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ABSTRACT

Distant Voices is a project created through collaboration between the Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice Research and Vox Liminis, a third sector organisation that works to bring creative practice to criminal justice and its reform. Its second phase, culminated in the Distant Voices Festival: a set of public events which among other things, had the purpose of facilitating art-mediated dialogue about punishment and reintegration between audience participants, artists, criminologists, people with convictions, their families and criminal justice practitioners. In an attempt to explore and contribute to that part of criminology that tries to go beyond the academia and into the public sphere, an ethnographic research was conducted with the purpose of exploring how people experienced engaging in the Distant Voices festival. More specifically, relying on a participant observation study of the festival and on a series of follow up conversations this dissertation will explore how, if at all, participants' personal experience of engaging in Distant Voices festival music events encouraged them either to reform or to strengthen their dispositions towards former/prisoners. Though encouraging participants to reconsider such dispositions was not a *directly nor instrumentally intended* aim of the festival, the results suggest, that those who reformed their dispositions -- during/through music-mediated dialogue and under a particular atmosphere -- firstly discovered an aspect of former prisoners' human side that was previously unknown to them, and secondly increased their level of empathy towards former prisoners.

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ABBREVIATIONS/ KEY TERMS

Dispositions Towards Former/Prisoners = DTF/P

Distant Voices Festival = DVF

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 2004 Michael Burawoy brought to the forefront of sociological debate the matter of a public sociology by arguing that sociology should also go beyond the academy in order to engage in a 'dialogue about matters of political and moral concern with the public' (p.1307). Due to their historical and conceptual similarities as well as the similar 'starting points' (Loader & Sparks 2010), the debate extended to the discipline of criminology. One of the most influential contributions in this debate was made by Loader and Sparks (2011) who argue that in order to contribute to a better politics of crime and its regulation, scholars of this discipline should engage with 'political humility' and 'intellectual ambition' (p. 132) in the task of 'democratic under-labouring. This project has three 'moments': the moment of discovery, the institutional/critical moment and the normative moment (Loader & Sparks 2011). The first dimension scientifically studies crime and its control. The second dimension generates knowledge to understand 'how prevailing ways of understanding and acting on crime are produced and reinforced' (Simon 2010, p.1). The third dimension revises the ideals and values that are behind the politics that govern crime, and tries to imagine new politics. As will be seen, this dissertation and the research in which it is based on, aims to contribute to second and third moments of knowledge production and exchange. What has driven me to conduct this research is, among other things, the conviction that, taking into account the current state of affairs, now more than ever it is necessary to go beyond the academic arena (Rock 2010) and into the public sphere.

An ethnographic research was conducted in order to explore how people experienced engaging in the Distant Voices festival (from now on DVF). DVF was a public festival which amongst other things, had the purpose of facilitating dialogue about punishment and reintegration (McNeill 2016a) between audience participants, 'artists', criminologists, people with convictions, their families and criminal justice practitioners'(Vox Liminis 2014). To achieve this, songs created during prison and community-based workshops (as well as related art forms, including crime fiction and documentary film-making) were brought to those individuals who participated during four different events. However, this research, does not only contribute to *public* criminology, by studying how people experienced engaging in a *public* festival which

explored what happens when 'human stories, ideas and emotions' about *crime related issues* are *shared* (Vox Liminis, no date a), but also contributes by conducting conversations in which we talked about crime related issues. This dissertation, along with its *analysis* of the results, also aspires to contribute to public criminology.

When analysing the content of that ethnographic study, I realised that the experience of engaging in DV festival, though encouraging people to reconsider their DTF/P was *not a directly nor instrumentally intended* aim of the festival, encouraged me to not only reform my dispositions towards former prisoners (from now on DTF/P) but also encouraged other participants the same way. Due to this fact, as well as to word constraints, this dissertation will explore how, if at all, and to what extent did participants' personal experience of engaging in Distant Voices festival music events encourage them either to reform or to strengthen their dispositions towards former/prisoners. As will be seen, this aspect was not independent but rather entwined with other dimensions of the experience, such as the stories that were told, the songs that were written and sang, the interactions that took place and the emotions, reflections or the atmosphere that was created. Due to word constraints and taking into account that the two music events of the festival were the ones that encouraged me to reform my DTF/P more, during this dissertation I am only going to focus on those two in particular.

To achieve this aim, this dissertation will, firstly explain about the Distant Voices festival. Then in chapter two, in order to understand what happened to me, as well as to other participants, I am going to explore the literature about three of the elements of DVF: dialogue, music and ritual. Chapter three will be dedicated to the methodology. In chapter four and five the research results that are relevant to the purposes of this dissertation will be presented and analysed. In the last chapter I will develop some conclusions, I will explain the implications of these results and I will go a little bit beyond the purposes of this dissertation.

I am aware that the words 'reform', in relation to DTF/P, can signify that as a result, DTF/P are either more positive (towards F/P) or more negative (towards F/P). However, throughout this dissertation, when this word is used without specifying, it will be implied that it refers to a reform as a consequence of which, the individual will hold

more *positive* dispositions towards F/P. In the same vein, the word 'strengthen' when used, it will imply a strengthening of an already *positive* DTF/P.

During this dissertation I am going to use the word(s) 'former/prisoner' in order to refer to those individuals who have experience of being imprisoned, either in the past or in the present. Although I am aware of a) the theoretical and philosophical distinction between the former and the latter, and b) the possibility that 'prisoners typically draw more hostility than former offenders' (Hirschfield & Piquero 2010, p.31), the reality is that the status of the offender is the only one that exists; the one of ex-offender is never considered (Garland 2001; Travis 2002). As Burnett and Maruna (2006) state: 'once a con always a con' (p. 101). In addition to this, when exploring the data, participants, including myself, do not usually explicitly distinguish the former from the latter. Therefore, although I do not mean to imply agreement with this lack of distinction, I have decided for analytical purposes, to choose an expression that gets nearer to how people really see that label, rather than how people *should* see it. More research needs to be conducted in order to explore the links between these two related labels and the dispositions that underlie them.

THE DISTANT VOICES FESTIVAL

DV is a project between Vox Liminis and the Scottish Centre of Crime and Justice Research (Vox Liminis no date b) that 'brings together artists, criminologists, people with convictions, their families, criminal justice practitioners and the general public to explore the role of the arts in public understandings of crime and punishment' (Vox Liminis no date b). 'In essence, (they) are trying to use the making and sharing of music to explore, practice and enable reintegration' (McNeill 2016b), through exploring the 'humanity of crime and punishment' (Vox Liminis, no date b).

Phase 1 of Distant Voices ran from Autumn 2013 to Summer 2014 (Vox Liminis 2014). Workshops were organised which led to the collaborative writing in 5 songs; each one of them 'exploring the impact and outworking of crime from the [different] perspectives of victims, perpetrators and family members' (Vox Liminis 2014, p.11). Those five songs were used as a 'basis for a deliberative public event' (McNeill 2016a). This first phase culminated in a concert in the Briggait building, in which songs and human stories were shared (Vox Liminis 2014, p.11).

Phase 2 was oriented towards facilitating dialogue (McNeill 2016a). An 'increasingly participative approach to exploring personal stories of crime and punishment publicly' has been developed (Vox Liminis: Distant Voices 2014). Between 2014 and 2015 different three-day song-writing workshops were organised both inside and outside prison, with the participation of prisoners, former prisoners, family members, criminologists and prisons and other criminal justice staff. Afterwards, during the second half of 2015, more public workshops were planned, during which, members of the public participants wrote or co-wrote songs responding to songs that were previously written in prison (Vox Liminis no date c), thus establishing a 'dialogue through songwriting' (McNeill 2016a). During this second phase, a 'community hub' was created (McNeill 2016a). Every week, former musicians, prisoners, criminologists and others got together in order to write and share songs and to build and sustain community.

Phase 2 culminated with the, already mentioned, Distant Voices festival. This research project was conducted in order to explore the experience of participating in this festival. As it has been already said, one of the aims of this festival was to foster arts-mediated dialogue. But trying to make an event dialogic does not mean that the event is actually dialogic (Forester 2009). Dialogue 'cannot be planned precisely or made to happen' (Anderson et al. 2004, p.15), dialogue cannot be 'delivered on schedule as a package' (Pearce & Pearce 2004, p.46). The participants have agency to engage in a dialogue or not (Pearce & Pearce 2000). What can be done is to invite participants into dialogue by creating the proper conditions for it (McNamee & Shoter 2004; Pearce & Pearce 2004). Thus, there are two issues, in two different moments that need to be taken into account for being able to state whether the DV festival achieved art mediated dialogue. The first one is if those involved prepared the activities in order to facilitate dialogue. The second one is: did participants engage in dialogue? In order to answer these two questions, it is firstly necessary to conceptualize dialogue. This task, along with others, will be performed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Though encouraging people to reconsider their DTF/P was *not a directly nor instrumentally intended* aim of the festival, the reality is that, as it will be seen, by successfully facilitating art-mediated dialogic moments and episodes it (indirectly) encouraged participants to reform their DTF/P. I am going to explore the different elements of art mediated dialogue in these two events: dialogue, art and ritual. In order to understand how these events encouraged participants either to reform or to strengthen their DTF/P, during this literature review chapter, I will also consider the potential of each of these three elements in order to either encourage the reform or strengthening of DTF/P.

HOW CAN WE ENCOURAGE THE PUBLIC TO REFORM THEIR DTF/P?

During this dissertation the word 'disposition' is going to be used. By the expression 'DTF/P' I am going to refer to someone's set of inclinations to feel or think about F/P in a certain way. Thus, these dispositions constitute a kind of bias because of predisposing that individual to think or feel in a certain way about F/P. By using the word disposition, I pretend to use a humanizing concept, and to move away from all these connotations attached to the multiple psychological definitions of the word 'attitude,' as well as from how this word is used in daily life. Throughout this dissertation, when the reader encounters the word disposition s/he has to think about all those feelings, meanings, thoughts and emotions that a human holds in mind when meeting a F/P or when thinking/feeling about a particular individual or towards the collective.

Why are DTF/P important? Due to word constraints, I will just say that research results are consistent about two facts: a) When individuals go out from prison they are stigmatized by society (Uggen et al. 2004; LeBel 2012b). b) This stigmatization has negative effects on the desistance process of offenders (Chiricos et al. 2007; LeBel 2012a; Maruna 2014) due to the highly important role of societal reaction in that process (eg. Giordano et al. 2002; Uggen et al. 2004; Wright & Cullen 2004; McNeill & Weaver 2010). The importance of societal reaction is such that some criminologists such as McNeill (2013) argue that in order to achieve rehabilitation, that social hurdle

needs to be jumped. Bauman's (2000) example is very illustrative in this respect: you can be trained to work, but that is useless if there is no job waiting outside (see Rubio Arnal [2014] for a more extended answer to this question).

There is little or no criminological literature about *how* to encourage the reform or strengthening of DTF/P. In spite of this, there is some work concerned with 'changing attitudes' or about 'shifting attitudes' towards crime related issues in general (Hough & Park 2002; Maruna & King 2004). This literature may be useful when considering DTF/P. I prefer to use the word 'encourage' rather than 'change' or 'shift' to highlight the role of the individual in forming and reforming his or her own dispositions. Nowadays, it is commonly argued that in a process of communication individuals are not 'empty vessels' (Burawoy 2004).

In the literature there are two well differentiated 'strategies for changing attitudes': cognitive and emotive (Maruna & King 2008). However, there are several reasons to be sceptical about this categorization: The first relates to the differentiation between cognitive and emotive processes. Fisher (2009) argues, relying on neuroscience research, psychology research and on Nussbaum's multidisciplinary work (2001), that 'emotions actually function in tandem with rational thought process' (p.209). He argues the case for reconsidering the current theoretical relationship between reason and emotion. Other theorists such as Rosenthal & Flacks (2012) and Meyer (1956) also disagree with this 'traditional dichotomy between reason and emotion' (p.39). Mansbridge and company (2006) argue for the existence of 'flows' between 'reason and emotion' because 'emotions always include some form of appraisal and evaluation, and reason itself needs at least an emotional commitment to the process of reasoning' (p.5). Due to all this, it seems more accurate to consider these two strategies not as just emotive or just cognitive, but rather as 'more emotive' or 'more cognitive'; the difference is a matter of emphasis.

Another reason for my scepticism is the criteria of that distinction. It seems that the criteria for determining which strategy is employed is what is 'provided' within them (p. 342): in the case of cognitive strategies, information is provided; and in the case of emotive strategies, 'emotive appeals' are made (Maruna & King 2008, p. 347). There are two reasons for doubting the appropriateness of these criteria of 'what is provided': one is more theoretical/philosophical and the other one is more pragmatic. In theoretical

terms, the mistake comes from the departure from a positivistic conception of the process of reception as something passive (Belfiore & Bennett 2007). Nowadays, in communication studies, it is commonly agreed that in any communication process we need to take into account the transmission, the reception *and* the context in which that process takes place (Escobar 2011; Rosenthal & Flacks 2012). Apart from taking into account the way the message is expressed, we also have to consider how the individual interprets the message, how s/he is oriented towards it, and how the individual 'place[s] it within their personal... maps' (p.44, De Nora 1999). Throughout this essay I will have this in mind when taking into account the potential of art-mediated dialogue and when deriving conclusions from the results. Merely using what is provided in the communication as a criteria of categorization may give the sensation of forgetting about all the other elements of communication.

The pragmatic reason departs from this first theoretical reasoning: in the end, attitudes are held by individuals; they are the ones that consciously or unconsciously reconsider their attitudes (or do not) through a process of making sense of the meaning of the message. Thus, I argue that it would be more accurate to use as the criteria of the distinction between cognitive and emotive how the individual *receives* the message, or at least to use terms like 'higher emotive potential' and 'higher cognitive potential'. It is true that the message itself has some properties, but different individuals could make sense differently of the same information; one may react affectively while another reacts cognitively to the same message. It should also be taken into account that all information is not the same: it is very different to give statistics about recidivism than to give information about how offenders feel when receiving punishment, and both of these can be considered as 'information'. Putting it in another way: We need to ask 'information about what?' and 'emotive for whom?'

When analysing attempts to 'change' or 'shift' attitudes about crime related issues by providing 'more and better research driven information' (Maruna & King 2008, p.342), studies arrive at the conclusion that those initiatives are not able to succeed (eg. Vandiver & Giocapassi 1997), or that, even when successful in the short term, they do not have an enduring effect (eg. Gayne & Payne 2003). But even those who advocate for the power of emotions (Maruna & King 2008, p. 342) have recognised that there is an exception to this: Hough & Parks (2002) research based on Fishkin's deliberative poll in 1994 which suggested that providing information may have an enduring effect.

Through a careful reading of this chapter, it can be seen that even Hough and Parks signal that their results do not prove that information *by itself* is able to encourage people to reconsider their attitudes. Rather they they recognise that, rather than just the information itself, the quality of the communication was possibly, 'if not likely' (p.166), what encouraged people to reconsider their attitudes. Moreover, the presentation of information is only one of the parts of a deliberative polling exercise: there are also discussions, and sessions in which 'experts' can be asked questions (see Indermaur et al. 2012 for more).

Other criminologists have argued that in order to encourage attitude 'change', an emotive dimension is required in addition to the transmission of knowledge (Hough, 1996; Indermaur & Hough, 2002; Maruna and King, 2008). This position is supported by psychological research that has found that affective reactions change attitudes not only toward the stigmatised individual (Grumm et al. 2009) but also to the whole stereotyped group (Batson et al. 1997); and by the fact that crime and the criminal process is an 'emotive issue' (Raymonds & Hough 2002, p.3; Garland 2000; Karstedt 2002). My own research results (Rubio Arnal, 2014), albeit on a small scale, confirmed the importance of affective messages in shifting attitudes towards former prisoners. In this study, empathy was a particularly important emotional response.

Taking into account everything that has been said in this section it does not seem reasonable to try to choose between an emotive message and a cognitive message in order to encourage people to reform or strengthen their DTF/P. Firstly, we can't control how the individual is going to receive that message. Secondly, emotive and cognitive processes walk hand in hand and, thirdly, even if these two reasons were not true, why would we undermine the potential of a message by trying to choose just one of the two dimensions? Thus, I advocate for a comprehensive approach recognising the potential of both dimensions, and of their combination. As it will be seen, when engaging in art-mediated dialogue, both mind and heart are engaged (Romney 2005; Escobar 2011).

DIALOGUE

The concept of dialogue has evolved during the last century (see Anderson et al. 2004), and even nowadays they are different positions on its definition (see Pearce & Pearce 2000; Escobar 2011). Dialogue is seen as a form of communication, as a process (Escobar 2011) and as a quality of communication (Pearce & Pearce 2004). All these positions share a common understanding: dialogue has a dimension that is temporal (Cissna & Anderson 1998). It is a 'momentary phenomenon' (p.93), dialogue 'exists at moments'. Thus, nearly all dialogue theorists agree that:

'Sometimes it is better to think of dialogue as a temporary accomplishment; an interpersonal communication nurtured by 'dialogic moments' (Escobar 2011, p.11).

In order to develop this temporal dimension of dialogue, Pearce and Pearce (2000) propose another temporal unity of dialogue: episodes, which are 'shorter than an ongoing state' (p.165), but longer than 'ephemeral and fleeting' moments (Cissna & Anderson 1998, p. 67).

There is another issue on which most scholars agree: in order for dialogue to happen, the communication process should be characterised by certain dynamics that are interconnected. Escobar (2011) argues that these include the following. First, the process should 'be open to multiple voices, style of communication and perspectives (p.22). Second, there should be respect towards other people's accounts not only in the sense of politeness, but also in the way you consider and you engage with their contributions. Third, narratives and storytelling are basic in that process of communication as a way of expressing 'values, views and feelings' based on 'personal experience'. Fourth, listening is as important, or even more important than talking (Littlejohn & Domenici 2001). Fifth, in order to listen, the 'co-inquiry' aspect of dialogue is very important; this refers to the collaborative exploration of opinions and values through the act of posing questions. Sixth, automatic response, judgement and certainty need to be controlled during the process. Seventh, it is important to balance the activity of finding common ground with that of exploring differences. Eighth, although inquiry is really important, advocacy is too in order to be able to be understood, thus a balance between the two is needed. Ninth, a safe space needs to be created.

Thus, relying on what has been said until now, it can be argued that: dialogue may be accomplished in either dialogic moments or dialogic episodes, when some particular dynamics are present. Therefore, when thinking whether and to what extent, DV festival music events achieved music-mediated dialogue, we should look for these dialogic qualities and dynamics. But before doing that, we should pay attention to another issue: --even though when preparing the festival, those engaged in the planning of DV festival were not familiar with this dialogic dynamics literature-- were the activities organised in a way that could foster those moments? The answer of this question is going to be based on 'objective facts' in relation to how each of the sessions was planned.

After each of these two events, individuals were given a small card in which they could write about their experience of participating in the event (see Appendix). The first music event took place on the 6th of November 2015 and through this dissertation I will also refer to it as 'The Vox Sessions' or as 'the workshop'. This was an event in which nine individuals participated in a songwriting process facilitated by two professional musicians: Louis Abbott and Kim Edgar. As will be seen, two of the participants, who are regular collaborators in VOX events, had experience of being in prison and being released. During the introductory part, in which chairs were placed forming a circle, five songs written by prisoners were played, just after each of those attending had presented themselves. Afterwards we were asked to choose one of the five songs, get in group with those who had also chosen that song, and write a song in response to it. There was an interruption during this process in order to eat all together. Afterwards, the songs we wrote were recorded. At the end, another circle was formed in order to listen and talk about each of the new songs. Thus, we can see that this event was organised in a way that had the potential to encourage dialogue not only between the participants, and music facilitators, but also (indirectly) with the prisoners who wrote the songs as well as with other facilitators of VOX.

The second music event took place on the 9th of November in the CCA theatre. During it, professional musicians played 22 songs that had been written in previous workshops by prisoners, prison officers, criminologists and criminal justice workers. Before some of the songs, the musicians spoke about the stories behind the writing of the songs and the context in which they were written. In this sense, this session had the potential to encourage dialogue between all those people who wrote the songs, musicians, and all

those who were that night in the CCA concert. Thus we can conclude, that the event as a whole was organised in a way that had the potential to foster dialogue.

Though encouraging people to reconsider their DTF/P was *not a directly nor instrumentally intended* aim of the festival, the reality is that, as it will be seen, by successfully facilitating art-mediated dialogic moments and episodes it (indirectly) encouraged participants to reform their DTF/P. What was the role of dialogue in this? Most dialogue theorists and practitioners recognise the potential that dialogue has in order to make people reconsider their views (eg. Escobar 2011; Cissna & Anderson 1994). Some of them argue that in this respect it is very important that, when having a dialogue, both mind and heart are engaged (Romney 2005; Escobar 2011). Dialogic moments are achieved when some dynamics are present in the process of communication. Those dynamics are of great importance when considering the potential of dialogue. The exploration of other views, meanings, preconceptions and dispositions undertaken with respect, curiosity and openness, according to some theorists, allows that one 'recognises the otherness of the other' (Deetz & Simpson 2004, p. 143). Encountering the other has the potential of disrupting our views and opinions of the world, making us reconsider them. Dialogue, through its co-exploration of meanings and dispositions, does also have the potential of highlighting the complexity of some of the topics that have been treated (Faulkner 2011). The differences between our views, what we expect of the interaction and what really happens, can encourage us to reconsider our attitudes (McNamee & Shotter 2004) by provoking cognitive dissonance (Ryfe 2005), which may result in a reconsideration. Faulkner (2011), also points out the potential of dialogue in order to improve the personal relationships between those that participate on it.

Although these are claims based on arguments and experience, there is also research about dialogue that supports them. It has been found that through/because of dialogue: new and good relationships have been fostered between individuals that previously held opposite views, encouraging better understating (Innes & Booher 2003). Individuals have questioned their views of the world through dialogue (Zorn et al. 2010), and they and they have become aware of the fact that they held taken for granted assumptions (Bokeno & Gannt 2000). Individuals have reconsidered their attitudes towards a collective which they previously stigmatized, overcoming their stereotypes (Zorn et al. 2010). Socio-psychological research has found that more exposure to stereotyped

individuals not only encourages liking towards those individuals (Pettigrew & Tropp 2006) but also liking of the collective (Rhodes et al. 2001). Narrative and storytelling, which are basic when engaging in dialogue has been found to encourage empathy as an emotional response (Colesante & Briggs 1999; McCrary 2002), to challenge emotional distancing (Matias & Grossland 2016) as well as pre-existing views of reality (Bennet 2012), and to open people's minds towards other notions (Ryfe 2006). One of the few previous studies about ATFP (Hirschfield & Piquero 2010) found that the fact of knowing people 'personally or professionally' who have been incarcerated (p.39), was one of the strongest predictors of ATFP. This result is especially important in order to consider the potential of dialogue in DTF/P reconsideration. *Coming to know* former/prisoners through dialogue may be critical in challenging negative attitudes. But dialogue is not exempt from perils (Escobar 2011). Wierzbicka (2006) by relying on Oliveira's (1965) idea of dialogue as a 'talismanic word' (p.32), points out the risk of dialogue of becoming a 'tool of manipulation, propaganda or pseudo-communication' (p. 691). This is already happening in some 'organizational settings' (Escobar 2011, p.58) where the word dialogue has become a 'management fashion' (Pieczka & Escobar 2010, p.16) that can be used in order to hide and/or give rationale to 'collective forums for manufactured consent ... concertive control ... , or team tyranny' (Bokeno & Gantt 2000, p. 249). The second peril is about dialogue pursuit of the common ground (Escobar 2011). When doing so, dialogue can 'reproduce the status quo because the ground that is common between participants is that of the dominant culture' (Deetz & Simpson 2004, p. 7). This can be avoided by balancing this activity with the one of exploring differences (Escobar 2011)

ENCLAVES OF AUTONOMY AND MUSIC

Although the idea of dialogue seems very attractive, in practice it is difficult to facilitate the accomplishment of those dialogic moments/episodes. Nowadays we are immersed in what Tannen (1998) has named 'the argument culture'. Communication in public forums has turned confrontational (Escobar 2009, 49), it is seen as a fight in which only one side can win, and the winning side will be the one that attacks and criticizes more effectively (Tannen 1998). This ends up becoming a vicious circle (Littlejohn & Domenici 2001) which is totally contrary to the concept of dialogue as a way of exploring opinions, meaning, realities and attitudes in a respectful and open way. In addition to this, argument deters participation by people and collectives that do not feel comfortable when engaging in these communication patterns (Escobar 2011). Due to this ritualised (Tannen 1998) and automated way of communicating that has flooded public forums, communication theorists have suggested that in order to promote dialogue the previously mentioned eighth dimension is needed: the creation of particular spaces (Faulkner 2011; Escobar 2011; Pieczka & Wood 2013; Isaacs 2001). In those spaces, everyone is able and encouraged to communicate in a safe way through dialogic dynamics (Escobar 2011), without being afraid of other people's attacks (Pieczka & Wood 2013), and feeling trusted and valued (Faulkner 2011). Innes & Booher (2003) point out the potential that these spaces may have in challenging the 'status quo'.

Creating a space like this requires a lot of time and effort (Escobar 2009). But even for those committed to doing so, the question is how? Pratt (1990) points out the capacity of art, and specially music throughout history, in creating enclaves of autonomy; spaces which, in spite of being connected inevitably to their external social situations, permit new social and psychological realities to be constructed with correspondent new meanings, values and rules. These spaces or enclaves are characterized by their participatory and open character and by a non-negotiable egalitarianism (Evans & Boyte 1986). The capacity of art to help to create these enclaves has also been pointed out by other authors such as Korza and colleagues (2002) or Bacon and colleagues (1999).

But the contribution/mediation of art to dialogue, goes beyond the fostering of the creation of such enclaves of autonomy. Art can also serve as the basis for dialogue (Animating Democracy 2008) and as a way of attracting people towards dialogue (Rosenthal & Flacks 2012). The quality of dialogue occurring may be enhanced through creating art (Bacon et al. 1999). But art is also itself dialogical (et al. 2002); as the

philosopher Buber (1947, p. 25) stated: 'all music calls to an ear, not the musician's own, all sculpture to an eye, not the sculptor's...'

Art is inherently communicative (Lull 1992), and since it speaks both to our emotive and cognitive sides (Romney 2005), it has the capacity to encourage people to open their minds towards other ideas (Matarasso 1997), making them reconsider their own prejudices (Lipsitz 1994). Art is also a very open and participating activity democratic activity. Nearly everyone in some moment of his life has done something artistic (Liebman 1990). Art is suitable both for those individuals that have problems of communication and for those that speak too much (Liebman 1990). Through art you can use metaphors or images in order to express ideas that perhaps you couldn't otherwise (Bacon et al. 1999). Songwriting is very accessible because nearly anyone that is able to talk is able to write a song by putting rhythm to the speech (Rosenthal & Flacks 2012). This characteristic of music also makes it possible that those who are not usually heard, are able through music to introduce neglected topics and experiences into the public sphere (Lull 1985). In addition to this, music has a free spirit: it can be admired very far away from where it has been created, thus being able to jump those walls that may confine the artist.

When someone listens to music, s/he is engaged in a physical, emotional and cognitive way (Lull 1992). The capacity of music to put the people in a particular mood is well known (Zentner et al. 2008). In addition to this, music is able to create admiration towards the songwriter. The more that someone participates in a musical activity, the more it becomes important for him or her (Small 1998), and the more open to new meanings and ideas that individual is (Rosenthal & Flacks 2012). Sharing music also fosters a sense of community and of liking (Lull 1992). Rosenthal and Flacks (2012), when conducting a research about this issue, found that lower degrees of separation between those who sing and play and those who listen, increase the cognitive and intellectual impact of the experience.

THE RITUAL COMPONENT OF STIGMA

Maruna (2012) argues that, when exploring stigma, it is very important to consider the three core elements of it: Firstly, conviction comes with a credential. When someone is convicted he is assigned the credential of the criminal record (Pager 2007). Second, that credential comes with a name. When someone receives that credential, he is named either offender, or criminal, or prisoner. Third, criminal conviction is ritualised throughout a 'degradation ceremony' (Garfinkel 1956).

Maruna's model of stigma, can be complemented with Link et al.'s (2004), which explores in more depth the social dimension of stigma; that is to say, they explore how the meaning attached to the credential is constructed. The first step is the labelling of those differences that are considered relevant. Afterwards those labelled differences are linked to some attributes that are usually negative. After considering who possesses these negative attributes and, as a consequence, is stereotyped with them, the individual is symbolically separated from the rest of society by 'othering' him or her.

The combination of these two models highlights the following issues: Firstly, the meaning attached to the credential of a criminal record has both an objective dimension and also a subjective/social one. Although these dimensions are interconnected, they are not usually the same. The latter dimension refers to the informal cultural meaning attached by society in general to that credential. The former refers to the legal and formal meaning that is attached by a figure of authority (Becker 1966) to that credential. Secondly, this points out the presence of ritual in this whole process of stigmatisation and 'othering'. Thus Maruna argues for the importance of considering ritual for de-labeling and re-labeling individuals (2011): as the process of signalling is done through ritual, ritual is also needed in order to signal individual desistance and reintegration (2012).

More broadly, if participating in the DV festival encouraged participants either to reform or to strengthen their DTF/P, what might have happened is that through ritual, the informal, social meaning attached to the criminal credential may have been challenged and modified. There are thus some clear differences between Maruna's proposed rituals of redemption and the DVF; the latter challenges the social meanings attached to that credential, the former seeks to re-credentialize the individual. While the former is a ritual aimed at the reintegration of the individual; the latter ritual has the

potential to help a wider collective, by encouraging the public to either reform or strengthen their DTF/P. But what exactly is a ritual? Randal Collins (2004) who is 'among our leading scholars of ritual' (Maruna 2012) distinguishes between two types of rituals: 'formal rituals' and 'natural rituals' (p.48-49). Although both of them are 'constructed from a combination of ingredients or initiating conditions' (p. 47), the difference is that natural rituals are constructed in the absence of 'formal stereotyped procedures' (p.50). The common ingredients of both types of rituals are the following:

1. Two or more people are physically assembled in the same place, so that they affect each other by their bodily presence, whether it is in the foreground of their conscious attention or not.
2. There are boundaries to outsiders so that participants have a sense of who is taking part and who is excluded.
3. People focus their attention upon a common object or activity and by communicating this focus to each other to become mutually aware of each other's focus of attention.
4. They share a common mood or emotional experience' (p. 48).

Taking into account that as will be seen, both music events presented these four ingredients, without the presence of any formal stereotyped procedure, it can be argued that both music events can be considered natural rituals.

Thus if the experience of engaging in these two musical rituals encouraged participants to either reform or to strengthen their DTF/P, it must be because rituals can encourage people to reconsider their conceptions of the world. Durkheim (1912) when studying how religious beliefs are created, transmitted and reinforced, pointed out the importance in those processes of what he named 'collective effervescence' (p.228). During that moment of collective effervescence there is an emotional arousal in which 'a sort of electricity is generated from their closeness... [that] quickly launches them to an extraordinary height of exaltation' (p. 217). But what is more important for the purposes of this dissertation is that this collective effervescence, due to its 'general stimulation of individual energy' (p.213), has two kinds of functions: a 'creative' one (Durkheim 1912, p. 429) in which the current state of affairs can be challenged and new ideas and

meanings come out, and a recreative one, which strengthens the sense of community and of solidarity (Pickering 1984). Collins, when considering Durkheim concept in order to elaborate his theory of Interaction Ritual Chains (2004) argues, that although momentary, the effects of that collective effervescence or 'emotional energy' (p. 36) can be sustained if among other things, solidarity is present. Although Durkheimian concept of 'collective effervescence' is a theoretical one, some scholars such as Olaveson (2001), have pointed out that its description and explanation 'maps well' to the results of current research about 'ritual and consciousness' (p. 114, Olaveson 2001 for reading more about the issue).

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

This dissertation is based on an exploratory ethnographic study that was conducted with the collaboration of the partners in DV (Vox Liminis and SCCJR), the purpose of which was to explore how participants experienced engaging in the DVF. As this was the purpose of the research when planned and conducted, and not to explore participants DTF/P, I am going to argue for the appropriateness of my ethnographic approach and of its methods in reference to the aim of the research, and not to the one of this dissertation. Since the preparatory steps in this research I have taken an adaptive theory approach (Layder 1998). Thus I have been exploring both theory and practice in continuous communication.

Nowadays, it is commonly agreed that ethnography is a multi-method approach (LeCompte & Schensul 1999), usually driven by an exploratory approach towards a social phenomenon (Atkinson & Hammersley 1998). The researcher engages both physically and emotionally (Bottoms 2008) in the everyday context (Brewer 2000) of a 'natural setting' (Denscombe 2014) where social meanings are created and discussed (Ferrell 2011). Thus ethnography is interested in creating 'thick description' (Geertz 1973); it is interested in the depth of the data rather than in its generalizability.

Ethnography has already proved its suitability for exploring musical events (Grazian 2004) as well as for studying those experiences in which all the senses need to be considered (Pink 2009). This is because ethnographic methods are able to collect the creativity and 'magic' generated 'by the arts as they occur' (Stern & Steifert 2009, p34). In the same vein, communication theorists advocate for the necessity of going beyond quantitative research when studying communication processes, in order not only to explore the pre and the post, but also to explore the *processes* of interpersonal communication (Ryfe 2006). I argue that such methods are also useful in order to understand better the context in which the communication happens.

The methods of this ethnographic study included a participant observation study of the festival and a series of follow up conversations with participants in order to explore and understand better the meanings they made from and the feelings that they had during the

CCA concert as well as how they reflected on these experiences afterwards. The aim of the participant observation was to observe audience participants in the events including my own reactions and reflections as an audience member. After each event, when arriving home, I wrote extensive fieldnotes in order to collect my impressions immediately after each event. When writing my fieldnotes I tried to include all the different aspects of my experience, including my observations about other participants reactions and experiences, the physical environment in which the events took place or the atmosphere that was created.

In a certain sense, I was the subject of my own research. This has certain implications when considering the data obtained: Firstly, there may be a risk of a ‘Hawthorne effect’ (Maruna & King 2008, p. 342); it can be argued that if the festival encouraged me to reconsider my DTF/P, that may be due to the fact that I was predisposed to change them. However, the likelihood of this effect was reduced firstly because the research was primarily about the experience of participating and not about DTF/P and because I was quite sceptical about the influence that the experience would have on me. What could have happened is that I was more deeply engaged in the festival due to the fact of conducting a research. Secondly, the balance between being a participant and a researcher, and the influence of this duality on the data and its analysis was recognised and taken into account through a process of reflexivity both before and after the events. During the events, I tried to relax and just participate. Admittedly, at the beginning of each event, this was practically impossible, but as time passed I forgot more and more about my researcher side, and embraced more and more the personal one. Thirdly, recognising the risks in shaping an event by conducting a research within it, no individual interviews were conducted during the events in order to avoid unduly affecting them.

Eight follow-up conversations about the CCA concert were co-conducted with Lindsay, from Vox. The decision to focus during these conversations on the CCA concert was jointly taken with VOX, with the purpose of exploring a type of event, of which there was less information about participant's experience (for a research focusing on participants experience in a Vox organised workshop see Deacon 2015). Participants were selected through a purposive convenience sampling strategy. The aim was to select those that had different degrees and forms of engagement in the festival. Departing from this standpoint, Distant Voices team, selected and contacted the participants in order to

explain to them the purpose of the conversations. Afterwards, I had to discuss the date, time and the place with them.

The conversations lasted from thirty minutes to an hour. I use the word conversation and not interview because although each conversation was prepared in advance, and a conversation guide was used during it, the conversation was loosely structured. The conversation guide, was also jointly designed in order to try to include all the different aspects of the experience, and was revised after conducting two conversations in order to evaluate, if any change was needed on it. During the conversations, both Lindsay and I also shared our experiences of the events in an effort to construct the conversations as a shared exploration of a shared experience, but being careful to give primacy to the participant's experiences. These kinds of conversations are really useful in order to explore issues in depth and breadth (Yeo et al. 2014), from the point of view of the participants, their experiences and how they make sense of them (Miller & Glassner 2011; Yeo et al. 2014). In spite of the fact that Lindsay and I were asking most of the questions, due to its loose structure, we ended up talking about topics that were raised by the participants, which we had not thought about previously.

The conducting and preparation of the interviews was a joint effort, with the aim of combining our skills and experience, enhancing the quality of the conversation, and secondly, in order to enriching the conversation dynamics, by adding one more person to the interaction. But as Lindsay is part of the DV team, this carried the risk that, because of her presence, individuals expressed more enthusiasm about their experience of participating in the concert. In order to avoid this, at the beginning of the conversations, participants were told that there were no right or wrong answers to the topics that would come up during the conversation, but just different experiences. We communicated to them, that it is precisely their personal experiences that we were interested in. In addition to this, I must say, that during the conversations, all the participants appeared really sincere about their experiences, and if they did not agree with us in any point, they did not hesitate to say it. Although I am sure that my supervisor has been very careful and reflective about this fact, it has to be taken into account, when considering both the designing stage of this research and the content of this dissertation, that my supervisor is a member of the board of Vox Liminis.

When analysing participant observation and conversation data I am going to take pragmatic approach to data analysis (see Yeo et al. 2014): I will bear in mind that during the collection of the data there is an interaction, in which knowledge is generated, but that does not mean that through these methods information about how participants made sense of their experience can't be obtained . Making sense of the experience is a highly subjective process, but it is exactly that in which I am interested: in 'participants explicit interpretations and understandings of the events' (Jeo et al. 2004).

RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Although during my ethnographic research all those engaging in DVF were, up to a certain point, subjects of my research, for the purposes of this dissertation I am going to focus on the nine participants that we had conversations with as well as on myself. In this section I am going to give some background about each of this ten participants which will be useful in order to better understand the following two chapters of this dissertation.

Raymond had already participated in four DV workshops before DVF: two inside prison and two outside prison. During DVF he also participated in music workshop. He helped organise the CCA concert, in which he even played on of his songs on stage. Before going to prison he had directly interacted with few F/P but on a working basis.

The only DV organised event that **Courtney** had already participated in was the Briggait. She went there with a friend of hers. During DVF she engaged in the workshop and in the CCA gig. Although she works in her daily job she fights against inequalities, before assisting to DVF she had 'no experience with people in prison'.

I am a MRes student at the University of Glasgow. Even though I have been studying criminology for seven years and the last three of them focusing on reintegration, before participating in DVF I had never interacted with a F/P. Before DVF, I only participated in one event organised by DV: the Briggait concert. During DVF I engaged in the four events.

James's and **Steven's** first participation in a DV' event was engaging in the CCA concert. They went to the concert because they were invited by one member of DV team. They are both very familiar with CJS related issues. A couple of members of James' family work on justice, and because he has grown up, socialised and worked with plenty of F/P. On the other side, Steven has got 'fair good friends' who have an experience on prison.

Robin is a professional musician, who had already participated as a facilitator in two workshops inside prison. He had also participated recording the E.P and during the concert, he went on stage to sing. Before working with DV he already had 'experience of people going to prison'.

Wolfgang participated in the CCA concert because he was invited by a member of Vox team. He had already engaged in the Briggait one. Before doing so, he had interacted with F/P but on a working basis.

Silvia had already participated in the Briggait concert before engaging in the CCA one. Her job had always been related in a way or another to the CJS. She grew up 'in a bad area'.

Claudia works in criminal justice research . Before engaging in the CCA concert she had already participated in the Briggait one. During the conversation she explained that she participated in the meeting in which the idea of creating DV came up.

Julian had already participated in DV workshops both inside and outside prison. During the DVF he participated in both the workshop and the concert.

LIMITATIONS

This research has several limitations, apart from those already mentioned, in terms of validity, reliability and generalizability:

1. The ethnographic approach: It can be argued that ethnographic data may have problems of validity, reliability and generalizability (Denscombe 2010). Although this is true, this research did not aim to offer an evaluation of DV festival; rather, it tried to explore how participants with different degrees and forms of participation experienced the festival, by getting into 'thick description'. More generally, the use of these three indicators – validity, reliability and generalizability -- in order to measure the quality of a qualitative research has become more and more questioned by scholars (Gaskell & Bauer 2000).

2. The participant observation: as during the participant observation I did not conduct any interview with those engaged in the gig, the amount of data about other participants experience obtained through this method, was quite limited because it was only based on my observations. In addition to this it must be noted the obvious subjective character of those observations.

3. The conversation sample: The size of the conversation sample was very small (9 participants including myself), and the participants were not selected randomly. As engaging in a conversation requires time and effort, it is very possible that most of the people who were contacted and accepted to share their experience, are people that are usually in contact with Vox. This does not make the experience that they expressed any less 'real' than the one of those who have less communication with Vox, but it is just one aspect to take into account.

4. The number of conversations with each participant: In order to explore in more depth the experience of participating in the concert, it would have been needed to conduct at least one or two conversations with each participants.

5. The researcher: a skilful researcher is fundamental when engaging in a participant observation and when conducting conversations. Although I tried to train myself by

reading books that give advice about these tasks, there were the eight first conversation that I have ever conducted, and the first participant observation

ETHICAL ISSUES

At the beginning of each conversation the participants were given a plain language statement in which the reasons for my research were explained. Each of the participants signed the consent form, in which ethical issues were explained, before participating in the research. They were asked permission to be audio recorded. The names of the participants were changed guaranteeing them confidentiality. The only person, apart from me, that has had access to the original data has been my supervisor as well as Lindsay. This whole research was conducted with the approval of the College of Social Sciences Research Committee of the University of Glasgow.

CHAPTER 4: ‘THE VOX SESSIONS’: MY PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

The purpose of this chapter, and beyond, is to analyse the results that may be useful in fulfilling the aims of this dissertation. In this chapter I am going to explore explore how, if at all, and to what extent did my personal experience of engaging in Distant Voices first music event encourage me either to reform or to strengthen my dispositions towards former/prisoners. I am going to rely, not only on my impressions during my participant observation of the event, which were collected in my fieldnotes, but also on my later reflections about the influence of these events. Afterwards, in Chapter 5, relying on the eight conversations that were conducted, as well as on my participant observation, I will analyse the experience of attending the concert from the perspective of ten participants (including myself). Partly because English is not my first language, in order to make sure that I did not misunderstand any part of any conversations, a copy of these two chapters was sent to Lindsay, the person with whom I conducted the conversations. While analysing this data, I have born in mind ethical issues such as confidentiality and anonymity.

Before proceeding with the aim of this chapter, it needs to be said that some of the ideas, feelings, processes and meanings that encouraged reconsideration of my attitudes were unconscious and that it is afterwards, when being reflective, that I realised their role. From this point onward the word ‘reconsider’ is going to be used. With it I refer to the act of wondering (either consciously or unconsciously) if your DTF/P are inaccurate. Normally, as it will be seen, this happens during a process of reconsideration that can end up or not in a reform of your DTF/P.

Before going back home, when completing the small card: in order to give feedback on the session, I talked about an aspect of my experience that needs to be taken into account when considering everything that will be said in this chapter: the wonderful atmosphere that was created during the event and the connection between participants. At the beginning of the event, as I knew that I was going to share with strangers the personal and private experience of writing a song, I was on the defensive. I believe that the creation of that atmosphere started at the beginning of the session. The disposition

of the chairs in a circle permitted us to see each others' faces during the introductory part of the event, in which everyone was listening very carefully during the playing of the songs. As I pointed out in my fieldnotes, the atmosphere was informal from the beginning until the end. While I was writing the song and time was passing, and despite being alone in my songwriting, during the breaks I felt nearer to the other participants and musicians. There was a moment during which I felt that we were all in the same boat, rowing together, having a common aim. And our role was very important in order to achieve that goal. We were all there, writing a song related to prisoners' experiences. I felt more affection towards all the participants, and began to talk more to them. It seems that the same happened to all of them, because they also began to talk with a certain familiarity. While we were recording the song, the other participants were there listening and reacting to them, and each time that someone made a successful recording, we all clapped and congratulated him. At the end of the event, when we all got together again in orders to explain our songs and talk about them. There was an atmosphere of cordiality, of familiarity, of trust and of affection. This atmosphere of cordiality and familiarity did not end here, it transcended this event. When analysing the atmosphere, we can see that during this event dynamics of dialogue were present including respect, intention of inquiry, openness or interest in listening, and everything under a 'safe space'. Dialogic moments/episodes were also achieved, like when at the beginning we were all seated listening to prisoners' songs (indirect dialogue), when some participants wrote their songs as an answer to those ones written by prisoners or when at the end we all sit together in order to talk about the songs we had written. But as it will be seen in the following lines, there were more dialogic moments in which I participated.

When reading my fieldnotes again and analysing my experience, there is something that is very clear: my experience of participating in this event encouraged me to reconsider my DTF/P, and to reform them as a consequence. I believe that what encouraged me to do so was the discovery of the human side of F/P -- which was previously unknown to me-- and the feeling of empathy towards them. This discovery of the human side took place during/through three different music-mediated dialogic episodes/moments under the already mentioned atmosphere: indirect dialogue with F/P during the introductory part, direct dialogue with a former prisoner when interacting with Lindsay, and in-depth dialogue with myself while comparing a personal experience of return with a F/P's one.

During the introductory part, when listening to these five songs, something shifted, in terms of how I thought or felt about F/P. What impressed me most about those songs was their positive message full of hope about their future. Some of those songs were directed to people that were outside prison. Listening to these five songs made me feel admiration and sympathy towards F/P. It made me think that if I had been in their position, I do not know if I would have been able to write such positive songs. I also felt a lot of sympathy towards not only them but also their loved people that are outside. It must be so difficult to be separated from those ones you love! And in spite of that, when asked to write a song, they did it with hope. This destroyed this cliché of prisoners as solitary and tormented individuals. Now when thinking about this, I realise that it is common sense, that they have family outside which they think about, that they are looking forward to going out of prison and seeing them: but when listening to these songs, those issues were brought forward, they were highlighted, and that made me think, that F/P are not so different from me.

After the introductory part, when we were asked to write a song, I decided to write it about a personal experience of return (see Appendix for lyrics). Writing the song, made me think again about that experience of return; about what happened before and about what happened after. Louis, when listening to the first verses of my song, asked me to develop some of the metaphors that I used. All this process of writing about my own personal story of return, made me feel empathy and as a consequence more close to F/P because it made me think that we were not so different, and that their stories of return and mine, surely had similar aspects with mine. Exploring my own experience of return also brought forward the bigger picture about F/P: they were not born in prison; their life cannot just be summed up by saying that they committed a crime; before doing it, they had families, friends and a life. At the end of the event, when it was my turn to comment on my song, I made the reflection that by thinking in a personal experience of return, it eases to understand better the situation of former/prisoners. Nearly all the participants nodded when hearing my commentary.

But the most important episode of my participation in this event, and probably of the whole festival was meeting Lindsay. The first time that I saw Lindsay was during an earlier class at the university. During that event, Lindsay explained that, before working for Vox, she had been in prison. In that moment I saw her as a former prisoner, and at

the beginning of the workshop too. But at the end of the latter as I wrote my fieldnotes I 'saw her truly as one more of the people that participated... she is a person that may have passed bad moments, but I also have passed bad moments and I am sure that most of the participants too'.

What happened between the first time that I saw her and after this second event? While I was writing my song, she came alongside me, and asked me with a lot of respect if I minded to play my song to her. And that is what I did. After listening to it, she told me that she liked it a lot. Later on, I had a couple of further conversations with her, but don't recollect the details. I believe one of the main reasons that made me reconsider my dispositions towards her is the type of interaction we had: talking directly to her, looking into her eyes, face to face. But, in order to understand better what happened, we cannot forget the context in which that interaction took place: after an introductory part which encouraged me to reconsider my dispositions, and during a songwriting process which also did so, and both under the umbrella of a very special atmosphere. That reform of my disposition towards Lindsay, and also contributed in my reconsideration and subsequent reformation of my DTF/P in general. Just after the event when writing my fieldnotes, I asked myself if after the event my dispositions towards F/P were completely positive (towards them). Now I know that although they were not, they were much more positive: my personal experience of participating in this music event, encouraged me to reform my DTF/P, being afterwards much more positive towards them than before. After been seven years studying criminology and two of them researching about reintegration, participating in this workshop gave the opportunity to see the human side of F/P during/through different types of music-mediated dialogic episodes/moments. It is definitely that, which made the difference.

CHAPTER 5 : ‘DISTANT VOICES IN SONG’: 10 PARTICIPANTS’ EXPERIENCES

The concert took place in The Theatre Venue at the CCA. During this gig in which 240 individuals participated as an audience, professional musicians played 22 songs that had been written in previous workshops by prisoners, criminologists and criminal justice workers. During this section, I explore how, if at all, and to what extent did participants' personal experience of engaging in the CCA concert encourage them either to reform or to strengthen their dispositions towards former/prisoners. For, doing so in reference to my experience I will rely on my participant observation. In order to explore the same issue but in relation to other nine participants, I will rely on the conversations that we co-conducted. But firstly it is necessary to write about the atmosphere that was created by relying on the data collected through both methods.

During our conversations with the participants, although we neither asked about it nor had it in the conversation guide, there were participants who talked about that atmosphere that I also perceived. Raymond for example talked about it in these terms:

'I think they were also moved by the atmosphere in the place. There was incredibly good will feeling in the whole place throughout the thing.'

Raymond, Claudia and Steven pointed out the fact that the audience was really engaged, listening all the time. During my fieldnotes, I also pointed out that every single person was listening to the concert, concentrated on it, feeling emotions, having fun when a musician made a joke and commenting on the songs, but in a very low volume. Steven shared this point during our conversation: 'I felt everybody really listened, I felt that you could've heard a pin drop at a point'. Before that, he had said that even the children were listening. Claudia said, that they not only listened but they also 'care actually about your (their) voice and what your (their) experience is'. Raymond, who went up on stage in order to play a song said:

'It was an incredibly appreciative audience and they got it, and they were enthusiastic, and rousing'

Claudia and Courtney during the conversation explained that they felt it was a collective experience. Courtney stated: 'I suppose a sense of community, a sense of belonging, a sense of being involved in something that was bigger than me'. Most of the participants, including myself, felt that they had played an important part during the concert and were proud about it, even though, some of them, just like me, had helped neither to organise it, nor helped while taking place.

When developing his comment about the atmosphere James stated:

'It just seemed in one of those occasions where the kind of class structure if you like, doesn't exist. It was just the way you'd think it would be in a perfect world and it was lovely'.

Both Steven and James thought that there was a factor that was important in order to create that atmosphere: the mixed audience. According to James:

'the integration with everybody was really good as well because you could see different types communicating quite freely between each other'

During the concert I also talked to Julian, Courtney, Raymond and other participants from the workshop. When I saw them I thought: 'oh, a familiar face!' We talked in a very friendly way, as if we had known each other for a long time. I felt affection towards them. I believe that the atmosphere created during the workshop formed an affective link between us.

All these accounts highlight the importance of the context that this particular atmosphere created. But they also point out two other issues: we see not only that certain dialogic dynamics were present (such as people caring about others and listening to what they say or equality between all the participants, and everything in created space), we also see some particular dialogic moments/episodes. Examples of more dialogic moments/episodes in which other participants engaged, will be given in the following parts of this chapter.

The moment in which I felt that the atmosphere achieved its peak was when we all sang at the same time a chorus. It gave a sense of unity and of community. In spite of that, I experienced that atmosphere as being less intense than the one of the workshop. This can be because during the latter, I interacted nearly with every participant, while during

the concert, as there were more people and neither I knew all of them nor was I introduced, I only interacted with much a lower % of the participants than in the workshop.

Some of the participants, during the conversations, expressed that through their lives they had either reformed or reinforced their DTF/P on more than one occasion. Even though the main purpose of this dissertation is in relation to this particular gig, I argue that it is important to explore their DTF/P just before going to the CCA gig. Doing this, will also give me the opportunity to analyse the reasons why some participants either did not reconsider or just reinforced their DTF/P as a consequence of their participation in the concert. Using the desistance literature metaphor proposed by Laub & Sampson (1993), I will use the word 'turning points' to refer to those moments in their lives in which participants were encouraged to *reform* their DTF/P.

When analysing the accounts of each of the ten participants, we can divide them between three different groups when taking into consideration how, if at all, their personal experience of engaging in this concert encouraged them either to reform or to strengthen their DTF/P: those who expressed that the experience encouraged them to reform them, those who expressed that it encouraged them to strengthen their DTF/P, and those who we cannot know because either their account was not clear, they did not know it or did not express anything about this matter.

PARTICIPANTS WHO REFORMED THEIR DTF/P

There were three of us for whom our personal experience of engaging in the concert was a turning point. Although the three had very different experiences, at the end, there was one common issue that did so; as Raymond perfectly putted it: 'the gig, your perception of people can change because you know that they have that in them', because using again his words, it gave us the possibility to explore 'the human side' of former/prisoners. For Courtney, who before participating in DVF, had never had contact with anyone that had been in prison, the concert gave her the possibility to discover that human side and to feel empathy towards F/P. In the case of Raymond, it enhanced his exploration of the human side even after being in prison, participating in many Vox workshops and working with Vox. In my case, it also enhanced the exploration of the human side of F/P, which I had begun during my experience in the first music event. As it will be seen, that F/P human side discovery/ exploration was done in the three cases during/through music-mediated dialogic episodes/moments. Let's begin with Courtney's experience.

Courtney was the only of the ten participants who said that before CCA concert, she did not hold positive D/TFP. Courtney when asked about if the CCA concert had any influence on her perspective, immediately answer the following: 'Yeah, it has changed my perspectives, a broader view now'. During the conversation she explained that before the gig her 'construction of the Criminal Justice System was'... 'based on media and what (she) knew from reading papers and watching tele'. She also explained that she had never had contact with anyone that had been in prison before attending to the gig. Thus she held thoughts and feelings towards F/P such as the following:

'They are in jail because they've done something wrong. And when they come out they've got a choice weather to do the right thing or they just go to jail'

'Do you know why they are in prison/ Let's them suck it up. That's they have to deal with it'

'Somebody has done something wrong, they have to pay the penalty and just saying you are sorry doesn't make it go away. You know, they are consequences'

But after participating in the concert, she completely reformed her dispositions as can be seen in the following quotes:

‘Whereas now I’m thinking actually: well there are things that can be done for the people in the system, which can help them. There’s no point about me preaching about inequalities and making the difference, because I am not prepared to say: well people in prison who are experiencing inequalities for whatever reason we can still make the difference to them’

‘What I found and this is actually honest truth, is that my view’s been expanded into much more empathic view. That actually is not just black and white, people are not just, if prisoners or you know certain sentences because, and then that just makes them this thing, actually there’s a whole sort of strata of humanity there’

‘But actually rather than seeing it as being a privilege, seeing as some kind of pathing to something different’ (when referring to imprisonment)

When asked about the particular aspects of the concert that encouraged that reform, that is to say, *how* it happened, she answered that ‘the whole experience’, but afterwards she named two different particular episodes or aspects of the concert that encouraged her: the presence of Pete the Punk in the audience and the stories of the song. About the first episode, when asked she just said that she had ‘nervous curiosity, how does he look like?’. When asked about the second aspect, she explained that although she had already heard some of the songs before going to the concert, during the gig, she ‘hear(d) the contextualization of the songs’, and that ‘let’s (her) place the song, lets (her) place the writer’. Although not developing that answer more, she surely refers to the already mentioned fact that the musicians before some of the songs, gave a little bit of context about who wrote it, where, and what is the story behind the song. Taking into account the above quotes, it is very likely that the reason of the encouragement of her reconsideration and her later reform of her DTF/P was feeling empathy towards former prisoners and discovering that ‘strata of humanity’ through music-mediated dialogic

moments/episodes: listening to the stories that the song contained (indirect) and to the contextualization that the musicians gave to those songs (direct).

During the conversation, she was continuously making reference to the workshop, and when asked, she recognised that the workshop was a more integral part of how she felt about the gig. This is also highlighted by the following sentence about the concert: 'I was able to think about conversations that we had previously which may not have thought about so deeply if I had not been at workshop'. In this sentence she also points out the importance of reflection in her reconsideration and subsequent reform of her DTF/P, importance that is confirmed when she says that as a result of the concert she went through a 'thinking process'. But it also highlights the importance of dialogue, because as she stated in the quote, the reflection could have been less deep if she had not already had some conversations during the workshop.

But there is still one question that needs an answer. As in my case, she had also already assisted at the Briggait concert (at the end of the first phase of Distant Voices in 2014). Why didn't our experience encourage us either to see the 'strata of humanity' or to feel empathy towards F/P? Although during the conversation she did not give a direct answer to this matter, I believe relying on the content of our conversation that what might have made the difference was that during the CCA she felt 'part of that', she felt 'involved'. She gave two reasons for that: firstly because of participating in the workshop, but also because she 'knew one or two people who maybe been involved like different people that I have come across'. But during the Briggait concert she:

'didn't feel as connected to that one because I found it a quite late on, and I was so excited, you know, I have never been to the Briggait, and these looks amazing'.

During the Briggait concert, neither did I feel part of the experience, nor did I share it through interaction with anyone. Before the Briggait concert, I did not go to any workshop. Thus, it seems that in both cases, the feeling of being part of the event, and the fact of already knowing people during the concert, were the differential aspects when considering why our experience of participating in the CCA concert encouraged us to reform her DTF/P. Participating in the workshop, was probably very important for that.

Raymond, although he already held positive DTF/P, recognised that he 'did change my (his) perception' of former/prisoners as a consequence of participating in the concert. When talking about his new dispositions he just said: 'it just made the thing better, more complete I think, if that's not an obtuse way to put it'. He explained that it was seeing 'the guys (former/prisoners) reaction to it (the concert)' which encouraged that reform of his DTF/P. It was seeing tough guys feeling very moved by the songs of the concert. However he did not point out directly the *why* of that encouragement. Taking into account that Raymond has been in prison, and he had already participated in other workshops with VOX (see tables 1 and 2 in Appendix for more information), it is very likely that the CCA was one more turning point in his reconsideration process of his DTF/P because during it, through participating in a music-mediated dialogue -- in this case indirect because it was seeing how former/prisoners reacted to some of the songs), he was able to explore a new human side of F/P. As he stated: 'So the gig, your perception of people can change because you know that they have that in them'.

Although when going to the CCA I already held positive DTF/P due, in part, to my participation in the workshop, engaging in the CCA concert was another turning point for me. I believe it was again a music-mediated dialogic episode that took place during the gig, what encouraged me to reconsider again my DTF/P and reform them as a consequence. During the break, Julian, who also participated in the workshop, came to talk to me in order to explain me that some of the following songs were written by him. He looked so proud about it! We continued talking about different issues, and there was a moment in which I asked him what his relation with Vox was. He told me that he was in prison when he first participated in a Vox workshop. Immediately afterwards he said with a sparkle in his eyes: 'but now I'm out'. That sparkle in his eyes impressed me. It made me feel affection towards him. He seemed so happy for being out! In the fieldnotes that I wrote that same day when arriving home, I made the following reflection: 'Now, (if) I ask myself what I thought about Julian being a former prisoner, it does not mean anything to me. I have got admiration towards him for being able to pass a difficult situation'. This music-mediated dialogic moment, also put forward something that again seems quite obvious. During the workshop, I would have never guessed that Julian was a former prisoner. That destroyed the cliché that I had about the physical appearance of F/P: all of them look like tough guys, and if I saw any of them, I can surely guess that they are F/P. One more issue should be added: I believe that an

important reason of the depth and intimacy of our conversation was that we shared an experience inside a very particular atmosphere during the workshop.

I believe that another aspect of my experience that encouraged me to reform my DTF/P was seeing 'Pete the Punk', who wrote fabulous songs in the prison workshop, being there with his family and friends. His family and friends seemed to be really excited, happy and proud of him. That made me wonder how Pete the Punk experienced that moment, while being outside prison. I thought about that not in a kind of busybody way, but caring about him. Again, this made me feel empathy towards him and towards F/P and helped me to continue exploring that human side of F/P in relation to their families and friends. This happened again during a music-mediated dialogic episode: in those moments we were all listening to Pete the Punk songs. Before leaving the concert I wrote the following on the small card: 'Indescribable, wonderful and really emotive'.

Apart from the already mentioned ones, there are three other issues that are common to the three experiences: 1) Emotions and empathy are very important in the reconsideration of those 'DTFP'. 2) In that process, it is equally important the role of reflection. Reconsidering your dispositions and reforming them as a consequence is not made by just pushing one button or by being exposed to a stimulus. Reconsidering your attitudes is much more than that; it is a process in which emotions and reflection have a very important role.

PARTICIPANTS WHO STRENGTHENED THEIR DTF/P

There were three participants during the conversation that expressed in one way or another that their personal experience of participating in the CCA concert encouraged them to strengthen their pre-existing DTF/P. These three participants already had very positive DTF/P as a consequence of already having an interaction with them. This interaction was strong enough for them in order to feel empathy towards F/P and to be already familiar with that human side that they 'met' during the concert. Let's see case by case.

During our conversation with Steven and James, when talking about former prisoners, none of them expressed a reform of their dispositions encouraged by the concert. They explained that before the concert, they both already had positive DTF/P as well as towards rehabilitation. This by itself does not explain the lack of reform, because as we have seen, Raymond and me in spite of already holding positive DTF/P, were encouraged by the concert to reform them.

What is the difference then? I argue that participating in the concert did not give Steven and James possibilities to *enhance* their previous exploration of the human side of former/prisoners. When I asked them if they would mind that I had been in prison, Steven answered: 'We've worked with people with criminal records. It makes no difference to us'. This answer directly links their DTF/P to the fact of having interacted on a daily basis with people that have been on prison. James told us plenty of stories about former/prisoners he has known, hired or taught skills, and Steven stated that apart from having worked with them, he's got a fair few good friends who have been in prison. But the fact that they did not reconsider their DTF/P does not mean that Steven did not see the potential of the concert experience:

'And I think that's what the charity do, is to let people know, like yourself', who has never been 'in that environment', but you're getting a glimpse because you've been to this concert and these people are telling their stories through that.'

In this statement, Steven expressed the importance that he gave to being in 'that environment' in relation to DTF/P; an environment in which you interact with people that have been in prison. He also spoke about how through the stories you get a glimpse of how former/prisoners really are. In another moment of the conversation he explained

that the story 'did put (him) in person's shoes, so to speak, and it showed (him) their perspective'. Again here we see the importance of music-mediated dialogue because Steven argues that you get 'a glimpse' through listening to music.

The case of Robin, who participated in the gig as a musician was even clearer. He established the link between his DTF/P and being used to interacting with them. When asked if working with Vox changed his views of FP he answered:

'I don't think it has changed my opinion. I think it was more strengthened my opinion cause I've got experience with people going to prison, like friends in school and like just growing up I've had, you know I always hear of people getting thrown in the jail I was a bit desensitized when I was a bit younger'.

Afterwards when kind of asked if he minded that I was a former prisoner he answered in the same vein: 'Half the guys I went to school with have gone to prison'. During the conversation he made the following reflection:

'I think unless you actually spend time to know them, or like meet them or even thinking about it, you don't think it, it's just like an out of sight out of mind kind of thing'.

As during all his life, people that he knows has gone to prison, he had already seen that human side of former/prisoners before beginning to work with Vox. Even though his experience of participating in the concert did not encourage him to reform his DTF/P, it strengthened them and caused him to reflect about prisoner's related issues.

NOT KNOWN INFLUENCE OF THEIR EXPERIENCE OF PARTICIPATING IN CCA GIG ON THEIR DTF/F

Just relying on the conversations, it is impossible to know if their personal experience of participating in the concert encouraged Julian, Wolfgang, Silvia and Claudia to reconsider their DTF/P. Wolfgang's personal experience of participating in DV either encouraged him to reform or to strengthen his DTF/P. What is not clear is if it either reformed or strengthened. Let's explain why. During our conversation, Wolfgang gave the major role to the Briggait concert (at the end of the first phase of Distant Voices in 2014) at the expense of the CCA concert. That was because using his words, the Briggait concert was 'the spark that started a bigger process', it was ', 'the seed that planted the bit of me going...'. The process he refers to is the one of reconsidering and subsequently reforming how he felt and thought about former/prisoners.

Due to the fact that this dissertation is focused on the CCA concert, that full process has been explored in tables three and four (see the Appendix) and not here. But the CCA did have a role in that bigger process of reconsideration; he stated that the CCA concert encouraged him to 'get a better understanding'. This is the same reason that he gave when speaking about why the Briggait concert encouraged him to reform his DTF/P: 'it manages to actually sort of take you right into the nitty gritty of their life and the thoughts going through their heads'. Thus, although the Briggait concert was that spark, the CCA also made him reconsider further his DTF/P: '[it] gave me a better sense of what somebody else's life could be like'. And, how did he 'got that better understanding?' Although he did not mention it, it is obvious that it was through listening to the songs of the CCA, that is to say, through/during an art-mediated episode. This seems a similar case to Raymond's: although he already held positive DTF/P, the CCA concert encouraged him to reform them, but we cannot be 100% sure that it was like this. As seen in the quotes, Wolfgang case highlights the importance of exploring the human side of former/prisoners when reconsidering his DTF/P, exploration that has been done through music mediated dialogue.

The case of Silvia is different: when Lindsay asked her if participating in the concert changed any feelings towards people that are in prison she said that 'that had already happened at the first gig', referring to the Briggait one, and after expressing that, she

said that she was not sure if she had felt the same in the case that the CCA had been before. Just afterwards she stated: 'The night down there and the workshop definitely' referring to a later workshop at the Briggait (which took place after the CCA concert). Thus, even though it is impossible to know if participating in the CCA encouraged her to either reform or strengthen her DTF/P, what can be said is that it seems that the other two events made her reform his DTF/P much more than the CCA concert. Why was that? As the purpose of this essay is related to CCA concert, here I am not going to focus a lot on the other turning points (for a presentation and analysis of them see tables 5 and 6 in the Appendix), but just to the parts that may have had an influence on her CCA experience. It seems that her experience of participating in the CCA concert encourage her less to reform her DTF/P, because during/through the music-mediated dialogic episodes of it, she did not explore any further the human side of F/P that she was already aware of. Let's justify and develop this affirmation.

Her experience of participating in the Briggait encourage her to reform her DTF/P because she heard 'some of their stories' that made her realise that when thinking that F/P did not deserve her help as much as others, she had 'been generalising', because as 'in every avenue of life there are people that you won't help and people that you would'. It is very probable that the fact of hearing those stories, of discovering that human side of former/prisoners when participating in the Briggait concert, didn't make her exploring further their human side on the CCA. But why did her experience of participating in the Briggait workshop encourage her to reform her DTF/P and the CCA not? She gives the answer to this question by giving this advice: 'So yeah, if I was organising another CCA I would say have the *lyrics*, have a *few of the people there*'. Those two elements, joined by the fact of a smaller space, made her 'identify with the song' and realise that 'these people (former prisoners) have got such gorgeous things inside them' although perhaps they 'do not seem'. She explains that some of them sang, and other ones just talked but she highlights two times the fact that they were 'crossovers everywhere' between all the participants of the workshop. Again we can see here, the importance of art-mediated dialogue: it seems that the quality of the dialogue was higher due to the fact that the individuals were there and because she had the lyrics of the songs.

Claudia's experience in reference to her reconsideration of DTF/M was a similar one than the one of Steven and James, due to the fact that before the concert she already had

very positive attitudes towards former prisoners. In this case Claudia pointed directly to the fact of working in criminal justice research . When asked during the conversation if the event made her reflect on certain issues or develop certain thoughts about the criminal justice system related, she answered: ' I genuinely don't know because this is so much about what I'm trying to do and what I think'. Afterwards when asked if she had always hold positive DTF/P she stated: ' I think I've always felt that way'. When asked if before having this job, she already interacted with former/prisoner she answered affirmatively. Although she did not say it explicitly, I am sure that during her job or even before, it was the interaction with F/P what made her to already have discovered the human side of prisoners, just as Steven and James.

In the case of Julian, although it was a very interesting conversation and many topics were treated during it, we did not talk in depth about how he thought or felt about former prisoners. The only moment in which Julian referred to former/prisoners was in order to say that he felt 'very very humbled by them, just some of the were really.... good.... very special'. This admiration towards prisoners because of the quality of their lyrics was expressed by nearly all the participants.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Relying on a participant observation study of the festival and on a series of follow up conversations this dissertation has explored how, if at all, and to what extent did participants' personal experience of engaging in Distant Voices festival music events encouraged them either to reform or to strengthen their dispositions towards former/prisoners. Though encouraging participants to reconsider such dispositions was not a *directly nor instrumentally intended* aim of the festival, the results suggest, that those who reformed their dispositions -- during/through music-mediated dialogue and under a particular atmosphere -- firstly discovered an aspect of *former prisoners' human side* that was previously unknown to them, and secondly increased their level of *empathy* towards former prisoners. Those participant whose personal experience of participating in the CCA gig, did not encourage them to reconsider but to strengthen their DTF/P, had already positive DTF/P as a consequence of already having an interaction with them. This interaction was strong enough for them in order to feel empathy towards F/P and to be already familiar with that human side that they 'met' during the concert. These results highlight the importance of empathy in reference to dispositions.

These results, albeit on a small scale, can be related to Hirschfield & Piquero's (2010) research which found that the fact of knowing people 'personally or professionally' who have been incarcerated (p.39), was one of the strongest predictors of ATFP. It seems that what is important is not knowing people that have been in prison, but rather the dimensions of that knowledge, that is to say: how *well* do you know them or *which side* of them do you know. Raymond's case is a very illustrative example of this because even after being in prison, his experience of engaging with Vox Liminis encouraged him to reform DTF/P as a consequence of seeing a human side of prisoners, that he had not seen before (see tables 1 and 2 of the Appendix). More research is needed in this respect.

Although that is beyond the purpose of this dissertation, these results are strongly supported when also taking into account other turning points of the participants with whom we had the conversations with (for more information about this see the tables

above as well as the ones of the Appendix). Raymond's experience of the CCA concert, Sylvia's at the Briggait workshop and Wolfgang's at the CCA concert, demonstrate, that although someone has already discovered the human side of prisoners, when that person goes to an event in which he has the possibility to continue exploring that human side, that event can still encourage him to reform their DTF/P.

More research is also needed in order to study the relationship between empathy and discovering that human side. Does the later has an influence on the former, or is it at the reverse? Perhaps both options are correct. These results, also highlight the fact that reflection seems to be very important in that process of reconsidering and later reform of DTF/P. That can also be seen on the tables. Wolfgang who has passed through this reconsideration process, made the following highly illustrative statement in respect to this issue:

'I mean, how do you beat the prejudgement out of people, and it's not about beating them out of people, it's about showing them there's another way to think. You know pushing or letting them discover that for themselves, because it's quite nice, the discovery process is quite pleasant, like oh it's like a little flower opening up in my head'

But the individual experience of participating in the CCA concert, not only encouraged the reform of dispositions. During the conversations, Claudia explained after the concert: '[I] felt energized by it as well, you feel hopeful that things can change and that you can help that change as well'. I also felt that energizing moment which encourages/d me to fight for a cause in which I believe. There were other participants whose personal experience encouraged them to also reform their behaviour: Courtney was thinking about modifying her work pattern in order to be able to participate in the weekly meetings. Silvia organised a concert in her house because, during the CCA concert, she realised after seeing the mixed participants, that maybe her friends would also like such a special experience. Steven, during the concert, thought that it would be nice to be able to go to prison, in order to teach people how to play drums.

There is still one question that needs to be answered. Why does discovering the human side of F/P and the fact of feeling empathy towards them encourage the reform of DTF/P? Although the answer of this question is beyond the scope of this dissertation a possible answer is going to be proposed: Labelling is a way of categorizing, which is an

automatic process that has an adaptive function (Wilson & Brekke 1994) that involves simplification and distortion (Billig 1995). The purpose of categorizing is thus to be able to take decisions without having to consider so much information. When seeing the human side of prisoners, it challenges the content of that automatic disposition. It is precisely here, where the process of reconsideration of DTF/P begins: individuals realise that all the clichés, and stereotypes that they held are inaccurate. As it has been seen, that can end up in a reform of DTF/P. When the content of that automatic disposition is challenged, that label turns more complex, and by doing so, the labelling begins to lose its adaptive function. More research needs to be driven in order to better understand the answer to this question. Related to this matter there is another question: if seeing that human side has this effect on us, it is because we have never seen it before. Why is that? Two issues need to be considered. The first one is that nowadays, in our society, it is not very common to see the human side of a person unless he is our friend or family. The second one is that as we have seen during the stigmatization process there is an 'othering' that prevents individuals to interact with F/P, that process of stigmatisation encourages and increases 'social distance' (LeBel 2008). Without interaction, there is no way of meeting that human side. This can be considered an 'hermeneutical injustice' because a 'significant area of one [group's] social experience (is) obscured from collective understanding owing to a structural identity prejudice in the collective hermeneutical resource' (Fricker 2007, p.155).

More research is needed in how to encourage people to reform their dispositions towards crime related issues. I believe that for being more successful in this task, we should pay attention to communication studies and consider the individual as someone that makes sense of information inside a context, rather than considering him as an empty vessel. Individuals need to be part of that process of reconsideration and of reform.

Indermaur et al. (2012), after reviewing literature about deliberative polls conducting research about the role of information, made the following reflection:

'The value of informed public opinion for the development of criminal justice policy will be realized not through force feeding info but by changing the nature of the relationship with the public.'

Dialogue, in this sense goes beyond deliberative poll because while the latter encourages people to *weight* arguments about a theoretically objective knowledge that is *given to them* (Indermaur et al. 2012), during the former participants are encouraged to *co- explore their* thoughts, feelings and experiences (Rosell in Fishkin et al. 2004).

I make use of these last lines of this dissertation, in order to thank Distant Voices for giving me the opportunity of participating in this incredible experience that has left a mark on all those participants that engaged in it. In order to continue fostering the listening of Distant Voices. I believe that it would be really interesting to open horizons to other arts such as drama; some results suggest that participating either as an audience or as an actor in a drama play can encourage participants to challenge stereotypes about F/P (Williams 1997), as well as to foster empathy and a better understanding of issues related to punishment and reintegration (Harland et al. 2000). It would also be interesting, to facilitate a more symmetric dialogue. A way of doing this would be to, during phase 3, organise workshops both inside and outside prison in order to show former/prisoners the response of other participants to their songs.

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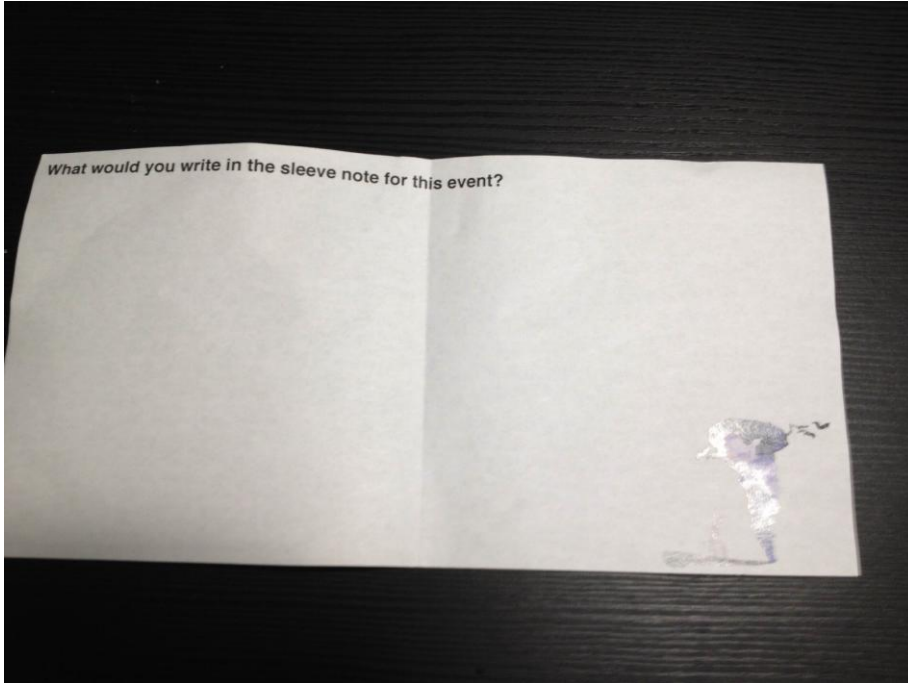
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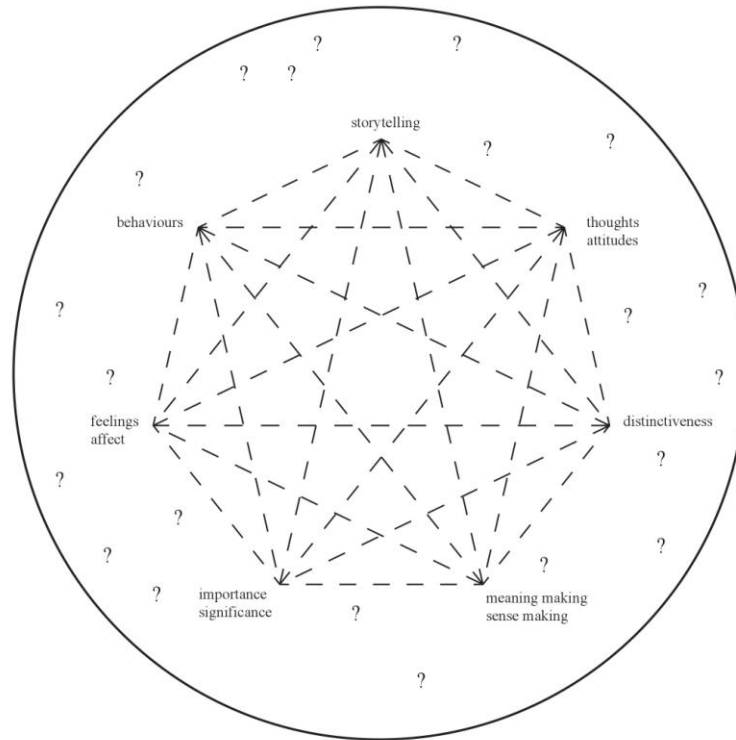
APPENDIX

CONTENT 1: Card that was given at the end of each event



CONTENT 2: Conversation guide

Figure 1 : Interviewee's experience of participating in Distant Voices festival



CONTENT 3: Lyrics of the song that I wrote

COMING BACK

After months, after years,
in the dust, without fears,
I called up all my troops,
that were spread through the moon,
cheering up, jamming near.

After days of exception,
of self harm, no direction,
I went back to my roots
I ran out from the loop,
I'm reborn,
back to tension!

Look up to the sky,
look down to the floor,
but always remember,
where do you come from.

Coming back to somewhere,
that I should have never left,
coming back from somewhere,
coming back without regret.

After weeks of hangovers,
going nuts, drinking always,
I came out from that room,
inside dark outside cool,

and my fog, became sober.

After time, of rejection,
I came back, from vacation,
I set up my own rules,
I ran out from the loop,
I returned, to inception.

Look up to the sky,
look down to the floor,
but always remember,
where do you come from.

Coming back to somewhere,
that I should have never left,
coming back from somewhere,
coming back without regret.

TABLES 1 & 2: RAYMOND'S DTF/P RECONSIDERATION PROCESS

	WHEN?	REFLECTIONS/FEELINGS/ BELIEFS
DTF/P STANDPOINT	<p>a) need to be given a chance</p> <p>b) anyone can go to prison (eg. a fight),</p> <p>c) should not be treated harshly</p> <p>d) never thought deeply about their situation</p> <p>e) have never criticized them</p>	<p>Before going to prison</p> <p>a) 'I was always give people a chance'</p> <p>b) 'In certain circumstances go as, and I was thinking in terms of a getting on a fight and something goes wrong'</p> <p>c) 'I hate the brigade even then, who say that prisoners should go to prison and just stay in prison because they've done something bad, and that's the end of it... And I always thought, well these guys are in prison that's the first thing, and they're in prison for a long time so, try to make their time in prison a wee more comfortable'</p> <p>c)'you should treat people the way you would expect to be treated, you don't treat people badly because they've treated somebody else badly... I think what you should do is to use your own standards of decency'</p> <p>d) 'I just never thought about it'.</p> <p>d) 'It was something I never really involved myself in...thinking about more deeply than that'.</p> <p>d) 'I never really thought, and I was a lawyer for 25 years so I really never thought about prisoners other than clients'</p> <p>d) 'I never really involved myself in terms of...thinking about more deeply than that'</p> <p>e) 'I was never down on people who had been on prison'</p>

HOW DOES HE THINK AND/OR FEEL ABOUT FORMER/PRISONERS? (DTF/P)			
	Former prisoners d) are people that I want to help	Former/prisoners e) with whom I can have connection with, f) may have a 'soft centre'	g) 'I did change my perception'. 'It took it a step further' (his DTF/P). 'It just made the thing better, more complete'
TURNING POINT	Prison	Before the concert (Getting involved with VOX)	CCA concert
HOW? (ASPECTS/ EPISODES)	Having 'the experience of being in there'	Interacting with former/prisoners during Vox events Listening to their songs	Seeing 'the guys reaction to it' (reaction of former prisoners during the concert)
WHY?	<p>'Is completely different from what you think it is looking in. A lot of it is the same but they're subtle differences and how you feel'</p> <p>'Wait a moment, there are things wrong with this'</p>	<p>a) 'Get more an understanding of the human side of prisoners'</p> <p>b) 'The songs themselves are a kind of window to that because they give you an insight into more detail about the person'</p>	<p><i>He did not expect it</i></p> <p><i>He had never seen such a reaction from F/P</i></p>
REFLECTIONS FEELINGS BELIEFS	<p>'I think I can maybe contribute to it in some small way, I'd be interested in getting involved in that'</p> <p>'I talked to many people and they said: oh prisoners get tvs and prisoners get that...the main thing you do with prisoners is you take their freedom away: they can't go outside those 4 walls, they can't see their families, and no matter what they do inside, that's never going to change, and that's an ache for them (perhaps some people like prison life but) the vast majority of people don't want to go in prison. Want to go out (think every day in going out).'</p> <p>'My attitude has changed dramatically about people in prison because of being there'</p>	<p>Inside prison I wouldn't have any connection with them but 'because of what's happened here (his DV involvement), first of all I've a got a connection with a lot of people, and secondly have a different view of them in terms of you now, who they are. And what's underneath the surface'</p> <p>People although they seem to be very hard in prison, they've got 'soft centres'</p>	<p>'The thing that got me ... there was one of them, who is a fifty-nine-year-old guy was standing bubbling up back...so that's the power of it. So yeah, it was incredibly moving from that point of view for me and for them'</p> <p>'He's a big hard guy and he was moved as well, as were his family' (about another former prisoner)</p>

TABLES 3 AND 4: WOLFGANG'S DTF/P RECONSIDERATION PROCESS

		WHEN?	WHY?	REFLECTIONS/FEELINGS/ BELIEFS
DTF/P STANDPOINT	a) Do not want to have him as a patient b) Did not have reintegration problems	Before participating in the Briggait concert	He worked in a 'negative background' towards F/P 'I had a couple of not great experiences from a GP point of view'	'I do sometimes work with people who are just out of jail and there is the very stigmatised of: oh god is that a guy of jail who has registered with us, why is not he registered with other practice' 'the assumption is because the assumption is that theydrug seeking'

HOW DOES HE THINK AND/OR FEEL ABOUT FORMER/PRISONERS? (DTF/P)	
	<p>Former prisoners... c) 'are not inherently bad people', may have gone to prison due b) to bad luck or due to c)bad companies , d) are not so different from him</p> <p>Reinforcing previous DTF/P</p>
TURNING POINT	<p>Briggait concert</p> <p>Not turning point but reinforcing: CCA concert</p>
HOW? (ASPECTS/ EPISODES)	<p>The stories of the songs</p> <p><i>The stories of the song?</i></p>
WHY?	<p>'it manages to actually sort of take you right into the nitty gritty of their life and the thoughts going through their heads '</p> <p>'It probably gave some sort of examples of...'</p> <p>'It probably gave a good insight of exactly what their life was like'</p> <p>'a sort of illustration of examples of ...'</p>
REFLECTIONS FEELINGS BELIEFS	<p>'people who end up in jail are not inherently bad people'</p> <p>'I realised at the first one was that you know just a run of unfortunate circumstances and a bit bad luck can get worse and worse and worse and worse, just as you know good luck can turn into better luck and sometimes it gets better and better. It's not that it was an inherent badness in someone, it was just an absolutely unfortunate series of events and interactions with other people'</p> <p>'So I think that made me realise, that could have happened to anyone.</p> <p>'I think, you start to think how would I react to that or that could have been me, you know. I could have been in the wrong place at the wrong time, or had the wrong opportunity. You know, yeah I think it just shows you how life can very easily go in very different direction, not on purpose, just completely, you know, kind of by chance, one small bad decision or whatever that leads you to more and more and more and more...</p> <p>'It's not that it was an inherent badness in someone, it was just an absolutely unfortunate series of events and interactions with other people'</p>

TABLES 5 AND 6: SILVIA'S DTF/P RECONSIDERATION PROCESS

		WHEN?	WHY?
DTF/P STANDPOINT	a) mixed feelings towards F/P b) there was more worthy people to help c) 'I understand why people do things they do, because it's so hard to get out of that background'	Before participating in the Briggait concert	a & b) 'I felt that there was more worthy people to help. You know I felt that there were lots of people around us, friends and neighbours that need help. And sometimes I did feel that helping the people who had done wrong, wasn't the right thing for me' c) 'I grew up in a terrible area with lots of crimes'

HOW DOES SHE THINK AND/OR FEEL ABOUT FORMER/PRISONERS? (DTF/P)			
	Former/prisoners a) are people that deserve my help because b) they are not all the same	Former/prisoners...	Former/prisoners c) have got 'gorgeous things inside them d) although perhaps they do not seem
TURNING POINT	The Briggait Concert	CCA concert?	The Briggait Workshop
HOW? (ASPECTS/ EPISODES)	'I heard some of their stories'		'They handed the lyrics' 'The people that had written the songs were there'. 'Just even their presence' 'There was all these crossovers happening' 'Smaller space' 'Context'
WHY?	'I thought that obviously I've been generalizing' because as 'in every avenue of life there are people that you won't help and people that you would, so that happened' (challenging uniformity of label)		'To identify with the song', with the stories of the song. 'I thought: Oh my god, these people have got such gorgeous things inside them'. 'And that music has enable them to bring out that loveliness. And you would never, in a million years, look at these people and think they could write words as gorgeous as that'

