Common Time:

Music, Empathy, and a Politics of Care

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This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. I collaborated with the NY-based nonprofit organisation *Humans in Harmony* to carry out and evaluate collaborative songwriting workshops. It is not substantially the same as any work that has already been submitted before for any degree or other qualification except as declared in the preface and specified in the text—where pilot studies informed the design and evaluation of workshops, I have summarised them as appropriate and included data in the appendices. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the Music Faculty Degree Committee.
Abstract

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Erica Cao

Frameworks for the application of the arts in community settings tend to focus on the development of individuals’ empathy or social bonds. A commensurate level of consideration tends not to be given to the socio-economic, political, and institutional forces and processes that shape such development and to how the arts might help build capacities to manage the impact of such forces and processes. The recognition of persons as interdependent in systems reliant on mutual care has implications for applications of the arts in many specialised domains as well as in general public life. Especially in clinical or social interventions, unrecognised institutional dynamics may introduce or maintain imbalances of power in community and professional practice. Music, as a participatory and temporal activity facilitating social synchrony, can foster dialogic and reciprocal relations in social life. To systematise and study a participatory music activity on an organisational and community level, I designed and implemented two collaborative songwriting programs in clinical and social service settings carried out through the nonprofit organisation, *Humans in Harmony*. One activity, *music corps*, was a two-month program in New York City involving participants from colleges and social service organisations serving adults with disabilities, at-risk youth, and nursing home residents. Another activity, implemented through a *Humans in Harmony* chapter at Columbia University Medical Center, paired health professional students with patients in palliative care support groups. Ethnographic observations and participant interviews revealed that engagement in interpersonal processes aligned with a capabilities-informed approach which emphasised social reciprocity, well-being,
and flourishing. Moreover, evaluations of the activities through pre- and post-program measures supported a hypothesis of enhancement of interpersonal closeness and in attitudes about empathy and care. Such participatory approaches may offer new frameworks for the application of the arts in response to current geopolitical and cultural challenges.
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Preface

If we had a keen vision and feeling of all ordinary human life, it would be like hearing the grass grow and the squirrel's heart beat, and we should die of that roar which lies on the other side of silence.

—George Eliot, *Middlemarch*

The root meaning of “empathy” comes from the Greek word *empatheia* and German word *Einfühlung*, representing a “feeling-into” nature or art. The sense of expansiveness from entering the minds of a wide array of characters when immersed in a vivid work of fiction may mimic the experience of entering a landscape as one might visit a friend, to spend time together over the course of sustaining encounters. In going, you change, as the other does too. As Nan Shepherd writes about the Cairngorm Mountains of Scotland, “Something moves between me and it. Place and a mind may interpenetrate until the nature of both is altered” (2008, p.8).

Conceptions of empathy embody a paradox: how does one know the self while becoming part of the other? While sometimes, empathy may be associated with the evocation of a landscape of feeling-into-nature and shared moral sentiment, at other times, it may relate to the development of individual interpersonal skill (particularly as construed within psychology and medicine) (Stueber, 2019). The dichotomy between the selfless and the self is not a clear one (e.g., Adam Smith’s idea of sympathy emphasised a gap between the self and other, while David Hume’s minimised a gap to emphasise shared feelings between self and other). I first started to recognise the incongruities of empathy when I started medical school and discovered, to my delight, the arts incorporated into our curriculum. As the sessions continued, however, there was a sense of unease that my classmates and I were expected to engage with poetry or other arts in
order to develop empathy-like skills within ourselves to counteract the potential for biomedical education to devalue inter-personal relationships (Pedersen, 2010). Like a checkbox of competency, it brought focus of attention to the self and to whether, as Leslie Jamison (2014) notes in *The Empathy Exams*, one has checked off the requirement to be able to understand why it may be important to say “I understand and hear you” in a patient interaction. This felt different from what drew me to the arts and music in the first place: a sense of losing the self in connecting with others; an expansiveness, especially in making music with others or moments in which the music seemed to reach out and blur distinctions between audience and space. But something further concerned me: “empathy” and “arts” became prescriptions for burnout. If the system failed in allowing adequate physician-patient time, digitisation of medical records turned care work into routine work, or insurance and paperwork focused attention on business rather than care, the preferred solution appeared to be to develop the physician's or students’ humanistic or empathetic abilities—in effect, blaming the individual rather than the system. Certainly, the arts can enhance empathetic listening, bedside manner, and skills of understanding, but in the way in which engagement with the arts was systematised as a curricular goal, there seemed to be a tension between empathy as self- and trait-focused and another vision of empathy: the recognition that individuals are interdependent but working in a system which may not prioritise empathy and care. It led me to wonder whether an instrumental sort of empathy had been co-opted to facilitate the workings of a power-unequal institution.

At the same time, during my clinical rotations, I had started songwriting projects with patients, such as those at the Bronx Veteran Affairs Hospital and NY Presbyterian Children’s Hospital—which further revealed to me the ways that the arts could change *cultures* in the environment rather than develop *individual* skills in the classroom. The activities created rare
spaces of connection and communication which a sanitised and rushed clinical setting often precluded. I developed songwriting activities based on a series of workshops I carried out in the summer after my first year of medical school at Columbia University, where I paired health professional students with children in foster care to write original and personalised songs with each other. This project was based on my work as a summer intern at a Boston-based nonprofit, Genuine Voices, which taught music and songwriting to teens in juvenile detention centres, and my resulting senior thesis project as an undergraduate student at Princeton which evaluated the program. At Genuine Voices, I proposed and launched a project where the teens wrote songs paired with paediatric patients, and saw how it was process of connection, meaning, and hope for all involved. In one case, a child with brain cancer said, “This [song] will be my new Hospital Song to help me be strong while I fight my brain cancer”; the teen said, “I feel this song made me want to help everyone and everything I can.”

In those early stages of implementation and evaluation, what struck me most was not so much musical growth, but a change in attitudes towards others: an orientation that, in caring for others, creates meanings and possibility for ourselves and others. It was this kind of well-being and care that felt ironically deficient in an institution of medicine meant to promote health—the medical school. I felt that additional ways to engage in and apply the arts might open new meanings of care and well-being that could be of significance for medical education. In 2016, I co-launched Humans in Harmony, a NY-based nonprofit, to systematise the songwriting workshops into an organised activity. My co-founders were two friends from college, Liz Butterworth, Director of Development who developed with me ideas and a grant application for an initial workshop with health students and children in foster care; Jennifer Chew, Director of Communications, who was in a college dance company with me and joined in initial songwriting
sessions in the initiative pairing teens with paediatric patients at *Genuine Voices*; and my sister Lucy Cao, who co-organised and taught the songwriting workshops with health students and children in foster care.

I also trace the origins of *Humans in Harmony* to my early experiences with music. As a child in elementary school, I used to go to my friend’s house after school. She and her older sister were always fighting, arguing with each other. But I marvelled that when they sat down on the piano bench, there would be laughter and joy emanating from the instrument despite whatever row had happened. These remarkable episodes of connection and synchrony helped compel me to ask my parents for piano lessons for my ninth birthday. Music was, to my father and his parents living during and in the aftermath of China’s Cultural Revolution, one way to avoid hard labour in the countryside by working as musicians in the countryside instead. The family was not able to afford lessons, but a violin teacher’s sympathy allowed lessons free of charge, and my father began an intense regimen of practice while developing a love for the craft. After the Cultural Revolution ended, my father considered whether he wanted to go to music conservatory or study science. Science was seen as the safer, less risky choice, and the one he chose.

The joy I found in music was heightened by the bond it deepened between me and my father as he shared his knowledge and love of music with me. Later, I also joined the marching band in high school on clarinet, piano synthesizer, and as drum major conducting the band. The music community formed my closest social circle and shaped a sense of who I was and what I loved in those teenage years. My personal experience of music’s power motivated me to study music psychology and music performance at Princeton, and later to pursue my Masters and PhD research at the Cambridge Centre for Music and Science.
A theoretical basis for Humans in Harmony’s work was based on the research which guided my MPhil research at the Cambridge Centre for Music and Science on music as both a relational and participatory form of communication. Music is a relational form of communication in that it has the quality of “floating intentionality”: the ambiguity of musical meaning allows people to hold their own views and interpretations while at the same time being together in time and movement—thus the meanings of music are adaptable to context and holds relational rather than semantic content (Cross, 2014). Music can be participatory (Turino, 2008)—involving participants in group music-making such as in a recreational choir or a more formal social ritual. Music in these contexts need not require expert skill to take part, and such collective music-making is typically experienced as inclusive and bonding. Based on these concepts, the workshops we organised centred around a form of participatory music-making to enhance social relations and participation across backgrounds. Shortly after we began, the outcome of the US 2016 elections put into shocking force the extent of division in the nation. In the midst of societal turmoil and a lack of opportunities to interact with others from different backgrounds because of a tendency to inhabit existing social stratifications and bubbles (e.g., see Hochschild, 2018; Sitaraman, 2017), Humans in Harmony began an online initiative pairing across divides and boundaries. This work in communities and in the aftermath of a new federal administration which deprioritised funding for the arts, humanities, and national service also informed Humans in Harmony’s direction into spaces of public life. While continuing workshops with community organisations and in clinical settings with students on college campuses, we also piloted online projects connecting participants across geographies and across the political divide. The polarisation of the times seemed in line with accounts of decline of civic and voluntary associations in communities in the US characterised as underpinning “social capital” in Bowling
Alone (Putnam, 2000), the rising discourse around the need for empathy as exemplified by, for instance, President Obama’s reference to an “empathy deficit” described as more pressing than the federal deficit (Obama to Graduates, 2006), the reported declines of empathy generationally among college students (Konrath et al., 2011), and the troubling reports of decline in empathy in medical students as they progress through clinical training (Hojat et al., 2004). Based on my experiences during medical school at Columbia University—coinciding with an increasingly fractious US political climate—my work with Humans in Harmony in New York City (NYC) and the prospective role of the arts in addressing the decline of empathy provided the motivation for undertaking this PhD in prompting me to explore the questions:

What can be done about the decline of physician empathy?

What can be done about the decline of empathy in public life, such as in a US facing growing challenges of civic decline, inequality, and polarisation?

To better understand these questions, I decided that the most appropriate strategy would be to work out how to develop and evaluate the activities in which I was already involved with Humans in Harmony. I would conduct mixed-method evaluation studies, combined with ethnography and policy analysis, while implementing songwriting workshops in clinical settings with Humans in Harmony. In a further initiative to expand the ways in which a music program intended to facilitate empathy enhancement could be implemented, I launched a music corps initiative through Humans in Harmony in the summer of 2017 to build a corps-like program pairing college students with social service organisations in collaborative creating songs together.
The values of collaboration underlying my identity as a musician and the mission of Humans in Harmony synergize with my approach towards intervention method and implementation. The research methodology was based on design thinking and community-based research practice where participants and organizational staff contributed to the research design. Research methods evolved through pilots based on participant feedback. One tension associated with this is the difficulty in balancing experimental control with community-based practice: community-based practice privileges the expertise of the participants and focuses on the collaborative experience, oftentimes at the expense of controlled environments. At these junctures, community-based collaboration took priority in line with the values of my positionality as a musician and the nonprofit work of Humans in Harmony.

Another tension inherent in practitioner-researcher work is potential bias of the researcher as practitioner and bias of participant responses. In this IRB-approved research, methods to counteract biases included clear voluntary consent processes, anonymised and confidential questionnaires, and separation between participation in the program versus the research as standard in ethical review procedures. But other biases difficult to avoid include the social desirability effect of self-report questionnaires and challenges (with advantages) of myself as practitioner-researcher in conducting interviews. These challenges are further discussed in the methods sections of each study in the following chapters.

To understand the applications and contradictions between an individual or contextual understanding of empathy requires background understanding of the meanings of empathy, starting with a historical and interdisciplinary understanding of empathy in Chapter 1. Sympathy, aesthetics, and natural environment shaped ideas of empathy before its contemporary meanings crystallised in the English language. Psychological literature over the last century or so typically
conceptualises empathy as the ability to understand the thoughts or feelings of others, thought of as a personal ability or trait at the level of the individual. On the other hand, empathy in its contemporary sense first emerged as associated with “feeling into nature” and moral sentiment—the idea of effacing the self in the experience of the physical—and perhaps social—world as an interconnected whole. Other understandings of empathy through experiences of the sublime were also conceived of as related to time, such as the unfolding understandings that happen in experience and understanding through a dialogic process. Chapter 1 provides a background of emerging definitions of empathy in historical context, situating themes of interpersonal relation and empathy development in clinical, educational, and civic life which apply throughout this thesis.

Music in particular can be an experience of synchrony, time, and participation which exemplify conceptions of empathy as everyday aesthetics which are dialogic and mutually interactional through time. It has a long history of association with healing embedded in social contexts, and Chapter 2 provides an overview of that history through early Western contexts, non-Western indigenous communities, and in modern frameworks and applications of music therapy and community music. How can music advance more holistic and socially contextualised understandings and applications of health and well-being? The social and healing effects of music are less separable than may be proposed between music practitioners in clinical and community contexts, for health itself is dependent upon social determinants as well as social belonging in one’s community.

In Chapter 3, I examine music as a participatory and communicative medium through *Humans in Harmony* and its music corps initiative. In *music corps*, a group of students and community members including seniors, patients, youth, and those with developmental
disabilities from various social organisations in New York City participated in collaborative songwriting workshops over the course of two months in summer, 2019. What happens when participants come together as co-creators through the collaborative songwriting process? How do particular forms of art (e.g., music as participatory or presentational) advance or shape our understanding of empathy, health, and social relations? Performance studies pairs ways of relation in a theatre space with power relations in everyday life, including democratic and political processes. In a similar vein, ethnomusicologists (e.g., Turino, 2008) detail the social life of music. What insights do these approaches and fields of study offer into the value of arts and music and into our social relations?

The stories that emerge from participants in *Humans in Harmony* ground various ways of experiencing empathy as multifaceted dimensions of social understanding, both in the self and in interlocking systems. How can the arts go beyond empathy development and social capital in social life to advance structures and systems based on care, and what would it look like to systematise the collaborative songwriting activity in local and regional community levels? What needs and policy considerations exist for the application of the arts and music, and how might such an endeavour operate in practice? Chapter 4 integrates the activities of *music corps* into policy contexts, exploring how the arts may advance frameworks in policy such as a community corps in addressing local and regional needs.

Chapter 5 looks at the role of the arts in clinical contexts as tools for empathy development in medical education, given the apparent relationship between a decline in empathy and a biomedical curriculum that deprivileges personal connections. What are the limitations of attempting to enhance empathy through the arts as in medical education, and what alternative approaches exist? In what ways and in what forms can the arts best advance goals of learning
and care? I design and evaluate a *Humans in Harmony* songwriting program involving health professional students and patients in cancer support groups on measures of attitudes about empathy. This chapter applies an “interpersonal approach” to interventions seeking to enhance empathy in clinical and educational contexts, with the participatory arts and collaborative songwriting as an example intervention.

The failures of the medical education system in addressing empathy through the arts through individualistic rather than structural approaches also have parallels in contexts of civil society. It challenges what kinds of frameworks and value systems may centre around well-being construed as encompassing aspiration and agency, and how the arts could align with public health aims in future-oriented understandings for human flourishing. The capabilities approach (Nussbaum, 2007; Sen, 1992) postulates that well-being is not limited to health and cannot be captured by metrics such as a nation’s GDP. The approach asks what it would look like for wellness to include the ability to engage fully in one’s capabilities—of well-being and freedom in achievement and agency—to flourish. Flourishing and freedom are linked with having the choice of what to do with one’s time and ability to engage as co-creators. Chapter 6 applies a person’s future aspirations and agency to the arts and well-being, drawing on experiences in the *music corps* program of *Humans in Harmony*. It describes an evaluation study of the program using quantitative measures of interpersonal and community closeness and qualitative interview responses to apply a capabilities approach to the arts in community-based social service settings.

Modern concurrent challenges exacerbate the flaws of structures that have not centred around care such as, for example in the US, the failures in responding to COVID-19, declining life expectancy and deaths of despair, and systemic racial injustice (Woolf & Schoomaker, 2019). Such contexts offer additional insights into meanings for empathy, as well as
understandings of freedom and empathy for a politics of care. What does political and popular language tell us about empathy today and the role of the arts in social change? “Empathy deficit” and “crisis of empathy” evoke collective failures rather than individual ones. Chapter 7 draws on popular and political discourse, as well as themes and lyrics in songs created through *Humans in Harmony*’s collaborative songwriting activities, to illuminate understandings of freedom and individualism in the face of contemporary geopolitical and cultural challenges.
Chapter 1

Empathy

Empathy and sympathy

An understanding of empathy cannot be undertaken without an understanding of the multifaceted roots of its precursor, “sympathy.” Historically, the concept of empathy has been related to concepts of sympathy, moral sentiment, and the sublime with contradictions surrounding the distinction between “self” and “other”: a process of empathy can be on the one hand one of self-development and self-discovery, and on the other a process of losing the self in merging with the other (see Fleischacker, 2012; Smith, 1759). The uncertainties in meaning that are attached to the concept of empathy are heightened by empathy’s reach across multiple fields in the sciences and empathy’s long intellectual history. Taking the multiple dimensions of empathy into account provides insight into practical applications concerning whether and how empathy might be effectively developed.

Sympathy in eighteenth-century Western thought had its roots in moral sentiment, a concept foundational to the philosophies of David Hume and Adam Smith. Their philosophical predecessors were concerned with the debate as to whether human nature was selfish or benevolent. Hume's own writings can be viewed as spurred by Hobbes' (1651) pessimistic view of humans as existing in a selfish and violent “state of nature” driven by psychological egoism—a state that can only be curbed by an implicit social contract binding future generations into an (absolute) state to which each individual cedes rights necessary for the maintenance of order. Rather, Hume observed that humans are both selfish and humane, with a bounded generosity predisposing kindness with partiality to family and friends. Humans can keep promises, operate
under rules of ownership, and give consent of property transfer without necessarily needing government; ordered governance and duty results from a form of social trust and approval, their reliability in preserving order comes from an agreed-upon usefulness to society (Cohon, 2004).

**Hume's sympathy**

Hume took the view that social approval and moral evaluations arose from sentiments operating from a process of sympathy. In Hume's sympathy, an outward expression of sentiment in another person through facial expression and conversation enters the observer's mind. The vivacity of the expression is transferred to the observer, who acquires vivacity from the similarity of the expression to their own impression of the self so that they also experience the passion: “When I come to share in the affections of strangers, and feel pleasure because they are pleased, as I do when I experience an aesthetic enjoyment of a well-designed ship or fertile field that is not my own, my pleasure can only be caused by sympathy” (Hume, 1793, 2.2.2–8, 3.3.1.7–8).

Hume's sympathy, while clearly involving the affections and passions, also involves reflection: “the reflecting on the tendency of characters and mental qualities, is sufficient to give us the sentiments of approbation and blame” (1793, 3.3.1.9). Hume claims that moral evaluations are made not with respect to particular, individual points of view, but from "some common point of view, from which they might survey their object, and which might cause it to appear the same to all of them” (Hume, 1793, 3.3.1.30).

Adam Smith, a close friend of Hume’s, drew on many of the latter's ideas of sentiment in his formation of morality, as summarised in the work that put him in the public eye prior to his *Wealth of Nations: A Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Smith’s ideas were influenced by Hume’s
concepts of “force” and “vitality” in the experience of ideas and objects. Through the “Copy Principle,” Smith linked the resonance of association and resemblance as the basis for approbation and moral judgement when taking the “general point of view” (Stueber, 2019). In mirroring the qualities of force or vitality in the beautiful and good, the basis for moral sentiment could be formed. Sympathy was laden with the social context of moral norms and mimetic perception; its development and engagement necessitated experience over time and dialogue with others in a social world.

**Smith’s Sympathy**

In contrast to Hume’s sympathy based on transfer akin to emotional contagion, to Smith, sympathy arose when one imagined how one would feel in another's circumstance (Griswold, 1999); sympathy was an imaginative "projection" of the observer's account rather than an actual feeling or "contagion" of the other (see Fleischacker, 2012). Smith’s sympathy thus allowed a distance between the self and the other and the possibility that the observer and the others' feeling may not match. Such a gap also allows for the virtuous motivation of striving, as observers, to participate in the feelings of the other (Smith, 1759, p. 23-5). For Hume, emotions are transferred readily between people like vibrating strings (Hume, 1793)—i.e., the self and other shares feelings—while for Smith, imagination is crucial to putting the self in the situation of the other—i.e., there is a gap between the feelings of the self and other (Samuel, 2017).

Whereas Hume saw sentiment as part of human nature to care about society well-being, Smith saw it as constituted by a process of socialisation, regardless as to whether that feeling was self-interested or benevolent (Samuel, 2017). While each individual's conception of the self is shaped fundamentally by social pressures, moral development and capacity rests on the individual. The social pressures and norms, or Smith’s "impartial spectator," first arises from
society and later becomes a source of internal moral guide that allows the individual to distinguish or criticise their society, working in a dialogic and mutually dependent manner to construct the individual and social self (Samuel, 2017). Fundamentally for Smith, the impartial spectator and the aspiration for social approval are directed to the well-being of individuals rather than the goods possessed by individuals, separating Smith’s approach from a consequentialist one of assessment based on maximising happiness for the most amount of people (Smith, 1759, p. 237)

Smith's version of sympathy emphasised that norms rather than a transfer of vitality or emotional contagion, as in Hume's version, shaped moral sentiment. Indeed, Hume allowed for the reflection of a common, "steady and general point of view" (Hume, 1793, p. 581) to correct for sympathy's partiality. But for Smith, the processing of the gap between the self and the other formed a motivation, an aspiration, for the self's sentiments to match the sentiments of others in order to take up the general point of view. Such aspiration is driven by being worthy of approval, serving as motivation to change sentiments through sympathy (Samuel, 2017). Thus, to Smith, individuals are interwoven with society and socialised in moral development, placing emphasis on the importance of moral norms (see Schliesser, 2006) and opening up a history of morals through Smith’s student, John Millar, in later accounts of normative change in sociology and anthropology (Samuel, 2017). Smith's approach took into account the interpersonal dialogic nature of the self with others in society; the fundamental importance of aspirations, capabilities, and social esteem of individuals in a healthy society; and the complex, fluid, and temporal nature of sympathy that served as the precursor to today's modern (and often simplified and incomplete) concept of empathy.
Empathy in psychology

Through Hume and Smith, sympathy was introduced in the behavioural sciences (Wispé, 1986). Darwin, aware of Smith's sympathy, refers to sympathy as an "all-important emotion" (Darwin, 1871, p. 478). It was later that McDougall's (1908) Introduction to Social Psychology described "active sympathy" as a reciprocal relationship of similar sentiments in which two people both experience and desire to experience the other’s emotions which thereby enhances joy (Wispé, 1986, p. 315). Later, Allport (1924) conceptualised sympathy in terms of conditioning responses in his Social Psychology as "the principle of conditioned emotional response" (p. 235);

"Sympathy is an emotional habit evoked as a conditioned response to some element common to both the original and present situation” (p. 239). But while sympathy had been a significant concept in social psychology and developmental psychology, it fell out of favour despite its rich historical roots. Most of the social psychology texts of the 1950s and 1960s do not reference it, preferring the term, "empathy" (Wispé, 1986). Empathy as a term predominated after WWII and notably, after the Holocaust (see Moyn, 2006).

It was only in the early 1900s that psychologist Edward Titchener introduced the German concept of Einfühlung into the English notion of empathy, translating it from the domains of aesthetics and philosophy into the realms of psychology and the social sciences (Stueber, 2019). During this time, empathy took the form of understanding of other minds (Verstehen) and was applied in methodological contexts of comprehending the meaning of texts and works through psychological and historical interpretation. Titchener coined the term "empathy" through the Greek “empatheia” in his Empirical Psychology of the Thought Processes (1909): "Not only do I see gravity and modesty and pride and courtesy and stateliness, but I feel or act them in the mind's muscle. That is, I suppose, a simple case of empathy, if we may coin that term as a
rendering of Einfühlung” (p. 21). As a concept, Einfühlung was organised by Lipps (1903) as the projection of the self into objects; feelings in connection with the objects allowed an expansive or noble sense of the self. However, Titchener's translation of Einfühlung as empathy was changeable and not very precise (Wispé, 1986). He initially wrote that empathy required kinaesthetic imitation (a more Hume-like sympathy), but later his A Beginner's Psychology (1915) based empathy in imagination of the emotions of another (a more Smith-like sympathy), writing, "empathic ideas are psychologically interesting, because they are the converse of perception: Their core is imaginal, and their context is made up of sensations that carry the empathic meaning" (p. 198).

By the 1950s and 1960s, Carl Rogers (1951) used empathy in psychotherapy in terms of emotional understanding between a client and therapist, and his approach and emphasis encouraged the development of measures of empathic ability (Wispé, 1986). In current psychological use, Davis’ (1983) Interpersonal Reactivity Index is a commonly used scale analysing empathy in four categories of empathic concern, perspective taking, fantasy, and personal distress. It was such a term, as opposed to the concept including sympathy, that became predominantly used in psychological research (Wispé, 1986). Many of the current debates in empathy in psychological research adopt a narrower and more individualistic conception of empathy as an ability, rather than construing it in the context of the societal and moral foundations of sympathy.

The close association of empathy with the human sciences in the 20th Century paradoxically alienated empathy from the regard of most philosophers who saw the term as having been reduced to epistemically naïve terms (Stueber, 2019). Today, the Oxford English Dictionary ("Empathy, n.") defines empathy as "The ability to understand and appreciate another
person's feelings, experience, etc.” Yet there are perhaps as many definitions of empathy as there are researchers studying empathy (de Vignemont & Singer, 2006; Decety & Jackson, 2004).

"It must be made clear that whatever will be written about empathy applies in principle also to the concept of sympathy," writes Wispé (1986, p. 316) in criticising the lack of attention to sympathy in research on empathy, noting that many recent psychology studies, if done in an earlier time, would have been studies on sympathy. Olinick (1984) writes from a psychoanalytic perspective that “Empathy is becoming a 'buzz' word, signifying what formerly was the domain of sympathy” (p. 316). There is little common understanding among researchers and psychologists about the process or concept of empathy. Debates revolve around empathy’s qualities as a trait or state and its process as primarily emotion- or cognition-based, while largely losing the moral and socially-contextualised force of 18th Century sympathy.

One uncertainty about empathy in psychology is the extent to which it is a cognitive process, e.g., understanding the perspective of another (rather after Smith), or an affective process, e.g., emotional concern towards another (rather after Hume). Some definitions of empathy include only one or the other, yet others conceive of empathy as both an affective and cognitive ability to understand another person (for a review, see Cuff et al., 2016). Cognitive and affective empathy may be distinguished, but it can be argued that these processes are interdependent: social cognition includes “the processing of stimuli relevant to understanding agents and their interactions” (Happé et al., 2017, p. 244) but there is a necessary interaction between the two (Heberlein & Saxe, 2005).

Psychologist Paul Bloom (2017a, 2017b) argues that empathy, as opposed to “rational compassion,” does not serve as a good moral guide because it places unfair bias towards the parochial. “The spotlight nature of empathy renders it innumerate, favoring the one over the
many and the specific over the statistical. Empathy is biased, pushing us in the direction of parochialism and racism” (p. 25). Bloom provides as an example a case where a girl is given higher priority for a treatment for which she is on a waiting list after participants are asked to feel what she feels, and concludes that “most of us believe, on reflection, that such empathy-driven judgements are mistaken, that it is wrong to give a girl priority for a medical treatment simply because we are imagining her suffering, that one life is not worth more than eight, and that a crisis that can devastate the lives of billions of people matters greatly even if there are no identifiable victims” (p. 26-27). Such scenarios may seem morally simple, but Bloom oversimplifies the nuances in the examples, such as whether the girl is someone’s daughter, or that sacrificing one life could save eight (the philosophical Trolley problem), or that one has a mutual responsibility to others in one's own community (e.g., see imagined communities, Anderson, 2006). Such decisions are affective in that they are linked to human affiliation and social trust; they must be placed in dynamic, changing, and interrelational contexts.

A version of empathy as solely emotional is a straw-man construction of empathy. It focuses on immediate, individualistic emotional mimicry while neglecting the fact that empathy is also cognitive as well as contextual, dialogic, and evolving over time. Thus, Bloom's critique may be at best a critique of emotional contagion, where one person’s emotions instil similar emotions in others. Yet emotions, as Hume and Smith understood, are also a foundation of morality (e.g., see moral sentimentalism, Kauppinen, 2018). They serve as the basis of societal trust, social behaviour, and cognitive-affective decision-making which inform moral action and social cohesion. Bloom (2017) argues that although emotional empathy may be helpful in certain contexts like romantic relationships, they are not helpful for moral decision-making. Yet such a claim neglects the fact that emotional and cognitive thinking and action are not easily
separable—indeed there are intrinsic overlaps between the two (e.g., Bekkering et al., 2009; Lieberman, 2007). Different types of affective or cognitive processing can be more effectively used in various scenarios to enhance decision-making such as what Kahneman (2011) describes as the intuitive, quick, emotional "System 2" and slow, deliberate, rational "System 1"—both of which are important in making effective judgements and decisions.

Although Bloom draws on Adam Smith's “sympathy” as the capacity to "place ourselves in his situation...and become in some measure the same person with him, and thence form some idea of his sensations, and even feel something which, though weaker in degree, is not altogether unlike them" (Smith, as cited in Bloom, 2017, p. 24), he neglects the fact that sympathy shapes Smith’s seminal concept of an "impartial spectator" which evaluates a moral action from the viewpoint of an outside objective observer to form a norm of social sanctioning which has its basis in sympathetic feeling (Smith, 1759). In A Theory of Moral Sentiments, Adam Smith (1759) describes the natural affections of the universality of gladness at another's smile or sadness at another's misery (emotional empathy). He describes imagination, the ability to place oneself in the position of another, as one component of understanding the motive behind an emotional state (cognitive empathy). He proposed that it was norms—moral sanctioning of approval or disapproval in others—that drives individual behaviour change; i.e., an impartial observer akin to one’s conscience sanctioned social behaviour in the eyes of others.

Another area of ambiguity resulting from Bloom’s (mis)-use of empathy is whether empathy is conceptualised as influenced by one's trait or state. One review of empathy showed that in an examination of 43 conceptualisations of empathy, in more than a quarter of conceptualisations, researchers identified empathy as an "ability" or "capacity," with only three describing empathy as more context-dependent with words like "situation" or "context" (Cuff et al., 2018).
al., 2016). Empathy conceived as a trait assumes stability over time and differing degrees of empathy as being possessed by individuals. This conceptualisation is reflected in a commonly used scale of empathy in psychological studies, the Interpersonal Reactivity Index, which measures empathy as a trait-like characteristic (Davis, 1983). Test statements include, “I tend to have feelings of concern for unfortunate others” or “I tend to be deeply invested in the characters of a novel.” These statements reflect an individual's ability and leave out contexts such as similarity to another person which could influence one's empathy.

Dweck (2008) developed ways of considering intelligence through a mindset approach that was later applied to empathy. Is empathy a fixed trait or something that can be developed? The key finding was not whether I.Q. changed or stayed constant over time, but that mindset was the central predictor of achievement. If Sally believes that her intelligence is something she can grow, such as through statements like "good job, you are a hard worker,” she naturally seeks a growth mindset that is predictive of better learning outcomes; if Ben believes that his intelligence is something fixed, such as through statements like "good job, you are smart,” he tends not to seek opportunities for challenge and learning. Studies suggest that the mindset approach also applies to empathy (Schumann et al., 2014), implying that empathy development may not be effective when labelled as a trait to develop.

Recently, psychologists have focused on examining social contexts such as the motivation for empathising in the context of a person’s in-group or out-group (Cikara et al., 2011; Zaki, 2014) together with contextual factors that influence a person’s desire to empathise. Factors such as observer-target similarity, mood, blame, perceived power, and cognitive load suggest that state and contextual factors both play a substantive role in empathy (Cuff et al., 2016) and that its conceptualisation as a trait may be too limited. Humans are social creatures
whose sympathy, affiliation, and bonding form a basis of morality in Smith's view. Empathy must encompass broadly the various definitions taken by psychologists, social scientists, philosophers, and humanists which include affect and cognition, and it must be placed in context and evolving dialogue between individuals and environments. Considering a multidimensional account of empathy allows for the recognition that responses which focus on individual traits or skills can ultimately be detrimental to developing an understanding of the kind of empathy that underlies strong social relations in economic and political structures making up civil society.

It is not only that context is important in influencing the ability to empathise, but also that an understanding of context and situation is necessary for the empathic process itself to occur most effectively. Such a recognition of the unfolding, dynamic process of empathy seems often neglected in psychological accounts of empathy. An empathy centred around self-projection—the projection of a first-person point of view into another’s experience—is simplistic without a multi-perspective understanding of the other’s cultural symbols and of how receptive another group is to being understood (Hollan, 2012). Seen in this sense, empathy must be dialogic, taking into account both the “self’s” and the “other’s” place and time and how an understanding may be promoted or discouraged. Approaching empathy from the sole focus on an individual mind is limited because understanding the minds of others is “a purely public affair” (Stueber, 2019, p. 199): every behaviour of an individual has implication and significance for others in a certain social context. “Accordingly, mentality has to be understood as being constituted not by intrinsic but by relational properties to the environment broadly conceived, including natural, cultural, and social components” (Stueber, 2019, p. 199). In such a sense empathy must be contextual, in that for a person to empathise accurately, they must understand the other's cultures and social
norms. Such ideas have a history of a context-rich and interactional basis in related notions of empathy such as sympathy, moral sentiment, and the sublime.

**Empathy, art, and the sublime**

The emergence of ideas of the sublime and aesthetics in the late eighteenth-century, shaped by ideas of sympathy such as in Hume’s *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751/2006), Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), and Kant’s *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (1764/2007), impacted the artistic views of humans and their relations with each other and their environment. “Art is the nearest thing to life,” writes novelist George Eliot, “it is a mode of amplifying experience and extending our contact with our fellow men beyond the bounds of our personal lot” (1856/1963). Eliot’s final novel, *Middlemarch*, may be seen as a demonstration of her conception of sympathy—of expanding the range of perspective through an omniscient narrator who likens a character’s perspective to the orbit of scratched glass revolving around a light source. Eliot shifts between authorial and character point-of-views so as to question the favouring of the perspective of, for example, the youthful and beautiful Dorothea over her rigid yet enfeebled husband Mr. Casaubon. Her sympathy jumps from the focus on an individual to a range of “involuntary, palpitating life,” shifting fields of perspective and scale in a way similar to how a camera may zoom between the tiniest droplet on a rose to the landscape of mountain surrounding it.

Although the “in-feeling” of *Einfühlung* originally conceptualised by Theodor Lipps, whose concept of empathy Edward Titchener had in mind when translating *Einfühlung* to empathy, formed its basis on perceptions of the individual self through self-projection—i.e., the projection of one’s feelings or emotions on nature or art—the experience also involves structured time and resonance (Stueber, 2019). To Eliot and nineteenth-century realists, Smith’s *Theory of*
Moral Sentiments served as a groundwork for sympathy through aesthetics, narrative, and time. Such time was part of sympathy for both Eliot and Smith:

Time is central to a rethinking of how sympathy operates in realist form. Because its effects cannot be sustained, sympathy requires repeated effort: it is something one must do and do again, and it’s hard work, not the sort of thing on which we want to spend much time. Moreover, sympathy takes place in time, in what we might call narrative time. Here simultaneity is replaced by more protracted, reflexive, and deliberative acts. Minds meet and reflect on each other but do not merge into one (Greiner, 2009, p. 293).

To Smith, humans were governed by and cooperated out of a “fellow-feeling” underlying sympathy. But these moral sentiments were also governed by a larger kind of a social norm: the approbation or disapprobation of one’s fellow citizens. Smith’s “impartial spectator” is like an inner conscience able to judge one’s actions apart from and beyond the self, akin to Eliot’s omniscient narrator (1822).

Sympathy and empathy in art and nature also have a long history with the sublime, sharing qualities of relation to the inner and outer worlds, moral meaning, and a tension between the individual and other, even transcendental, experience. In A Critique of Pure Reason, Kant (Guyer & Wood, 1781/1999) writes about the relation between the aesthetic and the moral. His interpretation of the sublime is a kind of representation of nature’s grandeur such as a tempest against a mountainous cliff. Mendelssohn’s The Hebrides overture, for example, is conceived as a seascape, the wave-like shaping of phrases evoking the movement of the sea with underlying half-note bass notes representing a floating buoyancy (Taylor, 2016). Such a Kantian sublime was a kind of “armchair” experience of the power and destructive capacity of nature or musical representation from the safety of one’s home or concert hall.
Kant claims beauty as the "exhibition," "presentation," or "expression" of aesthetic ideas—ideas which mediate between rational ideas and imaginative sensibilities; a work of art expresses aesthetic ideas to give form to rational ideas (Ginsborg, 2019). In *A Critique of Judgment*, Kant (1790/1987) conceives of the sublime as the superiority of human reason over nature: "the irresistibility of [nature's] power certainly makes us, considered as natural beings, recognise our physical powerlessness, but at the same time it reveals a capacity for judging ourselves as independent of nature and a superiority over nature...whereby the humanity in our person remains undemeaned even though the human being must submit to that dominion" (§28, 261–262).

Yet other descriptions of the sublime are better aligned with the experience of sublimity which emerge from a merging with nature rather than armchair viewing. In Nan Shepherd's *The Living Mountain* (2014), subtitled "a celebration of the Cairngorm Mountains of Scotland," there is an everyday, dynamic experience of in-feeling in nature: “To love anything—such as a mountain—” she writes, “is to widen the domain of being into non-being.” The immersive experience does not necessarily fit into typical understandings of the sublime. After peering over the edge of “Point Sublime” in the Grand Canyons, Laurent Savoy (2015) wonders how a distance from nature represented a distance which also paralleled a sense of superiority over native and dark ancestors:

What did my family bring to the edge and how did we see on that long-ago morning? I’ve wondered if the sublime can lie in both the dizzying encounter with such immensity and the reflective meaning drawn from it. Immanuel Kant’s sublime resided in the “power of us” that such an experience prompted to recognise a separateness from nature, a distance. To regard in the human mind an innate superiority over a natural world whose “might”
could threaten flesh and bones but had no “dominion” over the humanity in the person. In Kant’s view, neither I nor my dark ancestors could ever reach the sublime, so debased were our origins (p. 10).

In Trace, Savoy (2015) describes the meaning of one version of the sublime from the perspective of educated Europeans and their descendants in America: “In a Romantic sublime one encountered power greater than imagined or imaginable. One beheld the might and presence of the Divine. On a mountain peak. In a great churning storm. At the brink of a fathomless chasm” (p. 8). The viewers of an unfamiliar landscape of canyon walls and abyss were to feel awe of “grand geologic ensemble: the great exposed slice of deep time in canyon walls, the work of uplift and erosion in creating the canyon itself”—awe that was an unsettling contrast to the familiar awe of a mountain peak (p. 9). To comprehend the full magnitude of the canyon, or any objects with true sublimity, required that those objects could not disclose all their power at first encounter. “It must be dwelt upon and studied, and the study must comprise the slow acquisition of the meaning and spirit” (Dutton, 1882/2001, p. 141). For a viewer with the leisure, time, and means to travel, a shift from the mountains to the canyons altered, through a process of time and revisiting, ways of seeing.

Such ways are often subtly subversive. As Shepherd enters the wilderness, she is not focused on the mountain peaks or pristine national parks. It is the caverns and plateaus, or the snow and water, which strike her with astonishment. It is a sublime which differs from the conquering, masculine Romantic sublime, as iconically represented by Caspar David Friedrich's painting "Wanderer Above the Sea of Fog." Rather than a sublime that contrasts the human with a distinct, otherworldly force, Shepherd and Savot’s sublime is dependent upon the other object or person in reciprocal growth and discovery which occurs over time:
But as I grew older, and less self-sufficient, I began to discover the mountain in itself. Everything became good to me, its contours, its colors, its waters and rock, flowers and birds. This process has taken many years, and is not yet complete. Knowing another is endless. And I have discovered that man’s experience of them enlarges rock, flowers and birds. The thing to be known grows with the knowing (Shepherd, 2014, p. 108).

Such a perspective is a reflection of a commitment to interdependence with others in furtherance of the common good. It can be seen as an extension of the idea that humans are most fully themselves when in community with others as social beings. Between relations between self and other are similar relations between self and object such as nature or art: “It is a journey into Being; for as I penetrate more deeply into the mountain’s life, I penetrate also into my own...It is not ecstasy, that leap out of the self that makes man like a god. I am not out of myself, but in myself. I am” (Shepherd, 2014, p. 108). The being unfolds over common time. “But as I grew older, and less self-sufficient,” Shepherd writes, “I began to discover the mountain in itself.” “This process has taken many years, and is not yet complete. Knowing another is endless...The thing to be known grows with the knowing” (2014, p. 108).

Although Kant’s distanced view may seem overly rational and human-centric, his theory may consider context, sympathy, and sentiment as more central than initially apparent, taking influence from Hume as a proponent of sentimentalism in his earlier thinking. Although Hume offers no theory of the sublime, he applies his views on sentiment to art, arguing that there can be a distinction between a particular or general point of view in taste in art. A judgement from one's self-interest is prejudiced, "a false relish" (Hume, 1751/2006, p. 173), while a judgement from a general point of view takes into account multiple beliefs about the piece and context—its form and rarity, for example, as well as whether the object is well-fitted to other people, with well-
suitedness increasing sentiments of approbation (Gracyk, 2020). Thus, Hume applies his moral theory to art in making judgements: "all the circumstances and relations must be previously known; and the mind, from the contemplation of the whole, feels some new impression of affection or disgust, esteem or contempt, approbation or blame" (Hume, 1751/2006, p. 290). Aesthetic discrimination works in the same way (Hume, 1751/2006, p. 291).

Kant's *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (1764/2007) nod to his early inclination to sentimentalism, which he later reacts against in his philosophy centred around duty and reason. Though his mature thought seems against sentimentalism, his early proclivities still influence and ground his thinking. In the *Metaphysics of Morals*, Kant (1797/1996) writes about “an indirect duty to cultivate the compassionate natural (aesthetic) feelings in us, and to make use of them as so many means to sympathy based on moral principles and the feeling appropriate to them.... For this [compassion] is still one of the impulses that nature has implanted in us to do what the representation of duty alone might not accomplish” (6:457). Though Kant's rational, duty-based categorical imperative—often formulated as the universal law of acting unto others as one would wish it to be a universal law, and the formula of acting upon others never merely as a means to an end—may seem to not require prior knowledge of human custom or sentiment, Kant does not believe that moral judgement requires no experience or understanding of sentiment or social convention (Wilson & Denis, 2008; A. W. Wood, 2008). Kant's distanced, armchair-viewing mode of aesthetics, when viewed in integration with Hume and sentimentalism, may offer more modes of thinking through the "common point of view" than first appears. Allowing for sentiment, knowledge over time, and contextual communication are aspects that overlap with 21st Century aesthetics of everyday life.
As the case with Kant and Hume, interests of aesthetic philosophy and judgement tended to focus around the Western fine arts. Challenges to this concept began in the latter 20th Century in exploring popular arts and activities of everyday life. This can be argued as to restore the scope of aesthetics (Yuriko, 2019), as many non-Western cultural traditions integrate aesthetics into daily activities including the creation of tools (Papanek, 1992; Witherspoon, 1996). The aesthetics of the everyday aimed to expand its scope beyond questions of the sublime and beauty which characterised Western aesthetics, reaching a scope of diverse backgrounds, identities, class, and artistic experience (Yuriko, 2019).

One of the aspects of the aesthetics of the everyday is attention to atmosphere or ambiance of situations (one might think of Feng Shui in Chinese aesthetics or the concept of yin and yang related to atmospheres and ambiances of qualities of activities). Social interactions are a part of ambiance and atmosphere, and therefore social aesthetics is concerned with the quality of social relationships as subject to aesthetic considerations. As a category of everyday aesthetics established by Arnold Berleant (1970, 2017), social aesthetics highlights the role of such an aesthetics in the moral development of human character and interactions.

Social aesthetics also emphasises the dimension of "doing," as opposed to the traditional Western aesthetic mode of spectating or beholding with respect to deriving aesthetic pleasure from the contemplation of an object (Yuriko, 2019). Everyday activities like hanging out laundry to dry in an aesthetic way and with consideration to neighbours or an anticipation of the breeze carrying scents in the wind can be worthy of aesthetic discourse (Rautio 2009; Saito 2017a):
"Dismissing these experiences from aesthetic discourse because they do not fit the expected format of analysis and cannot be subjected to a verdict-oriented discourse unduly impoverishes the rich content of our aesthetic life" (Yuriko, 2019, p. 7).
Everyday aesthetics takes upon the blurring of the distinction between art and life, such as "blurring the creator/spectator dichotomy by collaborating with the general public to create art as a joint venture" (Yuriko, 2019, p. 8). Such projects as socially engaged art or situationist art can be characterised as engaging in "relational aesthetics" or "dialogical aesthetics" (e.g., Bishop, 2012; Johnstone, 2008). The blurring also occurs in the context of organisational aesthetics—engagement in the arts in institutionalised settings such as medicine, business, science, and organisations (Darsø, 2004; Ratiu, 2017) which typically privilege a rational or formalised culture but would benefit from aesthetic dimensions to contribute to the well-being of their members (Yuriko, 2019, p. 8).

Everyday aesthetics is increasingly significant in contexts of modern political economy, returning to concern about the moral basis of social governance that Smith, Hume, and Kant engaged in. Everyday aesthetics have been argued by its proponents to have more of a direct bearing on social change, because rather than traditional aesthetics affecting perception and judgement, the aesthetic of the everyday is directly related to manners of social interaction, power, and oppression (Yuriko, 2019, p. 9).

**Empathy and its decline**

Why does an intellectual provenance for empathy and its related concepts of sympathy and aesthetics matter to modern psychologists and practitioners? One issue that has practical implications regarding the various meanings of empathy is a confounding of ideas of empathy between, for example, definitions of empathy that are conceptually trait-influenced but practically state-influenced. The implications of this confusion in practical contexts, such as in education and clinical settings, may extend studies of empathy in inappropriate ways due to applications in dynamic social contexts. Empathy enhancement of medical students as a trait
characteristic, for example, is ineffective when the main cause of empathy decline may be due to state-influenced structural problems which foster burnout and moral erosion. Calls for building individual empathy may fall on deaf ears for those, such as the largely rural, less-educated white Americans who are suffering from rises in suicides and drug overdoses when structures of work and education fail them (Steelesmith et al., 2019) and serve, rather, only to increase exclusionary nationalism (Case & Deaton, 2015; Sandel, 2020). Especially in a climate of US Senator Cory Booker’s “crisis of empathy” in the 2019 Democratic primary debates and Barack Obama’s “empathy deficit” (Honigsbaum, 2013; McCarthy, 2019a) and increasing economic inequality, it can be suggested that a more contextual and interpersonal version of empathy which incorporates the individual within social landscape—the interlinking structures and systems—better reflects approaches to empathy that are needed today.

When researchers examine concepts relating to empathy or social processes for purposes of scientific study, a carefully defined variable is isolated and controlled to determine cause and effect. While specificity is required for the variable of interest, information about context and changing interactional dynamics can be easily lost. Yet interactions and contexts are crucial when attempting to design an intervention or systematic approach to address the decline of empathy. Problems arise when a specific positive effect is treated as justification for a precise conception of social interaction as intervention without consideration to the systems and structures that enfold that interaction.

For example, in a recent study (Piff et al., 2015), participants were allowed one minute to look at a forest and experience awe before a confederate “accidentally” dropped pens on the ground. Participants who had looked upon “a grove of towering trees” as opposed to a building wall picked up more pens to help the stranger. Based on the results, the authors recommended
individuals to seek out experiences of awe to foster altruism in an article in the *New York Times* (Piff & Keltner, 2015).

The authors speculated that experiences of awe reminded participants of one’s own insignificance in comparison to a nominal or supernatural power. The invoking of a sense of divine awe falls into the danger of conceptualising processes and concepts underlying social relations—such as the sublime, sympathy, and empathy—as static, distant phenomena that enhance individual capabilities of empathy or altruism, rather than on the mutual relations between self and other which create an ecosystem of care: more like a regression to an armchair-version of Kantian sublime than a growth into an interdependent Shepherdian sublime.

Much aligns empathy with eighteenth-century sympathy, including, as Moyn (2006) argues, its problems and fragility. In line with Wispé (1986), Moyn also argues that "there is little doubt that much unites empathy (though it originally arose in philosophical aesthetics and only gradually took on its present meaning) with a predecessor concept of sympathy, the conquering moral notion of the eighteenth-century world" (p. 399), and thus, is also "subject to the same conceptual and ethical difficulties its predecessor has always faced" (p. 400). Moyn identifies the recent narratives of empathy decline and empathy's fragility, or the "'compassion fatigue' of the contemporary world," questioning how recent the fear of empathic exhaustion really is (p. 400). After all, sentimentalists were well aware from the outset that their cherished emotional care was a threatened force, and aware of the limits and dangers of sympathy in being used selfishly for vicarious pleasure (Moyn, 2006). Moyn suggests that empathy posited as newly fragile, problematic, or in decline doesn't give full weight to the rich history of empathy as having its roots in a complex, dynamic sympathy. The emergence of attention around empathy decline would do well to investigate deeply the roots of decline through the meanings of
empathy, and the multidimensional aspects that are not simply about skill, emotion, or ability, but also about the social structures, norms, and institutions linking individual with collective social life.

Such an approach might benefit from reconsidering the tenets of sympathy as conceived by Hume and especially in Smith, as shaped by norms and the institutional surroundings which cannot be measured by possessions or goods, but fundamentally driven by social approbation—the importance of dignity, aspiration, and esteem as foundational to individual and societal flourishing. In more recent contexts, this parallels the need for interventions that are more interpersonal (as studied in Ch. 5), and approaches such as the capabilities approach (Nussbaum, 2003; Sen, 1992) in economic development which centre around negative freedom, well-being, and flourishing (as studied in Ch. 6). Alongside such an approach is the potential for the evolution of aesthetics, from which the concept of empathy through Einfühlung first evolved, to link with an aesthetics of the everyday—for example, participatory aesthetic engagement through group music-making—to enhance social participation and blur boundaries between art and life, and social recognition and redistribution.

Strategies for countering empathy decline that seek to move beyond trait-based empathy development could include strategies that conceptualise empathy as contextual and shared in time with others. Like the armchair-view Kantian sublime, Western music contexts are often presentational, with a clear separation of roles between the consuming listener and the producing performer (Turino, 2008). But the participatory arts, as socially-engaged and entailing active engagement with others rather than distanced aesthetic appreciation, provide ways in which strategies of contextual empathy could be realised. The salience of such effects lies in the occurrence of music in temporal and shared space with others. Research indicates that
interactions involving structured time and close coordination that manifest as synchrony can have positive effects on affiliation and relational bonding (Hove & Risen, 2009; Lakin & Chartrand, 2003; Valdesolo & DeSteno, 2011). Music is intrinsically coupled with time, and the kind of temporal and reciprocal conceptions of empathy and social relation through shared growth seem wholly compatible with uses of music. Conceptions of empathy as dynamic and participatory have the potential to mutually support interrelated conceptions of the arts and of empathy to better address declines in social relations. Such arts are the kind that are considered participatory rather than presentational (Turino, 2008), as engaged-in in many indigenous communities and increasingly in the West, especially in community music and music therapy, drawing on long associations between music and health.
Chapter 2

Music and health

Although the emotions and passions that music can arouse constitute the substrate for most Western audiences’ understanding of why they engage with music, and the psychological and neuroendocrinological correlates of emotion have been a primary focus among psychologists studying music (e.g., Juslin & Sloboda, 2001), only fairly recently has the shared temporal experience of music come to be explored as a significant aspect of music in its potential to positively influence human flourishing encompassing both health and social life. With the growth of music therapy and community music as fields of practice and research, understandings of music in social life and inter-personal engagement have much to offer in modern contexts for a more ecological understanding of health, both individual and collective. Music in contemporary Western contexts is often categorised either as a form of entertainment, or, as in the case of music therapy, a form of clinical treatment. Yet for the promotion of health and well-being, researchers in social and health policy understand that the social determinants of health go beyond clinical or biomedical treatment. This chapter explores how music has been used in Western and non-Western cultures in healing and social life to inform perspectives on music therapy and community music in understandings of health today. It extends the application of contextual empathy, including Smith’s concepts of sympathy and esteem, into the social applications of music and its relation to holistic health. An understanding of music as part of the fabric of social life as understood in Western, non-Western, and emerging music therapy and community music contexts offers expanded understanding and approaches to human well-being and flourishing in contemporary society.
Music and healing in the West

In the early history of Western thought, it was held that organised sound could control strong passions, instil virtue, cure disease, and influence the stability or instability of the state (Gouk, 2007). Hippocrates in 400 BC took his patients to listen to music at the temple; David in the Bible used the harp to rid King Saul of an evil spirit (1 Sam 16:23). Pythagoras (c. 500 BC) believed that music could help one comprehend the harmony of the universe, translating to harmony of the mind and body. Propounding mathematical theories that highlighted the consonance ostensibly found in integer ratios between the relative length of sounding bodies, he was credited with being able to cure illnesses of body, mind, and spirit through musical compositions (Kahn, 2001; Thaut, 2005). Plato (400 BC) shared some of Pythagoras’ beliefs and considered music (as did many of his contemporaries) as a prophylactic, especially in young people, for the maintenance of a pure soul (Pelosi, 2010). In The Republic, he described music’s determinants for a well-order society: "For the modes of music are never disturbed without unsettling of the most fundamental political and social conventions" (Hamilton & Cairns, 1961, p. 666). Plato’s pupil Aristotle (fourth-century BC), on the other hand, believed that music served as a form of emotional catharsis, alleviating dysfunctional inner tension or overactive moods, and he emphasised the emotional power of music: “Music directly imitates passions or states of the soul...when one listens to music that imitates a certain passion, he becomes imbued with the same passion; and if over a long period of time he habitually listens to music that rouses ignoble passions, his whole character will be shaped to an ignoble form” (Grout, 1988, p. 7-8).

During the middle ages, the influence of Aristotelian theories continued to predominate in ideas of music and healing, but there were gradual changes in attitudes towards music influenced by Christian faith and practice, and music as central to religious life and messaging was exemplified
during the Protestant Reformation. Music became used to inculcate and sustain moral order and for its restorative powers (see Ahmed, 1997; Oettinger, 2017).

To Martin Luther, music was a tool "to move human hearts through words and song and sound" (WA 371, 38-9). Reflecting on David's use of the harp in the Bible, Luther believed music was so "powerful and mighty that it could overcome and rule human beings in the same way that their masters do" (WA 50:371, 16-8). Communal music-making allowed the Lutheran identity to be furthered while promoting a message of the Reformation with people in harmony and "adorned by polyphony" (WA 50:372, 13-4). Luther used popular vernacular hymns as an accessible method to communicate a theological message across socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds; the singing became central to the Lutheran identity and promoted civic and democratic functioning in the church choir, church, and community (Loewe, 2013). The hymns were a means to quickly, naturally, and broadly proliferate the message of the Reformation, reaching people regardless of literacy level or social class and across geographical boundaries (Loewe, 2013). They imitated the natural sounds of speech and were set to well-known melodies, and they were amenable to public adornment and re-creation which promoted sales, as Luther noted, “The printers do very well indeed when they busily print hymns...enticing people to such joy in believing, and enjoyment in singing” (WA 35:477, 13-5). Theologian Cornelius Becker (1885) reflects at the start of the 17th Century that Luther's songs reached "the souls and minds of pious Christians, it was not as easy to block their progress as [it was to intercept Luther's] books and writings" (p. 680 as cited in Loewe, 2013).

Music of the Reformation was also used to improve evangelical (and, almost contingently, literary) learning (WA 15:44). In the second half of the 16th C, Protestant principalities required all children "to read and write for their own benefit and the benefit of
others, so that they may be better educated and brought up as Christians, and be taught the singing of psalms at the same time” (ES, 71 as cited in Loewe, 2013). Students were taught through the medium of music the Reformation message while encouraged to promote the message through what they sang (Loewe, 2013). Thus, it was expected that the music would reform the community, and private musical ensembles were linked with public civic foundations (Brown, 2009), a kind of precursor to modern community ensembles.

In a quite different milieu and without Luther's proselytising intentions, Jean-Antoine de Baif's Acadamie de Poesie et de Musique attempted to use ancient Greek verse as the basis for a new form of French song to address civil and religious strife. The innovation came from beliefs of Platonic harmony and moral virtue: “where music is disordered, there morals are also depraved and where it is well ordered, there men are well disciplined morally” (Yates, 1947, App. 1 319-22). In the High Renaissance, music’s power was largely attributed to the passions and affects as a new Baroque style of solo with chordal accompaniment emerged. The style took its basis on the Greek ideal of expressing the passions and emotions of character through words set to music (Katz, 1984). Thus in the early music movement in late 15th and 16th Century Europe, music was relegated to the sphere of an intellectual elite and their social relationships (Gouk, 2007). While “harmony” was previously sought out as a method of calming religious conflict, it later served as a control mechanism of courtly behaviour and an indication of high society.

In Western culture, the concept of music as affecting the morals of individuals and society through harmony of body and soul has had lasting influence. The Platonic ideals of expression of character and passion evolved in performance traditions with the aesthetics and culture of a European intellectual, elite class. Much of the legacy of a primacy of emotion in
music remains in how modern Western societies think of music today: as an experience of passive listening, emotional transport, and high-art performance—which has been predominately associated with aesthetic and entertainment value rather than with social or health-related value (Turino, 2008). However, as especially seen in the Reformation, music, while conceptualised in similar terms of control, harmony, and impact on the passions, were part and parcel of social life and group identity through communal and civic life that would later be formulated in more recent frameworks of music in the community and in therapy.

Music and healing in other cultures

For many non-Western societies, music was and is appreciated as a form of balance and harmony, with engagement in music frequently remaining a part of ritual and everyday collective life. Music in historical and modern practice is integral to the healing practices of many indigenous and tribal cultures throughout the world including Native Americans, Alaskan Inuits, and Australian Aborigines (e.g., May, 1983; Moreno, 1995). Music is especially important in shamanism and spirit possession rituals, as repetitive music supports an altered state of consciousness inducing trance. Repetition may induce rhythmic entrainment, the quality of two objects synchronising when pulsing at similar rates which allows a healer and patient to form a bond that enhances capabilities to effect change (Moreno, 1991).

Associations between music, healing, and well-being are found across continents and across cultures with markedly different ways of life. The *kapanga*, a Kenyan birth dance, is both a form of pain management and a social community ritual of birth. In the dance, "The women form a circle and perform a violently rhythmic dance with song that is punctuated by rhythmic clapping...a pattern designed to match and entrain the rhythm of giving birth" (Moreno, 1995, p. 335-336). The healing effect is not only rhythmic but social: "All of this is done for the support
of the birthing mother, with all the women of the village who have previously given birth joining in" (Moreno, 1995, p. 336). More than a month after the birth, the mother and the dancers reassemble and recreate the dance as a celebration and initiation of the new mother into the group which continues to organise birth dances for future new mothers.

The Temiar, an indigenous group of the Senoi in the rainforests of peninsular Malaysia making up less than one percent of Malaysia's population, believe that spirits impart songs during dreams to be sung to others for healing (Roseman, 2011). The Temiar live in an extended family structure with a headman chief for each community, cultivating bamboo, rattan, and tapioca and hunting small mammals and fish. Temiar healings typically occur during the night, such as in trance-dancing ceremonies or housebound singing, sometimes specifically for healing purposes and other times for social rites such as marking a point in an agricultural or mourning period. In one mourning ceremony, a brother of the deceased sought to be healed of a throat obstruction attributed to grief over his brother's death:

"To open the obstruction, a Temiar spirit medium and healer or halaa' sang into Busu's throat a healing song in the poignant genre cenceem, which is received in a dream from the spirit of a person who has died. As the healer sang into Busu Ngah's throat, chorus members played bamboo-tube percussion, and a gong received through historical trade and tributary relations between Temiars and Malays was struck, accentuating the rhythms of the bamboo tubes' percussion. Members of the community danced a version of cinceem's ambling dance step in a clockwise circle as the healer worked on Busu Ngah's throat. Between sonically 'injecting' song segments into Busu's throat, the healer sucked out negative spirit energy that was causing the closure, then clapped his hands to cast it away" (Roseman, 2011, p. 6).
For the Temiar, *Cinceem* is a genre with special significance. Associated with spirits of the deceased, the sounds of the genre imitate crying and wailing through melodic contour sung with tones of extended duration and vibrato. When the healer sings into the mourner's throat, it is believed to impart the expression of mourning to allow for release. A crucial aspect of the healing comes from the traditions and beliefs of the Temiar, including the role of spirits and the deceased in their lives. In their language, the word for songs and paths are both *nong*, representing the geography of music in their way of life, as Roseman (2011) learns in his walks with the Temiar in their landscape:

"A melodic contour bends, many Temiars say, like a path, and like a winding river that can whoosh and wash you away (bar-wejweej), music and dance movements can drag you swirling into trance. To understand the effectiveness of Temiar music and movement in healing rituals meant understanding the lay of the land, the pull of the river, and the denseness of the forest as it is experienced by Temiar rain-forest dwellers" (p. 9).

Music is also central in the southern and central African therapeutic process of ngoma. To its practitioners, though ngoma also works through spirits in music, it is medicine rather than religion (Janzen, 2000). In one ngoma ritual in Gugulethu, Capetown, a community gathering of thirty to fifty people would spend the night in song-dance, with healers and sufferers following the sacrifice of an animal for the healing of the individual the event was organised for. The individual begins with *ukunqula*, a self-presentation of confessing dreams and innermost thoughts, with everyone kneeling and motionless. In the second part, the song-dance of the *ngoma* begins which is sung, collective and rhythmic with instruments, and intended to be a healing response to the *ukunqula* self-presentation:
Regardless of who introduces the ngoma, as soon as it is intoned the circle begins to move in a counter-clockwise direction in a pattern characteristic of African group dance. The dancers' legs and bodies move in seemingly spontaneous yet concerted energy. If the dancers also have rattles in hand, they now begin to shake them in correspondence with their dance step and the singing. Shortly the drum joins the rhythm, but never before the vocal and smaller individual shakers and clappers have begun. The rhythm is thus initiated not by the drum, but by the energised group singing-dancing in a tight circle within the small room (Janzen, 2000, p. 52-3).

Such music, like much of the indigenous modes of music described in this section, may not fit into some Western art music definitions, such as "the science or art of ordering tones or sounds in succession, in combination, and in temporal relationships to produce a composition having unity and continuity" (Janzen, 2000, p. 5). The Western art music definition implies a boundary between performer and audience rather than incorporating the participatory music-making that weaves rhythm, dance, sounds, and words together and characterises much non-Western musical healing practices.

In *How Musical is Man*, John Blacking (1974) observed the music and culture of children and adult Venda people, originally cultivators and hunters and now adapting to a settled economy, in the Transvaal region of South Africa. Blacking’s transcriptions of the musical structures of children’s music reflected both creative expression and learning of the cultural values and mores of the Venda people. Blacking identified the disjunction in Western culture that located music as a work of art existing for its own sake. He writes, "The Venda taught me that music can never be a thing in itself and that all music is folk music, in the sense that music cannot be transmitted or have meaning without associations between people" (p. x). Although his
work was not linked directly to medicine or healing, Blacking noted that music was crucial to the well-being of people and societies: "When I lived with the Venda, I began to understand how music can become an intricate part of the development of mind, body, and harmonious social relationships" (p. xi-xii).

Many traditions of indigenous healing practices demonstrate some of the ways in which music as a form of healing is inextricably linked to one's community and one's relationships with others. Whether as a form of entrainment inducing altered states of consciousness as in shamanic trance, in pain management and community support during labour as in Kenyan birth dance, spiritual rituals within landscape as in the Temiar, confession of inner feelings with the community as in African ngoma, or development of relationships and mind as in Venda children, music permeates the way of life of these rich cultures to effect significant healing and community support. While this section gives a history of music in other cultures and their association with healing, in modern contexts these practices continue to have current vitality with implications for Indigenous Cultural Determinants of Health practices which share similarities with the activities of Humans in Harmony (e.g., see Harrison, 2012).

**Traditions and frameworks of music therapy**

In mid-18th century Western society, an understanding of music and healing in terms of the nervous system rather than of harmony between mind and soul emerged. The basis of music therapy at its start can be thought of as drawing on the Brunonian system of medicine treating disorders as due to over- or under-stimulation of nerves and the theory that music could stimulate the nerves to improve health (Gouk, 2017). New books emphasised music's effect over the nerves, including Ernst Anton Nicolai's 1745 *The Connection of Music to Medicine* and Richard Brocklesby's 1749 *Reflections of Antient and Modern Musick* (Erlmann, 2004).
Music was starting to shift from its conceptualisation as a form of cosmic order towards a more material view of its influence on nerves as the link between mind and body; from the sphere of a grand order and world harmony to one of "brute nature" of human physiology (Hollander, 1961). In the latter half of the 18th Century, sensibility, or Empfindung, was based on the nerves, and music was becoming tied to an aesthetic of feeling for which music was a nerve stimulant, as advocated by C.P.E. Back and Johann Georg Sulzer (Blasius, 1996). In Richard Browne's *Medicina Musica* (1729), nerves were identified as the source of emotional impact in music:

Sounds then may be supposed to rise from small Vibrations, or tremulous Motions of the Air, and to be propagated in Undulations; and these being collected by the external Ear, are from thence carry’d through the auditory passage to the Drum, on which beating, the four little Bones that are thereby mov’d and they move the internal Air, which, according to Degree of Motion, makes an Impression of the Auditory Nerves in the Labyrinth and Cochlea, so that according to the various Refractions of the external Air, the internal Air makes various Impressions upon the Auditory Nerve, the immediate Organ of Hearing, and these different Impressions represent to the Mind different sorts of Sound (p. 33).

Despite the shift towards a nerve-based theory, still, much of the Pythagorean tradition was maintained, as music continued to be discussed as harmony between soul and body in medical contexts (Kircher 1650 as cited in Kennaway, 2010). In nerve-centred discussions, the emphasis remained on the healing nature of music in refining the nerves and promoting sympathy and order (Kennaway, 2010). Such a view of music might best be captured by Duke Orsino's line from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*: "If music be the food of love, play on / Give me excess of it, that sufeiting, / The appetite may sicken and so dye" (see Hoeniger, 1984).
Around 1800, the discourse around nerves fell into pathological overtones, entering more into the province of medicine. Factors associated with the shift included an aetiology of disease viewing stimulation as a cause and as a critique of the lifestyle of the time, as well as political and cultural changes after the French Revolution which undermined the association of music with order (Kennaway, 2010). Characteristics of pathological music in the 1800s included "the understanding of music as a form of direct nervous stimulation, the moralising tone, the link to modern lifestyles and culture, and the focus on female nerves and sexuality" (Kennaway, 2010, p. 398).

The establishment of therapies of the mind heightened the idea of nervous stimulation in medicine and aesthetics (Kennaway, 2010), and music was critiqued for its role in overstimulation associated with a critique of luxury lifestyles of the time. In Theorie der schonen Kunste, Sulzer describes music as "shocks delivered to the nerves of the body" (Riley, 2004, p. 38). By the mid-1800s, the time of Galvani's work on galvanic animal electricity in frog legs, music had predominantly taken hold as energy and overstimulation rather than sympathetic vibration of sentiment or sensibility, described by physician Edwin Atlee of the time as music having effects “like electricity and galvanism, instantaneous and universal” (Atlee, 1804). Brunonianism as a school of medicine understood nervous pathology to be at the root of all pathology, and that framework highlighted the potential danger of music as a nervous stimulant (Kennaway, 2010). In Der musickalische Arzt, Lichtenthal (1807) writes,

This is by no means the only case where music has negative results... One must always remember that it is in a position to stimulate the mind to such a degree and is one of the most important stimulating powers, and therefore must be damaging when stimulation is notably increased. People who are recovering from a serious illness cannot stand the
smallest noise without suffering noticeable sensitivity...sound is a great stimulant for
those with heightened sensibility (irritability) (p. 161-2).

Not only individuals could be regarded as overstimulated by music; the entirety of culture as a
cradle of the arts could also be viewed as suffering from having become overstimulated. In *The
English Malady*, Cheyne (1733) writes,

> When I look at the current state of the sciences and the arts, I cannot help thinking that
our current era is suffering from weakness due to over-stimulation in intellectual and
aesthetic terms, just as doctors say it is in physical terms (from direct asthenia). I want to
say a few words about this evil relating to music. It cannot be unexpected and unnatural if
we give a cursory look back over the amazing progress in the culture of music—
especially the limitless love of music that one sees everywhere and the means of enjoying
it, which are leading to excess—in the monstrous number of concerts, operas, small and
large musical societies, etc (p. 67).

Rather than music as a good, as a marker of moral sensibility or order and harmony
between body and soul, music became pathologised by its reflection in culture and society
(Kennaway, 2010). Yet the pathologisation of music also brought it more closely into the realm
of institutionalised medicine, and the potential for development in a professionalised therapeutic
concept; e.g., Peter Lichtenthal (1807), a musician and physician, advocated for "doses of music"

While the moral basis of sentiment, order, and harmony fell gradually into the pathology
of overstimulation of nerves in the 19th Century, it was also during this time that the Viennese
school of music therapy integrated music into psychiatry and became established as the
pioneering music therapy school in Europe (De Backer et al., 2014; C. Gold, 2003) with the aim of "target-oriented application of musical means in a therapeutic relationship in order to restore, preserve, and advance psychic, physical, and mental health" (see curriculum for the study of Music Therapy at the University for Music and the Performing Arts, p. 2). Physician Bruno Goergen, an important advocate of music in psychiatric institutions, drew on Platonic ideals of music to postulate that the mind of the patient needed distraction while the body needed occupation to prevent patients from having "alienated sensibilities devoid of any harmony" (Görgen, 1820, p. 4). The application of music therapy in mid-nineteenth-century Vienna included the use of music as the language of the soul, as affecting the unsound mind favourably, of being in harmony with a patient's sensitivity, as stimulating the mind beneficially, and to be used in a manner consistent with the patient's temperament (Kramoling, 1847).

In the early 20th Century, the concept of eurhythmy was introduced by Rudolf Steiner and Maire Steiner who emphasised the need for human expression through the whole body and movement, what was described as "epiphany of the speaking soul" (Steiner, 1928), and a school for eurhythmics was founded in Vienna in 1924 (Korenjak, 2018). That year, the Montessori school was established. Based on the response of children through movement to music, Maria Montessori believed that the understanding of music was crucial for teaching children. It was not just reserved for a few, but everyone would benefit from being able to "enjoy this universal language of humankind and the expression of all the feelings of the soul as well" (Montessori, 2006, p. 20). By the mid-20th Century, other forms of theory emerged based on music as an accessible form of creativity, such as Schmölz’s approach that music therapy be intended as a reflection on the patient’s creative potential in communicative and musical contexts rather than any "final (artistic) result" (Schmölz, 1974, p. 176). Such an approach was closely related to a
humanistic psychotherapy approach starting in the 1950s oriented towards emphasising the "uniqueness of the individual" to "actualise himself, to become his potentialities" (Rogers, 1961, p. 350 and 351). The aftermath of WWI and WWII also fuelled the establishment of modern music therapy. In the UK, musicians travelled to hospitals to play for soldiers and in the US, the Department of War issued a bulletin for the use of music in aiding recovery in military hospitals (Rorke, 1996). Many different approaches to music therapy have developed and remain popular today. Originating from their work with children at the Suffield Children's Home in 1959, Paul Nordoff and Clive Robbins developed Nordoff Robins music therapy (Kim, 2004; Nordoff & Robbins, 2007) based on a humanist approach which emphasises the potential of self-discovery through the musicality of every person. Improvisation is a means for a person to access their creativity in order to overcome psychological and physical difficulties. The approach is "improvisational, interactional, explorative, oriented to self-actualisation, pragmatic, and finally, one in which the therapist never settles into a routine but is constantly evaluating musical tools and interventions to stimulate the client's growth" with the relationship between the client and therapist as central and strengthened by shared musical experience (Aigen, 1998, p. 6).

Rather than musical participation and improvisation as the central components, the Bonny Method uses selections of Western classical music to engage patients in imagery which help clients explore their self and experiences to promote health and well-being (Ventre, 2002). During 30-45 min sessions, the client enters an altered state of consciousness through music while in dialogue with the therapist to explore mental imagery that surfaces during the session. Nordoff Robbins and Bonny Method therapies are similar to other forms of music therapy including Orff, field of play, and feminist approaches (Edwards, 2016) in that they all focus on music as facilitating interaction between client and therapist, tapping into understandings of the
client through social, creative, and entrainment elements of music that, as seen in uses of healing
and music in tribal and indigenous contexts, are rhythmically and relationally salient.

Another framework for understanding and applying music in therapy relates specifically
to medical fields, using methods and measurements standard in medicine known generically as
“music and medicine.” Systematic reviews in the Cochrane database reveal that music therapy
seems to be most effective in depression, autism spectrum disorders, dementia, schizophrenia,
and end-of-life care (Aalbers et al., 2017; Bradt & Dileo, 2010; Geretsegger et al., 2014;
Christian Gold et al., 2005; Koger & Brotons, 2000). In oncology settings, music therapy aims to enhance quality of life, promote self-expression, improve mood, reduce stress, facilitate social interaction, and improve emotional well-being (Colwell, 2016). Measures to evaluate such outcomes include physiological data such as salivary immunoglobulin and cortisol levels. Music has also been used in the chemotherapy treatment process to reduce distress, pain, and fatigue; for example, in one songwriting activity with patients and families of oncology patients, those in the songwriting group had higher Quality of Life scores compared to live preferred music and counselling sessions (Cermak, 2005). In the field of obstetrics and gynaecology, music therapy has been used to reduce pain and anxiety during labour and after gynaecological surgeries (Colwell, 2016). Such applications of music in medicine often applies measurements used by medical professionals such as biomarkers, pain scales, and hormones.

Neurologic music therapy (NMT) relies on neuroscientific-medical theories and applications such as motor, cognitive, and stroke rehabilitation (Thaut et al., 2015). In NMT, the periodicity of auditory rhythmic patterns underlies how music, through entraining movement patterns, assists rehabilitation in patients with movement disorders (Thaut et al., 2015). In the way that multiple oscillating bodies in proximity naturally synchronise by assuming a common
period, temporal cues can serve as time references which aid motor learning. The techniques of rhythmic entrainment became “the initial foundation of the clinical practice of music therapy” (Thaut et al., 2015, p. 2). NMT has been described as a re-conceptualisation of the role of music for therapy moving away from “social science models” and “personal interpretation in regard to well-being, response, and social relationship” (Thaut et al., 2015, p. 3) towards sensory perception linked to motor function.

Similar neurological underpinnings of entrainment are being investigated for the more than hundred-year-old observation that patients with nonfluent aphasia can sing words they have difficulty speaking. Based on the approach of NMT, melodic intonation therapy (MIT) was developed in 1973 to establish techniques for music therapy in aphasia, and found to improve aphasia recovery outcomes including articulation and phrase production (Altenmüller & Schlaug, 2015). One proposed mechanism in MIT, like in NMT, is based on the rhythmic entrainment of left-hand tapping acting as a pacemaker for verbal production (Altenmüller & Schlaug, 2015).

As an area of development, Thaut et al. (2015) describe the need to address psychiatric rehabilitation: “Emerging views on the nature of mental illness…may allow a more focused extension of NMT techniques in the areas of executive and psychosocial function, attention, and memory to contribute to psychiatry treatment” (p. 4). Newer methods in neuroscience such as hyperscanning with brain-to-brain coupling offer the potential for neuroscience and neurologic music therapy to integrate the social contexts of interaction with others, allowing for a shift from a single-brain to a multi-brain frame of reference (Fachner et al., 2019; Hasson et al., 2012).

The move towards NMT and medicalised models helped music therapy gain acceptance and esteem in the medical community, but also gathered criticism for its neglect to the everyday, social context of medicine that underlies the effects of music and healing for centuries. In 1980-
2000, pressures of medicalisation and institutionalisation meant that music therapy was more focused on creating professional and standard practices. Some practitioners were frustrated by the pressure to hide other socially-applicable uses of their practice when they did not fit into professional norms (Ansdell, 2002; Pavlicevic & Ansdell, 2004).

Beginning in the late 20th Century, a strand of music therapy emerged in a way that set it apart from other music therapies as a social movement. Community music therapy (CoMT) considers itself as a movement because unlike Nordoff-Robbins, Bonny, or NMT, it was catalysed not by individual pioneers, but by resistance to the standardisation and professionalisation of music therapy (Ansdell & Stige, 2016). Its emergence has been met with divided opinions. At a conference of the 10th World Congress of Music Therapy in Oxford in July 2002, a panel group argued that “CoMT was obvious, confusing, misguided, new, old, not music therapy, unnecessary, revolutionary, traditional suicide, and professional salvation, as well as 'a big British balloon'” (Stige, 2003). For others aligned with the movement, “In its short history CoMT has functioned variously as an inspiration for broader and more flexible practice, as a critique of traditional theory, as a platform for exploring fresh interdisciplinary theory, and as an instigator of inter-professional dialogue and dispute” (Ansdell & Stige, 2016, p. 1-2).

Rather than try to define itself, accepting that the field's pluralism makes it resistant to definition, one way in which CoMT orients itself is through qualities such as through the acronym PREPARE: participatory, resource-oriented, ecological, performative, activist, reflective, and ethics-driven (Stige & Aarø, 2011). Instead of an exclusively medical model of health, CoMT turns to an "ecological model" which looks at well-being as going beyond biological health and towards human flourishing (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Ansdell and DeNora (2012) describe CoMT as promoting "musical flourishing" through musicking to foster
achievements where "health challenges are chronic, not acute; where contextual factors seem intractable; where hope is a key necessary ingredient for change; where mutual care is a more realistic path than cure" (Ansdell & Stige, 2016, p. 15).

Community music

In a similar way that CoMT was a pushback to the medicalisation of music therapy, community music emerged as a pushback against the standardisation and professionalisation of the fields of music therapy and music education (L. Higgins, 2007). It emerged as a strand of the 1960s and 1970s counter-culture era of the community arts in the UK, challenging hierarchical norms and promoting activism (L. Higgins, 2007). In the US, community music through community cultural development formed as a critique of the restrictive and slow-to-change approaches to music education during the early 21st Century (Abeles & Custodero, 2010; Jorgensen, 2003; Kaschub & Smith, 2014), urging musical participation to allow for more diverse participation across settings.

American community music can be said to originate from a number of sources: particularly, the singing of psalters in congregations alongside singing schools of the 1720s which gave public performances inspired church choirs and other singing societies and ethnic-based societies (e.g., German American societies, Polish Singers Alliance of American, and Norwegian Singers Association of America). Other all-volunteer choirs were affiliated with professional orchestras such as the Atlanta Symphony Chorus (Coffman, 2013). American community bands were also common in 1880-1920, the "Golden Age" of bands, taking form from the influence of military band state militias after the American Revolutionary War which performed for civic functions like parades. Many of the community ensembles were welcoming
to anyone with interest regardless of musical experience, including university and college ensembles, fostering a spirit of communal participation (Coffman, 2013).

Community music is resistant to definition, encompassing applications as diverse as geopolitical post-conflict reconciliation to rehabilitative programmes in juvenile detention centres for incarcerated youth. While both music therapy and community music are resistant to the ideas of imposed change suggested by the term, “intervention,” (Bartleet & Higgins, 2018b) each of these approaches target particular populations: usually, clients with diagnosable clinical conditions in music therapy and members of particular demographically or culturally-identifiable communities in community music, although—especially in community music therapy—the boundaries between the two may be blurred in practice. Because of the sociofunctional effects of music, strengthened and inseparable from its community practice and traditions, the distinction between music therapy and community music may not be as clear as each field might like to assert (Wood & Ansdell, 2018). Music therapy has at times been critical of community music, especially with the advance of community music therapy, as devaluing the professionalism of the field in medical settings. Yet the two fields share much in common, such as an ecological perspective on music, society, health, and well-being. Both also tend to share similar perspectives against individualist, consumerist, evaluative, and professional stances (Wood & Ansdell, 2018). It may be argued that the two share more than they differ, while each claims its respective domain: professionalisation in a medical setting in music therapy, and resisting institutionalisation outside of the healthcare arena in community music (Wood & Ansdell, 2018).

Uniting the activities of community music is a commitment to music participation as inclusive and a form of cultural democracy—enhancing opportunities for people of all abilities and backgrounds, especially voices of those historically underrepresented (Graves, 2010).
Usually, community music facilitators organise group processes to engage with communities in improvisation, composition, or instrumental performance (Bartleet & Higgins, 2018b). Rather than define community music by what it is, community music leaders suggest that it should be characterised by what it does (Bartleet & Higgins, 2018b), for example, as relationships between community and music ecosystems, as reciprocity and collective relationships in indigenous populations, or online community music activities and new media activism (respectively, Shippers, Te Oti Rakena, and Waldron in Bartleet & Higgins, 2018a).

While community music may seem a distinct field professionally from music therapy, the distinction is not so clear, especially when placed in the context of music as a part of everyday social life, such as the case of many non-Western cultures. In Nobody Knows My Name, James Baldwin (1998) writes, "[Senghor] told us the difference between the function of the arts in Europe and their function in Africa lay in the fact that, in Africa, the function of the arts is more present and pervasive, is infinitely less special, 'is done by all, for all.' Thus, art for art's sake is not a concept which makes any sense in Africa. The division between art and life out of which such a concept comes does not exist there" (p. 150). Songs are both music and speech utterances which facilitate spontaneous interaction depending on social context in African societies (Nketia, 1982). Art in Africa, Baldwin describes, "is concerned with reaching beyond and beneath nature, to contact, and itself become a part of la force vitale. The artistic image is not intended to represent the thing itself, but, rather, the reality of the force the thing contains" (p. 150).

One common social framework for understanding the value of the arts is based on Robert Putnam's concept of social capital. The rising discourse of "social capital" popularised by Putnam in Bowling Alone (2000) describes a decline of social connections responsible for many social problems in the US in the last three decades. Putnam's social capital differs from the social
and cultural capital of Pierre Bourdieu (1986). Bourdieu's analysis of capital is centred around the inequalities that can be furthered when cultural and social capital are markers of symbolic power. The gain of cultural capital such as aesthetic tastes or social capital such as credentials and networks further one's belonging to a group which can convey advantage or disadvantage. Thus, presentational arts like Western classical music or art museums can be considered forms of cultural capital. The social activities making up social capital, as Putnam uses the term, are less about power than about local social relations such as going to church, having dinner with friends, attending club meetings, and bowling. In a spirit of de Tocquevillian notions of the American character built around social trust and local community bonds (Tocqueville, 2003), the social capital framework rests upon a framing of civil society in terms of social relations, trust, and civic-mindedness between individuals.

Social capital can take many forms, including "bonding" with members of one's in-group and "bridging" with members from other groups (Putnam, 2000). Putnam argues that bridging links people to wider networks and can enhance civic engagement, including through sporting or cultural engagement. He describes examples of projects which he argues shows that "art is especially useful in transcending conventional social barriers" (Putnam, 2000, p.411-412). Bridging includes connections across ethnic, racial, and religious boundaries (Stolle et al, 2008, as cited in Jones, 2010). Bridging typically involves social connections across weak ties (e.g., strangers in a community); bonding typically across strong ties (e.g., family and friend relations) (for literature on strong and weak ties, see Granovetter, 1983; Krackhardt et al., 2003).

Under the framework of social capital, those in the arts have tended to also frame the sociofunctional arts towards the development of social connections or skills. Music, for instance, could aim to build social capital to "foster musician’s developing bridging social capital and
weak ties in order to improve the communities in which they work" (Jones, 2010, p. 298). Music scholar Patrick Jones (2010) describes, "In plain language, social capital is a disposition towards and practice of cooperating with others. Such cooperation is based on values and interpersonal skills that foster cooperation such as honesty, honour, empathy and trustworthiness” (p. 294). Jones (2010) argues that music-making can build social capital: “instead of social capital being a by-product of musicking, music educators and community musicians should make it an implied goal” (p. 292). Under Jones’ analysis, music educators and those in community music should aim to build social capital as a goal, to “foster musician’s developing bridging social capital and weak ties in order to improve the communities in which they work” (p. 298).

Closely related to a Putnam conception of social capital, three civic engagement theories of action apply to the arts (Stern & Seifert, 2009). These civic engagement theories include didactic, discursive, and ecological theories of action. In the didactic theory of action, the arts are instructive and able to persuade or improve public understanding, e.g., activist public art in social movements. In the discursive theory of action, the arts facilitate a means of furthering civic dialogue and the process of bonding or bridging social capital, e.g., arts-based community workshops. In ecological theory of action, the arts generate "spillover effects" that carry over to everyday life and increase community capacity, e.g., music education and music therapy in enhancing socio-emotional learning.

The existing frameworks for social impact based on Putnam's social capital and civic engagement are helpful in highlighting the sociofunctional value of the arts. However, they tend to focus on social connection without as much consideration to the dynamics and processes in which the relations occur, and how the relations relate to one's well-being, health, and flourishing. Taking a more public health approach to well-being, the role of the arts in social
factors such as esteem, freedom, agency, well-being, and achievement could be explored through approaches that highlight capabilities and flourishing.

One example of such an approach focuses on the social transformative impacts of music and applies them in community music settings:

Social transformation are processes in which individuals’ or groups’ relations to themselves, each other and their surrounding world are transformed. These relations are to be regarded as the frameworks of meaning that guide interpretation of the objects, actions, symbols and identities that constitute the social and cultural world. Processes of social transformation are essential for community music practices involving socially marginalized or disadvantaged individuals and groups, because they potentially allow for criticizing or challenging experiences of marginalization and exclusion and simultaneously enable the construction and articulation of alternative and more desirable subject positions and notions of social and cultural identity (Boeskov, 2017, p. 86).

Community music as socially transformative has been applied in a variety of settings. In Palestinian refugee camps, a programme of the Palestinian organisation Beit Atfal Assumoud and Norwegian educators in Rashideigh provide music and dance activities for children and adolescents in the camps led by local Palestinian musicians (Boeskov, 2017). Such approaches emphasising social transformation have parallels with the approach and aims of Humans in Harmony and other similar programs linking health and community, as described in the next section.

**Potential future directions for music and health**

Although advances in neuroscience and science are promising, they may never be able to reflect facets of the complexity and changing dynamism of a reality that is socially constructed, such as multidimensional aspects of what it means to be well or flourish. One challenge of well-being, health, and psychiatric applications lies in that it is especially important to situate well-being in social and cultural context, involving one’s identity, relations, and community. The idea of “musical flourishing” has been a way of illustrating community musical therapy, such as through
examples like BRIGHT Music (Ansdell & DeNora, 2012). This group supplemented traditional music therapy sessions with longer-term and more everyday group café sessions which included participants from a wide range of backgrounds and musical experience (Ansdell & DeNora, 2012). Described as “a cross between a music therapy session and an open-mic session,” BRIGHT Music was a weekly two-hour afternoon of music open to anyone including members of the public, and ran from 2005-2010 with solo and group singing, dancing, and festive celebrations. The program took place over the two locations of the hospital where music therapy sessions were held and where BRIGHT Music met as an afternoon café group, with easy transportation to both places near each other. In 2008 the program won the Royal Society for Public Health’s “Arts & Health Award.” Over the course of three years of ethnographic study, four themes emerged: 1) enhancing musical participation and collaborations socially and between the medical and non-medical site; 2) musical narratives, exploring access to cultural resources in relation to social mobility and capital; 3) enhancing musical environments and networks; and 4) musical pathways, developing pathways between acute care and community sites and between states of illness and health. One of the participants, Cleo, was a long-term patient in the hospital with manic depressive disorder who participated in music therapy and BRIGHT Music. As she recovered from her illness, she also found a sense of agency through music, setting up music activities for individuals to aid in mental health. “It is not about what is ‘done to’ Cleo but about what Cleo is able to ‘do to/do with’ her worlds, a two-way interaction of client and world” (Ansdell & DeNora, 2012, p. 105).

Taking community music therapy and BRIGHT Music as an example, the aim of applying NMT, approaches of evidence-based medicine, or Western-centric understandings of music as forms of capital may be severely limited if removed from social and cultural conditions
in complex dynamics of well-being and health. “Music therapy is unlikely to ‘cure’ cancer. What it can do, however, is alert us to the ways in which the cancer identity may be mediated, transcended, elided, or mollified through collective activity such that it might even become possible to speak of how, even at the very end of life, it is possible to ‘be well’” (Ansdell & DeNora, 2012, p. 104).

Developments within and outside the fields of music therapy and community music offer the potential for fruitful and mutual learning. One shift comes from a growing “new musicology” in music studies applying social and cross-cultural approaches from anthropology, sociology, and psychology which investigates music-making in relation to social context and culture. Second, a parallel shift in conceptualising health and well-being highlights the interdependence between health and social environment. Epilepsy, for instance, in Western medicine is a pathology to be treated; for the Hmong people, it is a condition of divine giftedness (Fadiman, 2012). Homosexuality was once considered a psychiatric disorder in the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. “Health as a state,” writes Ansdell and DeNora, “may be seen to emerge from couplings between individuals, practices and modes of experience” (2012, p. 107).

Educators, therapists, and researchers are increasingly making a policy case for the positive impacts of music, developing frameworks and values which align with concerns of policymakers (Cross et al., 2018). One area of interest includes the improvement of well-being and health, with especial attention to reports of increasing loneliness. In 2018, the UK appointed its first Minister for Loneliness. Theresa May said in a statement: “I want to confront this challenge for our society and for all of us to take action to address the loneliness endured by the elderly, by carers, by those who have lost loved ones—people who have no one to talk to or
share their thoughts and experiences with.” In 2017, the then-US Surgeon General Dr. Vivek Murthy declared a "loneliness epidemic." In the Harvard Business Review, he wrote about the risks of loneliness in the workplace and the increased risks of cardiovascular disease, dementia, depression, and anxiety (Murthy, 2017). Loneliness increases the risk of mortality equivalent to that of smoking 15 cigarettes per day (Holt-Lunstad et al., 2010). The importance of social facts—including self-esteem, dignity, and social support—in everyday contexts for one’s health and well-being is a growing area of concern. Such loneliness is associated with some of the pressing crises facing the West: rising mortality in the US, political polarisation, and exclusionary nationalism. A sense of despair or loss of hope is tied to the loss of meaning in work and, critically, a sense of esteem and dignity (e.g., Case & Deaton, 2015; Sandel, 2020). These are areas and needed possibilities which could be supported, in tandem with structural political and economic change, by forming frameworks for applications for music on an everyday, participatory level in community contexts not necessarily limited to typical understandings of music therapy or community music.

These shifts and concerns support the need for and the promise of permeability between interventions, approaches, and frameworks from both a community music and medical or scientific angle. In thinking about her experience with chronic illness, philosopher Havi Carel writes, “Well-being is the invisible context enabling us to pursue possibilities and engage in projects. It is the condition of possibility enabling us to follow through aims and goals, to act on our desires, to become who we are” (2008, p. 53). With a holistic approach to well-being in mind which places clinical and community understandings in dynamic and dialogic interaction with an individual and environment, I carried out a series of collaborative songwriting sessions in clinical settings (such as between health professional students and patients in cancer support groups) and
in community settings (such as between health and college students and social service organisations).
Chapter 3 Music Corps

Music corps, a two-month program of Humans in Harmony implemented in the summer of 2019, was neither a traditional form of music therapy nor community music, but reflected aspects of both. Like community music, it has the tenets of community-based programming in social service settings and the ethos of co-creation and social transformation, but unlike typical community music, it also integrates into medical and health settings, such as in cancer support groups and involving health professional students as described in Ch. 5. It ultimately seeks to serve as a link between more typical community settings and more typical medical settings, similar to and building from activities such as that in BRIGHT music. The program is more similar to community music than music therapy, as it does not seek to use specific therapy methods or focus on specific patient populations as standard in music therapy, although some may classify it as a form of community music therapy. Through group workshops and on-site placements involving college students, health professional students, and social service organisations in NYC, the program aimed to create an environment where participants from varied backgrounds and levels of prior music experience all engaged in a collaborative form of music-making and creation.

Structure of music corps

Humans in Harmony initially began as separate partnerships with various social service organisations, but I was interested in how the workshops could be systematized to operate on a regional scale in New York City. The vision that developed, described in the previous chapter, was music corps. The typical role of a corps may be seen as enhancing a spirit of commonality drawn on de Tocquevillian notions of strong civil society (Eliasoph, 2013b). Through the
collaborative arts, such a program can at the same time strive to counteract unequal power dynamics. It does so by building a collective understanding of care towards neighbours and strangers dependent on a social and physical ecosystem of shared resources. Qualitative and quantitative data from research that I conducted for my undergraduate senior thesis with teens in detention centres and during medical school with children in foster care and veterans in community living provided me with some insight into how participants could experience community engagement through collaborative songwriting. The data from prior pilot studies, presented in Appendix B (Prior pilot data), suggested that connection as a way of contributing to the public good was a unique and meaningful aspect of the interventions (Cao, 2013, 2015, 2016; Cao & Gowda, 2018).

Based on my research and experiences pointing to the impact of Humans in Harmony’s activities on civic engagement and social participation, in the summer of 2019, the team and I piloted music corps as a program of Humans in Harmony in NYC. The music corps operates on a service placement model with social service organisations in the US. It recruits a group of university students and recent graduates and placed them in summer projects with local organisations. Students engage with the population and built personal relationships with individuals, and collaborate to write songs with community members that reflect their interactions and stories. Each student is placed in a local organisation where they visit for a few hours each week in additional to group activities with all corpsmembers. Students are recruited from colleges in New York and New Jersey as well as partner youth community centres in New York City. The timeline over the course of each term includes application, training, placement, song sharing celebration, and group songwriting sessions.
Before the placement, *music corps* identifies and partners with social and human service organisations. Organisations that could be good fits with the model have in place: 1) A volunteer or internships model where participants can interact with community members over the course of their placement time, and 2) the potential to hold group music activities (intro/improv, music performance, and song sharing session) with the individuals in the organisation. *Music corps* works as a partnership between the service organisation, students, and *Humans in Harmony*. Participants are responsible for their own travel and housing, and a fundraising campaign prior to the start of the program helped raise funds to help cover any expenses to the extent possible. Some partner organisations provided for the cost of placement services and music activities on a case-by-case basis.

In the participant application process, students rank organisations which *music corps* has identified and partnered with. *Music corps* makes placements based on student interests and organisation needs. Typically, two students are placed in each organisation. In preparation for placement, students are trained in an hour-long orientation session with community organisation staff to learn about the organisations and the populations these organisations serve. Staff at the organisation are invited to attend a group session with students, or students meet with the staff at their organisation. Medical clearance processes are completed per the requirements of each organisation.

During the placement, students and community members engage in collaborative songwriting activities to create a song with the participants at their placement sites and also engage in social activities with all participants during group sessions. Relationships between students and community members develop during placement time at the organisation and group songwriting sessions with students and community members from other organisations. A
curriculum of activities for the whole-group songwriting sessions are shared below, which took place from June-August in summer 2019 (see Appendix C: Program of music corps). The design for activities that form the basis of the program was based on my experiences and research from prior songwriting pilots first implemented in the setting of incarcerated teens and later adapted for health professional students and other community settings. Guiding principles for activities included that they could be easy-to-understand (e.g., broken into steps), accessible to those who had no prior musical or songwriting experience (e.g., accessible online music programs), and centred on a process of connection and understanding of another person’s story (e.g., starting with a song ideas guide to facilitate conversation). The sessions and activities are summarized below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Session</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orientation and introduction with student interns</td>
<td>Orientation from community organisation director Understanding community populations A structure and guide for music and songwriting workshops at placement sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 1: Brainstorming, storytelling, song structure</td>
<td>Conversation and song ideas form Common song structures Rhyme schemes and lyrics Perspective, rhyming, structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 2: Lyrics and melody</td>
<td>Option A: Start with melody Option B: Start with chords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 3: Melody and instrumentals</td>
<td>Adding beats, chords, instruments, and/or voice Music production resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 4: Instrumentals and workshopping</td>
<td>Sessions 4 and 5 are reserved for workshopping as a group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 5: Workshopping</td>
<td>Continued workshopping</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 6: Recording</td>
<td>Recording slots for songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Session 7: Song-sharing celebration</td>
<td>Song-sharing celebration at organisation site</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The final two sessions of the group workshops include a recording session where participants record their songs and a final song sharing session where participants and organisation staff celebrate the songs together. In the final weeks, an album release fundraiser was launched with students to engage students in sharing their work with others and support programming and publishing of an album of songs on music streaming platforms including Spotify and Apple Music. Song are shared, with participants’ permission, on the streaming platforms and on the *Humans in Harmony* website ([https://humansinharmony.org/](https://humansinharmony.org/)).

*Music corps* considers both students and community member participants as “corpsmembers” by nature of the group, collaborative process of songwriting, differentiating it from many corps models which typically designate the group visiting placement sites as the corpsmember. By doing so, it advances *Humans in Harmony*’s beliefs that everyone is a creative artist and every person has a story to tell; in the power of the arts not only to comfort and connect but to transform and reimagine; and in the hope to build a community of artists as a community of equals, where everyone is part of the joint creation of the next moment ([https://humansinharmony.org/](https://humansinharmony.org/)).

To recruit student participants, I sent out information about the program through an online application form to college campuses mostly located in the NY and NJ area. The students came from New York University (NYU), Princeton, City University of New York (CUNY), Rutgers, Manhattan School of Music, and Columbia University Medical Center with backgrounds ranging from education to instrumental performance and sociology to theatre. Community member participants were recruited from partner organisations including AHRC (no longer an acronym as outdated) New York City, serving individuals with intellectual and other disabilities in four midtown sites; Ali Forney Center, serving LGBTQ homeless youth in Harlem;
Isabella Center serving elderly residents in Washington Heights; Harmony Program serving primary school children; and Sheltering Arms serving homeless youth in Queens. After visits to organisations, reading application responses, and video interviews, all the participants were gathered for the first group session together. I carried out and observed sessions through ethnographic notes (see Appendix A: Ethnographic notes in music corps). I designed the structure of the sessions based on prior workshops I conducted through Humans in Harmony, and expanded activities to include placement of student participants at partner sites in addition to group workshops. All resources for activities during the sessions were created with G., an intern working with Humans in Harmony over the summer, and forms and presentations (summarised at the beginning of each session below) are available online at https://humansinharmony.org/engagelearn/.

The field observations that follow in this chapter were taken from reflections from students and my own observations. At the conclusion of each session, students convened for reflection exercises where they shared their impressions and experiences at their sites, and wrote responses in response to questions reflecting the values underlying the program: collaboration, connection, co-creation. The ethnographic notes I took drew on my observations during the sessions where I noted the interactions and dynamics of community members and students. Sometimes, the intern G. would also contribute to entry posts and add in his own interpretations. Other times, another student, A., who was interested in media and communications, also added to the post-session writing entries. My ethnographic notes, as follows, drew on these written reflections and my own observations.

I engaged in ethnographic field notes for data collection, a form of open-ended and inductive participant-observation occurring over the two months of the program with a focus on
the social interactions and of the participants and interactions with the social services community organizations of New York City. Ethnography allows flexibility in changing and adapting to the interactions and needs of the participants which aligned with the values of collaboration and co-creation of the program. In my observations I also brought an awareness of my personal thoughts and reactions to the sessions and their relation to the values of Humans in Harmony.

Removing the researcher from the data is often an ideal in quantitative research, but not the aim of ethnography which recognizes that the individual is situated culturally and contextually. In ethnography, the aim is to integrate, collaborate, and merge the personal with the culture in which the observer is studying. The value of collaboration and observation is part of the advantage of using ethnography, which then supplements the more quantitative methods in Chapters 5 and 6. All participants had consented to be part the research, with Institutional Review Board review processes described in Ch. 5 and 6 which also includes evaluation through validated questionnaires. Ethical considerations in the gathering of data privacy and consent of participants are described further in Ch. 5.

**Session 1: Brainstorming, storytelling, song structure**

Isabella Geriatric Center is a nursing home located in the northern Manhattan neighbourhood of Washington Heights. In their brightly lit large room, 24 participants of the music corps program gathered. Ten participants were college students or recent graduates from NY or NJ schools and 14 participants came from social service organisations in New York City including Isabella Geriatric Center serving elderly residents and AHRC NYC serving individuals with intellectual and other developmental disabilities. Isabella Geriatric Center is a 705-bed nursing home which also offers independent senior housing for adults aged 62 and older, adult day health care, rehabilitation, and community programs for older adults who live at home. AHRC NYC’s adult
day services support individuals with disabilities including traumatic brain injury and autism spectrum disorders, programming the day with classes and experiences on- and off-site with staff and attending as part of day habilitation to support self-determined and meaningful activities. One of the participants, N. from New York University, kicked off the session with a theatre exercise to introduce everyone and loosen up the group. Everyone gathered in a circle and went around doing a hand movement in an exercise called “Do Like Me.” One participant started strumming an imaginary guitar, then everyone in the circle would strum guitars; the next person in the circle started waving her hands in the air, then everyone would wave their hands in the air.

After the introductions and improv-imitations, the energy in the room was high, and G. walked to the front of the room, cleared his throat, and with a joyous wave, began: “Hi everyone!” The group replied, “Hi!” G. is the intern I’m working with over the summer through a summer internship partnership between Humans in Harmony and the Princeton Internships in Civic Service. G. has a warm smile and eyes that curve downward at the edges which relax his face and posture. He had just finished his freshman year at Princeton. Growing up in Texas, G. helped support his family’s food truck business, spending days after school preparing and serving food for customers. Despite being a bass vocalist who arranged scores for his a capella group and who was considering music performance as a minor, G. did not initially consider himself sufficiently musically skilled. One afternoon, he had had been rehearsing a presentation for a group session and was worried that he wasn’t qualified enough for the task. Like many, G. did not consider himself sufficiently “musical” without being formally trained or without practicing as a professional. Yet the point of these sessions was to open up a space and place of community where everyone held creative power through music and stories, in contrast to the conception of Western art music as an expert skill requiring intensive training. Such
“participatory” music isn’t enclosed in performance spaces like a concert hall, but exists in social acts of everyday life like rituals and singing in church (Turino, 2008).

Perhaps it was because the participants had all experienced a kind of collective creation and ease through the rhythms of the improvisatory mimetic, rhythm, and multisensory exercise, that G., buoyed by the group’s enthusiastic response to his greeting, started presenting with ease: he outlined the steps to lyric-writing and introduced topics like rhyme, song structure, free-writing, and theme. Another student, A., shared her own method of songwriting based off a songwriting course she took in college. After 15 min of presentation time, everyone broke out into groups to get the words flowing.

The groups of about five each, generally two students and three community members, were assigned based on groupings with community members that students continued to work with during their internship placements. Staff members from AHRC NYC and Isabella Geriatric Center were also present and helped with discussions and lyric-writing. There was an ease of conversation and laughter in group sharing. Some groups were starting to sing together in chorus, others were conversing about various members’ interests and skills, others were engaged in sharing a verse idea. In one of the AHRC NYC groups, a band called “Zulu P,” a group of participants who had already formed their band prior to the start of the program, was excited about creating a song with students in their group. One student, Am., describes her experience and thinking about community as families in this group:

I’m working with members of the band Zulu P, which has practiced a lot over the past several years (and enjoyed a lot of fame). I’m excited to work with them because of their cohesive team dynamic. My team member Cha. summed it up like this: “[Zulu P
members] really loved talking about their mission, which was that they just love the sense of family in the group and making their audience happy.

In another group, a participant pointed out the role of family in her group’s song idea about support and giving back: “Family is incredibly important to them, particularly relationships with siblings. It seems that what is most important to them about these relationships is the sense of support, care, and togetherness they feel when with family. Many of them express desires to be able to help their family in the same way their family helps them, a sense of mutuality in care.”

After about 30 min of workshopping in groups, everyone gathered again in a circle to go around and share what they had created. One group sang a completed verse, another read what they had written, and others shared what they had learned from each other. After each group’s sharing, there was a round of clapping and encouragement from the whole group. When asked for any general thoughts or other things to share, some of the group members from Zulu P came into the centre of the room and shared their skills: operatic singing and beat-making. The participants then broke into free-form time for lunch, before community members left and student participants remained.

Around a small table, G. opened with a prompt for reflection: “What did you learn about your community members”? The student participants spent about five min writing down their thoughts. There was an ease in which everyone wrote, and ease in which they were eager to share with the group their thoughts. S., a student from New York University (NYU), opened with the thought about connecting to those who were different yet shared many similarities and skills with a rich variety of experiences. Others noted how impressed they were with the skills that
their community members had. There was a discussion about the songwriting process: how it was easier to write when the aim centred around a mutual understanding of experiences but also the difficulties of respecting another’s story without imposing upon it. One student working with geriatric residents reflected, “Sitting there speaking to them, I imagined such vivid and full lives, and could almost see scenes from the years gone by.” Another shared, “Each one of them has complex interests that are not only limited to music but also to many other facets of life, including religion and ideology.”

I found that the most memorable moments in our short first few hours together were the ones that weren’t planned: the natural interactions during the improv exercise, the shouts of encouragement during the presentation, the flow of smiles and movement during the group workshop, the excitement of the group sharing, the thoughtful conversations during the reflection—the moments not comprised of one person “leading,” but when the learning happened among the students and community members who were using their specific skills to share and engage with each other. As this beginning session came to an end, AHRC Director of Arts and Community Outreach summed it up: “Everybody feels liberated to create stuff.”

**Session 2: Lyrics and melody**

“I wish for more patience,” “I wish for a ticket to a tropical place,” “I wish for food”—as each participant went around in a circle sharing what they wished for, they handed each other the pencil case—the “lemon” from “the lemon tree.” This “lemon tree” theatre exercise opened our next session, one week after the first, as everyone settled into a glassy, sunlit classroom at Columbia University Medical Center and prepared for the session on chords and melody.
Once again, G. opened with a presentation on the options of starting with melody or chords when beginning to write a song. The overview focused on how someone with little experience of songwriting could use online resources such as websites and programs to create chords and melodies. Two other student participants, Ny. and D., who were both experienced songwriters, demonstrated the ways in which they wrote songs. D. began with an overview of chords as Ny. played chords and invited an AHRC member who volunteered to improvise a melody to the chords.

When everyone broke out into groups to continue workshopping songs, one group focused on building on a verse from the verse and chorus they had worked on last time. Despite difficulties in some students being sick and not working with the same group, they were able to collaborate and make progress, picking up from where they left off. One group continued their theme of “my family, my inspiration,” while the Zulu P group continued to do freestyling and input their words into GarageBand. They shared their songs with the group to warm applause.

The students gathered as the community members left and discussed their experiences at their placements. Outside of these weekly workshops, each week each student also visited the community members at the organisation they were placed in, as arranged with organisation staff members before the start of the sessions. In the discussion group, D., a jazz pianist at the Manhattan School of Music, and C., a public health student at Columbia University, shared how they had worked on lyrics with the residents during their visits and were continuing to develop them during our group sessions. In between the group sessions, they would go to Isabella Center once a week and organise their own sessions with the seniors there, allowing for more intimate and personal connections to develop in the setting that the residents were naturally in.
Other students like Sm. and Sk., undergraduates at NYU, went weekly to AHRC where they joined their community member partners in choir group activities, singing as part of the choir while also working with the choir directors to work on creating a song with the group. Sm. and Sk. are vocalists and instrumentalists with interests in working with those with disabilities, so it seemed natural to place them at AHRC’s choir group. Once a week students and community members all had the chance to come together as a group in our weekly sessions hosted in uptown Manhattan, and in between these group sessions they also met each other at their community organisations throughout NYC and adapted their activities to the needs and structures of the organisations—whether flexible sessions to meet and organise their own activities or further existing organisational activities like choir group.

The session ended with student participants gathering to check in on their placement visits and with the prompt, “How has an atmosphere of collaboration developed among your community members?” David shared about how he had worked at Isabella nursing centre and worked on lyrics with those residents. A free form conversation took place where the students discussed how they planned to work in the next sessions with their group. Sk. and Am. both noted how impressed they were with the way that AHRC members in Zulu P advocated for each other. They noted how clear it was that members of Zulu P knew each other and would encourage and challenge each other. Sk. noted that, as in our prior conversation about the importance of going into a community setting with a learning perspective rather than a helping perspective, she had learned a lot from Zulu P members—both in how they interacted with each other and also from the musical skills and freestyling they had. I felt that a highlight of the session was the way that the students working with Zulu P wanted to support and facilitate the group’s skills and strengths, even if that meant straying from the guidelines or structure provided
by the curriculum. They were dedicated to helping support the group, and they were excited and inspired by the ways that Zulu P worked together and created music.

Session 3: Melody and instrumentals

Students and participants from AHRC gathered for the third group session, which focused on adding beats, rhythm, and instrumentals, building on the words and lyrics that were created from last Tuesday’s session. M., a student participant with experience in theatre exercises, started off the session by gathering everyone in a large circle. G. had met M. weeks ago before our group sessions started when we chatted with M. on some outdoor tables on a pleasant early-summer day. Then, M. already had a clear sense of what he had wanted: he was planning his own sessions for the organisation they would be visiting: Ali Forney Center for LGBTQ youth. M. was already working for an LGBTQ theatre organisation and he was deeply attuned to creating spaces where everyone felt comfortable and free—a philosophy he aimed to put into practice in the workshops he would organise.

It was this quality of open and joint space which struck me when I had first interviewed M.: an excitement in music having the capacity to equalise—something that could blur distinctions and that everyone could be a part of. M.’s theatre background was a natural jumping off point for an application of the kind of “participatory” music and what we were creating and building—not so much the “performance” that is typically imagined between performer and audience, but behaviours from everyday life, or what, taken from the theatre-informed field of Performance Studies developed by Richard Schechner (2017), can be called “twice-behaved behaviour”—the kind of performance where everyone is a performer. The activity required a kind of vulnerability from which was encouraged by M.’s commitments and assurance in
creating environments that bleed between music, art, theatre, and everyday life: “We are going to create a machine,” M. said, asking every person to go around making a noise reflective of the chosen machine theme of “submarine.” M. facilitated this by emphasising that it was okay to feel silly, and together in a circle, we all began to make funny sounds: some stomped their feet, others made vocal “whoosh” sounds, and others snapped their fingers. It was another chance for everyone to introduce themselves and as M. described, “have fun”—a kind of play.

As the activity finished up, everyone was encouraged to take the freedom and interactive nature of creating beats and rhythms into the next part of the session, where G. presented short slides on how to add beats and instruments. He played a version of “The Cups Song” as a demonstration of how easy it was to create a song with just vocals and a beat, which was received with applause and eagerness to try out the beats. Next, participant S. shared his own process of using music production software, Ableton Live, to create songs. He looped in various tracks and sounds, and some AHRC community members joined in to rap over the tracks.

In small groups based on the students’ site placements, they continued working on their songs. One group went to the piano keyboard to start putting their words about family and inspiration to a melody. In another group, a guitarist started a sequence of chords, while the group began singing words over the chords: “The time is coming / summer is loving / there’s something in the weather / the sun is shining.” The AHRC members were confidently singing and sharing with everyone, both during the group working session and also during the presentation, such as by rapping over the production tracks. In another table in the back of the room, S. was working one-on-one with an AHRC community member to create a gospel rap song.
One of the topics that surfaced during the session, and which student participants reflected on during the last reflection and discussion section, was the similarities and differences between oneself and the community members participants such as those with developmental disabilities at AHRC. Students described how they were encouraged to be less inhibited in the presence of the AHRC members. They saw how easy it was for AHRC members to sing aloud with the group, noting that they, the students, often felt as though perfection was required before singing or sharing with a group. As Ny. said, “They have a confidence in their ability that I struggle to have.” “As fun as the similarities are, I think our differences make it even more exciting and interesting to collaborate. The guys from Zulu P obviously bring some amazing rap and freestyle skills to the table that I don’t think I could ever dream of having.” Others noted how although there would always be limits in understanding the experiences of another, there was a shared sense of humanity and what it means to be human when working together in sharing stories and songs. Reflecting upon her experience working with her partner, one member stated, “I’m sure she and I have differences, but the differences are a little less exciting. We are different the way any two people may be different from each other. It’s the similarities that bring us closer.”

**Sessions 4 & 5: Instrumentals and workshopping**

The fourth and fifth sessions of workshopping was a time to reflect and shift base as needed. We entered the session with feedback from AHRC staff members D. and J. who had been attending the group sessions. They had noted the highlights of the sessions and also recommended some ways to provide structure. The theme of structure versus flexibility based on skills emerged from the session.
We gathered again at Isabella Geriatric Center in the large room filled with chairs, tables, and a piano. Student participants Cha. and Sk. played saxophone and flute as participants entered. We gathered again in a circle as student M. again began the session with a theatre activity, loosening up the group and creating an atmosphere of improvisation and collaboration. In this activity, the group created a “machine” using various rhythmic hand and feet patterns. Later, everyone “passed a clap” as one person did a variation of a clap (e.g., double clap), and each person imitated the variation or changed it as it went around the circle.

After the opening exercise, everyone broke into their groups with the goal of writing down or planning their songs so that they would be ready to rehearse and record in the upcoming recording session. There was pressure to have the songs ready in time and structure the activities efficiently. But a focus on structure is often not the most conducive to songwriting and music creation. In the case of the Zulu P group, the members already had extensive experience writing music in an improvisatory manner. During this session, the group wrote down lines of chorus and bridge and incorporated piano, guitar, and even saxophone. But at the same time, members noted that something was lost when they had tried to structure it too much: there was a loss of learning from AHRC members who knew from their natural skills how to improvise. In a reflection at the end, we discussed how to find a middle ground between having the structured chorus and chords, while maintaining the freedom of freestyling used in Zulu P’s verse. Another group with participants Sk. and Cha. had a different experience: “We needed structure to direct the group that is used to structured directions from their choir,” they said. During the workshop time, bursts of chorus came from the group’s corner, which Sk. and Cha. attributed to their having had prior time to work on lyrics at the organisation.
After about 40 min of workshopping time, everyone came together to share what they had worked on. One group didn’t have all of their materials present and ready, yet took the courage to share with the group. In this group, rather than writing one song with the group, each AHRC member was writing a song. One participant mentioned on the side, “They are good,” and went to the group afterwards to share how impressive he thought their efforts were. At the end-of-session reflection, student participants reflected on the advantages and disadvantages to structured and unstructured songwriting processes. They agreed that overall, a mixed approach drawing on and adapting to the wide range of skills, preferences, and workflows of each group was best.

**Session 6: Recording**

Each group had a recording time with the schedule laid out in 30-minute time slots: the “Zulu P” group recording “I Love the Summer,” the choir group recording “Praise be to God,” and five other groups. This session involved space preparation: a meeting space, a room for recording set up with a Zoom H4N recording device and piano keyboard, and some extra spaces ready for groups who wanted to practice more.

Every group was on time for their recording slot, and each group joyfully and easily recorded during their allotted 30 min. Everything went smoothly and as planned, but that didn’t mean there wasn’t room for improvisation. There was creativity and spontaneity that happened in some of the groups during the recording itself. The fluidity was appreciated as some participants had been concerned that the recording session might be too scripted, in contrast to a freedom-promoting outlook during prior sessions.
In the group that wrote the song, “My Family,” the initial plan was for an AHRC member to play the melody on the piano while the rest of the group sang. Everyone was surprised and impressed when the AHRC member started improvising and coming up with harmonies to the melody on the spot. He began to add rhythm to the melody line, and then chords alongside the melody. In the end, he had created a whole arrangement with chords and rhythms improvised on the piano. “It was amazing to watch,” G. described.

In a group from the AHRC Norfolk site, the recording was going smoothly until a staff member playing the piano noticed that something was off: a beat that they created using music technology was looping at a different rate than the loop that was being played on the piano. Our invited pianist, Co., stepped in and quickly worked it out so that the two would match. Thanks to his help, the problem was resolved quickly and painlessly so that the group could get back to recording. With the looping fixed and additional tambourine and instruments added, the song was even better than initially rehearsed and was still recorded within 30 min.

After each group’s recording, the group went into another room to complete wrap-up activities: song sharing permission forms, an evaluation form, and a conversation about experiences creating and recording songs. The participants shared about the dynamics of relationships that occurred in the groups and how the conversation, at times, naturally morphed into an appreciation for each other. The choir group at Fisher discussed how “there was tension” initially, but the choir director effusively shared how “funny” and wonderful it was to have student participants Sk. and Sm. working with them, noting how sensitive and naturally engaging the students had been in working closely for the first time with individuals with disabilities.
Sk. and Sm., both students at NYU, began uncertainly about their placements as there had been more difficulty in joining an already-existing community of the AHRC Fischer choir. Sk., a flutist, and Sm. a vocalist, both loved music for the process of being able to learn and connect with others through the process. They were often the first ones to arrive at the sessions, and though not necessarily the most vocal in speaking to the group, they had a presence of energy and care, which came to life most when they engaged in singing and creating with their choir group.

It was not easy for Sm. and Sk. to connect at first—on day one at their site, they worried about fitting in with the group, or having a chance to engage without more personalised time for conversation and workshopping. But after a couple of sessions, the choir sessions themselves also included singing the songs that the group had started writing. They started off singing, and through the process of singing, came to feel what the choir director described as “…we all are one. We all are one family, one person” reflected in the lyrics of the song they all created:

\[\textit{\textit{I praise God with music each and every day}}\]
\[\textit{\textit{The Jackson Five has taught me to sing in every way}}\]
\[\textit{\textit{I am so happy / happy}}\]
\[\textit{\textit{Happy to be here / happy}}\]
\[\textit{\textit{I wanna be ready now it’s all so clear}}\]
\[\textit{(claps, piano, gospel)}\]

When Sk. and Sm. join the AHRC choir, even as two college students uncamouflaged from the rest of an established group, by singing, they engage in a natural form of synchrony, and it is hard not to feel a sense of community and belonging. Such power is partly attributable to music’s “floating intentionality”—the ability of the meaning of music to shift depending on
contexts: between people, situations, and even within the same person in different times or places (Cross, 2014). Affiliation is built through shared vocalisations and rhythmic timing, and the experience can be especially salient at times of social change and uncertainty, such as funerals, weddings, changes of social status, rallies, etc. (Cross, 2014; Kreutz, 2014). Despite whatever multiple meanings or interpretations the music may elicit inside one’s own head, the temporal, interactive, communicative unfolding of engaging with others in mimicry and time provides a bonding force. In the way that people come to know themselves and how they differ from others through the scaffolding of the friends and surrounding community, people can retain an individuality of meanings through music which is deepened through a shared process of creation with others.

Many of the participants noted that the recording had been their favourite part thus far. There was joy in the process and excitement in each group after their recording. G., who oversaw the recordings, vividly remembered how each group was ecstatic when they heard their recording. He recalled, “All I saw were smiles. Seeing everyone’s faces light up as they heard their song brought so much warmth to my heart.” At Redfield, one of the AHRC members shared at the end a simple “Thank you.” M. replied, “Thank you,” elaborating on everything they were able to create in a shared experience. In the Norfolk group, AHRC staff member Ca. described how much they appreciated having S. working with their three members, bringing about each person’s individuality. Sk. noted how she enjoyed working on and creating the song, and it seemed like finally having created something that could be shared and kept forever, together, was part of the magic of the experience. The music captured not only the created product, but the meaning of the process and joy of the experience.
Session 7: Song sharing

The energy was high as everyone gathered at AHRC NYC, where staff members and other members at AHRC were already gathering to also hear the songs. The participants were preparing to play their song recordings along with video clips that were created by an AHRC videographer who attended the recording sessions. Everyone gathered in a brightly lit room where light entered from large windows, and a projector screen had been set up to play the video and songs. As people started taking their seats in the open space, the first group volunteered to introduce their song’s name and a little bit about how it was created or what inspired it before playing the recording. After each group’s recording was enthusiastic clapping, from the participants, who many were seeing the final recordings and video for the first time, and from AHRC staff and other members who sometimes cheered and asked questions. The Zulu P group took the chance to do some freestyle rap even after their song played. As each group introduced their song, they also reflected in the process of song creation and its reciprocal and participatory nature. After the song was played and also after every song was shared, the group gathered for reflections and comments about their time together. It felt as if the celebration itself was a showcase of the promise of participatory music in creating spaces of community, care, and possibility. One participant said, “I want them to create long-lasting memories of all the fun, creative moments we all shared with each other and associate the song with genuine connections between different individuals. Essentially, the song really is the venue or a means to an end rather than the end. The actual end simply being the joy of connecting and said memories.” Participants reflected on the unique skills in the group and how they learned from each other—such as how the AHRC group Zulu P did an impressive job freestyling verses as students joined...
in for the chorus, or how AHRC member “T” played the piano and improvised a rift at the end their song, “My Family.”

M., who had led theatre improv sessions at the group sessions and at his site Ali Forney working with LGBTQ youth, had been persistent throughout each session in shaping a community in which everyone was a learner and artist. At the end of the session, they stood beaming, and went to the group to say “thank you.” M. was thanking everyone for learning and creativity which was created collectively, rather than their astute pushback to processes that may be formalised or hierarchical. Their philosophy was that an activity like improvisation or creating a verse from scratch was a “problem posing” project which asked how to draw on what everyone knows about the world and about each other to share and develop creative power. By doing so, all involved are in the process of “becoming” (Freire, 2018, p. 84). While such processes occurred during the sessions, given the relatively short period of music corps, one question is the extent to which such problem posing outlook can be continued after the program has finished: would participants apply the processes in other settings, such as democratic participation?

In music corps, students and community members wrote songs together, rather than students writing songs for or about community members. This process is different from some community music activities in which an “excellence and access” model focuses on the redistribution of cultural goods and resources, with less recognition towards amateur arts and everyday participation in such models (Gross & Wilson, 2020). In such models, arts may amplify the voice of underserved populations or expand opportunities for passive music listening to more diverse audiences. Such projects often involve bringing professional musicians to new spaces and performances to the public. However, one drawback is that the performers themselves were the active creators, while access was received through more passive methods.
In a similar activity to music corps, Lynx Project, musicians visit an organisation serving those with intellectual disabilities, and these musicians write songs based on the experiences of those they met at the organisation. Musicians are drawn from a roster of composers and vocalists of Lynx Project (LYNX, n.d.). In the composition process, the artists sometimes draw directly on the writing of those they work with. At the end, they perform the songs for an audience, as a lens of better understanding the experiences of those with disabilities such as autism. As an audience member at one of the performances, I saw how the experience impacted myself, the audience, and the musicians deeply as a form of better understanding and amplifying voice. Taking these experiences as a basis and to future the model of Humans in Harmony workshops in the past, music corps aimed to take the process of agency and meaning-making a step further through a reciprocal and mutual model where both the community members and students could create songs in shared time together, rather than focusing on one group as songwriters and another group as storytellers, which can be seen as reinforcing a giver-recipience model of interaction rather than a mutual and reciprocal model. Such ways of engaging can also be seen as a model of participation in civil society.

Often in community engagement and educational activities, it is easy to fall into the thinking of “giving” where those “served” are, like a bank deposit, empty receptacles to be “filled” (Freire, 2018). Such a model stands in contrast to a dialectic and communicative process of mutual discovery: one that is not “‘A’ for ‘B’ or by ‘A’ about ‘B,’ but rather ‘A’ with ‘B’—mediated by the world—a world which impresses and challenges both parties, giving rise to views or opinions about it” (Freire, 2018, p. 93). In Theater of the Oppressed, Augusto Boal (1974) expands Freire’s work into performance contexts where there are “spectactors” rather than an actor or spectator. Processes of mutuality and joint creation break the legitimatisation of
art through authorial and canonised classical western art modes of presentation such as museums and concert halls (Boal, 1974).

In *music corps*, participants—students and community members—created songs in live time together, in a collaborative process which strove to live out a society of artists as a “community of equals” (Rancière, 1991). Social relations and power dynamics are modelled through *music corps*; many of the themes underlying a critical and process-based approach to music are also principles of civil society comprised of social relations. Mutual reciprocity is an element important in the maintenance of social bonds, bonds both vertically between generations and horizontally into neighbourhoods—social reproduction that is “absolutely essential to society” (Fraser, 1995).

A rising area of opportunity is in systemising and creating frameworks for everyday arts that blur the distinction between performance and everyday life in strengthening civil society. Such an approach might be described as a cultural ecosystem: “cultural opportunity needs to be understood not as located within single organisations or spaces, but through the interconnections and interdependencies between cultural resources of many kinds” (Gross & Wilson, 2020, p. 14). The ecological nature of *music corps* was evidenced by the various ways in which activities built on each other in different locations and settings: from the group sessions to more personalised activities at the community organisations, from fellow members of the group to staff members of organisations in shared participation and decision-making. Such engagement can be described as a form of “cultural democracy”: “by arrangements of co-produced knowledge, pluralist processes of valuation, and shared decision-making” (Gross & Wilson, 2020, p. 28). Put into practice, “what needs to be devised are divergent, responsive ways of addressing the newer, often more disconcerting, more multidisciplinary creative forms issuing from mixed urban
communities…where the artist, the performance space and even the art form are not always straightforwardly or conventionally identifiable” (Looseley, 2012, p. 509). Such an idea of cultural opportunity also gives way to the potential of the arts in a person’s well-being, agency, and flourishing situated ecologically in civil society.
Chapter 4

Music corps and policy

In 1961, John F. Kennedy established the Peace Corps, a continuing representation of American idealism and altruism in popular imagination (Shriver, 1963). The policy memo submitted to the State Department, titled “A Towering Task” was an urgent call for capitalist expansion based on Kennedy’s State of the Union address: “our role is essential and unavoidable in the construction of a sound and expanding economy for the entire non-communist world…the problems in achieving this goal are towering and unprecedented—the response must be towering and unprecedented as well” (Wiggins & Josephson, 1997). Kennedy hoped that sending civilian volunteers to assist underdeveloped nations in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and other countries would advance America’s sincerity in the eyes of these nations and discourage the spread of communism. In the 21st Century, Kennedy-era national public service corps like the Peace Corps no longer enjoy the broad appeal of their time. From one perspective, the aim of “returning responsibility to fund national service and volunteerism to the private and nonprofit sectors” has led to the shutdown of the Corporation for National and Community Service in the years of the Trump administration (Green, 2017). From another, the American corps tradition can be seen as a Western hegemonic, imperialistic project which harmed “underdeveloped” communities while promoting domestic conceptions of masculinity and white supremacy (Geidel, 2015). What is the role and possibilities for a corps program to effectively meet and address contemporary challenges? This chapter extends the activities of the prior chapter into broader policy contexts and asks what such a music program might look like on a larger scale.
Multiple versions of corps are popular in American civic life, with another major one being AmeriCorps, a government-run hub for civic volunteering activities. Under AmeriCorps, specific calls and opportunities have included a 2011 Music National Service Initiative through MusicianCorps which “trains and places musicians to serve full-time as teachers and mentors in low-performing public schools, youth centers and other high-need community settings” (though no longer active). Others programs using a corps framework include Teach For America, StoryCorps (a media program), and medical humanities programs calling for a corps of health leaders. Recently, there have been calls for community corps programs in response to the COVID-19 pandemic and climate crisis. A program such as a “Community Health Corps” draws on the participation of community members in solving local community challenges—such as COVID-19 needs for contact tracing, requests for support, testing workforce, and infection control—as a form of social care (Gonsalves & Kapczynski, 2020). The authors describe the corps as a new form of a Works Progress Administration for COVID-19 operating across the US in rural and urban areas: “Funded federally and organized locally, it would put millions of Americans to work caring for one another…It would serve our needs for a vast force that can track and trace the virus, but add to it workers who can support those in need, all while securing our health and building real solidarity among us.” They write, “A Community Health Corps is one place to start to build a new movement that heals us and our body politic, and that will allow us—all of us—to survive a pandemic, and then, to thrive.”

Much of the sentiment underlying such a corps are aligned with a capabilities approach and “freedom from,” for instance, from disease and epidemic, as described by Amartya Sen and others (Sen, 1992). A corps program involving the participatory arts like music also can be one way to engage participation as a form of social transformation which breaks down established
hierarchies of power (Sommer & Sacco, 2019). Music as socially performative in everyday life is music as a kind of care—care for each other by valuing social relations, and in effect, care for the community as part of shared society. This perspective immediately raises questions as to why and how care can be valued: of how to make manifest the societal value of caregiving and socially meaningful work together with a mentality of mutual reliance and building structures that support such work and mutual care.

In one report of arts engagement in West Philadelphia, a capabilities approach focusing on place, community empowerment, and “social and spatial justice” examines the impact of participation in city cultural life on community development (Zitcer et al., 2016). The report uses creative placemaking as a framework to augment the role of arts and culture in social and economic development based on an understanding of the arts as central to the human experience. Stressing the cultural ecology of neighbourhoods and a sense of placemaking through cultural sites, the report notes that the arts can link with multiple capabilities in ways that are mutually reinforcing (Zitcer et al., 2016), as well as, through a capacities approach, transcend a divide between intrinsic and instrumental benefits of the arts (Barbour et al., 2011).

Similarly, a report by Stern and Seifert (2010) applies the concept of "arts-based social inclusion" to advocate for the role of arts and culture in developing the capabilities of immigrants and their communities in Philadelphia, providing a “broader, multi-dimensional way—beyond economic need—of thinking about the process of social inclusion” (p. 1). Activities falling under their framework included building social connections (e.g., alleviating social isolation in elderly Latino immigrants), education (e.g., artist residencies in creative writing to develop literary skills), connecting with health care services (e.g., learning about health issues like depression through video), developing voice (e.g., amplifying stories about ethnic experience), and the
potential to work through the arts (e.g., building a portfolio for teens interested in graphic arts). While the report describes media arts such as film and video as particularly effective ways to share story and also notes that the arts are a form of daily life for many immigrants, the reported programs tend to engage in passive appreciation of media-viewing, or arts teaching or engagement which flow from teacher to learner or artist to recipient rather than mutual learning or creation—engagement which is in line with how the arts are typically conceived of as presentational in the West (Turino, 2008).

In New York City, a three-year study on the relationship of cultural ecology to social wellbeing across city neighbourhoods uses a 10-dimension framework for social wellbeing which focused on the concept of "neighbourhood cultural ecology" (Stern & Seifert, 2017). The report applies a capabilities approach in linking culture and well-being:

"In this context, culture is not about jobs or taxes. It is a critical resource that people use as part of that quest for a life of value. It can provide tools for making sense of the world. It can provide opportunities to develop one's abilities or to forge connections with people like themselves or not like themselves. Or it can simply provide enjoyment and satisfaction. This is why we've insisted that culture can be seen as a central aspect of well-being that simultaneously has intrinsic value and contributes to other forms of social value" (p. VI-3).

The report emphasises the ecological rather than individual nature of culture as a social value—the perspective "that we are all both influenced by and, in turn, influence our social context" (p. VI-2), such as organisations, artists, participants, and cultural agents in a neighbourhood ecology. It found that lower-income neighbourhoods with fewer resources were also the ones that had the strongest link between social well-being and culture. Cultural
resources, when controlled for socio-economic and ethnic factors, were also significantly correlated with better outcomes in personal security, health, and schooling (Stern & Seifert, 2017). A cultural ecology contributed to dimensions of well-being including social connection, political and cultural voice, and public environment (Stern & Seifert, 2017).

Similar to how the reports in Philadelphia (Stern & Seifert, 2010; Zitcer et al., 2016) focus on cultural access and attendance, the report in New York City (Stern & Seifert, 2017) looks at programming which represent a typically presentational context of music engagement: outcomes include attendance at cultural events of jazz, Latin music, classical music, opera, musicals, ballets and dance, and art museums, leaving much potential for analyses and implementation of music in a participatory manner which may involve greater possibilities for social engagement arguably better suited for ecological relations and a capabilities approach. A discourse of access and excellence tends to follow a “neoliberal logic of ‘creative industries,’” while in contrast an initiative such as Get Creative in the UK provided a web-based platform for participants to engage in everyday creativity—a process of creation rather than appreciation (see Gross & Wilson, 2020). Activities that involve acts of everyday creativity better promote cultural democracy through co-produced knowledge and shared decision-making as “a sustained but evolving system of governance for substantive cultural freedom” (Gross & Wilson, 2020, p. 339). Cultural democracy as cultural capabilities is one way to reimagine citizen and state relations as an alternative framework for UK cultural policy (Gross & Wilson, 2020).

In another application of the capabilities approach against a neoliberal framing, higher education in the Middle East and North African (MENA) region has taken what is described as a neoliberal privileging of STEM subjects of study over the humanities or liberal arts with an eye to employment prospects (ElKhayat, 2018). But attention to a culture of dialogue across cultures
such as Eastern and Western, and Arab and non-Arab, and within a culture is part of the capabilities of knowledge, imagination, and practical diversity (Nussbaum, 2002). The capabilities approach emphasising the value of the arts and humanities for democratic citizenship may be especially applicable in contexts like the MENA region where globalisation has augmented religious and cultural conflict in the Arab world (Diab, 2016).

A capabilities approach was also applied in the context of Norwegian media in a large-scale survey of engagement in arts and culture in the promotion of democratic culture (Nærland et al., 2020). Promotion of culture through TV and science fiction could occur through affording opportunities for the development of taste in facilitating public connection, cultural capital to connect with politics, and public connection when supported with news consumption (Nærland et al., 2020). Arts education was seen as a method of promoting citizenship and democratic goals—especially relevant in welfare states like Norway where education is publicly owned (Nærland et al., 2020). However, much of the analysis in the survey also occurs through an instrumental discourse focused around building cultural capital, and on the presentational arts of viewing TV and reading science fiction. There could be much potential, especially in the case of citizen participation, in modelling forms of democratic participation through the participatory arts of collective, everyday creative arts and music-making.

While the notion of a corps is a typically American concept further ingrained in popular imagination by Kennedy-era public service programs like the Peace Corps, the reach of a capabilities approach centred around well-being, civic participation, and flourishing apply throughout the Western and non-Western world, and particularly in contexts of addressing challenges in cultural dialogue and democratic participation. While local, ecological, and capabilities-informed approaches place well-being and flourishing as central values of the arts,
integrating the participatory arts in particular may augment the aims of such approaches through the reciprocal and co-creative nature of participatory art. Participatory arts allow the possibility of all involved to be co-creators with agency in the way people might collectively model mutual and reciprocal social relations in social and civic life (Boal, 1974). Looseley (2012) suggests "what needs to be devised are divergent, responsive ways of addressing the newer, often more disconcerting, more multidisciplinary creative forms…where the artist, the performance space and even the art form are not always straightforwardly or conventionally identifiable" (p. 590). There is much potential for the participatory arts in active engagement and transformation of social relations and power hierarchies, especially in corps-like programs which operate in place-based contexts and may fall prey to imbalances in power between a volunteer visiting a community and members of that community. If the arts carry socially constructive and meaningful power, then it may be fruitful to consider the potential impact of a corps program that may challenge existing power inequalities, thereby addressing structural problems while cultivating a spirit of mutual reliance and care in building community health and care—one example being music corps.

**Policy frameworks**

*Music corps* may be seen, from traditional policy frameworks, as falling under the categories of civic engagement, youth development, and social services. A significant concern in the area of civic engagement has been the decline of empathy and social capital coupled with an uncertainty about how to address the decline. Interventions which address the decline of empathy typically focus on how to enhance individual, trait-based empathy (e.g., in general interventions, see Davis Mark H. & Begovic Ena, 2014; Weisz & Zaki, 2017; in clinical settings, see Bellini & Shea, 2005; Hojat et al., 2009; Kiosses, Karathanos, & Tatsioni, 2016; Neumann et al., 2011). Similar
interventions seeking to promote pro-social behaviour and reduce disruptive behaviour tend to focus as well on interventions that focus on individuals and their individual skills of empathising. However, there is questionable evidence for the effectiveness of interventions which target trait-based empathy (see Paluck, Shepherd, & Aronow, 2016). For example, an experiment across 56 middle schools in the US studied the effect of an anti-bullying intervention which acted across peer networks on disruptive behaviour by changing the norms of behaviour, rather than individual skills of empathy or pro-sociality (Paluck et al., 2016). The norm-focused approach reduced the reports of disruptive behaviour in schools by 30%. As a community rather than individual-focused program, music corps’ activities centre around group collaboration and connection targeting environment-shaped norms to in turn affect individual behaviour.

One of the challenge grants of the Gates Foundation in partnership with MiSK in 2018 was to engage young people in getting involved in their local communities: “how can young people most effectively give back to their communities to deliver more sustained impacts and create wider virtuous circles of development?”. When the UN General Assembly met in 2015 to define the priorities for the 2030 Global Goals, 75% of the 10 million who participated in the online “My World” survey to give input into the priorities were under 30 (Activating Global Citizenship, 2018). A futures-oriented stance necessitates thinking on a longer time scale for systems that are generative and sustainable. From a youth development stance, music corps’ involvement of college students and recent graduates falls into calls for youth engagement in creating sustainable community change.

From a social service framework, by partnering with social service organisations, music corps supports the aim of the organisations in providing social support and fills existing volunteer needs the organisations are looking for. These organisations often fall under the
purview of the state’s Department of Health and Human Services. They provide support for populations including migratory workers, indigenous Americans, the homeless, at-risk youths, children in foster care, programs for persons with disabilities, seniors, and military families. Although the US spends the most on healthcare, the proportion of that spending on social services falls markedly below that of other developed countries (Brownlee, 2017). Many social services are delegated to the nonprofit spheres—another example of a lack in prioritization of care on system-wide levels that music corps aims to support.

Musical corps draws on these existing policy needs in civic engagement, youth engagement, and social service. However, what sets it out as different from typical corps or many volunteer programs is an approach which places these policy needs in interaction with each other, with a focus on agency and interaction across the policy frameworks. The corps method of collaborative songwriting also draws on a collaborative process that aims to enhance social connectedness through interactions with others in an organisation and between organisations. Such an approach distinguishes the method from those often found in empathy-building interventions and in medicine which aim to enhance student empathy through literary reading and reflection. Rather, the method draws on music as an appealing and accessible medium to create, interact, and collaborate with others.

Corps programs

A variety of projects in education (Teach For America), media (StoryCorps), and professional education (Medical Humanities programs) seek to use a framework of a corps to effect positive change in society; however, these programs tend to operate under a recipient-giver model. While created in the spirit of fostering civic mindedness and community support, non-reciprocal
volunteering model may exacerbate underlying systems and structures needing reform and perpetuate an unequal system (Eliasoph, 2013).

Teach For America (TFA) was formed as a student-led movement by Wendy Kopp based on the Peace Corps model (Kopp, 1989). TFA recruited a selective group of recent college graduates to teach in disadvantaged communities. TFA advocates claim that enthusiasm and education from selective colleges prepares its recruits to teach. Yet TFA is criticized for evidence that its program does more harm than good for the underserved students it purportedly serves by producing teachers without certification who are poorly trained and equipped to succeed with students. One study found that the performance of TFA students was lower than the performance of students taught by equally inexperienced but certified teachers (Laczko-Kerr & Berliner, 2002), suggesting that TFA may be a meaningful experience for young college graduates, but that it can hurt students in vulnerable communities.

Another program that fashions itself as a corps, StoryCorps, was founded in 2013 by public broadcaster David Isay. StoryCorps brings together two people who are close to each other (e.g., father and son) into a “Story Booth.” In the Story Booth, the pair is guided prior to the conversation by a facilitator, and then engage in a conversation as the facilitator observes. These 45-min conversations in the Sound Booth are recorded and preserved as a form of oral history in the US Library of Congress. Some of the recordings are broadcasted on the StoryCorps program on US National Public Radio. The stories are also compiled and transcribed into book form with themes from the conversations. The website, www.storycorps.org, organizes a variety of podcasts that can be listened to by themes. StoryCorps also has a traveling Story Booth in the form of a van which travels to particular sites to record conversations. In 2015, StoryCorps won a $1 million TED Prize to create an app which would allow anyone with the app to record
conversations outside of a Story Booth. Despite the accessibility of anyone being able to record or engage in a conversation and publicly broadcast their story, StoryCorps has been criticized for falling into a tradition of therapy culture and competitive individualism which depoliticizes public discourse (Freund, 2019). Storytelling over the past century, most evident in the US but also in other Western societies, has been incorporated within a new discourse focusing on utilitarian outcomes alongside a rise in self-help using the language of “medical, business, and law schools are paying attention to the power of stories in healing, and in developing ethical, effective business leaders” (Freund, 2019, p. 8). “The storytelling industry,” Freund argues, “thrives on sympathy but fails to create empathy or understanding” in that “The rise of storytelling has led to a de-politicization of narrative and public discourse—replacing politics with nostalgia, hero-worship, nationalism, myth-making, and self-help mantras such as the belief in positive thinking, self-sufficiency, and self-empowerment” (2019, p. 2). StoryCorps stories often tell tales of survival without context of social or economic conditions lending itself to a critique:

This premise—that StoryCorps and other storytelling ventures offer us a long-lost path to a better world—is myth and make-belief, not history or politics...Implied in this premise is the assumption that if only we found our way back to the campfire...then everything will be better...this myth is driven by neoliberal hyperindividualism and its attendant social discourses of survival, therapy, and trauma (p. 16).

The critique is similar to critiques of Putnam-esque conceptions of civil society: to most effectively work through problems of civil society requires not only “social capital”—not only bonds and social connection—but also recognition of the structural systems that limit such capital and the types of power dynamics that exist within bonds.
These power dynamics also appear to be in play in Medical Humanities curricula which aims to engage health professional students in the humanities and arts to better understand patient experiences and enhance humanistic and patient-centred care. The Narrative Medicine program founded by Rita Charon, fashions itself as a corps, using literary techniques and theory in the aim of “educating a leadership corps of health professionals and scholars from the humanities and social sciences who will imbue patient care and professional education with the skills and values of narrative understanding,” as described on the website for a Master’s program in Narrative Medicine (https://www.mhe.cuimc.columbia.edu/our-divisions/division-narrative-medicine/education-and-narrative-medicine/master-science-narrative-medicine). As will be elaborated in the next chapter, while health professional programs seek to develop empathy or observational skills in students in good faith, these approaches may further exacerbate problematic systems and hierarchies in medicine that ultimately hinder more effective or empathetic care that was initially intended by such programs.

Rather than differentiate between a giver and recipient, another kind of a corps model could view the community as an eco-system of institutions centred around the ways through which by contributing, all benefit, and all involved are corpsmembers (Eliasoph, 2013). *Music corps* involves both students and community members as co-creators and “corpsmembers,” aiming to foster reciprocal social relations centred around mutual care and joint creation.

**Community corps**

The ideal of the frontier, linked to the ideology of an expansionist, anti-communist Peace Corps, allowed the US “to avoid a true reckoning with its social problems, such as economic inequality, racism, crime and punishment, and violence” (Grandin, 2019, p. 4). The end of the American myth of expansionism, Greg Grandin argues, has come to an end with the Trumpian building of a
wall that has signified an exasperation with capitalism so that “expansion, in any form, can no longer satisfy the interests, reconcile the contradictions, dilute the factions, or redirect the anger” (2019, p. 9). Globally, this realization is exacerbated by failures of countries, notably the US, to respond to challenges requiring collective action, such as to the COVID-19 pandemic. The traditional ideal of a corps, in which one group valiantly puts itself in the service of another less advantaged group, needs adjustment. Rather than deflect out problems to another country or group, the adjustment requires a mentality that each person is reliant on others to mutually assist one another.

A Community Health Corps was based on what was described by Kapczynski and Gonsalves (2020) as a “politics of care” centred around a “New Deal for Public Health” and a reorientation around the kind of work that is deemed important: care work such as nursing and teaching, for example, as work that is socially productive and meaningful. The proposal also included work that was tied to a sense of self and creation such as the arts. Ultimately, calls for care-oriented and collective modes of action and work are critical in dealing with crises such as the coronavirus pandemic, and others such as the climate crisis, with the call for a Green New Deal in the creation of green jobs and infrastructure.

While music corps does not directly address the pandemic or climate crisis, it does fit into thinking about how the arts can be reconceptualized in understandings of collective care and work. At its current implementation, music corps was limited to students and could not cover wages as employment, but it opens up the possibility that the arts, when thought of as socially constructive and interactional, are parts of the kind of the care work that aligns with the vision for such kinds of corps. Two aspects to such a kind of a corps mutually reinforce each other: the individual valuing of caregiving work and work towards the common good, and structures and
institutions in place that can implement such collective and socially meaningful work. Such concepts of common good are based on reciprocity in social esteem among neighbours in line with Adam Smith’s sympathy, and in the next chapter, I return to the concept of socially-contextualised empathy in an application of a Humans in Harmony program in medical and educational settings.
Chapter 4

Music in medical humanities

The empathy approach

It is common to think of empathy as a skill, trait, or sometimes, in medical education, a “competency.” Among medical educators, there has been particular concern over the decline of empathy throughout clinical training—especially in the year when medical students begin clinical rotations (Chen et al., 2007). Proposed factors driving this decline include ethical erosion, loss of idealism (Vaidyanathan, 2015), and a tendency in medical education to privilege a medico-scientific rather than a biocultural understanding of clinical process (Pedersen, 2010).

The humanistic side of ambiguity and uncertainty is often delegated as secondary and separate from the predominant biomedical paradigm in medical education, influencing physician-trainees and physicians to view patients in terms of their illness or diagnosis to the reduction of multifactorial psychosocial needs affecting patient behaviour and outcomes (Pedersen, 2010). Furthermore, social isolation, loss of control, and lack of meaning in work are partly influenced by inefficiency in electronic health record systems and reporting requirements under a health care system led by corporate and bureaucratic interests. A range of factors related to the failings of healthcare systems contributes to burnout and decline in empathic attitudes, suggesting that the kind of “empathy” that is in decline is socially contextualised rather than a trait characteristic.

The study was conducted in a US medical educational context which may place limits on the generalisability to other contexts, as the US health system is not nationalised. However, institutionalised hierarchical structures likely resonate with other healthcare systems and though
the decline in empathy findings typically focus on the US, similar concerns about empathy decline have been noted in other countries such as the UK (Stratta et al., 2016).

Empathy is generally understood among psychologists as a cognitive and affective ability to understand the thoughts and feelings of others. In this sense, empathy is conceptualised as a trait characteristic or skill amenable to measurement such as through the Interpersonal Reactivity Index, a questionnaire which asks respondents how they typically react in situations which elicit “empathic concern, perspective-taking, fantasy seeking, or personal distress” (Davis, 1983). Other psychologists conceive of empathy as less of a skill or trait than as malleable and contextual. Recent work on “empathic growth” explores how social context, such as whether others are similar or dissimilar to ourselves, influence the capacity to empathise in a given situation (Weisz & Zaki, 2017; Zaki, 2014). Therefore while in a majority of studies, empathy has been approached as a trait characteristic (Cuff et al., 2016; Davis, 1983), in others, empathy is a state or attitude elicited by distal and proximal environments (Weisz & Zaki, 2017; Zaki, 2014).

The Jefferson Scale of Physician Empathy measures empathy as an attitude, unlike the Interpersonal Reactivity Index which measures empathy as a trait, through statements such as “I believe that empathy is an important therapeutic factor in medical treatment,” “I believe that emotion has no place in the treatment of medical illness,” and “My patients feel better when I understand their feelings” (Hojat et al., 2001). Rather than as a scale of “empathy,” some studies prefer to describe the Jefferson Scale as measuring attitudes about care or “empathic attitudes” (e.g., Crandall and Marion 2009). These attitudes are held to be developed in students through the cultures of a clinical environment which are transmitted to physicians and then to students (e.g., see the “hidden curriculum,” Hafferty 1998).
Most studies of empathy in medical education use the Jefferson Scale which measures attitudes, yet empathy development as a trait characteristic—framed in terms of skill or competency—remains a focus in medical education, and, by extension, the medical humanities (Bleakley, 2015; Evans, 2002; Gordon, 2005; Macnaughton, 2000). The skills students are expected to receive, through the arts and humanities, include competencies such as humanism, empathic listening, and narrative understanding. Despite the value of developing such skills in any individual, an approach centred around empathy as a skill or trait to be developed is incongruent with studies which measure empathy as attitudinal: as “I believe” statements transmitted through the values and norms of the profession. In the context of healthcare, the approach as a solution to address burnout or empathy decline itself can be ineffective and even detrimental to justice-oriented aims, as I shall demonstrate.

**The empathy approach reconsidered**

When empathy is described as a skill or trait to enhance, the burden falls on the individual rather than on the cultures and structures in place. To develop empathy in this context is to attempt to humanise a system only around the edges, and not transform it at its core. Words to describe the medical humanities like “fortifies, utilise, improve, facilitate” fall into a tendency of habituation, as noted by a teacher of narrative medicine (Filippaki, Iro, 2020). Scholars like Rita Charon have argued that rather than exercises in empathy forced upon students, narrative medicine, for instance, enhances the practice of medicine and justifies the relevance of the field (Lau, 2019). While laudable in aim, its implementation may at times fall prey to frameworks which affirm power differentials, reflected in statements such as “the state of heightened focus and commitment that a listener can donate to a teller” (Charon et al. 2016, p. 3) or "physicians are
conspicuous members of their cultures, anointed as agents of social control who deploy special powers to rescue, heal, and take command” (Charon 2001, p. 1899).

Health professionals often describe themselves as trapped in a system perpetuating inequality, which, in the context of US healthcare, has been described as “robbing the American dream” (Brownlee, 2017). The root problems are not individual deficits of trait empathy, but structural forces that hinder the provision of high quality and affordable care. Public health researchers are calling on physicians to play a necessary role in addressing social determinants of health (Maani & Galea, 2020; Metzl & Hansen, 2014). Medical humanities, including narrative medicine, recognise and integrate structural and justice-oriented approaches in its work. I propose an approach to further such work. Rather than dichotomies of listener and teller, the arts can expand frameworks so that all are equal creators, or as in Augusto Boal’s *Theatre of the Oppressed*, “spectactors” (1974). Through co-creation in the participatory arts such as music-making and theatre, I propose a justice-oriented interpersonal approach for the medical humanities.

**An interpersonal approach**

Critical theorist Nancy Fraser (1995) describes remedies or interventions as “affirmative” when they address inequalities or imbalances without disrupting the underlying frameworks which give rise to them; they are “transformative” when they correct inequalities by transforming the framework. The former tends to promote group differentiation while the latter tends to blur it. The empathy approach can be interpreted as “affirmative”—heightening boundaries through empathic “powers” which affirm underlying structures. Our question is how to implement a boundary-blurring, transformative role for the arts and humanities in the clinical and educational context.
One reason that such an aim has been difficult to realise in the medical humanities is because what has been regarded as appropriate engagement with the arts has tended to take the form of appreciation rather than participation. The nineteenth-century idea of art as primarily valuable because of its aesthetic qualities sets it in a presentational context, in which there is a clear differentiation between the “expert” producer of art and the “inexpert” consumer who can only respond rather than initiate. Hence the use of the arts in medical education can be viewed as exemplifying the very kind of affirmative remedy that Fraser critiques; i.e., they centre around cultural respect, or “recognition,” yet perpetuate power imbalances which do not further social equality, or “redistribution.” However, music that is “participatory,” as described by ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino (2008), has a direct and immediate socio-functional value where anyone can join in, as opposed to music which is primarily “presentational” such as western classical concert music. In medical education, the only context I am aware of which incorporates music, for instance, into medical humanities curricula has been applied in a presentational context: “Listening to Music: The Case for Its Use in Teaching Medical Humanism (Newell & Hanes, 2003).

The incorporation of participatory art, such as group music-making or collaborative songwriting, allows ways for the medical humanities to expand towards justice-oriented methods and aims through an interpersonal approach; it might enable an appropriate balance between recognition and redistribution so that all involved may jointly construct relations and realities. This integration can be seen as grounded in narrative theory (after Bruner, 1991). Narrative organises human memories and experiences by "constructing and representing the rich and messy domain of human interaction" (p.4) not simply representing reality, but constructing reality itself: “The daunting task that remains now is to show in detail how, in particular
instances, narrative organises the structure of human experience—how, in a word, ‘life’ comes to imitate ‘art’ and vice versa” (Bruner 1991, p. 21). The theory challenges the framework of “powers,” for powers do not just reside within an individual but are "supported and organised by cultural tool kits"—tool kits which, especially in hierarchical clinical settings, can be rendered co-constructive in the context of the participatory arts (p.20).

Music program and evaluation

What makes music so amenable to being “participatory”—so that we often can’t help joining in? As an art form it is uniquely multisensory, temporal, and ambiguous—it exists in time and rhythm, engages senses and affect, requires neither words nor semantic meaning. Music has “floating intentionality” in that its meanings need not stay constant between contexts, nor is there a necessity for individuals to align understandings or interpretations to be in sync, in rhythm and affiliation (Cross 1999, 2005). When combined with narrative through songwriting, music offers further opportunities to construct non-conflictual "life stories" (after Bruner). Accordingly, I designed and evaluated a collaborative songwriting program as an example of a participatory art intervention grounded in an interpersonal approach. Rather than targeted to a patient or client as in music therapy, the songwriting program involved students and patients as collaborators directed toward mutual, reciprocal social connection and creation of a song. These activities were shaped by prior pilots I had conducted, as summarised below (see Appendix B for data including tables and qualitative responses). The pilots are presented here to show the progression of methods, from empathy as more typically conceived as trait characteristic measurements and focus on student populations, to empathy as interpersonal to inclusion of both students and community and patient populations.

Pilot 1: Teens in detention and children with cancer
Seven teens in detention were paired with seven children with cancer, in collaboration with a Boston-based nonprofit, *Genuine Voices*, in 2013. Compared to a general music activity group control, the collaborative songwriting activity generated higher levels of service-related responses (e.g., “I want to help others”), with a mean percentage of responses in the category at 35.7% (SD = 4.0%), compared to a general music activity group control with a mean percentage of 3.6% of responses (SD = 1.3%) (Wilcoxon test, V(7) = 0, p = 0.058) (see Cao, 2013). A podcast on PsychTalk Radio, “Genuine Voices: Music as a Second Chance” (http://psychtalkradio.com/genuine-voices-music-as-a-second-chance/), includes an interview with one of the teen’s experiences in the program, where the teen describes the program as a life-changing experience which encouraged him to improve the lives of others (Drost-Lopez, 2013). His song, and the song of the child he wrote it with was titled, “Felicia, Your Life is Brilliant” (https://soundcloud.com/genuine_voices/felicia-your-life-is-brilliant), with the lyrics: *Though you may be quiet / You can shout, just try it / Like a nightingale, go spread your wings / You can open your mouth and start to sing.*

**Pilot 2: Health students and foster children**

Nine health professional students were paired with nine children in foster care at the Children’s Family and Aid Services of New Jersey in the summer of 2014. When the students were asked which aspect of the program was most meaningful on a scale of 1-7 (1 = least meaningful and 7 = most meaningful), students rated to “empathise with child” most highly with a mean rating of 6.11 out of a scale of 7, with “supportive student interactions” rated at 6 and “musical skills” at 5.33. Students described their experiences as: “Unique and amazing way to connect to your fellow human, but also help another human and yourself” and “By trusting in the good of the project’s goal, I was able to put aside my fears and focus on creating a song that
would be good no matter what because of the intention” (for a description of the program, see Cao & Gowda, 2018). One song, “When She Smiles” (https://humansinharmony.org/2017/07/03/when-she-smiles/), includes the lyrics: *On cloudy days her love gives me warmth / This song’s for her she knows it well / It’s in her heart and you can tell / That when she smiles she’ll never be alone.*

**Pilot 3 High school students and veterans**

Seven public high school students were paired with seven veterans at the Bronx Veteran Affairs Hospital community living centre in 2016. Student participants rated their levels of engagement in components of the program such as the engagement to “better understand and empathise with veterans” (mean 5.5 out of 7) and to “develop songwriting and/or musical skills” (mean 6.5 out of 7). Students responded, “The most meaningful is the empathising with patients, as it provided a glimpse in to a life I will never live, hardships I will never face” and “I am capable of communicating to others who are very different from me. I am also capable of communicating musically.” Veteran participants rated, on a scale of 1–7, the extent to which the program improved their connectedness to others (mean 6.71), connectedness to others (mean 6.14), sense of well-being (mean 6.57), and likelihood to recommend the hospital (mean 5.57). Veterans responded, “In this project, I told them my story and they didn’t just listen—they heard me” and “I’ll be sharing [the song]. I’d play it through the PA system.” One song, “Sail On” (https://soundcloud.com/humansinharmony/sail-onkaley-robinson), served as a personal anthem to a veteran Marine in honor of his late wife with the theme of “hang in there, things will get better.” The lyrics include: *It's been a while since you've heard / the voice that brightened up this world / But you still hear her in your heart / the voice that never will part.*
Table 1 below outlines the populations, processes, and measurements from each of the prior projects. Prior projects did not include the Jefferson Scale attitude-based measure of empathy and used the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (IRI) trait measure of empathy (both are used in the current study, described in the evaluation section of this chapter). I learned through descriptive post-program responses that students tended to self-report that they engaged more in empathic categories of Empathic Concern and Perspective Taking when asked about which of the four IRI components they most engaged in during the program (see Appendix B). Perspective Taking and Empathic Concern are both components that are more relational than the Personal Distress and Fantasy Seeking components, and a questionnaire that better measured relational attitudes, the Jefferson Scale, was included in the current study. Prior projects only surveyed students involved, while later projects surveyed both students and community members.

Table 1. Summary of Projects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Student population</th>
<th>Community member population</th>
<th>Measurements given to student population</th>
<th>Process of initial contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Teens in detention (Boston detention centers)</td>
<td>Children with cancer (Ronald McDonald House)</td>
<td>Self Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965), Index of Empathy for Children &amp; Adolescents (Bryant, 1982)</td>
<td>Song request form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Health professional students (Columbia University Medical Center)</td>
<td>Children in foster care (Children and Family Aid Services of NJ)</td>
<td>Interpersonal Reactivity Index</td>
<td>Song request form</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The present study

Twelve student participants and twelve patient participants volunteered to join the program in June-August, 2017. Student participants were rising second- and third-year students from Columbia’s Dental, Nursing, and Medical Schools. Patient participants were members of pancreatic and breast cancer support groups led by a social worker and organised through C.B. (Director of Palliative Care) at Columbia University Irving Medical Center/New York-Presbyterian Hospital. The program consisted of 1) orientation and interest session (with students), 2) support group session #1 and conversation (with students and patients), 3) song development and recording (with students), and 4) support group session #2 and song sharing (with students and patients). Because participants in the study are those who volunteer to participate in the music service program or social support program, there is no recruitment process specific to the study outside of the project recruitment process. Participants for the program are recruited through email or through their organizations. It was emphasized that participation in the study is voluntary and would not affect participation in the songwriting project, or influence any aspects of any other program.

Orientation session. Information about an orientation session was emailed to students through the health professional schools’ student clubs listserv, with a summary of the project and
that no musical experience was needed to participate. I led the one-hour session with student
leaders of the school’s music society. The session outlined the process and timeline of the
program as well as an introduction to songwriting for those with no prior experience. Students
were also given a step-by-step guide to songwriting handout and video references (see
https://humansinharmony.org/engagelearn/ for songwriting resources). Many had prior music
experience, though not prior songwriting experience, and students had prior training in
conversing with standardized patient actors with sensitivity in the medical school curriculum.

Support group session #1 and conversation. We partnered with existing breast and
pancreatic cancer support group sessions held monthly at the hospital affiliated with the health
professional school. The program was introduced to the patients in the groups through the social
worker and patients participated on a voluntary basis. In the first session, students and patients
met at the hospital conference room where support group sessions were usually held. Everyone
introduced themselves and broke up into pairs based on their location in the room. They then
spent thirty minutes in conversation to get to know each other. To help spark conversation, each
pair was provided with a “song ideas form” as a conversation guide that prompted them to
consider the people, ideas, and places that were important to them and their favourite musical
styles and songs (see Appendix D: Song ideas form).

Song development and recording. Due to logistical challenges of transportation, it was
difficult for patients to join workshopping of songs at the music rooms located in the student
residence building. Students, either with their own instruments or during optional workshopping
sessions held weekly, and for the next four weeks before monthly support group session #2, drew
on the shared topics and themes of interest which emerged from the conversation at support
group session #1. Often, the songs featured shared interests between patient and students, themes
of family or friendship, messages of hope or strength, and preferred musical styles such as pop or jazz. In the third week (one week before the support group session), students signed up for thirty-min slots, where, with the assistance of musical classmates, they recorded the songs using a portable Zoom H4N recording device. The songs were now in a recorded form which could be easily shared with patients when they reconvened at the next support group session.

Support group session #2 and song sharing. With the song files downloaded onto laptops or phones, the students brought along their electronic devices and earphones to the support group session. Once again, students and patients gathered into pairs—the same pairs as in the first session. This time, scattered in various corners of the conference room, the pairs shared the songs with earphones and discussed the meanings and connection made possible by the song. Once each student and patient shared the song in pairs, which lasted about 15 min and allowed the intimacy of sharing as a pair, then everyone gathered as a large group. Those pairs who wished had the opportunity to share the song and meanings of the song with the larger group. As pairs volunteered to each play their song through a portable speaker, they usually introduced the song and the ways the song reflected the stories and experiences shared between the pair. After each song was played, the rest of the group might add a few comments on how the song resonated to other group members, the community of the group, and the group’s understanding of themes with the personalities they knew. The group song-sharing lasted about 45 min, about seven min each for about six songs (not every pair chose to share their song), and then the group engaged in a focus group discussion on their experiences.

After the session’s conclusion, for those who had marked on a sharing permission form distributed at the end of the session their willingness to share the song publicly, songs were uploaded onto a SoundCloud page (e.g.,
so that participants could easily share with family and friends. Song recordings were also sent by email to the social worker, who sent them to patients, and to students for everyone to keep.

**Evaluation**

In this program of collaborative songwriting, a participatory art form, what forms of interaction are engaged in? What changes, if any, in interpersonal measures such as attitudes about care occur? For the first question, my colleagues and I conducted interviews and a focus group to understand how patients and students engaged in interaction with each other. For the second question, a questionnaire of empathic attitudes designed for health professional students was given to student participants; I predicted that interpersonal qualities, like attitude, would increase after participation in the program.

**Procedure and Measures.** Patients and students gave consent to participate in the study which was approved by the Columbia University Medical Center IRB (Protocol IRB-AAAR5141). A general inductive qualitative approach was used to analyse the interviews and focus group. Myself and colleagues A.B. and S.D. analysed interview responses to code themes informed by the intent to further understand what kinds of interactive processes participants engaged in and found meaningful in the collaborative songwriting activity. Codes were managed on Dedoose (V. 8.0.35, SocioCultural Research Consultants, Los Angeles, CA). We used grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), separately going through line-by-line to code each transcript into categories that emerged from the participant responses, and the Dedoose software assisted in visualizing coded concepts and excerpts.
Ethical considerations included confidentiality: questionnaire forms were placed in a secure box and per IRB, and only the following people and/or agencies were able to look at, copy, use and share the research information: The investigators, Columbia University Medical Center, New York-Presbyterian Hospital study staff and other professionals who may be evaluating the study; Authorities from Columbia University and New York-Presbyterian Hospital, including the Institutional Review Board.

The participants placed the completed questionnaires in a private box so that responses remain anonymous and confidential. As an investigator, I stored the questionnaire responses in a secure drawer within my room and interview responses were stored on my password-protected laptop. To match pre- and post-program responses, participants provided an anonymous ID which contained no identifiers that could be linked to the participant. Questionnaires and audio-recorded interviews were completed in rooms with closed doors. Participants were be instructed not to disclose information shared during the interviews or use any identifying information such as names.

Consent was another ethical consideration. This study qualified for a waiver or alteration of consent as the following criteria are met in this study: Surveys, interviews, and focus groups were used which posed no more than minimal risk to subjects. The subjects filled out surveys that do not inquire about sensitive information, do not pertain to their care, and ask only about their opinions toward connectedness. Not being informed about the purpose of the study will not affect the subjects because they will still participate in the programming. If participants are informed about investigating the nature of their connectedness before the program begins, it threatens the integrity of the pairing, as the possible benefit of the interaction is dependent upon
it being an organic, human interaction that is not under scrutiny or manipulation. If participants felt they were being studied, it is possible they would not derive equal benefit.

Furthermore, only those with capacity to provide their own consent were enrolled in the study. An IRB exemption to the physician requirement of determination of capacity was requested because no physician was on-site in community organizations and organizational staff have existing relationships with the potential subject, determination of subject capacity was made by the organizational staff knowledgeable about the subject's capacity.

Q1: What kinds of meaning, engagement, and interaction occurred between patients and student participants?

*Focus group with patients and students.* Student and patient participants, as well as social workers leading the support group, engaged in a focus group at the end of the second session. The discussion naturally took its own course in sharing participant interactions and experiences without much prompting. The focus group was audio-recorded and later transcribed. Student representatives and the social worker leading support groups were involved in designing the evaluation process and advised on appropriate length and applicability of questionnaires and focus group topics.

Student participants (N=10) also completed one-on-one interviews with researcher E.C. in a private recording room. The interviews took place before the second session after each student recorded their song (where students were already in a private space) and each interview lasted approximately 15 min. An interview guide (see Appendix E: Interview guide 1) developed by E.C. explored how participants engaged in the process of writing and sharing songs.

Q2: What, if any, was the extent of attitude change in student participants?
Student questionnaires and interviews. Student participants completed questionnaires at the beginning of the first session and at the end of the second session. Seven out of the ten participants were present for both sessions, and therefore completed both the pre- and post-program questionnaires (four women and three men ranging in age from 23 to 28). Not all participants were consistent in attending each session due to scheduling conflicts and the voluntary nature of the sessions as a student-run extracurricular activity. If participants couldn’t attend sessions in person, they recruited friends to join in participation and help share the final songs, so that every song was completed and shared. Participants were recruited without explicit regard to musical experience, though the seven all had musical experience with an average of 14.6 years of prior musical experience.

Students were asked to complete the Jefferson Scale of Physician Empathy (Hojat et al., 2001) at the beginning of the first session and at the end of the second session. The Jefferson Scale was the main measurement of interest because I was interested in interpersonal measurement of attitudes. Statements in the Jefferson Scale generally focus on belief about the importance of emotion in patient care, and thus measures responses shaped by norms and expectations in a particular setting. The scale has 20 statements on attitudes about care such as “An important component of the relationship with my patients is the understanding of the emotional status of themselves and their families” and “I believe that emotion has no role in the treatment of medical illness.” To understand whether trait empathy was affected, the Interpersonal Reactivity Index was also included (Davis, 1983). The index includes 28 statements which measure empathy as a trait characteristic such as “I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me” and “Before criticising somebody, I try to imagine how I would feel if I were in their place.”
**Results.**

Q1: What kinds of meaning, engagement, and interaction occurred between patient and student participants?

Four themes emerged from participant responses in the interviews and focus group discussion:

*Reciprocal relationships.* There was a dialogic process between student and patient in sharing stories, finding common ground, and learning from each other. In one pair, the student and patient connected over a shared interest in jazz and French which inspired a song created in a jazz style with one stanza in French. One participant said, “…I have experienced where love can be so deep it can make me cry. It seems like [the patient] has this experience all the time and has had that throughout her life. I don’t think I’ve ever found someone that has brought that up before…It was something that called me…I learned a lot from her.”

*Interactions in the community.* The support group setting allowed for vulnerability and trust to deepen and develop on a group level. One participant said, “Attending the group and seeing how they share with each other inspired me to share more in the song. They are all so open with us about who they were. It made the process more intimidating but more meaningful.” Another participant described, “Just to be a part of this, this beautiful group of people is something that no one will understand except for us, and you just made that bond stronger. It’s just an incredible bond.”

*Joint goal.* Every participant was integral in creating a shared creative work with another. Because the focus was on the interactions (rather than song quality), the experience was accessible to everyone including those with little or no songwriting experience. One participant noted, “A lot of us are actually first-time songwriters and in fact most of us are first time—some of us aren't even regular musicians so a big part of this program is that anyone can be a
songwriter, anyone can be a storyteller.” Another participant described, “I felt like the pressure was off that I didn't have to live up to crazy standards I put myself up to that you all were so open that I was like okay I can do this.”

*Diverse collaboration.* Participants included both students and patients, and they had varied backgrounds in songwriting and music experience. The student participants were in different health professional schools and class years. All participants drew on each other's experiences to collaborate and share feedback. One participant said, “Being able to bounce ideas off someone else, I was able to get out of my own head a little bit and get something on a paper.” Another participant said, “I brought in some ideas and then a bunch people listen to it and had some pointers in that, that helped me. As soon as I got home after that I wrote more.”

Q2: What was the extent of attitude change in student participants?

The mean pre- and post-program Jefferson Scale scores of student participants were 5.92 and 6.36, respectively, which was a significant difference (Wilcoxon, z = 2.03, p < 0.05). There was no significant difference in pre- and post-scores of the Interpersonal Reactivity Index (Wilcoxon, z = 1.10, p > 0.05).

Discussion. In this program, collaborative songwriting is a participatory art involving both patients and students. To explore how an interpersonal approach could work in practice, I was interested in processes underlying interactions and engagements (Q1). Interview and focus group responses revealed the following processes of interpersonal interactions: reciprocal relationships, interactions in the community, joint goal, and diverse collaboration. I was also interested in whether attitudes about care increased pre- and post- program, measured by the Jefferson Scale (Q2). The prediction that attitudes about care would increase after participation
in the program was supported. I made no prediction about changes in trait empathy measured by the Interpersonal Reactivity Index, and these results were inconclusive.

Although student and patient participants were included in the program and the focus group discussion, the Jefferson Scale is designed for health professionals and thus was distributed to health professional student participants only. Scales of empathy or attitudes about care in medical education reflect the current state of involving students only in programs in the medical humanities. In adopting an interpersonal approach, programs that include both patient and student participants may consider using interpersonal measures not limited to empathy, such as interpersonal closeness, trust, and belonging (e.g., for the Inclusion of the Other in the Self Scale, a measure of interpersonal closeness, see Aron, Aron, and Smollan 1992).

The present program is innovative for its interpersonal approach of involving both students and patients in a collaborative creative process. The program could enhance interpersonal inclusion further if students and patients had opportunities to work together on song creation in between the first conversation session and second song sharing session. In this program these opportunities were limited by logistics of transporting patients outside of support group sessions. An interpersonal approach may be helpful to view as existing on a spectrum, with high interpersonal inclusion on one end and low interpersonal inclusion on the other. Degree of inclusion of interpersonal elements in a justice-promoting manner may be aided by a framework based on the qualitative themes (Q1), which I describe next.

**Framework for an interpersonal approach**

By aligning critical and narrative theory with the themes underlying the interactive and interpersonal nature of the project, I propose a theoretically-informed framework for an
interpersonal approach in the medical humanities. The framework may provide a starting place for the application of the participatory arts in clinical and educational contexts.

*Centre around reciprocal relationships.* Fraser (1995) describes transformative processes as those that “change everyone’s sense of belonging, affiliation, and self” (p. 81).

“Transformative remedies reduce social inequality without, however, creating stigmatised classes of vulnerable people perceived as beneficiaries of special largesse. They tend therefore to promote reciprocity and solidarity in the relations of recognition” (p. 85-86). Despite the inherent power imbalances that exist between relations such as that between physician and patient, interventions that allow for reciprocal and mutual interactions foster cultures of just care towards transformative remedies. Music-making and other participatory arts allow for relationships where the creation process is reciprocally interactional.

*Build interactions in community settings.* Medical humanities programs are often held in the classroom setting or in one-off instances. For example, students may read a poem and discuss the poem with each other (Collett & McLachlan, 2006; Shapiro & Rucker, 2003). These activities usually take place in a classroom rather than in a clinical or community setting. An interpersonal approach encourages relationships to develop with community members in their own settings, where group cultures emerge and change through interactional processes between students and community members. Service-learning is one example of a community-based approach (Hunt, 2011). Service-learning models are generative examples of interventions in community settings but need be wary of not falling into non-reciprocal models of interaction that prioritise student learning over joint interaction with community members (e.g., see Eliasoph 2013).
Have joint goals. Interventions may have an individual goal such as personal reflection through writing or a shared goal such as creating collaborative creative art. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2018), Paulo Freire describes both teacher and student as learners, as “co-investigators” engaging in a shared task. Through joint aims, the boundaries between the “serving” and “served” can be oriented towards agency for all involved. Shared intention can be even more meaningful when the goal focuses on a social intent rather than on the quality of the work produced (Cao, 2013). Forms of theatre and improvisation, for example, focus on a democratic process seeking to engage in dialogue and create space for collective action (Boal, 1974).

Value diverse collaboration. Collaboration across skills, experiences, and backgrounds are a fundamental part of coalition-building—one goal Fraser identifies in calling for justice-oriented remedies. Participatory arts foster skills-based collaboration given the multifaceted nature of these arts. In collaborative songwriting, for example, components involve lyrics, instrumentals, melody, and production. Each component involves participants drawing on their own experiences or interests to create a complete piece. Likewise, the health professions require interprofessional collaboration and coalition-building to advance optimal health outcomes (D’Amour et al., 2005; Zwarenstein et al., 2009).

Evaluate outcomes based on interpersonal measurements for all participants. Unlike trait measures such as the Interpersonal Reactivity Index of empathy, interpersonal measurements are dependent on interactions between people, such as norms, attitudes, trust, and interpersonal closeness. Other than the Jefferson Scale on attitudes of care in health professionals, measures that may be considered interpersonal include the Inclusion of the Other in the Self Scale and connectedness, trust, and need-to-belong measures (Aron et al., 1992; T. van Bel et al., 2009;
Justwan et al., 2018; Nichols & Webster, 2013). Such scales can be adapted and applied to every population group involved in the interactions (e.g., patients and students). For example, the Inclusion of the Other in the Self Scale measures the overlap between two circles labelled “self” and “other,” applicable to members of any group in a relational context.

**Conclusion**

The medical humanities can broaden perspectives and deepen appreciation; they can cultivate skills of empathy, listening, and observation in health professionals. But they can and should do more, and look critically at these empathy or individual skill-based approaches. I have proposed an interpersonal approach of incorporating the arts and humanities in ways to go beyond the development of empathy in health professionals—for instance, through the participatory arts which have been relatively neglected in the curricula but have much to offer. The ideas here are not intended to be an “either/or” pronouncement, but a “yes, and” possibility that the medical humanities shift and expand, and that this expansion is not only important for the medical humanities as a field, but aligned with justice-oriented aims in medicine and healthcare (such as with public health and the health humanities). An aim is to see students learn through the arts and humanities not so much that they may possess or develop special powers of empathy or understanding, but more so that they have the shared responsibility of improving the quality and equity of health as co-creators among their peers, colleagues, humanists, patients, and the public.
Chapter 6

Arts and capabilities

The capabilities approach

Much of the literature on music’s social value has focused on the role of music as enhancing social capital or civic engagement in community settings and as therapeutic for neuropsychiatric conditions in clinical settings (e.g., Jones, 2010; Thaut et al., 2015). Less consideration has been given to the role of the arts—and particularly, the arts in participatory forms—in a futures-oriented, development framework. The term “culture” can be associated with the past through concepts such as "habit, custom, tradition, heritage." This retrospective notion aligns with a presentational conception of the arts which affords value to artistic heritage and aesthetics (Appadurai, 2004; Turino, 2008). In contradistinction to “culture” in this sense, the term “development” tends to be associated with the future through concepts such as "plans, hopes, goals, targets" (Appadurai, 2004, p. 60). One way to bring culture out of the past and presentational contexts is to situate it in a development framework offering a model for both economic and social recovery towards well-being and flourishing. This chapter offers such a framework through the capabilities approach to include aspirations and potentials when conceptualising human well-being and development.

In the capabilities approach developed by economist Amartya Sen (1992, 1993), human flourishing depends on one’s range of future possibilities including agency, achievement, freedom, and well-being. Instead of focusing on the realisation of utility through goods, the approach considers not the resources themselves but the capabilities of a person and the effects of their potential realisations. Capabilities are meant to represent the various combinations of
functions a person may achieve. Sen defines “functionings” as the activities a person does in life, and “capability” as the alternative combinations of functionings a person can achieve; the evaluation of functionings and capabilities entail the capabilities approach (Sen, 1993).

Functionings may include activities that range from securing adequate nourishment and securing self-respect (Blacksher, 2002). The freedoms and choices of functionings allowed by capability are intrinsically valued: “Choosing may itself be a valuable part of living, and a life of genuine choice with serious options may be seen to be for that reason richer” (Sen, 1993, p. 41). Thus, what one chooses is less important than having the range of valuable and substantive options to choose from.

The effects of diminished social recognition and agency contributing to public health crises are captured in Arthur Pigou’s description of economics as emerging from the “sordidness of mean streets and the joylessness of withered lives” (Cohen & Case, 2020). Amartya Sen is said to have taken his interest in economics from this concept, which Anne Case and Angus Deaton refer to in their research on declining life expectancy in the US (Cohen & Case, 2020). “Deaths of despair” are not, as some describe, born from a decline in virtue, but from the changing nature of work and education in the US which particularly affect lower-educated, white, working-class Americans resulting in a loss of what Case and Deaton call “a way of life” with reduced belonging, esteem, and hope for the future (2015). In 2017, then-US Surgeon General Vivek Murthy described the US as suffering from a loneliness epidemic, citing the risk of mortality associated with loneliness as comparable to that of smoking 15 cigarettes per day (Holt-Lunstad et al., 2010; Murthy, 2017). Since 2014, US life expectancy has decreased each year with drug overdoses, suicides, and organ system diseases among young and middle-aged adults as major contributors (Woolf & Schoomaker, 2019). Other countries such as the UK are
also facing concerns about alienation, appointing a Minister for Loneliness in 2018 (Yeginsu, 2018). That social alienation has become so clearly a public health issue points to the importance of a capabilities approach and the need for integrating ways of thinking about arts, public health, and economics as ways of life and flourishing. The approach is in line with calls for addressing inequalities, arts, and public health through the participatory arts and policy which values the intrinsic process of the creation as emphasised in *music corps* (Parkinson & White, 2013). Locating the role of the arts in the advancement of capabilities emphasising flourishing and agency expands the meanings of what it means to be well and foregrounds an equivalence between a healthy and caring society.

Capabilities are closely linked to the ideas of the moral self and of social esteem, as applied in the “linen shirt” example in Adam Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759): in eighteenth-century European society, a person could survive without a linen shirt, but it was necessary to have one to appear in public without shame. The moral self emerges through one's recognition in society, with the linen shirt as a resource to enable appearing in front of others with dignity; socioeconomic deprivation injures the moral self in addition to the biological and psychological self (Blacksher, 2002). By the moral self, Blacksher refers to a sense of moral agency: “one’s capacity to act autonomously, to be self-determining, to make a life that reflects one’s values, interests, and hopes for a future” (p. 460). Such moral agency is undermined by modern capitalist markets which separate the economic and the political. Rather, all economies are moral economies in that they contain judgments about what is proper activity in relation to the rights and responsibilities of individuals and goods (Sayer, 1999). In a modern capitalist market, cultural goods tend to reflect a form of possessive individualism or cultural consumption (Honneth, 2004). A moral economy would include a conception of well-being and flourishing
not reliant on capitalist conceptions of media and culture (Hesmondhalgh, 2017). Measures of access and usage, for example, do not encompass individuals’ real ability to make use of those resources (Garnham, 1997). A capabilities approach fundamentally recognises that an individual’s functioning and capabilities are reliant on their surroundings and on changeable social conditions: “One’s capabilities are a function not just of one’s fixed personal traits and divisible resources, but of one’s mutable traits, social relations and norms, and the structure of opportunities, public goods, and public spaces” (Anderson, 1999, p. 319). Likewise, one’s social participation and responsible citizenship are crucial parts of agency in participation in the social life and outcome that enhance a person’s agency and well-being (E. S. Anderson, 1999).

Martha Nussbaum (2003) further expanded the capabilities approach in an international development context, agreeing that well-being is not sufficiently captured by wealth or a country’s GNP per capita, but by multiple dimensions of human life which include health and the ability to make one’s own decisions or have purpose in work. She argued that for the capabilities approach to have force in social policy, it needed to have an account of the what central capabilities were rather than a general account of capabilities (Nussbaum, 2003). Her list of capabilities, applied to human rights and feminist contexts, is based on what people value across cultures and regardless of where people live. They fall into rough categories of life, bodily health, bodily integrity, thought and sensation (including imagination), emotions, practical reason (forming a conception of the good for oneself), affiliation (friendship and respect), a positive relation to nature, play, and political and material control over one’s environment. The list, Nussbaum adds, is meant to be contested and expanded. For Anderson (1999), the core capabilities are those that are required for responsible citizenship necessarily involving social participation in the local discourse.
Because disability, mental and physical, influences a person’s ability to have agency and participation in society, the capabilities approach can also be fruitfully applied to public health (Hopper, 2007). Assumptions about limited capability and moral worth links disability studies to the capabilities approach: “If disability’s social reality—the viable identities and real prospects available to afflicted persons—is determined as much by the rules and resources applied to difference as by any underlying impairment, then restoration and repair become social projects not merely treatment regimes. They require interventions into common meaning-making as well as material provisions of housing and work” (p. 875). Hopper describes a capabilities-informed “social recovery” approach as involving both citizenship and health which allow individuals not merely to survive, but thrive. Such recovery is social in that “Capabilities rework recovery not from within (where it remains hostage to the rhetoric of suffering), but from without (informed by an idiom of opportunity)” (p. 875). An intervention as such for recovery would target not public safety or reliable program participation, but enhanced agency (Hopper, 2007). To have “common meaning-making” means that the capabilities approach is fundamentally about equality tied to well-being and health (E. S. Anderson, 1999), analogous to the challenge that Nancy Fraser poses on reconciling the tensions between recognition and redistribution in advancing social justice aims (Fraser, 1995).

A growing number of music practitioners and scholars across therapy and community music are emphasising how music and the arts can foster civic engagement and social participation, drawing on social capital and civic engagement theories—social approaches closely related to capabilities (Jones, 2010; Stern & Seifert, 2016). While these approaches highlight the socially interactive nature of the arts, they also tend to focus on the arts as a resource: as defined by the number of connections made and their type as “bonding”—relations
between members of one’s group—or “bridging”—relations between members of different groups (Putnam, 2000). Such approaches are related to capabilities in that social recognition and esteem operates through social relations; however, what is missing is not only in what or how many relations or “social capital” are formed, but the manner in which they are formed. Are the relations mutual and reciprocal, or are they one-directional with a “receiver” and “giver”? Do they fundamentally allow for capabilities and potential for the future, or do they operate in the context of existing assumptions of skill and expertise, or power and hierarchy? Such questions are better addressed in a capabilities approach which recognises that it is not only the relations themselves, but the environments of power and equality around those relations which may allow or inhibit the realisation of capabilities. A capabilities approach may expand the social foundations of former approaches by aligning it as an intervention well-suited to a social recovery model for public health, as well as open a futures-oriented, development framework for the arts. In music-making as an accessible and participatory activity, those classified as “typically-functioning” create with those who may be considered disabled or economically disadvantaged in a community of artists as a community of equals (Freire, 2018), so that “Recovery on their part presumes openness to reinclusion on ours” (Hopper, 2007, p. 878).

In her list of capabilities, Nussbaum (2003) does not directly include the arts, but the arts can support development of multiple components on the list, e.g., kinaesthetic arts such as dance and music on bodily health and integrity (Stuckey & Nobel, 2010), visual arts on senses, imagination, and thought (Burchenal & Grohe, 2007), and arts participation on emotional skills (Rabinowitch et al., 2012). Nussbaum’s emphasis on the importance of a liberal arts education in developing capabilities, which tend to also feature teaching of arts in presentational contexts as in universities, could expand to include everyday arts and aesthetics as a form of cultural
education: "such a cultural education would need to be responsive to the way in which musical practices are embedded in ordinary, everyday life..." (Hesmondhalgh, 2017, p. 214). It also calls for a shift in how the arts are evaluated for funding "based on the ways they advance capabilities and sustain functionings" (Zitcer et al., 2016, p. 47).

I experienced the applicability of such capabilities when engaging incarcerated teens in collaborative songwriting as a college student. At Isla Casa detention centre, an hour’s subway ride from the city centre of Boston, I entered with other musicians at Genuine Voices nonprofit, and our goal was to involve the teens in writing songs that honoured the experiences of patients with cancer. J was one of these teens. From the moment I introduced the program, he volunteered enthusiastically to participate. Over the course of the next weeks, J worked on a song for a child with developmental disabilities, F. saying, “I just wanted to do everything and anything I could to help.” The first three categories of Nussbaum's application of the capabilities approach—life, bodily health, bodily integrity—fit into a health-centred conception of well-being. But other categories less directly related to health were also crucial to well-being: when J learned about the experiences of the child with cancer and created music and lyrics, he was engaging in the thought and sensation of imagination and creation—in the emotions of the child, himself, and the music—engaging in a quality of “play.” Through our meetings over time and making music, as well as with the child and family, affiliation was heightened by the communicative nature of music. As J wrote the song, he was also forming of a conception of the good, what Nussbaum describes as “practical reason.” For James, this view was reflected in his statement, “this project made me want to help anyone and anything I can” and was reinforced in the lyrics and message of his song: “Your life is precious…Felicia, you’re beautiful.”
These initial songwriting experiences (described in Cao, 2013) emphasised the purpose and meaning associated with the process of the collaborative songwriting activity and its suitability to a capabilities approach. But the application of a list of capabilities remains debatable: Sen advocates for a general version of the idea of capabilities that may be adapted to various contexts, while Nussbaum argues that a working list, at the least, is necessary for social policy force. Capabilities-informed approaches to arts and culture have been developed, as described in Chapter 4, including in immigrant and local neighbourhoods in NYC and Philadelphia (Stern & Seifert, 2010, 2017; Zicter et al., 2016), in the liberal arts and higher education in the NEMA region (ElKhayat, 2018), and in media engagement in Norway (Nærland et al., 2020). Despite attention towards the ecological and place-making roles of the arts in communities, many of the art activities focused more on one-way arts residencies or largely passive engagement or appreciation of arts in line with typically Western presentational arts.

Other reports of programs, such as of Tura New Music programs’ collaboration with First Nations musicians in Australia (Howell & Bartleet, 2019), drew on a capabilities approach that pays more attention to aspects such as reciprocity and “two-way” learning in interactions. The capabilities approach has a broad reach in the arts in global contexts, but there is less attention to how the participatory arts and music-making in particular might intersect in broadening aims of well-being. In an expansion of the songwriting activities at the detention centre, in the summer of 2019 I implemented through Humans in Harmony nonprofit the music corps program where individuals with disabilities or from disadvantaged populations worked with college students and recent graduates to collaboratively create songs. The evaluation sought to understand the processes of social relations with the general principles of the capabilities approach with Sen’s conceptions of freedom, agency, well-being, and achievement in the program.
Program evaluation

I was interested in how participatory music might affect social relations, agency, well-being, and thereby, capabilities. The questions guiding the program were: 1) To what extent, if any, could participatory arts and music affect interpersonal and community closeness in participants? 2) How might such interpersonal processes relate to participants’ capabilities? The program, *Music Corps*, was implemented in June – August of 2019 in New York City. Participants were students, e.g., students from colleges in New York and New Jersey, and community members in social service organisations in New York City, e.g., those serving individuals with developmental disabilities, seniors, and at-risk youth. The students and community members came together in a series of eight workshops where they went through a guided process of how to write songs (Appendix C: Program of *music corps*). The weekly group sessions included seven group sessions on: 1) brainstorming, storytelling, song structure, 2) lyrics, 3) melody and instrumentals, 4-5) workshopping, 6) recording songs, and 7) a song-sharing celebration. Every week outside of the group sessions, students also travelled to their placement sites at social service organisations to further work on songs with their community members.

Program Evaluation

Participants

The participants included 14 college students or recent graduates from New York University, City University of New York, Columbia University, Bryn Mawr College, and Princeton University, and 16 community members from AHRC NYC (four sites serving adults with disabilities), Ali Forney Youth Center for LGBTQ homeless youth, and Isabella Geriatric Center. Six participants did not complete both a pre- and post-program evaluation form due to scheduling conflicts with the first or last session when the questionnaires were distributed. The
students were an average age of 21.9 years, nine women and five men, with an average of 12 years of prior musical experience. The community members were an average age of 40.9 years, two women and eight men, with an average of 4.4 years of prior musical experience.

Participants were encouraged to apply regardless of prior music or service experience. Members of community organisations, such as youth at Sheltering Arms or Ali Forney Center, were also invited to apply during pop-up workshops organised by *Humans in Harmony* student chapters. Community members were recruited through recommendations by the staff at the host organisation based on interest in the program. A fundraiser before the start of the program was launched to provide support to those who may have been otherwise unable to participate due to financial need.

**Method**

Q1: To what extent, if any, could the program affect interpersonal and community closeness?

Questionnaires were given at the beginning of the first meeting—for students, at their orientation before their organisation placements and group sessions began in a classroom space with others, for community members, at the first group workshop session in a conference room space with others. The post-program questionnaire and interview were conducted during each group’s private recording session during session #6 with others in the group in a room, allowing adequate space, time, and privacy to complete than in the more hectic and public final song-sharing session. The following scales were included in the questionnaire (see Appendix F, Questionnaire):

*Inclusion of the Other in the Self Scale (IOS) and the Inclusion of the Community in the Self Scale (ICS):* The IOS and ICS scales are typically applied in social psychology as measures
of interpersonal and community closeness (Aron et al., 1992; Mashek et al., 2007). In the scale, two circles are marked self and other (in the IOS) or self and community (in the ICS). Participants were asked to choose, among various degrees of overlap between the circles (as in a Venn diagram), which image best represented how close the participant felt to the other person or to the community. Because the scales are a single-item pictorial representation, they were quick to complete. They did not depend on language comprehension to comprehend, factors that are important when working with participants with developmental disabilities. However, the pictorial image is also abstract, and therefore verbal explanation was given by facilitators as needed.

**Adapted versions of Jefferson Scale of Empathy:** In the previous chapter, I describe how it would be beneficial for an interpersonal approach to consider how to have interpersonal measures—i.e., measures that encompass the environment like attitudes, trait, and belonging, to apply to both groups in blurring distinctions in interventions aiming to be justice-oriented and what was termed an “interpersonal approach.” Thus, the adapted version focused on questions on attitudes about care removed the clinical context: “I believe emotions are important when caring for another” rather than “when providing patient care.” A measurement of mutual care, rather than caregiver and recipient, serving and served, or expert and non-expert was thus reflected in these measurements.

Originally, the questionnaire also included other questions, e.g., need-to-belong and mood scales, but after piloting the questions at prior pilot workshops, I found them to be more difficult to complete as the overall questionnaire was too long and precluded some participants from engaging.
Q2: How might processes that enhance capabilities occur through categories of the capabilities approach?

To address question 2, small group interviews sought to understand how participants created their songs and formed bonds which affect their capabilities, based around the guiding questions in Appendix G (Interview guide 2). I conducted the interviews which lasted about ten minutes each after questionnaires had been completed. Interviews were conducted with the groups of about 4 people in each that completed a song together.

To relate questions of interpersonal closeness and belonging to the context of the capabilities approach, interview responses of participants were analysed in light of the 4 categories of the capabilities approach: well-being achievement, agency achievement, well-being freedom, and agency freedom (Sen, 1992, 1993). The questions were interested in understanding in what ways interpersonal and community closeness, as measured by the IOS and ICS, interlink with well-being and agency. Interviews and case studies were analysed to better understand the processes involved.

Because the current study was based on the study framework described in the previous chapter, many similar considerations regarding confidentiality and consent also applied to this study. The approved IRB proposal included a revision to expand the populations included. Because I had developed the analysis themes based on the capabilities approach, I analysed the responses to the interviews (unlike the study in Ch. 5, which explored themes that emerged with multiple coders). This has the disadvantage of single-reviewer bias, while the advantage of a consistent analysis applied to the questions of this study related to the capabilities approach.

Results. There was a significant difference in Inclusion of Community in the Self scores with a pre-program mean of 3.29 and post-program mean of 4.59 (z = 2.94, p<.005, n=20), as well as in
Inclusion of the Other in Self scores with a pre-program mean of 3.70 and post-program mean of 5.38 (z = 2.74, p<.01, n = 18). There was no significant difference in Jefferson scale scores (n = 14). Missing data, and thus lower “n,” were due to participants skipping questions. Because the adapted Jefferson scales measuring provision of care was not a single-item scale, even after reduction of the number of questions, it was difficult for participants to complete all five questions; therefore this scale was more susceptible to incompletion as not completing one question would qualify as a missing entry.

**Interviews and case studies**

The following case studies and interviews are selected from groups participating through AHRC, a NY-based social service organisation serving individuals with intellectual disabilities. The examples are from three different sites run by AHRC: Norfolk, Fisher, and Redfield. A capabilities approach was applied in analysing relations of social closeness, recognition, and esteem. Four categories of agency and well-being, and achievement and freedom are theorised in the capabilities approach (Sen, 1992, p. 56-57). *Agency achievement* is the realisation of goals a person decides to pursue, which may often be in line with *well-being achievement*, but may at times differ—e.g., a humanitarian physician seeking to treat patients in third world countries may advance her agency achievement while conflicting with well-being achievement. There is also a distinction between agency and well-being: *agency freedom* is a person’s freedom to bring about what one values and attempts to create, while *well-being freedom* is a person’s freedom to bring about achievements that in the process of doing so, are aligned with one’s personal well-being and individual capabilities (Sen, 1992). The former tends to be based on an external state of affairs (which may not advance a person’s individual well-being), while the latter tends to be
based on each person’s constitution and capabilities, so that distinctions between categories are
interdependent and yet distinct.

**Well-being freedom and achievement**

At Fisher AHRC, the song “Praise God with Music” was informed and shaped by existing choir sessions which existed at the site. The students, Sk. and Sm., at first were unsure about how to combine the songwriting project with the choir activity led by a choir director: "we spent the time singing with the choir group, and it was fun, but we're not sure how to integrate songwriting." In the later sessions, as the choir group and director also came to the group sessions and spent time together and with the whole group in creating a song, they found synergy between the choir songs and their community. The choir director said, "They was taking bits and pieces of the song, the people's songs that we sing. So that's how they got all those words together." She said, "Everybody's putting in their input. Like, she sees something her way, we'll add that. She sees something her way, we'll add. And so on and so forth. And then we put it together. Came out beautiful."

During the group sessions, there would be time for each group to practice their song together. After every time this group sang, there was laughter and participants said, “We're so happy. This song makes us so happy.” It emanated from their corner and sprang into the room and hall. In describing the interaction between students and community members, the participants described themselves as family, as belonging as part as "one person": "You know, they made them feel like we all are one... We all are one family, one person.” The choir director also described a progression of the feeling of “oneness,” starting out with tension:
"Well, it was it was a little tense in the beginning. I ain't gonna lie to you. It was a little tense at the beginning, ok, but then we all bumped our heads together, we came together, and then we was able to work together. Cause nothing is as it would have seemed in the beginning. There was tension in the air. Because we all have our own way of thinking, our own way of putting things the way we see it. So, you know, it was tense. So then we actually came together, and there you go. Finished product."

It seemed that the process of creating a song strengthened both the bonds that already existed in the choir group, as well as in forming those between the students and the existing group. There was joy in that they had all created something that captured the feeling of "oneness" they felt. This was a mutually enforcing link between agency and wellness, with the questionnaires of Inclusion of Other in Self and Inclusion of Community in Self represented in the social connection and recognition of belonging. Such an experience may be classified as one of well-being freedom and well-being achievement: an experience of joy that came from one’s relation to others in the community and process of engaging in music.

**Agency freedom and achievement**

At Norfolk AHRC, the three community members each created their own song, working with student S. in sharing their selves and creating the songs. One participant based her song on sightseeing: “So she went, we went on a trip to 42nd Street and she just started telling me all the things that she's liking and seeing, and I started taking notes. And then from that, she wrote her song.” “M., we were showing her different rhythms for our Jamaican song, and she picked, “Oh I like this one," so then he created a [hip-hop] beat for that.” Another, D., worked with a staff member and S. through a process of a blues song, which progressed to a Latin love song. “I think he likes it very much to have a chance to speak Spanish,” said a staff member. And for the third,
I., “one of the things he loves is to sing at church with his family...that's very important to him. They all sing. They share that together.” I.’s song begins with his voice, simple and spoken. Although the group didn't come up with one song together like other groups, they choose the path of working through each of their songs: “We were first going to do it all together, but then when we realised that, you know... it was just everybody wanted a different song.”

Much of the meaning was in the choice and deliberation of the songwriting process. For I., writing a song about singing with his family in church was also about sharing and creating what was important to him, creating a sense of *agency achievement*. There was also *agency freedom* in the potentials of choosing song topics and style. The experience encouraged a sense of possibility for creation in the future: "And actually, kind of now, it's gotten us excited now. We're like okay we'll do a duet next, and he wants to be backup singer for M. So we'll create some other songs and stuff. So it's kind of neat. Hopefully this will start a thing.”

In another example of *agency freedom*, The Redfield AHRC group noted the meaningfulness of the recording session itself and the improvisation that happened during it. F., a member of AHRC, was a talented pianist. At the second or third session, he volunteered to share his piano-playing. By ear at the piano, he played and sang Elvis Presley's "I Can't Help Falling in Love with You." During the recording session, F. added further chords and an outro, and they all improvised a tambourine, maracas, and a new piano arrangement. The recording session became the highlight of this group’s experience because, as Ma. said, "We added things in recording, right before, and it was super fun to just improvise and play off each other, and each other's musicality.” Having the choice of possibilities became more meaningful in the processes of shared collaboration, and the aspects of agency through choice and well-being through social relationships reinforced each other in the processes.
Sen’s concept of *well-being freedom* tends to be internally based, such as on one’s characteristics and constitution. This kind of freedom was evidenced during the session on learning melody and chords when an AHRC members demonstrated his improvisation of “Can’t Help Falling in Love” in front of the group and space was given for every corpsmember to share their skills. This participants’ already-developed capacity of musical creation was enhanced and heightened by the external circumstance that allowed him to share as part of a social group in common meaning-making.

Such external circumstances tend to align more closely with Sen’s concept of *agency freedom*, which is closely tied to what Hopper (2007) describes as the dependence of agency on social environment, such as through an environment in *music corps* of common meaning-making among participants. Such involvement was common and reciprocal in that it was not that students were “corpsmembers” and the AHRC participants were “served,” but that every participant was a “corpsmember” working towards a collective project of joint creation and sharing of experiences and learning through song. All participants were referred to as corpsmembers, emphasising the collective work of musical creation. Such an approach allowed social participation and learning from all participants, fostering Appadurai’s (2004) concept of social, democratic participation in making decisions collectively with a responsibility to the group.

These examples apply a form of deeper freedom which prioritises well-being and agency. Freedom is limited when thought of as generally as the ability to have choice. Sen (1992, p. 65-66) describes a distinction between freedom to and freedom from, and critiques the notion of freedom as control as limited. Freedom from poverty, disease, or hunger is a freedom that is a truer kind of freedom: the elimination of unloved things, specifically epidemics as an example,
"through public policy aimed at giving people what they would want, can be seen as an enhancement of people's real freedom." Such freedom enabling real choice and agency is central to well-being and flourishing.

Conclusion

As a form of relational communication and participation, music and other participatory arts have much to offer in advancing a capabilities approach, in collaboration with and in extension of existing approaches which look at the role of music in social relations among individuals and in the community. In the music corps study, the IOS and ICS scales support the positive effects of the collaborative songwriting activity on interpersonal and community closeness. The experiences and interviews reveal how social closeness is not only about relations or social capital, but also can be integrated into a capabilities approach that incorporates freedom and agency emphasising social recognition and participation, and places arts and culture in a future-oriented domain. The design and evaluation of music corps is an example of the potential in framing the value of the participatory arts in terms of a capabilities approach increasingly recognised not only in economics, but also in public health. A form of enhanced agency (Hopper, 2007), then, may be best realised with the merge of well-being freedom with agency freedom, as reflected in the participant’s experience that the process of songwriting could kindle more possibilities for similar ways of engaging in the future with other members of the group. Such collective action also draws on the abilities of each person to join in creative activity that is accessible and participatory, done with others towards social goals that enforce one’s belonging and moral self in the community. Such themes draw back to the concepts of health and well-being applied to social relation and care as developed in Chs 1 and 2: loneliness and lack of social esteem have detrimental impacts on health when conceptualised as situated within the
community and including flourishing and well-being (C. L. Keyes, 2005; C. L. M. Keyes, 2002; Pearce et al., 2017).
Chapter 7

A politics of care

What does political and popular language reveal about empathic and relational interactions today and the role of the arts? This chapter draws on interactional processes, themes, and lyrics in songs created through Humans in Harmony’s collaborative songwriting activities to explore the interrelations between and the meanings of art, freedom, care, reliance, and empathy.

Art

“Life Unclassed” has a simple backdrop—metronomic beats mark the grind of army life. The song has its own backstory: a joint creation by a 17-year-old high schooler from St. Louis with a 71-year-old veteran at the Bronx Veteran Affairs hospital in NYC.

Presentational forms of music today, generally more familiar to Western listeners such as the concert hall setting—e.g., New York’s Lincoln Center with its majestic auditoriums and lobbies with chandeliers. The musicians are experts on stage as the audience listens. This kind of music is predominantly recognised for its aesthetic and cultural values (Turino, 2008). But there are other participatory forms of music more typically recognised for their social values, including music therapy and community music, and, as in “Life Unclassed,” collaborative songwriting.

It is a good time to remind ourselves of those social values. These days, it has become increasingly difficult to interact with people from different backgrounds than ourselves. Some point to the fraying of the social fabric, others to the epidemic of loneliness, and others to the crises of democracy and economic inequality (Brooks, 2018; Kristof, 2019; Sitaraman, 2017). In
the face of such issues, oftentimes music and the arts are dismissed as inconsequential entertainment. But for concerns about societal healing, treating music in such a way is not just dismissive, it is damaging. Music is often thought of as an aesthetic commodity. But the ways people make music are about the ways people relate. Music-making is, at its heart, about human connection: non-exclusive, participatory, and jointly imaginative.

Take the kind of relation between the veteran and the student, who came together through *Humans in Harmony*. By re-imagining stories into song, students in the chapters and community members in the workshops connect across diverse backgrounds and experiences. In doing so, they and those who engage in their music find the congruences and differentiations that allow them to enter another’s life story and their own. Such as in the chorus of “Life Unclassed,” the personal might merge with the collective, like that of a nation:

And now I’m sitting in New York
Looking back in the past
I’ve fought for my life
And I know I will last
I’ve fought for this freedom
To live life unclassed
For citizens, Americans
For kindness to last

Relations are at the core of participatory music—music that anyone, regardless of musical skill, can join in with (Turino, 2008). A participatory form of socio-functional music centres around the making. It is about the processes, such as reciprocal ways of relating, that
music, with its multisensory engagement, temporal synchrony, and floating intentionality, allow (Cross, 2014). It is about making, doing, and being—ways of thinking that get away from human artifact and take us to places that blur the distinctions between everyday behaviour and performance (Schechner, 2017).

Certainly, participatory music is not mutually exclusive with “presentational” music like the kind typically found in concert halls. The two are especially dynamic when they go hand in hand. In David Lang’s “the public domain” (2016), 1000 voices—voices of the public and “audience”—convened in Lincoln Center’s outdoor plaza. Singing, walking, and waving arms about, they all entered the realm where music becomes music-making. Such mutual acts of creation are examples of transformative processes: processes which alter the sense of belonging and self of everyone involved through the destabilisation of group boundaries (Bruner, 1991). Our creations, including the stories we tell, do not simply represent realities. As cognitive psychologist Jerome Bruner (1991) describes, they create realities, “constructing and representing the rich and messy domain of human interaction” (p. 4).

If this all sounds radical, it is actually a tradition rediscovered, like much that sounds radical at first glance. Ethnomusicologists speculate that even before humans developed language, bonding occurred through claps, vocalisations, and rhythm. In shared social contexts such as ritual, music allows individuals to preserve their own interpretations while in synchrony with a collective community (Cross, 2009). Through mimicry, people become affiliated with one another (Hove & Risen, 2009). Participatory music-making is a way people have always made music: as a relational medium with others.
Music-making and narratives pose possibilities for humans not only to describe experiences but to construct realities together. How we conceive of persons and how we relate to others have implications for our quality of care and democracy. Whether for health care and well-being or for music and the arts, to value relations of reciprocity opens up possibilities to “live life unclassed.”

In *Civil Society: The Critical History of an Idea*, John Ehrenberg (2017) calls for a broader conception of civil society for the 21st Century. As capitalistic systems progress, it has become increasingly tantamount to incorporate political and economic structuring into accounts of civil society. The US today, for example, faces extreme economic inequality which calls for recognition that social relations—who participates in groups or associations or voting or politics—are determined by political and economic structures and power. In *Crisis of the Middle Class Constitution*, Gitash Sitaraman (2017) describes how rising inequality along with segregation by income threatens the ability for individuals to interact with those unlike themselves. Values and preferences become siloed, and social empathy for others and support for public programs for “others” drop. A solely Putnam-esque analysis of social capital as accounting for the decline of civic engagement neglects the underlying ways that our economic and political environments and institutions structure social capital.

The participatory arts, like the contemporary discourse around empathy and social capital, have also been limited within local and cultural conceptions of civil society. But by nature of being co-creative, participatory, and social, they can be part of a move to expand conceptions that focus more on the *how* than the *what*: on the ways that the creative process and everyday life engage each other in dialogue rather than on the outcomes measured by capital, including social capital. The arts do so in ways that are personal, because these relations are
fundamentally about interactions with others, and also in context of structures, power relations, and constructions such as gender and race. A liminal “between and betwixt” state where boundaries are blurred (Turner, 1987), such as between the arts and mimic civil society can expand the meanings of freedom, care, reliance, and empathy.

**Freedom**

On a busy West 125th St. in NYC’s Harlem, Ali Forney’s common room bustled with youth finishing up their latest activity. I entered with student chapter participants of *Humans in Harmony* uncertain of what to expect. It was our first time at Ali Forney, and we were apprehensive about the challenge of coordinating a workshop in just one hour. LGBTQ youth make up about 40% of homeless youth in NYC, and Ali Forney is a sanctuary and home providing meals, cots, and community for these teens.

Almost all of the teens, about twenty, jumped at the opportunity to write songs, and we found ourselves crampedly gathered around a table. Everything that followed happened in a blur: we introduced ourselves, split into groups of four, improvised and composed, and half an hour later, gathered again as one group to share the songs. One group with dental student P. was freestyle rapping around a table. P. played some gentle, flowing chords as the teens reflected on the struggles for freedom in American history in honour of Black history month and began freestyling:

- God bless the lost lives of those who fought on our side
- The colonisers try to keep us down but we still strive
- With the ships my ancestors they had to die…
- I mean, just to keep the generation alive
As one freestyler stumbled in the middle, another teen came in: “it’s okay, it’s gonna come right to you.” The youth cheered and supported each other, making beats while laughing and singing. After the session, the guitarist who worked with the freestylers shared, “Watching the group interact, share, and discuss their ideas among each other to create a meaningful message was really inspiring. In a matter of just half an hour, my group had come up with lyrics that were thoughtful and stirring to hear. In some ways, after sharing the music to the whole room I felt closer to each of them for being part of this process — it reminds me of how music can bring all of us together because it’s like a universal medium of expression.”

Music can be a co-constructive form of collective solidarity, especially in response to collective grief or pain. Frederick Douglass (1999) said that songs are expressions of the pain within the heart. “I have often been utterly astonished, since I came to the north, to find persons who could speak of the singing, among slaves, as evidence of their contentment and happiness. It is impossible to conceive of a greater mistake. Slaves sing most when they are most unhappy. The songs of the slave represent the sorrows of his heart; and he is relieved by them, only as an aching heart is relieved by its tears.” There is creative possibility gained by group singing through dignity and meaning in being with others allowing for action and moral clarity which seemed impossible to realise at one time but are now traditional of the ideals of American history.

In A Tolerable Anarchy (2009), Jedediah Purdy makes vivid the tension between the individual capacity to live lives of meaning defined by one’s discovery of the self and authenticity to it, and the necessary constraints that arise in living as a collective society. American freedom has rested on the realisation of a kind of utopia which becomes common sense such as the American Revolution and abolition of slavery. Purdy describes how the lessons
of history are a form of “collective memory” which draw on tradition which is “radical.” The past consists of reinterpretations of what existed before: Oliver Wendell Holmes’ dissent in *Lochner v New York*, the US Supreme Court case where the courts struck down a New York state law limiting the working hours of bakers due to public health concerns, became a rallying cry for Progressives many years later. Frederick Douglass in his *What to the Slave is the Fourth of July* speech refashioned the Constitution to include a vision of freedom for slaves rather than a refutation of the flawed Constitution (Douglass, 1852). Such “common sense utopia” is linked to Rancière’s (1991) vision of a community of artists as a community of equals who have the ability to create and construct.

Purdy (2009) makes a comparison in these kinds of reinterpretations to creative culture, giving as examples Shakespeare’s plagiarism and songwriters’ reliance on prior musical traditions. With advancements in technology, the ability to remix and rework was further opened to public use, facilitating an “economy of creativity” to craft in public imagination “everybody’s joint creation of the next moment” (Purdy 2009, p. 214). An economy of creativity is also about being in a “realm of freedom” which, Martin Hägglund (2020) argues, allows choice in what to do with one’s limited time in line with one’s values, rather than being a “realm of necessity.” The questions asked under a realm of necessity are about playing the game to make a living such as presenting or branding the self in workplaces that reward competition in systems where socially necessary work like nursing and teaching are less rewarded than finance and predatory lending.

Music is well-suited to the task of realising the freedom where fulfilment of self exists in constraints of collective community. Knowing oneself requires a community that reveals and moulds the individual while embracing each person’s reliance upon the community. Like in
group music experience, we hold our own interpretations and meanings while being in synchrony with those around us.

**Care**

On a sidewalk between W 112th and 113th street, blocks away from the campus of Columbia University in Morningside Heights of Manhattan, is a scattering of books and its bookseller, S. S. greeted passers-by stopping by his table most every morning and afternoon. I gradually got to know him through our shared interests in music and books. He would remark, “kids these days, those kids go to this fancy school and they haven’t even read *Wuthering Heights*!” Out by the sidewalk when the days were bright but less than warm, S. walked with a shuffle and talked with a sputter, but he always had something to say and welcomed conversation. He prided himself on “coming back from death,” recounting how after a heart attack, “the doctors at Bellevue said I was dead, but I came back to life!” Many of our conversations were about the frustrations of his medical care and the healthcare system, but sometimes they would veer into politics, which is how I came to know that he supported Trump in those months leading up to the 2016 election.

Other than S., the only Trump supporter I came to know was a 68-year-old man from Alaska, A., who I chatted with the night before the election in a phone banking call for Hillary Clinton. The call script told me to politely hang up the phone if a Trump supporter picked up, but A. was eager to talk. I disagreed with him on every issue, but after 30 minutes on the phone, I also heard about how he liked to go fishing and how he wanted a better life. I didn't change his mind about who to vote for in the slightest, but I developed fellow-feeling and connection with a man I would have previously thought unrelatable, and I think he felt at least somewhat similarly about me, too.
After the 2016 election, *Humans in Harmony* offered an opportunity for participants to connect across the political divide. H., a grad student studying Math at Princeton who voted for Hillary Clinton, came to connect with S., the bookseller with reservations about the “fancy school kids” who voted for Donald Trump. S. was working on an ongoing project to write a book, and he would share parts of it with me from day to day. Like S., H. also hoped to be a life-long writer and shared his short stories. H., in his desire to connect with S., saw a love of books and words as a point of connection in the song created from their connection, “The Bookselling Man.”

“Do you know the bookselling man…” The opening lines describe the street and S.’s greetings for those passing by. The jig is upbeat, its musical-style seeming to reflect the bustling and undiminishable spirit of the city and people in it. The song goes from stanza to stanza through a narrative, like in the fourth verse which describes S.’s time in the hospital: “I heard he’s been sick awhile…” and his gumption to, in S.’s words, “come back to life” after heart surgery, circling round to the final chorus with the life-celebrating, “there are so many mornings left to live…” H. and his friend W. on the piano alternate their voices between verses, giving the impression of the variety of people S. crosses paths with on the street.

In the chorus, the focus on S.’s street expands to the threads between them and others as W. and H. sing together: “there are so many words waiting to be read / so many stories waiting to be said.” That S. was a Trump supporter and H. a Hillary supporter disappeared under the desire to speak and have agency in voice with the chorus ending, “from buried voices fighting to be free / growing into heroes meant to be.” H. and W. based the song off of S.’s written responses to a song ideas form (see Appendix D). Since H. and S. were in different cities with limited overlapping schedules and capabilities for virtual communication, S.’s more active
participation in the writing of the song was difficult. Thus, the format of this process was more similar to the process described in Chapter 5 between health professional students and cancer support group patients than to the process described in music corps in Chapters 3, 4, and 6. Once the song was completed, H. emailed the song to S. who was eager to receive it, expressing excitement in his email reply and in conversation with me afterwards. They both hoped that if they could be in the same location in the future, they might be able to meet in person.

In Strangers in Their Own Land, Arlie Hochschild (2018) explores the contradiction of how people of goodwill and protective of the environment, from states like Louisiana ranked 49th out of 50th in wealth and with 40% of its funding from the federal government, nevertheless eschew government programs including the Environmental Protection Agency. She identifies their core conviction in “taxes, faith, and honor” and their lack of political trust. In one story, Hochschild describes how one Trump supporter, Lee, had a job which led him to pollute public waters and had been cheated by tax officials. Seeking vindication from his sense of loss, it was easy to blame a far-away federal government in miles away in D.C. Hochschild writes, “Like everyone I was to talk with, both [Lee and the Arenos] also felt like victims of a frightening loss—or was it theft?—of their cultural home, their place in the world, and their honor” (2018, p. 48). Seeing S. among a crowd of college students, an outsider to their generation and to a profit-driven medical system, it was easy to think of the similarities between Lee and S. as “strangers in their own land,” with little control over their work, wealth, or health.

The alienation experienced by individuals like S. and Lee goes alongside concerning health trends in the US (Woolf & Schoomaker, 2019). For the past consecutive three years, average life expectancy in the US has declined—particularly in less-educated, white, rural populations—counter to trends in other developed countries (Woolf & Schoomaker, 2019).
Meanwhile, suicide rates rise, especially for white working-class Americans facing outsourcing or automation of work and costly healthcare (Gawande, 2020). These “deaths of despair” reflect a pervasive loss of hope that one’s future could look better than the lives of one’s grandparents (Case & Deaton, 2015). Alongside such despair is what Hochschild (2018) reveals as a belief that minorities and immigrants are “cutting ahead”—attributing blame to an “other” putting them behind. The US faces a collective loss in “the hope of civilisation,” writes Marilynn Robinson (2020). As described in Ch. 6 “Arts and Capabilities,” care as an antidote to despair is social and structural in that it acknowledges status and esteem, as aligned with a capabilities approach oriented to one’s future and possibilities to choose from a range of substantive options.

What does an understanding of “the other side” achieve? Scepticism is well-founded: voyeurism or voluntourism often do little than lessen the guilt of the already privileged, turning the activity into one that only reinforces boundaries between the gazers and the gazed, or the saviours and the saved (Eliasoph, 2013). Indeed, appeals to enhance the empathy of individuals can appear as silver-bullet solutions to address claims ranging from polarisation to nationalism to economic inequality. But it matters that empathy or social capital are conceived of in their social contexts: whether they are reinforcing of boundaries that do not ultimately address inequality (affirmative) or whether they change underlying frameworks constructively (transformative) (Fraser, 1995). In these situations, as between H. and S., the hope is that a creative, shared experience towards a joint goal may open up the possibility to cross into other public spheres—towards understandings that alienation is not simply a problem of social isolation, but inextricably linked with structures of work and education which are not oriented towards social care; which have chipped away at dignity and possibility; and which fuel despair, hopelessness, and animosity towards an “other.”
The hallway opens up to a room where trophies and boomboxes line a fireplace mantel. It emits a blanket-glow softening the effects of histories of abuse, violence, and trauma. The Children’s Aid and Family Services of NJ houses girls who are an average age of nine years old. There are about eight girls in each home, and I am in the one with nine-year-old M., who is bursting to share her song, “I Want To Be Myself.” The song was created as a pairing between M. and W., a public health student at Columbia University, both first-time songwriters.

One by one, the girls pass around a boombox to share the songs. M. cannot wait to share hers, her energy bouncing in her two pigtails. It is her turn. She closes her eyes. The music fills the room. Then, we notice M. is moving—she is dancing! Her arms move in synchronous punches to the blasts of bass and she sings aloud, to everyone’s enchantment. She has memorised every word and choreographed her own dance, as she sings the opening verse:

Used to run and hide
Too afraid to speak my mind
Always thought I was shy
Didn’t think that I could fly
But I hear a small voice whispering
Whispering to me

Created through a freely accessible online music production platform, the song’s regular beats and yearning voice are in the style of M.’s favourite song, Neil Young’s “Heart of Gold.” The beats pick up pace as the chorus begins:

You’ve got to love yourself
You’ve got to be yourself
Be loud be proud
You’ve got that champion’s belt

Those lyrics that open the chorus—indeed, the very title, “I Want to Be Myself,” seem at first glance individualistic—to each her own, in Emersonian self-reliance (1998): “suffer no man and no wisdom, no mode of thinking to intrude upon you and bereave you of your infinitude,” or, of Whitman celebration in “Song of Myself, 51” (1892): “I contain multitudes.” In a strand of American individualism, the individual disconnects from webs of interconnection in favour of the grandeur of the self. This is a self-reliance that draws us in with its sense of control, yet also is one linked with a myth of Westward expansion and abundance—Manifest Destiny!

Yet in M. and W.’s song, the “you” in “you’ve got to be yourself” is not a first-person “you” to the self. The you is particular: to the girl in foster care with the public health student; and it is expansive: to the impersonal third-person “you” including Will, and—you—the reading and listening you’s. The lyrics and song, by nature of its collaboration, encompasses more than one self but multiple selves, in this case, a bond between Will and M.. For M., it was less of a message of self-reliance than to have a reliance (Odell, 2020), a friend that could be depended on.

Here, then, is the understanding that to be oneself—to love, thrive, and flourish—recognises that there are others who care for you and for whom you care for. As if W. was in the song like a friend present, we learned that M. would ask her therapist to play the song with her every session as her “calming down song.” Reliance on each other is its own form of calming down for the collective “we”; participation, whether through music or caregiving or politics, is its own form of collective commitment to each other against insecurity. A sense of “we-intentionality,” collaborations involving shared psychological states in participants such as
working towards a joint goal, also underlies human social and cognitive development (Tomasello & Carpenter, 2007). To be oneself without the web to others or to the world assumes an abundance of resources. But humans live in a world with limited resources that we share, and what we have—and ultimately how we live with meaning, dignity, and agency—relies on shared infrastructure and decision-making. Their quality and accessibility depend on collective choices.

In these choices even the deep need to “be myself” is not separate from other selves. To create and participate together is to be part of that collective reckoning, even in the everyday medium of music—perhaps, especially in this medium. The wondrous thing about music is that it, like poetry, has the ease of capacity to be internalised, memorised—more likely to become a part of the self, because one can recite it over and over again so that it, as Mary Oliver describes, “goes all the way through you” (Tippet & Oliver, 2015). Collaborative music-making, like in “I Want to Be Myself,” can be an internalisation of a link to another—a reliance—representing care and connection. This music is ours, and we each are like resonant bands beating on interweaving frequencies in this home and future we share.

**Heroes**

This thesis has looked at empathy and social relations in institutional and societal contexts across various perspectives settings: in medicine, in the arts, and in social life. It has posed what can be done to address the decline in empathy in such contexts, arguing for a contextual and dialogic understanding of social relations and resultant interventions which highlight relations and institutions rather than the individual or trait. It challenges the effectiveness of a belief system where individuals are "endowed" with “powers” such as empathy which require development (to use the language of Charon, 2001, as described in Chapter 5). Such conceptions lend themselves to the idea of a "hero" while covering underlying problems: health professionals who are heroes
amidst a broken health care system that harms physicians and patients, creative artists who are creative geniuses while alienating the artists and the public, and superheroes in popular, and as an example and exemplar, American, imagination who may serve each individual so that individuals may falsely be free of societal burdens. Such popular imaginings which displace true social burdens and responsibilities on "endowed" others ultimately harm both the "heroes" and the public—for example, in medicine, in art, and in American imagination.

As described in Chapter 5, much of the language underlying Charon’s (2001) initial framework for Narrative Medicine, including the development of physician empathy, uses the language of the physician-in-training’s “powers.” These conceptions underlie expectations for physicians who take the Hippocratic Oath which places higher moral expectations on physicians that other citizens and perpetuate the image of the physician as a saviour-hero. Physicians indeed are in a unique and sensitive position of caring for the sick and vulnerable in society. They must uphold standards of confidentiality and commitment to heal. Professionalism and standards for the profession exist because they rightly emphasise the importance of work involving human lives and care for others. But one flaw that has resulted from the high moral demands of the profession is the language of virtue suggesting trait-like character on an individual level at the expense of more effective outcomes which should be directed at the system-level, as highlighted by the coronavirus pandemic.

As COVID-19 spread across the world, health care workers who contracted the virus at disproportionately higher rates (Wexler, 2020) were lauded as heroes, with slogans invoking the terms of war, “salute our brave soldiers” (Khan, 2020). Moving displays of public support with people clapping at their windows on evenings was on display in the UK, US, and other countries. Some physicians responded on twitter and through online writing, asking for masks and
protective equipment rather than claps. There was irony in failed responses by government and hospitals to provide conditions that could have minimised the sacrifices of health professionals, applauding their efforts without providing conditions to allow them to work most effectively and safely to alleviate COVID-19 impacts.

Tales of institutional failure do not have the same kind of sticking power as tales of individual bravery. In the aftermath of the 9/11 terrorist attack destroying New York City’s twin towers, the 343 brave firefighters who died rushing in were also, as Rebecca Solnit (2010) emphasises in A Paradise Built in Hell, victims “of an uncoordinated, unprepared, and ill-equipped system” (Lewis et al., 2020). While the narrative of heroic first responders stays central in memory, the failure of systems including flawed communication systems, lack of knowledge of evacuated floors, redundant transport of hoses into rooms with already installed hoses, and inadequate protective gear which resulted in later serious respiratory illnesses are less enduring.

The failures of structural and institutional forces have been more visible in the COVID-19 response. In New York City hospitals, nurses and physicians wore trash bags of ponchos for protection and hospital staff were asked to repeated reuse N95 masks (Khan, 2020). Some health workers who spoke out about being forced to work without proper personal protective equipment were fired, sometimes even for wearing their own masks. A nurse who started raising funds on GoFundMe for protective equipment was suspended. Khan (2020) compares such conditions to Friedrich Engels’ critique of the Industrial Revolution in Europe:

When one individual inflicts bodily injury upon another, such injury that death results, we call the deed manslaughter…. But when society places hundreds of proletarians in such a position that they inevitably meet a too early and an unnatural death … when it deprives thousands of the necessaries of life [and] knows that these thousands of victims
must perish, and yet permits these conditions to remain, its deed is murder…. No man
sees the murderer, because the death of the victim seems a natural one, since the offence
is more one of omission than of commission.

The most needed praise and respect for healthcare workers, first responders, and essential
workers would be structures that support their functioning and effectiveness in the community,
i.e., a politics that prioritises care.

In the US, the coronavirus pandemic revealed the patchwork workings of American
healthcare which failed to mobilise testing, tracing, and medical supplies. While exacerbated by
poor leadership in the Trump administration and too-long denial of the seriousness of the
pandemic, it also revealed further the existing problems in care in the US such the lack of
nationalised healthcare and social services provisions. As described in Chapter 4, a Community
Health Corps was proposed to employ people to do necessary care work such as testing and
tracing (Gonsalves & Kapczynski, 2020). The program included creation of jobs, addressing
needs for testing and tracing, and creating a strong support community which emphasised
dependence on each other rather than retreat. Such responses which include institutional and
social context with the individual are better able to address the root problems along with
enhancing social community and trust as a form of interpersonal empathy.

An analogy can be made between the glorification of the health professional as the hero
and the romanticisation of the artist or musician as the mad, creative genius. An association of
the sublime and art with madness or sickness is prevalent in Western art and music—e.g., the
movie Shine (Hicks, 1996) portrays piano prodigy David Helfgott as going mad after performing
Rachmaninoff’s Piano Concerto No. 3, Schumann’s tremendous creative output is often
attributed to his manic-depression (Jamison, 1994), and Chopin was celebrated for his sickly,
“tubercular” look (Sontag, 1979). One might argue that the romanticisation of the artist serves to honour the creative giftedness of the artist, but also alienating to artists. The idea is a kind of entertainment as a source of intrigue and mystery, in the way that cancer and tuberculosis are, but that ultimately hurts the patient with cancer. “And it is diseases thought to be multi-determined (that is, mysterious) that have the widest possibilities as metaphors…” (Sontag, 1979, p. 60). “The interest of the metaphor is precisely that it refers to a disease so overlaid with mystification” (p. 84). The romanticisation of the individual—in this case the artist who is a mad genius—further props up a typically Western kind of presentational music which requires special skill, limiting participation in the arts and music as social processes, as described in Chapter 3.

Perhaps one of the most salient representations of individuals elevated with special, supernatural skill is the imaginative representation of the superhero, especially popular in American pop culture and media ranging from books, films, TV shows, and exemplified by the vast universe of Marvel and DC superhero movies. Such an image has been described by Jewett and Lawrence (1988) as the “American Monomyth,” where “A community in a harmonious paradise is threatened by evil; normal institutions fail to contend with this threat; a selfless superhero emerges to renounce temptations and carry out the redemptive task; aided by fate, his decisive victory restores the community to its paradisiacal condition; the superhero then recedes into obscurity” (p. 6). These figures can also take the form of angels, such as in the TV show in the early 21st Century, Touched by an Angel, who act as divine personal therapists and assistants for matters such as retrieving car keys. Jedediah Purdy (2002) notes,

Angels not only minister to us as isolated, needy bundles of wishes and fears, but paradoxically help us stay that way. They provide a species of reassurance that we can have alone, in the privacy of our apartments and offices. Being at home in the world does
not have to mean changing or reaching beyond ourselves, adjusting our habits and desires
to our places and communities; instead, the world answers our wishes, just because they
are ours (p. 23).

While the mood of irony and detachment was especially prominent at the turn of the
century when Purdy writes, the representation of the independent, enterprising American “lone
ranger” and individual pursuit of the American Dream are foundational to the narratives of the
US: The vision of the frontier and Westward settlement across “free land” offered a tantalising
possibility of American equality and individualism—a Promised Land utopia as if free from
been more powerful, more invoked by more presidents, than that of pioneers advancing across an
endless meridian” (p. 2). That Trump’s pursuit of a border wall runs counters to the notion of a
boundless frontier also means that crises from racism to inequality which had hitherto been
deflected by expansionism must be confronted domestically (Grandin, 2019), such as through
policy like the kinds of community corps programs described in Chapter 3. America’s
individualism feeds off the imagination of a superhero or angelic saviour; to push against the
detriments of such thinking requires shifts in mentality towards reliance on and responsibility to
one another, such as the kind captured by the vision in Barack Obama’s (2008) speech, “Change
will not come if we wait for some other person or if we wait for some other time. We are the
ones we've been waiting for. We are the change that we seek.” Barry Lopez (2011) writes,
“"A dangerous bit of American folklore is that our social, environmental, and political
problems, which grow more ominous by the day, call for the healing touch of a genius. They
do, but if we're intent on waiting for some such remarkable individual to show up
we can count on disappointment. The solution to what threatens us, however, is already
here, in another form. It's in our diverse communities. Most often we recognise the quality of genius in an individual man or woman; but the source of that genius lies with the complicated network of carefully tended relationships that sets a vibrant human community apart from a solely political community.”

**Empathy**

The empathic and relational problems identified in this section may be a significant problem across most developed countries, but acquire a particular pointedness in the contemporary US, where economic inequality is the highest of all G7 nations (Schaeffer, 2020). Although I focus in this chapter on the US as an exemplification of many capital-I Issues such as alienation, polarisation, structural racism, and inequality, these urgent problems, along with their potential solutions through the participatory arts, are likely to have resonance beyond the US into the wider world. Structural racism occurs in countries with a colonial slaveholding history with racialised dynamics in policy and social dynamics (e.g., in Brazil with comparison to the US, see Oliveira et al., 2020), global racism is structured into international policy contexts of migration and asylum seeking (e.g., such as through the EU, see (Garner, 2007)), and polarisation is amplified through religious ideological movements undermining democratic election (e.g., in the 2017 Jakarta gubernatorial election, see Ubaid & Habibisubandi, 2017).

In June 2020, the US passed a staggering loss of 100,000 lives due to COVID-19, with black Americans dying at three times the rate of white Americans—a pandemic revealing the poor state of pre-existing conditions in US systems such as lack of nationalised health care and paid sick leave (Pilkington, 2020). In September 2020, US deaths rose to over 200,000, accounting for 20% of the world’s COVID deaths with 1 in 1000 deaths being black Americans (COVID-19 Deaths Anazd by Race and Ethnicity, 2020). The subway stop I frequent in
Washington Heights, a largely immigrant community from the Dominican Republic, is, among other low-income neighbourhood subway stops, more crowded than stops in more affluent neighbourhoods whose jobs allow for remote work. On top of the pandemic is a crisis of systemic racial injustice as protests after the murder of George Floyd flood the streets of US cities and across the world.

In the wake of George Floyd, Joe Biden has been said to be on an “empathy offensive” (Alter, 2020). Others invoke empathy as part of a call for civility. Senator Cory Booker and President Barack Obama have described the US as in a “crisis of empathy” and “empathy deficit,” respectively (Honigsbaum, 2013; McCarthy, 2019b). A more dynamic, collective, or Einfühlung kind of empathy which incorporates the individual with the landscape—the interlinking structures and systems—better address needed approaches to empathy today.

The application of empathy in medical education is one example: the decline of empathy in medical students during clinical training is a worrisome trend. In response, arts and humanities curricula in medical education have aimed to enhance the individual empathy of students as a skill or trait. But, as described in Chapter 5, what this individual approach to empathy leaves out is the influence social context has on empathy—in this case, the context of the healthcare system. The studies citing a decline in empathy refer to a questionnaire that also measures attitudes about care in the clinical context. These attitudes are dependent on a culture and system that tends to prioritise efficiency and business over patient time and care. The broader, root problem lies not in the failure of the individual but the failure of the system.

A failure to prioritise well-being and care in medicine also afflicts society more broadly as evidenced earlier in this chapter, where “deaths of despair” are tied to “a decline in hope and purpose” (Case & Deaton, 2015; Robinson, 2020). This decline, too, is not a problem of
individual character deficit. It’s a problem of structures of work and health, and, as Robinson (2020) notes, of thinking revolving around scarcity.

Thinking about empathy on an individual level is not wrong, but it tends to be the go-to approach to empathy we think of—and ultimately, if serious about its enhancement, an approach which integrates systems and social context would be more effective. Conceptualising a more collective version of empathy is not merely a matter of semantics, but a matter of thinking beyond mentalities of the individual, competition, or scarcity. In his essay “Down at the Cross,” written during the emerging civil rights movement, James Baldwin (1998) observed a difference between love as personal and as a “state of being.” The latter was unattainable in a pervasive mentality of “death by drowning.” “I use the word ‘love’ here not merely in the personal sense,” he writes, “but as a state of being, as a state of grace—not in the infantile American sense of being made happy but in the tough and universal sense of quest and daring and growth” (p. 341). Baldwin argued that the only way for the white American to be free would be “to become a part of that suffering and dancing country” of black America. To understand the country, to understand the person, to become part of both.

Like love, there is possibility in bringing the concept of grief from the personal to the public. Judith Butler (2003) writes, “Many people think that grief is privatising, but I think it furnishes a sense of political community of a complex order, and it does this first by bringing to the fore the relational ties that have implications for theorising fundamental dependency and ethical responsibility” (p. 12). Jamelle Bouie (2020) notes the lack of public mourning expressed by the Trump administration despite deaths from COVID-19 that total more than the lives lost in Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq wars combined. A lack of national reckoning through mourning on a collective scale is also a lost chance to “provide a foundation for solidarity and collective
action, especially if we allow ourselves to take full stock of those we’ve lost.” “But that, unfortunately,” Jamelle Bouie continues, “is the exact ethos to which Trump stands in opposition. He is unable to see beyond himself and his immediate concerns, and he leads a coalition that rejects collective action and denies our responsibilities to each other as members of a single polity.”

Whether empathy, love, or grief, personal understandings as “states of being” recognise each person’s reliance on others. There is potential to shift how engagement in the arts and humanities can go beyond individual empathy or other social understandings in order to expand well-being, agency, and care. Rather than think of wellness as resilience or retreat, such well-being is about having options to achieve one’s capabilities in a future-oriented perspective allowing hope and flourishing. Art is not only about aesthetics and appreciation, but about creation with each other and joint constructions of the futures. Care is not limited to personal care, but to a politics of care.

**Conclusion**

This thesis makes the case for the application of *contextual* empathy through the participatory arts and music to enact collective social change. It argues that a conception of empathy which includes sympathy and social approbation is in line with origins of the word, e.g., Hume and Smith’s sympathy, which has implications for public policy considerations of social esteem and common good (Ch. 1). A contextual understanding of empathy aligns with and expands the role of both music and health as participatory and socially transformative (Ch. 2). Such concepts underlie the program I developed and implemented through the nonprofit Humans in Harmony, *music corps*, underscoring processes of reciprocity and collaboration as described through ethnographic field notes of program sessions (Ch. 3). *Music corps* is an example of the
promise of policies advocating for community and health corps when such corps are implemented bidirectionally between policy and community (Ch. 4). Mixed methods studies apply interpersonal measurements to evaluate the effectiveness of Humans in Harmony activities in medical and educational contexts (Ch. 5) and in social service community-based organisations (Ch. 6), demonstrating and evaluating how the participatory arts can enhance health and well-being in institutional and community rather than individual contexts. In the final chapter (Ch. 7), themes emerging from songs created through music corps shed light into concepts of freedom, care, reliance, and empathy for crises faced in the 21st Century. Times of crisis may seem to leave little space for the arts, but this may be influenced by a conception of the arts as a passive and aesthetic medium of entertainment rather than a participatory and co-creative act of agency. In the summer of 2020, reading groups on Twitter started up with hashtags like #coreadingvirus to together read Nan Shepherd’s *The Living Mountain* as people sheltered-in during COVID-19 pandemic and Lauret Savoy’s *Trace: Memory, History, Race, and the American Landscape* as the brutal killing of George Floyd and others reverberated around the world. *Humans in Harmony* launched a summer virtual collaborative arts project where creative artists virtually paired up to create multidisciplinary art projects across geographic boundaries in the shared togetherness of isolation. How we participate in the arts allow new visions for how we see each other as creative participants in society. In a contemporary example, it may produce “a communal spirit, ironically born through social distancing,” which, Ed Yong (2020) writes, “causes people to turn outward, to neighbors both foreign and domestic” and make possible a future where “in 2030, SARS-CoV-3 emerges from nowhere, and is brought to heel within a month.”
The unjust losses of COVID-19 and George Floyd among countless others are consequences of systems in this suffering country that still are not working. The language of “empathy deficit” and “crisis of empathy” has economic and geopolitical analogies: federal deficit and crisis of democracy. At such scale, an empathy of interpersonal relations also includes institutions and power. A more expansive empathy, love, and arts recognises its own dependence on participatory, collective understandings and on political and economic structures centred around care.
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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethnographic notes in music corps

Week 2

At Isabella Geriatric Center, we gathered in a brightly lit room packed with many of us there: about 10 nursing home residents, 14 AHRC participants—those with developmental disabilities, and 12 students who were also interns placed at their organizations. One of the students, Natalie, from NYU, kicked off the session with a theater exercise to introduce and loosen up the group. We all went around the room, everyone gathered in a circle, and each person did a hand movement representing “Do Like Me.” One student said I’m T—and starting strumming an imaginary guitar, another resident waved her hands in the air, and the rest of the group would copy each movement. There were laughs and smiles all around. One of the interns, Amy, wrote:

The room we’re in is really loud, even though many of us are meeting for the first time—which, well, speaks volumes. We’re brainstorming our favorite phrases, songs, and memories that we can use in our songs, and judging by the chatter, we all have a lot to say.

In a large room of about four groups of six, a couple interns and AHRC or Isabella Center staff facilitate small group brainstorming sessions. Afterwards, we regroup to share our inspirations with the whole room, along with lots of applause and support. Humans in Harmony members gather at the end to complete a reflection activity and discuss our work.

G. then started a presentation prepared on introduction to lyric-writing and song structure. He waved joyously at the group, “Hi everyone,” and the group naturally replied, “Hi!” In an open and at-ease way, G. outlined the steps to lyric-writing: thinking about rhyme, about song structure, about how to get ideas out and free-write, about centering around a theme. Another student, Ann, shared her own method of songwriting based off a songwriting course she took in college. After the 15 min presentation time, everyone broke out into groups to start getting the words flowing.

The groups of about 5 total, about 2 students and 3 community members, were grouped based on the community members that students continued to work with during their internship placements. Staff members from AHRC and Isabella were also involved in helping discussions and lyric-writing. There was an ease of conversation, of intensity and dedication of eye contact, of group sharing and participation, and of smiles and laughter. Some groups were starting to sing together in chorus, others were having conversations about various members’ interests and skills, others centred around one who was sharing a verse idea. In one of the AHRC groups was a band called “Zulu P,” who were all excited about creating a song with students and with their group. Amy describes her experience and thinking about community as families during her group:
I’m working with members of the band Zulu P, which has practiced a lot over the past several years (and enjoyed a lot of fame). I’m excited to work with them because of their cohesive team dynamic.

My team member Cha. summed it up like this: “[Zulu P members] really loved talking about their mission, which was that they just love the sense of family in the group and making their audience happy.”

Another Corps member pointed out the role of family in her group’s idea about support and giving back: “Family is incredibly important to them, particularly relationships with siblings. It seems that what is most important to them about these relationships is the sense of support, care, and togetherness they feel when with family. Many of them express desires to be able to help their family in the same way their family helps them, a sense of mutuality in care.”

After about 30 minutes of workshopping in groups, everyone gathered together to go around and share what they had created. One group sang a completed verse, another read what they had written, and others shared about what they had learned from each other. After each group’s sharing, there was a natural round of clapping and excitement, a form of encouragement from the whole group. When asked for any general thoughts or other things to share, some of the group members from Zulu P, those from AHRC, came into the centre of the room and shared their skills: operatic singing, beat-making. The participants then broke into some free-form time for lunch, before community members left and the students remained for a student reflection.

Around a small table, the group of about 10 students came together and G. opened with a prompt for reflection: “What did you learn about your community members”? They spent about 5 min writing. There was an ease in which everyone wrote, and ease in which they were eager to share with the group their thoughts. S., a student from NYU, opened with the thought about connecting to those who were different yet shared so many similarities and skills, with a rich variety of experiences. Others noted how impressed they were with the skills that their community members had. There was a discussion about the songwriting process: how it was easier to write for a form of connection but also the difficulties of respecting the story without imposing upon it. The conversation also focused about the importance of connection and family within the lives of the participants. Amy describes the theme of self-expression in music through the session:

Our community members are equal parts performers and storytellers. Some used brainstorming time for freestyling, which will be really interesting to explore with structured songwriting.

Others used the brainstorming session as an opportunity to jog their memories and tell a good story. One Music corps member working with geriatric residents reflected, “Sitting there speaking to them, I imagined such vivid and full lives, and could almost see scenes from the years gone by.”

Music corps member S. added, “Each one of them has complex interests that are not only limited to music but also to many other facets of life, including religion and ideology.”
By the end, all of the students were interested in sharing their written reflections as something to share with others.

During this session we learned that the most enriching parts were the ones that couldn’t be planned: the natural interactions that happening during the theater exercise, the shouts of encouragement during the presentation, the flow of smiles and movement during the group workshopping, the excitement and sharing of the sharing, and the conversations during the reflection. The most enriching parts were when it was not simply me or a program director leading, but when the learning happened among the students who were using their specific skills to share and engage with each other. This was a refrain echoed by students and staff members, as described by Amy:

So we’ve gotten off to a great start, and I’m excited to see how our songwriting projects evolve and get personal in the next few weeks. As Humans in Harmony President Erica said, “The highlight for me was seeing everyone in groups and the ways that people laughed and came alive.”

And Director of Arts and Community Outreach Darinka Vlahek nicely summed it up at the end of our session as such: “Everybody feels liberated to create stuff.”

**Week 3**

“I wish for more patience” “I wish for a ticket to a tropical place” “I wish for food”—as each participant went around in a circle sharing what they wishes for, they handed each other the “lemon” from a lemon tree. This theater exercise opened the session, as everyone settled into the classroom at Columbia medical centre and prepared for the session on chords and melody.

The session followed a similar format to the last session, with G. opening with a presentation after theater exercise on the options of starting with melody or chords when beginning to write a song. The overview focused on how someone with little experience in songwriting could use online resources such as websites and programs to create chords and melodies. Next, two other student participants, Nyokabi and David, who were both experienced songwriters, demonstrated the ways in which they wrote songs. David began with an overview of chords, and Nyokabi played chords and invited an AHRC member who volunteered to improvise a melody to the chords.

When everyone broke out into groups to continue workshopping songs, one group focused on building on a verse from the verse and chorus they had worked on last time. Despite difficulties in some students being sick and not working with the same group, they were able to collaborate and work forward to where they had picked off from the last time. One group continued their theme of “my family, my inspiration”, while the Zulu P group continued to do freestyling and inputted their words into GarageBand. They shared their songs with the group to warm applause, with one student offering feedback, like “I really enjoyed the lyrics.”

The students gathered as the community members left in the last section, and discussed the experience at their placements. David shared about how he had worked at Isabella nursing centre
and worked on lyrics with those residents. A free form conversation took place where the students discussed how they planned to work in the next sessions with their group. Sk. and Amy both noted how impressed they were with the way that AHRC members in Zulu P advocated for each other. They noted how clear it was that they knew each other and would encourage and challenge each other. Sk. noted that, as in our prior conversation about the importance of going into a community setting with a learning perspective rather than a helping perspective, that she had learned a lot about from Zulu P members—both in how they interacted with each other and also from the musical skills and freestyling they had. The session ended with the prompt, “how have you developed an atmosphere of collaboration among your community members.”

One highlight was the way that the students working with Zulu P wanted to support and facilitate their skills and strengths, even if that meant straying from the guidelines or structure provided by the curriculum. They were dedicated to helping support the group, and they were excited and inspired by the ways that Zulu P worked together and created music.

**Student reflections**

Spatial notes:

- Sitting facing each other, recording and listening
- Communicative
- Taking turns listening and speaking
- Getting second tries (Tyrone)
- Encouraging others to speak/sing (Major and Andrina)
- Relying on outside expertise (Milton)
- Thinking about themes must be helpful for freestyling, improvisational

Cha.

Working with and collaborating with Zulu P honestly makes my job so easy. They are very open to just trying things and our ideas out. Today we kind of just facilitated what they already know how to do. Kabi put down a beat for them to freestyle over and they pretty much took it from there. Seeing them work and collaborate together is honestly just so amazing. I also got the chance to work with them in AHRC’s Lion King. They played the hyenas and did this whole freestyle number that was just awesome.

Sa.

My community members are part of a gospel choir, and they already love to connect through music and singing. During our first session they were very encouraging for Sk. and I to share our singing with them, and likewise, they were excited to share their singing with us. We also sing along to the [?] songs they practice every week, which also helps us bond and come together as a group.

Ny

Zulu P already have a gorgeous chemistry with each other and so it’s been super cool taking a backseat and watching it unfold. Listening is a big part of collaboration and letting them
out their thoughts - and ours too - has created a welcoming atmosphere of collaboration.

Another thing is meeting at points in which we both/all relate - e.g. talking about artists that we all love such as Kendrick Lamar! Sharing things in common shows that we understand each other, and when people feel understood, this is when collaboration and teamwork thrives.

Anonymous
We encourage everyone to share their experiences and to never adopt a judgemental attitude. We also try to include everyone in activities and in the conversations we have. And if someone is feeling left out, we try to engage them and not let one person dominate.

Week 4

Students and participants from AHRC gathered for the fourth week's session, which focused on adding beats, rhythm, and instrumentals, building on the words and lyrics that were created from last Tuesday's session. M., a Music corps member with experience in theater exercises, started off the session by gathering everyone in a large circle. "We are going to create a machine," he said, and asked every person to go around making a noise reflective of the chosen machine theme of "submarine." As usual, in this session we started off by creating an atmosphere in which everyone could be open and at ease with each other. M. did this by also emphasizing that it was okay to feel silly, and together in a circle, we all began to make funny sounds: some stomped their feet, others made vocal "whoosh" sounds, and others snapped their fingers. It was another chance for everyone to introduce themselves and as M. described, "have fun."

As the group finished up, they were encouraged to take the freedom and interactive nature of creating beats and rhythms into the next section of the session, where G. presented some short slides on how to add beats and instruments. He played "The Cups Song" as a demonstration of how easy it was to create a song with just vocals and a beat, which was received with a wide round of applause and cheer. Everyone was itching to try out the beats themselves! Next, Music corps member S. shared his own process of using music production software, Ableton Live, to create songs. He looped in various tracks and sounds, and some AHRC community members joined in to rap over the tracks.

In small groups based on the students' site placements, the groups continued working on their songs. One group went to the piano keyboard to start putting their words about family and inspiration to melody. In another group, a guitarist started a sequence of chords, while the group began singing words over the chords: "The time is coming / summer is loving / there's something in the weather / the sun is shining." It was impressive how the AHRC members were confident and unabashedly singing and sharing with everyone, both during the group working session and also during presentation, such as by rapping over the production tracks. In another table in the back of the room, S. was working one-on-one with an AHRC community member to create a gospel rap song.
One of the themes that surfaced during the session, and which student participants reflected on during the last reflection and discussion section, was the similarities and differences between themselves and their community members, those with developmental disabilities at AHRC. Students described how they were encouraged to be less inhibited in the presence of the AHRC members. They saw how easy it was for AHRC community members to sing aloud with group, and noted the difference in which they oftentimes felt like perfection was required before singing or sharing with a group. As Student Kabi said, “They have a confidence in their ability that I struggle to have.” Others noted how although we would always be limited by the bodily experiences of another, there was a shared sense of humanity and what it means to be human when working together in sharing stories and songs. Reflecting upon her experience working with her partner, one member stated, “I’m sure she and I have differences, but the differences are a little less exciting. We are different the way any two people may be different from each other. It’s the similarities that bring us closer.”

Student reflections

Anonymous
I’ve noticed that all of the community members at Fisher are always so cheerful and enthusiastic. They seem to live life to the fullest, and that’s something that I always strive for. An obvious similarity is how we both love music. One difference that I’ve noticed is their ability to speak their mind all the time. I tend to be more reserved and careful with what I say.

Cha.
The community members that I’m working with and I are similar in that we all have a passion for making music. Getting to share our own processes has been a really eye-opening experience so far. As fun as the similarities are I think our differences make it even more exciting and interesting to collaborate. The guys from Zulu P obviously bring some amazing rap and freestyle skills to the table that I don’t think I could ever dream of having.

Anonymous
The community members that I work with have one main similarity - we LOVE to sing. Not only sing, we love to perform the music. Singing is something that brings joy to us all, and music is how we bond. Some differences I would note you are the type of music we love - everyone has their own genre that they prefer. However I see this as an amazing thing, because at the end of the day we are all able to come together and bond as a choir through our voices and singing.

Ny
I feel I have a lot in common with the members of Zulu P because we seem to enjoy the idea of spontaneity, of generating content on the spot without the immediate need of editing or [?] the flow. What [?] perhaps difference is they have a confidence in their ability that I struggle to have - Tyrone will always be the first to volunteer, Andreina will be loud and lucid when she needs to be, whereas I have an instinct to hide. Our differences and similarities couple with each
other, and I think they have allowed this super cool bond amongst us all to develop during our session together!

**Anonymous**

I paired up with one woman at the Isabella Geriatric Center, and speaking with her about her life, I realised that even though we are 60+ years apart in age, we shared many similar life experiences in our childhoods and our lives overall. For example, she and I both experienced very similar struggles our fathers, and we both grew up with extended family rather than with our parents. It is so surprising that these experiences and similarities can extend through 6 decades. It just makes me wonder how else we may be similar.

I’m sure she and I have differences, but the differences are a little less exciting. We are different the way any two people may be different from each other. It’s the similarities that bring us closer.

S.

The experiences that my community members have lived through can be wholly different from my own, but while talking I have found that their intellectual disabilities don’t stop them from having some of the same views and feelings towards everyday life. When I hear Danny or Ivan complain about something similar to my own tendencies, which are shared among all people.

The difference would have to be their physical interactions with the world, as they perceive information differently, and what I see as normal can often be seen as an obstacle for them in lived experience.

**Week 5**

The fifth week of workshopping was a time to reflect and shift base as needed. We entered the session with feedback from Darinka and Jonathon at AHRC. They had noted the highlights of the sessions and also recommended some ways to provide structure. The theme of structure vs. flexibility based on skills emerged from the session.

In the expansive space of Isabella Center, filled with chairs, tables, and a piano, the participants gathered as Corps Member Chadly and Sk. played saxophone and flute. We sat around the room in a circle listening to Corps Member M. begin the session with the usual theater activity, loosening up the group and creating an atmosphere of freedom and collaboration. These opening introduction exercises have been among the highlights of the sessions, with unique and impressive sounds and rhythms coming from the group. In one activity, the group created a "machine" using various rhythmic hand and feet patterns; in another, we "passed a clap" as one person did a variation of a clap (e.g., double clap), and each person imitated the variation or changed it as we went around the circle. The ease and naturalness of such engagement and unification of sound make this kind of exercise an exemplar of the atmosphere we imagine through music.

After the opening, everyone broke into their groups with the goal of writing down or planning their songs so that they would be ready to rehearse in the next session. We were in week 5 out of 8, with this session and the next focused on workshopping, week 7 on recording, and week 8 as a
song-sharing celebration. We could feel the pressure to have our songs ready in time and were compelled to structure our future sessions more efficiently.

But structure is not always the most conducive to songwriting and music creation. In the case of one of the groups, Zulu P, the members had already extensive experience writing music in an improvisatory manner. During this session, the group wrote down lines of chorus and bridge, and incorporated piano, guitar, and even saxophone. But at the same time, members noted that something was lost when they had tried to structure it too much: there was a loss of learning from AHRC members who knew from their natural skills how to improvise. In a reflection at the end, we discussed how to find a middle ground by having the structured chorus and chords, while maintaining the freedom of freestyling used in Zulu P’s verse.

Another group with Corps Members Sk. and Cha. had a different experience: "We needed structure to direct the group that is used to structured directions from their choir," they said. During the workshop time, bursts of chorus came from their corner, which Sk. and Cha. attributed to their having had prior time to work on lyrics and guide the group. While walking around the room, it was clear that their approach generated many smiles and engagement as they practiced singing together.

After about 40 minutes of workshopping time, everyone came together to share what they had worked on. One group that was missing a Corps Member and didn't have all of their materials present and ready became one of the most memorable, because these three AHRC members took the courage to share with the group even though they didn't have their songs finished, and even though they were the only ones sharing their songs individually. In this group, rather than writing the song among many, each AHRC member was writing a song. Facilitator Paul mentioned on the side, "They are good," and we both went to the group afterwards to share how impressive we thought their efforts were.

At the end-of-session conversation with the student Corps Members, we reflected on these experiences and discussed the differences between structured and unstructured songwriting processes. We agreed that overall, it has to be a skills-based approach, drawing on and adapting to the wide range of skills, preferences, and workflows of each group. Corps Member M. shared after writing his reflection, "I wrote about healing, and I want to keep thinking about what I've learned." We left on this note of mutual learning from everyone's experiences.

Student reflections

Sk.
I want this song and just this whole experience in general to help me become a better music educator. I believe that this is already happening, based on the first few weeks, and that’s exciting to me. I want the community members to feel connected and excited about music. I also want them (and myself) to be as creative as they can and enjoy this experience.

Anonymous
I would like my community members to just get a sense of the artistic process and what expressing yourself through this medium feels like (and hopefully inspire them to do this on their
own or with other people). I would also like them to find their own artistic voice and have them realize that they have their own unique and significant contributions.

**Ny**
I want them to create long-lasting memories of all the fun, creative moments we all shared with each other and [?] associate the song with genuine connections between different individuals. Essentially - the song [?] really is the venue [?] or a means to an end (rather than the [?]). The actual end simply being the joy of connecting and said memories.

**Anonymous**
I want both me and the community members to take away that if you are passionate about what you’re doing, it’ll happen. The community members is my group LOVE to sing, and it shows when their favorite song comes on and their faces light up. You don’t have to have the perfect voice or have impeccable rhythm - as long as you love music, that’s all that matters.

**Week 6**
The session before the recording session was focused on rehearsal practice time. The aim was for every group to feel comfortable and ready to record for the next session.

Sk. had noted that in her group, they loved sing the song, "they loved it because they created it. And after each time singing, people would shout, "I love this!"

S. had worked with an AHRC member to add Spanish into their song.

Cher worked with her members to sing through the "My Family" song. She noted that she was especially "impressed with how he had picked up the melody on the piano just from today’s listening!"

At the end during the reflection exercises, we introduced the "HiH Album Release Campaign," a fundraising event in which students and HiH leaders could participate to share their experiences and songs, and as a way to fundraise and gather support for connections through music.

We're looking forward to the next session, where every group will have 30-min slots to record their song.

**Week 7**
We had the list ready. Each group for each song had a recording time, with the schedule laid out in 30-minute time slots, one for each AHRC site: the "Zulu P" group recording "I Love the Summer" at New York League, the "My Family" song at Redfield, "Praise be to God" with the choir group, and three songs individualized for each person at Norfolk. We had the rooms all ready to go—a meeting space, a room for recording set up with our Zoom H4N recording device and piano keyboard, and some extra spaces ready for groups who wanted to practice more.

Every group was on time for their recording slot, and there weren't any issues with the time period; every group joyfully and easily recorded during their allotted 30 minutes. Everything went smoothly and as planned, but that didn't mean there wasn't room for improvisation. There was some magic that happened in some of the groups during the recording itself—time for
creativity and spontaneity. The fluidity was a delight to find, as some Corps Members were worried that the recording might be too scripted as opposed to the freedom-promoting nature of our music philosophy.

In the group that wrote "My Family," the initial plan was for an AHRC member to play the melody on the piano while the rest of the group sang. Everyone was surprised and impressed when that same AHRC member started improvising and coming up with harmonies to the melody. First, he began to add rhythm to the melody line, which added life to the song. However, he didn’t stop there, as he began playing chords alongside the melody. In the end, he had created a whole arrangement with chords and rhythms improvised on the piano. "It was amazing to watch," Corps Member G. described.

In the group at Norfolk, everything was going great for one of the songs until a staff member playing the piano noticed that something was off: a beat that they created using music technology was looping at a different rate than the loop that was being played on the piano. Our invited pianist, Cory, stepped in and quickly worked it out so that the two would match. Thanks to his help, the problem was resolved quickly and painlessly so that the group could get back to recording. With the fixed looping and the additional tambourine and instruments to add, the song ended up sounding great and was still finished within 30 minutes.

After every group's recording, they went into another room to complete some wrap up activities: song sharing permission forms, an evaluation form, and a conversation about their experiences creating and recording their songs. It was interesting to hear about the dynamics of relationships that occurred in the groups and how the conversation, at times, naturally morphed into appreciation for each other. The choir group at Fisher discussed how "there was tension" initially, but the choir director effusively shared how "funny" and wonderful it was to have Corps Members Sk. and Sam working with them—how sensitive and naturally engaging they were working for the first time with those with disabilities that AHRC served.

Similarly, at Redfield, one of the AHRC members shared at the end a simple "Thank you." Corps Member M. replied, "Thank you," elaborating on everything they were able to create in a shared experience. In the Norfolk group, AHRC staff member Cassie described how much they appreciated having Corps Member S. working with their three members, bringing about each person’s individuality.

I loved hearing how fun the process was for everyone and excitement that overcame each group after their recording. For example, Corps Member G., who helped with the recordings, vividly remembered how each group was ecstatic when they heard their recording. He recalled, “All I saw were smiles. Seeing everyone’s faces light up as they heard their song brought so much warmth to my heart.”

Moreover, many of the participants noted that the recording had been their favorite part thus far (we have one more session left: the song sharing session where everyone shares the recording of their song and the process of working on it with the whole group). Corps Member Sk. noted how she really enjoyed working on and creating the song, and it seemed like finally having created something that could be shared and kept forever, together, was part of the magic of the
experience. It captured not only the song, but the meaning of the process and joy of the experience.

**Week 8**

It was the last time we would all be together: our group of 12 students who had met weekly to workshop songs, who had gone into their organizations to work with community members, we finally all gathered together at AHRC NYC, one of our partner organization adult day care centers for adults with intellectual disabilities.

AHRC's videographer had attended our prior recording and rehearsing sessions, and from those he had put together video clips and audio recordings for each group's song. We started off by having each group share a little about their song. Some groups shared about the content, and others shared about how they came together to write the song, e.g., we all explored each other's favorite music and put in references to singers (in the case of "Praise God with Music") or about loving the summer that we were in. After the intro, the video played with the song for the staff, community members, and interns, as well as organization members. They all gathered to watch the process take shape--how the recording happened, the snippets of collaboration and music-making, the recording processes--that brought the process of creation to life as the song itself played in the background.

Some of the community members couldn't get enough of the spotlight. They glowed with smiles after the song was shared, with the imaginings of being a celebrity (as shared by one community member). The audience, with their fellow adult day care members, cheered and clapped. At the end of everyone's sharing, we had a special treat thanks to AHRC's support: certificates with each person's name celebrating the creation and experience. Staff read aloud the names and all students: students and community members, came forward to receive their certificates.

Finally, we had time to come together and anyone to share experiences. The experiences were shared by students, staff, and community members. One staff shared how special it was to have the interns who gave their patience and kindness to creation with the adults. The community members were especially excited to come up to the stage, fearless and excited to share and even perform more. One student M. excitedly shared that he was so impressed with the kind of creativity and connection that happened in the sessions and came through in the songs. It was a time for everyone to cherish the time over the course of the months they got to know each other, to reflect, and to share with the community and create that kind of space for everyone, brought to the organization.
Appendix B: Prior pilot data

Study 1: Teens in detention and children with cancer

Quantitative responses

N = 7

Mean Social Survey Scores Across Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inventory</th>
<th>Pre-program</th>
<th>General music</th>
<th>Humans in Harmony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Index of Empathy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Esteem Survey</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-Social Behavior Survey</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. The mean scores from the Index of Empathy from Bryant (1982), Self-Esteem Survey from Rosenberg (1965), and Pro-Social Behavior Survey created by the author across the three programs: pre-program, general music, and Humans in Harmony. For the Index of Empathy, a higher score signifies higher empathy levels; for the Self-Esteem Survey and Pro-Social Behavior Survey, a lower score signifies higher self-esteem and pro-social behaviour.
The mean ratings given for each statement pre- and post- participation in the collaborative songwriting. A higher rating reflects a higher belief in the statement. Standard errors are represented by error bars attached to each column.
The mean percentage of responses falling into each category of development for the general music program and collaborative songwriting program.

**Qualitative Responses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Subject ID</th>
<th>What did you like most about this activity?</th>
<th>What have you learned from this activity?</th>
<th>How do you feel after doing this activity?</th>
<th>What makes this activity different from other activities?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General music activities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>I got to do what I love</td>
<td>That I don’t need violence and swears to rap</td>
<td>Great</td>
<td>I feel better doing the activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>It made somebody’s day</td>
<td>To always stay positive about everything</td>
<td>Great</td>
<td>It made my friends and family very proud of me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The people I got to work with</td>
<td>More about the instrument I play</td>
<td>Good about this music stuff and more motivated</td>
<td>The people I work with are cool and accept me like certain friends I have</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Funnies</td>
<td>Everything about music</td>
<td>Very good</td>
<td>It’s very fun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>That we played as a group</td>
<td>How to play the drums</td>
<td>Proud of myself for learning a new instrument</td>
<td>Something I never done</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Learning how to play piano</td>
<td>How to read music</td>
<td>I felt proud for trying something new</td>
<td>It is my first time playing an instrument in five years</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Learning new songs</td>
<td>How to sit when I’m playing a song</td>
<td>I feel good</td>
<td>Sense of accomplishment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collaborative songwriting</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
<td>Helping a child in need</td>
<td>You can make a difference in everyone’s life</td>
<td>Like I’ve done something of great value</td>
<td>It grabs my attention more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I got to make someone’s day</td>
<td>To always believe in myself</td>
<td>Great</td>
<td>It makes it different because I got to know someone else’s story then wrote a song to make the feel good</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The people I got to work with</td>
<td>Working with others and making music</td>
<td>Good about myself and nice feelings towards others</td>
<td>The various faces I get to see</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Everything about music</td>
<td>Very good</td>
<td>The type of song</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>That I actually put my heart and effort into it</td>
<td>That I could make a song no matter how</td>
<td>I felt pretty confident and motivated</td>
<td>You use your mind more often</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
difficult I think it is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Knowing that I am making someone else feel better</th>
<th>To be more considerate of other peoples hardships</th>
<th>I feel better about myself</th>
<th>I am doing a good deed for a certain someone</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Writing a song</td>
<td>To care for children</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Writing songs for kids</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The qualitative responses from Post-Program Surveys after participation in the general music or collaborative songwriting activities.

Study 2: Health students and foster children

Quantitative results

N=9
Qualitative results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience</th>
<th>Engagement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fantasy seeking</td>
<td>5.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspective taking</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empathic concern</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal distress</td>
<td>5.44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of the four experiences above, look at which one(s) you rated most meaningful and why?

After participating in this project, is there something
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>you describe your experience of writing a song for a child in foster care?</strong></th>
<th><strong>most highly. In as much detail as possible, please explain how you engaged in the experience(s) which you rated most highly</strong></th>
<th><strong>you now believe or think you can do that you hadn’t before?</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It felt good. It felt like the right thing to do.</td>
<td>Well, if I understood the hardships these young girls had and have to go through, in writing my song I kept in mind, how hard it is to be anyone of these girls, and the struggles they face to blend in and be like the kids their age.</td>
<td>I find that making unfortunate people especially children happy is more important than learning musical skills and making acquaintances. This is just my personal opinion. No. Although I have learned a few things, I don’t think this great program has really changed anything in me. I loved this program, but I felt it was too short, so I didn’t have the time to take in much.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s a great journey that challenges you and touch your feelings.</td>
<td>My foster care child was a girl who had lost her grandmother and asked a song about her. That made me feel deep feelings of sympathy and empathy.</td>
<td>As we all share the stories that the children wrote, it’s give us some idea of how they are and what is happening to them. Now I believe I can write a song for a purpose and I discovered that I can dedicate a lot of myself and my time to try to make someone feel good feelings through music.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would say that it was really enjoyable. I learned some interesting skills. However, I would prefer that we had more information about the children or got to meet the child or perform the songs for them.</td>
<td>I really like to see things from other people’s points of view. I think that it enriches the discussion when you are able to have level headed conversation, and see things from another perspective.</td>
<td>I liked being able to spend time with the Lang students. I found that their motivation for success to be inspiring, especially at such an important stage in their lives. It was really nice to talk to them, not only about the program and the song writing but I think that I’m more inspired to work with foster children. After writing the song, I realized that I wanted to see the look on her face when she hears the song for the first time. I would have also liked to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would this program and</td>
<td>A way I engaged in</td>
<td>I received a better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my experience as selfless,</td>
<td>this experience was</td>
<td>understand of the foster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tender, and awesome. As I</td>
<td>during my time</td>
<td>care population, and am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>would like to think, this</td>
<td>writing my song.</td>
<td>compassionate towards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>program is about “giving</td>
<td>Angelina wanted</td>
<td>those in foster care. As</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>life” to a child because</td>
<td>me to sing about her</td>
<td>my friend Azalias said,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>art (music) is the closest</td>
<td>mother and father,</td>
<td>some of these kid were</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thing we have to life. This</td>
<td>and about how</td>
<td>left because they were</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whole time, I was thinking</td>
<td>much she adores</td>
<td>seen as “unideal” to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of my child, Angelina, and</td>
<td>them. I tried to tell</td>
<td>parents, or they had</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I placed myself in her</td>
<td>a story not only about</td>
<td>medical complications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoes and tried my best to</td>
<td>her, but about both</td>
<td>and parent can not for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>write her the best song she</td>
<td>of us in that how</td>
<td>the treatment. With this,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deserves. (with no song</td>
<td>much we both love</td>
<td>I know or alway knew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>writing skills)</td>
<td>our family.</td>
<td>that a child’s life is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sacred and the most</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>important in this world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well, it was fun. I was so</td>
<td>I am a very cautious</td>
<td>Because I was never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excited when I got to</td>
<td>person. I look out</td>
<td>able to sing infront of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>record my song. It was a</td>
<td>for my friends and</td>
<td>people alone or with a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>great experience. I love</td>
<td>even when they</td>
<td>partner. Now I can</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singing and that won’t</td>
<td>don’t listen and get</td>
<td>fulfill my courage and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ever change. I finally got</td>
<td>hurt I still protect</td>
<td>keep on going.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to write my own song and</td>
<td>them and worry for</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pursue such a wonderful</td>
<td>them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time doing so. I met</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I really felt like I connected with a side of myself that I didn’t know was there. When I thought about what the child wanted to hear, I was surprised by what I was able to produce. I don’t think I would have written something like this if I were only writing for myself. I had to put a lot of faith in chance because I don’t know the child specifically and have no idea if she will like it. By trusting in the good of the project’s goal, I was able to put aside my fears and focus on creating a song that would be good no matter what because of the intention.

A friend of mine divulged his hardships to me over the phone and while normally I would struggle not to be briefly apologetic, I instead found myself wanting to talk him through some of the real issues he was facing. I was compelled to address the issue w/ a level of sincerity. I felt I could not ignore the sincerity that the hardship meant for him. I also felt that I was more creative in imagining the ways in which the hardship impacted his life and its implications.

I am tied between the first two choices. It was the students’ words and expressed views of the foster child that allowed me to improve my perception of vulnerability of the foster child population. I guess for this reason, the second option is really my best answer. I was moved by the way in which perfectionism and elf judgement may form a barrier to the expression fo the student. I was also touched by the amount of trust the student eventually placed in me by allowing me to help him in this process. I could see so much of myself in the student dn helping him to overcome fears assisted me in making these same changes in myself.

Yes. I think that I can write a song.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Therapeutic and incredibly rare. Very involving, you don’t need to have music/songwriting experience to participate. It’s very involving and I love that. Unique and amazing way to connect to your fellow human, but also help another human and yourself. This program has a bright future.</th>
<th>I think it comes from a place of desire to connect with others and learn. I’ve gotten so many ideas about songwriting from places/people I didn’t know I could get it from.</th>
<th>The patient file was a lens by which I could see my foster child. Crafting the song made me really think critically about the child in foster care.</th>
<th>SONG WRITE &lt;3 Thank you for everything! I’m here to stay!!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My experience with writing a song for a child</td>
<td>During this project, I was able to see</td>
<td>After this program, I can say I have a better</td>
<td>Well, after this project I can say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in foster care has been wonderful. It was incredibly inspiring and wonderful seeing things in their perspective. When receiving the request form from the child it was great being able to see how their past and ideas are reflected on to their music preferences. Generally, most of the requests received in the project involved family and home. Being able to take part in something so great as “giving a child a life” is something I will never forget. This was a marvelous experience, and opportunity to see how music/art, can help a person and tell a story. I’m honored to be able to give my child this gift.

I had a lot of fun writing a song for my foster child, Jasmine. At first it was hard to come up with an idea for the lyrics of the song, since I’d never met Jasmine and only knew what she wrote on the form, but once I got an idea down, the lyrics started to flow. Coming up with a melody and staying on tempo was also difficult, but Erica and Lucy helped me A LOT and I’m really grateful to them. I had a lot of fun singing the song, and after I finished writing and recording it I couldn’t help

| 1. My song was a very creative and visual work of song, with lots of imagery and such, so I had to imagine what it could be like to fly through the city on a magic carpet. 2. My foster child, Jasmine, didn’t write very much on her request form, so I had to place myself in her shoes based on what little info I had. 3. This is exactly how I felt after finishing my song! | I found the first component most meaningful, because it was a major goal of the program and a necessary experience to fully participate in the program, I feel like we did get some sense of the struggles faced by foster children from the first session, but after this we did not really delve further into the topic. I personally do not know anything about my foster child’s life or her story, and I feel like knowing those two things would not | That I know how to correctly write a song. Although I do go to an arts school, majoring in music and dance. This informal way of teaching was helpful. |
but feel a little proud of my creation. It felt really fulfilling to create something for someone else and send them my support. I really look forward to seeing this program return again next summer!

only have helped me write a better song, but also to better understand the entire population of foster children.

To transcribe and analyze an interview with student participant and focus group with all student participants.

Study 3 High school students and veterans

Student participants

Quantitative results

Students (n = 4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IRI Score</th>
<th>Pre-program</th>
<th>Post-Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Empathic Concern</td>
<td>2.97</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspective</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantasy Seeking</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>3.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Distress</td>
<td>2.74</td>
<td>2.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Project component | Engagement level
| Better understand and empathize with veterans | 5.5 |
| Build a positive and supportive relationship with another student | 4.25 |
| Develop songwriting and/or musical skills | 6.5 |

**Qualitative results**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imagine that a fellow student is asking you about your experience in this project. How would you describe your experience of writing a song for a child in foster care?</th>
<th>Out of the four experiences above, look at which one(s) you rated most highly. In as much detail as possible, please explain how you engaged in the experience(s) which you rated most highly</th>
<th>Out of the components above, which one(s) did you find most meaningful and why?</th>
<th>After participating in this project, is there something you now believe or think you can do that you hadn't before?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I would say that giving them encouragement also gave me encouragement. It made me rethink how I viewed life and made me more grateful for how much I have in my life. It also gave me a chance to think creatively under pressure/ a short amount of time, and although I did not have as much time as I had hoped, I will learn from my mistakes. It was a great experience and made me realize just how much time it takes to write a song and record it. It is a much longer process than I thought.</td>
<td>As I wrote the song, I felt pity for the patient and felt encouraged as I encouraged him.</td>
<td>I felt like I got to know the patient very well, and I really got to understand the difficulty of songwriting.</td>
<td>Yes! I believe I can write more songs in the future and build off this experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I think this experience was especially enlightening for me to open up to a completely new and formely unknown world. I found the songwriting process to be touching, the very idea of composing nuance for this unknown man's life. While I may never live through such hardships, the project helped me better understand them.</td>
<td>I rated number 2 the highest due to the many facts I had to consider before writing the snq. I felt that basic words with lost meanings would not convey the perspective of the patient I received. I went about looking at the perspective by carefully analyzing the details of the patient's life and current condition. I then brainstormed several key phrases to emphasize about his life. I soon brought myself to ask what I would do if I was in his shoes.</td>
<td>The most meaningful is the empathizing with patients, as it provided a glimpse in to a life I will never live, hardships I will never face. I think it is especially important to be empathetic, that too through music.</td>
<td>Songwriting!!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This experience was very fun and exciting. I was able to write and sing a song for someone and I never imagined that I would be able to do this. It was also really exciting to connect to someone who is so different from you through music. I felt close to the veteran even though I had never met him. It also taught us how to communicate to others with music and it was very special to make someone fee better with a song. It was very fun and meaningful.</td>
<td>Taking the perspective of others and feelings of warmth, compassion and concern for unfortunate others was rated the most highly because I had to see the form from my veteran's point of view to write a song that he would enjoy. I listened to my song from a veteran's point of view to see if he would like it. Feelings of warmth for the unfortunate others was also very strong because I realized how difficult the veteran's life was, but I still tried to convey an optimistic message.</td>
<td>I found empathizing with patients the most meaningful because I originally imagined that it would be difficult to write a song to a veteran because I would not understand them. But this experience helped me understand that even though veterans have gone through experience that I haven't, they are still people with understandable feelings and lives and through music I learned that I was able to connect and understand people with totally different lives.</td>
<td>I am capable of communicating to others who are very different from me. I am also capable of communicating musically.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I believe it is fulfilling to now your song is helping someone.  

I often imagine myself experiencing the actions/life of a character in a music or mook because it brings me close to the story.  

I found that learning the skills in songwriting was the most meaningful.  

I can songwrite better

**Veteran participants**

*Quantitative results*

Means from questionnaire (n=7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Average rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1 How did the project affect how connected you feel to others in general?</td>
<td>6.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2 How did the program affect your emotional connection to medical</td>
<td>6.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professionals (doctors, nurses, and/or students)?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3 How did the project advance your sense of well-being?</td>
<td>6.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q8 Are you more likely to recommend your hospital to others because the</td>
<td>5.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hospital helped you participate in this program?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: ratings are on a scale of 1-7; 1 = none at all, 7 = very much so
Q4. Which part of the program was most impactful to you?

i. Filling out the song form with a medical professional

ii. Looking forward to receiving my song

iii. Talking about the experience with other patients

iv. Receiving and listening to my finished song

v. Other (please specify)

Qualitative results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Q1 How did the project affect how connected you feel to others in general? | - Alright
- Enjoying meeting you people- I feel connected to the singer because I feel he knows me in a positive way.- When I’m around people, I generally listen. If I have something to say, I’ll contribute. In this project, I told them my story and they didn’t just listen--they heard me.- Very enlightening, it’s beautiful. Everybody has something they’re good at. He’d [the artist] better get it copyrighted.
- Made me feel good |
- We really connected. It seemed like she [the musician] was on my wavelength. She was listening and said what I couldn’t say myself.

**Q2 How did the program affect your emotional connection to medical professionals (doctors, nurses, and/or students)?**

- They made me feel very happy
- Nice to meet you- I am happy about the song because I feel the staff is concerned about how I relate to others.- I respect them
- I liked the words. Erica was very nice. The word canopy, I think that meant to the top of his head.
- N/A- I could feel that they were interested in making me feel good. They were interested in knowing about me, and that would help, like psychology or therapy

**Q3 How did the project advance your sense of well-being?**

- I feel much better
- Not much, about the same
- N/A- It made me feel exhilarated. Normally, I don’t get asked what I like, and now they asked me what I like. That doesn’t happen very often- Poetry is all about telling your story
- N/A- She transformed what I was saying

**Q4 Which part of the program was most impactful to you?**

- N/A
- It was nice to hear, it made me feel good inside
- N/A
- N/A
- It was very enlightening, Erica is very nice
- N/A
- I asked you for a CD, it is most important because I can analyze the song and listen to the interpretation

**Q5 Please further explain the program’s impact on you - (a) before the project started, (b) during, and (c) after (i.e. now). Are you still experiencing the program’s impact?**

- N/A
- I enjoyed being able to converse with you about the song that I like
- I kind of forgot about it, but after I filled out the first questionnaire, I was looking forward to it. During the song, I felt good and hopeful. I feel hopeful now.
- No, but glad it happened
- It was very beautiful
- N/A
- I explained to her that I love music. Today I am in good, uplifted spirit. The song helped. It uplifted me, because something can be made of me, whereas before I didn’t accomplish a lot because I didn’t think much of myself. When you learn something, you have to learn it first, before there were drugs and psychological trauma. May require further explanation from surveyor
| Q6 What do you plan to do with your song, if anything? | - Of course, I want to share  
- Nothing  
- I would listen to the song again. I would like to figure out how they rhymed so well.  
- Let my girl hear it! I’ll think about letting everybody else hear it  
- I would keep it, listen to it. I want to write a book one day- Share with others  
- I’ll be sharing it. I’d play it through the PA system |
| Q7 Would you recommend this program to other patients? Why or why not? | - N/A - Because it’s enlightening to see you people so concerned with us people in the hospital- I would [recommend this to others]. When you’re feeling sick, this is helpful!- Yes, because you think about things, and they [the hospital] put it into action- Yes, ask my neighbor who writes some deep and beautiful stuff  
- Makes you feel well-being  
- Of course! |
| Q9 Do you have any suggestions for how we can improve the program? Is there anything that would have made it more beneficial to you? | - N/A  
- More projects for the patients to be concerned with  
- N/A- Add more of my own two cents, more of my own words- N/A  
- Nope! I like it.  
- N/A |
| Q10 Anything else you’d like to tell us? | - N/A  
- N/A  
- N/A  
- I think it [the program] will be good  
- N/A  
- N/A  
- N/A |
Appendix C: Program of music corps

Music Corps
Summer 2019
New York City

Summer program term: June 10-Aug 2, 2019
Workshops Tuesdays, 11am - 2pm
Locations:

Roy and Diana Vagelos Education Center (VEC)
104 Haven Ave, New York, NY 10032

Hammer Health Sciences Building (HSC)
701 W 168th St, New York, NY 10032

Isabella Geriatric Center
515 Audubon Ave, New York, NY 10040
meet in the lobby in the front

Corpsmembers will engage in a series of collaborative songwriting workshops with their community members from the host organization. The culmination of the program will be a performance where each corpsmember will record and perform a song that they have created with their community member(s). Please note that we may adjust the programming as we proceed, especially for the later weeks.

During placements at organization sites, you’ll be developing relationships with community members as well as assisting the organization’s needs. During the first session, we’ll orient you on placement activities.

In the final weeks, we will be workshopping songs and recording. Throughout the program, we’ll be engaging in experiences for mutual learning and discovery, a chance for us to learn about each other and about community members in the collaborative, creative process of music-making and songwriting.

6/11: Orientation and introduction with student interns
Vagelos Education Center (VEC), Room 903
Orientation from a community organization director (guest: AHRC director)
Understanding community populations and relationships
A structure and guide for facilitating your own music and songwriting workshops on-site

Session 1, 6/18: Brainstorming, storytelling, song structure
Isabella Geriatric Center
If possible, invite a community member from your organization to join you in this session as well as following sessions.
Narrative and share-a-story form
Conversations with community members
Common song structures
Rhyme schemes and lyrics
Perspective, rhyming, structure
Session 2, 6/23: Lyrics and melody
*Hammer Health Sciences Building (HSC), Room LL207
*note we are ending at 1:30 pm for this session
  Option A: Start with melody
  Option B: Start with chords

Session 3, 7/2: Melody and instrumentals
*VEC Room 1403
  Adding beats, chords, instruments, and/or voice
  UJAM Studio and music production resources

Session 4, 7/9: Instrumentals and workshopping
*Isabella Geriatric Center
  Sessions 4 and 5 are reserved for workshopping as a group.

Session 5, 7/16: Workshopping
*VEC Room 1402 + 1403 (we will first gather in Room 1402 and then use Room 1403 as needed)
  Continued workshopping.

Session 6, 7/23: Recording
*VEC Room 1402 + 1403 (we will first gather in Room 1403 and then use Room 1403 as needed)
  Recording slots for songs.

Session 7, Song-sharing celebration
*AHRC NYC
  Song-sharing celebration at organization site
Appendix D: Song ideas form

1. Share about yourself.
   Favorite places:
   Favorite quotes:
   Favorite words:
   People special to you:

2. What kind of music do you like? What genre (e.g., pop, rock, rap, classical, jazz)?

3. Do you have any favorite songs or artists?

4. What is an experience or story important to you? You could share a story! (This could be what the song is about. Some examples: a dream or goal that you have, a certain person who’s special to you and why, a good memory or experience, etc.)

5. What is something you believe in or a message you’d like to share with others? (This could be the main message of the song.)

6. What are specific words or phrases that you like? (These could be included in the song.)

7. What else would you like to share about yourself?
Appendix E: Interview guide 1

1. Tell me about your experience of writing a song.

2. How did you interpret story/experiences and reimagine it in song?

3. What was the most meaningful aspect of the project?

4. Do you feel like you understood others better through this project? How so?

5. What was it like to share the song?

6. What aspects of the program could be improved upon?
Appendix F: Questionnaire

This survey does not ask for your name—it is private and anonymous. It is also optional, so you can choose not to complete it and still do the music workshop. These questions help us better learn about our program and about music.

Age: ____________
I identify my gender as _________________

1. Circle the picture that best shows how close you *currently* feel to the NYU community in general. (S = Self; C = Community in general)

2. Even though you may not have met them yet, circle the picture that best shows how close you *currently* feel to the partner(s) who you will write a song with. (Self = you; Other = partner(s))

3. How much do you agree with each statement?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. I believe that empathy helps people heal.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Understanding emotions helps people feel better.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I have a strong need to belong</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. How many years of prior musical experience do you have? _____

5. Anonymous ID: favorite color + animal + month

_________________________ + ______________________ + ______________________
Appendix G: Interview guide 2

*Goal - understand the relational dynamics that happened in the group*

Describe your experience - how did you as a group create this song?  
What was it like working with each other? In the beginning, by the end?  
Any special or memorable moments in the group?  
What kinds of relationships/dynamics formed?