoric and policy, function to establish and sustain relations of power (Foucault, 1980b, 1980a). One response to these issues of identity and social positioning has been the establishment by practitioners and organisations in the humanitarian field, of participatory music-making programmes.

A systematic search and conceptual analysis of literature revealed the prevalence of identity concepts, which often inform the rationale for intervention designs and findings in this academic field. However, there was a lack of cohesion found between conceptual approaches, and a need was identified for a theoretical basis to better understand the concept of identity as it features in participatory music-making groups with this population group. A multi-sited qualitative research study was undertaken in the UK and the Netherlands of participatory music-making programmes that actively invite or are targeted towards people who have migrated as refugees. Using grounded theory based thematic analysis of ethnographic interviews with music facilitators and organisers, and constructing illustrative stories from group members' accounts, identity was found to feature across the data in relation to processes of representation, recognition and repositioning. By affording opportunities for recognition and repositioning, participatory music-making is framed as a representational act, capable of disrupting oppressive discourses. At the same time, caution and reflexivity are implied, as the potential was also found for music facilitators to replicate the same problematic hegemonic discourse.

Key words: [participatory music making, community music, music therapy, musicking, refugee studies, asylum seeker / seeking, migration, identity, labelling, positioning]

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Part 1 - Introduction to the study and thesis

1. Introduction and study aims

1.1. Study aims and questions

This study seeks to understand the concept of identity as it features in participatory music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution. To address this aim, I present findings from my research with music groups in the Netherlands and the UK that actively invite or are targeted towards people who have applied for refugee status. The themes drawn from ethnographic interviews with music facilitators and organisers are illuminated by group members' stories, and the implications of conceptual treatments of identity in practice, research and policy in this field are explored and discussed.

The question guiding the research is:

> How does identity feature in the accounts of participants and providers of music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution?

Subsidiary questions were included to enable a focus on possible risks or benefits attributed to the approaches that programme facilitators and organisers took towards music-making, with a particular focus on identity. These are:

> In what ways does the organisational approach taken towards identity groups feature in the accounts of participants and providers?
>
> In what ways do the facilitation approaches taken towards participatory music-making feature in the accounts of participants and providers?

In this introductory chapter, I will clarify linguistic elements of the research objectives and questions in terms of my use of key terms and definitions and the study's underlying ontological positioning. I then seek to locate myself as a researcher by describing aspects of my musical and demographic experiences and identities, and outlining my motivations for undertaking this research study. Finally, I will outline the structure of this thesis in order to orient and guide the reader.

1.2. Key terms and definitions used in the study

1.2.1. Representation of people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution

Many questions about the representation of people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution emerged during the course of the study; from literature, through the study's data and analysis, and also for myself in writing and talking about the topic of my work. It is therefore important to outline my stance towards representation before addressing

specific use of terminology in the study. The standpoint that I have reached through the process of doing the research, is interlinked with a broader paradigmatic positionality and ontology. I begin here by summarising the context of representation and migration, before outlining the theoretical basis to the study's discursive understanding of the construction of meaning.

Throughout the process of seeking asylum people are assigned labels of identity wrought with a complexity of legislative, political and social meanings (Zetter, 1988, 1991, 2007). As people mobilise to escape inequalities of basic safety, human rights and economics in a globalised world, an 'asylum-migration nexus' has developed (Castles, 2003: 17). An increasingly fractured and contingent hierarchy of labels has been generated to police the mobility of that nexus, and to differentiate 'bogus asylum seekers' from an ever more 'idealised genuine asylum seeker' (McFadyen, 2016: 600). The initial legal category of 'refugee' (Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1951, Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, 1967) has been defused into new systematic labels; formed, transformed and politicised by states across the world 'to contain entry and intercept access to the most prized claim' - *refugee status* (Zetter, 2007: 189).

Governments' role in fracturing and applying labels reveals a political agenda that involves the 'co-optation' of the general populace into a discourse of identity and, by implication, of citizenship and belonging (Zetter, 2007: 190). Functioning alongside, or in collusion with, political representations of people migrating country are media representations. As Watzlawik and de Luna (2017: 248) observed, 'people's notions of what a refugee is usually are based neither on its legal definition, nor on real and first-hand experience with refugees' but rather on 'a wide range of discourses, news stories, TV programs, and images related to this topic: in short, by different ways of objectifying the refugee phenomenon … filtered representations of refugees are a part of our daily life to the point where almost everyone has formed his or her own opinion on, for example the Syrian refugee crisis.'

In other words, the meanings of representations of refugees are constructed discursively. Furthermore, they are constructed in discourses that reflect and sustain 'relations of power' - it is not the disenfranchised refugee but politicians and wealthy media conglomerates who decide 'the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true' (Foucault, 1980a: 131). This discursive, constructionist theory of representation recognises that the meanings attached to identities of migration are not innate or fixed, but formed as the consequence of representation in a discursive 'power-knowledge' dynamic (Foucault, 2020: 27). It is this view of representation that underlies this research study.

In terms of my own representation of people in the research study, the root of my meaning when referring to a person as a refugee or as seeking asylum from war or persecution is the United Nations General Assembly *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (1951, amended by Protocol, 1967):

> … owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees 1951: 152)

In relation to the people involved with this research study, I use the word *refugee* only to indicate people who meet this definition of migration status, and I refer to people as 'seeking asylum from war or persecution' to describe their involvement in a bureaucratic process of applying for the right to safety that is enshrined in the above legislation.

However, while labels of refugee and asylum seeker seem to be based on clear definitions, the research findings demonstrate that meanings are not singular and can be profoundly problematic, especially when used to designate identities. It is clear that while a label of identity might be used with a specific designation in mind, it cannot be 'exclusively limited to that role because of the manifold and interconnected orders of meaning that exist within it' (Cole, 2018: 18). There are tiers of meanings to the refugee identity (Cole, 2018), and while the first tier may symbolise directly the person who is a refugee, each subsequent tier of meaning gains distance from the individual. Hence Malkki's proclamation that representations have created a generalised image of a refugee as an 'ahistorical, universal humanitarian subject' (Malkki, 1996: 378), void of personality or historical context, and detached from the acts of power, wealth and violence that force people to migrate to find safety. My decision to regularly state that people in this study have emigrated 'seeking asylum from war or persecution' is meant to draw attention to the historical circumstance of migration and maintain in my text the violent causes of displacement.

1.2.2. Identity

My objective in this research study is not to find definitions of identity in relation to processes of migration, but to understand how identity features in accounts of music-making programmes for people who have emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution. This presupposes the possibility that music-making interacts with people's sense of identity in some way, and can play a role in the negotiation or navigation of identities after migration.

Ontologically, that presupposition reflects the constructionist and non-essentialist understanding of identity that underpins this study.

Linking to the discursive conceptualisation of representation that I have described above, a similar view of identity is taken, allowing the possibility that layers of social interaction may influence identity construction and experience. Bucholtz and Hall emphasise the interactional nature of identity, refuting the 'broad sociological categories most commonly associated with the concept' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 607). Identity, they argue, is most usefully viewed as if emergent, positional, indexical, relational and partial (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Seen in this way, identities emerge in contexts, constructed in relation to other people and informed by social norms. No identity can be completely viewed or known, and therefore cannot be essentialised. Approaching identity in such non-essentialist terms enables the investigation of people's view and responses without presuming the categories of their experiences.

Such a stance evolved in my framing of the concept initially from my reading of Goffman (1963, 1969), Becker (1997) and Jenkins (1996), wherein identities are viewed as constructed through complex acts of presentation, performance and relationship.

1.2.3. Music, musicking and participatory music-making

The constructionist paradigms of understanding that I have described in relation to representation and identity also inform the way that music and music-making are understood in this study. Music is not approached as a static artefact with innate meaning attached to it, but rather as an active, relational process through which meaning is constructed in context. Christopher Small expresses this through his use of the verb 'musicking', emphasising the active nature of the concept. 'Musicking', he proposes, 'establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act lies' (Small, 1998: 13). Although I have not adopted Small's gerundive form, his definition expresses well this study's constructionist understanding of music and music-making.

From this standpoint that meaning in music is emergent rather than innate, so too are its effects and possibilities. DeNora (2000) articulates a notion of musical affordances to capture the way in which music functions for people in their everyday lives. While music may be experienced as enabling, for example, emotional expression, physical movement, motivation, or connection, DeNora argues that 'Music accomplishes none of these things in its own right - it is not a "force" like gravity or wave power' (DeNora, 2000: 99). Rather, such responses as emotional expression, physical movement, motivation, and connection are affordances of music which people actively appropriate into their lives. Agency is a central tenet of this conceptualisation, in that it places the capability with people to access music as a resource. As such, participants in music-making are able to appropriate situated affordances of music

for health, wellbeing, and identity work (DeNora, 2000, 2017). This opens up a theoretical lens through which to view the role of music facilitators; seeking to offer, or increase, access to music's affordances. However, it is important to note that not everyone can, or does, access musical affordances equally due to mediating factors linked to context and social relations (Daykin *et al.*, 2017).

This sociological framing of meaning in music-making has influenced approaches to music therapy; particularly the movement towards Community Music Therapy. Although I am a qualified music therapist, within this research study I have not worked as a music therapist and none of the work included was music therapy. However, I now draw on approaches and frameworks from Community Music Therapy, as these informed the development of my thinking. I then move towards explanation of my use of the term participatory music-making in this study.

Community Music Therapy represents a model of intervention that views clients or participants as having agency to appropriate music according to their needs (Pavlicevic and Ansdell, 2004, Stige *et al.*, 2010, Stige and Aarø, 2012). Challenges that people may face to their wellbeing are conceived in terms of limitations to performances of a healthy and flourishing self. Music affords ways to explore, reimagine, and express and therefore offers the opportunity to enact alternative ways of being. Rather than defined in a positivistic medical paradigm, the music therapist's role can be seen as 'attending to unheard voices' (Stige and Aarø, 2012: 3) and 'increasing possibilities for action' (Ruud, 2008)

In practice, Community Music Therapy has been used to describe a varied field of work. By nature, it finds its way through interaction, and not by prescription. Community Music Therapy is not a series of intervention steps designed by a trained professional, but a co-production or co-performance that is mutually composed and enacted. As such, the approach overlaps with many arenas of music-making outside the professional realm of music therapy. To encompass the 'broader interdisciplinary area of music, health, and wellbeing' the term 'health musicking' has been suggested (Stige, 2002, 2012). Stige draws on DeNora and Small in his definition of health musicking as the 'appraisal and appropriation of the health affordances of arena, agenda, agents, activities, and artefacts of a music practice' (2012: 186).

These models influence the way in which I understand music functioning in interventions aimed to enable health or social change. However, I do not use terms such as 'health musicking' in this study, preferring to refer to the researched practices as 'participatory music-making'. Characteristic of this form of musicking is that greater importance is given to 'the degree and intensity of participation' than to 'some abstracted assessment of the musical sound quality' (Turino, 2008: 33, cited by Camlin, 2014: 104). While this was true in all

research contexts, concerts and performances were also key parts of the music-making, and therefore 'presentational' aesthetic values were also present (Camlin, 2014).

To move past a dichotomous framing of qualities of music-making as either 'participatory' or 'presentational', Camlin suggests that there is in fact an on-going dialogical relationship between the two. A third dimension of social impact 'unites the other two, and gives the act of "musicking" a deeper meaning and purpose' (Camlin, 2014: 114). Within this research study, music facilitators aimed for social impact on individual and collective levels, and navigated the spectrum of aims from participants' engagement in music-making to groups' aesthetic achievements.

1.3. Locating myself as a researcher

In this section I will briefly describe aspects of my own musical and demographic experiences and identities, and outline my motivations for undertaking this research study. In writing this I was extremely aware of the partial and localised nature of my self presentation in this thesis, and of the ways in which aspects of my identities locate me in contrast to many of the people in the study. The positions granted to me through belonging to the categories of male, white, middle-class and a citizen of the UK shape my experiences. The access and choices I have had in many respects, including musically, educationally and in terms of mobility have not been hindered due to prejudicial treatment according to gender, race or nationality, although occasionally perhaps by class. Indeed I have often felt possibilities increase because of my membership to these identity groups. My right to be a musician, to manage projects, or to occupy space and time has never been questioned, while for others that is not the case because of cultural constructions of gender, race, nationality and ethnicity (along with many other factors, for example including health status). Furthermore, my right to enter countries and move freely has only very rarely been challenged, and stories within this thesis demonstrate the privilege of that fact. It is from this background that I begin by sharing some aspects of my musical experiences and career, and then describe how that has developed to undertaking this current research.

As a musician, I trained in classical music, playing guitar and graduating from the Royal Academy of Music with a degree in performance. From a young age I learnt to read music and progressed through student books to concert repertoire. Exams were badges of honour to me, although my fear of making mistakes meant concerts were nerve-wracking. During a sabbatical year in Spain I worked with a teacher who encouraged me to explore a more embodied understanding of musical expression, seeking to align my physicality with my communicative intent. This helped me to better understand how music and self-expression could function in a way that was not solely contingent on mechanical accuracy.

I performed professionally for some years, working as a guest entertainer on cruise ships. In that environment my virtuosity was secondary to the audience's enjoyment, and this was another fundamental shift from my classical upbringing. Passengers' fun was more important than my own technical satisfaction, in the opinion of my employers. That required a change in my mentality, shifting my focus away from my internal process to the effect my playing was having on other people.

After eight years, I stopped performing on cruise ships due to changes in my personal circumstances and an increasing awareness of the socially and environmentally destructive impacts of that industry. In searching for a new direction, I found that music therapy provided me a new context in which to understand the effects of music in interaction and as embodied expression. Following the extreme commercialism of the cruise industry and the perfectionism of classical music education, music therapy realigned my career towards wellbeing services and community support.

Since graduating as a music therapist, my work has been with the organisation *Musicians Without Borders*. My primary role has been leading the programme *Rwanda Youth Music;* developing a model to embed musical interventions into the healthcare of young people living with HIV. Our model reached out across the country and the region, replicating and adapting our approaches to support communities in refugee camps, those affected by conflict, and young people facing limited opportunities.

Throughout four years living in Rwanda, a part of my job was to provide music therapy to young patients at a clinic for people living with HIV. Children and youth were referred to me when they were not taking their medication well. Everyone who came had a different story and a different set of circumstances that led them to make the decision not to adhere fully to their prescribed medication regimen. At the root, always, was stigma. HIV is controllable with medication that is free and readily available in Rwanda. With good adherence to that anti-retroviral treatment, viral levels will be reduced so low that they cannot be detected in a normal HIV test, and so low that they cannot be passed on to a sexual partner (WHO, 2018). However, for many people there are significant obstacles to good medication adherence, and in my experiences they were rooted in the attitudes of other people. The labels of 'living with HIV' or 'HIV+' are negatively defining identities all over the world (MacQuarrie *et al.*, 2009).

My awareness of the impact of other people's attitudes on wellbeing and life experience began to influence my thinking. Working with people who were living in Rwanda as refugees, and being part of an NGO that works with refugees also in Europe, I became aware that negatively defined identity was also hugely impactful on the experience of forced migrant populations. This became problematic for me as I realised that despite this awareness, in

reports and proposals I was using the labels of identity that I feared were implicated somehow in hindering the lives of migrants and 'refugees and asylum seekers'.

Notably, my interest in this field of study was born amid the legacy of media representations of the *refugee crisis* in the mid 2010s. I was aware of the pervasive portrayal of migrants as either 'vulnerable outsiders' or 'dangerous outsiders,' (Georgiou and Zaborowski, 2017: 3), creating a generalised societal 'understanding of the refugee as "the other", not one of us' (Dos Santos Silva and Bruras, 2018: 529). Narrative and visual images of the mass migration of people seeking asylum seemed to become symbolic of 'the risk of being invaded by unmanageable hordes of people trying to make their way to Europe,' (Watzlawik and de Luna, 2017: 249). While I heard people with humanitarian motivations use this rhetoric to symbolise need, ultra-conservatives and anti-immigrant proponents used the imagery to stoke alarm. With the rise of populism and right-wing politics, such 'fear of migrants and asylum seekers has become a hegemonic agenda' (Wodak, 2015: 43), functionalising the risks of 'alleged or real threats' to political ends (Wodak, 2015: 77).

Narratives of fear and security appeared to dominate media and political representations, but I also witnessed amazing efforts to support the people who had arrived in new countries from situations of conflict and profound danger. These included initiatives using music and the arts on local and international levels (for example: Vrolijkheid, 2018, Musicians Without Borders, 2019, Music in Detention, 2019, Crisis Classroom, 2020). Such acts of care and creativity are a part of the inspiration for this study.

1.4. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured in four parts:

> Part 1 - Introduction to the study and thesis
>
> Part 2 - Concepts of identity in research on participatory music-making with migrant populations: A conceptual analysis of the literature
>
> Part 3 - A multi-sited qualitative research study into the ways that identity features in participants' and providers' accounts of music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution
>
> Part 4 - Representation, Recognition and Repositioning: Synthesis and discussion of the study's findings

Following this introductory chapter, *Part 2* describes a conceptual analysis of literature that was undertaken to gain understanding of the academic field and the treatment of the concept of identity in allied research. It is divided into two chapters, the first of which focusses on the process of systematic literature search, and the second presents the findings of the analysis.

The concept of identity is revealed to be prevalent and relevant in this field of study, however conceptual gaps are shown to exist. This leads to suggestions for theoretical models that respond to those gaps. Here I draw on the work of authors from the field of Refugee Studies (Zetter, 1988, 1991, Malkki, 1996, Zetter, 2007), positioning theory (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999), and on Fukuyama's (2018) work emphasising the importance of the notion of recognition in understanding identity development.

Part 3 describes this research study and its findings. Firstly, the methodology and research strategies of the study are described in *Chapter 4*. The methodology builds from the constructionist ontology previously introduced in section 1.2, and the research is designed as a qualitative study. Strategies are developed that centralise the views and responses of group participants, music facilitators and organisers of music-making programmes.

During the research process I engaged as a participant or facilitator at four sites of participatory music-making over a six month period. In each context I conducted ethnographic interviews which formed the primary source of data gathering. Interview responses from music facilitators and organisers were analysed thematically, and the findings are presented in *Chapter 6*. An inductive grounded theory based approach was followed, unearthing in a systematic manner the 'collective story' (Charmaz, 2001: 691) shared by practitioners who work regularly with people who have emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution. Themes were identified across the interviewees' responses relating to *Finding Recognition*, *Centralising and Marginalising*, and *Expressing Self.*

Four stories were constructed from interviews carried out with music programme participants who had emigrated to the UK or the Netherlands to seek asylum from war or persecution, and these are presented in *Chapter 5*. The stories are illustrative of individual experiences of music and migration, and illuminative of the themes that are later developed. Each story captures complex interplays between a sense of self developed in the familial and cultural conditions of a former country, and experiences of identity in exile. The stories precede the thematic analysis in the thesis structure in order to be read without my analytic lens already being established.

Part 4 provides synthesis of the study's findings and discusses them in relation to broader literature and their implications for practice, research and policy in the field. The thematic findings form the basis of discussion in *Chapter 8*. The theoretical ideas that underlie this study, and those that were suggested in relation to the findings of the conceptual analysis of literature are connected with the study's findings, moving towards a conceptual understanding of identity. The stories from *Chapter 5* are drawn on to provide direct illustrations of how identity interacts with experiences of music-making and migration.

In the final chapter of the thesis the question that has guided the research will be revisited. Findings are related back to that starting point in order to review the understanding and knowledge gained through this study. Implications of this study's findings will be discussed, as well as the strengths and limitations of the research.

Part 2 - Concepts of identity in research on participatory music-making with migrant populations: A conceptual analysis of the literature

2. Conceptual analysis of literature: Aims and systematic search

2.1. Purpose of the conceptual analysis of literature

A conceptual analysis of literature was undertaken in order to gain understanding of the academic context and to review current academic approaches towards the concept of identity in this academic field. A further objective is to identify gaps or limitations in this field of inquiry, in order to inform the current study's design.

The process is driven by the question:

> How is the concept of identity treated by researchers in studies of participatory music-making with migrant populations?

Findings of the conceptual analysis are presented in *Chapter 3*. In this chapter I describe the systematic literature search, which identifies relevant works published over the previous 15 years.

2.2. Systematic search design

This systematic literature search is prompted in part by my reflections on a recent systematic review of research into the positive health and wellbeing outcomes of music participation for migrant populations (Henderson *et al.*, 2016). The search design used here updated the 2016 review, and expanded its scope beyond that described by the authors (Cain *et al.*, 2015, Henderson *et al.*, 2016)[1]; additional journals and sources were included, and articles were retrieved by screening reference lists. Grey literature was accessed when referenced in other papers, and when publicly available online. The additional sources were specialist publications for the area of study, some of which were not searchable through databases. Grey literature was produced by organisations active in this field of practice. The sources searched and inclusion criteria used in the systematic search are detailed in *Table 1*.

Table 1: Design of the systematic search of literature

Aim of systematic search	To identify research into participatory music-making with migrant populations, published between 2002-2017, in order to explore authors' treatments of the concept of identity through a qualitative meta-analysis

[1] Clarification and additional information about the methods used by the researchers was also gained through a phone call with Lakhani, A. on 15th January 2018.

Sources	• Databases: EBSCOhost (Medline, Cinahl), ProQuest, SCOPUS, JSTOR, SAGE and OVID (Embase, Medline), Web of Science • Scoping searches: GoogleScholar, as a pre and post scoping search, limited to first 10 pages of results, using keywords; University of Winchester library search • Journal searches: *Nordic Journal of Music Therapy, Voices, British Journal of Music Therapy, International Journal of Community Music, Sounding Board (by-hand search), International Journal of Music Education* • Articles known from other sources (i.e. personal communications, professional network) • Articles identified from other relevant systematic reviews • References lists were screened and followed
Search terms	"Music" AND "participation" OR "music program" OR "music workshop" OR "music education" OR "music activity" AND "at-risk people" OR "minority" OR "CALD" OR "diverse" OR "Migrant/ immigrant" OR "Refugee" OR "Asylum" OR "Ethnic" OR "Newcomer" OR "English as Second Language" OR "non-English speaking" AND "long term" OR "short term" AND "health" OR "wellbeing" OR "outcome" (Henderson *et al*., 2016: 461-462)
Boolean phrase	Music AND (participa* OR program* OR workshop OR education OR activity) AND (at-risk OR minority OR CALD OR Diverse OR Migrant OR Refugee OR Asylum OR Ethnic OR Newcomer OR ESL OR non-english) AND (long* OR short*) AND (Health OR Well* OR Outcome*) (Cain *et al*., 2015: 112)
Dates	2002 - 2017

Inclusion criteria	• Population - 'Participants of all ages who were "at risk" such as migrants or refugees' (Henderson *et al.*, 2016: 461); • Intervention - 'any form of music or "musicking" (Small, 1998), such as singing, dancing, moving to music, playing a musical instrument, or engaging in music therapy' (Henderson *et al*., 2016: 461); • Outcome - 'positive health outcomes such as psychological, social, physical, spiritual, and mental wellbeing either on an individual basis or contributed to community wellbeing' … 'either short-term (immediately after intervention and less than six months) or long-term (six months to more than three years) positive health outcomes as a result of the music intervention' (Henderson *et al*., 2016: 461); • Research: 'study designs that utilised quantitative research, i.e. experimental trials (randomised or non-randomised), controlled observational studies, intervention studies; qualitative research, i.e. case studies, phenomenology, grounded theory, participant action research, ethnography, and studies that used mixed methods' (Henderson *et al*., 2016: 461); • Publication: Peer-reviewed, and available in English language (Cain *et al*., 2015: 112).

Each source was searched using the search terms or boolean logic, as required, limiting for date range (2002-2017). Search criteria were adapted or limited when demanded by databases frameworks. The process followed for each source is detailed in *Table 2*.

Table 2: Search process by source

Source	Search method	Search limits
Databases		
EbscoHost	Boolean phrase	Medline Cinahl
Jstor	Boolean phrase, limited	Due to character limit, full boolean phrase not possible to search. Therefore searched with key word combinations and search limited to abstracts. (Further searches were run with differing parameters for scoping and pilot purposes)
Ovid	Boolean phrase	Embase OVID medline without Revisions 1996 to current

Source	Search method	Search limits
ProQuest	Boolean phrase	Materials limited to articles, conference papers, essays, evidence-based healthcare, and literature reviews. Text search defined for “Music” in title, and other terms in document text.
Scopus	Boolean phrase	
Web of Science	Boolean phrase	All databases
Scoping searches		
Google Scholar	Music refugees research; Music refugees wellbeing	Limited to first 10 pages of results
University of Winchester library	Scoping keyword searches	
Journal searches		
British Journal of Music Therapy	Single keyword searches: “Refugee”, “Asylum”, “Migrant”	
Nordic Journal of Music Therapy	Single keyword searches: “Refugee”, “Asylum”, “Migrant”	
Voices	Single keyword searches: “Refugee”, “Asylum”, “Migrant”	
International Journal of Community Music	Single keyword searches: “Refugee”, “Asylum”, “Migrant”	
International Journal of Music Education	Single keyword searches: “Refugee”, “Asylum”, “Migrant”	
Sounding Board	By hand	

2.3. Results of the systematic search: Included studies

The searches of the sources, as detailed in *Table 1* and *Table 2*, wielded a total of 5,194 results. These can be broken down as:

- Database searches resulted in 5059 listings

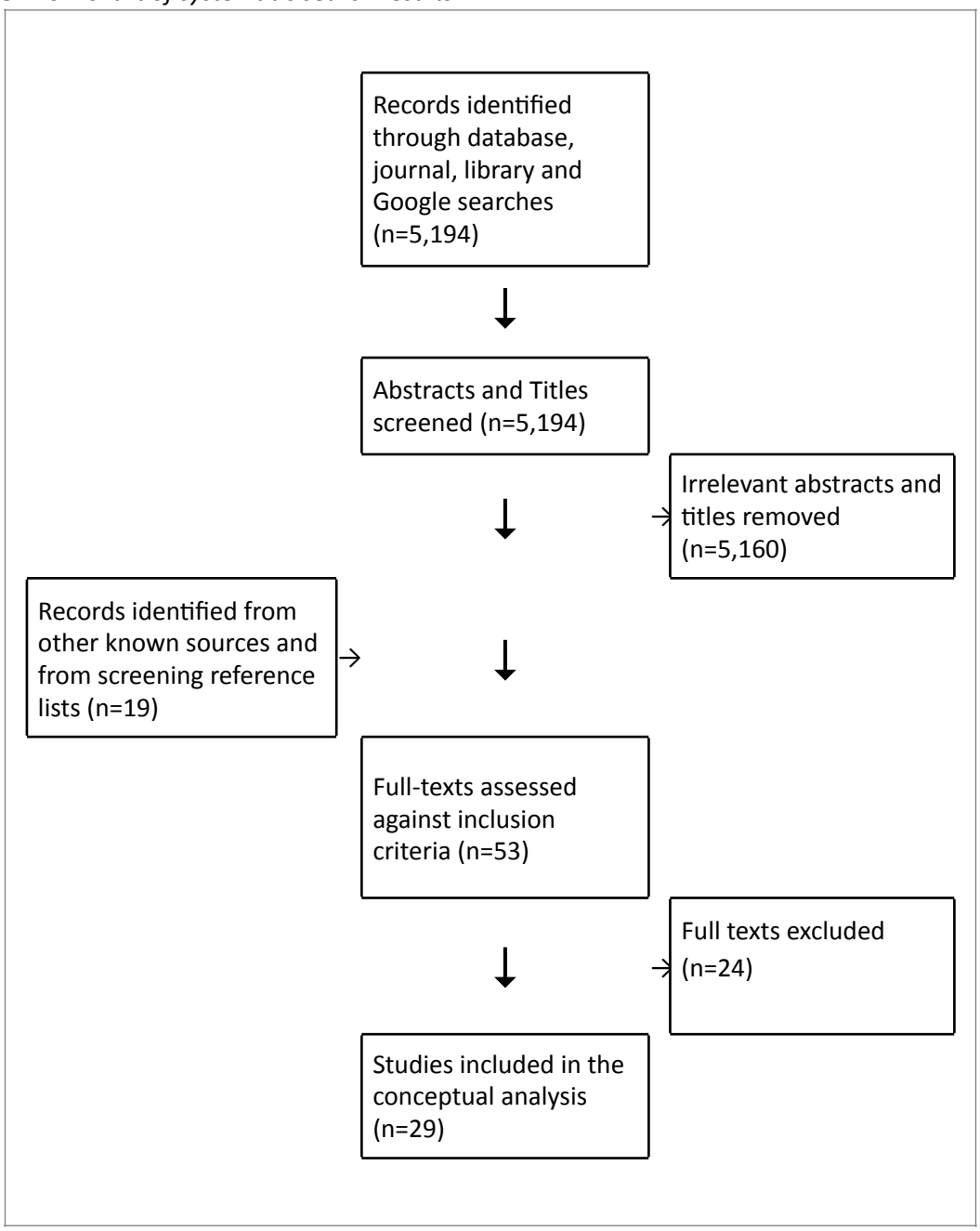
- Journal searches resulted in 123 listings
- Library and Google searches identified 12 studies for consideration

Following detailed review of all titles and abstracts, thirty-four texts were identified as potentially fitting the inclusion criteria and the aims of the search. Nineteen additional studies were identified from other known sources (including Henderson *et al*., 2016) and by screening reference lists. These texts were reviewed in full, and twenty-four articles were excluded for the following reasons:

- Article did not describe research, (n = 9) (Hunt, 2005, Dunbar, 2009, Bergh and Sloboda, 2010, Storsve *et al.*, 2010, Kirithu, 2014, Lenette and Sunderland, 2014, Ahmed, 2015, Akoyunoglou-Christou, 2016, Marsh, 2016)
- Study population did not fit the search criteria, (n = 2) (Sousa *et al.*, 2005, Wood *et al.*, 2013)
- The described intervention did not match inclusion criteria, (n = 2) (Bergh, 2007, Jespersen and Vuust, 2012)
- The paper was written about a research study that was also the focus of another included study, (n = 3) (Baker and Jones, 2005, Sonn *et al.*, 2013, Crawford, 2017)
- Full paper was unavailable, only abstract published, (n = 4) (Posselt and Antink, 2016, Roisch *et al.*, 2016, Wiesmüller and Stegemann, 2016, Beck *et al.*, 2017)
- Paper was too focussed on practitioner learning, rather than participant experience, (n = 1) (Jin, 2016)
- Papers duplicated between sources, (n = 3)

Therefore, finally, twenty-nine texts met inclusion criteria. A flow chart illustrating the review of studies and results is shown in *Table 3*.

Table 3: Flow chart of systematic search results



The systematic search of literature identified twenty nine studies that are allied to this study's field of practice and research. The purpose of the process was to gather a body of research through a structured process, in order to provide a strong empirical base for a conceptual analysis of authors' treatment of the concept of identity. The findings of the conceptual analysis are presented in *Chapter 3*.

3. Conceptual analysis of literature: Presentation of findings

3.1. Methods of analysis and overview of headline findings from conceptual analysis

Following identification of twenty-nine relevant studies through a systematic search of literature (*Chapter 2*), a conceptual analysis was carried out of the researchers' treatment of the concept of identity. This process seeks to identify, distinguish and classify identity categories used by the study authors, and also their approaches to writing about and representing identity. Analysis is guided by the question:

> How is the concept of identity treated by researchers in studies of participatory music-making with migrant populations?

A preliminary process of data extraction was followed, reviewing studies' methodological approaches and scoping for the conceptualisations of identity. A table (*Appendix 1*) was populated with information, building on a summarising tool presented in Henderson *et al.*'s systematic review (2016: 463-468). Data was compiled in this way relating to each study's aim, intervention, population, methodology, analytic strategy, findings, limitations, frame of identity, and the position of identity within the study. The frames of identity and position of identity within studies were developed iteratively, comparatively honing terminology that was applicable across studies.

In order to organise conceptualisations of identity in a manner that allowed coherent presentation, terms were treated as codes and themes were developed. Headings used within this chapter were created in this way, with concepts grouped under the top level headings: *Assigned bureaucratic identities*, *Self identity*, *Collective and individual identities*, and *Constructions of identities*. The first of these sections explores researchers' use of conventional terms that reflect assigned bureaucratic identities to represent research participants according to their migration status. The second section presents the range of ways in which researchers used the notion self identity to theoretically ground their studies, develop interventions, and frame their findings. Under the heading of *Collective and individual identities* conceptualisations of cultural and musical identities are discussed. Analysis focuses in particular on the ways in which researchers found these concepts to operate in negotiations of identity following migration. The final section presents three conceptualisations of identity from the included studies that do not seek to assign or define the identities that people have, but instead provide frameworks to describe how identities are constructed.

Discussion of each of the conceptual areas of identity found in the analysis includes reflections on conceptual gaps or limitations that arose. Initial suggestions are made of

relevant theoretical frameworks to address those gaps, identified from broader literature. A closing conclusion draws together the points raised and suggests implications for this study's design.

3.2. Assigned bureaucratic identities

'Bureaucratic identities' (Zetter, 1991) are assigned to people at each stage of legislative processes evoked by international laws regarding migration across national borders, and by the United Nations General Assembly *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (1951) and *Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees* (1967). Terms indicative of these assigned identities were used in the systematic search criteria that identified the included studies for this analysis (see *Chapter 2* for detailed description), and accordingly a spectrum of citizenship migration statuses span the research populations of the twenty-nine studies.

In eleven of the included studies (Baker and Jones, 2006, Hunt, 2006, Sebastian, 2007, Cheong-Clinch, 2009, Marsh, 2012, Ahonen and Desideri, 2014, Enge, 2015, Sunderland *et al.*, 2015, Marsh and Dieckmann, 2017, Meyer Demott *et al.*, 2017, Verreault, 2017) researchers used the word 'refugee' to describe the people with whom they were working, and eleven studies included people who had active applications in the asylum seeking system, generally identified by the study authors as 'asylum seekers' (Sebastian, 2007, Enge, 2015, Lenette *et al.*, 2015, Sunderland *et al.*, 2015, Quinlan *et al.*, 2016, Weston and Lenette, 2016, Verreault, 2017). Meyer Demott *et al.* (2017) and Scott Hall (2013) choose rather to express this as an active experience with the verb 'asylum seeking.' Underhill (2011) and Bruce (2015) reported on projects run in Immigration Removal Centres in the UK, and refer to participants in that setting as 'detainees.'

Nine studies (Carlow, 2004, Cheong-Clinch, 2009, Gilboa *et al.*, 2009, Karlsen, 2012, Marsh, 2012, Karlsen, 2013, Huby, 2014, Karlsen, 2014, Marsh and Dieckmann, 2017) worked with populations described as 'immigrants.' The categorisation of 'migrants' was used by Schwantes *et al.* (2001), Soto *et al.* (2009), Frankenberg *et al.* (2014), and Lee and Davidson (2017), while Villalonga *et al.* (2017) used the variant 'migrant background' to refer to children whose parents had migrated.

The authors of two papers (Grossman and Sonn, 2010, Quinlan *et al.*, 2016) chose to use 'refugee background' to describe the populations with whom they worked. Grossman and Sonn explicitly stated their refusal to use the label of 'refugee' to refer to the children in their study because they saw it as complicit in defining those children with a 'lifelong identity.'

Further to Grossman and Sonn's problematisation of the label of 'refugee', several researchers described similar reflexivity in their use the term. Sebastian drew attention to the 'competing motivations' of institutions that 'claim ownership over the refugee concept,' arbitrating and

defining migrant identities (Sebastian, 2007: 8). In response to reductive and stereotyping discourses at an institutional level, Sebastian emphasised the heterogeneity within population groups. Enge (2015: 208), Underhill (2011: 65) and Grossman and Sonn (2010: 25) similarly sought to acknowledge the diversity within their study populations.

Lenette *et al.* blamed politically motivated and 'polarising discourse' for fostering disdain towards people identified as refugees, emblematic of politicians' 'determination to adopt … a harsh stance of *deterrence* towards asylum seekers' (2015: 126). To distance themselves from reproducing similar power structures within their research paradigm, they aligned themselves instead as 'partners' of the people with whom they worked (Lenette *et al.*, 2015, Sunderland *et al.*, 2015, Weston and Lenette, 2016).

Similarly, Grossman and Sonn (2010) implicated systems endowed with the power for influencing perceptions of identities in ways that played out negatively in individuals' lives. For example in terms of 'covert systemic prejudice and discrimination' reducing 'services for refugees (e.g. opportunity and quality of education)' and hugely impacting experiences of 'social inclusion/exclusion' (2010: 35). In a gesture away from colluding with such power structures, Grossman and Sonn sought to position themselves as 'collaborators' with the musicians and students in their study.

While these researchers were shown to take steps to distance themselves from aspects and implications of the use of assigned bureaucratic identities, analysis also found respects in which studies sought to align with representational discourses of migration. Common within the included studies were representations of the research populations in terms defined by humanitarian need. Refugees and immigrant communities were often described according to the challenges that they face, within the context of a worldwide issue. For example, Marsh drew reference to a 'population of 24,989 refugees and asylum seekers residing in Australia at the end of 2009—a small proportion of the total international refugee population of 36,460,306 (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010b)'. Marsh's study went on to cite research to establish 'social, emotional, and cultural challenges related to geographical and cultural displacement and trauma' (Marsh, 2012: 94). Likewise, Baker and Jones wrote in their introduction:

> Increasing numbers of highly traumatised refugee students are currently placing strain on the learning environment of classrooms around Australia.
> With the emergence of stronger humanitarianism, large numbers of young refugees are migrating to countries across the world and enrolling in their schools. (Baker and Jones, 2006: 249)

This statement generalises refugees as 'highly traumatised' and as creating a problem for other learners in classrooms. The connection made between 'stronger humanitarianism' and increases in numbers of 'young refugees,' firmly frames the situation in humanitarian terms. In this case, the violent cause of the migration is also described, as the authors go on to say that the 'thousands of refugees' who enter Australia every year have 'fled their homelands to avoid continuous armed conflict, communal violence, or because of large-scale natural disasters' (Baker and Jones, 2006: 249-250). However, the risk arises that without elaboration of the conflicts or their historical context such representational practice can contribute towards what Malkki contends is the predominant image of a refugee; an 'ahistorical, universal humanitarian subject' (1996: 378).

This frame of humanitarian representation also led to dichotomous identity constructions found in the analysis. Examining Soto *et al*.'s (2009) paper, a binary of categories was found to be established by the researchers; people labelled as *university students* and those classified as *immigrant children*. These labels of identity came to encapsulate meanings based on demographic information and a paradigm of needs. A discourse was enabled wherein the university students simultaneously 'give back' by sharing their musical knowledge and time, and were enriched by learning about 'the struggles of Mexican American families' (Soto *et al.*, 2009: 11-12). Stereotyping followed quickly, as Mexican American life was represented by a Cinco de Mayo celebration with 'carne asada, rice and beans' (2009: 10); while European American culture was shared through performances of 'standard chamber works, jazz, and selections from opera' (Soto *et al.*, 2009: 5).

The humanitarian intention to bring music education into communities that had limited access to formal music teachers and resources was justified by a portrayal that objectified the members of those communities in the study by Soto *et al*. (2009). Generalised identities were depicted along reductive lines characterised by a discourse of disadvantage. A 'delinkage' occurred, as the label created distance from individual identities and supplanted instead 'a stereotyped identity with a categorical prescription of assumed needs' (Zetter, 1991: 44).

Carlow (2004) was directly confronted by issues of applying labels of identity during her research. Rather than using the word 'immigrant' to refer to her target population, she was asked by the *Department of Research in Schools* committee to use the acronym ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) so as not to 'discourage participation in the study and stigmatize this particular population' (Carlow, 2004: 67-68). In fact, Carlow later observed that 'there was a stigma attached to being an ESOL student' (2004: 102), and that the students taking English language courses were 'commonly referred to as "ESOL"' (2004: 2). "ESOL" labelled people as 'outsiders' (Becker, 1997) and carried stigma in the same way the school board feared that 'immigrant' would be misappropriated.

This example from Carlow's (2004) study illustrates the representational issue that while a label of identity might be used with a specific designation in mind, it cannot be 'exclusively limited to that role because of the manifold and interconnected orders of meaning that exist within it' (Cole, 2018: 18). Cole's (2018) work in the field of Refugee Studies contends in particular that there are tiers of meanings to the refugee identity label; while the first tier may symbolise directly the person who is a refugee, each subsequent tier of meaning gains distance from the individual.

To summarise, conceptual analysis has found a range of assigned bureaucratic identities used to represent research populations across the included studies. These conventional terms convey meanings related to migration status, which are pertinent to the studies. However, the analysis found researchers problematising the terms and identifying discursive issues attached to the labels. This led some researchers to adopt approaches aimed at redressing or distancing their work from pervasive discourses. In contrast, analysis also showed researchers seeking to align their work with discourses of migration in terms related to humanitarianism. A risk surfaced that such alignment relied on generalised representations characterised by assumed needs, that could contribute towards what Malkki has identified as the prevailing image of a refugee as an 'ahistorical, universal humanitarian subject' (1996: 378).

Overall, through this section of analysis, a need is suggested for researchers to operationalise bureaucratic notions of refugee identities with reflexivity. As was established in the definitions of key terms described in *Chapter 1*, the meanings attached to labels of identity are established within layers of discourses that operate in dynamics of power. This demands caution because, as Hedman contends, representations of people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution, 'always impact on the fate of those who are represented' (Hedman, 2009: 254).

3.3. Self identity

This section encompasses findings related to self identity, along with closely aligned concepts such as personal identity, and their component parts. Self identity (or personal identity) was referred to directly in nine of the twenty nine included studies (Sebastian, 2007, Cheong-Clinch, 2009, Gilboa *et al.*, 2009, Karlsen, 2012, 2013, Scott Hall, 2013, Frankenberg *et al.*, 2014, Karlsen, 2014, Quinlan *et al.*, 2016), while other authors referred to 'self-perception' (Baker and Jones, 2005: 250), or 'sense of self' (Meyer Demott *et al.*, 2017: 511). These terms were theorised and treated by authors in similar ways.

The majority of researchers referring in their work to concepts of self identity framed them within developmental theory (Baker and Jones, 2005, Cheong-Clinch, 2009, Gilboa *et al.*, 2009, Scott Hall, 2013, Huby, 2014, Meyer Demott *et al.*, 2017). Challenges to the

developmental task of forming self identity provided rationale for studies, and key authors in the field were cited to establish this theoretical basis. Cheong-Clinch cited Laiho (2004), describing the developmental stage of adolescence as a formative time for 'self-image, sexual identity and peer relationships' as young people 'separate from their parents or key authority figures, learn self-regulation, gain emotional autonomy and control over their own life' (Cheong-Clinch, 2009: 50). Huby referred to Erikson (1995) for his definition of identity and to explain the importance of the developmental stage of adolescence as 'identity vs identity diffusion' with the shift away from family to 'look towards more universal symbols to shape and form their identity' (Huby, 2014: 36).

Challenges in the developmental tasks of identity development, researchers suggested, are heightened for young adolescents from immigrant backgrounds as they face the added issue of negotiating their position within a foreign setting. Additional difficulties were proposed to be 'symptoms of trauma, racism and grief' (Hunt, 2006: 13), adjusting to new cultural norms of attitude and behaviour (Baker and Jones, 2005: 250), and the risk that cultural and familial detachment can result in 'fragmented and confused identity' (Huby, 2014: 36). Studies argued that the research population not only faced the developmental tasks of adolescence, but the daunting endeavour of 'establishing an identity within their adopted country' (Cheong-Clinch, 2009: 51).

Authors of the included studies also used a developmental framework to support the relevance of musical interventions. Gilboa *et al*. (2009: 8) drew on the theories of Trevarthen (2002), Papousek and Papousek (1981) and Stern (1985) which contend that musical elements are present in humans' first communications as babies, and characterise the first social interactions in the world of babies with their caregivers. Humans' first developmental acts are musical, coming into contact with others and expressing their needs and their place within the world through the pitch, rhythm and volume of first movements, gurgles and screams.

Meyer DeMott *et al.* (2017: 511) referred to the work of Winnicott (1971) who theorised how the expressive acts of young children bridge the gap between their internal self and the external world. That space, he conjectured, is explored through creativity; playing with ways to affect the world beyond the internal, and impressing an individual's identity on to external reality. A sense of 'going on being' becomes established, but this can be interrupted in situations such as living in exile that break the relationship between self and other, and confuse our expectations of how the interaction of self and world function. Play creates the 'transitional space' to explore the relationship between our self and the external world in childhood. Following disruption, playing music can help people to re-access that space and

facilitate the processes of self identity development. This theoretical basis was used in studies to establish music's potential for addressing challenges to self identity.

Meyer Demott *et al.* (2017) built the rationale for their study on that theoretical basis. Their research design investigated a manualised model called *Expressive Arts in Transition* (EXIT) that provided opportunities for 'exploring identity in a new context' (2017: 511). Against a comparator group, participants in EXIT showed higher life satisfaction in the long term. However, the amount and manner of music-making in the intervention was unclear. The intervention described in Quinlan *et al*.'s (2016) quantitative study similarly described an intervention design 'targeting self-identity.' While the study reported positive effect on emotional and behavioural symptoms, it was unclear what role music played in the process, with an unspecified 40% of participants receiving music therapy.

Challenges that arise from disruption to the developmental stages of identity were described by Baker and Jones in terms of problematic behaviour such as 'hyperactivity, aggressive behaviours and conduct problems' (2005: 256). The researchers analysed teachers' evaluations of students participating in a music therapy group using the *Behaviour Assessment System for Children.* Findings showed that 'exploring issues of self identity, adjustment, acculturation, anti-racism and feelings of failure allowed for their appropriate verbal and non-verbal expression, thereby reducing the incidence of their inappropriate expression within the classroom and playground' (2005: 256).

Self identity was portrayed by these study authors as a developmental task that begins with musical interactions between babies and their caregivers, and continues through creative explorations of the transitional space between self and the outer world. Developmental phases can be disrupted by migration, causing challenges particularly to young people's sense of who they are. Musical interventions were designed to address the issues that can arise, and research found that music-making programmes had a 'significantly positive effect on ... overall sense of self' (Cheong-Clinch, 2009: 56).

In other studies, self identity was found to be present in terms of its component parts. Sebastian, for example, (2007: ii) cited MacDonald *et al.*, for whom self identity is conceived as 'the overall view that we have of ourselves', formed of self esteem - 'the evaluative component of the self,' and self-concept - the context specific ways that we view ourselves (2002: 8). Sebastian (2007: 37-40) also identified personal agency and empowerment to be crucial elements in the narratives of self identity shared in her research. Such component parts of self identity were found in fifteen of the studies (Baker and Jones, 2005, Hunt, 2006, Sebastian, 2007, Cheong-Clinch, 2009, Gilboa *et al.*, 2009, Grossman and Sonn, 2010,

Underhill, 2011, Marsh, 2012, Scott Hall, 2013, Ahonen and Desideri, 2014, Huby, 2014, Karlsen, 2014, Lenette *et al.*, 2015, Verreault, 2017, Villalonga-Olives *et al.*, 2017).

These studies primarily found that self-esteem, self-confidence and personal agency resulted from experiencing success through music-making. This meant, for example, 'confidence and self-esteem acquired through learning new skills' (Grossman and Sonn, 2010: 129), 'new positive bodily experiences combined with successful experiences in movement' providing a 'sense of empowerment' (Verreault, 2017: 127), or 'exercising choice in certain drumming activities and participating in successful performances … developing confidence and personal agency' (Sebastian, 2007: 55). In their research setting Ahonen and Desideri (2014, [online]) witnessed success in 'therapeutic experience' that helped women suffering with symptoms of trauma to 'define new, healthy identities,' and from that change came 'the emergence of new empowering perspectives on self and others.'

Underhill's findings suggested that mediating factors for increases in self-esteem and self-efficacy related to facilitator pedagogy, such as 'valuing of participants … noticing strengths … teaching new skills or developing current skills' (2011: 99). When participants felt themselves to be valued, acknowledged, and competent, indicators of self-identity strengthened. Such positive feedback was presented by other researchers coming from fellow participants and members of the public. Bruce (2015: 18) quoted one of *Music in Detention*'s artists relating a process of performance, feedback and confidence as workshop participants became 'more confident in their musical skills' and 'the crowd became more welcoming and appreciative of the performances.' Presenting their musical resources with confidence, the participants received positive feedback from the audience, and there was a cycle of increasing esteem.

Bruce (2015: 7) described her project's aims as 'to improve understanding and engagement within communities and for detainees and community members to share their experiences and recognise the humanity they share through creating music together.' As such, increased confidence among the participants can be seen as a step towards the objectives. In order to make music together and share experiences, a level of confidence was needed, as too was a level of competence. The musicians who worked as leaders in the project worked to create a supportive atmosphere, encouraging more musically experienced members of the groups to support their peers and thereby 'inspiring others to join in', and 'the sometimes shy, but accomplished musicians to demonstrate their talents' (Bruce, 2015: 45). Confidence led to participation and sharing, which linked strongly to the programme's broad social change objectives of attitudinal shift. For Verreault (2017), empowering self esteem fell under the goal of building resilience, and Lenette *et al.* similarly recognise confidence as 'contributing to protective mechanisms that counter risk factors' (2015: 135).

In contrast to objectives of societal or therapeutic change, confidence was observed by Karlsen (2014) in more practical terms, as an outcome of 'hard, disciplined work,' and a 'strictly task-oriented' pedagogical mode (2014: 429). This approach was found to allow students a 'breathing space' away from their lives' normal demands, focussing solely on developing competence in playing music; the reason why students had chosen to 'come in the first place' (2014: 429). Confidence here appears to develop through the achievement of skills in a learning relationship with the music teacher.

Also researching with children from migrant backgrounds in a school setting, Villalonga-Olives *et al*. (2017) analysed impacts on *Health Related Quality of Life* (HRQoL). The researchers used quantitative tools for data collection including *Kiddy-KINDL*, which encompasses measures of self-esteem. Of three participant groups, children participating in arts showed no significant difference, and children receiving no intervention showed a notable increase in HRQoL. For children taking part in musical activities, a significant decrease in HRQoL was observed. Disappointingly, the nature of the musical activities was not described by the researchers, nor the pedagogical approach used to facilitate.

Arts-based pedagogies evaluated by Grossman and Sonn (2010: 141-142) placed emphasis on validating students' expression of self, culture, and community, and encouraging the young music students to take agency in musical decision-making and creative choices. This approach is framed in contrast to societal and governmental attitudes that 'overlook and undermine capacities, agency and strength within communities and as individuals' (Grossman and Sonn, 2010: 86). Likewise, Underhill noted how institutional regulations and pressures in asylum reception centres curtail 'attempts at self-expression and performance' (2011: 104). In such environments, music-making programmes were found to provide a rare opportunity for people to enact their agency, and consolidate their self identity (Sunderland *et al.*, 2015: 12).

Overall, in relation to the rationale for studies, self identity was construed mainly as a challenging developmental process which is endangered by migration. Researchers found participation in music-making to have positive potential to aid the task of identity formation for young people faced with composite challenges of migration. Studies described shifts to behaviour, confidence, self-esteem, and self-efficacy, which were conceptualised as components or indicators of self identity. Such benefits were presented in contrast to contexts that otherwise deny resources and opportunities for agency, development, or assertion of self.

Studies showed that shifts to self identity occurred in relationship, through interaction with musicians, music therapists, peers, audiences, mothers, and teachers. Indeed researchers cited theory that the first communicative elements that babies use to express themselves are

musical, and are both reliant on and demanding of response from another person. Depictions of communication, feedback, valuing, and success played out through musical interaction, with music-making affording opportunities for people to receive recognition.

Recognition therefore emerged as central in the described processes of identity development. Fukuyama centralises this aspect of identity, arguing that identity develops:

> out of a distinction between one's true inner self and an outer world of social rules and norms that does not adequately recognise that inner self's worth or dignity … It is not enough that I have a sense of my own worth if other people do not publicly acknowledge it or, worse yet, if they denigrate me or don't acknowledge my existence (Fukuyama, 2018: 9).

Participatory music-making was found in the included studies to afford opportunities to offer and receive recognition. The importance of this was framed in studies as providing redress to the contextual challenges faced by people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution. Researchers drew stark contrasts between the positive experiences of acknowledgment that they found and pervasive bureaucratic structures that otherwise 'undermine and overlook' (Grossman and Sonn, 2010: 86). However, while the conceptual prominence given by Fukuyama to the notion of recognition is mirrored by its prominent presence in the included studies, the authors of the included papers did not give the idea theoretical treatment. Recognition is present in the studies only as an underlying processual element and that may be considered a conceptual limitation.

While these findings were presented under the concept heading of self identity, the discussion highlighted that the processes involved are interactional and social. It was in light of such intersubjectivity that Jenkins renounced the term self identity, asserting that 'all human identities are by definition *social* identities' (Jenkins, 1996: 4). Rather than self identity, he theorised instead in terms of individual identities and collective identities. The next section focuses on ways in which these conceptualisations featured in the included studies.

3.4. Collective and individual identities

This section will present two conceptualisations of collective and individual identities found in the analysis: cultural identities and musical identities. These concepts were found to function on an individual level in terms of how people navigated their own specific sense of identity within society, and on a collective level as people were drawn together through common cultures and tastes.

3.4.1. Cultural identities

Cultural identity was found to be a prominent concept within this literature, discussed in sixteen of the twenty-nine studies (Hunt, 2006, Sebastian, 2007, Gilboa *et al.*, 2009, Grossman and Sonn, 2010, Karlsen, 2012, Marsh, 2012, Karlsen, 2013, Ahonen and Desideri, 2014, Frankenberg *et al.*, 2014, Huby, 2014, Karlsen, 2014, Lenette *et al.*, 2015, Sunderland *et al.*, 2015, Weston and Lenette, 2016, Marsh and Dieckmann, 2017, Verreault, 2017). It was a central focus of research for Hunt (2006), Gilboa *et al.* (2009), Marsh (2012), Frankenberg *et al*. (2014), Huby (2014) and Marsh and Dieckmann (2017). However, the concept was often undefined, and left to readers' assumed understanding.

One example of definition came from Grossman and Sonn (2010: 74) who proposed a definition of culture as 'the practices, activities, symbols and systems of meaning through which people engage in the social world,' and cultural identity as formed and negotiated through 'sharing and engaging in the processes of reconstruction and translation of symbolic resources and practices' (Grossman and Sonn, 2010: 74). As an 'artefact' of culture, and a symbolic resource, music is therefore implicit to cultural identity formation (Grossman and Sonn, 2010: 86). Hunt described music as 'inherently cultural' (2006: 5), and Sebastian proposed that it is a resource and practice that 'may be used to explore the cultural self within the wider multicultural frame' (2007: 42).

Arguing the significance of cultural identity in the experience of migration, seven of the studies cited a model of acculturation strategies developed by John W. Berry (Hunt, 2006, Sebastian, 2007, Gilboa *et al.*, 2009, Grossman and Sonn, 2010, Marsh, 2012, Frankenberg *et al.*, 2014, Marsh and Dieckmann, 2017). Berry (1997: 9-10) suggested a framework with four positions to understand how people deal with the issues that arise when groups or individuals of different cultural identities come into sustained contact. Gilboa *et al.* explained the positions from Berry's model:

> *separation* in which the immigrant chooses to retain former identity and to limit close relations with the new culture; *assimilation* in which the immigrant is ready to adopt the new lifestyle and abandon a large part of his or her former identity; *integration* in which the immigrant chooses to adopt elements of the new lifestyle without abandoning former values and identity; and *marginalization* in which the immigrant is not interested in retaining former identity but also is not interested in adopting the host culture. (Gilboa *et al.*, 2009: 5)

Building directly on this framework, Frankenberg *et al.* (2014) researched the impacts that a school-based music programme had on cultural orientation of immigrant students. Using the *Frankfurt Acculturation Scale for Children, c*hildren participating in large group music-making,

were found to increase orientation towards host (German) culture, representing a shift towards assimilation.

Marsh (2012: 108) observed children from foreign nationality backgrounds living in Australia mobilising music in acts of integration that 'forge new connections within the host culture while maintaining links with the home culture.' Marsh's ethnography observed cultural identity firstly expressed in musical 'fusion', then as a collaboration of inclusivity, and later as a point of commonality. Musical fusion was illustrated with an example of an Arabic rhythmic drum solo integrated with the African drum accompaniment to an Australian Aboriginal song. Marsh (2012: 101) explained this interaction as the soloist's 'rhythmic signification of home culture identity … matched with a song that is a marker of contemporary Australian Aboriginal identity.' When students were asked to share their cultural identities through teaching verses of songs, Marsh described a process of collaboration towards inclusivity. Differences in cultural identity initially created difficulty for participation, but students altered words and song selections to allow their peers to join them. Cultural identities here were morphed and integrated in adapted formats that were more easily accessible to all students in an Australian classroom.

While Marsh observed some interactions involving music that were related to students' specific nationality backgrounds, she also noted a common knowledge of mainstream 'western' artists across the study body: 'students from Ghana, Sierra Leone, Pakistan, Vietnam, and Croatia nominated Michael Jackson, M2, Usher, Lady Gaga, and Westlife as favorite artists' (2012: 104). To Marsh (2012: 104) this represented an aspect of shared cultural identity that provided both 'global and local connection.' In other studies musical tastes were conceptualised with more complexity.

Karlsen's (2012, 2013, 2014) research explored complex 'negotiations of identity' navigated by young people of immigrant backgrounds between cultural identities connected to their familial heritage and the cultural context in which they were now living. This complex task was well illustrated with examples of a Korean girl who had built 'a kind of community of peers with a liking for Korean music'; a Chinese boy who was bored with being asked to present class projects about Chinese culture 'because I have done so many presentations about Chinese things, like Chinese food, Chinese instruments'; and a young girl from Pakistan who was ridiculed for her musical heritage and had come to share that music only with her Pakistani friends (Karlsen, 2013: 170-171). A niche community, frustration and ridicule were the reactions experienced by these children to cultural presentation, and they responded by managing their behaviour.

A more extreme reaction that Karlsen found to cultural identity was violence. A teacher interviewed by Karlsen described cases where immigrant young people had presented music informed by their cultural heritage, and it had been deemed by their peers to show 'deviant musical tastes.' Students had 'faced punishments and even been beaten up' (Karlsen, 2013: 170-171).

Questions of difference are of central concern to acculturation and cultural identity. Presenting findings of the same study, Karlsen explored music's role in creating a 'sense of collectivity' in a context of 'obvious ethnic and cultural diversities' (2014: 248). R&B music appeared to be 'a common denominator' across the student body, but musical choices were also markers of differences between groups. Hip-hop was popular among students 'with minority backgrounds'; rock music was listened to by 'white, native Norwegians'; and 'hardcore immigrants' listened to gangsta rap. Rather than easing acculturation, music was found to be a divisive marker of difference.

How negotiations between cultural identities were seen to be managed through and in music-making was conceptualised in various ways in the studies. Grossman and Sonn (2010) found potential in the sharing and acceptance they observed in collaborative forms of music-making, and framed this mutuality as *transculturatio*n. Marsh and Dieckmann's (2017) ethnography of children's music-making demonstrated discovery of belonging in mutually created *intercultural spaces*. Weston and Lenette (2016) discussed musical spaces where differences of cultural identity could be transcended among members of *accidental communities*. Karlsen (2012: 144) suggested the frame of *pluralism* to express the cultural diversity she observed in society and also 'the diversity that exists within the individual.' Within the same pluralistic frame, Sunderland *et al.* (2015: 11) observed the importance of music for participants in detention centres to express their cultural identities and thereby 'to connect with and maintain a sense of individuality.'

Huby (2014: 40) suggested the frame of *hybridisation* to conceptualise his findings of how 'globalised culture becomes absorbed by local cultures and recreated in a way that maintains the local identity of the culture.' He argued that hybridised cultural identities offered a rich resource for successful acculturation, but only when 'that resource is recognised both individually and socially' (Huby, 2014: 47). His findings showed that musical tastes can relate to cultural identity in different ways, for example being identified very specifically with a conception of localised or familial meaning rather than a more widely shared identity. Huby's (2014: 38) primary example was a Polish boy living in Norway who had an 'inability' to view his love of hip-hop as anything other than a core of his Polish cultural identity, therefore not enacting the resource's potential for integration.

Studies also highlighted the complexities encountered due to differences in cultural identities between participants when implementing musical interventions. In Hunt's (2006) study of music therapy in an Australian high school, she reported that from a group of twelve female participants, of whom ten were from Sudan, the two non-Sudanese students stopped attending. Hunt found this an important fact and acknowledged that 'Something may have needed to be done differently to encourage the two girls to not be intimidated by the overwhelming majority of Sudanese, if indeed they were' (2006: 108).

Hunt's description of the group experience in her intervention captures the challenge of including minority and majority groups. One girl from Afghanistan hoped to learn music and to sing, and a girl from Burma was described as enjoying sessions although shy to engage, but they both left the group early in the intervention. Possible difficulties presented are cultural: 'the majority of the group liked to improvise on drums very loudly' (2014: 107), 'Had the two girls from different cultures stayed in the group then the music would not have been familiar to them' (2014: 108). The ten Sudanese group members successfully 'united elements of their past, such as familiar African drumming rhythms, with elements of their present, pop music, and created new music together as a group' (2014: 104). They assimilated their musics, creating group cohesion, but the difference in cultural identities of the two non-Sudanese members may have been obstacles to their integration.

Gilboa *et al.* (2009) researched into the collectivised identities of in-group and out-group memberships working with students from immigrant and Israeli-born populations. The researchers designed an intervention built on contact theory, seeking to enable intergroup interaction based on conditions of equal status, shared purpose, and a pleasurable experience in an encouraging social climate (Amir, 1969, cited by Gilboa *et al.*, 2009: 6-7). The rationale for the musical aspect of the study was drawn from a developmental conceptualisation of identity, as previously described. Childhood experiences of music, the authors argued, are coupled later in life with 'music of our ethnic group, our religion, and our culture' to derive our musical tastes (Gilboa *et al.*, 2009: 8). These tastes are markers of social groupings, 'a social badge of identification', that afford belonging, and also mark difference (Frith, 1996, cited by Gilboa *et al.*, 2009: 8).

Following a process of musical sharing and reflection led by a music therapist over 24 weeks, a mixed methods design assessed impact to collective self-esteem and to musical preferences, and sought to gain understanding of participants' experiences. Collective self esteem was shown to be enhanced by the intervention, reflecting increased orientation towards both host (Israeli) society and culture of origin. Participants became more able to acknowledge the value of music from other cultural identities, and more accepting of musical difference that remained not to their taste. Qualitative data was themed according to three categories: I, You

and We. These themes acknowledged processes on levels of the personal, interpersonal, and group.

Gilboa *et al*. (2009) conceptualised identity as operating on various levels, accessible through music. Personal and social processes influenced musical taste which interacted with negotiations of in-group and out-group memberships. The authors proposed that in their study, music enabled the development of a new, subordinate group identity, that did not require members to abandon their old allegiances, but allowed a 'dual identity' to exist; a 'common identity' made possible by integration towards a common purpose (Gilboa *et al.*, 2009: 24).

3.4.2. Musical identities

In their conceptualisations of cultural identity, researchers presented music as an artefact constitutive of cultural identities, as a creative strand of cultural identity construction, and as a resource in on-going negotiations of cultural identities. Some study authors also extracted music from the cultural layer into the analytical unit of musical identity, allowing the musical self to be viewed in relief and discussed in close relation to musical biographies and actions. Five of the twenty-nine studies used the concept of musical identity (Carlow, 2004, Hunt, 2006, Gilboa *et al.*, 2009, Marsh, 2012, Huby, 2014).

Hunt (2006) explored musical identity through the musical analytical tool of Bruscia's (1987) *Improvisational Assessment Profiles* (IAPs). The six profiles that Bruscia devised to examine and describe music created in improvisation are the Salience profile, the Variability profile, the Autonomy profile, the Integration profile, the Tension profile, and the Congruence profile (Bruscia, 1987, cited by Hunt, 2006: 67). The autonomy profile is designed to assess a performer's level of 'selfness and otherness', evaluating the degree to which performers 'have a musical identity and secure boundaries and are open to musical contact with others' (Hunt, 2006: 92). Using this profile as a frame of analysis, Hunt described how the young women in her music therapy group entered a negotiation between 'self' and 'other' through their interpersonal collaboration of leadership and following. A musical identity emerged in the group's way of being together, 'such as being ready and open to create music, creating rhythms and exploring the musical instruments' (2006: 92). Hunt observed a sense of group autonomy, but noted that this perhaps diminished individual autonomy and the expression of individuality. Musical identity here provided an analytic framework through which to understand the social processes between the group members.

Social influences were very evident in the conceptualisation of musical identity found in Carlow's (2004) study of experiences of a school choral programme for students of *English for Speakers of Other Languages*. In Carlow's data, one student named Irina reported that 'her

own musical identity did not mesh with Marshall High School's choral culture' (2004: 165). There was a perceived lack of opportunity to express herself, as the student 'felt she had no voice in the selection of repertoire' (2004: 164). In choir rehearsals Irina reported, '"I don't even have to open my mouth and sing. Cause there are a lot of people and they can sing for me"' (2004: 154). Only away from the choir environment at *International Night* could her musical identity be expressed. Carlow observed Irina performing solo a Russian song called *Peusiy Raz,* and noted that in singing that song, Irina was performing 'her own ethnic and musical identity' (2004: 167).

Through Irina's performance of 'identity as a soloist,' musical preference, choice, and geography were presented, all in stark contrast to the conformity of the school choir. The importance of this experience was highlighted against Irina's general experience of dislocation. Her Russian nationality was often overlooked by teachers at the school, as her Korean lineage was assumed to be defining (2004: 144). As a 'child of divorce,' cultural connection provided a link to her parents that at times was physically lacking (2004: 145). Irina's musical identity was presented at once as something distinct, but also as representative of and constructed by many other aspects of her identity.

Huby's research explored the role that musical identity can play in the process of integration after migration (2014: 3). Influenced by Even Ruud's work with musical biographies (1997, 2013, cited by Huby, 2014: 13), Huby researched the musical experiences of children from immigrant backgrounds. Young children were found to describe musical experiences very much related to their families, and therefore 'to their origins,' while older children's experiences were more related to friends and a move away from family to the exploration of new identities (Huby, 2014: 34). Huby viewed the children's representations as depicting 'musical identities,' linked to 'national identity' and to their developmental stage of identity formation. Interestingly, Huby's research question and title changed from using the term 'musical identity' to 'cultural identity' or simply 'identity' (2014: 7, Attachment 3), perhaps reflecting an inductive research process that problematised the isolation of 'musical identity' as distinct from broader identity construction.

Similarly to Huby (2014), Gilboa *et al.* built on the idea of 'musical autobiographies' (Bruscia, 1998, cited by Gilboa *et al.*, 2009: 12). The approach provided the basis for musical presentations by group members of 'musical pieces that are meaningful to them' and could be 'viewed as representative of self' (Gilboa *et al.*, 2009: 12). The music presented was seen as emblematic of identity, and therefore as an opportunity for group members to encounter one another. Through these musical presentations, participants were seen to be 'exposing their inner world of identities … admitting, both to themselves and to others, who they are, and to what groups they belong' (Gilboa *et al.*, 2009: 9).

3.4.3. Cultural and musical identities: Summary and reflections

The processes through which individuals who have migrated country navigate the collective identities they discover in their new setting have been the focus of this part of this chapter. Music and culture have been shown in the research studies to be fervent sites for these negotiations, offering resources to express identities linked to family, country, and to peer groups.

Cultural identities were presented in the included studies as central to the process of acculturation. Relationships with 'homeland' musics and with globally popular music were shown to be both helpful and problematic to the research participants. At times, previously held cultural identities were transcended and localised group cultures emerged. In other situations it was shown that opportunities to express cultural identity allowed an individual the opportunity to maintain their 'self' amid potentially overwhelming plurality and dislocation. The nature of the coming-together of cultural identities can be mutual sharing, *transculturation;* it can assume a re-orientation towards mainstream, 'host' culture; or various points of balance can be imagined along a spectrum of acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997).

Notable in Berry's model of acculturation, which was supported widely in the included studies, is its focus on the positionality of people who have migrated in relation to 'host' culture. The framework describes acculturation in terms of immigrants' connections to a binary of new and former cultural identities, with no overlap mentioned between the two. Findings in the studies that described commonalities and crossovers of cultural materials repudiated such a binary outlook, although this was not discussed by any of the study authors. Although several studies very much revealed findings that fitted comfortably within acculturation goals (most clearly Frankenberg *et al.*, 2014), overall the included studies showed examples of people using music to navigate how they were perceived within multiple and complex cultural contexts.

Drawing from literature outside of the included studies, acts of positioning of this nature have been theorised in the fields of language and discourse (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999, Bucholtz and Hall, 2005), and perhaps they provide a useful framework here. Rather than viewing identity in terms of the fixed roles that people have, positioning theory implies an active and interactional process in which 'identity emerges … through the temporary roles and orientations assumed by participants' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 591). This definition suggests an unified theoretical framework that reflects the conceptual findings here presented.

3.5. Constructions of identities

This section presents three conceptualisations of identity from the included studies that do not seek to assign or define the identities that people have, but instead provide frameworks to describe how identities are constructed. By nature, identity is viewed in these studies through a constructionist paradigm, and music is observed to interact with dynamic understandings of how people see themselves and how they are seen by others. Researchers of the included studies described identities as narrative, embodied, and performed as will now be detailed and then discussed.

3.5.1. Narrative identities

The concept of narrative identity was central to Ahonen and Desideri's (2014) exploration of the 'emerging story' of refugee women. Their intervention combined narrative therapy and group analytic music therapy to support women who had suffered Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and depression. Tragic or traumatic events, Ahonen and Desideri argued, become incorporated into personal and collective narratives of the past, present and future; 'narrative identities become the stories people live by and their lives may be the product of the stories they tell' (2014, [online]).

Research and intervention designs provided opportunities for spoken and musical narratives to be explored. Group members' 'self-defining trauma stories' were expressed, allowing 'transition stories' to emerge, and an eventual 're-authoring' of self. The refugee women became able to take agency in the construction of their narrative selves, becoming both 'author and arbiter' (Herman, 1992: 133, cited by Ahonen and Desideri, 2014, [online]).

Encapsulating the narrative ethos, Ahonen and Desideri (2014) presented their study's findings in part through poetic form. In this way the reader was brought closer to the emotions, feelings and moods that were present in the group's own narrative process. Poems created from the participants' own words at each group stage captured the shift in their narrative identities. To illustrate this, and to respect the poetic form and emotional content, several poems are herein quoted in full.

The self-defining trauma story was characterised by helplessness, pain, fear and anxiety:

"Future is empty"

"They say I'm lucky

'You are very lucky because you have very many beautiful memories...'

Yes, of course, I have many beautiful memories.

I am lucky, but I am not: I lost them all on the same day.

If you see the empty side of the bottle, you can never be happy.

I am trying....I'm trying... I'm trying...

to see the other side,

but I am living my past because

I cannot think anything about my future.

Future is endless.

It's sad.

My future is empty.

(Ahonen and Desideri, 2014, [online])

Transition stories showed acceptance, and represented the group dealing with loss and guilt:

"Acceptation is hard"

"...I saw some light. It was really beautiful.

And I just want to say that sometimes in life,

people go through this really, really dark place,

but then there is some light there too,

even if it is something really horrible.

We say, life is death.

What can I do?

We have to accept."

(Ahonen and Desideri, 2014, [online])

Re-authored narratives presented a shift to the identity of 'survivor':

"It's all happening at the same time and it's all true"

"I'm good. This music feels happy.

All these feelings at the same time.

That's my life, that's my…here and now.

All these things, same time.

I can still live an extremely full life,

I don't have to tell yourself "when I don't feel fear anymore"…

"when I don't feel nervous anymore, then I will live".

"I live right now.

The fullest.

I feel some amount of pain, homesick, I am exhausted, tired…"

"I have some fears and at the same time I have hope.

It's all happening at the same time and it's all true.

It's my life, and I can claim ownership of that: it's my life."

(Ahonen and Desideri, 2014, [online])

Identity was found to be conceptualised in this study as constructed through narrative authoring. The authors' findings proposed that people's stories can be re-authored, and the meanings taken from the stories can be integrated into a survivor mentality. In the remembering and telling of the past, the present is changed, and it is from the present that the future is written. From this standpoint, creative acts of music-making, movement, and poetry were found by the researchers to be powerful methods through which to re-present stories, and thereby construct identity.

3.5.2. Performed identities

Conceptualisations of identity as performed were found in the studies authored by Enge (2015), Lenette *et al.* (2015) and Weston and Lenette (2016). Actions in music-making were presented by the researchers as performative of identity in contexts where opportunities for this were otherwise limited.

In the 'prison settings' of asylum reception centres in Australia, where the possibilities available through which to perform identity were very limited, Lenette *et al.* (2015: 121) described 'accidental communities' brought together through the chance cohabitation of detainees. These communities were seen to be characterised by 'intransience and indeterminacy,' and dehumanisation, as part of a process of bureaucracy in which, 'Ever present is oppression only changing scenery' (quoted by Weston and Lenette, 2016: 122, Procopis and Cavallo, n.d.). In this context of oppression, the musical work of the *Scattered People* collective was observed to create performative and cultural spaces for detainees. These spaces allowed the development of a 'community within a community' characterised by 'inclusion, humanization and the expression of a democratic voice' (Weston and Lenette, 2016: 123). Participants in music sessions were described by the researchers as singing songs that expressed their homeland cultural identities, and also performing together songs that they had collectively written, or had been written by other refugees, or were globally famous. As such, the 'cultural and performative' space allowed for the performance of multiple identities, including the newly created identity of the music group itself (2016: 121).

Enge's (2015) music therapy intervention and her research approach were informed by Community Music Therapy practice, and drew on a theoretical framework that recognises health and human development as performative tasks. She summarised that outlook, 'How we choose to and have the opportunity to perform our lives has connections to how our health develops' (Enge, 2015: 207). Community Music Therapy therefore seeks to mobilise opportunities for performances of identity that are helpful.

Enge's (2015: 209-210) research found that her Community Music Therapy approach enabled children to perform aspects of themselves and their experiences that had ordinarily been hidden behind behaviours that were socially and educationally damaging. For example, Rose, a young girl in Enge's first case study, was described by her teacher as somebody who 'lies and steals.' Rose wrote a song about the friendships she left behind when she moved to Norway, and she performed this song in a school concert to 'an overwhelming positive response' (2015: 209). Joel, who had been aggressive in class, was able to invite other children to his music therapy session, where he presented a different version of himself; happy, able and collaborative (2015: 210). These examples from Community Music Therapy practice illustrated performative processes that contained musical performance, but more significantly to the researchers contained performances 'of identity, of self, of social networks' (Enge, 2015: 207).

3.5.3. Embodied identities

The concept of embodied identity was not found to be used directly in any of the studies. However, it is included here because the notion of the embodied self interacting with identity and music was present in the studies. Huby, for example, referenced Merleau-Ponty's *Phénoménolgie de la perception* (1945) and its understanding of the body as an integrated part of how people experience, remember, feel, and create their world. Huby went on to capture the essence of embodied identity: 'We do not only experience *having a body* but also experience *being* a body' (2014: 15). Through dance and movement, Verreault (2017) and Meyer Demott *et al.* (2017) also evoked the concept in their approaches and their findings.

The dance/movement therapy (DMT) practice that was studied by Verreault (2017) was based on 'direct and extensive use of the body, using movement as medium for self-expression, self-awareness and as a means of communication with others' (2017: 120). As such it engaged directly with an embodied theory of identity. Verreault's qualitative findings showed DMT engaging with the somatic symptoms that group members carried from their past and present trauma, enacted physically in 'shrinking postures, heavy limbs, resting heads on arms, heads dropping down or the constant need to sit between exercises' (2017: 126). 'Numbness' and 'dissociation' were also described and interpreted as strategies for distancing from physical

sensation (2017: 126). Dance/movement therapy was shown to have a desomatising effect, with one participant reporting '"when I come here, I am like this! (participant shows closed shrinking posture and cups her hands together), but after a while, I'm like this! (participant opened her arms wide and lengthened her spine)"' (2017: 126).

Group members in Verreault's study also reported cultural and embodied connections to dance. For example, members of the group at times took the lead in teaching dances, evoking their embodied memories. After such a session one participant explained, '"I enjoyed it because it's from my country; it's from me, part of me!"' (2017: 127). The women were described as being present in their embodied selves, and present in the 'here and now,' enabling a new awareness of 'power and peace inside' (2017: 127). Similarly, Meyer Demott *et al.* described the use of movement and dance within their *Expressive Arts in Transition* (EXIT) approach designed to enforce 'connection, engagement and focus in the here and now' (2017: 513)

The physicality of music was discovered by researchers to interact with the somatic experiences of exile. There was connection in shared embodiment, and there were tangible expressions of identity.

3.5.4. Narrative, performed, and embodied identities: Summary and reflections

In the included studies the concepts of narrative, embodied and performed identity were used by authors to theoretically locate research and to inform study strategies. Each of the models of identity construction supported design of interventions, analytical approaches and also findings. Cohesive understandings of experiences of migration and of music-making were established from each standpoint.

Notably, however, the stances taken by the researchers did not acknowledge the possible relevance of the other, often allied concepts. While to consider singular aspects of identity served the included studies by providing linear frameworks of understanding, it may serve this study to theorise these constructionist aspects of identity as complementary.

Drawing from literature external to the included studies, researchers commonly theorise the complementary concepts congruently. Performances of identity can be considered to be encompassed within the construction of narratives of self (Yuval-Davis, 2010: 269), or narratives can be conceived as performative constructions enacted by embodied beings (Denzin, 2003). Langellier discusses the 'narrative performance of identity' in which 'the narrator's specific body, bearing multiple marks of location, positions her at the nexus of culturally specific experiences of health, gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and so on' (2001: 176). The narrative performance of identity involves a body that carries its own specific narrative meaning within a contextual positioning.

Conceptual analysis of the included studies found these constructions of identity to be useful and informative within research design and presentation. It also raised the possibility of taking the constructionist concepts in unison to allow holistic consideration of the embodied, narrative, performances of identity, demonstrated to be afforded by music-making.

3.6. Summary

This chapter has presented and applied criticality to the conceptualisations of identity used in studies identified through a systematic search of literature. While the concept of identity was present across studies, analysis highlighted the range of utilisations and understandings applied by the study authors. Identity was considered as personal and interactional, individual and collective, assigned and constructed, and in terms of need, process, and resource.

In each of this chapter's sections, the diversity of approaches discussed raised conceptual gaps which indicated additional models that may be useful. Researchers' use of assigned bureaucratic identities was problematised within the included studies and through wider literature. This raised issues of representation that are central to this study's standpoint and that can offer a conceptual lens for analysis. Use of the concept of self identity encompassed components of self development in which the processes of receiving and giving recognition were identified as a central feature. While authors presented music's affordance of experiences of recognition as an underlying processual element, analysis suggested foregrounding the notion of recognition as a potentially overarching framework, drawing as an example on the work of Fukuyama (2018).

Interplay between individual and collective identities, described in terms of musical and cultural identities, emerged as highlighting fluidity and agency rather than fixed categories of identity. The ways in which people were observed to enact their roles within complex cultural landscapes were described in analysis in terms that suggested the notion of positioning. This theoretical viewpoint was applied to frame criticality of the model of acculturation that was propounded in the included studies.

In the final section of conceptual findings, three constructionist notions of identity were presented. Narrative, performative and embodied notions of identity were treated separately in the included studies, but discussion of these concepts in light of broader literature raised the possibility of viewing these understandings as complementary. Such a unified approach would signify a perspective that embraces embodied, performative narratives of identity.

The understandings gained through this conceptual analysis of literature situate this study within its academic context. Identified limitations in conceptualisations of identity in the field have provoked consideration of additional frameworks that may provide insight, and which will be revisited in this thesis, in particular in the *Discussion of Findings* (*Chapter 7*).

While categorisation has been prominent in this chapter, identifying the categories of identity conceptualisation employed in the included studies, it is not the objective that guides this study. Rather my aim is to gain understanding of the concept of identity as it features in participatory music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution. *Part 3* presents the research methodology used to address that aim, and the findings of the study.

Part 3 - A multi-sited qualitative research study into the ways that identity features in participants' and providers' accounts of music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution

4. Methodology and research strategy

4.1. Introduction

This chapter describes and explains the methodology and research strategy of this study. My ontological positioning in relation to representation, identity and music was introduced in *Chapter 1.* Here it will be connected to the research design.

The question that guided the research process has also been previously introduced:

> How does identity feature in the accounts of participants and providers of music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution?

Alongside this, subsidiary questions further directed focus:

> In what ways does the organisational approach taken towards identity groups feature in the accounts of participants and providers?
>
> In what ways do the facilitation approaches taken towards participatory music-making feature in the accounts of participants and providers?

These questions were treated fluidly, and evolved to this current wording through the research process (Ely *et al.*, 1997: 25, O'Leary, 2004: 35). Importantly the primary question asks how identity features in the participants' accounts without presupposing or 'specifying too many concepts' (Silverman, 2013: 158). The questions were designed to give space to find insights, and overall to explore 'what is going on?' (Silverman, 2013: 158, Thomas, 2017: 11).

The methods employed to explore these questions will now be set out. Firstly I seek to locate the study's approach ontologically. Aspects of the design such as research contexts, sampling, and methods of data collection are then described, with explanation of decisions made through the iterative and adaptive processes of research. Finally, analytical and interpretive strategies utilised to gain understanding from the collected data are detailed and the reasons for their selection discussed.

4.2. Locating the research

In *Chapter 1*, I introduced this study's constructionist understanding of meaning. Following Foucault (1980b, 1980a) I outlined the theoretical standpoint that the meanings of representative acts are constructed within discourses formed in relations of power. That ontological stance underpins this study. It assumes a non-essentialist and located understanding, which applies also to the definitional approach I described towards identity and to music-making.

A non-essentialist and constructionist approach was supported by the review of literature presented in *Chapter 3*. Instead of notions of identity that assume social groupings and hierarchies to be 'inevitable and natural' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 374), the conceptual analysis found that people were active in negotiating identity positions. However, assigned labels of identity were also acknowledged as holding profound influence on how people are able to navigate their lives. Identities of immigration status provide a very real example of how systematic categorisation can offer opportunity or impairment; acceptance or rejection; freedom or detainment. It is important, therefore, to 'distinguish between essentialism as a theoretical position and as an ethnographic fact' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005: 374).

That awareness reflects this study's critical realist epistemology. This underpinning viewpoint 'acknowledge[s] the ways individuals make meaning of their experience, and, in turn, the ways the broader social context impinges on those meanings, while retaining focus on the material and other limits of "reality"' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 81). My research is concerned with how identity is constructed for people who continue to face the "reality" of war, persecution and forced migration. While I understand the meanings of these concepts to be constructed through representational acts that operate discursively, experiences of sniper fire, imprisonment, terror and agony, are examples of the manifold realities of war.

The positionality I have described informed my qualitative research design. My research questions target qualitative concerns, in that they are interested in participants' own framing of their experiences, and not in producing one single answer (Braun and Clarke, 2013: 20-21). I chose the 'perspectives and accounts of research participants as a starting point' (Ormston *et al.*, 2014: 2) from which to explore identity.

In *The Qualitative Manifesto* (2016), Denzin addresses qualitative researchers:

> In a call to action, researchers engage in concrete steps that will change situations in the future. They may teach persons how to bring new value and meaning to identities, cultural commodities and texts that are marginalized and stigmatized by the larger culture. They will demonstrate how particular definitions and meanings negatively affect the lives of specific people. They indicate how particular texts, directly and indirectly, misrepresent persons and reproduce prejudice and stereotypes. (Denzin, 2016: 28)

His 'call to action' describes the qualitative paradigm in which this study locates itself.

4.3. Research design

Research was designed as a multi-sited study, structured to allow me opportunity to take on roles of music facilitator and group participant in varied contexts, and experience music-making together with members of the research population. This approach was informed by

the study's sociological understanding of music-making, as previously described. Music is not viewed as a dislocated artefact with innate meanings to be studied, but rather: 'The act of musicking establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act lies' (Small, 1998: 13). As such, I viewed it as crucial that I locate myself in the musicking in order to be positioned where meaning arises.

Such proximity is characteristic of ethnographic research designs, and that methodological field influenced my research approach. A 'step-in step-out' fieldwork structure was developed (Madden, 2010: 79), in which I involved myself with multiple music-making groups that were developed by organisers as interventions targeted towards people who have emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution. Elements of ethnographic practice were adhered to; I took care to keep detailed notes and give my attention to observation during field work (Emerson *et al.*, 2007). The intimate interactions that took place informed my own personal understanding of the musical experiences that are at the heart of this research study. They also enabled me to connect and form relationships with fellow group members and group facilitators who became the research sample for this study.

Importantly, the music-making interactions themselves are not the data of this research study. It is rather the accounts of the participants and providers of the music-making programmes that are the focus of the research question, and of the study's interest. As was identified in *Section 3.4.2* of the conceptual review of literature, significant frameworks exist to analyse musical data as it has been theorised to pertain to identity (notable also are two editions on the subject edited by MacDonald *et al.*, 2002, 2017), and these may yield valuable insight. However, in this study's context, the transience and instability of music group members meant that issues of gathering all members' consent raised substantial challenges to collecting musical data. Instead, the research design foregrounds the views and responses of people towards music-making, rather than drawing interpretations from their musical expression. For this study's purpose, interview data allowed an inductive approach to unravel the ways in which identity featured for people.

Heyl (2007) describes interviews collected from the basis of close relationships formed in research contexts as 'ethnographic interviews'. The term seeks to differentiate interviews that are born from relationships crafted during field work, from interviews gathered from research populations unknown, or little-known, to the interviewer. These are interviews that are made in context with trust developed through shared experiences and closeness. They take place after a researcher has: 'established respectful, on-going relationships … including enough rapport for there to be genuine exchange of views and enough time and openness in the interviews for the interviewees to explore purposefully with the researcher the meanings they place on events in their worlds' (Heyl, 2007: 369).

In summary, this research was designed to incorporate my participation in music-making programmes targeted towards people who had emigrated from war or persecution. I kept reflective notes of these experiences that led to insight for me and built the relationships that allowed for interviews aligned with Heyl's (2007) notion of ethnographic interviewing. The music-making contexts in which I met each of the interviewees and the methods used for sampling and data collection will now be detailed.

4.3.1. Research contexts

Research took place at four sites in two countries (see below). Approaches towards group facilitation varied, but participatory music-making, as previously defined, was central to all the programmes. Also common to the programmes was an organisational decision to work with people who had emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution. I met with the organisers of each music-making activity in advance, and discussed with them my research intention to interview some group members if they were willing to be involved. Initial contact with three of the contexts was through introduction from my professional connections. In the other context I reached out directly, having identified a relevant site in my local area.

For each context I will now detail: my own role in the group; the approach and structure taken to facilitating participation in music-making; and the composition of the group. To further illustrate context, a brief vignette informed by my reflective field notes will provide the reader with an impression beyond the initial factual information. These illustrative vignettes are formatted in inset text. Some details are altered for reasons of anonymity, in line with the study's ethics and consent protocols.

Context 1 - Asylum Seeker Centre (AZC), The Netherlands

Table 4: Description of context 1 - Asylum Seeker Centre (AZC), The Netherlands

My role
In this context I was the main facilitator of the music-making activities. A resident at the Asylum Seeker Centre (AZC) who was an experienced and skilled music teacher and theatre performer assisted me. Two people who had previously been resident at the AZC came as volunteers, helping out in particular with children and collecting young people from their rooms to attend.
Structure and approach of the intervention

Music sessions ran weekly for two hours every Monday afternoon. The first hour was scheduled for children and young people up to about 16 years old. For the youngest children time was spent singing songs, playing musical rhythm games, movement-based activities, and the final five minutes for making first contact with either guitar or piano. The second hour was scheduled for older teenagers and adults with a focus on teaching guitar and piano in groups. I encouraged playing together, trying to connect people with similar interests and levels. Music for the young children was simple Dutch or English songs. Teenagers generally asked to play American pop songs and some adults requested to learn Arabic songs.
Composition of participants
The number of participants varied between five and twenty-five each week. All were residents in the AZC. Aziz, whose story is presented in section 5.2, attended the second hour of music-making in this context.
Period
Sessions ran for the period from October 26th 2018 until 1st April 2019.
Organisation
This work was organised through a Dutch charity, which is active in providing creative art-based activities to people in asylum seeker centres in the Netherlands.

Illustrative Vignette, constructed from my reflective notes:

When the bus finally drops me at my destination I'd been travelling for 2 hours from Amsterdam. Tram, train, then bus. And still 15 minutes to walk. At this bus stop it's always me and a couple of people who I take to be residents at the Asielzoekerscentrum (AZC) - the asylum seeker centre. I assume they're residents at the centre because there's no where else you would be going from this stop, and the language they speak is not English or Dutch.

Some weeks I step off the bus and notice the gentle woodland, quite beautiful, lifting my spirits.

Some weeks I step off the bus into the woods and feel far away, remote from the world.

On the road into the woods I might see someone from the centre free-wheeling on a bike, smiling, heading out into a safe country. Or I see someone shivering and trudging up a dark road.

At the reception booth I sign in to receive keys and a walkie-talkie. The staff are laid back. They joke a bit. I have never been ID-ed, or had any kind of security check. Residents come and go without being monitored every time.

This AZC has a capacity of over 500 residents, but it's not full these days. As I walk around the buildings I don't see much sign of people. A school bus is dropping children back from their day at secondary school in the nearest town.

The organisation with which I am volunteering uses a small section of the building, round the back. As I unlock the entrance, I can hear weights clunking from the gym next door. There are a couple of families out on the football pitch letting young children play while mothers chat.

I open up and begin setting out instruments for the afternoon's music. I put six guitars in one room, and two pianos in the other. Chairs I set in circles in both rooms. There are pictures painted by children on all the walls, and some aged art projects strewn around the place. Carpets are worn down and stained, paint peels a bit. I make a pot of coffee in the small kitchen for staff and lock my bag and phone in the office, as I was warned to do.

Just five minutes late, six children arrive, noisy, picking up instruments and playing loud, watching for me to begin something, anxious for us to start properly. I have to jump in a bit, have to meet their energy and then lead the group, guide them to join together instead of their individual banging and strumming. I match where they're at, also loud, drumming in a long trill to begin with, then establishing a beat for them to join in on whatever instrument they are holding. I quieten down and they follow me. When I feel us together, I place my drum in the middle of our little circle and pick up a guitar, gesturing for them to do the same.

(Illustrative Vignette, constructed from Reflective Notes)

Context 2 - Community Orchestra, UK

Table 5: Description of context 2 - Community Orchestra, UK

My role
I participated in the orchestra alongside all the regular members, attending rehearsals and performing in one recording and a public concert.
Structure and approach of the intervention
Orchestra rehearsals were held twice a month for two hours in the evening during periods of activity. Activities ran on a project-to-project basis due to funding cycles, so there could sometimes be two or three months without rehearsals. The organiser, an English man, facilitated the rehearsals along with with two musical leaders, one of whom was a female cellist from Syria. Four assistants were also employed to help the orchestra members with their parts. Our rehearsal period began with some activities designed to be collaborative and creative, seeking the input of all members through improvisation exercises and requests for repertoire. As rehearsals progressed towards recordings or performances decisions were made, also asking for group member involvement, about the music and arrangements to be performed. Musical repertoire was derived from the group members' input. In practice this resulted in a pastiche of Arabic and Iranian songs, with improvised bridge passages highlighting sounds and instruments from other nations.
Composition of participants
The orchestra is open for anyone to join, free of charge. Invitations are extended particularly to young people from refugee backgrounds and to migrant communities. Funding is available to facilitate attendance, for example to pay taxi fares or to buy instruments when needed. The number of orchestra members ranged from 20 - 30 during the period that I attended. They were aged from 16 - 60 years old. Laila, whose story is presented in section 5.3, joined this orchestra as a participant and helped facilitate it during the period that I participated.
Period
I attended sessions in May and June 2019.
Organisation
This activity was organised through an organisation that works to provide access to music-making and music education for people in schools and in community settings.

Illustrative Vignette, constructed from my reflective notes:

> We meet on a Thursday evening in the hall of a community centre. When I walk in there is general hubbub, with the team of 6 or 7 facilitators helping everyone to set up their equipment and get settled in the right place. An amplifier has already been placed for me, and I'm handed a cable so I can plug in. My seat is in the middle of the back row. Around me are a mix of classical instruments - harp, flute, double bass, violin - and instruments from around the world, some of which I don't recognise. Listening to people warm up, there is a blend of beginners trying to find there way around the notes, and professional musicians running through scales and exercises. My music was emailed to me during the week, and I've got it printed out to play from. I'm in the minority needing written music, most the group plays by ear.
>
> We're a bit late beginning due to all the setting up, and the organiser lets us know that he is not happy about this. To get us all focussed and listening together he starts to sing a short song, which we join in. It becomes a 4 part canon, making us laugh at our mistakes and smile when we eventually manage to get it right.
>
> The organiser hands over to the two facilitators who lead our rehearsal, moving between languages so we all understand, and balancing their attention so we all know exactly what we're doing.
>
> *(Illustrative Vignette, constructed from Reflective Notes)*

Context 3 - Music group at refugee support centre, UK

Table 6: Description of context 3 - Music group at refugee support centre, UK

My role
I attended sessions as a group member, playing in the group and performing at a concert during *Refugee Week*.
Structure and approach of the intervention

Music sessions took place every week for two hours, organised as an activity at a refugee support centre. The facilitator led the group to play songs together, working from books of music she provided to all members. Teaching had been offered previously, but during my period of attendance we played and sang together without instruction. One lead facilitator managed the group with two volunteers assisting with musical choices and helping individuals to play on their instruments.
Composition of participants
Two of the group members had recently arrived in the UK and were receiving support at the centre for their immigration processes. Two others had immigrant backgrounds but not as refugees. Several more people came very intermittently, having first joined the group when they were newly arrived in UK as refugees. Regularly 4 to 7 adults attended the group. Dejan, whose story is shared in section 5.4, had been along time member of this group, although his attendance was sporadic while I was playing with the group.
Period
I attended sessions for the period from February 8th 2019 until June 18th 2019.
Organisation
This group was organised under a partnership of organisations that support refugees in the region.

Illustrative Vignette, constructed from my reflective notes:

> The group meets upstairs on a landing space with offices coming off it that are used for counselling and legal interviews. We start at 11am, and the main facilitator always arrives precisely on time. One of the members, who is from Zambia, makes sure seats are placed in a semi circle before hand, so we can begin on time.
>
> All of us take up the same seats every week. At one end of the line are two women recently arrived from Eritrea who play the flute. Then two volunteers sit together, both playing recorders, and enthusiastic for Irish folk music. The group leader, sat in the middle, plays guitar and sings.
>
> On my side of the semi-circle are the long time group members who migrated to the UK decades ago, but continue to enjoy this group. We all strum guitars and sing.

Downstairs the centre provides support services, including language classes, legal advice, a monthly food bank and clothes bank, and referrals to other resources such as medical and social services. There is also a kitchen, serving hot drinks and a bite to eat. One week it's samosas and another it might be scones and biscuits. There are always sandwiches for people who need something more.

For the music group we also get home-baked cakes from the lead facilitator, or snacks brought in by another member. Halfway through our sessions we pause for a tea break and someone pulls out a biscuit tin to share. This is a moment to chat too, and just check in with each other how we're all doing.

(Illustrative Vignette, constructed from Reflective Notes)

Context 4 - Creative Music Workshops, UK

Table 7: Description of context 4 - Creative Music Workshops, UK

My role
I attended these creative workshops initially in an observer role, but within 5 minutes was a participant and performed with the group in a showcase.
Structure and approach of the intervention
The workshops ran as weekend residential activities, bringing together the same group of young people over a series of weekends. The weekends each build towards public showcases, presenting improvisations, compositions, and drawing audience members into participatory pieces. Creative processes guide the weekends, with activities designed to encourage sharing of ideas and collaborative composition. Prior to public showcases focus shifts to making decisions what will be shared, and to rehearse any aspects that require it. A three person facilitation team led the weekends that I attended, sharing the leadership of sessions and separating with groups when helpful. Two Syrian musicians assisted.
Composition of participants
Organisers invited young people from refugee backgrounds as well as young people from communities marginalised due to prejudice. There were seven participants for both the weekends in which I participated. Ashur was involved with these weekends, participating as a musician. His story is presented in section 5.5.
Period

I joined weekends in October 2018.
Organisation
This work was organised through an on-going project that uses creative arts-based approaches with young people, to break down divisive, entrenched identity positions.

Illustrative Vignette, constructed from my reflective notes:

> The space where the workshops happen is beautiful, designed for professional rehearsal, acoustically engineered and sound proofed. For our small group there is plenty of space, and the facilitators make the most of that, moving us around the room for different activities. Musical instruments are available and good quality. We can move across to a grand piano when we write songs together, or to a sprung floor for dancing.
>
> We draw, write, act, move, watch films, and make music. This is a cross-arts approach, with music central at all times. When we are not making music ourselves, two Syrian musicians accompany us, weaving a soundtrack through the days that becomes part of our community's shared culture.
>
> It becomes clear that each member has areas in which they feel confident and creative, and the facilitators encourage each person to flourish in those areas. As we begin to prepare for our showcase, care is taken for each person to have their spotlight moment and for everyone's ideas to be included.
>
> *(Illustrative Vignette, constructed from Reflective Notes)*

4.3.2. Sampling

I used a purposive sampling method to identify subjects for interview in each of the research contexts. Potential interviewees were approached at each setting across three constituent groups defined as: group members who had emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution, music facilitators, and organisers. Prospective research participants were given an information and consent sheet to read, which was available in English, Arabic, Farsi and Eritrean. They were given opportunity to take away the information and return with questions, or reach out to contact people named on the sheet. Where necessary I ensured people were present to translate in case of questions.

In some contexts my choices of interviewees in a category were limited. This was particularly true for music group members who met the migration criteria and felt comfortable to give consent to be part of the study.

In context 1, the AZC in the Netherlands, I interviewed music facilitators working with the same organisation in other AZCs, to expand perspectives and to avoid a gap in constituency as I was the music facilitator in this specific context.

The following table shows the constituent level of interviewees in each context. Interviewees are each assigned a number, according to the order in which interviews were carried out, and letters to signify if they are group members (GM), music facilitators (MF) or organisers (OR). Not all the people I interviewed were included in the research sample, because they did not work within one of the selected music-making contexts, therefore not all numbers are present.

Table 8: Interviewees categorised according to context and constituent level

Context	Group members emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution	Music facilitators	Organisers
1. AZC, The Netherlands (Asylum Seeker Reception Centre)	GM20	MF3, MF7, MF8, MF9, MF10	OR22
2. Community Orchestra, UK	GM5	MF4	OR14
3. Music group at refugee support centre, UK	GM17	MF6, MF19	OR25
4. Creative Music Workshops, UK	GM2	MF15	OR14

The demographic make up of interviewees, in terms of age group, gender, education level, nationality and migration history is presented here in *Table 9*.

Table 9: Demographic information about interviewees

Age group	Number of interviewees
26-35	6
36-45	6
46-55	3
56-65	2

Gender	Number of interviewees
Male	10
Female	7
Non-binary	
Educational level attained	**Number of interviewees**
High school graduate	3
Bachelors Level graduate	9
Masters Level graduate	4
Doctorate	1
Unknown	
Nationality of birth	**Number of interviewees**
British	7
Dutch	3
Syrian	3
Yugoslavian	1
American	1
Congolese	1
Spanish	1
Migration background	**Number of interviewees (one interviewee is entered in two categories)**
Migrated country due to war or persecution	**4**
Migrated country for education or work	**2**
Parents or grandparents migrated country due to danger or war	**4**
Parents or grandparents migrated country for education or work	**3**
Migration background unknown	**5**

4.3.3. Data collection

Interviews were organised at mutually convenient times, often around group meeting schedules, but also at other times and places to suit people's schedules. I adopted a 'semi-standardised' interview approach designed to 'draw out' stories from people, and provide the space for the spontaneity needed for narrative responses (Berg and Lune, 2014: 112-114). Heyl's four goals for researchers in conducting ethnographic interviews provided guidance for an effective method:

I. listen well and respectfully, developing an ethical engagement with the participants at all stages of the project;

II. acquire a self awareness of our role in the co-construction of meaning during the interview process;

III. be cognisant of ways in which both the on-going relationship and the broader social context affect the participants, the interview process, and the project outcomes; and

IV. recognise that dialogue is discovery and only partial knowledge will ever be attained.

(Heyl, 2007: 370)

I developed an interview guide (*Appendix 2*) to stimulate questions and hold focus, following Riessman's (1993: 54) suggestion to develop '5 to 7 broad questions about the topic of inquiry, supplemented by probe questions in case the respondent has trouble getting started.' Interviews were audio recorded on a *Zoom H4N Pro* device. Files were copied on to a password protected hard drive, and labelled with anonymous identifying codes. The memory card of the *Zoom H4N Pro* was then deleted. One master sheet was kept on a separate password protected drive with names of interviewees and their identifiers.

After all interviews were collected, I used *Nvivo Transcription* to provide an initial transcription, and to format interviews into a structure that would conveniently import into *Nvivo 12* software. A substantial editing stage was needed to correct the initial transcription, which I carried out with extensive listening to the interview recordings.

4.3.4. Ethical approval

Research design was approved by the University of Winchester ethics committee on 3rd August 2018, with reference RKEEC18071_ Nicholson. Amendments of location, due to the multi-sited and international nature of the study, were later approved by chair's action.

4.4. Analysis of data

Two interpretive approaches were applied to the interview data. Interviews with music facilitators and organisers were analysed thematically using a constructionist grounded theory based approach to explore the ways in which identity featured in their accounts. To illuminate those thematic findings, and centralise often marginalised voices, a narrative approach was used to construct stories from four interviews with group participants who had emigrated to the UK or the Netherlands to seek asylum from war or persecution. My rationale for using both analytic approaches and the methods I have applied to each are described below.

4.4.1. Participants' stories

A narrative approach was taken towards the texts of the four interviews with people who had emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution. Their responses were constructed as stories with the aim of foregrounding their accounts. This interpretive process was undertaken to illuminate the thematic findings and to share the stories of individuals whose accounts may often be subjugated.

Continuing the ontological approach that has been described in this chapter, Foucault suggested seeking narratives from those positioned as marginal or subjugated, 'those disqualified from the hierarchies of knowledges and sciences', in order to disrupt hegemonic discourses (Foucault, 1980b: 82). Weedon echoes this, suggesting that 'the cultural narratives of minorities - historical and fictional - are one place to begin to acquire the knowledge needed to dislodge both hegemonic knowledge and the oppressive binaries that they perpetuate' (2004: 159). From these narratives, newly heard voices can challenge 'constructions of identities, histories and traditions … to think in new ways about both past and present about who - in our diversity - we are, how we became what we are and what we want to become' (Weedon, 2004: 159).

This approach is aligned to what Frank has described as the imperative of the postmodern moment, 'when the capacity for telling one's own story is reclaimed' (Frank, 1995: 6/222). To achieve this is to resist hegemonic discourse, or what Frank terms the 'master text' - modernity's statement of truth - with 'halting, self-doubting, and often inarticulate' voices (1995: 6/222).

As a lens for analysis, such narratives have been viewed as the means through which 'Individuals construct past events and actions … to claim identities and construct lives' (Riessman, 1993: 4). Rosenwald and Ochberg suggest that:

> How individuals recount their histories - what they emphasize and omit, their stance as protagonists or victims, the relationship the story establishes between teller and audience - all shape what individuals can claim of their own lives.

> Personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about one's life; they are the means by which identities may be fashioned. (1992: 1)

From this standpoint, presenting participants' stories foregrounds the narrative performances of people as identity enactments in context and interrelationship (Denzin, 1997, 2003).

The field of Narrative Analysis has sought methods by which to analyse such texts. For example, Riessman (1993) suggests applying a framework that is definitive of the constituent parts of a narrative (Riessman cites the frameworks of Labov, 1972, Gee, 1996). Gergen (1992) and Denzin (1997) are among authors who are critical of this approach. Researching traditional narratives, Gergen and Gergen defined their unit of analysis as being 'composed of a valued end point; events relevant to this end point; the temporal ordering of these events toward the endpoint; the causal linkages between events' (Gergen, 1992: 129). However, Gergen came to problematise that mechanistic approach, asking to herself and to her reader:

> Now I become uneasy. I wonder why this definition must be as it is. Doesn't a definition defend an order of discourse, an order of life? Whose lives are advantaged by this form and whose disadvantaged? Should we ask? (Gergen, 1992: 129)

Applying structural definitions of what constitutes a narrative, excludes the stories of people who tell their stories differently. A patriarchal notion of worthy narrative structure is privileged over others, in line with what Gergen describes as the 'monomyth', a pronounced 'manstory', at the expense of 'womanstories' (1992: 127-129). Colluding with the perpetuation of this system is not Gergen's purpose, and so she demonstrates instead an embracing of melodies of talk and songs 'that will free us from the past and hum sweet dirges for androcentric systems as they drown' (Gergen, 1992: 142).

Denzin also criticises what he terms 'generic' forms of narrative analysis for what he sees as qualitative researchers' desire to adhere to the positivistic imperative to ensure data can be 'rigorously or scientifically analyzed' (Denzin, 1997: 244). Instead of revealing meaning, he claims 'texts and stories are turned into analyzable documents about which scientific truths can be said,' becoming then primarily 'a vehicle for the display of the scholar's critical activity' (Denzin, 1997: 244). He rejects the mission of many proponents of narrative analysis to comply to positivist judgments of rigour and authority by strictly adhering to rigidly systematic processes. Instead he urges for narratives to be embraced as performative actions, with potential to 'give[s] a voice to those on the margin, moving them for the moment to the political center' (Denzin, 2003: 18).

The approaches of Denzin and Gergen ask researchers to respond creatively in fashioning their approaches to narrative analysis. However, Denzin does defer that elements of narrative

structure still exist and can provide evocative means for a writer or researcher without being wielded as arbiters of narrative value or definition. In describing the framework that shapes *mystories,* Denzin lists the devices of 'plot, setting, characters (protagonists and antagonists), characterisation, temporality, and dialogue' and cites Turner's (1980: 149, 1982: 39) 'four-stage dramatic cycle of breach, crisis, redress, and reintegration or schism' (2003: 621-622/3698). Turner viewed narratives as '"the supreme instrument for binding the 'values' and 'goals' … which motivate human conduct into situational structures of 'meaning' … embedded in the very centre of social drama"' (1980: 167, cited by Mishler, 1991: 152). Narratives articulate the social dramas of people's lives, and Turner's dramatic cycle reflects the stages of social processes involved.

In Turner's terms, a breach occurs when societal rules are broken, revealing 'hidden clashes of character, interest, and ambition' (1982: 39). The resultant conflicts create crises of social 'unity and continuity' requiring redressive action to achieve reintegration and avoid 'irremediable breach or schism' (Turner, 1982: 39). In examples, Turner points to breaches of law and societal norms that create crises redressed by legal or legislative means. On a more local level, Turner cites moments of 'life-crisis' such as 'puberty, marriage, and death' which indicate breaches in 'the customary order of group life', and are redressed through ceremonies and rituals. On all levels of life social drama plays out. Acts of redress can fail, or they can be violent in themselves, exacerbating new cycles of social drama in consequence.

Of relevance to this study is Turner's insistence on the presence of 'sources of aesthetic form' in social dramas. Performance arts he claims to be the 'progeny' of ritual, derived from 'the subjunctive, liminal, reflexive, exploratory heart of social drama, where the structures of group experience (*Erlebnis*) are replicated, dismembered, re-membered, refashioned, and mutely or vocally made meaningful' (Turner, 1982: 43). Music is framed along with theatre as active in the liminal phase of redress, enabling 'a sense of harmony with the universe .. the whole planet is felt to be communitas' (1982: 43). I cite this here to establish the appropriateness of this framework in the context of research with music-making activities which are seeking to offer redress to the breaches and crises that participants have experienced.

In addition to Turner's stages of social drama, I have also borrowed terms from two other narrative theorists. I am using the term 'Orientation' for the establishing opening phase of a story 'which sets the time, place, and central characters' (Frank, 2012: 42), and I use 'Coda' for postscript sections of narratives (Labov, 1972, cited by Riessman, 1993, cited by Frank, 2012: 42).

Guided by these dramatic stages, I constructed stories from four interview transcripts of people who had emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution. I sought to craft their responses into narratives that made chronological sense and communicated the stories that people had told. The process of writing these narratives was in itself 'a method of data analysis' (Richardson and St Pierre, 2018: 827), with each choice made representing an interpretive act. To present this process transparently, text taken from interviews is presented as quoted text, and the time marker from interview transcripts is included to show my choices to reorder material for reasons of story cohesion.

In order to manage this narrative task, I imported interview transcripts into *Nvivo 12* software, and coded them according to the story lines that were present. This allowed fragments of text from different moments in the interview to be drawn together if they related to the same incident. Codes were then organised according to plot themes, and then in relation to Turner's dramatic stages. From these groups of text, scenes were constructed, defined as sections of narrative that contain 'a complicating action and resolution … a minimal but still recognisable story' (Frank, 2012: 42).

My own words are interwoven between scenes of interview texts, with sections written based on my reflective notes to illustrate scenes that were not described in interviews but were relevant to tell. Story and analysis became interweaving narratives and counter narratives (Impey, 2018: 3), moving from interview based segments to passages adapted from my ethnographic reflections and memories. This approach suggests pastiche, quilting, and other multi-voiced and multi-layered approaches to narrative presentation (Ely *et al.*, 1997).

Within this narrative structuring, musical interventions are consistently presented as acts of redress. Crisis and breach mark the circumstances that motivated the necessity to emigrate from war or persecution. Dramatic stages play out in the stories that interviewees told, and I have assigned stages to scenes as interpretation guided.

English was not a native language for any of the group member interviewees. Levels of ability in grammar and vocabulary varied, but I decided to adjust text from transcriptions only by reducing moments of stuttering or instances where someone was grasping for a word that did not come. Although these changes are minimal, my interpretive act necessarily means that 'What is on paper as an entire, unbroken story is not a verbatim replica of how it was spoken with all its bumps, hesitations, silences, repetitions, loops, and wanderings … it is indeed a story that was crafted painstakingly from all the data with great attention to faithfully representing participants' points of view. The story is the heart of the matter.' (Ely, 2007: 574). Direct transcription of language struggles can raise a danger of distracting the reader from the narrative meaning of stories, so I aimed instead to always give 'just enough of [the

protagonist's] own colour, cadence, and usage to "show" [her] to the readers, all the while taking great care so that [her] voice cannot be used to stereotype and/or denigrate [him]' (Ely, 2007: 573). *Chapter 5* presents the four resulting stories.

4.4.2. Thematic analysis

A grounded theory based thematic analysis was applied to the data gathered through interviews with music facilitators and organisers. My primary aim in selecting this process was to be able to identify, analyse and understand the patterns across this data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79), unearthing in a systematic manner the 'collective story' (Charmaz, 2001: 691) shared by practitioners who work regularly with people who have emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution. Furthermore, the process provides methods to develop 'middle-range theories' and an 'abstract theoretical framework that explains the studied process' (Charmaz, 2001: 675)

In line with this study's epistemological stance, the grounded theory that informed the approach was informed by its 'constructionist elements rather than objectivist leanings' (Charmaz, 2005: 508). From this stance, grounded theory does not function to seek out data that 'simply await discovery in an external world' (Charmaz, 2005: 509), but rather it 'leads one to look at self and meaning as processes' and to study 'the multiple dimensions and realities of a person's lived experience' (Charmaz, 1990: 1161).

Braun and Clarke suggested that a misgiving of grounded theory was that it too often is reduced by researchers to a method of coding data, not adhering to 'the theoretical commitments of "full fat" grounded theory, which requires analysis to be directed towards theory development' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 81). However, in her advancement of grounded theory in the study of social justice issues, Charmaz emphasises the approach's emergent and comparative processes that allow researchers to put 'ideas and perspectives to empirical tests' (2005: 512). She emphasises that following grounded theory:

> we cannot import a set of concepts such as hegemony and domination and paste them on the realities of the field. Instead, we can treat them as sensitising concepts, to be explored in the field settings (Blumer, 1969; van den Hoonaard, 1997). Then we can define if, when, how, to what extent, and under which conditions these concepts become relevant to the study. (Charmaz, 2005: 512)

Through comparative, iterative, inductive analysis and coding, the data are interpreted and the relevance of concepts is explored.

Such an inductive approach was taken to thematic analysis in this study, guided by the research question, but 'without trying to fit [the data] into a pre-existing coding frame or the researcher's analytic preconceptions' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 83). My process followed the

six phase approach advocated by Braun and Clarke (2006: 86 - 93). This seeks to provide the empirical basis that is sought in grounded theory, but through steps that provide more flexibility.

The first phase of Braun and Clarke's approach is familiarisation. Transcription is a part of this processual stage, as well as 'reading and re-reading of data' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 87). To transcribe my interview data effectively, I uploaded the audio files of recorded interviews to *Nvivo Transcription*. This service provided a preliminary, automated transcription, and converted audio into text formatted according to speakers and time-codes that could easily be imported into *Nvivo 12* for coding and management of the data. Familiarisation then took place through a lengthy editing process to correct and reorganise the automated transcription. I listened back to interviews in their entirety to remind myself of the content, and then listened and edited small sections. Finally I re-read the interviews for a final edit.

Moving into Braun and Clarke's second phase, initial coding was done with *Nvivo 12* software, working line by line systematically. I worked through interviews that were connected to each other, related by content or by constituent level. For example, I grouped together interviews from music facilitators and an organiser at context three, and then moved to another organiser from context 4 and then the music facilitator. This strategy was part of my inductive process, following trains of thought, but not being beholden to the codes that had previously been generated, rather iteratively examining interviews anew with a mindset of comparison and openness.

As codes were generated for the thirteen interviews with music facilitators and organisers, some categories began to be relevant. The data was concerned with different areas of the practice being studied, and organising it along those lines was helpful. I grouped codes according to those areas of work: related directly to happenings within music-making interventions, facilitators' and organisers' stories from their lives outside of the intervention context, and concerning organisational issues. By organising the data in this way, I could then begin to see the themes within each group of codes and the cross-cutting ideas became more visible. Themes were found, as Braun and Clarke refer to as phase 3, and then reviewed as phase 4 in an iterative process of refinement (2006: 91-92).

'Defining and naming themes', phase 5 for Braun and Clarke, also includes stages of revision and comparison, seeking clearly defined themes with 'concise, punchy' names that 'immediately give the reader a sense of what the theme is about' (2006: 92). In this I followed Charmaz's preference for names that are 'active, immediate, and short' (2005: 517) and I favoured gerund formulations that ensure activity.

The finalisation of the six phase process is the writing and presentation of the analysis. The description here forms a part of that, and the findings of the thematic analysis are presented in *Chapter 6*.

4.5. Summary

In this chapter the methodology and research strategy of this study have been described. The research approach was designed to explore the research question within a critical realist epistemology, acknowledging 'the ways individuals make meaning of their experience, and, in turn, the ways the broader social context impinges on those meanings' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 81). From this epistemological position, a qualitative approach was developed, collecting data through ethnographic interviews, analysed through constructionist grounded theory based thematic analysis and illustrated by participants' stories.

Findings from the research will now be presented over two chapters. Firstly, four participants' stories will be shared in *Chapter 5*, and then *Chapter 6* presents the thematic findings. The stories precede the thematic analysis in order to be read without my analytic lens already being established.

5. Participants' stories

5.1. Introduction

Four stories will be presented in this chapter, with the aim of illuminating how identity features in the accounts of participants in the researched music-making programmes. One story comes from each of the four research contexts. They are all constructed from interviews with group members who had emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution. As described in *Chapter 4*, this interpretive approach creates the possibility to disrupt hegemonic discourses by foregrounding knowledge and experiences that are often subjugated (Foucault, 1980b, 1980a).

Turner's (1980, 1986) model of social drama is used to interpret the stories' sections according to the dramatic stages of breach, crisis, redress, and reintegration or schism. As Turner noted, his model 'is subject to manifold manipulations' (1986: 39), and this is seen in the stories. Multiple acts of redress are visited, resulting in schism and in reintegration, triggering repeated dramatic cycles.

To provide clarity between my own words and those of the participants, text quoted from interviews is inset and italicised. Time-codes that correspond to the block of transcribed interview text from which the quote came are given in parentheses. Several sections are written from my reflective notes, recounting scenes that are relevant to the story but that were not included in participants' interviews. These passages are introduced as such and are inset. I have also added narrative passages, which are not inset, composed of linking sentences, paraphrased information given during interviews, and summarising statements connecting participants' stories with the study focus.

The order of the stories corresponds to the order that the four contexts were described in the preceding chapter: Aziz's story from the AZC in The Netherlands (Asylum Seeker Reception Centre); Laila's story from the Community Orchestra, UK; Dejan is from the music group at the Refugee Support Centre, UK; and I met Ashur participating in Creative Music Workshops, UK.

All names have been changed as well as some biographical details and story elements, in line with the study's ethics and consent procedures.

5.2. Aziz's story

Orientation: "I buy a guitar"

> *the start was small idea with my friend - "Do you want to play like guitar?*
>
> *I said, "No problem."*

So, er, I collect some money from my salary because I was working in a small library and I buy a guitar. (00:00:49)

Aziz was living in Baniyas, a small town on the Mediterranean coast of Syria, north of Lebanon. Oud was the most popular instrument in the region, but Aziz was attracted to the polyphony of the guitar's sound:

The sound of guitar makes you feel that there's three instruments not one. (00:03:44)

There were many guitar teachers in the area, but Aziz and his friend made a bad choice with theirs:

the problem is our teacher was not good. (00:00:49)

They became aware that the teacher was primarily focused on selling products to his students:

he deal us like customers so every, everything he tried to sell us like material, to collect money from us. (00:00:50)

After five months Aziz stopped the lessons and found a new teacher who told him that the equipment he had bought was neither necessary nor good quality, including his guitar:

he told me that, "you have to buy another one."

So I said "No problem". (00:01:50)

The new teacher taught Aziz many songs, one of which had particular impact.

One of songs stay in my mind - Natalie. (00:01:50)

when he played it stay in my life from 2011. When he played it was great …

And I said I will play it. I will play this song because it's very, very great. (00:02:22)

Breach: "No money, no salary, no jobs"

I stay with this teacher like nine months. After that the war start, and the situations in my country were very, very bad. No money, no salary, no jobs. So I break down the music lessons and I stopped, because after one year ago I travelled from Syria to Lebanon to have a work. (00:02:45)

War and its effects breached Aziz's life. His financial security was lost, and his livelihood was untenable. He had to leave his country to find work, totally disrupting his everyday life. The

personal ambition he held to play the song *Natalie* was placed on hold. As his life trajectory was knocked off course, other ambitions were interrupted, including his academic path:

> *I finished my studying and going to have a certificate of economic in finance and banking, but I cannot complete my study in Syria to get master degree because they forced us to go to military service.* (00:13:36)

In Lebanon Aziz worked as a waiter in a restaurant. This represented a shift in his positionality compared to his previous life. His relationship to music also shifted:

> *I had to work in, worked in a restaurant. And you have every, every Saturday, you have a party.* (00:11:28)

> *I'm still watching players when they play on the party because, urr, someone who is singer and someone who play on the old guitar and org. I'm still watching them. But I cannot teach or learn anything from them because I was waiter.* (00:11:43)

Aziz became an observer of music, restricted by his job as a waiter. Music was very much present, but his role in it was different.

Crisis: "I choose different way"

Aziz needed to leave the situation of war and its disrupting effects. He tried to find a way to escape to Europe:

> *I stay from 2014 until 2018, to reach Europe. Because in 2014 until this moment I have tried three times in Lebanon with different embassies. I've tried three times in Germany they refu.. they refused me three times. I don't know reasons. And one time in Czech embassy to travel to Europe in a legal way.* (00:14:24)

He attempted and eventually exhausted the options that were readily available for him.

> *they refused me. So I choose different way.* (00:15:04)

Aziz returned briefly to Syria, and then embarked overland across Europe.

> *it was a very long trip. It takes more than two months. To cross five countries it's very difficult.* (00:12:27)

After that journey of over two months, Aziz claimed asylum in the Netherlands, where he was housed in the AZC (asylum seeker centre) where I met him.

Redress 1: AZC, The Netherlands (Context 1)

I volunteered at the AZC once a week for six months, offering two hours of music activities to residents. Aziz attended the second hour, which was scheduled for adults. I recorded my experiences in my reflective notes, and this scene is composed from those notes. Text quoted precisely from my notes is indicated as such.

> Aziz had been coming for four weeks when he told me there was a song he wanted me to hear, to see if we could learn it. Over the previous four weeks we had been working together to play a song called *Nassam Alayna el Hawa*, made famous by Fahrouz, and *Don't Let Me Down* by The Chainsmokers. Aziz preferred the Fahrouz song, while his colleagues wanted to learn more American music.
>
> We watched a performance of Aziz's song idea on YouTube together. It was a beautiful Flamenco/Arabic guitar solo. On first listen it sounded to me like it had a simple minor chord structure - Em, Am, B, with a capo on first fret. Scale runs headed off from the chords. I was delighted that this was something that I could work with using my musical skills.
>
> During the week I found a little time to practice the song, playing along with the YouTube video Aziz had WhatsApped to me, trying to grasp enough so that I could teach him. I mapped out some chords, and sketched some kind of structure. The first section seemed improvised. I could catch the lines and the guitar techniques, but couldn't separate phrases neatly in order to understand in the way that I wanted. The playing was beautiful.
>
> At our next session together Aziz was very well prepared, more so than me, and we moved ahead well with the music. I wrote in my reflective notes:
>
> > Aziz's song - he had all instructions written out in Arabic, taken off the internet. I tabbed it out, and went through it with him.
> >
> > Then we chatted for a while about football.
> >
> > (*Constructed from reflective notes*, March 2019)
>
> The next day Aziz WhatsApped me two videos of a guitarist teaching how to play the song, speaking in Arabic. This was what he had transcribed. I could understand from the video which frets and strings to play, and then copied the examples the guitarist gave.
>
> I shared the videos with a Syrian colleague and asked if she knew the music. She laughed and told me it was a very famous song called *Natalie*.

We were able to lend Aziz a guitar so he could play and practice in his own room during the week. This allowed him to progress well learning *Natalie.* Each week he came and we tried to find some time so I could teach him something more, and so he could demonstrate for me what he had achieved. In our penultimate session together, before I ended my 6 months of volunteering at the AZC, I wrote in my reflective notes:

> We sat together and played *Natalie.* We worked on the introduction section, with its difficult glissandos, and need for a good vibrato. I had it all tabbed out now, so we could watch youtube, read through Aziz's transcribed instructions, and pin things down with the written notation. It started to come together.
>
> I think Aziz will manage to play his song.
>
> (*Constructed from reflective notes,* March 2019)

Reintegration: "He loved the song"

Playing *Natalie* with me at the AZC afforded Aziz opportunities to reintegrate several aspects of his life:

> *I told everywhere all my friends in Syria. I start playing* Natalie*, and they asked me how? I told them that there is a great teacher from England. How did you can explain to this song, how? [laughter from both] Because it's Arabic, er Arabic, er Arabic song and he's from U.K. How can you explain? I told them that frankly he loved the song. He loved the song. So he decided to learn it and to play it. So we do it. That's the first reason. I know that's many reasons, like you are teacher and you have lessons and you want to play other students here. But the first reason I saw that you love this song.* (00:08:07)

In this foreign place in which Aziz had landed, I gave value to his cultural roots and he took great pleasure in that. The schism of migration was bridged digitally through messages between Aziz and his friends in Syria, and *Natalie* provided a shared reference that connected the locations of Aziz's life. Playing *Natalie* also symbolised continuation in Aziz's life, returning to fulfil the ambition that began this story.

Coda: "that makes me happy"

Aziz used the experience he had with music at the AZC to illustrate to his friends in Syria his more general experiences in the Netherlands:

I told my friends in Syria is that music lessons they were surprised, "music lessons in AZC, in camp ?"

I said, "Yes" and great idea which they cannot believe that, that you give us guitar to learn in my room. (00:26:27)

"They give us guitar?"

I said "Yeah, why you are surprised?" (00:26:50)

The surprise that his friends expressed about the provision of music lessons and instruments in an AZC was celebrated in Aziz's story. He used their response to confirm his appreciation of the hospitality and trust that the music programme represented for him. These positive experiences were exemplified by the personal connections that he felt in music sessions:

in some situations you make many funny things. [laughter from both]

I cannot forget when I came to the music lessons. (00:34:47)

And when I see you outside and you are playing push-up, when you see me start counting "1001, 1002, 1003" [laugher from both] And then some situation about Dutch language! I see you have big problem with Dutch language! Believe me I wait, I wait Monday every week. I wait this day because of music lessons. Because when I came to the lesson I feel very happy when I meet you. When I speak, speak with you about music, when you learn me about this song which is from my country. So that's, that makes me happy. (00:35:01)

Sharing a sense of humour was fundamental to the enjoyment of our relationship. To laugh and enjoy a joke enlivened both of our weeks. These were shared moments, enhanced by connections to aspects of life beyond those moments. For example, we shared a struggle with the Dutch language that connected us also to our shared status as immigrants in the Netherlands. Additionally, we shared a response to *Natalie*, which for both of us extended to our life experiences and our musical associations beyond the walls of the AZC.

The interaction we shared together through *Natalie* was rooted in the guitar. Aziz did not want to sing, and I could not sing in Arabic. However, for him the lyrics were present in his memory, and they were important:

Yeah, because there's a story about this song, because there's a man from Syria travelled to Russia, and he loved a woman from Russia. And he's still, five years he loved her. He cannot tell her that he loved her. I don't know, because don't speak Russian. So after five years he learned this language, and then he told her that I love you. Then he married, married her, and now they are living in Damascus. And he was a great, great actor in our Syria. (00:09:37)

Natalie is a song of love and migration. The circumstances are difficult, but the singer simply has to love *Natalie*. This romantic ideal was attractive to people in Syria and the song had great success.

> *the song was very famous in Syria. Everyone in Syria if you ask me about Natalie in Syria I know it.* (00:10:23)

However, the lyrics of the song do not end as happily as Aziz's telling of it:

> *Natalie!*
>
> *Natalie! Natalie!*
>
> *There is no news about her.*
>
> *No one can see her.*
>
> *They told me that she is staying so far away.*
>
> *It is said that her country is a lovely one.*
>
> *Who can take me to her home?*
>
> *to kiss her forehead.*
>
> *Natalie! Natalie! Natalie!*
>
> *I went to an astrologer.*
>
> *who asked me, what's your horoscope?*
>
> *My horoscope is in the sky,*
>
> *hung to a star.*
>
> *She said, it's a pity!*
>
> *Above there in the orbit,*
>
> *two stars cannot meet.*
>
> *Natalie!*
>
> *Natalie! Natalie!*
>
> *It's my luck in love, to love a foreigner.*
>
> *No medication could help but hugging my beloved.*
>
> *My heart has been waiting for a whole year, and can't wait even for two days more.*

Natalie!

Natalie! Natalie!

Her face is as beautiful as the moon,

that lightens every part of her home.

If only her days come back,

when I could see her every morning.

Her eyes are as hot as a fire,

that you think they are two suns.

Natalie!

Natalie! Natalie!

(Composer and year unknown, retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vp4uuiwL-7g, translated by translated.com)

5.3. Laila's story

Orientation: "I choose cello"

Laila grew up living with her parents and two brothers in Nabek, about 90 kilometres from Damascus. Her parents loved music and encouraged their children to learn to play. At 6 years old, Laila joined her brothers' lessons with the local piano teacher:

> *I started, yes, with the keyboard. But in Nabek it has a very, you know, old teacher who used to have small children, small kids playing everything, playing together. I used to go with my brother and just sit and have a listen and try by ear having tunes.* (00:02:19)

Within two years Laila outgrew these lessons, and began 'real piano lessons' (00:02:49) with a teacher in the capital city:

> *my parents used to take me to Damascus every week to have lessons.* (00:02:05)

This was a significant investment of time and money from her parents. It illustrated their ambitions and encouragement for Laila's musical career. She knew that her father had high hopes for her future:

> *my dad always had a dream to see me on some stage doing some musical thing.* (00:03:11)

Her mother encouraged her too, often motivating Laila to practice when she was distracted:

> *Sometimes I, when I was very young, I preferred to stay and uh play, you know, with friends, but my mom, yeah, of course, she come and push me sometimes, doing this stuff.* (00:03:11)

As Laila grew up, there were musical influences around her. Her mother's family all sang in churches, and at home there was always Arabic music playing on the radio. Most influential, though, was her elder brother:

> *I saw my brother before me. He's older than me six years and he went to this, uh, conservatoire, uh. And he, he started with pia, uh sorry, with guitar. Uh, then he, uh, choose another, oboe, to be in orchestra. And I went to his like, uh, concerts and I was amazed with this beautiful thing. And I wanted always to be in an orchestra. So I started just to decide what, uh, can I choose to, an instrument to be in an orchestra. Not the piano of course.* (00:04:38)
>
> *So I choose cello.* (00:05:24)

That experience of watching her brother perform with an orchestra was pivotal in Laila's life. The beauty of his concerts motivated her to begin playing the cello so she could be part of an orchestra too. She was already 16 years old, so in order to pursue her ambitions on the cello she needed to progress quickly. She began lessons with a Russian teacher who taught at the conservatoire in Damascus, and she devoted herself:

> *(I) just like picked up cello and really practiced so hard. Like honestly every day about 13, 14 hours.* (00:05:42)
>
> *I just wake up and start playing.* (00:06:04)

When she was 18 years old Laila was accepted to the conservatoire, where she experienced the rigour and repertoire of an institution developed from European traditions:

> *In the conservatoire, um, mostly was, uh.. uh.., concentrating on, uh, ensembles and chamber music. Quartets. Um, chambers, you know.*
> *Uh, and every year we have to do two, two week exams with um, uh, the programme, mostly, uh, was, uh, pieces of, uh, baroque, Bach suites, one of the suites, and, uh, a concerto, for cello, but with piano. And, uh, then maybe two etudes. And, uh, a piece. Uh, is a, maybe romantic piece. Uh, like Tchaikovsky.* (00:07:01)

Laila felt comfortable in this environment, and found enjoyment in the work:

> *it was fun because, uh, that's what I, what I always like to do.* (00:08:38)

Laila's ambition to play with an orchestra was quickly realised. In the second term of her first year as a student she was invited to play with a prestigious Syrian classical orchestra. She was nurtured in the orchestra, gaining the experience and knowledge to eventually join them professionally:

> *they put me in the very last stand there to, you know, to practice with them and have this experience. So that's made things for me very easy when I graduated to get a place. Because I already played with them many years.* (00:09:43)

Alongside this, Laila also played with an orchestra that performed Arabic music, incorporating traditional instruments with orchestral instruments. After graduating, Laila was employed with both of the orchestras. She also began a job teaching cello at a new university, and she started a group of her own.

Laila's career led to travel around her region and beyond. By any measure, Laila's musical ambitions, and her father's hopes, were being realised. She performed on some of the world's biggest stages with orchestras, as she had dreamed. Her career was going well. She was a successful working musician.

Breach: "I started to worry about my life"

War in Syria breached all aspects of Laila's life. Her international career was stopped, and she felt trapped in Syria, scared for her safety:

> *in the last three years, before I came, I couldn't go out of Syria because really it was like very, very hard to get anywhere else. So I felt like I was stuck and things became really worse. And I started to worry about my life.* (00:28:50)

As war raged, people tried to continue with their lives. Like everyone else, musicians had to keep on working and earning money:

> *people are doing this because this is the job. This is my job, for example, I am a musician. So this is the only way to have my bread.* (00:27:11)

However, there was real danger every where:

> *Once we had a concert I remember a bomb came falling in the yard in the opera house. Yeah. Twelve people was injured.* (00:26:34)
>
> *We were backstage. People coming to the concert. And this happened.* (00:26:48)

Crisis: "It was really killing me"

Laila's home town fell under the control of *Jabhat al-Nusra*, a jihadist, Islamic State motivated group, that fought against the Syrian government. *Jabhat al-Nusra* enforced their own regime in the local area:

> *It's like you're living in a different country. They have their own laws in this small area. So I'm coming to the, to my town with their laws. And I go back to, to Damascus with the normal life* (00:30:42)

As a Christian, Laila felt additional pressure under the regime's rule. She had to change her style of dressing to conform to the new rules, and she hid her occupation from them to avoid repercussions:

> *it was really hard for me to go and come back to my work without their knowledge of what's your job. Just "employee." I don't declare what I'm doing.* (00:30:01)

Along with conforming to new laws, the Christian community also paid security money to *Jabhat al-Nusra*:

> *when they control a place if you're a Muslim that's OK if you're not you, you have to pay money, to.. for your safety.* (00:31:30)
>
> *we used to pay money to the, the church collect the money and give them every month to just leave us.* (00:32:10)

This atmosphere of constant pressure and danger was difficult for Laila. Every day she was risking her life in her home town and when she made the journey to work:

> *There were, there were an area like in the mini bus, about 10 minutes or 15 minutes, all of it sniping. And you can see the both roads, both ways, things, um, buildings destroyed because of fighting. So every day I have to go in this way and come back this way.* (00:32:10)

She reached crisis point:

> *It was really killing me. Yeah. This is why although I had my good job. This is why I left the country because I really was in pressure every day. This fear. Kind of fear.* (00:32:10)

Redress 1: "I preferred Britain"

Laila managed to leave Syria, and claimed asylum in the UK. She had a degree in Modern Languages, and had spoken English often in orchestras and international settings. This skill influenced where she sought asylum:

> *I preferred Britain because I, I could speak some English.* (00:34:31)

She had also experienced how her musical skills could be valued internationally, and how music had served her well for communication:

> *'This [music] is a good language.'* (00:35:31)

Schism: "music and making life"

Despite the good foundation that Laila seemed to have for life in the UK, her experience was very difficult.

> *let me be honest. I was like, when I arrived I thought things would be much easier for me but it's not. Uh, first of all to come back to square one.* (00:35:46)

Moving to a new place meant starting anew with forming professional networks:

> *when you are in a place and the people knows you, for example there is a recording somewhere or there is a concert or there is an anything, any event - OK, call me. But here nobody knows you* (00:36:14)

Further to this, Laila's experiences as a refugee in the UK had impacts on her musical level:

> *It's not easy to come again to your level with this pressure. You have many things to think about in different place - papers, to get a job, to get money, to, to know people, to learn language, to, to learn about culture. It's different, totally different. So this kind of pressure, beside connecting, family, and say goodbye to family, and, you know, uh, this is not easy.* (00:37:34)

The impact of her refugee experience affected Laila across all aspects of her life, including her playing. In a practical sense, for long periods she was unable to practice. Music had a lower priority in her life and situations did not allow her to play:

> *Maybe for some periods I couldn't practice as I can. For example, I stayed for months in, nearly a year, in a place where I couldn't practice at all in, um, you know, hostel, and with people, shared people, shared houses, with the Home Office. I couldn't even touch the instrument, they'll kill me if I do that.* (00:36:14)

These experiences illustrate the harsh reality of life for someone arriving in the UK to seek asylum. The resources that Laila appeared to have were diminished through the impacts of

daily pressures and the physical circumstances in which she found herself. Life circumstances were also her new musical circumstances:

> *it's mixed up between music and making life. I'm still trying to stand up on my legs again. To find something in music that satisfied me to make, and even if it's less money. Uhm.... yeah, it's, it's things here and there. Nothing completed yet for me.* (00:38:24)

At the time of our interview, aspects of Laila's life were not yet integrated in a satisfying way. There was a schism between her skills, desires, and her reality.

Redress 2: "a cellist came in"

I attended an event in a café that ran weekly with the aim of bringing together members of the local community from different cultural and national backgrounds. I recorded my experience in my reflective notes, and the following passage is constructed from those notes:

> I sat on a couch in the back corner of the dark cafe, by myself, listening to the Syrian band play. I had a cup of tea and a plate of home-cooked Syrian lunch balanced on my lap. The café was not large, and felt quite full with about 30 people sat at tables. Most people seemed to know each other. Several languages were being spoken around the place.
>
> Halfway through the first set a cellist (later introduced as Laila) came in, pulled up a chair and sat down with the music group. She joined in with the music easily, clearly knowing the tunes and where to play. She smiled at the other players, and appeared to communicate well with the group through eye contact and gestures. It looked like they knew each other well and had played together often. Solos were passed to Laila to improvise, and she led songs with introductions. Often the cello seemed to hold the vocal lines allowing the oud player some freedom to weave counter melodies and for virtuosic bursts over the top. The mix of timbres was beautiful to hear. The group sounded tight to me.
>
> (*Constructed from reflective notes,* October 2018)

Schism: "it was not really fun"

Laila's performance with the group of Syrian musicians in the café sounded musically cohesive and appeared aligned to the community-building intentions of the organisers. However, Laila felt differently about the event:

I meant to go once or twice to, to do some music just for fun. Uh, it was not really fun. (00:39:58)

The relationship between the musicians was the first point of tension for Laila:

'[the] musician, um, are not kind to each others. They have some problems, back, going back' (00:44:56)

'I try to be nice with people. Then I know when I'm not there they're not nice to me.' (00:45:49)

This tension went beyond personality to a professional level due to a feeling of discontent at the organiser's dealings with the musicians.

she always asked me to do in free gigs. For different reasons. "Oh, this is a charity thing." This is, or "they don't pay." "Uh, this is, they only pay 20." So I, I felt this not comfortable. And I said okay well this is my job. If you let me do this for free, people they would say "Okay, this is the free, the free player." [laughter] I'm okay to do that, for example once or twice, for a purpose. But it's my job and I have to to earn money from this job. You can't let me do things like that. So I had this argument with her many times … And she could add for her anyone who is not professional. And introduce them as a Syrian musician. Syrian music. This is, I feel that they, they just introduce the Syrian music in not nice way to people. This is my thing that I don't like about that. (00:45:49)

The organiser's approach did not fit with Laila's professional standards, either in her attitude to paying musicians, or in her decisions choosing musicians. For Laila professionalism demanded a standard of musicianship, a standard of payment, and a manner of dealing with people. With this organiser, she felt that being a professional musician meant something other than what it meant to her, and being a 'Syrian musician' meant something else again. The schism was wide between Laila's identity as a musician and this context of music-making.

Redress 3: Community Orchestra, UK (Context 2)

Laila had initially been invited to play with the community orchestra and was now employed as a facilitator for rehearsals. I attended three rehearsals and performed in a concert with the group. This scene is written from my reflective notes:

The venue was a large room in a community centre. There were corridors on all sides that made me feel lost moving around the building.

I arrived 5 minutes late and was ushered to get myself together and take up a position to begin. There was no seat ready for me, so Laila pointed out a stage plan to me, and made the other facilitators aware too where I should be.

I gave one end of my cable to the guy running the sound, and squeezed my way through the drum players to my place. A young man helped me to move a table to make some space, and I pulled a chair across. I plugged my guitar in. There were no music stands (nobody else was using one), so I positioned a second chair in front of me for the music sheets we were emailed a few days ago.

We sat in a curve, with Laila and another facilitator positioned so we could all see them. The singers were stage left, sound equipment stage right, with midi keyboards nearby. Double bass, me and a Kraa at the back. Percussion front stage right, then flute and oud.

There were two mics on stands, and numerous clip-on wireless mics attached to instruments. The amount of organisation involved was very evident, and there was a big team of people helping to organise everything - at least seven musical facilitators, and a coordinator taking charge of refreshments and paying taxis for some people.

This was the final group meet up before our concert the following week.

Going from the top, we began with a drone from double bass and a midi pad. Laila caught my eye and gave an up beat with her bow, bringing me in to play the opening melody with her. It was an Arabic tune. Drone D anchored it, moving to G in time with the rhythm: 1 - 12 - 123 - 12.

We played through fine, but it was suggested that I switch to chords, adding some harmony to support the single line instruments.

From this song we settled back on to the drone, and a flute player improvised above us. There was time and space here, and only when the improvisation naturally concluded, Laila brought me and a violin player in for a fast intro. This was a moment of connection. Laila made clear eye contact, and there was clear dependence on one another. I felt slightly unsure of my entry, and Laila tried to be as clear as possible to hold us together. Any time we did mess up Laila laughed and apologised, took the blame herself. We rehearsed it quietly between us a few times until we got it.

The same fast line came again at the end of this song, and Laila had the idea we play this together too. Cueing us in at the end was more tricky, coming after a

very complex texture in the group's playing. We conferred in an interval to get this right. A couple of times it happened quite naturally, or I cheated by joining in once I heard the line. Laila noticed this and took the time to make it comfortable for us all. (*Constructed from reflective notes*, June 2019)

Reintegration: "I found a role there"

On a professional level, Laila was engaged and effective in this musical activity. Her skills helped me and others feel confident playing in the orchestra. For her too, this was a comfortable experience:

> *it makes me more relaxed because it's, the, uh, the main thing is to involve everybody with the, with the mix people and everybody's welcome there. And uh.. for me, I found a role there to be tutor.* (00:40:18)

Coda: "not only refugees"

As well as enjoying her role as a tutor, Laila also felt aligned with the approach of the orchestra:

> *everybody is welcome to there. So, not only refugees. Anybody could be welcome there. And, uh, you can find British people and many different nationalities in the same project.* (01:07:07)

Laila understood and supported this integrative way of working, contrasting it to projects that specify and thereby separate refugees:

> *An activity or an event for refugees or something but what it, when it has this name some people feel that "Oh, we are special," or, "we are a special case."* (01:09:10)
>
> *"We are separated," or "we're something else." So they feel annoyed maybe inside or they feel different.* (01:09:31)
>
> *everybody likes to be equal with everybody.* (01:11:08)

The place Laila found in the community orchestra afforded her the chance to integrate her beliefs as well as her musicianship. Interestingly, the satisfaction she displayed was not drawn from high level performance (as an orchestra we were not professional sounding!), but a high level of inclusive facilitation, of which she was an important part. As she said, her role was as a 'tutor', it was not as a refugee, and it was not limited to Syrian music. As she told me:

> *they remove the label* (01:07:07)

I'm sure in this event when you say, "Oh, this is a refugee orchestra," I'm sure half of the orchestra would not come.

Maybe including me. (01:10:38)

5.4. Dejan's story

Orientation: "Citizen of the World"

Dejan grew up in Belgrade, in what was then the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. His mother was Yugoslavian, and his father was an immigrant from Sudan. This mix of nationality influenced the culture in which Dejan grew up. Sudanese music was present in their home, and was a means for Dejan's father to maintain connection to his previous homeland, as Dejan recalled:

he would come home and then he would also have often, as it happens, when you are somewhere living abroad - he was a student - you would find your fellow countrymen and country women, in this case countrymen, and then you would come and meet and spend time together. And he kind of, you feel, I guess you feel also a sense of safety really, or something which is known to you, or something which is, which you're used to.. and they will play this music (00:07:49)

Being connected to Sudanese people and Sudanese music was important to Dejan's father, but he did not actively try to pass on this cultural connection to Dejan:

he never really tried to teach us Arabic, or any kind of anything about Sudanese culture, for some reason, I don't know why. (00:14:53)

The exposure to Sudanese culture that Dejan did have in his home was curtailed at a young age with his father's departure:

he left when I was 9, 10 something like that, so we were still kind of a bit young (00:14:53)

the idea was that he would go and work and come back, and but that never happened. (00:10:40)

This sad break in familial relationship caused a rift between Dejan and his Sudanese lineage and culture. Musically, he was immersed instead in the sounds of Belgrade, with its rich history and influences rooted in migration and cultural exchange:

you're exposed to other things, other sorts of music which is really interesting because Serbia was part of the Ottoman Empire for 500 years. So that's all that the Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia, part of Ottoman Empire, and then

you have Austro-Hungarian Empire which Croatia used to be part of Hungary and Austria and other countries up there and, and in Serbia you have a lot of, uh, a lot of music which is really when I play to somebody, some of the folk music Serbian, they're like "No, this is Turkish music" and "this is like a Persian" you know, and it's not. It's Serbian.

But it's so.. the influences of the Turkish Ottoman presence was, is, are strong even today in local music … and then you have kind of Serbian folk music which is a lot of accordion, and you can, I dunno how to describe it but it's different from the other kind of Ottoman inspired music (00:10:40)

Alongside this regionally fused music that surrounded him in Belgrade, Dejan listened to music from around the world on radio:

the radio stations would normally play music, kind of American, British, kind of English music. (00:16:37)

His musical landscape was not limited by national or ethnic identities, but was enriched by diversity. The geographical setting and the historical moment seemed to position Dejan in a culturally vast context. However, this did not translate in people's face to face interactions or their deep seated prejudices. Despite the remoteness of Sudanese culture or heritage in Dejan's own life, his racial background remained very present for the people he encountered, and as he grew older he was increasingly confronted with it.

when I was young, that, I didn't really understand that I was different. I had no idea until, until people started pointing this to me and, and often it would not be in a nice way. So it would be kind of a bit of, uh, "Go back to Africa", "What're you doing here?" That sort of stuff. (00:45:29)

These attitudes held by other people became internalised by Dejan:

it dawned on me that actually I'm, there's something, something wrong with me, you know, something is not right with me, I'm not like the others. And by the way I look. (00:45:29)

Dejan's ethnic identity was questioned by people with whom he had felt a common Serbian nationality. His appearance was defining to other people. His national heritage trumped his birthplace in the eyes of Serbians.

I had people saying to me, "No, how do you identify yourself?"

And I said, "Well, if I have to choose, you know, I think I'm more, I feel more Serbian than Sudanese," because my contact with Sudan then was non-existent really, when my father, especially when my father left.

> *And then this person told me "No, even if you have one drop of African blood you're not Serbian. You can never be Serbian."* (00:45:29)

With his dislocation from both Serbian and Sudanese identities, Dejan became unrestricted by either:

> *my background made me more open and receptive to many different things I guess, because I never really, I um, I don't know if I could or couldn't but I never really identified 100 percent as a Serbian or, or 100 percent as a Sudanese…*
>
> *(So) in terms of music, so this is why I would kind of, um, like some kind of music from Israel or Jewish music, or you know, Arabic or European or Mexican everything.* (00:14:53)

Dejan took agency, embracing freedom from restrictive national identities. He connected himself rather with music that was neither Serbian or Sudanese, expressing musically his distance from both identities. In doing so, the wealth of music that became available to Dejan afforded him opportunity to integrate himself within an alternative, broader identity:

> *'So I kind of chose to be, it's almost like Citizen of the World, if you like, you know.'* (00:14:53)

Breach and Crisis: 'well-founded fear'

During the interview that Dejan gave his consent for to me to include in this research, he did not talk about the reasons that he left Yugoslavia. Accordingly, here I note that Dejan sought asylum in UK in accordance with the *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (1951) granting protection to people who:

> owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (*Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees,* 1951: 152)

He left Yugoslavia due to fear for his safety.

Redress 1: "we claimed asylum"

> *When we arrive here, my sister and I, we claimed asylum.* (00:35:49)

Schism: "the brutality of the system"

In the UK, seeking asylum, Dejan and his sister faced a harsh reality:

> *We immediately were faced with the brutality of the system of the immigration system.* (00:35:49)

It was an extremely punitive system, unforgiving of foreignness:

> *you don't speak the language … and you're in the system and kind of it's just trying to punish you for every small thing, you miss an appointment, something, you get punished, and, you know, that sort of thing. It's a minefield.* (00:35:49)

No financial support was available. A service of direct provision was in place, which was barely sufficient to live:

> *we didn't have any vouchers. We didn't have any cash. We didn't have anything like that. It just kind of food and support-in-kind … every other week we would go to the local YMCA in London and get two bags of tinned food and potatoes and some, one loaf of bread, for two weeks, to last for two weeks, which was impossible really, but that's another story, because.. And, um, it was really kind of surviving* (00:35:49)

For six months they survived at this level of subsistence, isolated from help.

> *We didn't even know that there is, there would be a place that would support refugees and asylum seekers.* (00:35:49)

Redress 2: "a cup of tea"

Their situation improved when a friend who was also a refugee told them about a drop-in centre for refugees and people seeking asylum. Incredibly to them, kindness and hospitality were available.

> *[Dejan's friend] heard from somebody that there is a place that you can get some, you can hear warm words of welcome … and he says, "Yes, they even offer you a cup of tea and biscuits."*
>
> *Just for us is like, "What? That's not possible. Is really possible? "*
>
> *"Yes"*
>
> *… the idea that there is, that there is a place that you can actually go and they can treat you nice was just incredible.* (00:35:49)

Reintegration: "I mentioned Nick Cave"

Dejan and his sister went regularly to the drop-in centre. They could sit and relax with a hot cup of tea, receive advice if they needed it, and chat with volunteers. In some way this space redressed the brutality Dejan experienced from the migration system. It offered asylum from the general asylum experience.

The supportive offerings afforded opportunities for people to begin integrating aspects of themselves into their new surroundings. Dejan recounted how such a moment was enabled by his knowledge of music:

> *there was a volunteer from Australia I think, and he mentioned something, and I mentioned Nick Cave, as musician, and he said "What? do you know? you know ?"*
>
> *And I started singing a song, said let's, it says "Do you love me?"*
>
> *He was absolutely shocked. He couldn't believe it. I mean this asylum seeker from half mixed race asylum seeker from Serbia. He was shocked that I would even know about this thing.* (00:18:36)

Dejan's identity as Citizen of the World returned in this exchange. He had the musical resources to demonstrate his broad cultural positioning, and was given recognition by the volunteer through his shocked response. Dejan defied the identity that the volunteer presumed, reclaiming the agency he prized in self-definition.

Schism: "we got our music"

Dejan's chosen identity as Citizen of the World offered him a fluid sense of belonging. His musical tastes crossed over with those of people in England, and he had broad resources for commonality. However, the attitudes that he found around him in England were often less flexible, and he found things to be structured so as to limit inclusivity:

> *it took me a long time to get used to it, you switch on the radio and all the stations are kind of almost exclusively its English language music.* (00:16:37)
>
> *it's very much kind of Anglo-Saxon centred, If you like.* (00:20:08)

Music privileged in England reflected one image of Englishness.

> *it's very much about our, our culture. When I say "our" that means Anglo-Saxon world. And that's it basically. Anything else is kind of, doesn't count, or doesn't have value. It's not important, you know, because, "We don't really listen to that."* (00:20:16)

Dejan found that language was often used as an argument to support people's dismissal of non-English lyric songs, however, he rejected the notion:

> *maybe there's also this bit about maybe this ludicrous idea that you would put something on the radio which is in Arabic, for example, or whatever, or Dutch, you know, and people would not be able to understand it* (00:22:03)

Having grown up with the diversity of music in Belgrade, Dejan had experience of listening to music in languages that he did not speak:

> *you can always obviously listen to the music, listen to the voice, listen to the instruments, or follow it up and find out the translation of the song or maybe learn some words.* (00:22:03)

For Dejan this was enriching, embracing, and exciting:

> *I think it's it expands your knowledge and horizon about all that this beautiful world and people are making great music have to offer.* (00:22:03)

For many white English people in England Dejan perceived that the pervasive attitude was more closed:

> *"we're not missing out anything because, you know, there's nothing interesting there anyway, we got our music"* (00:22:58)

The mainstream musical landscape that Dejan encountered in England valued one notion of English music and therefore one notion of Englishness. That Anglo-Saxon image excluded Dejan.

Redress 3: "I used to do a radio programme"

Dejan volunteered as a DJ for a local radio station. He invited guests from the community to share their stories and their music:

> *I used to do a radio programme on the local radio station, [name of station], and people would come in, guests, and I would ask them to bring a few songs, and they were from different backgrounds, so you had people from Caribbean, England, and other places.* (00:20:58)

In this way he directly redressed the imbalance of music he heard on mainstream radio. He also enacted his identity of Citizen of the World, expanding his own listening and cultural references:

> *that was one of the best aspects of this job, doing this job, because I would get to hear some music that people would bring which, I would then follow it up, you*

know, and then when I hear it, which normally you would not, you perhaps would not hear it (00:20:58)

He actively advocated for a diversity of Englishness expressed musically on public airwaves. He enabled people, including himself, to be enriched by the members of their community.

Schism: "you are a good foreigner"

The reach of Dejan's radio show was limited, and he saw that people remained closed to his approach to musical programming:

I know that some people … would be very um averse to any kind of idea, let's sit down and listen to this music or this musician, or perhaps somebody who is, um, is not kind of typical English. (00:20:58)

In a neighbourhood where he worked as a community liaison, Dejan experienced the intolerance of people at first hand:

they're from the, if you like low wage, unemployed, English background. And they have very strong views on certain things, and political views and all that. And those views would be, could be summarized you know, "stop people coming here, close the door, and those who are here, kick them out." (00:25:23)

Englishness was defined in those communities in terms of heritage:

there's a guy who says that he's his Englishness goes back to 1000 years. In fact he claims that he is the, the most of the kind of native English people that you can find, that he was, he is tracing his ancestry to … to sort of time when he claims that there was a kind of pure English race. (00:26:29)

In a community with such staunchly held views, it was hard for Dejan to imagine migrants being tolerated, never mind being accepted. Indeed, the best that Dejan achieved, over time, was the dubious compliment:

"You're okay. You are good, you are good, you are good foreigner." (00:25:53)

In the eyes of these people with whom Dejan worked and lived as neighbours, Englishness was not an option for him. The best he could achieve was to be an acceptable foreigner. Dejan achieved this status of acceptability after many years living in England, speaking a high level of English, and developing personal relationships with people.

Redress 4: Music group at refugee support centre, UK (Research Context 3)

Dejan played guitar with a music group that ran as part of a weekly support centre for refugees and people seeking asylum. At the time of our interview he was no longer attending regularly, but still thought of himself as an established member.

> *I've been going there for I think at least four or five years and maybe more.* (00:02:17)

The first time that I attended the music group for this research study, I described the set up of the space in my reflective notes:

> Upstairs they had set chairs out in a semi-circle. The room was really a landing space with three offices coming off two walls. Windows along another wall looked down on the church hall, where tables were set out with clothes donated for people to take and use. Photos of stained glass windows with religious images were displayed along the fourth wall.
>
> The group facilitator sat in the middle of the semi-circle, with two volunteers to her left. Then two ladies playing flute (both recently arrived in UK from Eritrea).
>
> I sat the other side in a group of people playing guitars.
>
> (*Constructed from reflective notes*, February 2019)

Dejan described the group from his perspective, explaining the members:

> *there is a core of the group there which is there, and then people can come and join … they will not exclude … if you're not an asylum seeker … but obviously asylum seekers in particular welcome* (00:03:02)

The musical approach Dejan understood in terms of an educative method:

> *You can learn a new thing you can learn to play the keyboards or acoustic guitar, if in the past you played the keyboard something or another instrument.* (00:29:23)

In terms of repertoire, Dejan said:

> *it's mainly kind of English music* (00:31:25)
>
> *kind of well known songs, Harry Belafonte or, you know, kind of, kind of international songs … then there's the Iranian song which they performed last year. That was lovely* (00:32:11)

This musical selection was the one aspect of the group with which Dejan was not fully satisfied. He would have liked a song list more representative of the nationalities and diversities of the group members. In line with his own enjoyment of broadening his range of

musical listening, Dejan saw the potential of group members sharing more of their musical tastes:

> *we all have some favourite songs from our country or some songs that we really love, and perhaps we know how to play them. So starting from that's how I feel I guess there would be people there who say, "Oh, it would be really great to try this song for my country", and um I don't think that's happening and this would be one, I don't say complaint, but one omission if you like, or something that would be nice to have, to widen it a little bit more.* (00:33:38)

However, this omission did not diminish the benefits that Dejan recognised for the group members.

Reintegration: "you are a human person"

Against a backdrop of immigration procedures and laws that Dejan described as every year 'more punitive' (00:39:24), the experience of the music group provided respite:

> *When you come here you're almost like you leave all the troubles outside, out, out of the door, and you're here in a very nice and comfortable, safe environment.* (00:39:24)

Within that safety, the shared act of making music fostered a sense of togetherness and membership. The music group identity became integrated into members' multifaceted experiences and identities:

> *we all have different identities really, different kind of, we belong to different groups … coming together with other people and doing music is one, would be one aspect of that refugee experience, existence, and I think very important* (00:39:24)

Other aspects of the refugee experience and existence were characterised for Dejan by oppression:

> *when you come here you're kind of silenced basically, you're, you're voiceless in many ways. You don't, kind of, you pretty much don't exist really, because your, your rights are severely curtailed and limited. You are, you are required to live at a certain place, for example, that they give you; you get a certain amount of money that they decide for you which is not enough really to, to have a normal life; you can maybe, there could be restrictions in terms of your immigration, you would have to reside at this address. Or they can just then uproot people and send this person to another area because this accommodation, and so you are*

basically, there's a sense of lack of control over your life and what's happening to you. (00:41:32)

For Dejan, the music group counteracted some of that oppression. It afforded the chance for personal recognition and self expression:

having a place where you can actually express yourself, as well you can create something, you can maybe even teach somebody something from your country, music, it's almost like giving you back this idea that you have some value to offer. You, you are a human person who has got kind of self dignity or you know, kind of respect. It gives you a voice in a way, I think. (00:41:32)

A music group is only a part of a refugee experience, and any group identity is only a part of a person's composite memberships of identity groups. Its power, in this story of reintegration, is that it is in stark relief to the 'voiceless,' subjugated existence that is incumbent with the partial and reductive identity of 'refugee.'

Crisis: "he just left"

The group from which Dejan first suffered a breach was his family. His father's departure was a breach of the family unit, of caregiver from son, and it caused crisis in Dejan's life:

he married my mother, they had a family, three children, and then just one day he just left and never came back. And never supported in any way or not just financially. But you know you pick up a phone and "How are you my son? " "How are you my daughter?" (00:49:01)

Redress 5: "singer from Sudan"

Talking of the present, Dejan described a recent moment of musical redress for this early life breach. It offered reintegration to his past, but also highlighted the continued relevance that the familial schism had in his life.

I just discovered this amazing musician, singer from Sudan, and I don't even know his name because I can't speak Arabic, I can't read Arabic. (00:06:34)

I don't understand anything but the music, the kind of the rhythm and the instruments, is just amazing, really wonderful, and it just to me it tells me time and time again that even if you don't understand what it is - I assume most of the time it's about love or it's about you know [laughter] romance. (00:08:47)

Dejan could not understand the words because his father never taught him Arabic, but this song on YouTube reminded him of the times when his father came home from work with his

friends and put on recordings of Sudanese music. The mnemonic power of music recalled the connection to his father's culture, and to the memory of his father. His own lack of understanding of Arabic, Dejan recast as a strength in this scenario, allowing him to listen more deeply to the music:

> *sometimes I think actually that you may perhaps even hear the voice, singer's voice better if you, if you don't understand the lyrics, because the only thing you have is the music and the voice, you know. And you're not distracted by the meaning of the words* (00:09:14)

Reintegration: "My father called me"

Music afforded Dejan cultural connection with his father, and maintained memories of the time before his father left. However, it did not bridge the schism between them. To bridge that divide, 40 years after his departure, Dejan traced his father. Migration had meant Dejan had lost contact with members of his family, but he was able to track them down, and a message was passed on to his father:

> *I was here at work and he phoned and he said "Hello, this is your father here."*
>
> *He still speaks English. His English is actually really good. It's really amazing. And he still speaks some broken Serbian, which is also amazing … we talked a little bit and I remember going back home from here I was like I feel I was like floating in the air and it was incredible feeling.*
>
> *I'm just thinking, "My father called me," almost like want to shout it. "Hey you know what? My father called me."* (00:51:21)

Dejan was his father's son again. His excitement was that of a young Dejan receiving a call from his father. An identity that was cut off, had opened up again for Dejan. For his father too, missed opportunities were suddenly available to him again:

> *he told me recently, and this is only a month ago, that he sent the message "I love you. I love you all, my my dear children." And all that. And I was like [sniffs as if crying], like, kind of a grown up, a grown up man. It's just incredible how these things can actually, how that can make you feel, really.* (00:51:50)

There was mutual reintegration between father and son.

Coda: "you're a British passport"

Of course, there was complexity too. Dejan planned to travel to Sudan to visit his ageing father, but issues of identity provided familiar obstacles:

Sudanese friends, they say, "Well you know what, you, you've never been there, you don't know anything there, you don't speak the language. If you end up in the wrong place at the wrong time, they pick you up, the military and put you somewhere, you know, and uh, whatever you know, especially if you're a British passport." (00:52:42)

In Sudan, Dejan's friends suggested, he would not be Sudanese enough to avoid trouble. Once more the multiplicity of Dejan's identities created contextual complexity as he attempted to move in a world where identities can be defined by other people according to preconceptions and judgments.

5.5. Ashur's story

Orientation: "I am not like the others"

when I was 12 years, I start. This is not very early. (00:01:36)

my mother interested to play an instrument, the oud, because … in my area they like an oud very well, and want to me, my mother, to learn this instrument.

… the first oud I bought was bad material, you know (00:01:59)

and every week I fixed it! (00:02:39)

Ashur's mother encouraged him to begin playing oud at what he reflected was quite a late age for a musician. The poor quality of his first oud meant he had to repair it regularly, demonstrating his early commitment to the instrument.

The following year, Ashur had exams at school to graduate year 9, and his mother promised him that if he passed the certificate then she would buy him a new oud. He did pass, and she bought him a much nicer instrument. So, Ashur began teaching himself to play:

Just I listen and try tuning. Yes, sometimes playing easy songs need two strings only. I try to fix it, the tuning, tuning, tuning; when I listen, going back, the cassette. No CD player, nothing. (00:03:38)

He showed himself to be a very motivated student, spending his time practicing:

I spent nights and days to … play some songs but it was useful for me because month by month, my listening better. (00:04:18)

Ashur began by playing popular songs, and then progressed to explore Arabic classical music. It was unusual for someone of his age to be listening to music of this genre:

when I went to the shops and asked about this thing, they're surprised, "Oh, you are this age and asking about this?" "This is hard to listen, this thing. You must be

60 or 70 years old to listen to this because it's complicated, very long, complicated and difficult to listen" Maybe one song takes 40 minute. (00:05:02)

Ashur's musical taste distinguished him from other children. He appreciated complex repertoire that was highly regarded in Syria, and he received acknowledgment for this:

They're surprised how this child is listening to this, yes, but in the same time they are pleased (00:05:50)

Recordings were Ashur's primary resource to learn about music and how to play. As his knowledge grew, he sought more information, and began going to an after-school club where other musicians his age gathered. They discussed music, and learnt from watching one another. Ashur photocopied music from other students, and borrowed books from the library:

now working both, listening and see the note, the music sheet and spent also nights and days to, "What does this sign mean?" [laughter] For example, "What does segno mean?" or coda or something, "What is this?", "What does it mean?" "You don't know?" I explore myself (00:09:40)

Ashur sought any available resource from which to learn. He researched sheet music and recordings, and shared his curiosity with his fellow students. There were also some music teachers at the club, but Ashur noted their limited capacity:

they are not a professional music, study music for two years only. It's a middle institute, not high' (00:09:13)

and start to teach, but teach not method, not nothing; you must ask and they answer you, "What does this sign mean?", like a G key. Yes, and.. it's very basic but it's useful.. (00:09:40)

In this way, through his commitment and ingenuity, Ashur's knowledge and his playing improved. There were few oud players in his town, and Ashur became aware he had reached a level of musicianship that distinguished him from his peers. He discovered the status his musical skill could garner him in a community:

we have like a camping, in Syria … and I make a concert! I remember that we spent about 20 days, like a camping, and in the night we made summer gigs. We called them summer gigs… we're working as volunteer work, make a street and yes, hardworking really it was, but this… give you advance, advantage, because your friend interested with this, and make it like a Britain's Got Talent! (00:22:29)

I chose the good voice to sing… they're coming and singing for me (00:23:43)

And girls, you know, "You make a beautiful sound" (00:23:57)

Yes, "and today you will singing in the summer gig." "Oh yes!" And they make rehearsals.

All this, and you feel now more confidence and the others accept you and you are "Ooh star!" (00:24:05)

Ashur stood out for his musical skill. His ability to play oud set him apart from the other young people at the summer camp. He was able to organise concerts that everyone enjoyed, and in which his peers aspired to perform. In this environment, Ashur was the star, and he was aware of this.

I feel, okay, I am not like the others. (00:24:30)

I have something special because I am playing give me power (00:24:44)

It had taken Ashur many hours of effort and solitary practice to learn to play so well, and the recognition he received motivated him to carry on:

This, everything, helped this to continue. (00:24:30)

His ambition at the time was to study music at the middle institute, the same as the teachers he had met at his music club. This ambition changed when Ashur visited Damascus with his brothers, and a friend of theirs who was studying theatre heard his playing:

and advised me, if you're working hard you can go to the conservatoire. I still remember this because.. yes… I want to go, I hope (00:13:16)

The conservatoire had only opened the year before and this was the first time Ashur had heard about it. He focussed his efforts on a place at the conservatoire. To enter the Middle Institute to study music required students to pass the baccalaureate, but for conservatoire Ashur only needed to pass the audition. He shifted his focus to musical study, away from his academic work, a decision that caused his mother consternation:

my mother, yes, gave me the oud and everything, but after that, after three, four years she is feeling, "I am do something wrong with this son" (00:24:44)

Ashur's family placed high value on education, and his study of the oud was not understood in these terms:

My parents, yes, now are very fussy because I am playing, not studying, playing, no studying! All my bigger brothers and sisters are studying high-level education because the others… Yes, my sister has a pharmacy so you need a high score to go to the - to be a doctor, pharmacy like a doctor; five years. My brother's same; engineer, yes, they work hard to get good marks, but me, no, I'm still playing.

And uh, my father and mother always fight me. (00:13:16)

"Oh, leave the music and study now, leave the music and study now." (00:14:58)

Without education there was fear for Ashur's future career prospects, and therefore for his future financial security:

earn the money, the future, because the life in Syria is difficult. If you are not working, no one no helps you. (00:24:44)

Conservatoire had a very competitive entrance procedure, and Ashur's parents worried he would not pass the audition despite his efforts:

Worried, maybe not accept you, maybe you must study and go study anything else and keep the music like fun, maybe not get this chance because it's very difficult. (00:26:34)

Ashur also emphasised the difficulty of the conservatoire audition:

it's very difficult because they want to take the best, but you don't forget, two oud, two violin, one viola, one piano, one trombone. My year was 15 person, all the Syria. (00:16:03)

In addition, Ashur's parents feared the competition would be corrupted in favour of powerful people:

my father, mother, they thought this - if you went to conservatoire, not for us this conservatoire, because someone you need will come and have a power (00:26:34)

rich people, very rich people and power and the government. (00:27:27)

Ashur's decision to study music risked his financial future in a country that did not have supportive social systems for the unemployed. The competition for places at that conservatoire was very tight, and could be distorted by corrupting influences from rich and powerful people keen for their own children to attend. Ashur did not heed these concerns or his parents' advice. His motivation drove him:

I love music, I love to play and I leave everything, leave my study and leave everything else. I want to study music. Yes. When you want to do something, I will do! (00:22:20)

For his audition for the conservatoire Ashur prepared a programme including Syrian composers, but based around European classical music:

I played Carmen Overture and Capris by Jamil Bashir. You must perform many things. Etudes. Yes. You have to play 20 minutes with the piano. (00:19:02)

I did on oud for example Czardas. Do you Czardas? (00:19:59)

This is for practice like etude, to play fast and fast and faster, faster and understand the rules in Europe and western music' (00:20:19)

Despite all the challenges Ashur faced he was accepted to the conservatoire. With this acceptance, also came the acceptance of his parents:

After I went to conservatoire, they give me support, they give me everything I need because now I am study, "OK, study music, not just for the fun." (00:24:44)

Conservatoire education represented an acceptable pathway to his parents. It rendered his interest in the oud to be something of substance by virtue of its institutionalised curricula and qualifications. The approach of the institution to teaching music was rooted in the courses of study prescribed in the traditions of European conservatoires:

in year 1, we … studied Bach and this built all the music, the Bach. The Gregorian before Bach, and uhh.. moved to another century every year to complete all the history of music … and year 5, we arrive to the modern music. (00:31:57)

History of music was taught referring to the 'western' canon of music history, teaching changes in composers' treatment of harmony and expression through historical periods. The teachers for these courses were Russians, who brought with them this Euro-centric positioning and knowledge. This western grounding reached beyond course content to a broader notion of the importance of western classical music:

the classical music is the basic thing for the music, I think. (00:34:27)

The education Ashur received at the conservatoire positioned him well to make a successful career after his graduation. As a teacher he was able to provide a method for his students which he had lacked:

the classical music helped me to understand the oriental music more. I started to put some rules and skills, how to practice (00:36:12)

As a performer, he worked primarily playing 'oriental music' (00:36:12), but was also employed in classical music concerts:

we have two orchestras, so you have one is playing oriental and another one playing classical music. (00:38:05)

The discipline he had developed during his studies, and the breadth of skills he had, meant he was busy too with session work, playing in bands and in recordings with many artists:

Sometimes we go into the studio and it takes eight sings.. songs. Some songs, the first time it's finished. You must be fast. It's difficult but different live music and other things. We work at everything! (00:41:44)

Ashur had become a highly skilled musician with a successful career.

Breach and Crisis: 'well-founded fear'

During the interview for which Ashur gave his consent to me to include in this research, he did not talk about the reasons that he left Syria. Accordingly, here I note that Ashur sought asylum in UK in accordance with the *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees* (1951) granting protection to people who:

> owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. (*Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees,* 1951: 152)

He left Syria due to fear for his safety.

Schism: "I had my exciting life"

> *It's really difficult, yes, because I start again everything, not only the music.*
>
> *Start to know the people. You know here, difficult to get friends. Some people born here and living here and now they have one or two friends.*
>
> *In Syria, no, I have a lot of friends and musicians and I had my exciting life, you know, but here really difficult to start again at this age.* (00:49:00)

In the UK Ashur experienced a stark contrast from his life in Syria. Rather than the established relationships and career that he had enjoyed very much, in the UK he found he was starting again as a musician and in all aspects of life. His age was against him in this, making it harder to re-train and more difficult to learn language:

> *If I came as a 20, 18 it's fine because language is fast, improve and study here and get certificate from here and commit your life here* (00:49:00)

For younger people than himself life could be satisfying in the UK, and in this Ashur found solace:

> *My children is happy. I am partly happy but not completely.* (00:49:00)

Redress 1: Creative Music Workshops, UK (Context 4)

I joined two weekends of creative music workshops, initially in the role of observer, but within the first hour I had been invited to participate fully with the group. Young adults who were seeking asylum in the UK had been especially invited to take part in the weekends, and Ashur had become connected and later employed as a musician supporting the creative process.

I recorded my experiences in my reflective notes, and this scene is constructed from those notes:

> Settling back into our rehearsal room after lunch, I tuned my guitar next to Ashur tuning his oud. The main workshop facilitator, Jon, caught my eye and nodded his head to indicate we should play. A drummer was already playing too, just warming up a drum, feeling his sound. Ashur adjusted to that rhythm, and began guiding the musical direction. I tried to join in some way, but dropped out quickly, lacking the ear to find the right maqam. I put down my guitar and walked into the middle of the room with the rest of the group.
>
> Jon stood with his legs flexed softly at the knees, his arms hanging easily at his sides. He shrugged his shoulders a few times, and began breathing deeply. A circle formed with the eight young participants copying him, their eyes half closed. Half the group were English born, the other four had migrated here recently to claim asylum.
>
> Jon raised his hand and closed it in Ashur's direction to indicate for him to stop playing and join the circle. Jon began walking on the spot to keep a beat with his feet, and sang a rhythmic chant which we echoed. It started like normal singing and then became noises from his throat, or more nasal, or made with his tongue. We all laughed, and relaxed at the familiarity of this warm up. One by one he asked us each to introduce our own sounds for the group to echo back. He stepped into the middle of the circle and began improvising, inviting us each to join him. Someone grabbed a drum to give some beat, and a style of music that we had become accustomed to began to build. Any kind of sound or movement was fine. Jon stretched out his arms and began raising them in front of him, conducting us towards a musical peak of volume and energy. From there he slowly lowered his hands and his body, until he was sat on the floor with the group around him.

> With a glance he asked Ashur to return to his oud and reinstate the Syrian backdrop for the next activity.
>
> We worked from objects that were important to each of us, indicative of times or spaces of significance. The Syrian music sounded improvised as we attuned ourselves to our objects, contorting our bodies to the form of a dog, or a landscape, or a pebble. We were encouraged to feel and connect with the essence of that object.
>
> We sat in pairs and wrote responses to the objects, to our experience. Then in fours we created lyrics that were far removed from my initial ideas of what my object was connected to. Oud seeped into our emerging songs, influencing our melodies and rhythms.
>
> (*Constructed from reflective notes*, October 2018)

Schism: "we didn't do like this work"

During our interview, Ashur reflected on the creative workshops we had both been a part of.

> *You see this work we did?* (00:49:00)
>
> *In Syria we didn't do like this work.* (00:50:23)

In Syria, Ashur told me, he would not have accepted work as a workshop leader. He was busy performing, so such work was for other people:

> *we don't have time, we refuse this work, "What, what this workshop?" or, "Sorry, I have a concert." (*00:50:23)

The employment that Ashur received in the workshop did not redress the schism he felt from his successful status as a musician in Syria; it reflected his distance from past opportunities. As grateful as he may have been for opportunities to work, in the UK he accepted jobs that he would never have done in Syria.

Redress 2: "Syrian Music 11am - 1pm"

I went to see Ashur play at a small event held every month in a social club. The aim was to bring people together from sections of the community. In my reflective notes I described the scene:

> The musicians were still waiting outside when I arrived. Instruments were piled in the doorway with an amp. The community centre was closed still. It was 9.40 a.m. and the event was scheduled to begin at 11.

Inside, all the space was filled with tables and chairs. There was a couch in the window. A woman greeted us, and she was helpful. Not exactly friendly. A bit tired, like she'd had a late night, and this kind of event was nothing special or particularly interesting to her.

She showed the organiser and the musicians where to set up, and tables started to be moved by everyone - long table set up for food serving, corner cleared for music and instruments, everything moved and put out for sitting on.

Because I arrived with the organisers and musicians, I was given the job of writing the sign to be placed outside:

Syrian Music

11am - 1pm

All Welcome

Ashur played great. Beautiful melodies, perfect timing, lovely choices. The musicians held each other, supporting each other, allowing a few local people to join and play drums with them, feeling good with them. There were constant glances between musicians, moving between solos and accompanying it sounded to me, focussed and smiling. They ended songs often with laughter.

The room was quite busy. A mix of Syrian people and English people who were involved in some way, I think. Everyone appeared connected, greeting each other familiarly. I didn't see people wandering in. I saw people invited, comfortable.

The music stopped for the food. On 3 big tables there were serving dishes, pots of tea, and some salads and sauces. Chatting to the musicians, they were quick to tell me their pedigree as performers, including Ashur’s past studies at conservatoire in Damascus. I was shown YouTube videos of shows in packed arenas, and grainy videos of orchestras playing in Syria.

The second set was great, very fun. Ashur’s playing was wonderful, impressive technique, playing lines that were clearly very difficult.

The room was buzzing. People cheered after tunes. Place was busy. Someone else had joined on percussion. A student was doing well. We clapped along.

People in the room only clapped the beats or half-beats. I wanted to find the rhythm, clap the bass sounds.

I felt welcomed. Honestly. People chatted all the time. The musicians were generous. Everyone was kind and sharing.

The place suited the event.

I don't think it attracted anyone new. I don't think it was tackling prejudice, breaking down barriers.

I do think it was making some people feel at home.

(*Constructed from reflective notes*, October 2018)

From my notes, it was clear how much I appreciated Ashur's musicianship and the hospitality I felt in the setting. I noted the familiarity between people and therefore concluded that the audience were regulars and not people who had been drawn in and newly discovering the music. During the lunch interval Ashur made me aware of his past studies and successes. Ashur's performance was advertised as Syrian Music 11am-1pm, but he was more than that.

Reintegration: "the music is music"

Despite the fall in status that Ashur felt acutely in UK, when he played for people there were things that reconnected him to the musical self that was so central to his identity.

the music is music all the world. (00:54:50)

This statement of music's universality grew from Ashur's personal experiences as his geographical displacement confronted him with audiences unaccustomed to repertoire based on maqams:

I find some scales are very enjoy, some not… and not expect before, they are interesting. Or I thought maybe, yes, because they always listen minor or major only and have not had a quarter tone, they think the tone is wrong. But no, I see. I changed my idea for this.

They understand it and enjoy it. (00:57:46)

For Ashur, people's capacity for that musical response depended on 'feeling'. He viewed a naivety in this that recalled his childhood, when he first took pleasure from music:

I was young until now. I am feeling music. I don't know before it's G or D, I was just feeling, and playing. (00:55:52)

In the simplicity of 'feeling' Ashur connected to audiences in UK. The genre of music could be bypassed by people 'feeling' a response. Syrian Music 11am-1pm could communicate to UK audiences:

It's the important thing; to enjoy and feeling things, and arrive [communicate] my thinking, my feeling, to the people who's in the gig or concert or in the house. (00:57:46)

Coda: "never, never to leave Syria"

Ultimately, Ashur's life in the UK is the result of forced migration, and as such it is his home only due to terrible circumstances:

> *'UK is safe, yes, but if not happen this in Syria, the war, you know, I don't… never, never to leave Syria'* (00:50:23)

He had chances to leave Syria in the past as a financial migrant, but he preferred to remain with the life he had built:

> *A long time ago, I have a cousin in Australia and all over and, "Why you didn't come to here? We offer for you a job."*
>
> *"What job?"*
>
> *"Oh, working in the business; I have a shop."*
>
> *Yes, they have a big shop and houses. Yes, but no, I want to work in my - this, my music. I don't want to work anything else.* (00:50:23)

It was only the danger in Syria that led Ashur to leave and to live in the UK despite the schism that remained between his past life and his current situation:

> *But now at the moment, yes, here better than Syria here. Because safe.*
>
> *If you have money in Syria, what to… and not safe. Now my friends in Syria working on the music and still working, they have recording they have everything and they earn a lot of money now, but not safe.* (00:50:23)

This schism between past and present stays with Ashur. Employment in musical jobs that he would previously have turned down highlights the differences of past to present. His new relationship to his UK audiences provides him with opportunities to communicate to his listeners, but it is an altered relationship to that in Syria.

5.6. Reflections on participants' stories

These four stories have reached beyond the contexts of the researched music-making programmes, and described rich musical interactions and relationships that spanned migration. Music-making experiences have been described as acts of redress, that led both to schism and to reintegration. The meanings of these acts were constructed by each individual according to many factors, including whether the participants felt their music, skills, nationality, migration status, and sense of self to be recognised or devalued.

While I offer these brief reflections, the purpose of this chapter has not been to identify themes across the stories told, but to share the stories of individuals in order to illustrate the issues that this thesis explores. In the following chapter, thematic analysis is used to present the 'collective story' (Charmaz, 2001: 691) told in interviews with music facilitators and organisers. In Chapter 7, participants' stories will be revisited and discussed in relation to the thematic findings.

6. Thematic findings

6.1. Introduction and presentation of themes

Interviews with nine music facilitators and four organisers of music-making programmes were analysed thematically. As detailed in *Chapter 4*, *Nvivo 12* software was used to undertake a grounded theory based thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke's six phase approach (2006: 86 - 93). The objective of this process was to identify patterns in the ways that identity featured in the accounts, in order to gain insights and understandings towards this study's guiding question:

> How does identity feature in the accounts of participants and providers of music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution?

The accounts from music facilitators and organisers represent their perspectives on their own work, and their interpretations of the experiences of their music programme's members. As detailed in *Table 9*, the interviewees come from a range of national and migration backgrounds. However, none of this group of respondents had themselves emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution. They worked and volunteered with participatory music-making programmes that actively invited the participation of that identity group.

During the iterative processes of analysing the data, three domains were found to be useful for structuring findings. These domains related to the interviewees' accounts of their different modes of engagement in music-making: *Leading participatory music-making; Broader musical experiences and development*; and responses referring to the *Organisational sphere* of music-making programmes. The three domains were not present for all themes, but are used when relevant as sub-headings in this chapter.

Through the analysis of the interviews with music facilitators and organisers, three themes were found: *Finding Recognition*, *Centrality and Marginality* and *Expressing Self*. Cutting across themes were music facilitators' and organisers' acknowledgments of *Challenges and Risks* that arise in their work, and where helpful that sub-heading is used to organise sub-themes that fall within this category. Following presentation of the three themes, an organising category entitled *Outlying Considerations* contains data that did not fit into a theme, but was found to be pertinent to the research topic. Themes and sub-themes are presented in *Table 10*.

Table 10: Themes and sub-themes identified in thematic analysis

Theme 1: Finding Recognition	
Domain	**Sub-theme**
Leading participatory music-making: Facilitating recognition	Seeking to give value
	Valuing participants' music
	Recognising musical accomplishments
Leading participatory music-making: Challenges and risks	Misrepresenting group members' music
	Unable to facilitate experiences of recognition
	Responses to reductive representations of refugees
Broader musical experiences and development: Developing and accomplishing	Developing facilitators' own musicality
	Receiving professional acknowledgment
Broader musical experiences and development: Challenges and risks	When recognition was not forthcoming
Theme 2: Centralising and Marginalising	
Domain	**Sub-theme**
Leading participatory music-making: Facilitating repositioning	Altering group members' sense of social positioning
	Shifting the cultural centre
	Seeking community impact
Leading participatory music-making: Challenges and risks	Finding limited positions available for group members
	Finding limited common ground for group members
Broader musical experiences and development: Challenges and risks	Not identifying according to nationality
	Music associated with family
	The place of migration
	Navigating complexity and privilege
Organisational sphere: Challenges and risks	Comply or out-lie
	Cooperation or conflict

Theme 3: Expressing Self	
Domain	**Sub-theme**
Leading participatory music-making: Facilitating self exploration and expression	Facilitating exploration of self
	Facilitating self expression
Broader musical experiences and development: Performing their role	Believing in something
	Taking chances
Organisational sphere: Challenges and risks	Limiting statutes
Outlying considerations	
Domain	**Sub-theme**
	Participants enjoy making music
	Conflicts in music-making
	Disappointments and frustrations of facilitators
	Understandings of identity

To guide the reader, in this chapter themes are used for section headings and domains are used for sub-headings. Sub-themes are written within text, with bold and italic formatting. Music facilitators and organisers have all been anonymised, and are referred to by codes. Numbers were assigned according to the order that interviews occurred, and letters relate to constituent level with MF referring to music facilitators and OR to organisers. Therefore MF8 was the eighth person to be interviewed and a music facilitator. OR14 was the fourteenth interviewee and an organiser of a music programme. I have also altered or removed some identifying information in responses, for example place names and names of organisations.

6.2. Theme 1: Finding recognition

The interview data were rich with accounts related to giving or receiving recognition. Music facilitators and organisers ascribed a broad range of benefits from harnessing these possibilities in their interventions, while acknowledging inherent risks and challenges. As well

as the theme playing out within music-making interventions, it emerged in music facilitators' and organisers' stories of their own development. Formative memories frequently involved receiving praise for musical accomplishments and enjoying public recognition for success. However, accounts also included memories of situations in which praise and acknowledgment were not forthcoming, raising the challenges that come along with the desire to receive recognition.

6.2.1. Leading participatory music-making: Facilitating recognition

Music facilitators described using a range of approaches to create experiences for group members to receive recognition of themselves or their actions. Sometimes this was achieved directly through musical or physical gestures, and in other examples it was managed by creating situations where groups members would receive recognition from an audience or their peers.

Seeking to give value, validation, and recognition to group members was central to the approaches described by the music facilitators and organisers. MF10 illustrated this with reference to in-the-moment responses with which she could directly communicate a positive validation:

> *I show him that I liked his idea just by doing it without necessarily saying "this person has got a great idea," because often in the AZCs with so many different languages it's not possible but maybe, maybe even pointing or directly being like "Yes, great," and doing it too makes that person be heard.* (MF10, 00:15:19)

In this case, MF10 sought to give instant recognition to individuals' ideas and creative participation. She adopted a style of facilitation that consciously aimed to acknowledge everyone's input; an approach she summarised as 'listening and showing':

> *you're there open, listening to them. But in some ways to communicate with, within a song, or within a movement that, or you're taking on other people's ideas* (MF10, 00:15:58)

MF10 gave an example that if a group member introduced a new movement to a dance, she would integrate it into her own choreography and encourage the group to do likewise. Gestures like this she saw as serving to enact the worth of the ideas as well as the contributors.

An open and listening stance was also described by MF9. He emphasised the importance of this quality of engagement between facilitators and young participants:

> *how much time did they get to spend with an adult person, um, that's there for them, uh, you know, having full attention and teaching them something, is open.*

> *That's another aspect, you know, we are doing music but we're, but that's an aspect that's really valuable.* (MF9, 00:19:12)

The young people with whom MF9 worked were living in an AZC, and he pointed out that the quality of attention offered in music sessions could be in stark contrast to the young people's other interactions. Due to the pressures on adults in the context, he saw many conversations taking place in the centre as distracted and rushed. MF9 sought with his approach to demonstrate to the young people that they were worthy of his full attention, simply because of their presence and with no further qualification. Music-making interactions were seen to afford in-the-moment opportunities to communicate to participants their value.

Music facilitators often related examples of musical material being used in ways that sought to communicate ***Valuing participants' music***. Music that was aligned to participants' national or cultural connections was incorporated into facilitation approaches. In groups that consisted of people from multiple countries of origin, care was taken to include repertoire that was from those countries. Often this was seen as a way to acknowledge the music's value:

> *It feels, it feels good that's, that I am, that we are by our playing and singing a bit giving worth to something that has worth, but it could so easily be sidelined in this howling indifferent foreign culture that only says, "Go away, we don't want you, we don't believe you." And maybe that, I'd never connected it with loving my music, but it feels as though I'm underlining the fact that their music and their culture is important.* (MF19, 00:24:01)

If playing the music recognises its worth, then the value of that act was felt to be heightened due to the oppressive context in which it happened. MF19 went further too by connecting the valuing of 'their music' and 'their culture,' suggesting that this was also an enactment of the value of the people themselves. The impact of incorporating music from participants' countries of origin was also expressed by MF4:

> *To have it shared and to have it kind of validated by, you know, a community I suppose. It is really important I think for any human.* (MF4, 00:40:00)

Validation of music and culture from a person's country of origin when living in another place emerged in the data as an important aspect of the approaches used by music facilitators and organisers. In the examples given by MF19 and MF4 validation came from the music facilitator and other group members. MF3 noted a similar process happening in a public performance context, where an audience's enjoyment of music transferred a feeling of recognition to individuals:

> *the singer feels good because they see that, er, also their music is, has, uh, universal information and it's being embraced. And so they feel more of a sense of dignity and, and like that.* (MF3, 00:44:36)

As an audience embraced aspects of the singer's music, seemingly responding positively to universal meanings or emotions, MF3 observed that feelings of dignity were evoked in the performers.

Rather than public audiences, MF8 focused on the responses of performers' families. Following migration, MF8 had experienced how aspects of cultural heritage within a family can be viewed as less relevant or valuable. Children may dismiss the stories and traditions that their parents cherish, preferring to relate instead to the fashions of their friends and surroundings. Older family members often lost their 'cultural authority' (MF8, 00:09:17). MF8 described a facilitation approach that was designed to redress that cultural devaluing. He brought together generations of families to sing, providing a forum to honour artistic heritage:

> *it is about recognising the repertoire of the parents. So we come there as professional musicians and pay attention to what the parents have to sing to recite to offer. And listen to it attentively and learn it from them. With the children. And something as simple as that really pays off and makes them happier makes them eager to participate. We share a lot of repertoire.* (MF8, 00:09:17)

Songs sung by parents were observed by MF8 to be given recognition by their children and by professional musicians. Shared music-making here provided multiple layers of recognition, towards culture and between family members. As such, the musical act afforded acknowledgment of multiple identity facets. Importantly to MF8, musical ability was not a prerequisite for participation in these sessions:

> *You don't have to be a professional singer you don't have to be an expert. Just learning a song from somebody else and showing your interest* (MF8, 00:09:17)

Musical level was not something that the approach hinged on or aimed to celebrate. MF8 sought to create a platform for sharing and celebrating cultural heritage. In contrast, in approaches taken by some music facilitators the quality of performance was given precedence.

Several music facilitators and organisers described approaches that were designed to enable ***Recognising musical accomplishments****;* creating platforms and opportunities to showcase and develop the skills of people newly arrived as refugees in a country. An initiative in the Netherlands aimed to:

> *discover what's behind the doors in, in, of these apartments in the AZC. What kind of musical talents hide behind these doors* (MF3, 00:08:25)

Musicians and people with the potential to perform at high levels were actively sought. Music facilitators knocked on the doors of rooms in AZCs in order to find and celebrate the artists they believed must be there. An orchestra was created from refugee musicians, and public performances were at its core.

This style of music-making programme, structured towards moments of public performance, resulted in experiences of success. Rehearsals were undertaken to produce an end result that could be celebrated by audiences. OR18 described his experiences of a similar approach with a group organised in the UK:

> *I think these things have been life, life transforming for a lot of those participants. You know, the being on stage, performing, and you know, the applause, a feeling of, of achievement.* (OR18, 00:14:02)

The performances facilitated by OR18 were made by professional level UK and refugee musicians alongside members of the local community. Beginner musicians were incorporated alongside orchestral musicians and iPad playing youth. The objective, however, was clear - 'to be able to perform or record something that everyone is proud of' (OR18, 00:11:47). Success was facilitated, and recognition was subsequently received. The importance of this was evident to OR18, with videos created of performance projects being shared with friends and family in order to receive further positive feedback:

> *And it's on their phones. It's on all their Facebook profiles. It's on all their social media stuff. All of their profiles, their pictures are of that. You know, they're extremely proud.* (OR18, 00:15:07)

Media products such as videos and recordings apparently afforded this next level of acknowledgment through feedback on online platforms. This idea was taken further by one organiser who had developed connections to enable recordings of musicians from non-English backgrounds to be placed in a national UK archive. Such institutional involvement was understandably impactful:

> *And particularly since we've had the [name of archive] thing, a lot of them have said they're quite pleased that they're going to be, their rec, in a thing that's nationally recognised, kind of thing.* (OR14, 00:25:43)

To have a recording placed in a national archive was recounted to be enjoyed by musicians as a recognition of something exceptional. It represented validation from a national body that a musical artefact had the importance to be preserved. The experience was facilitated by

OR14's approach of working with musicians from non-English backgrounds and organising opportunities for their skills to be presented in live performances and recordings, affording opportunities for recognition.

MF8 connected the process of cultural, musical recognition with the reorientation that is necessary for people who have migrated. He argued that people's capacity to manage in their new surroundings could be strengthened by giving recognition to the value of their existing cultural resources:

> *My approach is let's reinforce, let's support their own tradition. Let's validate what they have to contribute within this society. Let's listen to a music that is very valuable and a very rich heritage to the world. Whether it's Iraq or the Netherlands or Spain. To humankind. And let's show appreciation for it. Because that gives you strength, motivation and that reassures you to acquire knowledge that you need to live somewhere else.* (MF8, 00:36:52)

According to MF8, his approach contrasted with the prevalent system of teaching people new and different cultural knowledge, which only emphasises deficiency and need:

> *I think strengthening your own identity cultural position can help much more than bombarding you with more teachings and more knowledge and more parameters that you have to integrate into your own already kind of questioned and lost identity, orientation.* (MF8, 00:37:37)

Efforts aimed at giving people new skills and cultural resources when they arrive in a new country, MF8 suggested, failed to acknowledge the value of the resources with which someone has arrived. This weakened their situation, whereas MF8 proposed that acts of recognition could strengthen capacity to reorientate.

The approaches of music facilitators and organisers in these sub-themes sought to afford recognition to group participants. Within workshops the facilitators worked to acknowledge participation and creative inputs with in-the-moment gestures and through musical incorporation of ideas. The music-making programmes described were designed to afford experiences of success, including through public performances and recordings that could be shared publicly. These moments of success created validating responses, acknowledging the accomplishments that had been achieved and the proficiency of skilled musicians who were involved. Choices to include music from participants' countries of origin afforded another layer of recognition. By valuing these musics, the aspects of participants' identities that were represented by the music were also acknowledged as having relevance and value in a new country.

6.2.2. Leading participatory music-making: Challenges and risks

In their quest for group members to be recognised, music facilitators and organisers acknowledged that they did not always achieve the results for which they aimed. Several music facilitators shared challenges and risks that they had encountered, and these will be discussed here under sub-themes addressing challenges of musical knowledge, the dangers inherent when representing people, and situations where recognition was simply not forthcoming.

As previously described, several music facilitators recounted using approaches that sought to incorporate musical styles of members' cultural heritage. MF8 and OR18 both acknowledged substantial risk with this approach of inadvertently ***Misrepresenting group members' music***, because facilitators and group members had varying levels of literacy in different genres. MF8 noted that the nuances of a musical style had meant that his own attempts to play had been met with negative responses:

> *Sometimes it can be disastrous of course [laugher from both]. When we've had some musicians that they felt raped in their musical [laugher]. Like this is not the rhythm of the song and it's just a difference of where you lay the accent or just a tiny difference which is essential to the piece of music for the one that knows it* (MF8, 00:31:05)

Likewise, OR18 shared examples where people felt musically mistreated by other group members' playing:

> *someone was sharing an Arabic folk song. And everyone loved it and we were going to, and we all learned it, but the, one of the participants, uhm, British born, white, singer- songwriter, was kind of strumming acoustic guitar in a singer-songwritery kind of way , and a couple of the Syrians were quite annoyed about it.* (OR18, 00:03:38)

This example illustrates how aspects of music can be precious to people in ways that make incorporation sensitive. OR18 expressed it in this way:

> *There's also a lot of sacred feelings around that music* (OR18, 00:02:29)

The approaches used by MF8 and OR18 sought to enact recognition of cultures, but instead in these examples their efforts resulted in feelings of misrepresentation and the diminishment of something held as sacred. Limitations of skill and knowledge mean it can be a huge challenge to successfully perform repertoire from outside our cultural scope, and misrepresentation is the risk.

To similar effect, despite the best efforts of music facilitators and organisers, their accounts featured instances in which they felt they had been ***Unable to facilitate experiences of recognition***. OR14 offered two examples where musicians were left feeling unacknowledged for their musical accomplishments.

After OR14 had arranged for a musician to be contracted to perform at a public event, the audience did not behave with the respect that was expected:

> *they booked [name] to play for about 20 minutes, and people just talked through it and they were just networking. And [name] was upset and he was like, "Look, you know, you know, I'm playing my music and talking, singing about refugee experiences and people just".* (OR14, 00:40:57)

The performer complained of feeling unvalued and disrespected, rather than receiving the praise and applause that he expected. For the professional musician this was felt as a come down from his previous professional life. In another account, OR14 related a situation where he speculated how a prestigious performance venue acted as a reminder to a professional musician of the career he had left behind. OR14 recalled the musician's words:

> *"we used to play gigs in places like this pretty much every night of the week and even bigger venues."*
>
> *And I think for him it was a bit like, I think everyone else was like, "Wow, this is amazing."*
>
> *But I think for him it was like a bit of a, "Here's what you've lost."* (OR14, 00:40:06)

Instead of performance opportunities inducing experiences of recognition for musical accomplishment, the musicians that OR14 described felt only the new reality of their altered circumstances.

Another challenge raised by music facilitators was linked to their ***Responses to reductive representations of refugees***. Three interviewees raised issues arising from people being represented solely by the label of 'refugee.' Some benefits of public performances have been detailed above, but a flip side to this approach was described:

> *the sort of negative side of it is I get emails asking just for refugee musicians and they don't say a particular style of music* (OR14, 00:17:20)

This reductive representation of the musicians, based solely on immigration status, had been flagged as unacceptable by the musicians themselves:

> *some of the musicians have said, "we don't always want to be the refugee musician, we just want to be a musician"* (OR14, 00:16:46)

Although public performances afforded opportunities for recognition of the skills of the musicians and the value of the music that they played, it also afforded opportunities for the musicians to be represented in a reductive manner. This was not only found to be true from outside of the music group. A risk also arose that music facilitators and organisers could represent group members in ways which were reductive. Several of the interviewees expressed awareness of their responsibility in this area, for example MF15 stated strongly:

> *as soon as you say "Refugees" then you are part of the issue of labelling a group of people.* (MF15, 01:07:53)

This awareness stretched across interviews, with respondents taking care about the terminology that they used. However, in some cases, despite avoidance of reductive terms, striking generalisations were made in relation to group members who came from a very wide range of experiences and nationality backgrounds. These generalisations were based around the needs of group members who had migrated seeking asylum in the UK and the behaviours and benefits that they exhibited in music-making. For example:

> *they're dedicated. They come every week, you know. They want to learn.* (MF6, 00:08:31)

> *'I would think one of the main things is it relaxes them.'* (MF6, 00:41:43)

These generalised representations of group members may be a simple reflection of linguistic convenience to quickly summarise impressions of a group, but they are also reductive of the diverse experiences of group members. Describing the benefits experienced by group members as uniformly 'it relaxes them' assumed that all group members shared the need to relax. Reducing group members to presumed needs is a risk that was acknowledged by OR18:

> *we almost have this assumption that someone coming, who's been displaced, obviously will be coming with significant trauma* (OR18, 00:08:15)

Presumed, collectivised needs of group members, OR18 observed, could lead to the misrepresentation of individuals. Such an approach does not recognise the uniqueness of each person, instead projecting a common experience as a shared identity.

The value of approaches that succeeded in making people feel recognised was ascribed by music facilitators in contrast to an observed lack of recognition received in other everyday interactions. However, challenges and risks were accepted in this approach, with the danger that people could be misrepresented or acknowledged in a way that was diminishing rather than empowering.

6.2.3. Broader musical experiences and development: Developing & accomplishing

Music facilitators shared stories from their musical histories that further illustrated the theme of *Finding Recognition*. Examples related to instances that were important to musical development and to professional achievement. Several accounts also expressed situations where praise was not forthcoming and there was a sense more of a quest for recognition than its achievement. These topics will be expanded in this section's sub-themes.

Receiving praise emerged as an important element in ***Developing facilitators' own musicality***. Recognition of musical achievements and moments of acknowledgment were recounted as impactful. MF9 recalled that as a child, playing music was for him a 'place of acknowledgment' (00:03:54):

> *I remember that my mother, um, I remember seeing my mother even turn the TV down low when I was sitting at the piano* (MF9, 00:04:01)

This small gesture by his mother stuck with MF9 as a memory of being acknowledged. As MF9 developed musically, opportunities for recognition increased. The idea was reinforced that 'music can also be a form of prestige' (00:05:00). Band contests and performances provided platforms for MF9 to gain that prestige through his teenage years, and he recalled how motivating that was.

MF3 recited similar teenage experiences:

> *when I was 16 I started writing my own songs. I entered all the pop prize things. I won them all also.* (MF3, 00:02:53)
>
> *So that's really cool, yeah* (MF3, 00:03:16)

Musical accomplishment in this example equated literally to winning public praise. Music seemed to afford MF3 and MF9 the opportunity to differentiate themselves, performing exceptionally and being recognised accordingly. MF19 related a similar feeling in more humble terms, not through experiencing public acknowledgment but through a more internal realisation of accomplishment:

> *there's also probably a little bit of pride in being different and knowing something that not everyone else knows.* (MF19, 00:22:45)

Musical skills differentiated MF19 from her peers and she was proud of that.

Pride was the sentiment observed by MF7 in relation to the achievement of playing in concerts. In her case, it was participants' parents that expressed the feeling:

> *there were always performances, there was really a huge element of pride being able to see your kids do this thing.* (MF7, 00:05:58)

MF7 related how her group's performances garnered public recognition too, displayed in high profile concerts at major venues that were attended by famous people. Familial, public, and even celebrity endorsement of the children's music programme supported MF7's descriptions of the status that the group held amongst her peers:

> *you wanted to be in that club, you know, and, and you'd see the students with the violins, and it was this exciting thing and you knew you could perform. And so I think it was the excitement.* (MF7, 00:01:38)

The group achieved public success, parents felt pride in their children's involvement, and the children were excited to be part of this flourishing music programme. MF7, in line with the examples of MF3 and MF9, illustrated how the experiences of recognition that music can afford to young people are powerful motivations to be involved and to develop their skills.

The importance to music facilitators and organisers of ***Receiving professional acknowledgment*** also arose in the data. Often professional successes were recounted, recalling positive responses to their work from audiences or peers. MF3 described the peek of his group's popularity:

> *sometimes we performed three times a day … So we were really in the midst of the heat of the moment.* (MF3, 00:12:50)
>
> *we did [name of concert] for 10,000 people at the [name of venue], and stuff like that. It really went really big.* (MF3, 00:14:04)

Talking about a composition with which he was involved, MF15 told me about its international reach:

> *it was really amazing piece and it went all over the place. It went to New Zealand, it went to, uh, I think it went to Dubai, it went, I went with it to Hong Kong.* (MF15, 00:17:49)

Size of audiences, number of bookings and international touring were indicative of the reception that MF3's and MF15's work received. For OR25, one particular performance and its publicity provided an example of success:

> *they actually did in the* Houses of Parliament*. They actually did their play. It was in* The Echo*, I've got it at home somewhere. The, the thing, it was actually in* The Echo*.* (OR25, 00:09:32)

The status of the audience was central in this account, and OR25 emphasised the media coverage as tangible evidence of the achievement. Other music leaders gave examples that relied on neither the status, size, or location of audience; they shared meaningful moments of recognition that had touched them:

> *I did get lots of like really nice feedback from people I was playing with, colleagues, also just being like we had a great week. It was just we had a really fun week and sometimes projects aren't that fun* (MF10, 00:13:01)
>
> *at the end of it everyone's like "we had a really nice day," and that's, you know, in a world where there's so much kind of crap going on.* (OR14, 00:15:53)

These two brief anecdotes seemed important to MF10 and MF4, and contained direct feedback about their work from the people with whom they were working. This was affirmation that their efforts had been well received, giving validation to their approaches and intentions.

OR25 and MF6 also recounted moments of recognition for their work. For MF6 this was a celebration of volunteers from the charity with which she ran her music group:

> *I was invited to go to the Buckingham Palace, to the garden party for the [name of charity]. I did go there.* (MF6, 00:45:07)

OR25 received an award for her years of charity work, which she was able to enjoy with her late husband:

> *I did get my* British Empire Medal.*'* (OR25, 00:39:32)
>
> *I did get that and that was in 2012. So my husband was alive then, so he could actually see that I'd got it.* (OR25, 00:39:43)

These events purposefully and ceremonially gave recognition for years of voluntary service. I could feel from OR25 and MF6 how meaningful that was for them.

For the music facilitators and organisers in these examples, receiving recognition of their efforts and accomplishments influenced their development and their professional lives. However, the interview data also contained cases where praise and acknowledgment were not forthcoming or had been withheld. The next sub-theme will explore examples of how music facilitators and organisers recounted experiencing and responding to such challenges.

6.2.4. Broader musical experiences and development: Challenges and risks

The preceding sub-themes contained examples of music facilitators and organisers receiving recognition for their efforts and accomplishments. However, the data showed that there was no guarantee that this was always the case, and recounted instances ***When recognition was not forthcoming***. In situations where some musicians were celebrated, others felt they were not. For example, MF10 recalled her audition to enter music college:

> *I auditioned and I didn't get in. And it really, I was really heartbroken. It was really one of my first moments of being like I can't, I'm failing* (MF10, 00:02:28)

MF10 had desired acceptance but received rejection. She continued her quest to obtain admission:

> *I practised a lot for that one year and then the year afterwards got in. So that was, you know, success.* (MF10, 00:02:28)

Her time at music college reiterated this experience, making MF10 feel she had to constantly strive to meet standards of playing that were 'not possible':

> *I was playing so much and what felt like failing a lot with not getting things as perfect as you have to in classical music.* (MF10, 00:05:19)

The sense from MF10 is that although performing could in moments afford her recognition of her accomplishments, far more often in her context she was made to feel inadequacy. With its criteria for perfection, the classical music environment that MF10 described excluded most people access and even those admitted were pushed to quest for ever higher standards.

Although this approach made MF10 feel she was failing, she also saw its value:

> *this perfection is actually something very, very good, looking at details. Because if you, if you're not asked to do that then you don't strive for it.* (MF10, 00:05:42)

The notion MF10 seemed to communicate was that high level artistic outcomes necessitate being driven to standards that she had also said were 'not possible.' Overall there was a suggestion that praise was somewhat withheld as an incentive to reach a level of accomplishment that could not be reached.

MF6's quest for recognition was dissimilar to MF10's in that she did manage to achieve it, but it was then withdrawn. After a long career of voluntary service (her accolades have been described previously), she had an experience that she felt expressed a snatching away of status:

> *I've always been given petrol money for coming here. Suddenly out of the blue I get a letter saying they're not gonna pay me anymore. Nothing was explained or anything.* (MF6, 00:42:38)

Renumeration appeared to have been representative of her standing with the charity. Having this taken away, without explanation, MF6 felt as an affront and a lack of respect. She explained:

> *they don't put any priority on it. They didn't want to pay for the room here.* (MF6, 00:43:51)

After ten years of voluntary service running the music group, this decision indicated to MF6 that the activity was not valued as highly as others and was judged to no longer be a priority.

There was a sense that she felt that both she and the music group were being judged unworthy of funding.

MF4's quest for recognition stemmed from her father. Although her father had a great affinity for music - having led a choir and continuing to sing and listen to music his whole life - this did not translate to him supporting MF4 to be a musician or any kind of artist:

> *So when I started doing music, and I was always artistic anyway, you know, and I remember him kind of when I was at art college referring it to my work, to my, on that side of things, as my art stuff. You know, if it wasn't really real and I'd snap out of it at some point.* (MF4, 00:56:30)

This lack of acceptance and support for MF4's choices she attributed to her father's struggles when he migrated to the UK. She described him facing a loss of status and reduced ability to make a living, which strengthened his desire for his children to be financially stable. When MF4 pursued a career in music she thought her father felt 'fear of it not really giving me a good foundation in life' (00:56:30). The absence of her father's support and acknowledgment did not stop MF4's artistic path, but she did feel it:

> *I always thought, you know, it's kind of weird that he's not really into it, you know. I couldn't let that stop me because it just felt so vital for me.* (MF4, 00:57:49)

This quote suggests a schism between daughter and father. MF4 recounted the story with the angle that she became a musician despite of her father's attitude, not accompanied by him. However, when she eventually did receive his recognition for her music, there was a sense of the rift being healed:

> *in the last few months - I think it was actually definitely in the last year before he died - I remember playing him some recordings of the band and the soucous kind of flavour songs.. and I did detect a little bit of pride.* (MF4, 00:56:30)
>
> *that little bit of kind of acknowledgment and acceptance from him was, was really lovely to see before he went as well.* (MF4, 00:57:49)

Observing a hint of pride from her father was a precious moment of recognition for MF4. She felt 'acceptance' from him, and took pleasure in him acknowledging her music.

6.2.5. Summary of findings on theme 1: Finding recognition

In summary, the data from music facilitators and organisers showed how music-making can afford opportunities to offer and receive recognition. Within participatory music-making programmes this was enabled directly through pedagogical practices that sought to value each participant's ideas, actions and presence, and through choices of repertoire that

acknowledged the musical, cultural and national identities of group members. Performances that were shared within the group or publicly were seen as moments to offer praise and to celebrate group members' accomplishments. The theme was further illustrated by music facilitators' and organisers' stories about their own broader musical development and their professional lives. Music's affordance of recognition was found to be central to music facilitators' own musical development and to their approach towards leading participatory music-making programmes.

The *Challenges and Risks* expressed by music facilitators and organisers highlighted the fact that despite their best intentions and practices, recognition was not always forthcoming for themselves or seemingly for programme participants. There were contextual factors described, and value structures in place that mediated experiences of recognition. For example, MF10's skill as a violinist was judged in relation to other students, to the criteria of her college, and to the institution of classical music. The value shown towards MF6 and her voluntary work shifted over time in relation to organisational priorities. MF4's father's opinion of her decision to pursue a career as a musician was informed by his own experiences in the UK, and in relation to his fears and hopes for her future life.

These contextually located aspects of recognition link to the next theme. While *Finding Recognition* illustrates ways in which interviewees described musical interactions affording opportunities to recognise value in people, *Centralising and Marginalising* presents accounts of how music-making programmes can also provide a setting to realign what is deemed valuable. Established social positionings are seen to shift through music-making and be asserted outwardly as idealised models that decentre hegemonic notions of privileged status and inherited norms.

6.3. Theme 2: Centralising and marginalising

Music facilitators and organisers discussed using a range of approaches that sought in different ways to reposition hierarchies of status, for example by seeking to decentre the primacy of specific cultures or musical repertoire. The importance of these concerns was reiterated in the music facilitators' and organisers' own sense of positioning within their cultural setting, and their questioning of the value systems with which they were surrounded. At an institutional level, organisers described having to navigate the terrain of their sector, faced at times with complex dynamics between competition, collusion and allegiance. These processes raised significant challenges and risks, related often to the limited options that people felt they had available.

6.3.1. Leading participatory music-making: Facilitating repositioning

The approaches described in the data towards facilitating repositioning will be discussed here under five sub-themes. First are examples of practice that sought to create experiences in which all members felt central to the group. The second sub-theme presents accounts that integrated music from group members' cultural heritage into their new, shared cultural environment. This idea transitions into the third sub-theme, sharing descriptions of outreach efforts into communities. The *Challenges and Risks* that music facilitators raised in interviews close out the section, with focus on the limited opportunities for repositioning and for commonality that are sometimes available.

Music facilitators and organisers described approaches enacted in music-making programmes that were aimed at ***Altering group members' sense of social positioning***. This played out through the roles and norms established in music groups, and facilitators recounted paying attention to this from the first contact they had with group members:

> *I can see it the first time a kid comes, or the first time I'm, because I'm knocking on the doors, first time I'm inviting them, it's, it's the, they seem terrified actually, you know. They're like, "What? What? Do I have to come?" They don't understand what exactly it is, and you have to try and say in as many languages as you possibly can and just say, "You're welcome."* (MF10, 00:31:10)

This act of hospitality expresses an underlying principle that MF10 sought to employ; that everyone is equally welcome to participate in her making music activities. She did not assert criteria of language skills, citizenship, past experiences, or musical accomplishment. Through the extension of an invitation, MF10 sought to establish the music group as a place where participants were all equally deserving of membership.

As well as seeking to establish equality of access to group membership, music facilitators and organisers also described approaches that aimed to give members equal influence. Music facilitators emphasised empowering group members in decision-making, and avoiding the use of their status as leaders as a mandate to direct on all matters. For MF6 this involved on-going conversation with group members, actively including them in deciding the direction that the group took:

> *I ask them where they want to go. I do talk to them individually. And I try to always involve everybody when it's the big group … I always ask them to choose. I ask them to bring music along that they would like to do* (MF6, 00:06:44)

This describes an inclusive approach to guiding the group process. MF6 aimed to incorporate group members' preferences, and then lead the group in learning and performing repertoire. Her approach emphasised teaching the musical skills required to play the requested music:

And, you know, teaching them how to move their finger. It's simple things like that that you have to go through with them. So it's all the basics, real basics of teaching. (MF6, 00:08:54)

MF6 sought to use her experience and knowledge here in the role of teacher, acknowledging her leadership role, but her aim was not to prioritise musical accomplishment, rather to enable everyone to be: 'Actively involved and together and not to be on the periphery' (MF6, 00:07:19). This was a purposeful mobilisation of music to bring people collectively into the core of the group through an empowering decision-making process and development of the resources to participate. At all stages MF6's objective was to create the conditions for group members to take up central positions, perhaps in contrast to everyday marginality bestowed in the UK asylum context.

This same aim was captured in the approach described by MF15, in which group facilitators took responsibility not to allow participants to be excluded due to their abilities or resources. In a cross-arts framework this took constant consideration, consciously creating conditions that afforded opportunities for everyone to participate centrally:

there's never a moment where we say, "Oh, we're doing spoken word so that means that anyone who speaks another language can't take part," or, "Anyone who is, who has this disability can't take part." What we do is like, "Oh, we're doing spoken word. How do we make this possible for you to take part at the same level as everyone else?" (MF15, 00:22:02)

This ethos was at the heart of the approach that MF15 described, seeking to create environments in which all of the young participants' creativity was valued equally. According to MF15, the environments that this approach built challenged habits of behaviour and attitudes. Participants were confronted by the new surroundings in which they were interacting:

And the confrontation is like, "Wow, I've, I've lived in this small town in my bubble for the 15, 16, 17 years of my life. I don't, haven't seen the world outside of that, really. I've, I in, I inhabit a world of very particular identities. And suddenly I'm being asked to try out a new art form with a group of people from, who speak a different language, who come from a different living context, who might have different abilities to me, who might be a different colour skin to me, who have a different religion from me, who are kind of, who see the world differently from me, and we're going to create art together. We're going to write a song together. We're going to, we're going to create a dance routine together. We're gonna make a film together. So in that environment you have to make that work and

the, the, the confrontations and the conversations that happen in trying to make that piece of art, with all the discussion around that, is where the identity comes out (MF15, 00:28:47)

The data suggest that the music-making strategies described by MF15 have the potential to inspire the young people to challenge entrenched identity positions. Devoid of the orientation of received beliefs and localised patterns of behaviour, the young participants seemed to explore how their identities played out in artistic interactions. It was a purposeful act of repositioning that MF15 described, designed with the aim of enabling artistic and personal exploration and emboldening creativity. In this case geographical repositioning was also part of the approach, with the creative process taking place during residential periods often in foreign countries and always removed from participants' everyday locations.

In other examples, shifting group members' positionality was less literal and less explicitly described; it was a musical process that challenged accustomed manners of listening and playing, presented here under the sub-theme of ***Shifting the cultural centre***.

Music with which a listener is culturally unaccustomed can be challenging to appreciate. However, according to MF8, it is not that the music is innately difficult to appreciate, it is the knowledge of the listener that is lacking. As MF8 pointed out, the reactions of people who do understand the music alert us to the fact that there is something significant to be appreciated:

you have an introduction which can be 10 minutes long. We can't even.. stand that as a Western listener most of the times just, just get bored, after the second minute. And then just explore the scale, or the maqam, and the different possibilities of tunings. Which we don't know. So we can't relate to it so we get bored and then 10 minutes later the song starts. If you, if you hear these [name of singer] concerts in Cairo in the 50s or something there's a whole stadium full of people. (MF8, 00:24:07)

Like 50000 people, "ouahh!" [laughter from both] And then again dead silent. And then this introdu, introduction continues only with strings until in minute twelve [name of singer] speaks for the first time and she sings and everybody goes, "Wahwah!"

Well that's a different format of listening and just as refined and as special. (MF8, 00:24:56)

Enjoyment of this music relies on the listener being able to appreciate its refinement and meaning. MF8 termed this the 'format of listening' and at other points in his interview as a 'system of listening.' From this viewpoint, a deficit exists on the part of the listener and not

the music. The music has great value, but the listener is not equipped to benefit from it. This acknowledgment was at the root of MF8's approach to music-making with people who had recently migrated as refugees.

In his approach, MF8 described adopting a learning stance, accepting that knowledge and definitions of cultural value were positioned with the participants and not with him. This learning stance as a music facilitator contrasts to the teaching role presented earlier by MF6. It also contrasts to expectations of a music facilitator's role, as MF8 illustrated with an account of the assumptions of his university music students:

> *And here at conservatory rarely but sometimes it comes into the conversation that I do this thing with refugees and the general assumption is, "OK, so you go there and teach. What do you teach them?" Immediately I reply, "I don't teach them anything. I go there and learn."* (MF8, 00:38:05)

MF8 emphasised his view that the music of the people with whom he worked was a hugely valuable resource that stretched the skills of musicians trained in "western" classical music:

> *Because as a professional musician I have the tools to learn, to acquire rhythmical schemes that are not mine, to be able to appreciate melodies that I don't understand. And sometimes I've played this Kurdish song [Kurdish song title] which has a melody that children were singing to me, Kurdish children in the camp, and it took me like 15, 20 rounds to learn the song because the rhythm was implied but not explicit. And it was so beautiful because there's a pulse that they don't specify, they don't accentuate, like many times in flamenco because you play against the pulse. So you have this upbeat feeling because you know where the downbeat is but you don't have to say it because it's common knowledge.* (MF8, 00:38:05)

Having run groups for some years, MF8 had gained significant knowledge and expertise in repertoire from many countries. This expertise eased facilitation of music-making with the wide variety of national backgrounds in AZCs. His approach sought to afford centrality to all styles of music, and to position all participants equally in the negotiation of cultural presence within sessions.

Furthermore, by showing willingness to learn and by genuinely valuing music from all places, MF8 demonstrated openness to the music that participants wanted to make. This was a central tenet in one organiser's view of the capabilities that enabled successful facilitation of music in an AZC setting:

> *the entry point for us is often not, um, you know, we have this whole, we have this whole set of rules and ideas about what music is and should be because we,*

yeah, because a centre [AZC] is so, it could be anything. So I'm much more looking for someone that is willing to sort of be open and be inviting. (OR22, 00:33:19)

Openness was seen by OR22 to allow the musical tastes and knowledge of group members to be welcomed, whereas any kind of prescriptive approach to genre or repertoire limited opportunities for people to be welcomed:

The thing is that I think it's nice if, if a person at least, sort of, not, does not, is not too strict in the fact that heavy metal is his or her identity, right? So, then, ok then it becomes problematic because then there's no search for other options. (OR22, 00:32:08)

From this stance, the position that the music facilitator takes informs the options available for group members. OR22 gave importance to the openness with which a group was facilitated, in order to allow entry and group membership to a wide range of musical preferences.

A shared aim expressed by OR22, MF8 and MF6 was for people to be able to participate on an equal footing. This objective extended in some groups to members taking on facilitation roles. On occasions this happened casually:

we came in, and we, you know, just got here, but the two of them were sat there sort of jamming together. They were going through songs together … they help each other. (MF6, 00:14:31)

In other cases, peer leadership of groups was built into the organisational approach. Musicians who themselves initially came into a country seeking asylum were employed by project organisers, recognising their skills and enacting a repositioning of leadership roles:

one of the things for the kids is to have someone from their culture and say, uh, who is here in Holland, even in the AZC, who's in a very, um, who's in a good position, let's say. He's doing what he loves. (MF9, 00:26:43)

In MF9's example, an oud player from Syria was employed in an AZC to teach children. This was seen to illustrate to children that they were able to also achieve positions of satisfaction. The Dutch facilitator, MF9, chose to create an experience for the children where it was not a Dutch born person in the leadership role, but a Syrian born musician.

In contrast, MF9 also described how his Dutch nationality conveyed a positional impact:

I grew up in Holland, and, so when I, when people come from abroad and they come and they work with me, so that's, you know, they also on a personal level feel okay, they're dealing with Dutch people. There's cultural difference. And then you're making music together. So also with, I think when engaging in any activity

> *that you do together and where, whereas playing together is even very close together because we're really exchanging things, and you have to be on the same literally in the same kind of wavelength.* (MF9, 00:22:59)

The children within an AZC setting, removed from a normal Dutch living situation, were enabled to interact with a Dutch person despite the limits of their circumstance. Music enabled proximity that social and geographical positioning otherwise prohibited.

The interactions presented have described efforts to redress the pervading marginality of group members, positioning all group members as central to the musical process alongside the music facilitators and organisers. This has involved strategies to welcome people as members regardless of elements of identity such as place of birth or migration status. It has been enacted musically by centralising music from group members' countries within the participatory music-making programmes and in public performances.

A further level of reach was attempted by some facilitators, ***Seeking community impact*** by shifting the position that society at large extends to the musics and to the people who are members of these music groups. For example, MF3 described an outreach project undertaken by the group with which he played:

> *we'd also do projects that penetrate within maybe more of a village community. Like we did, we cooperated with … basically a brass band, really traditional for Dutch community like the small village community … we came to, to cooperate with them and then, yes, you are very much opening also minds of people and you see friendship exists also.* (MF3, 00:17:54)

Musical collaboration between a traditional Dutch community in a small village and a group of musicians who had recently arrived in the Netherlands seeking asylum led to friendships. The assertion by MF3 was that this was quite an unexpected transformation between two groups of people who began far removed from each other. In less formal conditions, he described a similar process:

> *I just took a couple of my musicians to jam sessions and they make great friends there and they did their stuff at the stage and, and super cool conversations started to emerge because people were, the, the visiting audience were genuinely interested in our international company.* (MF3, 00:17:54)

Musical interaction in this example led to personal connections for people who otherwise would remain distant from one another. Physical closeness was clearly important to allow a marginal community and 'native' community members to connect. Music provided the platform and the common interest that initiated proximity and lubricated interaction. Embedded social locations, distanced from one another, were circumvented with music.

Larger scale performances gave opportunities for larger scale impacts, and MF8 described an initiative that invited people who were living in AZCs to perform and attend concerts, giving Dutch audiences the chance to be exposed not only to music but also to the response of people who understood and enjoyed that music:

> *when you have Eritrean, Arabic, Farsi, Iranian music and half of the hall is understanding it.* (MF8, 00:28:26)
>
> *you're seeing the faces and the movements and their expressions their reaction to it. Wow! That's a very special experience.* (MF8, 00:28:33)

Repertoire and audience were comprised by the organisers to reflect the populations of people who were arriving to seek asylum in the Netherlands. Dutch-born members of the audience experienced the culture of part of their city from which they were normally distanced. Culture which was ordinarily confined, was placed centre stage in a city centre cultural centre. Value, prestige and physical space were repositioned.

6.3.2. Leading participatory music-making: Challenges and risks

Despite the best efforts and sincere approaches of music facilitators and organisers to facilitate experiences of repositioning, interviewees described at times ***Finding limited positions available for group members***. In an AZC people are living a life removed from general society, in centres that provide a false environment for orientation. An AZC is a transitory community made up of people newly arrived in a country, speaking a range of languages, with the commonality that they are not 'native' or citizens of the new country in which they have arrived. While music facilitators strived to offer an experience that contrasts to the marginality of this context, facilitators such as MF10 recounted that the external situation did of course permeate and that complexity could characterise the experience of attending a session:

> *It's not like they're the only foreigner and coming to a new place where they know how to fit into what's there because it's really, it's, they're, every, every session is different and the place is different because you don't know how many kids from different places, so it's not easy to fit in or know how to be. I guess it's hard to find who you, who you can be in that session. I think it's really difficult.* (MF10, 00:32:57)

The situation that MF10 described was characterised by foreignness. This was observed to be emphasised further by the remoteness of many AZCs, which often sit on the edges of small towns. According to MF10 this meant that although young residents in centres 'know they're in Holland … they've never met that many Dutch people really' (00:34:01). Some music

facilitators described approaches that sought to surmount the separation between Dutch people and people living in AZCs, but MF8 lamented:

> *places are just so remote, so it's hard to get people visiting, and that's a petty.* (MF8, 00:42:05)

The remote existence, separated from general society that MF10 and MF8 described for people who had emigrated to the Netherlands seeking asylum, offered limited routes away from the marginalised situation. Within music-making interventions groups can be designed to model other ways of being, but foreignness and remoteness may remain prominent.

As well as the challenges of the limited options of positionality available to people, music facilitators and organisers also reflected on the musical challenges they had faced when confronted by ***Finding limited common ground for group members***. MF8 discussed the process of musical negotiation in which people in a music-making group tried to navigate harmonies and rhythms in order to fit together. The risk he identified was that the musical result sometimes became a compromise that was reductive to the point that the defining nuances of cultural identities were lost:

> *And it's quite imaginary I guess this notion of, "OK, all these tradition we're going to blend them and create something new." Well then you're going to lose the essence of all of them in the way, I guess. Because most of time when you jam with other traditions in this five minute jam you meet in the 4/4 and a couple of chords. That's the common territory where you can meet. You don't meet in the beautiful refined tuning, or you don't meet in a complex texture. You don't meet there. You're just not prepared and you can't even hear it. So how would you just spontaneously play it?* (MF8, 00:25:15)

The harmonic and rhythmic language that MF8 observed to be most readily accessed by musicians from all traditions was the shared musical terrain of '4/4 and a couple of chords' Complexity and refinement was seemingly sacrificed due to the necessity to facilitate musicians playing together. MF8 acknowledged this compromise, but the interview did not explore it further, for example in terms of the power dynamics at play in that interaction, or indeed the geopolitical history that may have resulted in the fact that the common musical territory adheres to the European harmonic system rather than an Arabic, Eritrean or other system.

While the colonialist undercurrent suggested in the previous paragraph will be revisited in the next chapter, *Discussion of Findings*, a smaller scale version of dispossession was raised as a risk by MF19. Her example stemmed from playing Iranian music with group members from Iran:

> *it feels as if it could be a huge imposition. That, uh, you've had just about everything taken away from you in the group. And here's this, this powerful person taking your, your words as well.* (MF19, 00:23:01)

In her leadership role, MF19 was aware of how she was positioned in comparison to her Iranian colleagues. Her gesture of cultural recognition could also be interpreted as an act of cultural appropriation by someone in a position of power. This example raised an important point of awareness, that the common ground that MF19 was seeking was actually someone else's ground.

The destination that was reached when music was repositioned in terms of its centrality or marginality was also a consideration raised throughout the interviews. OR22 discussed the popularity of Ethiopian music in the Netherlands, but reflected that some of the successful musicians had fused musical elements with which Dutch audiences were familiar:

> *Because I think Mulatu adopted a little bit of a Western jazz type of vibe into his music. So, so that that mixing of identities and musical landscapes is already there* (OR22, 00:28:02)

Indeed, Mulatu Astatke studied music in the UK and USA and his style of Ethio-jazz combined latin-jazz, New York jazz, Ethiopian instruments and Ethiopian traditions (Wikipedia, 2019b). Rather than his music representing Ethiopian music with some jazz influence, it perhaps better reflects a musician whose influences are not restricted or defined by nationality.

A dynamic notion of musical influence was also very evident from the interviewed music facilitators and organisers. While some of the approaches that have been described talk of musical styles in terms of nationality, the music facilitators themselves appeared to struggle with such categories in relation to their own selves and their musicianship. As such, different understandings of positioning emerged from the music facilitators and organisers in the data, and these will be explored in the following section.

6.3.3. Broader musical experiences and development: Challenges and risks

The key sub-themes relating to the positionality of music facilitators and organisers refer to nationality, family heritage, migration, and complexity. These four areas raised challenges and risks for the interviewees, who questioned their own social positioning and the assumed associations.

A common theme in the data was music facilitators' and organisers' ***Not identifying according to nationality***. 'I never thought of myself as English,' said MF15, 'Even though I was born here' (00:49:24). This reticence came from the implied meaning and attitudes that are incumbent of a national identity group. MF15 continued:

I think of myself as British. (MF15, 00:49:24)

Because I felt … that British was a bit of a catch all for, you could be anyone and be British. You could come from any cultural background and you could express that cultural background underneath the banner of Britishness because there was an inclusivity around it, at that time. (Mf15, 00:49:57)

MF15 identified with the broadness he felt was encompassed in Britishness; not limiting who he or other people could be. This sentiment was also felt by MF19, who distanced herself from an understanding of Englishness that she described as 'island mentality. The Little Englander' (00:38:56):

You've got the flag of St George being used as, as an offensive weapon. And you've got, "English is how I am. And if anything differs from that in, in even the slightest degree it is not us therefore it is foreign, therefore we hate it." (MF19, 00:38:08)

In contrast, MF19 described another form of Englishness that was based in characteristics with which she could associate, linked to traditions of uniformed organisations such as *The Women's Institute* or the *Girl Guides*:

So, uniformed organisations, guiding, what I know about, you've got the welcome, you've got the we're all doing it together, we're sharing what we've got and it's better together and we all help each other. (MF19, 00:37:43)

For MF19 being English had become defined according to dichotomous and conflicted positions:

is Englishness within a European tradition and culture and part of that wider thing, or is English Englishness our empire and going out and conquering foreign lands and bringing back tribute. Depends who you ask. Both. Neither. (MF19, 00:40:02)

It just depends on who's winning the argument about what's English at any given moment. (MF19, 00:39:41)

Similar ambiguity and tension were described too in the Netherlands by OR22:

the problem is at the moment I'm not really sure what Dutch culture is. We are really, we've talked about that before, but this country and Europe in general is really struggling with that. There's this culturalisation of identity and it's been so politicised, I don't know, really. I'm not sure. (OR22, 00:19:54)

One element of Dutch culture that OR22 mentioned was the music of Andre Hazes, which he described as equivalent to German schlager music. However, he distanced himself from

identifying with it, saying, 'I'm one of the people that do not really enjoy that' (00:12:23). It represented an aspect of Dutchness, but OR22 did not connect with it, emphasising his apparent sense of dislocation from national cultural identity.

While the meanings and characteristics implied by national identities evoked dislocation rather than association in some music facilitators and organisers, one place they did describe finding a sense of locatedness and belonging was in ***Music associated with family***. The data revealed strong meanings attached to music that were central to sense of self. Some of these stories related strongly to nationality and culture, but it was the memory of family interaction that appeared most influential. For example, growing up in the UK, OR18 related his musical upbringing:

> *my dad would play* Beatles *songs. So I started playing guitar, playing* Beatles *songs.* (OR18, 00:40:03)

> *When I was very young. And then, you know, I was in different I guess rock bands in my teens.* (OR18, 00:40:10)

For MF15, also raised in UK, the musical background was different but equally formative:

> *I grew up with musical theatre. That's totally my, my musical comfort zone. So I grew up, my, my grandma was really interested in musicals, so I really, I grew up watching all the* MGM *musicals.* (MF15, 00:47:24)

This led to close association with an alternate aspect of UK cultural life than OR18:

> *And then going, and being in all the amateur dramatic societies, and being in shows, musical shows, and then going up to London and seeing all the kind of West End shows at the time, like Mis,* Les Mis*, and* Phantom*, and* Miss Saigon*.* (MF15, 00:47:38)

Family was central to these two experiences, but they were situated in different British cultural contexts. MF6 offered another example. Her father was a teacher of music and ran a brass band, and she grew up with music around her:

> *I've naturally been brought up with it. And because of dad and, you know, I've always liked.. My gran - we lived in a house with my grandparents downstairs, mom and dad and me upstairs, and grandad had a harmonium. We had a harmonium. That's what I started on, you know you're pedalling away* (MF6, 00:31:57)

This description conjured yet another image of the UK. MF6 described a working class home, with generations of family living together, and music present. Her father's musicianship and

the availability of an instrument inspired her to begin the journey that led to her facilitating music groups.

Furthermore, the meanings ascribed to music in MF6's family were formative of her understanding of music. These meanings were not applied in isolation to music, they reflected a broader set of beliefs that informed MF6's positioning of herself and her actions in the world. MF6 described herself as a 'fourth generation Salvationist' (00:31:42), and a central aspect of her father's music-making was with the Salvation Army band. As such, music and religion were intimately related, and this manifested in her motivation to volunteer as a music facilitator:

> *Motivation I suppose it comes from a church background, that you give, you know, you sort of do what you can to help others.* (MF6, 00:31:03)

Interestingly, MF6's influences also appeared to play out in musical decisions for the group that she facilitated. In describing her pedagogical approach she was strong that it's about 'the involvement of everybody rather than imposing' (00:21:23). However, some choices did seem to follow from the background that she described:

> *I started with the book, which had the simple chords in, I mean, one of the first ones was* Amazing Grace *actually.* (MF6, 00:21:50)
>
> *Of the books I, they're, they're in there somewhere, but that's where I've got some like, um,* English Country Garden *is one using those same three chords A, E and D.* (MF6, 00:22:54)

These examples represent religion and a particular style of traditional Englishness. To convey those meanings was not an intent that MF6 articulated, or even perhaps held, but it did seem that the group's musical character was in some way positioned in accordance with MF6's.

The example of *Amazing Grace* also allows a second level of analysis, which introduces the next sub-theme. Although the lyrics and composition of *Amazing Grace* are attributed to the Englishman John Newton, the melody which is now most widely sung was written by the American composer William Walker. Furthermore, Newton's lyrics were inspired through his involvement in the transatlantic slave trade and his subsequent conversion to Christianity (Wikipedia, 2019a). Musical migration and geographical migration (violently forced migration in the case of slavery) are at the core of this song, and to ignore that would be to smooth over a topic that is central to the experiences of music facilitators and organisers - the influence of migration.

Discussing their work, music facilitators and organisers talked about ***The place of migration*** in their own stories. Some interviewees had integrated their migration history with their present

self, and for others it remained a source of tension. MF3 remembered holidays in his father's homeland and distinct impressions that it made:

> *I think one of my more early experiences with music is sneak into my dad's car when, my, my dad is from Serbia and, and so we, so I'm, I'm a son of an immigrant basically. But he just came for work here in like 1968 or whatever. I was 8 years old or maybe younger, I don't know, I sneak in, sneak into the car when it was just parked in Serbia on the vacations. And my father had these Serbian cassette tapes of folk music, a rather nationalistic, but yeah, you don't know, you don't even understand the language. So, but it had this kind of a locomotive energy kind of thing. It was unstoppable, you know, really that kind of thing. And it was so powerful. And I remember just listening to this song, just day, yeah, over and over and over.* (MF3, 00:00:55)

The impression that this Serbian music made was clear, but MF3 explained his musical path diverging from that. He learnt to play guitar, and became influenced by flamenco, Indian, jazz, and Middle Eastern music. For his father this conflicted with strongly held prejudices:

> *my father being a Serbian, being the whole nation being skeptic towards Eastern, Arabic, Muslim, and all those kind of things* (MF3, 01:07:17)

This schism between MF3's influences and his father's prejudice played out in a musical performance:

> *I played with my band … the Kurdish flute player was in there as well, so I got really already kind of a Middle Eastern sound in it. And I made this composition which I frequently used, frequently used as an intro which is was let's, let's say for me it was very, very dark Indian kind of a vibe, but very dark. Really big, pompous, really bombastic big stuff with this flute with it emphasising the eastern side of things. And it was just a really big three quarters [singing -] "Boom, Dadada doon doon doon, boom boom." So it was big, dark, and we're playing outside on this square. And my parents came to watch and I, and I felt, I felt the breaking of the heart of my father.* (MF3, 01:05:01)

MF3's father apparently heard the composition as a musical performance of MF3 positioning himself away from his father's Serbian identity. The story seemed symbolic of a dislocation that was only redressed much later in MF3's life when he was invited by the Kurdish flute player to hear the music group that he would go on to facilitate:

> *I just came and watched and within one minute I knew exactly this is what I want to do. There's this, this, for the first time in, that was like 35 years then, by then, I thought OK now I'm sure this is what I want.* (MF3, 00:04:39)

On watching the music group perform MF3 said he knew immediately that that was where he fitted. He joined the group, playing with musicians who had arrived in the Netherlands seeking asylum. He had been fuelled in his musical development with inspiration from many geographical regions, and he was well positioned to now play with musicians from Africa, Asia and the Middle East. The memory he related of listening to Serbian music in his father's car had clearly emoted a strong response, but it did not follow that he committed himself to that genre of music. In fact MF3's decision to play music informed by Arabic culture conflicted with his father's culture and its implications.

Strong and specific cultural meanings were prominent in several music facilitators' accounts of how they developed musically. MF10 recounted how her mother's interpretation of English culture influenced her musical path:

> *It's a strange dynamic in my house because my father's an academic and my mother came from a rural farming town in Japan and she has this idea that everything English, everything British, is really good. So she'll go to like manor houses and she'll, you know, that's, that's the top for her. So she, so I think that anything, you know, playing classical music maybe has a certain image about it.* (MF10, 00:27:37)

Classical music represented a version of Britishness that MF10's mother thought to be desirable. This may have stemmed from seeking to integrate into a foreign country, or it may be from personal interest, MF10 suggested only that there was a concept of status involved as manor houses were 'top for her.'

Three of the interviewed music facilitators and organisers had Jewish heritage, with relatives who migrated from Germany or Israel. In different ways this influenced their musical lives. MF9 and MF15 both remembered listening to Hebrew songs when they were young. MF9 recalled that memory:

> *You know, we had records of, uh, yeah, uh, Hebrew, Hebrew songs and also children's songs. One of the first memories I have as a very small child that I learned to point out the different singers it was on the background, different pictures of the different, uh, artists and I could point which song belonged to which artist.* (MF9, 00:09:31)

These shared moments between MF9 and his father faded as he got older, and then so did his connection with the Hebrew music:

> *I got detached a little from the influence because, um, you know, grow up so he was not sharing music or records for me from Israel. He was just listening to it himself a little bit but not actively sharing it. He didn't teach me Hebrew also.*

And obviously the phase of children's songs and listening to those records together, it, it, ended at a certain point. (MF9, 00:10:13)

Hebrew music was part of a memory of childhood, but it did not sustain directly as a musical influence or cultural presence for MF9. The influence may of course have been less literal, as MF15 recounted. MF15's mother migrated from Israel to live in the UK, so each summer they would go back for holidays, during which he remembered being 'surrounded by kind of Israeli pop songs and Israeli folk music' (00:48:49). As with MF9, this genre of music did not sustain in terms of MF15's musical repertoire choices, but it was part of his education:

understanding that the world is much bigger than Bognor (MF15, 00:49:24)

Exposure to music from his family's culture expanded MF15's world view. This process continued too as a professional singer, performing international repertoire with international casts:

I was, you know, steeped in Mozart and Handel and Elgar and Poulenc and kind of all of those, these different composers from around from around Europe (MF15, 00:51:03)

Touring and working abroad added further exposure to music and culture, and here MF15's musical life circled back to those childhood memories of Israel:

Traditions that have come from other cultures and those kinds of sounds and those scales and like that the Arabic scales and a lot of that stuff really resonated me on a DNA level because it's come back, comes from my Jewish heritage. Growing up in Israel you hear the oriental scales and sounds translated through Hebrew sometimes, but, yeah, it's there in my, in my cultural DNA. (MF15, 00:51:31)

The cultural landscape of MF15's childhood, informed by his mother having migrated from Israel, established a view of the world in which he positioned himself as a member of a 'multicultural cast' (00:52:51).

Jewish history impacted MF7's musical development in another way. She recounted how as 'the grandchild of a Holocaust survivor' she felt that her mother made the choice not to educate her in that heritage, and she now missed that aspect of who she was:

I think being the grandchild of a Holocaust survivor something like the Holocaust in a way rips you of identity. And as a third generation, it's interesting because my, I didn't get any of it from my mom because there was almost like, I don't really know, but she, you know, she because of the trauma they experienced she had to grow up in a very specific way. And I think she didn't want to impose any

of that on me. And so in a way there's actually an absence of identity that I feel. (MF7, 00:16:19)

Despite this, she did feel that music was one aspect that assailed the absence of connection to her Jewish identity. MF7's grandmother shared a love for the violin, which she speculated was linked to the instrument's place in Jewish music:

for her it was I think a very important, very moving thing for her and I never realized it when I was younger. It was only after she died and I was older that my mom kind of said, "I don't think you realise how important this actually was to her." And funny enough when I … decided I want to be a performer again … one of the first things my mom said to me was, "Your grandmother would be so proud of you." Like she really, it's a thing. So it's not so much a specific type of music, although klezmer music of course, Jewish music you know (MF7, 00:11:21)

Somehow MF7 found a connection back to the Jewish aspect of her identity through the musical connection with her grandmother. Like MF15 and MF9 this cultural heritage did not materialise in MF7's choices of repertoire, but it was a strong influence on her:

it definitely inspires. I do think that it inspires a lot of what I do. So, but yeah, it's less about the specific genre of music and I think more about the importance of music overall for my particular path. (MF7, 00:11:21)

Family history provided a depth of cultural connection for MF7 that influenced her musical development. The influence was not seen in a simple reproduction of her grandmother's musical heritage, but rather in MF7's inspiration to pursue her own musical path.

The direct influence of familial cultural heritage on musical choices was perhaps most prominent in MF4's interview data. MF4 migrated from the Democratic Republic of Congo to the UK with her parents when she was 4 years old. Her mother was English, but Congolese music and her father's voice were the most vivid musical memories she recalled sounding in her home:

You know you'd always have his music playing most, most of which would be Congolese music as well. (MF4, 00:00:04)

he was a wonderful singer as well, you know, who was amaze.., you know, I just like, the memories of him being just about the house in, you know, usually in another room but you could just hear it from around the house. And him just like wailing away. (MF4, 00:01:03)

These sounds of childhood were engrained in memories, but MF4 began playing music at school in England, and with her mother's influence she played violin and sang in choirs before

moving on to be a singer-songwriter. While MF4 recounted that her Congolese heritage had always been present for her, 'rhythmically, melodically, and kind of what I just hear' (00:15:18), she explained that it was only recently that she had fully embraced it:

> *I didn't start incorporating that until we started this band and actually to begin with the band was just very loosely described as Afro folk band. And then it took a couple of years before I really started bringing in my kind of cultural heritage roots into that and started writing songs in Lingala and things like that so that's only been in the last like two or three years really that I've really started embracing that* (MF4, 00:14:38)

The resulting music MF4 described as a 'conglomerate of cultural influences' (00:15:18). Her accent betrayed her Englishness to Congolese audiences, and the use of Lingala confronted English audiences with her foreignness. Friends had told her that '"it's like a completely different person just comes out when you start speaking, um, singing in Lingala,"' (00:16:03).

During our interview MF4 became emotional telling me lyrics that reminded her of the kind of wisdom her father would share in 'essentially lectures' that he would deliver to his children to 'explain what life is about' (00:18:11):

> *[sings] "Suku ufandinye ukuyoka matema nyo."*
>
> *Um, yeah, "If you sit quietly you'll hear your own heart."*
>
> *This kind of stuff.... (laughs).* (MF4, 00:16:32)

Embracing Congolese music in her own creativity connected MF4 to her father and to her family's cultural heritage. By writing songs and performing them to audiences, MF4 located herself firmly and publicly within that culture. MF4 recounted one public gesture made at a large concert that encapsulated that sentiment, embracing family, music and culture:

> *I try and you know talk a bit about the background to the songs and stuff like that. And I had a big platter of sliced pineapple sprinkled with salt and that was something that my dad always fed us as kids.* (MF4, 00:40:28)
>
> *I got my mother my sister to help me prepare it before the gig. And then my my other brother was like going round offering it to the audience kind of thing and I talked about how, you know, my my dad, and Congolese roots are quite big influence and that music and you know he's not with us anymore and I've got my siblings here it just feels like a really great moment to like share that with all of you and kind of like, you know, the little tribute thing and it was really really beautiful* (MF4, 00:41:45)

Hearing this story during our interview I was emotionally moved, and reflected to MF4 that I was struck that salted pineapple seemed to me so culturally specific while the acts of sharing food, music and paying tribute to family are universal. The effort involved can be appreciated by anyone.

MF4's stories illustrated the influence of her father and her family's cultural heritage. However, that relationship was not always simple, and at times she also touched on the complexity that underlies culture and migration. This will be explored in the next sub-theme:

Navigating complexity and privilege

The music that MF4 chose to integrate into her song-writing was soukous, but this was not the music with which her father was most connected. He was a choir leader, MF4's grandfather was a Christian pastor, and her mother was a Baptist missionary, so a lot of MF4's father's repertoire was made up of European hymns translated into Lingala. Indeed, MF4 noted how, 'his original culture from Congo, you know, had kind of melded if you like in with this European Christianity that was brought over there' (00:04:04). His was not an untainted Congolese culture, it was coloured by European religious culture. Colonial migration massively informed the culture with which MF4's father migrated to the UK. The processes of cultural migration that influenced MF4 were multi-directional and complex.

The historical and multi-directional nature of cultural migration was also raised by OR14. Reflecting on his work with recently emigrated musicians in the UK, he noted that they were not entering a culture that was as static or defined as it was often represented to be:

> *British culture is much more complicated and multi faced than the sort of perceived narrow view.* (OR14, 00:09:56)

The musicians with whom OR14 worked he viewed as part of an on-going historical movement of people, influencing all aspects of the UK:

> *if you look back at the history, just that without kind of putting labels on people of, you know, ethnicities or religions or whatever, but just the geographical places people have come from different places in the world to the UK for hundreds of years. And, you know, we wouldn't have coffee shops, we wouldn't have guitars, we wouldn't have Chuck Berry, you know.* (OR14, 00:11:24)

A similar history exists in the Netherlands according to OR22, although it is often subsumed by a dominant discourse to the contrary:

> *I miss that story also a little bit. Like the acc, the accept, the, the, accepting the fact that we and, and Holland even maybe even more so than other countries in Europe, but, but the whole of Europe is so, it is so culturally diverse. And what we*

> *call Dutch culture is so, you know, ingrained with all these influences from all over the world. And, you know, that makes it difficult to, to, you know, to see that shift into sort of this idea of one culturally homogeneous. I think it's just naive and nonexistent.* (OR22, 00:43:10)

OR22, OR14 and MF7 offered examples that demonstrated how music that was considered to be indicative of Dutch, British, or Congolese culture was the result of historical migration. OR14 and OR22 stressed further that notions of national culture often ignored cultural origins. Belief that migration is a new phenomenon ignores the reality of our histories, as MF19 joked:

> *You know, it wouldn't be much use saying, um, going, "My family goes back to William the Conqueror," because then you'd be French anyway.* (MF19, 00:39:17)

Music facilitators' and organisers' experiences illuminated a fallacy in viewing recent migration as an isolated, modern phenomenon. Culture was presented as the result of historical migration. Furthermore, the examples shared in this section have revealed complex associations to nationality, family and music that create individualised relationships with culture.

In their accounts music facilitators and organisers positioned themselves in relation to their cultural heritage and their current cultural context through a series of decisions that related back to the culture and migration histories of their families. They did not present themselves as positioned on a static, nationality-based, homogenous, cultural centre-ground, but rather as choosing to position themselves on the cultural ground with which they could associate.

The choices implied in the previous paragraphs suggest dynamics of privilege in comparison to the limited opportunities that have been discussed for people who have emigrated to seek asylum. Several of the music facilitators and organisers demonstrated awareness of the privilege their identity allows them. OR14 acknowledged that 'as a white European middle class' man:

> *No one ever makes me stand up for my religious background or my cultural heritage or whatever. I never get questioned. But other, other people who aren't from that background do get asked those questions, and they do get associations.* (OR14, 00:18:20)

OR18 recognised that in places he has travelled, being 'a white Englishman … who is a musician … will do you more good than harm' (00:48:23). Whereas he described a very different experience for an Iranian friend in the UK:

> *she just doesn't like calling herself Iranian because she thinks that people, either subconsciously or not, that they're kind of like "terrorist" kind of, you know, "Islamic extremist" little light flashes in the brain.* (OR18, 00:49:08)

This final example demonstrates the extreme incumbency of societal positioning on aspects of identity. While being identified as white, English and male places OR18 in a position of advantage, being an Iranian woman in the UK places her at risk of prejudice.

Another positioning was experienced by MF4. As an English person with Congolese heritage, she felt perceived as black in the UK, but when she visited Congo she recalled 'they perceived me as a white person' (00:26:20). She recounted the realisation this evoked that, 'I am kind of traversing this line and I'm neither nor' (00:26:20). MF4's words conjure liminality, perhaps denied full belonging or the privileges due to either identity group.

In the data from interviews with music facilitators and organisers it was apparent that there was conflict between claiming positions of centrality and marginality. Rather than stating allegiance with dominant identity groups based for example on nationality, there was over-riding reticence to be associated on simple terms. Complexity was clearly present in the way that music facilitators and organisers viewed themselves in relation to others, informed by familial, political and cultural relationships and heritage.

6.3.4. Organisational sphere: Challenges and risks

Navigation of positioning also emerged as a theme at an organisational level. Charities and institutions were described making decisions as to how to locate themselves in relation to external pressures, firstly raising the challenges and risks of whether to ***Comply or out-lie***.

Two interviewees discussed how in order to secure financial support they have had to compromise their views and position themselves in line with funders' priorities. MF15 acknowledged his own aversion to identifying the people with whom he worked with the word 'refugees,' but had done so 'to get funding' (01:07:38). Similarly, OR14 shifted his stance in order to boost the success of his work:

> *I didn't used to have refugee or migrant on the website but then I put it on and our Google searches went up, our gig bookings went up.* (OR14, 00:19:17)

To finance programming, these organisers have complied with the labelling practices with which they object. According to MF15, a 'set of languaging' (01:09:05) would be necessary to redress this situation that currently seemed to demand that organisers perpetuate or remain outside of access to funding.

Another example was given by OR18, who discussed a project for young people that was funded 'under the guise that it came under *citizenship*' (00:31:22). Aligning with the funding

criteria of *citizenship* allowed a music project to go ahead with young people who had recently migrated to the UK, however it was problematic for some of the music facilitators who were involved:

> *it is quite controversial with the team, the, the music facilitators I'm using. You know, it's controversial for them. They're very anti this whole government drive for our Britishness and citizenship.* (OR18, 00:33:27)

There was reluctance to comply with a policy that was objectionable to the music facilitators. In the end, a creative response was found to the conundrum, identifying aspects of citizenship that were related to 'diversity and inclusion and equality, rather than [laughter] what it means to be British' (OR18, 00:32:23). These examples illustrated how there can be pressure to position music projects in line with funding bodies' criteria, and how this can translate to complicity with their agendas.

Separate from the risks of complicity, the value and difficulty of navigating ***Cooperation or conflict*** between organisations also emerged as a sub-theme on the organisational level. The music group organised by OR25 was part of a long running 'partnership' between four organisations. Complimentary expertise and shared resources meant that organisational cooperation better served the community than any one of the partners could on their own. A similar working partnership was described by MF3, in which 'we're using each others stuff' (00:07:24).

A looser network approach had been developed by OR14, through which informal cooperation between organisations working in the same field had proved fruitful:

> *I met another organisation called [name of organisation] who we do a lot of work with, and good friends with, you know the thing of they support us and we support them in a lot of, a lot of events and stuff like that. So, yeah, just, you know, you build your networks* (OR14, 00:03:20)

However, examples of lack of cooperation were also recounted by OR14, particularly with some of the 'bigger organisations' in his region:

> *'[name of city] Festival doesn't really engage with us and I think that's been one of my issues with … the mainstream, larger events here don't include those, those [Syrian, Polish, Eritrean and other non-English heritage] communities.' (OR14,* 00:56:56)

OR14 made a distinction with 'the mainstream,' marking them to be less cooperative or engaged with communities who were perhaps seen as non-mainstream. His accounts

suggested that cooperation was possible with smaller organisations but there were barriers to infiltrating mainstays of his region's cultural life.

Conflict was also presented in OR22's portrayal of organisational collaboration. In order to access the locations in which OR22 facilitated music activities, cooperation was needed from the institution responsible for the provision of those spaces:

> *we have to work together with [name of institution] because we want to have a space and we want to be part of, you know, we want to be present. But there's a lot of instances where [name of institution] is not necessarily happily providing that.* (OR22, 00:38:02)

This tension between cooperating and conflicting was perhaps endemic of the wider context in which the music groups were taking place:

> *politically speaking we're, we're, this country is much more into, you know, into the idea of not inviting people.* (OR22, 00:38:54)

For OR22 facilitating music-making for people who were newly arrived in a country was a gesture of hospitality that he suggested was contrary to the national political agenda. Cooperation was not easy and seemed to require on-going advocacy. Here the organisational effort appeared to contain an activist element, creating cooperation against the contextual tide.

6.3.5. Summary of findings on theme 2: Centralising and marginalising

Accounts from music facilitators and organisers revealed music being appropriated in complex acts of identity positioning related to group membership, societal status, culture, nationality and family. In the research contexts, participants and their cultural resources were invited to take central roles, in contrast to their perceived accustomed marginality. Facilitators' efforts to work through music groups to impact the attitudes of wider communities were presented in terms of shifting orientalising dynamics of listening, and repositioning the deficit to the listener rather than the 'foreign' sounding music. However, challenges to these approaches were noted in the data, with the mobility and points of commonality that are available to people who have migrated country acknowledged as limited.

Talking of their own experiences of migration and music, the fluidity and multi-directionality of influences was very evident in music facilitators' and organisers' stories. Active and interactional processes by which people adopt and adapt identity positions, were evident in the examples of how nationality, culture and musical tastes had been navigated.

At an organisational level, the agendas that influenced positional choices of institutional presentation and representation of others, were linked to funding. This imperative drove decisions that conflicted with ethical stances, but enabled the work.

As was clear in all domains, while agency and choice could be applied in self-defining identity roles and positions, there were also limits and contingency attached to those decisions. This meant that the version of self that was presented, was not always the desired one. Processes connected to expressing self are the focus of the third theme.

6.4. Theme 3: Expressing self

This third theme of *Expressing Self* consists of accounts from music facilitators and organisers concerning people's own expression of themselves. Again findings will be presented across the domains of *Leading participatory music-making*, *Broader musical experiences and development*, and the *Organisational sphere*.

6.4.1. Leading participatory music-making: Facilitating self exploration & expression

In the data, self exploration and expression emerged as important in how music facilitators and organisers observed music-making supporting the process of reorientation faced by people who emigrate seeking asylum. OR22 related how he saw issues of self perception to be provoked by changes of circumstances and to be embedded in bureaucratic processes:

> *people are in flux … often people are sort of asking themselves "Who am I now?" Because they're in a situation, they often didn't choose to be in that situation. So people are sort of dealing with the question of identity in general because of, you know, because they migrated from this country. They're in a situation now where, you know, there's all these mechanisms around them asking them "Who are you?" "Why are you here?" "What are you doing?" "Where do you want to go?"* (OR22, 00:03:04)

Music facilitators and organisers described music-making interventions responding to these questions. Interviews contained accounts of how facilitators and organisers understand participatory music-making to afford opportunities for ***Facilitating exploration of self***, both through explicit methods and implicitly through musical interaction. For example, MF19 described working deliberately to allow group members freedom in music sessions through her pedagogical decisions:

> *To provide a safe space, in which people can be as much of themselves as they want to be.* (MF19, 00:35:36)

MF19 sought to create the space in which group members were not obliged to share themselves, but in which they may feel the security to explore themselves through musical

interaction. Other music facilitators described a similar idea informing their use of improvisation with groups. For MF4, improvisation facilitated opportunities for meaning to emerge and could lead to a new awareness of self:

> *it was just coming from this very subconscious place and from that came a lot of meaning for people, you know, in realising kind of, and myself, you know, realising aspects of what was important... to me whether it was just at that time or like this core belief and how I was kind of expressing that through my individual voice.* (MF4, 00:46:08)

There was a sense in these words that the unscripted nature of improvisation allowed expression of layers of understanding of which people were not always consciously aware. Musical exploration here was allowing self exploration. OR18 also recounted how improvisation with groups allowed elements of self to be uncovered:

> *instinctively, everything's that in your, you know, your mind, your learning, your physicality, your, you know, your, your skin tone, your exper, your experiences, your journeys. Eventually all of that comes through in, in sort of creativity and improvisation.* (OR18, 00:10:48)

Creative exploration was aligned with self exploration in OR18's interpretation of the group improvisations that he facilitated. These were collective experiences he described, during which care was taken for 'allowing space for individuality' (OR18, 00:10:37).

The space for individual exploration within a group music-making setting was approached and observed in less explicit terms by other music facilitators and organisers. MF10 worked with children who were sometimes very recently arrived in the Netherlands, and she observed a process happening that enacted 'an identity that they're trying to, that they're building' (00:31:10). In its early stages, she saw this play out through a search within the group for security:

> *they'll often go towards the same nationality, they'll often, they'll often like look, or, you know, same, same sex also, same age. So really like they're trying to find their, their safety place.* (MF10, 00:31:54)

In this example, the children explored where they may feel safe in the music group and within their new context. Only when this sense of security had been achieved did MF10 begin to observe a next stage of orientation beginning:

> *the confidence definitely comes out, and then I guess they're trying to make a new identity* (MF10, 00:32:37)

In MF10's account, it was the group space that allowed exploration of identity rather than one particular musical technique that she was employing.

The mnemonic power of music also emerged as important in how music facilitators and organisers understood how identity was navigated by people in a new country. OR22 suggested that when people listen to music, 'all these images of who you were, are, were, they come to you' (00:01:40). Therefore, he said, 'part of that is memory, but part of that could also be now, here, and now' (00:02:48). Music attached to memories still existed in the present, and OR22 presented this as an important resource for the exploration of identity within the current, new context, as people were asking themselves that question, '"Who am I now?"' (00:03:04).

Again in response to that question, music facilitators and organisers emphasised music-making's affordance for ***Facilitating self expression*** in how they explained and conceptualised their work. MF4 talked about 'empowering people to be able to express themselves,' (00:33:18) and MF15 framed his approach as seeking to 'create a supportive and safe environment so actually that, that young person can express themselves in the way that is most appropriate for them' (00:14:29). This self expression was described in broad terms by one music facilitator, as in relation to 'their pain and frustration' or 'something they've learned and want to share from their culture' (MF4, 00:33:18). The idea of music providing 'an outlet' for such expression was stressed by MF6.

Overall, the importance attributed to self expression was linked to the fact that through music this could be done non-verbally and without the need for a shared language. As OR25 said:

> *they don't actually have to speak to anybody do they. If they're playing they could just express themselves through the music* (OR25, 00:21:30)

In other words, through music-making, 'you can talk without talking' (OR22, 00:03:39). OR14 recounted a beautiful example of self expression on these terms, when a man from Iraq arrived at the very end of a recording session requesting to perform one song:

> *And he came and he sang one song and he didn't speak any English and we were using google translate and I know a couple of words in Arabic and roughly it was a song about his love for Iraq and he was going, "Habibi Iraq, wife Iraq, son Iraq." Yeah, it was, it was fucking, I mean it was heartbreaking, sorry, swearing.*
>
> *It was really sad and you could see his face, man, I'm kind of putting on to him, but he, you could, he was, you know I'm guessing he was struggling, you know. I dunno. But he was, but he sang this beautiful song* (OR14, 00:48:10)

Although OR14 and the singer did not share a language, OR14 described a powerful communication between them. He reflected that 'there was a sort of shared emotion' (00:50:54), and that came across in his telling of the incident. Music appears to have allowed the man from Iraq to express something of himself, regardless of language.

Musical expression in this section has been found to be presented by music facilitators and organisers as a powerful representation of self for music group members. Representations of themselves in stories from the music facilitators and organisers will be explored in the next section, revealing the importance of this process for them as much as for the people with whom they work.

6.4.2. Broader musical experiences and development: Performing their role

Analysis suggests that the ways in which music facilitators and organisers perform their roles are expressive of elements of their identities and strongly informed by elements that are important to their sense of self. Beliefs and philosophies that are held as important in everyday life are seen to inform professional approaches, and this is explored in the following sub-theme, ***Believing in something***.

Music facilitators' and organisers' motivations to make music with people who emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution emerged in the data as being informed by beliefs and philosophies that were important in their understandings of who they are. Interviewees' accounts revealed the ways in which they frame themselves and their work through their world view. For example, religious and philosophical outlooks were described. In MF6's case, the connection of her christianity to her work was clear:

> *Motivation I suppose it comes from a church background, that you give, you know, you sort of do what you can to help others.* (MF6, 00:31:03)

MF6 described straightforwardly that the teachings of her religion informed her decision to volunteer and facilitate the music group. Christianity was also present in the establishment of one group that was discussed, explained by OR25 as an initiative of 'the church and the community' (00:06:01). This enterprise motivated volunteerism, with OR25 explaining her own reasons to be involved:

> *I just liked helping people. I'd had a very good life, so I just want to share it with somebody else, that was less fortunate, you know. So that was really, I just liked helping people.* (OR25, 00:39:15)

For MF6 and OR25 volunteerism was intertwined with their sense of self and the beliefs by which they live. Other music facilitators and organisers also described how their beliefs

informed their professional practice. MF9 was influenced by his understanding of Daoist teachings:

> *Health is in fact an action, an action. Something you do can be healthy or unhealthy or stimulate health, stimulate or work against it.* (MF9, 00:13:26)

MF4's belief system explained for her how connections can be made between people playing music together, despite the differences between their past experiences and their cultural outlooks:

> *I'm still very firm believer of us all being extensions of each other like wherever we've come from, you know, we're all aspects essentially of the same thing and that's, you know, why we relate so strongly to, to art and music, you know, and why it's so powerful why it touches all of us.* (MF4, 00:33:18)

Taking a step further back from the differences that people feel between each other, and the conflicts that exist based on those differences, MF3 sought understanding through an explanation he drew from his 'karmic' interpretation:

> *I could be very well have been a Turkish person, you know, and being on the other side, or you know on the opposing side, or whatever, because that's the whole thing. It's, it's not Party A - Party B. It's just this mess. If you just can elevate a little bit you see there are no sides and that's the start of being able to let go or just giving in some place* (MF3, 01:10:40)

The viewpoint that MF3 described infers what he perceived to be an elevated perspective, removed from the conflicts that play out between people. This meant that he did not see himself as engaged with those issues on a personal or professional level. For MF3, his philosophical standpoint did not motivate his work but it informed his understanding of the issues that have driven people to emigrate and seek asylum.

What did motivate MF3 in his work was the music itself. In contrast to a colleague who was driven by achieving what he identified as the group's social agenda, MF3 said:

> *He has his ideals, I don't, I am just a music, music man, you know.* (MF3, 00:08:25)

MF3's musical interest, as previously illustrated with his discovery of musical belonging with the group, was his motivation. This was also partly true for OR14, who described the first aspect of his motivation:

> *I mean it's partly driven by me being a little bit obsessed with music. (OR14, 00:13:38)*

OR14 recognised this musical drive as important for his involvement in music-making with people who have migrated from other countries. However, it was not the whole picture, and a belief in what can be described as social justice was the second aspect of his motivation:

> *I firmly believe that everyone should have a kind of equal crack at the whip, and everyone should have a go, and, you know, be able to be represented how they want to be represented* (OR14, 00:13:38)

The work that OR14 was doing fulfilled his own musical obsession, and it contributed towards his idea of a just society. While OR14 described, but didn't name, social justice as a motivation, MF15 did use the term in relation to his work:

> *the emphasis is on creating your own work and talking about social justice issues. So we use art as a lens for saying something in the world.* (MF15, 00:23:24)

In MF15's understanding of social justice, it cuts across all areas of life where inequity is confronted:

> *We've had to deal with white privilege, and we've had to deal with, with feminism and sexism. We've had to deal with homophobia. We've had to deal with racism. We've had to deal, like so many different things, you know, patronising someone in a wheelchair, all, all of that stuff* (MF15, 00:30:04)

Social justice, in MF15's belief, is about all people being able to be equally themselves:

> *I think people are able to really assert their identity in an environment where everything, where you are accepted for who you are* (MF15, 00:22:02)

This social justice standpoint appeared to represent beliefs that MF15 held, and it was also the standpoint from which his work stemmed. The ethos he expressed was that no aspect of who someone is should hinder their opportunities to fully participate in society, and nobody should have to hide aspects of themselves in order to avoid prejudice.

Another system of thought that influenced MF15's work was his theoretical grounding in biodynamic therapy. Motivated by the feeling that he did not have the knowledge needed to work with children in post-conflict situations, MF15 trained for three years to understand somatic and therapeutic responses 'from a neurobiological perspective' (00:06:24). In this example therapeutic expertise was developed in response to MF15's motivation to help children who had gone through traumatic experiences, and this school of thought then had direct influence on professional approach.

This sub-theme has shown that beliefs held by music facilitators and organisers characterise who they are and how they work. Philosophies motivate action and inform how people choose to act. In the interplay of motivation and action representations of self are revealed.

However, analysis of the data found that not all professional roles were achieved through conscious decisions, and the next sub-theme of ***Taking chances*** presents such instances.

It was striking that eight of the music facilitators and organisers described moments of coincidence that led to them doing the work that they now do. MF7 gave the example of her first opportunity to have violin lessons, where all the children 'had to put our names into a hat and we'd be chosen because it was free' (00:00:33). When she was older another coincidence helped guide her back into a career as a musician:

> *I just was really lucky enough to know someone who was dating a like a contemporary violinist essentially.* (MF7, 00:07:42)

Two big opportunities that enabled MF7's career she put down to luck. OR18 similarly acknowledged the role of chance in her musical direction, recounting that her connection to work in AZCs came 'coincidentally, as most things I'm saying so far. As most important things in life' (00:08:46). MF6 began leading a music group because the first week she attended the leader told her, '"I'm going to be missing for the next six weeks,"' (00:01:28) and she never came back. OR14's obsession with music from other countries began when he 'went to a mate's wedding in Turkey in 2007' and strengthened when two years later he got a call from another friend saying '"I've got a Russian folk singer staying with us for a few days"' (00:00:17). These chance events had major influences on life directions.

In the previous sub-theme the influence of MF15's beliefs and theoretical stance were recounted. However, the importance of chance in his life was also very present. A first example was in relation to musical career:

> *I became an opera singer kind of by chance because I actually really wanted to be in musical theatre.* (MF15, 00:00:53)

Choosing to train as a biodynamic therapist, MF15 recalled, also hinged on a piece of luck:

> *it was just one of those really chance things I was on a train coming home from London and I saw somebody reading [name of the author and book], and I just thought I have to buy that book. So I just, yeah I went straight on my phone, bought it on* Amazon*.* (MF15, 00:05:47)

Even the success and enrolment to MF15's music projects was described in terms of chance:

> *I mean the way that people get involved with this programme is mostly by chance.* (MF15, 00:41:07)

Fortuity was described guiding important events for MF15. However, it was not down to chance that after reading the book MF15 then studied for three years to be a biodynamic therapist, or that he studied many hours to become an opera singer. Similarly, chance

encounters triggered OR14's obsession for recording music from different countries, but he then acted upon his awoken interest. MF6 chose to remain with the music group when the previous leader stopped coming. MF7 flourished as a violinist because of her hours of practice, although without a bit of luck in the beginning she wouldn't have had that opportunity.

Given a bit of luck, these music facilitators and organisers took agency to seize their chances. This was perhaps also representative of who they are. Not everyone would have the commitment to become a professional violinist or therapist. Also not everyone would have the resources to do so.

6.4.3. Organisational sphere: Challenges and risks

Music facilitators and organisers discussed how organisations' formally declared mandates defined, enabled, and at times limited their activities. Charities' fields of influence are delineated, which was seen to create clarity but also pressure. The following section will explore a sub-theme related to these challenges and risks of organisational identities.

The tension between a charity's mandate and its working practice was raised by OR25, who reflected on her organisations ***Limiting statutes***. She recounted an instance when her organisation was no longer able to pay the costs of a music group due to a divergence between funding allocations and activities:

> *it didn't come in their remit as being part of the destitution for refugees and asylum seekers.* (OR25, 00:03:16)

The music group did not conform with the charity's remit and therefore could not be financed, despite OR25 elsewhere acknowledging the great benefits of the music group for its members. This is an example of institutional identity, defined by remit, limiting action.

Interviewees also described how charities can define themselves in order to clarify their intentions and activities as distinct from those of other organisations. For example OR22 explained:

> *there's a lot of organisations that work with people that live on AZCs, but often it's, it's either not on the centre, or, or it's more connected to … finding a house, learning a language, and that kind of thing.* (OR22, 00:35:58)
>
> *we consciously said we want to … provide people some relief of all that what is going on, and that first, that first moment.* (OR22, 00:36:22)

Distinguishing the charity's purpose set it aside from the other organisations working in the same context. This can be important too in order to avoid conflicts. MF3 related conflict he had seen between two allied music charities with their applications for local council funding:

> *sometimes there is some friction, uh, on a, like a, funding level and the subsidy level stuff like that. So they, they sometimes, they come across at the gemeente [local council] or whatever and then they just, one just stole the funding just before the eyes of the other, stuff like.* (MF3, 00:07:24)

Choices of definitions and identity in the organisational sphere distinguished working remits and fields of activity. While accounts showed how this can positively distinguish a charity, interviewees also noted that it can also mean an organisation is limited according to its remit, in terms of actions and access to resources.

6.4.4. Summary of findings on theme 3: Expressing self

Findings related to *Expressing Self* included accounts of group members engaging in explorative acts of self expression, and musical presentations of identity. Music facilitators and organisers recounted examples that illustrated to them the importance of people being able to express themselves in music-making. Pedagogical and musical approaches were described that were designed to afford opportunities for participants to express or explore themselves in improvisation and musical choices, and by accessing mnemonic connections that were observed to endure as expressions of identity despite migration.

For the interviewees, their roles in music-making emerged as expressive acts of identity. Beliefs and value systems held by the music facilitators and organisers were enacted through their work, and understood as such. However, also prevalent in the data were instances of fortune that appeared to be as influential to life direction as were philosophies or religion. This may suggest that while people construct narratives that connect their decisions to their beliefs, many factors are at play that are not controllable according to personal philosophies. What was evident was that music facilitators and organisers had seized their opportunities and worked hard to achieve their professional status. Of course in addition to effort, the resources and agency required to be able to respond to circumstances, for example studying violin or training as a therapist, are significant.

For organisations, procedures dictated that fields of activity were defined in mandates, and remits were clearly stated. At this level, identity was seen in the data as both clarifying and limiting. At times the consequent lack of fluidity denied scope for decision making. A strictly stated expression of organisational identity here created a static definition that was felt to cause problems.

6.5. Outlying considerations

Through the process of thematic analysis not all areas that were discussed in every interview could be coded into the three preceding themes. Conversations with the music facilitators and organisers sometimes drifted away from the focus area, and often this resulted in topic

areas that, although very interesting, have not been incorporated in this research. Four of these outlying ideas will be included in this section.

Firstly accounts will be presented that expressed the joy interviewees had seen in people participating in music-making. Then focus will move to highlight challenges described by music facilitators and organisers stemming from the conflicting meanings of music, and the risks of despondency that emerged in this field of work. Finally, the category *Understandings of Identity* looks at the ways in which some music facilitators and organisers explained their conceptualisations of identity during interviews.

6.5.1. Participants enjoy making music

The findings so far presented have been themed according to areas related to the expression and construction of identity. However, within the data are statements from music facilitators and organisers that seem far removed from that theoretical landscape. These accounts are included here as a brief stepping back from complexity to take note of group members' simple pleasure at making music.

OR25 stated clearly that from her perspective, 'music has been actually for the people to enjoy … really for pleasure' (00:03:37). In discussion of the responses that children from different countries have to music, MF7 noted, 'there is that kind of joy … you start playing that song, I mean, they all are just like having the time of their lives' (00:21:57). Pleasurable experiences were also recognised as important by OR14:

> *I mean it's only a little thing, but if people come away from a gig and they've had a nice day that's, that's a start, you know. And I know it's a bit simplistic but.* (OR14, 00:16:17)

Perhaps even simpler than seeking to offer experiences that provide pleasure, is the objective of simply offering 'something to do' (MF6, 00:46:46; MF7, 00:21:57). MF10 noted the enthusiasm of parents in AZCs to 'get the kids out and doing stuff' (00:38:41). When MF6 began working with a music group made up of people who had emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution, her intention was simply to provide an activity:

> *It was just recreation, I would say, in the beginning, when they came. Recreation, something that they could focus on. I think that was the idea at that time. They could do something.* (MF6, 00:09:17)

MF6 related the importance of providing recreation in light of other experiences that group members may have been through:

> *it is an escapism for people like this. It gives them chance to forget everything they've been through.* (MF6, 00:46:46)

Providing something to do or perhaps some pleasure, affords an experience removed from everyday life. One of the benefits that MF6 described of this respite is that it can be accessed away from the group setting:

> *I think it really is something for them to latch on to when they're alone and, you know, something to do at home, sort of thing.* (MF6, 00:48:29)

In this example, by providing a recreational pastime that can bring pleasure, MF6 envisaged group members accessing respite through music also in other settings.

Music-making was framed in these accounts as a recreational and enjoyable activity. The music facilitators and organisers assigned importance to these elements because they saw them in contrast to group members' experiences in everyday life. MF6 went further, imagining the uptake of music into contexts outside of the group setting therefore providing a portable coping strategy. The elements of pleasure and pastime were presented here to ensure inclusion of these responses to music that could otherwise be overlooked.

6.5.2. Conflicts in music-making

Music from regions in conflict can be representative of the conflict, and MF3 shared the challenges that this had caused in his work. For instance a Syrian musician in his group was a supporter of Bashir al-Assad and a Sufi, which MF3 said 'caused great fights in our band' (00:44:36). Song choices were so contentious and loaded with meaning that 'people walked away' (00:44:36). The example that MF3 gave was of a song that was written by Egyptians about the beauty of Alexandria. Syrians then made their own version with their own lyrics:

> *talking about this city, talking about that city. That's what, what you would think. But in that version there is secret Language, communicating with armies about this part and this part and la, la, la, la.* (MF3, 00:48:11)

> *And so rumour has it that of this content that it was coded language for some, some armies. I don't know what, what, whatever. So, so that happened and then you get these explosive discussions while in the band and people walked away because, yeah, on the one hand we had a singer and he was indeed an al-Assad supporter in a peaceful way just like he's just a normal guy like you or me sitting on, there's nothing different. But you have that sentiment and, and of course we had a couple of talents and their parents worked for Assad but then opposed and there were some opposing newspaper articles that they wrote and so shit happened. And, but yeah, then you have this fierce energy against and then, and then these discussions happened, and so yeah.* (MF3, 00:49:15)

Hidden or implicated messages concealed in the song lyrics apparently recalled and reignited the conflict that had caused the Syrian musicians to leave their country and seek asylum. The expressive potential of music communicated fractious meanings, and they played out between group members.

This story highlighted an important consideration that 'music can also be used to divide' (MF3, 00:51:03). Music was appropriated for use in the conflicts from which people have fled, and those associations can remain in asylum.

6.5.3. Disappointments and frustrations of facilitators

Counter to music facilitators' and organisers' positive motivations and the experiences of success that have been previously described, also present in the data were experiences of disillusionment, disappointment and frustration. MF3 gave an account of a situation that embodies these sentiments:

> *there are these romantic moments or moments that you can't romanticise about, but, but tonight I think I'm going to workshop and I think the first 30 minutes, I'm not sure, but maybe just me being there alone in a, in a gym hall.* (MF3, 01:35:55)
>
> *Huge gym hall, being alone, and really thinking, "What the fuck am I doing here?" For 30 minutes. And then people come.* (MF3, 01:37:31)

The question he asked himself - 'What the fuck am I doing here?' - captured a sense of isolation and lack of purpose that was felt in those moments. Working as a music facilitator in an AZC clearly is not all 'romantic moments' of beautiful music-making.

MF10 talked about disappointments that she felt in sessions when her plans for music-making were not successful:

> *often you can start an activity and it flops because it just wasn't what they wanted to do and that is disappointing for me* (MF10, 00:20:16)
>
> *there is a bit of disappointment that my, me at home, thinking about this, did not translate to me with 35 kids from all different backgrounds* (MF10, 00:20:42)

MF10's personal and professional investment in her work meant she risked feeling personal disappointment when things did not work out. However, she noted that there are many mediating factors to a music activity running successfully. One challenge that she identified was the range of nationalities that attended her groups and the tensions that existed between people from different countries:

> *I do think that because there's Syrians, there's Iranians, that they have maybe some feelings, negative feelings, towards African nationalities.* (MF10, 00:25:13)

For MF10 in the role of music facilitator this caused some consternation:

> *I know there's a huge group of Eritreans that very rarely come and they struggle to, they struggle to stay there, and I haven't worked out why. They come. I mean they turn up but then they leave very soon afterwards.* (MF10, 00:21:24)

MF10 expressed frustration that while she would like to find a solution to this situation, she had not been able to resolve the struggle of the Eritrean group's attendance.

Variance in musical level was also raised in the data as a point of frustration, with facilitators unable to spread their time sufficiently to support all group members. MF6 reflected that the group she facilitated had 'gone in all different directions at the moment' so her time was spent 'just trying to hold everything together and satisfy everybody' (00:05:12). She noted that as a result, she had 'lost some of the keyboard people' (00:07:19).

The issue of time limitation was also a frustration in terms of the musical processes that were possible. OR18 reflected on a project that intended to prioritise collaborative creative processes:

> *We had quite a short timeframe. We had a concert. We were sort of focused on that. So there, there was exploration, there was creativity, and there was improvisational, all those things. But I, because of time, it, you know, it was fairly limited. After a while we were like, "OK. Now we have to have, we have to work on a, some kind of structure for our performance."* (OR18, 00:12:24)

Time limits were noted by OR18 to be a cause of tension in such projects, not only in a creative sense but also between music facilitators. He recounted that 'we have disagreements around this … I know that they'd prefer to do more explanation, more exploration' (00:13:42).

The practicalities and realties of the music-making that were described by music facilitators and organisers caused frustration that led at times to feelings of disappointment and disillusionment. These uncomfortable aspects of this work are important considerations.

6.5.4. Understandings of identity

Several respondents took the opportunity of their interviews to describe their sense of identity and their conceptual understanding of the topic. Three interviewees gave accounts to how they saw identity.

MF19 found understanding of identity through her religion:

> *Identity, diversity as part of identity. It's one of the reasons I like this Christian idea of Trinity so much. There's community even within the identity of God.* (MF19, 00:15:58)

> *there is unity and there is diversity in the perfect whole dynamic entity that is God. So if we're made in God's image then I think I would expect us to go on being all one thing but also being diverse, but also being communities in ourselves.* (MF19, 00:17:57)

MF19's version of identity conceptualises the diverse aspects of ourselves existing comfortably together as a community. As MF19 understood God to be not just one thing, then it followed for her that we would not be either.

OR15 focused on the dynamic nature of identity. Asking himself the question, 'What is identity?' he answered:

> *I think, you know, identity is a changeable thing. We have this, have this idea that identity is something that's fixed and it totally isn't. It changes as you change.* (OR15, 00:26:17)

The final example in this section comes from MF3. Asking himself how he would describe himself, he answered:

> *Almost impossible.* (MF3, 01:27:17)

That was the one definition that he could apply across his life. His life had been 'almost impossible,' and that was the characteristic with which he related.

6.5.5. Summary of the outlying considerations

These *Outlying Considerations* contain the contrast between the simple pleasures of making music and the risks of music igniting conflict. An uncomfortable reality is also raised that at times facilitating music-making with people who have emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution can be disappointing and frustrating. These considerations demonstrate that while participating in music-making can evoke joy it can also evoke meanings that are divisive and painful, and while facilitating music-making can afford moments of pleasure it can also breed disillusionment as it is rich with challenges. Although these findings did not fit within the preceding three themes, they raise important considerations.

The final area of consideration shared several conceptualisations of identity from the interview data. The personal nature of these understandings perhaps echoes the individuality of views that have been present throughout the findings. Each of the three versions of identity that were presented grew from beliefs and experiences that colour world views. Identity is not conceptualised in isolation in these accounts, but from situated viewpoints.

6.6. Summary

The three themes presented in this chapter encompassed manifold ways in which identity was found to feature in the accounts of music facilitators and organisers. Participatory music-

making programmes were seen to afford opportunities for recognition, repositioning and expression of identity, for all levels of participants: group members, music facilitators and organisers. Significant challenges and risks were also described, and these were often connected to issues of representation.

In the context of *Leading participatory music-making*, approaches related to each theme were given importance by interviewees. Care was taken to give recognition to participants' individual contributions, musical tastes and heritage. Participants who were seen often to be marginalised according to societal attitudes and value systems were afforded opportunities to reposition more centrally. Programmes were modelled on equality and worked to counteract cultural hierarchies. Participants were invited and enabled to explore and express their full sense of identity. However, limited options and resources meant that music facilitators and organisers recounted incidents when their efforts had left people feeling mis-represented and when they had been unable to address marginality.

The relevance of these thematic areas was reinforced in the stories of music facilitators' and organisers' broader experiences of music. Accounts illustrated how moments of recognition, and the quest for such moments, had been important to musical and professional development. Musical accomplishments featured strongly in how music facilitators and organisers expressed their identities, as did their roles working with people who had emigrated to seek asylum.

The interviewees also expressed their own challenges relating to their identities. While location and family heritage were clearly very influential, respondents were often sceptical in their approach to their own membership of identity groups. For example, in terms of national identity the respondents rejected narrow, reductive definitions and pointed out the histories of migration that preceded current notions of nationality. They distanced themselves from discourses of nationality that they found false and exclusive, identifying themselves instead with notions of welcoming and reciprocity; ideals enacted in the music-making groups they described.

At an organisational level, similar issues of representation arose. Static definitions of institutional identities were seen to be clarifying but also limiting. Often such definitions were described as being informed by wider discursive agendas that even went against the true ethos of the programme organisers. This echoed the challenges across domains, to be able to receive recognition of an identity, in a position of equality, that is true to sense of self.

These findings can be linked to the theoretical ideas that have been suggested earlier in this thesis, as will be explored in the following chapter. The stories of Ashur, Laila, Dejan and Aziz will also be drawn on to provide illustration and to centralise their perspectives.

Part 4 - Representation, recognition and repositioning: Synthesis and discussion of the study's findings

7. Discussion of findings

7.1. Introduction

This chapter develops the thematic findings from the interviews with music facilitators and organisers, building on the theoretical strands developed throughout the thesis, and drawing on participants' stories for illustration. Considerations related to the representation of people who have emigrated, seeking asylum from war or persecution, have arisen at all stages of the research, and this issue here provides the cross-cutting thread of discussion.

To locate discussion, I refer back to the Foucauldian understanding of representation that was presented in *Chapter 1*. This conceptual backdrop provides the frame for the following section to discuss the concept of identity as it features in participatory music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution. Representation is not neutral, as has been shown, offering opportunities for affirmation but risking negation and the reproduction of marginalising positionalities.

Thematic analysis found music facilitators and organisers appropriating music-making in acts that disrupted dominant discourses through processes of recognition and repositioning. These themes are returned to in this chapter, and provide the headings that are the basis for further discussion of their role as acts of resistance. Finally, I propose Social Movement Theory as a framework that may have the potential to strengthen those acts, harnessing the energy and shared purpose that this study has found when talking and making music with organisers, music facilitators and group members.

7.2. Representation

The meanings implied by the bureaucratic identities assigned to people who have emigrated, seeking asylum from war or persecution, are understood in this study to be constructed through discourse deployed to establish, enact, and sustain power (Foucault, 1980b, 1980a). Influential to my thinking about the representation of identities of migration is Malkki's notion that the predominant image of a refugee is as an 'ahistorical, universal humanitarian subject' (Malkki, 1996: 378). I have drawn on this idea earlier in the thesis, and here it is used to provide structure for the discussion of representation, with sub-headings titled *Universal Humanitarian Subjects*, and *Ahistorical Subjects*.

7.2.1. Universal humanitarian subjects

I wrote the sign that said:

Syrian Music

11am - 1pm

For me it became symbolic of many of the questions I have asked myself during this research study. It illustrates the complex tensions between resisting or reinforcing hegemonic discourses. I did not know Ashur's story at the time, and took him as he was presented - as a Syrian musician, playing Syrian music. I enjoyed the friendly feeling of the small community gathering and listening to Syrian music played with expertise. Similarly, watching Laila's performance I assumed she was happy in her environment and enjoying a welcoming setting. The stories told by Laila and Ashur in *Chapter 5* illustrated how limited, and wrong, my assumptions were.

Both musicians trained in classical music with Russian professors at a conservatoire. To view them as performers of 'Syrian Music' reduces them to an identity focused on their difference from the expected norms of music in the local English context. Laila performed on a cello, but I ignored that fact, preferring to hear the exotic. In her story she described feeling wholly uncomfortable with the other musicians and the organiser the day that I watched her perform; having been asked once more to play for free with people she distrusted. Ashur described feeling some sense of integration by seeing English people respond to his playing, but he described far more strongly his awareness of his reduced status and career. My interpretation in terms of community, welcoming, opportunity, and valuing of a musical tradition, was constructed from a humanitarian discourse. The sign I wrote represented that humanitarian discourse far more than it represented the experiences of Ashur or Laila.

Awareness among researchers and research participants of the complex and potentially problematic issues of representation within the humanitarian sector of music-making, surfaced across the data. In the conceptual analysis of literature, a small number of study authors were found to problematise using labels of migration to identify their research populations. This criticality was enacted through decisions to use terms such as 'refugee background young people' (Grossman and Sonn, 2010: 25) in order not to essentialise the identity of 'refugee' within studies.

Thematic analysis also found that music facilitators and organisers were aware of the issues of representation raised by referring to people according to their migration status. An example given was MF15's statement:

> *as soon as you say "Refugees" then you are part of the issue of labelling a group of people* (MF15, 01:07:53)

MF15 wanted to avoid generalising and representing the people with whom he worked according to the general discursive meaning implied with the word 'refugee'. However, MF15 acknowledged that he did frame his work within the terminology of refugee discourse when

writing proposals and talking to donors in order ‘to get funding’ (01:07:38). Similarly, OR14 reflected:

> *I didn't used to have refugee or migrant on the website but then I put it on and our Google searches went up, our gig bookings went up.* (OR14, 00:19:17)

To function successfully within the humanitarian sector, MF15 and OR14 deferred to the surrounding discourse. In effect, from the standpoint of a discursive theory of representation, financial power constituted the accepted meaning and use of language, enforcing a power dynamic of institutional humanitarian interaction. The status bestowed on funding bodies provides an apparatus to establish and furnish a field of knowledge, containing their definitions and representational practices, constituent of Foucault’s notion of ‘a regime of truth’ that supports a ‘’general politics’ of truth’ (Foucault, 1980a: 131). As Foucault asserts, ‘There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time, power relations’ (Foucault, 2020: 27).

In this discursive frame of meaning, the identity of ‘refugee’ describes a humanitarian client group and also prescribes their needs. This infers an universal image of a refugee, as ‘individual identity is replaced by a stereotyped identity with a categorical prescription of assumed needs’ (Zetter, 1991: 44). During my conceptual analysis of literature, it was apparent that attached to researchers’ use of identities of migration were often statements of context that represented the research population in terms that reinforced that discourse of preconceived, universal needs. Hunt, for example, stated:

> The experience of being a refugee is traumatising and is characterised by a severe lack of opportunities to create a positive future. Fear, the unknown, deprivation, and grief take the place of familiarity, status, knowledge, and safety. Refugees have lost their family, friends, and livelihood. (Hunt, 2006: 1)

Hunt’s research population was represented immediately according to generalised needs, which reflected the larger needs-defined identity built through humanitarian discourse. Zetter argued that it is in this way that identities become fixed through ’normal, routine, apolitical, conventional procedures of programme design and delivery,’ (Zetter, 1991: 46) which include, in the cases of this study, the actions of musicians and researchers.

The music-making interventions that have been the contexts for this study must be understood as functioning within discursive fields and power relations that inform refugee representation and identity. It is from this standpoint that I now suggest viewing:

Syrian Music

11am - 1pm

All Welcome

Generalised representations of identity groups carry meanings that support relations of power. In terms of representations of refugees in humanitarian discourse, assumed needs characterise the discourse, supporting responses and distribution of funds. Malkki (1996) notes that this process also involves detaching people from their histories. The ahistoricising of people, experiences and migration provides the topic of the next section.

7.2.2. Ahistorical subjects

Without the presence of the complexity of history, people are presented only in terms of 'raw human needs' (Malkki, 1996: 390) that demand a humanitarian response. The problem this creates, according to Malkki, is that representing refugees ahistorically removes the historical context of all parties and of the underlying discursive practices which are embedded in 'long and complicated histories of their own' (Malkki, 1996: 389):

> histories of charity and philanthropy, histories of international law, peacekeeping, and diplomacy, histories of banishment and legal protection, histories of empires and colonial rule, histories of civilizational and emancipatory discourses and missionary work, histories of World Bank and other development initiatives in Africa, and much more. These humanitarian representational practices and the standardized interventions that go with them have the effect, as they currently stand, of producing anonymous corporeality and speechlessness. That is, these practices tend actively to place, muffle, and pulverize history in the sense that the Hutu refugees in Mishamo understood history. And they tend to hide the political, or political- economic, connections that link television viewers' own history with that of "those poor people over there". (Malkki, 1996: 389)

Stripping away context allows the construction of alternative narratives that inform understandings of identity on new terms. In fact, labels of identity and the layers of meaning that accompany them are historical, and they are 'the products of someone's initiative' (Becker, 1997: 147). Refugees may be presented as a product of migration, but in fact they are the product of wars and violence, which are the results of historical injustice. The 'Hutu refugees in Mishamo' referred to by Malkki were historical victims of colonial oppression and eugenic ideology that continues to play out through imperialist machinations in the entire Great Lakes region of Africa. People arriving in Europe to seek asylum from war in Syria or Iraq are fleeing danger in which Europe is active and complicit. To present a person seeking asylum as Malkki's 'ahistorical, universal humanitarian subject' (1996: 378) allows

television viewers or a research audience to connect solely with the accompanying representations of need instead of with the root causes that have led people to flee their homes.

None of the studies analysed in the review of literature rooted the study populations in their own histories. In general, the contextual descriptions given by researchers located studies and study participants only in relation to current discourses of mass migration, perhaps aiming to align with an urgent global cause. For example, Marsh and Dieckmann wrote:

> Over the past year, there have been almost unprecedented global migration flows, driven largely by flight from conflict but also by economic inequity and many other factors. Recent UNHCR figures (June 2016) put the number of refugees and migrants arriving in Europe via boats and across land routes by the end of 2015 at more than one million people, as opposed to the 216,000 people who crossed the Mediterranean and entered Europe by such means in 2014 (UNHCR, 2016). Worldwide, the total number of populations of concern to the UNHCR in 2015 (including refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced people and others) totalled almost 65.3 million people, the highest number of forcibly displaced persons ever recorded (UNHCR, 2016). (Marsh and Dieckmann, 2017: 711)

This narrative of global migration historically contextualises refugees, and the research study, according to a specific discourse. It frames the school children with whom the researchers worked as part of a global movement of people, and the research as a response to a global need. However, it does not make the connection between the research population and the specific conflicts from which they have migrated, and it does not reference the players or histories that are behind those conflicts. The potential operationalisation of researchers' alignment with a global cause will be discussed in relation to Social Movement Theory in *Section 7.5*. However, a risk of this representational act is that the research participants are historicised only in terms of their statistical presence in current migration figures, and remain ahistorical in relation to their own past.

This is also true of the data analysed thematically. Interviewees did not provide historical information about the conflicts that had affected the people with whom they worked. The past was connected to musically, with awareness shown of music's mnemonic capacity, and accounts of efforts to play music from participants' countries of birth. There were not, however, representations of war, conflict, or localised enactments of global politics.

Strikingly, in the illustrative stories from participants it was also this section of personal history that was normally missing. Ashur, Dejan, and Aziz did not tell the story of the

circumstances that led them to emigrate and seek safety in another country. Aziz spoke of the financial obstacles that he faced, having to go to Lebanon to find work, but he did not mention directly the violent circumstances of war in Syria. Ashur said the situation was not safe, but did not expand on this or describe the lack of safety. Only Laila included her experience of conflict in her story.

Laila described life as a Christian living in a village controlled by *Jabhat al-Nusra*, a jihadist, Islamic State motivated group. She told a story about a bomb falling on a concert hall while audience members arrived and orchestral musicians inside tried to continue their professional lives and earn a living. She spoke about snipers attacking the road along which she commuted to work. By naming the forces involved in her persecution and endangerment, the specifics of contexts and factions within the war in Syria were raised.

Jabhat al-Nusra is defined in the lexicon of the Syrian war as a rebel group, fighting against Bashar al-Assad's government . It is also classified as a terrorist organisation by the UN, UK, USA and other country's including Iran, Turkey, UAE and Saudi Arabia (Wikipedia, 2020). It has been allied to *Al Qaeda* and to *The Army of Conquest,* and its shifting allegiances are indicative of the complex machinations of counter government and jihadist forces in the region (BBC, 2016). That complexity goes further, due to the international involvement in the high stakes geopolitical arena.

Jabhat al-Nusra grew from insurgent forces that fought US-led forces in Iraq in 2000 (John, 2016). As such, military involvement in the region by forces that included the UK was instrumental in originating the current strength of fighters in Syria. Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Qatar provide funds to *Jabhat al-Nusra* (Sengupta, 2015), aligning themselves against their allies in the *Global Coalition against DAESH* (The Global Coalition Against DAESH, 2020). Saudi support is reported to not only be financial, but also to include the supply of weapons (Sengupta, 2015), many of which arms were manufactured in Europe (Angelovski *et al.*, 2016). Despite these conflicting interconnections the UK continued profiteering from sales of arms to Saudi Arabia, which were worth £1.13 billion in 2017 (Sharman, 2018). That trade was ruled illegal in 2019 due to Saudi Arabia violating humanitarian law in Yemen (Sabbagh and McKernan, 2019).

A crucial event in the history of international involvement in Syrian politics happened just over one hundred years ago, with the division of the Arab Peninsula between French and British mandates in the aftermath of World War 1. The 'line in the sand' drawn in the Sykes-Picot agreement, deciding the geographic division of lands between the two European countries, has become emblematic of colonial 'carve-ups' in which 'outside powers imposed their will, drew borders and installed client leaderships, playing divide-and-rule with the

“natives”, and beggar-my-neighbour with their colonial rivals’ (Muir, 2016). The legacy of this shift in power from Ottoman rule to European rule had ramifications linked directly to the current regional conflicts.

It is clear that people who have emigrated from Syria due to the dangers and persecution that they have faced, are not ahistorical. Furthermore, that history involves a complex interplay of international incursions, both physical and political that are on-going. Indeed, once historicised, current migration from Syria can be seen as the result of consistent invasive migration into Syria for political gain. Powerful nations’ foreign policies are revealed to be at play in the war and persecution faced by Syrian people. This history is absent from all my collected data, but it is present in the historical reality that belies the crises in participants’ stories.

The term ‘crisis’ was used as a structuring device in the construction of participants’ stories, following Turner’s cycle of social dramas (1980, 1986). Crisis was defined by Turner as the result of a breach in societal rules, revealing underlying conflicts that challenge social ‘unity and continuity’ (1982: 39). In the case of the Syrian war, in Turner’s terms the breach could be seen as the acts of civil disobedience and protest that first revealed the government’s brutality and lack of tolerance to opposition. Or in Laila’s story the breach can be viewed as the violent affront she faced daily to the social contract of peaceful coexistence. Certainly crisis followed, as societal unity collapsed, and the continuity of society on previous terms became impossible.

Defining crisis in these terms, with the illustration provided by Laila’s story, contrasts starkly to the prominent use of the word ‘crisis’ in migration discourse. The dominant discursive use in recent years has been in terms of a ‘refugee crisis’. As Dos Santos Silva and Bruras point out, this has been borne from one representational standpoint:

> Conceived within a Eurocentric perspective, the term ‘crisis’ refers generally to the negative effects caused by the growing arrival of refugees and asylum seekers to Europe, neglecting systematically the ongoing conflicts in Central Asia, in the Middle East and in Africa that forced so many people to leave their countries. (Dos Santos Silva and Bruras, 2018: 508)

At even peak moments of news coverage of the ‘refugee crisis’ Chouliaraki and Zaborowski found across the press in eight European countries, ’remarkably little by way of explanation as to what led refugees to abandon home and travel to Europe’ (Chouliaraki and Zaborowski, 2017: 625). They note that ‘a more explicit and systematic connection between crisis reporting and war reporting … would have foregrounded the urgent links between … chemical gas attacks in Syria and Syrian families’ desire to flee the death zone,’ a connection the

researchers suggest may have boosted levels of empathy in the general public (Chouliaraki and Zaborowski, 2017: 625-626). Representation affected societal attitudes, and created generalised, negative characterisations of a huge statistical mass of people.

Through my research methodology, Aziz, Ashur and Dejan had the chance to talk about the history that led them to migrate country. It could be tempting to write here that they did not take the chance that I gave them. However, I note Malkki's warning that underneath oppressed silence there may not be 'a voice waiting to be liberated but ever deeper historical layers of silencing and bitter, complicated struggles over history and truth' (Malkki, 1996: 398). It is perhaps this silence that is illustrated by the absent descriptions of the breaches and crises that were faced.

Accessing 'marginal voices' like those shared or silent in the participants' stories was seen by Foucault to be an act of resistance, with the potential 'to shift both discourse and the positioning of the subject within it' (McPherson, 2010: 549). There has been critique applied to Foucault's work that he 'presents such a bleak view of disciplinary society that he ultimately paralyses, rather than promotes, resistance' (Pickett, 1996: 445). However, Pickett (1996) goes on to argue that far greater emphasis is given to struggle and resistance throughout Foucault's writing and lectures, and it is these elements that are built on here.

The following sections focus attention on the processes of redress and resistance that have been found during this study. Acts of repositioning were raised in the thematic analysis, under the theme of *Centralising and Marginalising*, and this theoretical idea will be revisited in the next section. It is divided into two sub-sections, firstly looking at processes of repositioning away from marginality. For this I will draw on Dejan's story for illustration, before reflecting on the thematic findings. The second sub-section will begin from the complexities that surfaced in interviews with music facilitators and organisers, whose own struggles with nationality raise issues of repositioning from centrality.

7.3. Repositioning

7.3.1. From marginality

> *So I kind of chose to be, it's almost like Citizen of the World, if you like, you know.*
> (Dejan, 00:14:53)

Dejan recounted making this decision about how he wanted to position himself in the world. He had been told by people in his country of birth that 'even if you have one drop of African blood you're not Serbian' (Dejan, 00:45:29), and he expressed a feeling of disconnection from his Sudanese heritage following his father's departure when he was nine or ten years old. Surrounded by the legacies of hundreds of years of migration and changing geopolitics in Belgrade, and exposed to music in many languages from many countries, Dejan preferred to

identify with an identity that was not dependent on the acceptance of one national group, but that allowed him membership with all the complexity of identities that he felt.

Dejan's choice to identify himself as a Citizen of the World stemmed from being denied admission to other identity groups. During his story he recounted being told he did not meet the criteria to be Serbian, Sudanese and English. In England he achieved a level of acceptance only as 'a good foreigner' (Dejan, 00:25:53), and at the close of his story when he plans to visit Sudan he is warned that he will be viewed with suspicion by the police due to his British passport (Dejan, 00:52:42). While positioning theory recognises identity as fluid and active, rather than static and designated, it also acknowledges that the process of positioning is bilateral and contingent on agency.

Applying the theory to a study of narratives from Sudanese immigrants to Australia, Hatoss summarised his framework of understanding: 'Positioning the self as an ingroup member or as an outgroup member of the mainstream society is not a static given. In other words, people do not just assign various categories or labels to themselves and others, but through everyday interaction they position themselves and others, and this positioning carries implicit messages about identity work' (Hatoss, 2012: 49). Within this structure, agency plays an important role, with a balance playing out between self-identification and 'non-voluntary identities that are ascribed … by the broader community' (Hatoss, 2012: 65). Within that interplay, as van Langenhove and Harré point out, dynamics of power are crucial as the 'rights for self-positioning and other-positioning are unequally distributed and not all situations allow for or call for an intentional positioning of participants' (1999: 23). In Dejan's case, he 'self-positions' himself according to the choices available to him. Of particular interest to this research study are the ways in which music featured in this process.

Music was central to Dejan's identification with a wider world than his immediate national context. According to his story, it was because he did not feel connected to Serbian or Sudanese identity that he was able to, or was motivated to, listen to Jewish, Arabic, European and South American music. He was perhaps at once unlimited by any assigned notion of his own nationality, and also forced to look past national identity for belonging. He linked this to his context, historicising the current notion of nationality within centuries of migration and shifting borders. This historical contextualisation liberated him to connect to cultural elements, and therefore musics, as his own. Effectively, he deconstructed the discourses that would marginalise him, positioning himself in a way that implied immunity to their power.

Dejan's resistance to marginalisation extends to his community. As a radio DJ he enlisted input from people who reflected the ethnic diversity of his community, and played music that was equally representative of the local range of tastes. Thereby he disrupted the messaging that

he perceived in English radio content; that anything other than English language music was not valuable or needed, and that Englishness was represented as 'very much kind of Anglo-Saxon centred' (Dejan, 00:20:08). Dejan's use of music was a social action, resisting the marginal positioning of non-English language music and non 'Anglo-Saxon' people.

Comparable acts of resistance were very present in approaches described by music facilitators and organisers. Musics from participants' countries of origin were positioned centrally within groups' repertoire, and efforts were made to bridge into communities and create opportunities for non-English (or non-Dutch) repertoire to be centre-stage.

Thematic findings grouped under *Shifting the Cultural Centre* included descriptions of the approach taken by the music facilitator MF8. He emphasised efforts to redress the positionality assigned to Arabic music in the Netherlands, defined by its lack of accessibility to audiences who 'can't relate to it so we get bored' (OR18, 00:24:07). MF8 worked to make sure that such music was performed in contexts where Dutch audiences would have the chance to witness the enjoyment felt by people who were fully acculturated to the music, and where performers were celebrated for their skill. According to MF8, it was the 'format of listening' rather than the format of the music that was the issue, so he sought to place the onus of understanding on the audience rather than allowing blame to sit with the music's inaccessibility.

Marginality in these terms is not a fixed positionality, but the product of a constructed assumption of centrality. From a discursive understanding, marginality constitutes being positioned outside of the dominant culture established by a hegemonic field of knowledge and truth (Foucault, 1980a, 2020). This Foucauldian stance has been used in the field of Refugee Studies to challenge policy paradigms that are seen to influence the societal positioning of refugees. Assimilationism and integrationism are seen to position the subjects of policy 'as the problem to be fixed', 'expressed in relation to dominant cultural norms in the host settlement society' (McPherson, 2010: 552).

Drawing back to the discussion of *Collective and Individual Identities* in the *Conceptual Analysis of the Included Studies,* this application of Foucault to discourses of acculturation further illuminates the burgeoning critique that was raised in relation to researchers' conceptual treatment of cultural identity. Models of understanding that draw directly on the rhetoric of acculturation for substantiation risk reinforcing marginalising discourse. As such, studies that borrow from Berry (1997) for their framework of understanding may, by doing so, position the culture of the 'host' nation as central, and the task of immigrants as adaptation. In fact, as noted in the conceptual review of literature, binary distinctions of 'homeland' and 'host' identities were not supported by research, with a strong presence of shared and

negotiated musical interactions. Research participants moved between in and out group positions and were active agents in their musical presentations of self in multiple contexts. Music-making, therefore, was not shown to assist in a linear movement towards integration or assimilation, but rather to be rich in affordances for acts of cultural positioning.

7.3.2. From centrality

When talking to music facilitators and organisers, I was very aware of their conflicted relationships with nationality. Several described consciously choosing to position themselves in ways that refuted the national identity that was assigned to them. A person from England described feeling British but not English, and another recognised a dichotomy of Englishness which left her conflicted. Certainly it became clear that there was awareness of aspects of national identity with which people did not identify at all, some of which were linked to music. Far more pertinent in people's accounts were connections made through family. Cultural connection came from exposure to music from parents, and it came from heritage that was passed on from family members. In almost all cases, this level of affinity was not constrained by current nationality, as family and musics had migrated.

Similarly to Dejan, MF3 was exposed to Serbian music through his father's heritage, but diverged from that to an eclectic and international range of musical tastes, which he played with a band in the Netherlands. Three of the interviewees had Jewish heritage, which influenced each in different ways, navigating to fiddle music, jazz, and opera, none of which corresponded directly to their geographical location in terms of cultural origin.

The very notion of centrality of culture according to nationality therefore was challenged by these personal histories. OR14 reflected that 'people have come from places in the world to the UK for hundreds of years. And, you know, we wouldn't have coffee shops, we wouldn't have guitars, we wouldn't have Chuck Berry, you know' (OR14, 00:11:24). In the Netherlands OR22 saw the same, as 'what we call Dutch culture is so, you know, ingrained with all these influences from all over the world' (OR22, 00:43:10). From another perspective, MF4 recounted reclaiming her Congolese cultural heritage through its incorporation in her song-writing in the UK. However, the Congolese music she described her father listening to was strongly influenced by the migration of evangelical Christians and colonialists from Europe or the USA.

Ashur and Laila studied European classical music at Damascus Conservatoire. Dejan listened to music from across the world in Belgrade. The interviewed music facilitators were working with people and musicians from many countries, playing music from around the world, all of which is influenced by other music from other countries. All of these acts dispute the dominant discourses of cultural centrality.

When he arrived in the UK, Dejan talked about Nick Cave to a volunteer at a refugee support centre. It shifted how he was perceived. He socially repositioned himself from being a humanitarian subject, to being a person who knew the music of Nick Cave - an Australian whose music is influenced by rock, spirituals and blues, which all grew from the tragic forced migration of slaves to the USA.

All these examples demonstrate that migration is multilateral and has been a continuous phenomenon. The centrality of genres within cultures is established and sustained through discourse and power. Dejan's story and the thematic findings have illustrated how that centrality can be resisted, and music can be repositioned from marginality. However, such acts operate within dynamics of power that can limit the options available to self-position.

Taken individually, we see these acts impacting on music groups and local communities. Perceived on a collective level, however, these actions take on a more powerful momentum. This level of collective action will be revisited following the next section, drawing on Social Movement Theory to suggest a model. The notion of recognition will first be discussed, as it has been a prominent theme throughout this research study. Aziz's story will be used to illustrate this area of findings.

7.4. Recognition

When Aziz told his friends back in Syria how we came to play *Natalie* together, he emphasised my positive response to the song:

> *… frankly he loved the song. He loved the song. So he decided to learn it and to play it. So we do it. That's the first reason. I know that's many reasons, like you are teacher and you have lessons and you want to play other students here. But the first reason I saw that you love this song.* (Aziz, 00:08:07)

His account focused on my recognition of the song's value and beauty. In the context of Aziz's story, the experience appeared to be enjoyed as a moment of broader acknowledgment of the many things the song embodied. In his story *Natalie* represented the memory of a period of his life in Syria, learning guitar alongside his friend. It was a metaphor for continuation after his life had been disrupted in all aspects due to war. The song provided a point of connection to his friends back in Syria, demonstrating to them also how in his new country he and his culture had found some acceptance.

It was only in our interview that Aziz told me the history of his connection to *Natalie.* My approach had not been informed by any of the song's background; my aim was just to engage with him in music-making, and to value music that he valued. My reflective notes show that my response to his choice of song was enjoyment of the music, but also happiness that it matched my skills and I would be able to help him with it. When I played *Natalie* in the same

way that it sounded on YouTube, Aziz was impressed, and I felt my skills being recognised. His pleasure at my work encouraged me, and affirmed my role in circumstances that were often challenging for me as a music facilitator.

Aziz's story illustrated music affording us both opportunities to receive recognition. There were multiple levels of meaning attached to the song, and to our interaction. It is important to note that on an interpersonal level Aziz also commented on moments of humour between us, our shared challenges with language, and in my own notes I often recorded conversations between us about football. Liverpool were on course to win the Premier League and the Champions League, with Mohammed Salah, the greatest Arab footballer of all time, scoring freely, and we both followed it closely. These were simple human connections, not defined according to our assigned roles or identities. Music-making provided our point of contact, allowing other interaction to take place.

Recognition was also highlighted as a transformative element in the conceptual analysis of literature and the thematic findings. Findings from the literature showed that although recognition was not mentioned, it was very present in the processes conceptualised under the category of *Self identity*. In the thematic findings it was the basis of the first theme, *Finding Recognition.* Music facilitators described giving great care to recognising the creative inputs, efforts and achievements of group participants. They planned opportunities for public praise and encouraged peer support and celebration with families and communities. Genres of music were seen to hold individual and collective meanings, and importance was placed on giving value to those musics by incorporating repertoire and expertise. In circumstances that were often defined by immigration procedures that determined whether people would be recognised as refugees, this research found participatory music-making to afford crucial recognition of multiple aspects of identity.

The theme of *Expressing Self* is very much linked to processes of recognition. In his exposition of identity and recognition Fukuyama (2018) spends significant time theorising the history and effects of how the human need for recognition has manifested. He charts the development of a current notion of identity that prizes self-knowledge and is built on the moral idea that 'we have authentic inner selves that are not being recognised' (Fukuyama, 2018: 163). Alongside this he describes shifting relationships to 'identities defined by our race, gender, workplace, education, affinities, and nation' (Fukuyama, 2018: 164) for which, and within which, we expect recognition and to be afforded dignity.

Fukuyama, however, does not hold his theory as an elixir, but as an explanation. He argues that the quest for recognition has led to identification with ever more specific identity groups and the demand to be properly acknowledged which characterises identity politics. This can

result in collective fights for civil rights and equality, but it can also be leveraged towards populist politics. The basis of the rhetoric employed by populist politicians, Fukuyama claims, is a call to reclaim the recognition deserved by citizens. He summarises the populist argument, as delivered by Trump in the USA and Brexiteers in the UK, as: 'traditional understandings of national identity are being diluted and overtaken both by newcomers with different values and cultures and by a progressive left that attacks the very idea of national identity as racist and intolerant' (Fukuyama, 2018: 132). Identity is deployed as a political weapon, uniting people around their resentments, promising a future wherein their dignity is restored, and their need for recognition is satisfied by their group's reasserted status.

Fukuyama's vision of identity politics echoes the model of discursive representation that underlies this research study. Identity positions are defined through the interplay of discourses, driven by dynamics of power. They are not static or born from innate characteristics, they are flexibly conceived to establish and sustain power. Of consequence here is that while this research study has found instances of recognition being afforded to people who have emigrated, seeking asylum from war or persecution, another group of people is being promised a return to their privileged status as citizens. Fukuyama's solution is to forge new identities that are 'broader and more integrative' (Fukuyama, 2018: 165). I follow here again Foucauldian thought, and disagree with Fukuyama for the reason that those new identities would simply function in the same way as the old; proceeding 'from domination to domination' established and sustained through representational discourses that define relations of power (Foucault, 1977: 151).

Drawing back again to Foucault's insistence on the disruption of oppressive discourses, the next section will propose a model to support framing the acts of music-making observed in this study as acts of resistance. I will draw on recent literature from the field of Arts, Health and Wellbeing suggesting Social Movement Theory as a means to understand and perhaps advance the role of music-making in addressing the challenges that have been highlighted in this study.

7.5. A social movement

Social movements can be understood as 'networks of informal interactions between individuals and groups engaged in political and cultural conflicts based on their shared collective identities and purposes' (Daykin, 2019: 11, 2020: 47, citing Kapilashrami et al. 2015). Daykin (2019, 2020) argues that the field of Arts, Health and Wellbeing can be viewed in this light, enacting and advocating changes in institutional cultures and policies. Here I seek to outline a case for the relevance of Social Movement Theory to the field of participatory

music-making for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution, in light of the study's findings understood to be characterised by acts of redress and resistance.

Fundamental to social movements, distinct from other forms of social action, is the involvement of three constituent groups: 'power holders who are the objects of claims … ; participants, who range from minor contributors to leaders and are often connected by social movement organizations; and a subject population on whose behalf participants are making or supporting claims' (Tilly, 1999: 257). According to Tilly, there can be overlap between these populations, as well as additional parties involved. Shared purpose and a sense of collective identity constitute the actors as a movement, although as Daykin notes this need not manifest in 'necessarily coherent groups with clear aims' (2020: 47).

Mapping Social Movement Theory on to this study's findings, interviewees have been shown to act with the shared purpose of seeking redress for the issues faced by people identified according to migrant identities. OR14 expressed this with language closely aligned to this research study, describing his belief that everyone should 'be able to be represented how they want to be represented' (OR14, 00:13:38). Others expressed their motivations differently. MF6, for example, explained it simply that 'you sort of do what you can to help others' (MF6, 00:31:03); a motivation that had led her to volunteer her time to lead a music group as part of a refugee support centre every week for over ten years. MF15 explained his work as a social justice action.

In terms of actions, this shared purpose was put into practice in a range of ways. Musical activities ranged from simple games with young children to performances of conservatoire-trained musicians. Organisers recounted focusing on recording and cataloguing songs from musicians' countries of origin, and on participants creating new compositions that responded to new realities. Although musically these examples are very different, they share the common ground of taking place within participatory music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution. Such commonality in actions motivated by a shared purpose connects actors and constructs the sense of collective identity that is central to social movements (Melucci, 1985: 793).

The conceptual analysis of literature highlighted similar processes amongst researchers. Although I raised criticality about the study authors' representations of people in generalised terms, those representational acts suggested a common desire amongst researchers and practitioners to be connected to a bigger cause. Researchers aligned their work with broad refugee discourses, suggesting a collective identity across the field.

However, the stories from Laila and Ashur in particular illustrated that participants did not always experience music-making interventions in the ways they were intended. The purpose

and actions of facilitators and organisers were shown to not always match the aims of participants. As has been stated, social movements engage the ‘subject population on whose behalf claims are made’ equally to the ‘power holders’ (Daykin, 2019: 11). Many of the music facilitators and organisers advocated for this non-hierarchical structure, but they also raised the obstacles they had experienced to achieving input from participants on issues regarding organisational or creative decisions. There was a mutual disconnect that could be eased with the notion of shared allegiance to a collective movement. Ashur's diminished musical status in the UK, or Laila’s reticence to associate with programme’s that reinforced her difference as a refugee, could be assuaged through the collective identity of activism.

It is important again to note, however, that the challenge of engagement described by organisers and music facilitators perhaps ties back once more to Malkki's warning that underneath oppressed silence there may not be ‘a voice waiting to be liberated but ever deeper historical layers of silencing and bitter, complicated struggles over history and truth’ (Malkki, 1996: 398). The discursive, representational silencing that has been deployed against people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution, persists as an obstacle.

In all cases, Tilly noted challenges in ‘knitting together … social movement bases’ and argued the necessity for the role of ‘political entrepreneurs’ (Tilly, 2008: 123). This is a role of organiser, motivator and strategist, skilled in mobilising people to assert claims in effective ways, using the full repertoire of social movement action. For example, this could mean shaping common actions of music-making as a form of advocacy or resistance, providing interaction with power holders, and allowing the subject population to communicate directly with those who can action their claims.

Currently absent in this brief mapping of Social Movement Theory on to the study’s findings are examples of interaction with power holders. It may be that policy makers are invited to concerts or that they are in attendance at forums where performances or presentations of programmes take place, but it is not stated in the data. The organisers of participatory music-making programmes are engaged, but it has been shown how their actions are limited by the discursive fields in which they operate. To change that would involve interaction with a higher level of policy makers, who in general have been described to interact with the projects financially rather than practically.

This application of Social Movement Theory therefore suggests a model that could leverage the combined energy of organisers, music facilitators and participants towards their shared purpose. To achieve this may involve the efforts of someone in the role of political entrepreneur to shape collective identity through common actions and galvanise the

interaction of power holders. In line with the ontological standpoint of this study, this approach acknowledges power and the crucial role of positioning subject populations in achieving redress.

7.6. Conclusion

Participatory music-making interventions have been found in this study to afford opportunities for recognition and repositioning, disrupting the oppressive discursive representation of people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution. At the same time, the representational practices enacted within music-making interventions have been problematised for their potential to replicate the same hegemonic discourse.

By contrasting the silent crises in the stories of Ashur, Aziz and Dejan, with the prevalent narrative of a refugee crisis, this discussion of findings has illustrated the interaction between discourse and history. Ahistorical subjects become represented as a generalised body of people, removed from cause, and identified only as a risk or by their needs. Historical context can unsettle the entrenched notion that refugee migration is disconnected from the actions of other nations, or that the problem lies with the people who have been forced to leave their country due to profound danger.

In the humanitarian realm the discourse of need predominates, as surfaced strongly in the thematic findings. Although interviewees were aware of the oppressive effects of the refugee label, they felt bound by the discourses in which funders operated and from which they had found public sympathy to be motivated.

Through acts of participatory music-making the study found redress to oppressive representational discourses. Recognition was afforded to people on an individual level for their resources, achievements and creative inputs, and on a collective level through the associations of cultural meanings and memories. Within music-making programmes, approaches to interventions sought to incorporate moments of recognition, whether by choreographing children's ideas into a dance, or by organising recordings and public concerts.

The stories of Laila, Ashur, Dejan and Aziz illustrated the importance of recognition. Laila described feeling reintegration when she received acknowledgment professionally. In contrast, she felt schism when she felt identified in general terms as a refugee. Ashur remained discontented because of his reduced professional status, with redress described only through the recognition he received through English audiences' enjoyment of his playing. In Aziz's story he felt recognition through my love of *Natalie.* The song was more than a symbol of his country; it represented a connection to people, places and continuation within a context of interruption. For Dejan, recognition was linked to his identification as a Citizen for the World. He stepped outside of local discourses of nationality and race, instead adopting an

identity that allowed him to appreciate recognition on his own terms. Only when he recounted the moment of receiving recognition from his father did that positionality shift, and Dejan presented his identity in terms of his family; as a son. Similarly, Ashur's position as an under-appreciated musician shifted with his revelation that his motivation was primarily for his family and not his career, realigning his identity momentarily to that of a father.

Viewing identity in terms of positionality foregrounds the fluidity of the roles and identity positions that people adopt. Identity negotiations and the navigation of social identities have been found to be ubiquitous across the data considered in this study. The notion of identity as fixed or innate has surfaced only as a flawed and oppressive product of dominant discourse. This study has found that such discourse can be disrupted through music-making.

The final step that was taken in this discussion of findings, was to give recognition to the acts of resistance that have been the sites of research. The acts of music-making with which I have participated during this study, create alternative representations. They are not exempt from power dynamics, but can challenge the effects of power. I have proposed that Social Movement Theory may offer a model that recognises the role of all levels of participants, positioned in action instead of as marginal, towards their shared purpose.

8. Conclusions and implications for practice, policy and research

8.1. Introduction

To conclude the thesis, this final chapter reviews the extent to which research aims have been met, reflects on the strengths and limitations of the study, and discusses the implications of the findings in relation to practice, policy and research. Firstly I will return to the questions that have guided my research and the aims that I laid out in the *Chapter 1*.

In undertaking this study, I sought to gain insight into the ways in which the concept of identity features in participatory music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution. In order to focus the study towards that objective, I designed a qualitative research question that centralised first hand accounts from group members, music facilitators and organisers across research contexts:

> How does identity feature in the accounts of participants and providers of music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution?

Subsidiary questions were developed to give attention to the possible mediating factors of organisational and facilitation approaches.

> In what ways does the organisational approach taken towards identity groups feature in the accounts of participants and providers?
>
> In what ways do the facilitation approaches taken towards participatory music-making feature in the accounts of participants and providers?

In order to consider in this chapter how the study has addressed the research questions and aims, I begin by reviewing what was previously known about the subject and what was found by the study. I then apply criticality in consideration of what this adds to the field and what are the study's strengths and limitations. Finally I move to the implications of the study and its findings for practice, research and policy.

For a framework to structure the critical aspects of the discussion, I return to Charmaz's methodological work on the use of grounded theory for social justice goals. To evaluate work in this field Charmaz proposes four criteria: credibility, originality, resonance and usefulness (2005). Each criterion is broken down into questions to ask of a study, and these will guide sections. The questions related to credibility will be considered to address the strengths and limitations of the study, originality for what the findings add to the field, and the notion of usefulness will guide discussion of the study's implications. I will broach the notion of the study's resonance in my final conclusion.

8.2. Addressing the question

8.2.1. What was previously known?

In order to understand what was already known about the field of inquiry, I conducted a conceptual analysis of studies identified through a systematic search of literature. This process provided a structured means to ascertain the ways in which researchers treat the concept of identity in relation to participatory music-making programmes with migrant populations. It highlighted the prominence of identity in the academic field and identified diverse conceptualisations adopted by study authors. Four broad conceptualisations of identity emerged in the analysis: assigned bureaucratic identities, self identity, collective and individual identities, and the construction of identities.

Researchers were found to use concepts of identity to describe challenges faced through migration, to inform intervention designs, to provide a theoretical basis of understanding, and to frame their findings. They drew on established theories to support these areas of their work, suggesting standpoints from which to understand the interaction of music-making with identity.

Researchers who referred to concepts of self identity most commonly rooted them within developmental theory. Study authors drew on the work of Laiho (2004) and Erikson (1995) to define challenges faced at stages of self identity development. The relevance of music-making to address those challenges was supported through reference to work on early childhood development by Papousek and Papousek (1981), Stern (1985) and Trevarthen (2002). These conceptualisations draw attention to a well established body of literature that features musical elements in processes relating to identity development.

This knowledge supported the rationale for studies, and was used to frame findings. Research studies found music-making interventions to redress challenges arising from interruptions to the task of identity development caused by migration; increasing positive components of self identity such as confidence and sense of empowerment. These shifts to self identity were shown to occur in relationship, through interaction with musicians, music therapists, peers, audiences, mothers, and teachers. Analysis found that implicit in these interactions were processes of receiving and giving recognition.

In relation to conceptualisations of cultural identity, a number of researchers framed their work according to Berry's (1997) model of acculturation, offering a means to understand shifts to positionally along a spectrum of assimilation. The framework describes acculturation in terms of immigrants' connections to the cultural identities of their new and former countries. Studies showed that music-making programmes could influence processes of acculturation, but analysis found that in general rather than substantiating Berry's model

studies described commonalities and crossovers of cultural materials repudiating such a binary outlook. The work of DeNora (2000) was drawn on by several authors to provide a theoretical grounding for the agency that was demonstrated in people's negotiations of identity. In particular, Karlsen conceptualised music affording 'multiple repertoires of ways of being and acting' that she found to be appropriated in acts of identity negotiation (Karlsen, 2012). Overall the literature showed examples of people using music to navigate identity positions according to context, supporting a flexible, non-essentialist conceptual understanding of individual and collective identity.

Constructionist notions of narrative, embodied and performed identities were found to offer the conceptual basis for several studies. For example, the concept of narrative identity was used by Ahonen and Desideri (2014) in their study of narrative therapy and group analytic music therapy. They theorised that the intervention supported people in re-authoring personal narratives and identities. Findings were presented in part with poetic narrative renderings. The concept of performed identity was utilised in a study of Community Music Therapy, which was viewed as a performative process. Conceptualisations of identity therefore grew from the interventions' theoretical and practical stances. Likewise, the notion of embodied identity was found in studies of movement-based interventions. In these cases, researchers' uses of concepts of identity were integrated in studies' intervention designs and analytical processes.

Ubiquitous in the studies was the use of assigned bureaucratic identities; indeed these terms were part of the boolean criteria used to identify the studies. A range of terminology was found, including refugee, asylum seeker, detainee, and immigrant. These conventional terms conveniently describe the research populations according to their context and migration status. However, several researchers problematised these labels of identity, and adopted different language. Researchers connected discourses around identity groups with wider oppression, and therefore sought to position themselves as allies and co-researchers with the study participants in order not to replicate oppressive hierarchies.

The foundational step of the analysis of literature established what was known about the use of the concept of identity in this field and the gaps in knowledge. I then sought to gain new insight by investigating how identity featured in participants' and providers' accounts of participatory music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution.

8.2.2. What was found?

The study found that identity featured in the accounts of organisers, music facilitators and group members in terms of participatory music-making's affordances of recognition,

repositioning and self-expression, and as a frame to understand the considerable challenges and risks that exist in this field. Within the researched programmes these processes were related to organisational and facilitation approaches. In accounts of the interviewees' broader experiences of music-making, identity was shown to feature according to the same thematic areas, supporting their relevance and resonance.

It was clear in music facilitators' accounts that they took care seeking to give recognition to music group members by acknowledging their presence, ideas and achievements. Musical choices were designed to convey recognition of the value of the cultural background of group members and their tastes. Public performances and recordings were organised to afford further moments of praise and celebration, recognising either high level accomplishment or simpler programme achievements. The importance given to recognition was found to be echoed in the memories of the music facilitators and organisers themselves, who recounted their own formative experiences of receiving acknowledgment in music-making programmes, or of being driven in the quest for that recognition.

Likewise the participants' stories provided further illustration of how identity was found to feature in accounts of music-making in relation to recognition. Ashur, for example, recalled feeling like a star among his peers when he was young, but later experiencing the schism of his reduced status in the UK. Aziz expressed pride in my recognition of the beauty of his musical choice, seemingly taking it by proxy as a recognition of his worth. Fukuyama argues that central to the construction of a sense of identity is the fact that 'human beings naturally crave recognition' (2018: 9) and this fundamental aspect of identity was found to feature across accounts of participatory music-making programmes.

Also found across data, were accounts that featured identity being navigated through acts of repositioning. Music facilitators and organisers were shown to be active in seeking to redress the marginal positioning attributed to people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution and to the cultures of their countries of birth. Within music-making programmes, efforts were described to integrate group participants as equal members, inviting people to take central roles in contrast to their perceived societal marginality. Activities were recounted that aimed to expose audiences to cultural experiences from their fellow community members that may otherwise be considered peripheral, positioning performers as valued experts and uninitiated audience members in the role of novices unpractised at the required systems of listening.

Identity featured in these accounts through the acts of repositioning afforded by participatory music-making. This was not a fixed or innate notion of identity, but one in which people exercised agency. Stories of music facilitators' and organisers' own experiences in music-

making also featured identity in this way. Struggles of identity were evident in these data, with interviewees expressing their choices regarding identification with notions of nationality, and their constructions of a sense of self incorporating elements of familial heritage. Music featured in these negotiations through associations with repertoire and the development of tastes, providing a resource for enacting identity positions.

Music facilitators and organisers emphasised the importance of providing opportunities for group participants to express themselves. This was achieved through guided improvisation, through accessing memories and tastes, and through musical, nonverbal communication. In the *Discussion of Findings* I connected this theme to the notion of recognition, following Fukuyama in linking self expression to the quest for recognition of self. While that connection supports my theoretical argument, self expression featured in accounts as a distinct idea and was identified as a significant theme in analysis.

Beyond the thematic findings of the study, identity has been conceived as featuring in participatory music-making programmes in terms of broader representational discourse. This manifested in relation to how participants were represented within programmes, and how that interacted with broader discourses. The *Discussion of Findings* summarised that the study had found participatory music-making programmes to afford opportunities to disrupt the oppressive discursive representation of people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution while at the same time risking reproduction of the same problematic hegemonic discourses.

8.2.3. What does this add?

To address what this study adds to the field, I draw on Charmaz's criteria of originality. When assessing originality, Charmaz first questions whether thematic categories are 'fresh', 'offer new insights' and provide 'a new conceptual rendering of the data'; then she asks about the work's 'social and theoretical significance' and how it challenges, extends or refines 'current ideas, concepts, and practices' (2005: 528).

Findings and methodology addressed conceptual gaps identified through analysis of the existing literature, and offer an understanding of the concept of identity that resonates across the breadth of research participants and contexts. This goes beyond the conceptualisations identified in previous research in the field, and enables new insights.

The study adds a rich body of data and original analysis based on critical understanding of identity. Analysis rendered findings related to representation, recognition and repositioning; notions that reframe the categorisations of identity found in analysis of past research. Rather than focusing on components of self identity such as confidence or empowerment, for example, the notion of recognition offers the conceptual means to view approaches to

practice and the beneficial processes involved. Likewise the concept of repositioning incorporates actions that redress marginality or centrality of members of identity groups. Previous conceptualisations found in analysis of literature framed marginalisation as an issue of the marginalised, whereas the notion of positioning also allows interrogation of the discourses that define centrality and marginality. In my application of the terms recognition and repositioning I have drawn on current theoretical ideas from Fukuyama (2018) and the field of discourse studies (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999, Bucholtz and Hall, 2004, 2005), suggesting a new basis for understanding identity within participatory music-making programmes.

Foucault's assertion that representations of identity are constructed through discourses that reflect and sustain relations of power (Foucault, 1980a: 131) underlies the ontological standpoint that informs the study's methodology, analysis and findings. This provides internal consistency for the research. In terms of methodology, ontology guided the use of narrative approaches to foreground the views and responses of people who are often marginalised and subjugated. Participants' stories were included as representational acts of identity in themselves (Rosenwald and Ochberg, 1992, Frank, 1995, Denzin, 1997, 2003), with the potential to 'dislodge hegemonic knowledge and the oppressive binaries that they perpetuate' (Weedon, 2004).

The significance of this theoretical outlook is that it offers a conceptualisation of identity that featured not only in the research paradigm, but also across accounts from interviewees. It is behind the findings related to positive affordances of participatory music-making, and also the substantial challenges found to be faced by group members, music facilitators and organisers. The usefulness of this theoretical stance therefore may have significance to the field.

By theorising challenges faced by identity groups as resulting from representational discourses in relations of power, this study points towards the possibility for action to disrupt those discourses. This has social significance as it directs responses beyond immediate personal or therapeutic needs to the structural roots of injustice. Participatory music-making becomes a means of redress and resistance. Programmes, like the ones researched here, can be viewed as sites of social action with the potential for their common purpose and identity to be harnessed in a movement for social change.

8.3. Strengths and limitations of this study

To discuss the strengths and limitations of this study, I reflect on Charmaz's criterion of credibility. The first question that Charmaz asks to establish credibility is whether the researcher 'achieved intimate familiarity with the setting or topic' (2005: 528). This is

addressed through the strategy of the study, which was designed to achieve close interaction with the music-making programmes and participants.

In each of the four contexts I joined participatory music-making alongside participants and providers including all the eventual interviewees. That positioning within research contexts allowed me to build relationships that enabled a broad range of interview data to be collected. Nineteen interviews from participants at four participatory music-making programmes in two countries, with varied histories of migration, represents a diverse sample of interviewees. Furthermore, the research participants engaged with the programmes at different levels – as group members, music facilitators and organisers – allowing the inclusion of perspectives from different roles within the process.

Challenges to access and recruitment guided aspects of sampling. The greatest challenges for this study related to access to the communities with whom I wanted to research. Due to the concerns of organisations about granting access to research with vulnerable populations, research contexts had to be selected purposively, but also pragmatically. In terms of sampling of interviewees, similar challenges were faced. For example, two participants in music-making whom I did ask for an interview declined. They felt too vulnerable to have their views and responses audio recorded and shared in a thesis.

Language also limited aspects of the research study. Interpreters were made available for prospective interviewees, and consent forms were produced in all participants' languages, but ultimately all interviews were done in English. This was the reality of how relationships were formed, and the people who felt comfortable to sign consent forms and sit with me for an hour talking.

These challenges of context, sampling and language informed the voices that are contained in this thesis. Some music-making contexts were not possible to access, and some people were not able to share their experiences in interviews. However, my intimate familiarity to the research settings, and the range, number and depth of interviews collected as data mean the study findings can help to find broad insights into the study population.

In relation to the analytic processes used in a study, Charmaz questions whether systematic approaches were used, the range of observations made, and the logic of links made between data and the arguments made by the researcher. In analysing the diverse data set gathered in this study, it was very necessary to be systematic with the constant comparative process of formulating categories and then themes. Use of *Nvivo 12* software powered the phases of analysis, enabling a detailed and structured approach to be used. The diversity of the interview population also allowed a range of observation to be made of the data. Each theme is illustrated by contrasting data. Recognition, for example, is demonstrated in the

acknowledgment offered to a child for their creative choreography, through fusions of musical traditions by an orchestra, and in stories from professional musicians that recall the motivation they derived as children from receiving praise. While the theme offers a unity of understanding, there are a range of observations to substantiate the argument being made.

Each of the identified themes follows a logical path from the study's paradigmatic standpoint, through the conceptual gaps identified in literature, and into the discussion of findings. The Foucauldian stance outlined in my *Introduction* informed the methodology and the study's conclusions. In some ways, this study has sought to suggest a conceptually consistent approach to identity. Links from data towards the arguments developed have been constructed within the broader ontological framework. In Charmaz's terms this is an important aspect in establishing credibility.

The structure of this thesis also meant exercising limitations to the analytical lenses applied to the rich data set. Consequently not all strands of interest were followed, and this resulted in some unexplored areas of inquiry suggested by the data, for example analysis through the lenses of postcolonialism or of gender. I have discussed implications of gender only briefly while locating myself as a researcher (*Section 1.3*), and within the data they featured explicitly only in the accounts of OR14 and OR18 (*Section 6.3.3*) who acknowledged the ease that their white, male status availed to them in stark contrast to people with whom they worked. However, the implicit, structural, prevalent implications of gender within all of the accounts can be rich for analysis. This could open criticality of cultural, gendered attitudes towards musicians, and to the participants and providers of music-making programmes. The notions of representation, recognition and repositioning may be of relevance here. In addition criticality can be applied to the roles of researchers, such as myself, in the ways in which gender does or does not feature in this field of study.

Finally, Charmaz asks whether the researcher 'provided enough evidence for his or her claims to allow the reader to form an independent assessment - and a*gree* with the researcher's claims' (Charmaz, 2005: 528). With the double layers of narrative and thematic presentations of data, there is substantial evidence presented from which the reader can draw in order to assess the claims and arguments that I have made. The quotes included in the thematic analysis contain responses from all of the interviewees, ensuring that a full range of collected viewpoints are presented to the reader. The participants' stories have been shared to provide illustrations that allow further insight; unfiltered by defined themes. Inclusion of this range and diversity of data invites independent conclusions to be drawn.

8.4. Implications of the findings for practice, policy and research

Implications of findings for practice, policy and research are conceived in Charmaz's criteria as the study's 'usefulness' (2005: 528). She asks if a study offers 'interpretations that people can use in their everyday worlds', if the findings 'speak to generic processes', have 'social justice implications', can 'spark further research', and can 'contribute to making a better society' (Charmaz, 2005: 528).

As a representational act, participatory music-making has been found in this study to afford opportunities for recognition of personal, musical and cultural elements that people associate with their sense of identity. These are fluid and changeable aspects of self that were shown to be important in the processes of identity negotiations for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution. In contrast, music-making activities were also found to have the potential to leave people feeling misrepresented and to reproduce the broader, oppressive, reductive societal discourse of migrant identities.

These findings imply a responsibility for music facilitators and organisers to consider the representational connotations of their work. Recognition of individual effort, attainment and input were recounted as impacting positively on individuals, as was the acknowledgement of the value of the music and culture with which people associated. Music facilitators sought opportunities for group participants to receive public celebration of their achievements, and for recordings to be made to provide a product that represented the attainment of a level of skill. Music facilitators should be aware of the power of giving recognition, and foster opportunities to enact this process.

These acts afford experiences that are contrary to the hegemonic discourse that assimilates 'refugees and asylum seekers' in terms of their needs and their threat. In this study musical interventions have been referred to as acts of redress, and this can provide a useful framing for practitioners to conceive of their work. Breaches to past lives and former structures of identity can be redressed through participatory music-making.

I have suggested too that Social Movement Theory may provide a useful model of action. There is a shared grievance among group participants, music facilitators and organisers that this study has proposed is born from the dominant representational discourse. Social Movement Theory offers a way to leverage the energy from all levels of stakeholders, towards change. However, one obstacle to movement building is the division that is often created between the professional and participant identities involved. For example, the professionalisation of music therapy in the UK distinguished trained music therapists from community musicians or music educators, and formally defined the relationship between therapists and clients in clinical terms. In effect, music therapists positioned themselves with

expertise, with the risk of distancing themselves from possible allies in other fields of practice or participation. Music therapy gained from professionalisation in terms of recognition from health bodies and allied professions. Practitioners were able to be employed and provide much-needed patient support within healthcare and educational contexts; and according to pay scales for allied professionals. However, the trade-off may have been increasing distance from natural allies in the Arts, Health and Wellbeing movement, weakening possibilities for collective action.

The clamour for an evidence-base in music therapy, as with other music-making practices, aligned the profession with medical and academic criteria for gold standards of research, furthering the risk of creating 'expert/lay division' (Daykin, 2020: 57). I see similar clamours in the fields of Community Music and Arts, Health and Wellbeing, fuelled by the desire to professionalise practices and careers. As Daykin points out, 'while aligning closely with medically based evidence hierarchies may gain the attention of policy makers, it may also distort research and overlook the concerns of participants, artists and grass-roots activists' (2020: 57). Social Movement Theory suggests that energy can be harnessed from the interaction between individuals, communities and organisations, implying that the adoption of expert positions, or becoming too aligned in one direction, can weaken a movement's potential.

The implication here is directed towards practice, policy and research, to balance the trade offs of expertise and evidence with the wider goals that may be better achieved through collective action. In practical terms, music facilitators and organisers voiced in interviews that they felt compelled to use the labels *refugee* or *asylum seeker* in order to secure funding bids. To alter this requires a shift in practice away from silo-ed work targeted solely towards one identity group, a shift in policy away from identity-based distributions of resources, and researchers taking a role in highlighting the damage of representational discourses at all levels.

Beyond silo-ed music-making targeted solely at people who have emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution are practices that invite participation from all community members, and incorporate skills from across communities. People with expertise nurtured in other countries can be employed to guide music-making, sharing knowledge that can open enjoyment of new music.

In settings that seem to enforce and require separation of identity groups, policy should be reconsidered. My own work in an AZC in the Netherlands required a long journey into the countryside, followed by a walk from the nearest bus stop. Such physical distancing adds a huge obstacle to opportunities for community building within the local context.

Marginalisation is structural and geographical, resulting in even greater need for later redress. If such policies of separation were re-thought, moments of musical recognition and repositioning could be embraced as community practices, based around interactions of self and collective expression.

In view of the implications and limitations of the findings that have been discussed, a line of research can be recommended. Building from this current study's findings, a recommended objective for future research would be to gain insight into experiences of the representational acts encountered in music-making activities. Ethnographic field notes and ethnographic interviews could give valuable data. In addition, attention should be paid to the allegiances and collaborations - the collective movement building - that occur between members and the wider community.

In place of the challenging recruitment process that this study experienced, it could be interesting to embed a researcher within a participatory music-making project from its outset. An ethnographic approach could be incorporated from the start, observing the decisions and approaches adopted to invite participation from community members including people who have emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution. The researcher's participation in the music-making could be at any level, as a group participant, music facilitator or organiser. This research strategy would ensure proximity to the processes of interaction and meaning making that have been highlighted in this study.

If a multi-site study were possible, researchers should be involved who themselves have experiences of forced migration. Music facilitators and organisers should also include people who have emigrated to seek asylum from war or persecution. In this way the insider / outsider positioning of researchers will be illuminated from different perspectives within the contexts.

This section has addressed the questions put forward by Charmaz to discuss the usefulness of this study's findings. Implications have been identified for practice, research and policy. The findings speak directly to issues of social justice, and I have proposed a model of collective action to respond. Further research into the substantive area of representational discourse and experiences of identity has been suggested. The implications that have been outlined are closely linked to the process planned to disseminate the research findings (*Appendix 6 - Dissemination Plan*). Consideration is given to each of the constituent groups addressed here, and to the people with whom I made music and spoke during the research study.

The final implication of the findings that I want to consider is for application beyond the current research population. Participatory music-making programmes with any population group can feature the same affordances and risks that I have described in this thesis.

Therefore, the same frame of conceptual understanding that this study proposes has relevance across work which invites the participation of particular identity groups. For example, the representation of people living with HIV can redress or reinforce attitudes of stigma; representation of people with addictions can redress or reinforce prejudice. This study has explored how identities are shaped within discourses and how music-making can actively redress or reinforce that discourse. This has usefulness for addressing social injustices beyond the study's scope.

8.5. Conclusion

My starting point for embarking on this research was my concern that my working practice risked complicity with problematic representations of identity. This study shows that concern to be well placed; oppressive discourse can be reproduced and reinforced in music-making programmes, but it can also be redressed.

Viewed as representational acts, participatory music-making programmes afford opportunities for recognition, repositioning and self expression. However, this demands reflexivity from music facilitators and organisers, and awareness of how those affordances are mediated within discourses and dynamics of power. A critical understanding of representations of identity provides the theoretical base for participatory music-making to directly disrupt problematic hegemonic discourse. Furthermore, it frames a shared cause, and enables practitioners and providers to seek broader redress through collective action.

Finally, to consider the resonance of a study that seeks a social change objective, Charmaz asks whether the researchers' analytical interpretations 'make sense to members and offer deeper insights about their lives and worlds' (2005: 528). I hope this to be the case, and will appreciate hearing about applications of findings from people across the range of the study's implications.

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Appendix 1 - Table of included studies

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
AHONEN, H. & DE-SIDERI, A. M. 2014.	To observe, describe, and investigate the development of meaning and prcesses of re-authoring for women refugees showing symptoms of PTSD, attending narrative group analytic music therapy.	A combined program of narrative therapy and group analytic music therapy. Duration was 8 weeks. Music-making involved musical narratives, listening, and improvisation. Other arts activities, such as drawing, writing, and clay work.	Refugees, and 'newcomers' living in Canada. 6 women. Age 30-60 years old. Countries of origin is unclear. Referral due to symptoms of PTSD. The women were members of an existing therapy group.	Qualitative design, with phenomenological and narrative approach. Poetic representation is used to communicate findings. Data consisted of audiotapes of the therapy sessions, and group interviews conducted after the intervention using open-ended questions.	Narrative analysis	Narratives were understood in 3 themes - 1. Self-defining Trauma Story: "The empty cup" characterised by 'helplessness, pain, fear and anxiety' 2. Transition Story "The half empty cup" characterised by 'acceptance, dealing with loss, dealing with guilt' 3.Re-authored Survivor Story: "The half-full cup, characterised by 'validation, feeling content, liberation' (p.6)	Small cohort size limits generalisability of findings.	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity Narrative identity Self identity	Narratives of self are central to intervention and research designs.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
BAKER, F. & JONES, C. 2006.	To investigate effect of 'a short intensive music therapy program' (p. 251) on behaviour in the classroom, for adolescents who have recently arrived in Australia as refugees.	Music therapy. Duration was 10 out of 20 weeks, in 5 week blocks. 40 minute sessions, one or two times a week. Music-making involved singing, dancing, improvisation, collaborative song-writing ('all songs were rehearsed, recorded and each student given a CD copy of the song to keep' (p.253), presentation of music from country of origin.	Refugees. 31 students from an ESL school in Queensland, Australia. Age 11–15 years old. Country of origin was: Sudan (n=20) Iran (n=5) Liberia (n=2) Rwanda (n=2) Ethiopian (n=1) DRC (n=1) (p.252)	Quantitative design. **Behaviour Assessment Scale for Children (BASC)** completed by teachers 5 times, before the intervention, and then every 5 weeks during the intervention. 2 groups participated in music therapy in alternating 5 week blocks. Each group participating for 10 weeks out of 20.	MANOVA administered	'Decrease in externalising behaviours during treatment. Significant long-term treatment effect for externalising behaviours. "Non-significant findings for internalising behaviours" e.g. anxiety, depression, somatisation, due to communication difficulties (p. 257). Article suggests that a longer treatment period may be necessary to improve positive results.' (Henderson *et al.* 2016: 463)	Students involved did not have BSI scores (Behavioural Symptom Index) high enough to warrant clinical concern, therefore the results do not truly show how music therapy may effect more serious cases. Teachers completed the BASC for each participant five times throughout the study. The study is not clear on whether or not a single teacher or multiple teachers completed scores for each student. If scores were completed by a single teacher, there may be a bias within that teacher that impacts the scores. The BASC as an instrument is limited as it was not developed for and at the time of the study, not used with, young migrants and refugees. Consid-	Bureaucratic identity Developing identity Self identity	Developmental challenges for adolescents' identity formation are exacerbated by migration, manifesting through classroom behaviour. Music therapy facilitates exploration of self, shown to positively impact behaviour, assessed with Behaviour Assessment Scale for Children (BASC).

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
Bruce, K. (2015)	To evaluate outcomes and practice of Music in Detention's work; to report to donors; and share best practice and learning.	*Music in Detention* (http://www.musicindetention.org.uk) Music programs in detention centre and in YMCA, teaching instruments, recording and writing songs, and encouraging sharing and collaboration between the two communities.	Detainees at Harmondsworth Immigration Removal Centre, and young people at West London YMCA in Hayes (including 'asylum seekers/ refugees and migrants, young and lone parents and young offenders' (p.9))	Qualitative service evaluation. Data gathered from: Observation; pre and post questionnaires; artist logs; focus groups with participants; interview with musician; music tracks and progression.	Thematic analysis, and extraction of data seen as pertinent.	The project strengthened participants' wellbeing and resilience, through 'distraction, increased communication, building relationships, forming friendships, encouraging reflection, and building confidence.' Awareness was developed across the two communities, with one member of the YMCA group visiting the detention centre. (it was noted that not all participants, particularly in the detention centre, were aware of the understanding-building aspect of the program). Confidence in musical competence was prominent in the findings, with peer support, sharing, and encouragement emerging as very important.	This is an evaluation report, not research. It is included here because *Music in Detention* is a prominent provider of music to asylum seekers in UK.	Bureaucratic identity Self identity	Confidence and self esteem are increased through gains in competence and being valued. These shifts in self-identity come from, and lead to, positive experiences of shared music-making, central to the programme's objectives.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
Carlow, R. (2004).	To 'explore the musical experiences of immigrant students in an American high school choral class' (p. 1).	High school choir, observed over 10 months.	5 female high school students, attending Marshall high school (USA). Countries of origin: Ecuador, El Salvador, Ghana, and Kazakhstan.	Collective case study. Data was from: 'semi-structured, in-depth interviews, student and teacher surveys, observations, focus groups, and dialogue journal writing collected over a ten-month period' (p. 1).	Data interpreted to create four case studies. Theoretical analysis informed by 'Lind's study of classroom environment and Gay's theory of culturally responsive teaching' (p. 1).	English language learners can be placed unfavourably compared to English speakers in choral activities. Some normal activities in Western choral groups could be viewed as "culturally incongruent" with previous experiences of immigrant students (e.g. notation, warm-ups, sight reading). Immigrants recognised this program as a benefit for their high school education and experience.' (Henderson *et al.* 2016: 464)	'Linguistic limitations between participants and researcher may have hindered some interpretation and analysis. Cohort size is too small for findings to be generalisable.' (Henderson *et al.* 2016: 464)	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity Musical identity	Students experience the school choir culture in relation to their cultural and musical identities, which are shown to be reflective of, and constructed by family, past experience, and social interaction.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
Cheong-Clinch, C. (2009).	The researcher studied two programs, one of which meets the inclusion criteria of this review. The two programs 'aimed to build peer-relationships, self-esteem and expression. The program delivered with the ESL high school also aimed to support language development' (Henderson *et al.*, 2016: 464)	Included program: High school music program, defined as music therapy. Duration was 10 weeks, with session of 1 hour each week. Music-Making involved selecting and learning songs.	Refugee background students in an English as a Second Language school in Brisbane. 7 females, of whom 2 completed the program. Aged 15-17 years old. Nation of origin defined as African nations	Qualitative, descriptive study Data was collected by observation. (p. 55)	'None' (Henderson *et al.*, 2016: 464)	Participants from Brisbane high school: - "students made progress in their social and learning behaviours" (p. 54). - Developed confidence. - Reinforced language and allowed persons involved to learn new words. - May have motivated participants to "learn English. - allowed individuals to develop language skills - "effective in meeting the therapeutic objectives of increasing self-esteem and self-expression, building peer relationships, and increasing language skills in the first program" (p. 55) (Henderson *et al.*, 2016: 464)	'The causal relationship between language development, self-esteem and willingness to participate in music programs is unclear. More strategic and clarified methodology needed. Duration of studies relatively short (funding restrictions). Physical and mental well-being of students not assessed. The author, a music therapist, recorded and analysed the observations of the process. No information about the interview process, sample and question style. No information about how data was recorded and analysed.' (Henderson *et al.*, 2016: 464)	Bureaucratic identity Developing identity Self identity	During the formative developmental stage of adolescence, immigrants have the additional challenge of establishing their identity in a foreign environment. Music therapy participation has a postiive effect on self-identity.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
ENGE, K. E. A. 2015.	To examine Community Music Therapy (CoMT) as an approach to supporting asylum-seeking and refugee children in Norway. (p.205)	Music Therapy (CoMT informed). Sessions were weekly, 45 minutes duration, and either in small groups, pairs or 1-1. Music-making included: 'band playing, learning music/ instruments, improvising, performing, playing music games, making stories and song writing.' (p. 207-208) Music therapy took place during school time.	3 children in individual music therapy, two of whom are girls, one is a boy. Other children enter the case studies, as part of the musical process. 8-12 years old. Referrals were for 'children who lived in a particularly vulnerable situation, or who had behavioral difficulties or other social challenges	Case study	Case studies Important theoretical frameworks for analysis are performance and performativity in Community Music Therapy.	The researcher states that: 'music therapy seems to influence the way children participate in their own life. It is as if music therapy can offer them new paths to walk on. Possibilities for friends. Possibilities for good feelings. Possibilities for a positive identity. Possibilities to use and show resources. I believe that these new possibilities of action can be connected to the description of CoMT as a performative practice' (p. 212) Specific findings show music being appropriated for nonverbal expression, building relationships, experiencing being valued, sense of competence, self-exploration, and a source of meaningful pleasure. (p.211)	There is not a described systematic approach to the case studies' selection or analysis. The research in effect is also performative, and a part of the music therapy's function, as Enge writes: "The work described here is a response to an unjust situation in our society, and an attempt to improve the life situation for asylum-seeking and refugee children." (p213). The subjective limitation is implicit to the methodology, and is itself its own justification.	Bureaucratic identity Performed identity	Performance of self is central to the intervention, and provides a useful analytical frame for findings.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
FRANKENBERG, E., FRIES, K., FRIEDRICH, E. K., RODEN, I., KREUTZ, G. & BONGARD, S. 2014.	To explore the effect of a music education program on acculturation for migrant children.	*JeKi,* an in-school music program, explained as 'an "extension of schools' regular curriculum and provides students with basic introduction to music and instrument lessons (Years 1 and 2), followed by school-wide music performances within an ensemble (Years 3 and 4)' (p.114) A control group who did not participate in this additional music program, although roughly 45% were members of a choir.	Immigrant background children. 159 elementary school children attending 14 public schools in Germany. 55.3% girls Aged 7–11 years old. Countries of origin: 30+ countries of origin, made up of 30.2% Turkish descent, 23.9% Russian or Ukrainian, and 6.2% Polish descent	Quantitative methodology, with some questionnaire commentary data also included. *Frankfurt Acculturation Scale for Children* was used to assess sense of orientation to country of origin and to host country (Germany), *Questionnaire for the assessment of emotional and social school experiences of elementary school students* was used to assess level of integration and acceptance with-	ANCOVA, and Hierarchical multiple regression analyses	Students who had participated in larger group music-making showed larger increases of orientation to host culture over 18 months, compared to the control group. Younger children had not played in large ensembles, and no such increase was found.	As identified by the researchers (p.125): Socioeconomic data was not provided by all students' parents, and therefore this variable could not be sufficiently analysed so as to produce reliable conclusions. Information regarding choir participation in the control group was insufficient to analyse the impact or effects of this on the members. Participants were of immigrant background, but the vast majority was born in Germany. This limits generalisability for 1st generation and recently arrived immigrants or refugees.	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity	The study focus is acculturation, and assessment with the Frankfurt Acculturation Scale shows shift towards homeland (German) cultural identity for immigrant children in large-group music-making.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
Gilboa, A., Yehuda, N., & Amir, D. (2009).	To research the impacts of a music contact group as an effective intervention to improve relations between Sabra and immigrant community members in Israel.	Musical contact group, facilitated by music therapist. 24 weekly sessions, 90 minutes each. facilitated by a music therapist where students "presented themselves through their music and listened to others presenting their own music" (p. 9). Music-Making included presentations by members of themselves through their music, listening, 'musical improvisation and dancing … guest lecturers … documentary movies which focussed on music and multiculturalism … students	Immigrants to Israel, and young people born in Israel (Sabras) 12 young people. 8 women and 4 men. Aged 21-38 years old. Undergraduate students at the research institution.	Mixed methods Quantitative: *Collective Self Esteem* questionnaire Luhtanen & Crocker (1991, 1992)] *Music preferences questionnaire* Completed by group members during first and last two weeks of intervention. Qualitative: Data included diary entry, student accounts, videos from sessions, and student assignments.	Qualitative: Interpretive Phenomenological Framework Analysis. Analysed by two researchers concurrently and then reviewed by a third. Quantitative: two-way analysis of variance to investigate whether or not collective-self-esteem was be-	Qualitative: Students recognised the value in their own cultural heritage through their presentation of their own music. Integrate into the new culture. Develop skills in presentation and develop confidence. Helped individuals get to know others better. Developed a sense of collective self, and an understanding of similarities across all cultures involved. Develop connections among the group and deal with conflicts. Quantitative: The group enhanced collective self-esteem $F(1, 10) = 7.54$, $p < .05$ (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 465)	Study population limited to school students – would attitudes of acceptance still arise in adults who may have a much stronger opinion on culture? Music making, e.g. songwriting or performing was not part of the intervention. The process that the music therapist used is unclear. The qualitative data included participants' assignments and journal entries. Written entries may not be the best method to gain the perspectives of the participants. The small and distinct group of participants mean that the findings from this research are not generalisable. (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 465)	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity Musical identity Developing identity Self identity	A developmental frame supports the use of music in identity work. Interaction through music-making is facilitated between groups from different cultural backgrounds, as a means of bringing people together in a Contact format. New perspectives develop towards the participants' own cultural identities, and towards those of others. Measures of Collective Self Esteem and Musical Preference show shifts in identity.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
GROSSMAN, M. & SONN, C. 2010. **[see also CRAWFORD (2017) and SONN et al. (2013)]**	*New Moves* researched the impact and meanings of programs delivered by *The Song Room* to young refugees in Melbourne, Australia.	Music and theatre programs delivered by *The Song Room* (https://www.songroom.org.au/about/). Music-making included: Singing, drumming, general music, and dance. Other arts included drama (20 of the 55 children participated in drama)	Refugee background children. 55 children Aged 10 to 18 years old. Participants were students at 6 schools across Melbourne. Countries of origin were Sudan, Iran and Iraq, Burma and Afghanistan. (p.4)	Qualitative design: Multiple-case study with Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) framework Data included interviews with 'classroom teachers, school principals, TSR teaching artists, parents of participating children, and community leaders from relevant refugee background communities' (p.4); focus group with teaching artists; photos from a photo-elicitation exercise with	Thematic analysis	Positive impacts were found across 3 themes: 'sense of wellbeing; promoting sense of belonging and social inclusion; and enhancing engagement with learning' (p.5) Data analysis revealed TSR effecting: A further significant outcome was 'the extent to which forms of transculturation took place' amongst students, and also with staff, teaching artists, and through community engagement. (p.5)	As identified by the authors: "• Difficulties accessing community members for interview for a host of reasons, including timing and limited understanding of the need for the research • Difficulty pursuing in interviews some of the issues and topics under consideration with the younger cohort including the sophistication of some of the concepts; inherent difficulties with translation; • assumptions about linguistic and conceptual equivalence in face-to-face interviews; • and the power differentials suggested by this – all of which put limits on the depth of the interview data (partially offset by gathering additional	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity Constructivist identity Self identity	Music is a 'vehicle' for the 'identity construction process' (p.86). The refugee identity that is often assigned to the young participants is problematic, too often constructed to limit opportunities and expectations. Music allows identity to be expressed and understood differently, and provides positive experiences that boost self-identity.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
HUBY, J. 2014.	To research how immigrant children use and understand their cultural identity as a resource for integration, and how music therapy can promote the value of cultural identity in the integration process. (p.8)	Music therapy, facilitated by music therapy students. 11 sessions for each group, with one a week, of 45 minutes each. (p.9) Music-making involved singing, dancing, playing instruments. Material included folk music from Norway, pop music in English and in Norwegian, and songs taught to the group by its members. Children performed in a concert at the end of the program. (p. 9-10).	Children recently arrived in Norway, without yet a strong knowledge of the Norwegian language. Around 30 children Aged 10-14 years old.	Qualitative. Semi-structured interviews.	Thematic analysis.	Findings are themed as: Identity through childhood and adolescence; Identity awareness; hybridisation; the significance of bodily experience; spontaneity; the realisation of resource. As identity is negotiated and understood through cultural/musical experiences, it becomes apparent as an important resource for the children's integration. Huby relates this to a the practice of music therapy, because that resource is only given value through positive interactions, and this can be achieved in the music therapeutic interaction.	The researcher limited interviewees to children who spoke Norwegian, thereby ruling out many participants, and self-selecting those who had the characteristics, personalities, or resources to have learned Norwegian.	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity Constructivist identity Embodied identity Musical identity Developing identity Self identity	Identity is viewed broadly, and from a constructivist understanding. Ruud's 'musical biographies' are used to explore children's musical identities. Changes to self-identity and integration position are found. The importance of cultural identity as a resource in integration is emphasised, as well as the reciprocal nature of exercising that resource.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
HUNT, M. 2006.	An exploration of how music therapy can be used to develop a sense of belonging among young refugees.	Group music therapy. Nine sessions, during one school term. Music-making included improvisation; song writing; group drumming; movement to music; drawing while listening to music; singing familiar songs. The group members were encouraged and empowered to take agency in deciding and leading the content of sessions.	Refugees. Students at an 'English as a Second Language' School in Melbourne, Australia. 10 young people. 3 males, 7 females. Country of origin was Sudan, representing 3 tribes - Dinka, Anyuak and Zundi. Two young people dropped out after one session. These were two young	Action research Data was musical material in recordings of sessions, and observations in field notes.	Musical analysis using *Improvisational Assessment Profiles* (Bruscia, 1987)	Findings show the group moving from exploration to being 'integrated and autonomous'. Their musical material combines 'elements of their past' with 'elements of their present', creating a sense of cohesion and belonging. (p.102)	As identified by the researcher: Linguistic difference in the group was an obstacle to discussion, and to a fully participatory form of research. (p.112) There was limited time for the group to understand the action research paradigm. (p. 112) *Improvisational Assessment Profiles* provide a subjective and limited frame of analysis (p.114)	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity Musical identity Developmental identity Self identity	The challenges of cultural identity difference are raised, and explored. Bruscia's Improvisational Assessment Profiles are used as a frame to understand Musical Identity.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
KARLSEN, S. 2012. and KARLSEN (2013 & 2014)	These papers represent a multi-sited ethnographic study asking 'What kinds of understandings exist among music teachers and their students regarding the development of immigrant students' musical agency?" (Karlsen 2013, p. 164) Karlsen (2012) explores the experience and enactment of musical agency by immigrant students (p.131). Karlsen (2013) explores how immigrant	Music "inside and outside music lessons" As such, music-making involved 'listening habits, music-related learning experiences, what happened during music lessons, the students' everyday use of music" (2012: 135).	Immigrant students in Norway, Sweden and Finland. Aged 13-16 years old. Descriptions of classroom demographics (2014: 426): 1. Helsinki, Finland: 33% of the students (n = 21) had foreign backgrounds. Teacher was female. 2. Stockholm, Sweden: 100% of students	Qualitative design. Multi-sited ethnographic study Data were collected during ""eight-week long observation periods" (2012: 135)" Interviews: '19 interviews made with a total of 30 students" (2012: abstract) "just before or right after the music lessons observed' (2012: 135) 'six teacher interviews conducted with the three participating teachers' (2012: 134-135)	Theoretical, abductive thematic analysis.	Findings showed students enacting musical agency as 'multiple repertoires of ways of being and acting in music,' (2012:131) performing and negotiating identity according to the multiple contexts and social situations in which they live. Homeland music is particularly complex and powerful in this process of negotiating self. Teachers viewed musical agency in terms of developing "types of musical agency" - "how to play", and "contextually understood musical agency" - "identity, self-regulation, social understanding, cohesion, and competence" (2014: 423)	Interviewing participants in a non-native language limited their fluency in interviews. (2012: 135-136) The interviewed sample was smaller than possible, with only 30 from a possible 47 students agreeing to be interviewed. The abductive methodology of analysis may have guided findings towards the prescribed frame, rather than allowing themes to emerge freely.	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity Social identity ('collective identity') Performed identity Self identity	Agency in music-making and in musical choices, frame negotiations of identity for young immigrants.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
LEE, J. & DAVIDSON, J. W. 2017.	To understand the role of music in Charismatic Prayer Meetings, for immigrants from Korea, as a motivation for long-term participation.	Music as part of Charismatic Prayer Meetings.	Immigrants from Korea living in Australia. 6 people, two males and four females. Aged 33 - 62 years old	Qualitative study. Data collection from a group interview, led by the first author, who was also a main member of the music group.	Thematic analysis.	Music-making in the CPM was understood by group members according to two themes: 'a) experiencing strong spiritual power as a group and (b) improvement of physical and psychological well-being.' (p.8)	The first author's role as interviewer and group member may have biased the findings and the process. The study cohort was very small, and as such, the findings cannot be seen as representative or generalisable.	Bureaucratic identity	

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LENETTE, C., WESTON, D., WISE, P., SUNDERLAND, N. & BRISTED, H. 2015. and Sunderland *et al*. (2015) and Weston & Lenette (2016)	These papers result from *Crossroads: Interdisciplinary music-health intersections* a collaborative, cross-discipline research project "designed to explore health and wellbeing outcomes of *The Scattered People* participatory music programme with asylum seekers living in detention and community settings." (Lenette 2015:126). Lenette *et al.* (2015) focus on music facilitators' perspectives.	*Scattered People* - a collective of "musicians, asylum seekers and refugees and "kindred spirits" who, through music, share positive messages of solidarity and hope." (Lenette 2015: 126) Music-making involved: participatory music-making, singing, playing and learning instruments, songwriting, recording. In practice the intervention is described as: "At least two music facilitators currently attend an Immigration Transit Accommodation once a week (since June 2011) to share music and songs with de-	Asylum seekers, refugees, & musicians 1 lead facilitator and possibly 3 other musicians. At least 6 asylum seekers, at each music session (Weston, 2016:122). 6 refugees, post asylum seeker process, still in contact with *Scattered People*: Aged 24-60 years old Countries of origin	Qualitative Narrative inquiry approach: participant interviews, re-authored by first author as stories, shared and verified (Sunderland,2015: 5) Existent narratives written by the lead facilitator shared with supporters on an email distribution list, and often then more widely distributed via facebook, newsletters and on partner websites. (Weston 2016: 122, Lenette 2015: 127)	Framework approach to thematic analysis (Lenette *et al*., 2015) *Social Determinants of Health* (SDOH) framework (Schulz & Northridge, 2004) provided the conceptual framework used for analysis by Sunderland *et al*. (2015).	Lenette *et al*. (2015) present four themes related to the wellbeing experienced in the program: (1) Humanisation, (2) Community, (3) Resilience, and (4) Agency. (p.125) In process, 'Accidental community" in asylum centres, are given 'a sense of stability through the ritual of music-making and singing, leading to enhanced well-being, at least for the duration of weekly sessions. Further, this process takes place through the creation of performative cultural spaces and a politics of inclusion' (Weston, 2016:127). Participant narratives mapped across the scope of SDOH, from feeling a 'sense of happiness' to awareness of music's potential for social change. Researchers noted responses outside	The researchers acknowledge a gap in data because of the 'lack of refugee and asylum seeker "voice" and "data" from detention centres' (Lenette, 2015: 128). Although narratives are collected from people who did make music with *Scattered People* while in detention seeking asylum, the researchers were unable to carry out interviews or observation with groups currently in Immigration Transit Centres. As such, the research relies largely on secondary data, through narratives written by music facilitators, and the memories of past experiences of participants. The selection of participants was pragmatic, and the research-	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity Constructivist identity Performed identity Embodied identity Self identity	The bureaucratic processes of identifying people within Australia's immigration system are challenged, and an advocacy approach is established that guides the intervention approach as valuing participants beyond their bureaucratic identities. Cultural identities are viewed within a constructivist approach to the development of identities for asylum seekers.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
MARSH, K. 2012.	To investigate music's role in acculturation and support for young, newly arrived immigrants.	Music in everyday life, and music activities at school. Music-making observed in the study involved music and dance programs including 'elective music and dance groups, involving choral and instrumental activities and a variety of dance forms in creative development, rehearsal, and performance situations, as described in the following sections' (p. 97)]	Newly arrived young immigrants. Aged 14-18 years old. Participants were students enrolled in an Intensive Language Centre in Sydney. (p.97)] Countries of origin were Sierra Leone, Ghana, Croatia, Vietnam, and Pakistan. Also interviewed were 5 adults mu-	Qualitative design. Single case study, extracted from a multi-case study. Data collection was 'Specifically: • Informal interviews with children, parents, teachers • Semi-structured interviews with focus groups of students • Semi-structured interviews with two teachers • Structured email interview with principal' (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 465) Ethnographic approach used, with researchers	Thematic analysis, grounded theory	'Participants included music from their own culture in performance and had it accepted and embraced by a wider audience. Music participation was a tool for integration and inclusion. "In this school, music and dance assisted with acculturative processes, enabling students to forge new connections within their host culture while maintaining links with the home culture" (p. 108). Participation created an environment of "community and belonging ... also, a sense of cohesiveness and trust" (p. 105). Students were able to work on their English skills as a result of the inclusion of popular Western music. Where English skills were still developing, students were able to use music and dance mediums as a form of nonverbal communication.' (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 465)	'Music programs for popular music or other world music not provided for in curriculum. Time span of study is relatively short. The amount of participants included within the program being researched is not clear. We are given a table with participants who are interviewed. Researchers' observations were used for this research and no information is given on how the researchers recorded observations.' (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 465)	Bureaucratic identity Musical identity Cultural identity Concepts related to self identity (self esteem, self-efficacy)	Musical interactions between young people from different cultural identities are observed from an ethnographic approach. When successfully managed, music-making is seen to impact positively on self-identity.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
MARSH, K. & DIECK-MANN, S. 2017.	To understand children's use of music in musical play, as a resource for participation, inclusivity and social cohesion.	Music in school, in the school playground, and in the lives of children. Music-making included 'singing games; popular songs; songs and dances learnt in the classroom, choir or dance group; and religious songs' (p. 731)	63 students at a primary school with 'the highest population of refugee children in the state of New South Wales (NSW) … 90% had language backgrounds other than English and 60 different languages were spoken' (p. 712) Countries of origin were: "Bosnia n=5 Democratic Republic of	Qualitative. Data collected through observation, audio recording, and interviews.	Thematic analysis. Quantitative analysis of musical material according to: Game name, Country of origin, Language, Number of performers, Number of times observed, and Cultural diversity of performers.	Emergent themes related to connection, agency, and self-regulation. The researchers conclude by clearly summarising their findings: 'Play-based musical collaborative activity can provide a mechanism for enabling refugee and newly arrived immigrant children to forge connections between home and host cultures, between isolated selves and new individuals and communities within a global environment … It can promote social integration, self-expression and dissipation of fear and trauma and can be enacted by young people themselves or with the assistance of adults in educational settings' (p. 717)	In terms of this review of literature, a limitation of this paper relates to the intervention. Although the school's music program is observed, the primary data is related to playground musical play. Whether this constitutes an intervention in the terms of this review is debatable. The paper itself is limited by the lack of explanation of analytic methodology.	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity	The musical and cultural identities of children are observed coming together in ways that require agency and facilitate self-expression, inclusion and acculturation.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
MEYER DEMOTT, M. A., JAKOBSEN, M., WENTZEL-LARSEN, T. & HEIR, T. 2017.	To examine whether the EXIT intervention 'may alleviate symptoms of trauma and enhance life satisfaction and hope' (p. 510), for unaccompanied children seeking asylum.	*Expressive Arts in Transition* (EXIT) - a manualised approach designed by the researchers. Duration was 5 weeks, with 2 sessions per week lasting 1.5 hours each. Music-making is not clear, although involved dance and movement. Other arts include visual art, poetry, drama, and film (p.511)	Unaccompanied minor refugees, at an Asylum Centre. (All had been there for less than 3 weeks at the beginning of the intervention) 145 boys. Aged 15-18 years old (p.511-512) Counties of origin were: 'Afghanistan (76%) and Somalia (18%)' (p. 512)	Quantitative methodology, assessing intervention group with comparator Life As Usual (LAU) group. • PTSD exposure: *Serious Life Events checklist* (SLE) • Psychological distress: *Hopkins Symptom Checlist-25A* (HSCL-25A) • Post-Traumatic Symptom Score (PTSS): *Harvard Trauma Questionnaire* (HTQ) • Current life satisfaction: *Cantril's Ladder of Life Satisfaction* • Expected life satisfaction	Exact chi square tests using Monte Carlo with 10,000 replications Linear mixed effects models 'Analyses used R (The R Foundation for Statistical Computing, Vienna, Austria) with the R package nlme for mixed effects models' (p.514)	Improvement was found for the EXIT group, compared to LAU group, in Post-Traumatic Symptom Score, and Current Life Satisfaction. At follow-up Life Satisfaction was found to be higher for EXIT group than LAU. (p.510) .	The authors identified: Non-randomisation of allocation of participants to EXIT and LAU groups. In fact this was decided by language, according to interpreter availability. Drop-out of participants effected the follow-up data. Generalisability is limited as participants are mainly from Afghanistan and Somalia, and not a broad range of origins. (p.516) For this review, the relevance of this study is limited as the amount of music-making is unclear in description of intervention.	Bureaucratic identity Embodied identity Developing identity	Creative play is fundamental to early-life development, taking place in the 'transitional space' of self and other. When the established place of 'self' is disrupted, through resettlement for example, creative arts can work to reconnect the self. The EXIT approach used in the intervention, uses approaches that acknowledge embodied identity. Quantitive measures of life-satisfaction find improvement, and therefore effect in the intervention.

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QUINLAN, R., SCHWEITZER, R. D., KHAWAJA, N. & GRIFFIN, J. 2016.	To capture impact of creative expression interventions for refugee and asylum seeking young people. (p.74)	Music therapy in *Home of Expressive Arts in Learning* (HEAL) Programme, a 'school-based mental health initiative that uses creative arts therapies to help refugee children address social, behavioural and emotional issues' (p.72). 10 week program. 60% participated in arts therapy, and 40% participated in music therapy. 25% additionally accessed an individual therapy session which is not described. (p. 75) Music-making included: 'lyric analysis, song-writing, song-parody, instrumental/	Newly arrived immigrant and refugee students in Brisbane, attending an intensive English language school and settlement service. 32 young people, 17 male and 15 female Average age was 15 years 5 months Areas of origin were Middle East, East Asia and Africa (p. 74).	Quantitative. Control trial. Wellbeing was assessed using: *Hopkins Symptoms Checklist-25* (HSCL-25) adapted to assess somatic symptoms *Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire* (SDQ-T) Tests were administered pre and post intervention. (p.75)	Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS)	Findings suggested: "an effect for a reduction in behavioural difficulties for the treatment group … A significant reduction in emotional symptoms … for the treatment group." (p.72) Researchers claim this provides "empirical support for school-based creative arts therapy programs specific to refugee young people." (p.72)	As stated by the researchers: "Students in the intervention group were those who had been identified by teachers and community caseworkers as those who may benefit from psychosocial support via the HEAL service." (p.75) "Students were selected from classes with the highest English language ability." (p. 75) "there was significant variability within the intervention. Students who accessed the HEAL programme had differing therapists as well as some variation in the length and type of interventions." (p. 76) "There was also no distinction made between music therapy and art therapy interventions and	Bureaucratic identity Self-identity and cultural identity are mentioned as part of the intervention's narrative approach, called *The Tree of Life*	The bureaucratic identity of refugee and asylum seeking children is the basis for their inclusion in the study.

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SCHWANTES, M., WIGRAM, T., MCKINNEY, C., LIPSCOMB, A. & RICHARDS, C. 2001.	The aim of this research is to articulate the song-writing process with Mexican migrants who were recently involved in a car accident that resulted in the deaths of two of their co-workers. (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 466)	Music therapy. 4 sessions. Music-making involved song-writing, performing and recording using the Mexican *corrido* as framework,	Migrants from Mexican, living in NW California, farmworkers. 14 Men Aged 20–50 years old. 3 healthcare professionals were also present.	Phenomenology Observation • Informal group interviews/ discussions (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 466)	Musical and lyrical analysis of the resulting song (no other description mentioned). (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 466)	Process gave an opportunity for group members to support one another. The article suggests the viability of using culture-centred approaches in music therapy. Workers were able to confirm bonds with current and deceased co-workers. Workers were able to overcome their grief. (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 466)	The approach of culture-centred music therapy required an interpreter which may present limitations in communication. In this study the therapist over-directed the song-writing activity, with a focus more on the incident than on the subsequent feelings of the farmers. More stringent assessment method needed. No explanation of data analysis and collection methods given. Specifically no explanation of how and when observations were gathered. Furthermore, no description of questions which may have been given during music therapy sessions included. (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 466)	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity	Participants are represented by their national and cultural identity, and a culture centred music therapy approach is explored as a means to process grief.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
SCOTT HALL, E. 2013.	To research how music-making can bring together asylum-seeking women and their children from diverse backgrounds and with a range of experiences of trauma and displacement. (p.13)	*Music for Mothers Seeking Asylum* Weekly sessions, over a period of 3 years. Music-making was based on English children's songs and mother/child interaction songs.	Asylum-seeking women, and their children. 5 mothers with children under 3 years old.	Qualitative methodology: Data were: Journal entries; author's records of "group talk" informally around the edges of music group; interviews with the 5 women at the end of the period of work.	Thematic analysis using grounded theory style approach.	The researcher found that 'Musicking with the MMSA group had the capacity to create powerful, repeatable positive physiological and emotional responses leading to the trying-on of new identities, closer maternal and social bonding and engagement in cultural learning.' The mothers experienced benefit relating to sense of mood and empowerment. Positive experiences came through having fun with other people, being able to communicate with others, and sharing their skills and knowledge.	There is a large focus given to challenges of venue and translation during the research process, that distracts from the research's own flow.	Bureaucratic identity Developmental identity Concepts related to self identity (self esteem, self-efficacy)	The construction of asylum seekers as 'other' is explored in introducing the study. Participation in the music-making group is found to offer opportunity for 'trying-on new identities' (abstract) and to provide positive social experiences, which can benefit indicators of self identity and sense of self in the new context of seeking asylum in UK.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
SEBASTAIN, S. 2007.	The study aims to explore the 'ways in which refugee and asylum seeker learners benefit from engaging in community music programs during resettlement or detention .. and the means by which music learning can address the social, emotional and cultural challenges often experienced after forced migration' (p.ii)	3 community music programs. **The Bosnian Women's Choir (BWC):** Fortnightly rehearsals, and public performances. (p.18). **The Red Cross Music Education Program (RCMEP)** Weekly program of lessons in instrumental and vocal skills (p.18). **Drumbeat (DB)** Group drumming and skills tuition (p. 9), with each program ending with public performance. (p.19).	Members of BWC, RCMEP and DB, who were a range of ages, nationality backgrounds, and gender (p.17)	Qualitative. Multi-case study. Data included 'participants' accounts, observations of learning experiences, and program documents' (p.ii)	Thematic analysis using grounded theory methods	Themes emerged as important to the experience of music-making: **Safety,** characterised by Acceptance and Belonging; Acknowledgement and Value; Equilibrium. **Renegotiation of Identity**, characterised by Empowerment; Maintaining and Developing Identity (The Musical Self; The Cultural Self; The Self as a Member of Society).	Levels of access for each group was problematic - "Due to research policies of both the detention centre and the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), I was unable to gain entry to directly observe the learning experiences within the RCMEP and DB programs." (p.20). Interviews with BWC members was conducted with participants who self-selected, rather than being purposive or random (p.22). This research was part of Bachelors degree study. It is included due to its clear relevance to the inclusion criteria, and because Sebastian is co-author of Marsh and Dieckmann (2017), and as such has cred-	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity Self identity	Self identity, and the role of music-making in renegotiating identity during immigration experience is central throughout this research.

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SOTO, A. C., LUM, C.-H. & CAMP-BELL, P. S. 2009.	The purpose of this research was to investigate the outcomes and process of a year-long collaboration that brought music educators into remote schools. The aim also was to provide 'opportunities for positive social contact between communities via music performances, participation, and training experiences' (p . 340). (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 466)	Music education program 'This was a university- community partnership where music education students attended school(s) over a one year period and performed and provided classes in performance.' (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 466)	Migrant background Mexican American students at a school in USA. 25 students, average, in 14 classes. Limited program also operated at a high school serving Native American community.	Qualitative. Data included observations, interviews and musical outputs. Interviews were with 12 children, six teachers, eight university students, and three school administrators (p. 340).	Narrative and thematic analysis. 'Triangulation, three persons involved in the collection and analysis process.' (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 466)	Allowed young participants to develop an understanding of music from around the world, and languages outside of their own. School students able to engage not only with Mexican music but music from around the world. University students gained experience in elementary school situation. Clear outcomes not stated in this paper. (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 466)	Scheduling conflicts between the school and the university (possibly) interrupted the intended flow of the program. Roles and procedures were not clearly established at the beginning of the project – issue later resolved. (Henderson *et al*. 2016: 466)	Bureaucratic identity	While identity is not discussed as a concept, the authors' representation of participants' identities raises issues of positionality and hegemonic discourse.

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UNDER-HILL, J. 2011.	The study aimed to explore impacts to psychological wellbeing, and the mechanisms through which this effect operated, for participants in music workshops in detention centres. (p.64)	*Music in Detention* (http://www.musicindetention.org.uk) 5 workshops, of 3 days each, with total of 12 hours music-making.	71 people living in detention centres for people seeking asylum, participated (15 women, 56 men). Aged 18-54. 8 musicians facilitated the workshops.	Qualitative. Data were collected through: focus groups, individual interviews, field notes, and field materials. 38 detainees were interviewed (p.74)	Thematic analysis.	The themes that emerge from narrative analysis are: 1. Relationships: Connecting detainees through reciprocal learning; Meeting officers in a different space 2. Emotion Regulation: Relief from the situation; Self-expression; Instillation of hope 3. Identity: Feeling valued; Realising strengths; Finding a voice and being heard Findings showed that music workshops provided participants with: "supportive relationships … strategies for improved emotion regulation and reconnected participants with a more positive view of themselves" (p.98). Factors of facilitation that mediated the successful experiences were: "valuing of participants and their experiences as detainees; noticing strengths; offering	Limitations noted by the researcher relate to: Issues of bias emerging from position as participant-observer and the subjectivity of the overall approach; limitations of time, access, and space during the research.	Bureaucratic identity Embodied identity Concepts related to self identity (self esteem, self-efficacy)	Identity emerges as a theme in thematic analysis. Participation in music-making allows 'the opportunity to view themselves and be viewed by others as people who were not solely detainees' (p.93)

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
VERREAULT, K. 2017.	The study aims to increase understanding of the 'applicability of Dance/Movement therapy for traumatised women asylum seekers and refugees' (p. 120).	Dance/Movement therapy (DMT). 4 sessions, each 75 minutes duration. A session involves: '1) check-in and opening ritual (2) body warm-up (3) theme development (4) verbal and non-verbal processing of experiences (5) closure and end ritual' (p.122).	Women in the process of seeking asylum (n=6), or with refugee status (n=2). Aged 19-50 years old. Countries of origin were: Afghanistan, Armenia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Togo. Duration of displacement was 1 - 13 years.	Qualitative. A small scale exploratory phenomenological design. **Data** were collected through observation notes, focus group discussions after each session, two individual exit interviews, and "a 'memory roll' (a large, wide roll of paper on which visual summaries of the sessions in forms of collage, drawings and paintings were made)" (p.123)	Thematic framework analysis, and phenomenological approaches.	DMT sessions were a time and place of safety for participants, that allowed self expression. It was reported to relieve feelings of stress and vulnerabilities. Important to the establishment of safety, was the sense of choice felt by the women, to move, lead and engage as they felt comfortable. With these conditions of safety and agency, DMT was shown to "strengthen existing resources within individuals in a group setting while also addressing vulnerabilities." (p. 128). The researchers noted expression of social resources, physiological resources, psychological resources, and religious/spitirual/cultural resources. This nonverbal, transcultural, resource-based	It is very important to note that the participant group had been participating in DMT and resilience based training prior to the research intervention, and therefor, as the researcher notes, "it is not clear whether the findings relate uniquely to the four sessions … or to other parts of their treatment programme at the centre" (p.131). The author notes further that "Given the small sample size, the short duration and the qualitative nature of the research, it may be difficult to generalise the findings" (p. 131).	Bureaucratic identity Cultural identity Embodied identity Concepts related to self identity (self esteem)	An understanding of people as embodied beings informs the study's objectives, intervention, and findings. Empowering self esteem is a goal of the resilience framework.

Ref:	Study aim	Intervention	Population	Methodology	Analysis	Findings/Themes	Limitations	Frames of identity	Position of identity in study
VILLALONGA-OLIVES, E., KAWACHI, I., ALMANSA, J. & VON STEINBUCHEL, N. 2017.	The study researched changes in Health Related Quality of Life (HRQoL) of young people from migrant backgrounds.	3 groups participated in different interventions. Group 1 - no special activities Group 2 - "music activities" Group 3 - "painting activities" (p.3)	Children predominantly from migrant backgrounds. 350 children at 7 kindergartens in Frankfurt and Darmstadt, Germany. Mean age of the children was 4.4 years old.	Quantitative. Assessment tools were: *Kiddy-KINDL:* Health-Related Quality of Life *WET*: developmental status, cognitive and sensory-motor skills. *VBV:* Individual behaviour questionnaire Demographic information was collected, such as sex, age, socioeconomic status. Two waves of data were collected one year apart from the children, parents and teachers (p.1)	*Structural equation modeling* (SEM) Wilson and Cleary theoretical framework on changes in HRQoL. *Generalized Estimated Equations* (GEE) to model the longitudinal trend in HRQoL (p.1)	Health Related Quality of Life remained stable, with no significant change. Children coming from families with higher socioeconomic levels had an increase in HRQoL. With regard to kindergarten activities: Group 1 (no intervention) showed a notable increment in HRQoL Group 2 (musical activities) a significant decrease was observed Group 3 (painting) no significant differences were noted. (p.5) Girls, on average, scored higher HRQoL.	As reported by the researchers: 'First, our results are based on a selected kindergarten sample and results are not representative. Second, the relatively short interval between baseline and later assessment may not have been sufficient to observe meaningful changes. Third, we lacked information about assimilation, experiences of discrimination, and bridging social capital, which are likely to affect HRQoL among immigrants. Fourth, we cannot conclude that the changes we observed in HRQoL are also clinically significant. Fifth, all missing values were assumed to be completely at random. Finally, not all data correlation due to the	Bureaucratic identity Concepts related to self identity (self esteem)	Demographic and socioeconomic data is collected to represent the participants. Health Related Quality of Life is assessed, and is found to decrease in the participant group assigned to 'music activities'

Appendix 2 - Interview guide

Intro cues:
Consent - You have read the consent form, any questions?
Opinions - You may have a different idea in your understanding about things than other people do…
Recording - I'll be audio recording

In my research I'm interested in how people who have been forced to migrate countries, view and respond to making music, in terms of their sense of identity. So I'm interested in how you view that and your experience.
I have some questions but I'm also very happy to just talk, and hear your stories.

**** *Start: How did you become connected to this group?*

Musical biography
What is your first memory of music?
How did you begin playing music?
- What style of music did you first play?
- Instruments?
- Who encouraged?
- Choices made (traditional, pop, international)

What did you respond to most?
What led you to be a professional/hobbyist musician?

Impact of migration on music-making?
How has being in UK affected you as a musician?
How has being in UK affected your tastes in music?
How has playing in this group affected your experience of coming to UK?

Music's role in identity construction
What part does music play in who you are?
If you think of yourself, how you see yourself, what role does music play in that?

//////
Question cues: In your own words, how would you describe…?
You may have a different idea in your understanding about that than other people do…
When did you first start…?
Start at the beginning, tell me about…?
Thinking back over the last year…?
Looking ahead…?
Comparing your experiences with those of….?

>> tell me what happened…? have you ever experienced…?

Appendix 3 - Example information and consent form, prepared for participants at a music-making programme in UK (English)

The Centre for the Arts as Wellbeing, at the University of Winchester, works to promote wellbeing in individuals, communities, organisations and the environment, through use of the arts.

My name is **Chris Nicholson**, and I am a PhD research student at the Centre for the Arts as Wellbeing, University of Winchester. I am interested in how people who have migrated countries experience their identity, and how music effects who they are.

This leaflet is to provide you with information and ask if you are comfortable to be involved.

You can contact us with any questions or concerns, just call or write to the Centre for the Arts as Wellbeing by email: david.walters@winchester.ac.uk, or telephone 01962 827333.
Concerns about data use can be addressed to University of Winchester's Data Protection Officer, David Farley, by email: David.Farley@winchester.ac.uk, or telephone: 01962 827229 ext 7229.

Taking part in the research

I would like to talk to you about your experiences, focussing on music and your idea of identity. This will be done in informal discussion, either one to one, or in small groups if you feel more comfortable. Topics may be about your past, present, or future, and may include questions like:

- What has been your experience as a musician after moving countries?
- How would you describe yourself as a musician?
- How would you describe yourself in general?
- How do you think other people see you?

I will record our conversations to help me remember what we have said. I will also make notes, to remember what happens.

Anonymous

I will not attach your name to any recording that I make. If I write or talk about your responses in the future, I will not use your name.
I will not use your name when I make notes about our discussion.
If there are any aspects of your story that may identify you, I will discuss these with you, and only include them in my future writing in a way with which you are comfortable.

(This research project has been approved by University of Winchester RKE Ethics Committee, RKEEC18071_ Nicholson, August 2018.)

Sharing the research

In the future, I will write about the research for my PhD, and may present the research in journals or in spoken presentations. This may include your words and description of our conversation.

Protecting your privacy

All information I collect will be stored securely and password-protected.

I will not:

- Use your name, or any other information that will clearly identify you, unless you give me additional and specific written permission to do so.
- Share your personal or sensitive information with anyone.
- Publicly share photographs, videos or recordings of you without your written consent.

Your right to change your mind, ask questions, voice concerns.

You have the right to withdraw your consent for me to use any information about you (personal information, words, photos, video, or recordings) at any time.

Although I will try my best, please be aware that it may not always be possible to fully withdraw or delete data that is in the public domain.

Agreement to participate: (Please ✓ to show if you agree)

1.	I confirm that I have read the information about the study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.	
2.	I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.	
3.	I understand that I will be interviewed and the interview will be recorded in order to ensure my views are accurately transcribed. Any quotations used in the study reporting will be anonymised and no personal data will form part of the study report.	
4.	I agree to take part in the above study.	

Name of participant:	**Date:**	**Signature:**
_____	_____	_____
Person taking consent:	**Date:**	**Signature:**
_____	_____	_____

(This research project has been approved by University of Winchester RKE Ethics Committee, RKEEC18071_ Nicholson, August 2018.)

Appendix 4 - Example information and consent form, prepared for participants at a music-making programme in UK (Arabic)

يعمل مركز الفنون والرفاهية بجامعة وينشستر على تعزيز حس الرفاهية لدى الأفراد والمجتمعات والمنظمات والبيئة من خلال الاستعانة بالفنون.

اسمي **كريس نيكلسون**، وأنا أحد طلاب درجة الدكتوراه في مركز الفنون والرفاهية بجامعة وينشستر. يتمثّل محور اهتمامي الرئيسي في تجارب استكشاف الهوّية التي يخوضها الأشخاص الذين هاجروا من بلدانهم وأثر الموسيقى على طبيعة شخصياتهم.

لذا، تهدف هذه النشرة إلى تزويدك بالمعلومات عن بحثي ومعرفة ما إذا كنت مرتاحًا للمشاركة في البحث أم لا.

يمكنك التواصل معنا لطرح أي أسئلة أو استفسارات. كل ما عليك فعله هو الاتصال بمركز الفنون والرفاهية أو مراسلته عبر عنوان البريد الإلكتروني التالي: **david.walters@winchester.ac.u**، أو عن طريق رقم الهاتف: 827333 01962.

يمكن توجيه استفساراتك بشأن استخدام البيانات إلى ديفيد فارلي، مسؤول حماية البيانات في جامعة وينشستر، عبر عنوان البريد الإلكتروني: David.Farley@winchester.ac.uk أو عن طريق رقم الهاتف: 827229 01962 الرقم الداخلي 7229.

المشاركة في البحث

أود التحدث معك حول تجاربك، مع التركيز على الموسيقى ومفهومك عن الهوّية. سيتم ذلك في إطار نقاش غير رسمي، إما بشكلٍ مباشر بيني وبينك، أو في مجموعات صغيرة إذا كان ذلك يُشعِرك براحة أكبر. قد تكون موضوعات النقاش حول ماضيك أو حاضرك أو مستقبلك، وقد تتضمّن أسئلة مثل:

- ما هي تجربتك كموسيقي بعد تنقّلك بين الدول؟
- كيف تصف نفسك كموسيقي؟
- كيف تصف نفسك بوجهٍ عام؟
- كيف يراك الآخرون من وجهة نظرك؟

سأسجّل محادثاتنا لمساعدتي في تذكُّر ما قلناه. سأدوّن ملاحظاتي أيضًا لتذكّر ما يحدث في المقابلة.

عدم الإفصاح عن الهوّية

لن أُرفِق اسمك بأي تسجيل أقوم به. إذا كتبت عن إجاباتك أو تحدّثت عنها في المستقبل، فلن أذكر اسمك.

لن أذكر اسمك عندما أدوّن ملاحظات حول مناقشتنا.

إذا كانت هناك أي جوانب في قصتك قد تعرّف شخصيتك، فسأناقشها معك، ولن أضمها في كتاباتي المستقبلية إلا بالطريقة التي تُريحك.

مشاركة البحث
في المستقبل، سأكتب عن البحث في رسالة الدكتوراه الخاصة بي، وقد أقدّم البحث في بعض المجلات أو العروض التقديمية المنطوقة. وقد يتضمن البحث كلماتك ووصفًا لمحادثتنا.

حماية خصوصيتك
سيتم تخزين جميع المعلومات التي أجمعها بشكلٍ آمن وستخضع هذه المعلومات لحماية كلمة مرور.

لن أقوم بما يلي:
- استخدام اسمك أو أي معلومات أخرى تحدّد هوّيتك بوضوح، ما لم تُعطِني إذنًا كتابيًا إضافيًا ومحددًا بالقيام بذلك.
- مشاركة معلوماتك الشخصية أو الحساسة مع أي شخص.
- مشاركة الصور الفوتوغرافية أو مقاطع الفيديو أو تسجيلاتك بدون موافقتك الخطية.

يحق لك تغيير رأيك وطرح الأسئلة التي تريدها والتعبير عن مخاوفك.
يحق لك سحب موافقتك التي منحتها لي على استخدام أي معلومات عنك (المعلومات الشخصية أو كلماتك أو الصور أو مقاطع الفيديو أو التسجيلات) في أي وقت.
يُرجى الانتباه إلى أنّه قد لا يكون من الممكن دائمًا سحب البيانات الموجودة في النطاق العام أو حذفها بالكامل على الرغم من أنّي سأبذل قصارى جهدي لتنفيذ رغبتك.

الموافقة على المشاركة: (يُرجى وضع علامة ✓ لإظهار ما إذا كنت توافق على المشاركة أم لا)

1.	أؤكد أنني قد قرأت المعلومات المتعلّقة بالدراسة. لقد حظيتُ بفرصة الاطلّاع على المعلومات وطرح الأسئلة التي أريدها وتلقّيت إجابات مُرضية على تلك الأسئلة.	
2.	أفهم أنّ مشاركتي في هذه الدراسة طوعية وأنّه يحق لي الانسحاب في أي وقت بدون إبداء أسباب.	
3.	أفهم أنّي سأجري مُقابلة وأنّه سيتم تسجيل المقابلة لضمان تدوين آرائي بدقة. ستكون أي اقتباسات مُستخدَمة في تقرير الدراسة مجهولة المصدر ولن تشكّل أي بيانات شخصية جزءًا من تقرير الدراسة.	
4.	أوافق على المشاركة في الدراسة المُشار إليها أعلاه.	

اسم المشارك: _____ **التاريخ:** _____ **التوقيع:** _____

اسم الشخص متلقّي الموافقة: _____ **التاريخ:** _____ **التوقيع:** _____

Appendix 5 - Example information and consent form, prepared for participants at a music-making programme in UK (Tigrinya)

እቲ Centre for the Arts as Wellbeing (ማእከል ጥበባት ከም ጥዕና)፡ ኣብቲ University of Winchester (ዩኒቨርሲቲ ዊንቸስተር) ዘሎ፡ ጥዕና ኣብ ውልቀሰባት፡ ማሕበረሰባት፡ ውድባትን እቲ ኣከባብን ንምትብባዕ ብመንገዲ ምጥቃም ይሰርሕ።

ኣነ ስመይ **Chris Nicholson** ይብሃል፡ ኣብቲ Centre for the Arts as Wellbeing, University of Winchester ድማ ተምሃራይ ምርምር ዶክትረይት እየ። ኣነ ካብ ሃገራት ዝተሰዱ ሰባት ከመይ ገይሮም መንነቶም ከም ዝምኮረን፡ ሙዚቃ ድማ ንኣንታይነቶም ከመይ ገይሩ ከምዝጸልዎን ንምፍላጥ ተገዳስነት ኣለኒ።

እዚ ተበታኒ መረቐት'ዚ ሓበሬታ ክህበኩምን ክትሳተፉ ዝጥዕመኩም እንተኾይኑ ክሓትትን እዩ።

ዝኾኑ ሕቶታት ወይ ስክፍታታት እንተልዮምኹም ክትረኽቡና ትኽእሉ ኢኹም፡ ናብቲ Centre for the Arts as Wellbeing ጥራይ ደውሉ ወይ ጽሕፉ ብኢመይል፡ david.walters@winchester.ac.uk , ወይ ብተሌፎን 01962 827333.

ብዛዕባ ዳታ ንዝህልውኹም ስክፍታታት ናብ Data Protection Officer (በዓል ስልጣን ሓለዋ ዳታ) ናይ University of Winchester ዝኾነ David Farley ክተቕርቡ ትኽእሉ ብኢመይል፡ David.Farley@winchester.ac.uk, ወይ ተሌፎን፡ 01962 827229 ext (መመላእታ) 7229.

ተሳታፍነት ኣብቲ መጽናዕቲ

ኣነ ብዛዕባ ተመኩሮታትኩም ክዛረበኩም ምደለኹ፡ ኣብ ሙዚቃ ከምኡ'ውን ብዛዕባ መንነት ዘለኩም ሓሳብ ብምትኳር። እዚ ብዘይወግዓዊ ዘተ ክግበር እዩ፡ ሓደ ንሓደ፡ ወይ ከኣ ዝያዳ ምኞት ዝስምዓኩም እንተኾይኑ ኣብ ንኣሽቱ ጉጅለታት። ኣርእስታት ብዛዕባ ናትኩም ሕሉፍ፡ ህሉው ወይ መጻኢ ክኾኑ ይኽእሉ፡ ነዞም ዝስዕቡ ዝመስሉ ሕቶታት ድማ ከጠቓልሉ ይኽእሉ፡

- ናብ ሃገራት ድሕሪ ምጉዓዝካ ተመኩሮኻ ከም ሙዚቀኛ ከመይ ጸኒሑ፡
- ንገዛእ ርእስኻ ከም ሙዚቀኛ ብኽመይ ምገለጽካያ፡
- ንገዛእ ርእስኻ ብሓፈሻ ብኽመይ ምገለጽካያ፡
- ካልእ ሰባት ብኽመይ ዝርእዩኻ ይመስለካ፡

ንዝርርባትና እንታይ ኢልና ከምዘለና ንኽዝክሮ ክሕግዘኒ ምእንቲ ብድምጺ ክቐርጾ እየ። እንታይ የጋጥም ክዝክር ምእንቲ መዘኻኸሪ ጽሑፋት'ውን ከስፍር እየ።

ስም ዘይጠቅስ

ኣብ ዝኾነ ዝመስጾ ቅዳሕ ድምጺ ስምካ ኣይክገብረሉን እየ። ኣብ መጻኢ ብዛዕባ ግብረ-መልስታትካ ክጽሕፍ ወይ ክዛረብ ከለኹ፡ ስምካ ኣይክጥቀምን እየ። ብዛዕባ ዝርርብና መዘኻኸሪ ጽሑፍ ክወስድ ከለኹ ስምካ ኣይክጥቀምን እየ። መንነትካ ከምዝልለ ክገብሩ ዝኽእሉ ዝኾኑ ናይ ዛንታኻ መዳያት እንተሃልዮም፡ ብዛዕብ እዚኦም ምሳኻ ክዘራረብ እየ፡ ኣብ ናይ መጻኢ ጽሑፈይ ድማ ናኻ ደስ ብዝብለካ መንገዲ ጥራይ እየ ዘጠቓልሎም።

(እዚ ናይ መጽናዕቲ ፕሮጀክት'ዚ ብUniversity of Winchester RKE Ethics Committee (ኮሚተ ስነ-ምግባር RKE ናይ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ዊንቸስተር), RKEEC18071_ Nicholson, እብ ነሓሰ 2018 ተቐባልነት ተዋሂብዎ እዩ።)

ምክፋል እቲ መጽናዕቲ

ኣብ መጻኢ፡ ብዛዕባ’ቲ ናይ ዶክትረይት ምርምረይ ክጽሕፍ እየ፡ ነቲ መጽናዕቲ ድማ ኣብ መጽሔታት ወይ ብዘረባ ከቕርቦ ይኽእል’የ። እዚ ንቃላትካን መግለጺ ናይ ዝርርብናን ከጠቕልል ይኽእል።

ምሕላው ምስጢርነትካ

ኩሉ ኣነ ዝእክቦ ሓበሬታ ብውሑስ ክኽዘንን ብቃል-ይሕለፍ ክሕሎን እዩ። ኣነ ነዞም ዝስዕቡ ኣይክገብርን እየ፡

- ምጥቃም ስምካ፡ ወይ ዝኾነ ካልእ መንትካ ብንጹር ከምዝልለ ክገብር ዝኽእል ሓበሬታ፡ እንተድኣ ኣነ ከምኡ ንኽብር ንስኻ ተወሳኽን ንጹርን ናይ ጽሑፍ ፍቓድ ዘይሂብካኒ።
- ምክፋል ናትካ ውልቃውን ተነቃፍን ሓበሬታ ምስ ዝኾነ ሰብ።
- ብዘይ ናይ ጽሑፍ ፍቓድካ ናትካ ስእልታት፡ ቪድዮታት ወይ ቅዳሓት ድምጺ ናብ ህዝቢ ምክፋል።

ሓሳብካ ናይ ምቕያር፡ ሕቶታት ምሕታት፡ ስክፍታታት ምዝራብ መሰልካ።

ኣነ ዝኾነ ሓበሬታ ብዛዕባኻ (ውልቃዊ ሓበሬታ፡ ቃላት፡ ስእልታት፡ ቪድዮ፡ ወይ ቅዳሓት ድምጺ) ንኽጥቀም ንዝሃብካኒ ፍቓድ ኣብ ዝኾነ ግዜ ክትስህቦ መሰል ኣለካ።

ሽሕ’ኳ ዝክኣለኒ ክፍትን እንተኾነ፡ ኣብ ህዝባዊ ግዝኣት ንዘሎ ዳታ ምሉእ ንምሉእ ምስሓቡ ወይ ምስራዙ ኩሉግዜ ዝክኣል ከምዘይኮነ ብኽብረትካ ተገንዘብ።

ስምምዕ ንምስፍ፡ (ከም ትሰማማዕ ንምርኣይ ብኽብረትካ ✓ግበር)

1.	ነቲ ሓበሬታ ብዛዕባ’ቲ መጽናዕቲ ከምዘንበብክዎ የረጋግጽ ኣለኹ። ነቲ ሓበሬታ ኣብ ግምት ከእትዎን ሕቶታት ክሓትትን ዕድል ነይሩኒ፡ ንሳቶም ድማ ብዘዕግብ ተመሊሶምለይ።	
2.	ተሳታፍነተይ ወለንታዊ ምኺኑን ዝኾነ ምኽንያት ከይሃብኩ ድማ ኣብ ዝኾነ ግዜ ክስሕቦ ናጻ ምኺነይ ይርዳእ ኣለኹ።	
3.	ቃለመጠይቕ ክግበረለይ ምኺኑን ርእይቶታተይ ብልክዕ ንምስፋር ድማ እቲ ቃለመጠይቕ ብድምጺ ክቕዳሕ ምኺኑን ተረዲኡ ኣለኹ። ዝኾነ ኣነ ዝበልክዎ’ሞ ዝጥቀስ ስም ብዘይነግር መንገዲ ክኸውን እዩ ከምኡ ድማ ዝኾነ ውልቃዊ ዳታ ንኽፋል ናይቲ ናይ መጽናዕቲ ጸብጻብ ኣይከቕውምን እዩ።	
4.	ኣነ ኣብቲ ኣብ ላዕሊ ዘሎ መጽናዕቲ ክሳተፍ ይሰምኣዕ ኣለኹ።	

ስም ተሳታፊ፡ _____ **ዕለት** _____ **ፊርማ፡** _____

ሓበሬታ መርከቢኻ (እንተድኣ ኣብ መጻኢ ክንረኽበካ ሕጉስ ኮይንካ)፡

ተሌፎን ወይ ኢመይል፡ _____

ፍቓድ ዝወስድ ዘሎ ሰብ፡ _____ **ዕለት፡** _____ **ፌርማ፡** _____

Appendix 6 - Dissemination Plan

Dissemination Plan

Audience / Target Group	Purpose	Content / Key message	Method
Group participants of the researched music-making programmes (and particularly those whose stories are included in the thesis)	To value the contribution made by people to the research and to share the result of their contribution. To share the research as a possible resource for future advocacy to change participatory music-making programmes.	Highlight the importance of the stories and acts of advocacy of people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution to develop practice, research and policy in this field Share the range of views and perspectives gathered in this study	Create short, and plain English 'Summary of the Research' documents to share with the group participants - these to be translated as necessary Be available to answer questions and to be contactable for follow up
Organisers and music facilitators of the researched music-making programmes	To engage directly with the research findings in the researched contexts.	The affordances and the challenges/risks of music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution Reflexivity in practice as highlighted in the research findings	Create short, and plain English 'Summary of Findings' documents to share with organisers and facilitators of the programmes Offer to give presentations of the findings at a meeting or event that is convenient and useful to the organisers and facilitators

Audience / Target Group	Purpose	Content / Key message	Method
Practitioners of music-making programmes for people who have emigrated seeking asylum from war or persecution (and other allied areas of participatory music-making practice)	To influence participatory music-making practice in line with the study's findings.	Implications for practice, grounded in discursive framework of understanding of representational acts Practical suggestions related to the findings on the importance of recognition, repositioning and self-expression The risks of misrepresentation that were highlighted in the data, and the reflexivity in practice that is highlighted in the research findings	Publication in practitioner focussed journals (for example Journal of Community Music) Presentation (including practical and musical examples) at practitioner focussed conferences and platforms Development of training content to be shared in my own professional context and networks
Researchers in this academic field (and allied academic fields)	To influence research practice and agendas in line with the study's findings.	Implications for research, grounded in discursive framework of understanding of representational acts The risks of misrepresentation that were highlighted in the study Advocate future areas of research interest	Publication in research journals Presentation at academic / research focussed conferences and platforms Influence research approaches used within my own professional context and networks

Audience / Target Group	Purpose	Content / Key message	Method
Policy makers	Build ally-ship with policy-makers as part of a movement for change.	The key findings of the study related to representation, recognition and repositioning The role of policy and policy-makers within discursive representation The stories and the music of participants to disrupt hegemonic discourse	Invite policy makers to musical events grounded in the findings of this research Presentations in network events that contain policy-makers Building networks of allies to advocate for change at policy level Using presentations at conferences to identify allies at all levels of engagement, including policy makers Maintaining the thesis' focus on dynamics of power and discourse in all dissemination, to foreground the importance of policy and policy-makers on individual and collective identity