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Sounds like home:

Music listening practices of young adults in supported accommodation

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For Dad

An die Musik	**To music**
Du holde Kunst, in wieviel grauen Stunden,	O heav'nly art, how oft in darkest moments,
Wo mich des Lebens wilder Kreis umstrickt,	When life's harsh toil, it seemed, would never cease
Hast du mein Herz zu warmer Lieb entzunden,	Have you inspired, with ardent love have kindled
Hast mich in eine bessre Welt entrückt!	And borne me to a better world of peace
Oft hat ein Seufzer, deiner Harf entflossen,	Oft has a whisper from your harp arisen,
Ein süsser, heiliger Akkord von dir	A sweet caressing sound just like a kiss.
Den Himmel bessrer Zeiten mir erschlossen,	A glimpse of paradise to me is given:
Du holde Kunst, ich danke dir dafür!	O heav'nly art, I thank you for this.

The words from *An die Musik* by Schubert set to a poem by Franz von Schober.
Translation by John Carol Case. Schubert & von Schober (2005).

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Abstract

Sounds like home: Music listening practices of young adults in supported accommodation

Home is fundamental to many people's sense of security and self-identity. Yet for some young people living in temporary accommodation, *home* is a fragmented experience. This thesis investigates the music listening practices of homeless young people living in temporary, supported accommodation in relation to their experience of home. Despite the importance of music in young people's lives, surprisingly little research has explored the music listening practices of young adults (18 – 25) specifically. There is even less research on music listening in the lives of young people experiencing homelessness. This study fills this gap, exploring how and why young people listen to music within supported accommodation, focusing on the dynamic relationship between self and space and the concept of home. I carried out this in-depth research over a period of three years with one third of the residents (19 individuals) aged between 18 and 25 living in three temporary accommodation hostels in Greater Manchester. Methods used were observation, diaries and interviews.

Music listening was a regular activity for all participants within these institutional environments. Music listening practices identified related to the experience of social and physical space within the proximity of relative strangers; assisted in the management of limited privacy; informed participants' sense of self and identity (including past and future selves); and performed roles of social surrogacy.

The thesis advances the understanding of music listening practices in the context of homelessness. It also advances theories of home through the lens of music. It makes these contributions by proposing that music is a technology of home. It also makes an empirical contribution by making audible the voices, experiences and practices of marginalised young adults who experience homelessness. Finally, it informs homelessness service practitioners and policymakers of the role music plays in their service users' lives.

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Post script

On the day I found out my corrections had been accepted my father-in-law, Allan Towler, sadly passed away. Thank you Allan for your enthusiasm for having a Doctor in the family. More importantly, thank you for bringing Jo into the world and making her into who she is, through being who you were, and continue to be through Jo.

Glossary: participants' language

All definitions are sourced from the Urban Dictionary (www.urbandictionary.com) unless otherwise specified. Where these are used within the thesis meanings are given in more detail.

Balloons	Inhaling the gas, most commonly by discharging nitrous gas cartridges (bulbs or whippets) into another object, such as a balloon, or directly into the mouth. When nitrous oxide is inhaled, it creates an instant surge of euphoria and a feeling of floating or excitement for a short time.
Bare	A lot of; very; an exclamation used in disbelief.
Boss mode	Getting the best out of life and not settling for anything less. A feeling of being a king.
Bump	A small lump of any powdered drug (i.e. cocaine, ketamine, heroin).
Crack	A dangerous drug that's a freebase form of cocaine that can be smoked.
Cute, that's not	A word you say when something is gross, revolting, disregarding of human life or value of something, and the intensity of acting on an unredeemable action.
Done him dirty	To treat unfairly or reprehensibly, as by cheating or slandering Source: Collins English Dictionary
Gabbies	Gabapentin, or gabbies, is a prescription-only medicine used to treat epilepsy and neuropathic pain. The effects of gabapentin include relaxation, calmness and even euphoria. Source: Talk to Frank, https://www.talktofrank.com/
Gangsta	Dictionary definition in this context is not what is meant in the interview. This is the closest definition I could find that matched the interview. "Gangsta is a gladiator who can overcome any obstacle with their mind, body, or soul."
Get messy	Getting drunk or high.
Going sick	Getting really hyped up or extremely into something.
House, my	A place in which you dominate.
Hoe	Someone who is only after sex and money. They have no interest in an actual deep relationship with their partner. They find someone else and move on.
In my feelings /feels	Emotional, thinking about stuff, when you are feeling a type of way about something, usually about a person.
It's on	What you say when the battle/showdown is about to begin.
Pattern up	Sort yourself out.
Pattern	To fix yourself/get yourself together after doing some stupid ass shit or just picking up yo damn life. Also, means to get yourself into line/know your place.
Rep it	Short for "represent." So... "represent it." As in... promote what you do, what you are, what you love, whatever affiliation you're a part of.
Spamming	The act if obnoxiously doing something repeatedly for attention or in order to disturb others.
Speak with chest	To say something or exclaim something with passion and emotion, usually anger.
Spitting bars	To freestyle rap.
Throwing hands	Fighting.
Twisted, don't get me	Don't get me confused. Understood within the context of the interview as "don't misunderstand me".
Vibe	To chill, be at peace, and let life do its thing.
Vibing	To get into or tap into one's good feelings. Usually due to good music that makes you feel good or a certain positive way.

Vibrating	A word that became popular in the 80's throughout Midwestern roller skate groups as an alternative to Wicked, Swicked or Cool. Recently the word has made a huge comeback with tech-savvy youths throughout high-schools and colleges in North America to describe something that is incredible.
Yard	Hanging ground, chilling ground, home, area where you live.

Glossary: housing services language

Foyers	Accommodation for young people up to 25, usually linked to employment or training.
Hostels	Accommodation run by social landlords or charities which provide support with independent living skills.
Keyworker	A key worker is typically a dedicated professional who provides individualized support and guidance to individuals experiencing homelessness or at risk of homelessness.
Licence agreement	A licence agreement (also known as *Excluded Licence Agreement*) is a document all residents must sign, explaining the "basis on which you have been granted permission to stay here" and "describes the rights and responsibilities of you, the licensee and landlord." (see appendix 11.13)
Lodging schemes	Rooms rented by young people in private homes (often for young people often leaving care).
NEET	Young people who are not in education, employment or training
Progression coach	Progression Coaches support young people to complete tasks like enrolling for college courses, registering with a GP and completing a budget.
Psychologically informed environments	Psychologically Informed Environments are services that are designed and delivered in a way that takes into account the emotional and psychological needs of the individuals using them. The concept of PIE emerged following discussions of a multi-agency working group, convened by the Royal College of Psychiatry, interested in community mental health provision in the UK. (Homeless Link, 2024b)
Supported accommodation	Supported accommodation is a type of temporary residential environment.
Trauma informed practice	Trauma informed practice is based on the idea that exposure to trauma can affect an individual's neurological, biological, psychological and social development. It is intended to see beyond an immediate behaviour and ask not, "what is wrong with this person" but "what does this person need".

To listen to the songs referenced in this thesis via Spotify, scan this QR code:

1 Introduction

It is January 2024, mere months before the submission of this thesis. I am sitting on the third row of the Queen Elizabeth Hall on London's South Bank watching the BBC Concert Orchestra performing. On the evening's programme is a work by American composer Gabriel Kahane, titled *emergency shelter intake form* (Kahane, 2020). Kahane's work is telling the story of someone in America (echoing thousands of similar stories) who has turned to an emergency shelter for accommodation for the night. The lyrics (sung by soprano Alicia Hall Moran) are taken from the form that must be completed by those seeking shelter before admission. The questions are, in the words of The Times music critic Daniel Lewis, "sobering in their insensitivity" (Lewis, 2024).

Interspersed within this work are movements performed by three singers forming the Chorus of Inconvenient Statistics. They explain to the audience the intricacies of the Sub-prime Mortgage Loan Crisis and echo the words of "nimbys" (an abbreviation of the term *not in my back yard*) who are people who object to social care services, such as homeless shelters, being built close to their home:

We are the chorus of inconvenient statistics,

Legislation, and relevant documents.

We do not wish to make any of you feel shitty.

(Excuse our language –

We haven't been properly socialised.)

But, we know that you, gentle listener,

Sitting veiled in the gauzy dark,

Did not come here this evening

To be lectured or to be shamed.

Nevertheless…

(Lyrics from the *Chorus of Inconvenient Statistics*, 2nd movement, in *emergency shelter intake form*, Kahane, 2020)

As we approach the final movement, 30 people wearing black T-shirts with yellow text (some of whom, it might be said, don't look like regular attendees of the Queen Elizabeth Hall) move from the audience to the stage. Some are being helped onto the stage in front of the orchestra, obscuring them from view. These are the singers of the Choir with No Name, a charity I started working for during the latter part of my career as a PhD student. Ranging in age from thirties to seventies, the members of the choir all have experience of homelessness and marginalisation. They are the faces of the stories told through the music this evening. They are here to take over from the soprano to thank the shelter seeker for their patience in completing the form.

Thank you.

Thank you for enduring

Under the breath comments of family members

Thank you

Nights under scratchy blankets

On worn out sofas

Thank you

The inexperienced social worker,

Breakfast and lunch at the senior centre,

Showers at the gym,

Long hours at your job, in less than ideal circumstances

Thank you for completing this form.   For enduring this and more

We are pleased to inform you

That tonight we can offer

In a concrete church basement

In the room to the right as you enter the door

An emergency shelter bed.

You will need to be gone

By six-thirty am.

(Lyrics from: *Thank you for Completing This Form*, 13th movement, in *emergency shelter intake form*, Kahane, 2020).

Kahane’s work is a “story about how society frames (and thereby misunderstands) the homeless experience” (Andrews, 2018). It is a story rarely told in such places as the Queen Elizabeth Hall and, for me at least, incredibly moving. The homeless experience is obscured from societal understanding in not only the US, but across the world, including here in the UK. The story told on the stage that night was of just one experience but was drawn from the composer’s involvement over many months within a similar emergency shelter. Each choir member that came to the stage has their own story too.

There are diverse forms of the experience of homelessness, of which Kahane’s composition told just one. This thesis tells of another subset of those stories; those of young people living in temporary accommodation in one city in the UK. Their experience, too, is obscured from societal view and subject to many of same uncomfortable sofas and under-the-breath comments from family members. Just like those in Kahane’s work, they are stories that need to be told and heard. I am aware though, that, just as Gabriel Kahane told stories that were not his, I am telling stories that are not mine. I hope to be able to give voice to the 19 young people within this thesis in a way that does them justice.

Music listening scholarship has been mostly unconcerned with the experiences and music listening practices of homeless young adults. The exception to this is research into homeless young people’s consumption of music in Seattle and Vancouver by Jill Woelfer (Woelfer, 2012), which came from a primarily information science perspective. Nonetheless it identified through surveys and interviews that the 200 young people studied (aged 15 to 25) listened to music daily and owned music players. Furthermore, she uncovered a role for music listening in emotion regulation and social connection, and based on her evidence, argued that agencies should provide access to the Internet for the young people they support. Her research was carried out with youth accessing outreach services providing food, medical care, counselling, drug and alcohol referrals and other services. This thesis explores similar questions but within supported accommodation, and from a broadly social psychological perspective.

In recent years youth homelessness has been on the rise (Centrepoint, 2022, 2023a, 2023b). An increasing number of young adults are living in a range of places that are impermanent and lack many of the factors that make up an experience of home (Shelter, n.d., 2024). This

experience has significant impacts on psychological well-being (Centrepoint, 2021; McCoy and Hug, 2016). One of these impermanent environments is supported accommodation, provided by institutions such as local governmental organisations and charities. A significant body of research exists regarding the concept of home and homelessness (Somerville, 1992, 2013; Taylor, 2009), of institutional accommodation (for which a source text is Goffman, 1961) and of the construction of home (Richardson, 2019; Somerville, 1997). The study of music listening has a broad and developing body of insight focusing on a range of potential affordances of music listening, for example in identity development (DeNora, 1999; Lonsdale & North, 2011; Rentfrow, McDonald & Oldmeadow, 2009), social connection (Groarke & Hogan, 2015), separation (Bull, 2000; Dibben and Haake, 2013; Labelle, 2010), and emotion regulation (Saarikallio, 2008; Juslin & Sloboda, 2010) particularly regarding anxiety, relaxation and sleep. These are all affordances that are potentially particularly useful when experiencing homelessness.

However, the practices of music listening within the context of supported accommodation have not been considered within the academic literature, nor have music listening practices within the wider experience of homelessness or the age group of young adulthood specifically (Arnett, 2000; MIT Young Adult Development Project, 2024; Layland, Hill & Nelson, 2018), bar Woelfer's work noted above. Within this research I seek to address this gap by examining the relationship between the music listening practices of young adults and the supported accommodation in which they reside.

This thesis aims to understand how the music listening practices contribute to young adults' lived experience within supported accommodation. To do so, I have investigated how young adults experience life within a particular form of temporary accommodation, a hostel that provides supported accommodation to young adults. I have explored to what extent and how they listen to music, and whether a link can be identified between these music listening practices and the experience of living in supported accommodation for homeless young people.

To address my research question, I spent three years visiting three supported accommodation units in Greater Manchester. I have called these supported accommodation units *Roost*, *Nest* and *Heeley* (to protect the participants' anonymity). This has involved two

studies. Study one involve observation, participant diaries (recording the music they listened to and why), and interviews prompted by these diaries. A second study used music elicitation methods to identify the role of music in the experience of living in supported accommodation.

I have provided two glossaries at the start of this thesis. One gives a range of housing services language and the other provides some translations of language used by the young people within their interviews and diaries. To foreground the voices of the participants, I have also included quotes within the section headings.

Following this introductory chapter, the thesis proceeds with two literature review chapters, the first on temporary accommodation and home, and the second on music listening. In chapter two (Homelessness, temporary accommodation and young adulthood) I discuss literature which highlights that when a young person becomes homeless, they experience deficits in a range of dimensions of home relating to the self, space and security. Deficits of the self include a loss of a source of identity and sense of self, particularly in reference to others and place. This may also include a diminishing of the ability to dream or hope about the future. Deficits of space include both physical space (including security, warmth, comfort and a place to rest and sleep) and place (a source of roots). It also includes deficits of social space (including love, emotional security and connection to others). Deficits experienced of the connection between the two include a reduction in privacy and security (ontological, emotional, territorial and physical), agency and control (Somerville, 1992; Taylor, 2009).

Young adulthood is defined as the period from the age of 18 to 25 (Arnett, 2000). This period is experienced in particular ways. Already experiencing an insecure sense of self and identity through adolescence, this continues, compounded by instability of circumstances as one leaves the familial home. It is an age in which the young person traditionally has increased agency in comparison to childhood. However, at the same time the young person is often *in between* financially, socially and culturally (Layland et al., 2018). Young adults may have moved on from the financial support of family in childhood, as well as the social structures one was brought up in. However, they have often not quite established themselves as an independent adult. These factors of young adulthood mean that homelessness is experienced

in particular ways. I explore these points further in chapter two (Homelessness, temporary accommodation and young adulthood).

In chapter three (Music listening and young people) I discuss literature which suggests music listening is a prevalent practice amongst adolescents and amongst adults. The specific age group of young adulthood is under explored with regards to music listening. The existing literature focusing on young adults is presented, plus potentially applicable literature related to adolescents and adults. This suggests that music listening potentially affords the individual a number of functions including as a technology of the self (DeNora, 1999), as a mediator of space (Born, 2013; Bull, 2007; Dibben & Haake; 2013; Downs, 2021a) and as the link between the two.

In chapter four I present my methodology including the qualitative research methods I used over two studies in three supported accommodation residences. These include observation, diaries and interviews. I also present my approach to analysis, ethical considerations, a note on positionality and my approach to maintaining rigour.

In chapter five (Living in supported accommodation), which explores the experiences of life within supported accommodation, I found that my participants reflected on life in the residence as providing *some* of the dimensions of home, but in an inconsistent and insecure way. I explored this further by discussing with them their experience of the soundscape which fluctuated from noisy and chaotic to unnervingly quiet. I also found that my informants listened to music, a lot. A central aim of my research was to explore whether the two could be connected.

In this thesis I argue that the young people in my study used music as a technology of the self within the accommodation. This included: creating a continuous sense of self over time; connecting to people they were separated from; and reflecting on previous decisions, as well as reflecting, identifying and articulating emotions related to those decisions; a sense of self in the present; and hopes and fears for the future. I build on this argument in chapter six (Music listening and the self in supported accommodation). In chapter seven (Music listening and space in supported accommodation) I argue that my informants also used music as a technology of the space. That is, through listening to music, they modified rooms and created

a sense of comfort amongst the dynamics of the residence. In addition, I observe that music was used as a social lubricant and to connect with others in the residence, consistent with literature on music listening and social connection (discussed in chapter three). However, this connection was limited by a significant distrust of other residents. In these and other instances, music was also used as a social surrogate to replace social connection.

Finally, in chapter eight (Music listening and security in supported accommodation) I describe how music listening was used as a way to manage the separation of public and private and to maintain privacy in a dynamic and sometimes hostile environment. Music was used to protect and transgress boundaries to one's privacy, and to protect oneself when venturing out of the safety of the bedroom. In this sense, music could be seen as a resource over which participants had some sense of agency and control in an environment in which agency and control was diminished.

Considering all of this evidence, in chapter nine (Discussion and conclusion), I conclude that music might be considered to be a technology of *home.* I suggest that it can be harnessed to enhance many of the elements essential in the experience of home. This is particularly powerful within the context of supported accommodation where other resources that might also be a technology of home are limited. Furthermore, these affordances of music listening may be *particularly* useful for homeless people within young adulthood, because this a time in which music listening is prevalent for the wider young adult population.

2 Homelessness, temporary accommodation and young adulthood

To understand the context in which the music listening practices in focus take place, this chapter gives some background to youth homelessness in the UK. First, I consider the national statistics surrounding youth homelessness, drawing on research exploring reasons for young people to become homeless and the range of environments in which young people reside as a consequence of becoming homeless. I then turn to theories of homelessness from a range of disciplines and a consideration of whether we as human beings *construct the idea* of home. Finally, I consider home when it is not homely, instead being a place of abuse and neglect, and also whether home can be unrooted from place.

2.1 Youth homelessness and temporary accommodation for homeless young people

Over 119,000 16-24-year-olds were estimated as being homeless or at risk of homelessness in the UK in 2022-2023 (House of Commons, 2024). According to youth homelessness charity Centrepoint, the most significant reason for this was families no longer being willing to accommodate the young person (54%), usually due to a relationship breakdown. Other reasons include domestic abuse (11%), being evicted from supported housing, friends no longer being willing to accommodate them, and relationship breakdown with a partner (Centrepoint, 2023a). Behind these single-cause statistics are often much more complex family and childhood environments in which young people frequently experience more than one contributing factor. One such factor is the consequences of childhood experiences in the care system. One hundred thousand care leavers “age out” of care each year. Many are unprepared for independent living. One in four care leavers are likely to sofa surf, whilst more than one in ten have slept rough after leaving care (Action for Children, 2003).

To most people in the UK, the term *homeless* means rough sleeping. *Hidden homelessness* is a term designed to highlight a wide variety of forms of homelessness *other* than rough sleeping. Rough sleeping being a visible form of homelessness (Office for National Statistics, 2024a). If one is "properly homeless” (in common parlance), one is sleeping, over a long

period, in places that are not designed for human habitation. These can include doorways, cars and abandoned buildings. However, young people experience homelessness in a wide variety of ways not only through rough sleeping. Young people also engage in sofa surfing (a term not generally used by the young people themselves but understood by the wider public); sleeping in squats, 24-hour cafes or restaurants, or on all-night buses or trains; staying in homeless camps; or sleeping in cars (McCoy & Hug, 2016).

Young people often experience homelessness between periods of stable housing (May, 2000). Depaul UK is one of several youth homelessness charities in the UK running services in several locations across the country. Their report Danger Zones and Stepping Stones characterises many of the experiences mentioned above of temporary living arrangements (for instance, rough sleeping or staying with friends) as *danger zones* (see Figure 1). This is due to their high level of risk of harm to the young person (for instance harms related to drugs and alcohol or to sexual exploitation). In contrast, supported accommodation projects were considered *stepping stones*. In these environments, young people were "kept safe from harm and are also supported out of temporary living and towards more stable accommodation" (p. 42). Supported accommodation units include hostels, foyers and lodging schemes designed to provide accommodation alongside other forms of support. They are one type of temporary residential environment.

Other temporary living environments, such as staying with family or friends, are categorised as *storm shelters*, in which the young person is less likely to come to harm. However, in these environments the capacity of the provider is limited to help the young person out of homelessness. *Minefields* are temporary living environments where the support to get a young person into more stable accommodation is available (usually by the management of such projects). However, the environment can be a high risk to the individual. Young people will usually experience harm in this environment. Minefields include large adult hostels. Sometimes smaller shelters, such as the supported accommodation in focus in this thesis, can also be termed a minefield due to potentially harmful influences within the shelter. Figure 1 is drawn from Depaul's report and illustrates the four categories of accommodation and the types of accommodation within them.

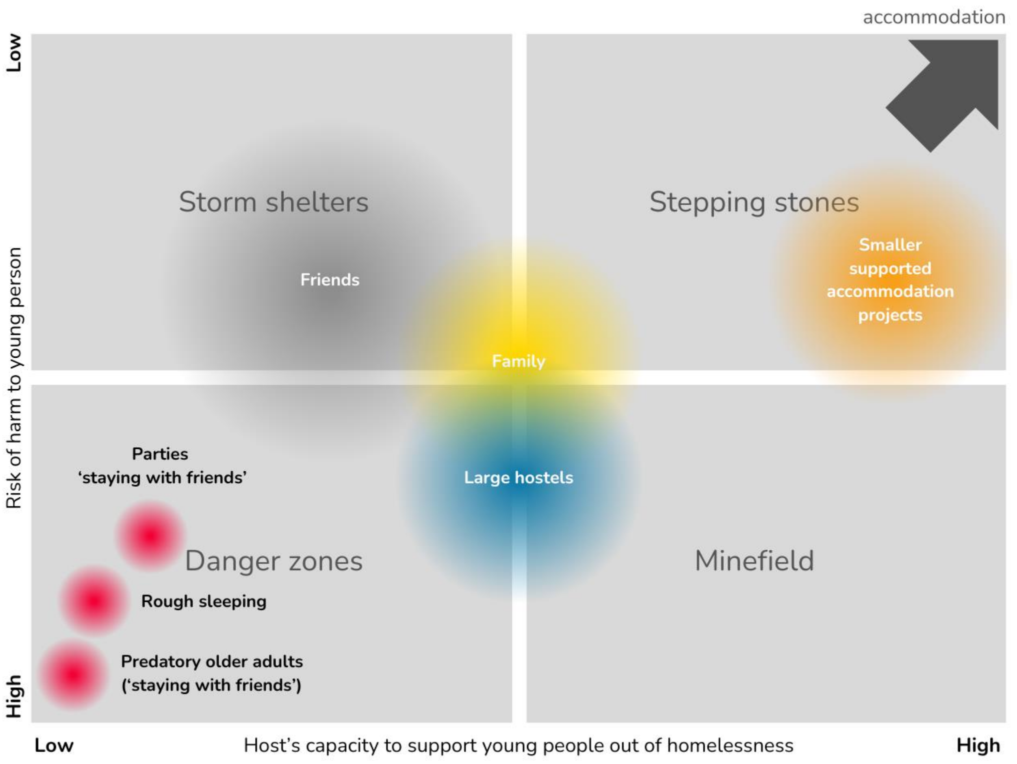

Figure 1: Model for understanding temporary living, reproduced from Stepping Stones and Danger Zones (McCoy & Hug, 2016)

Within 911 accommodation projects across England, there are 33,093 bedspaces available in any given year for adults. Thirty-eight percent of these bedspaces are in youth-specific services (Homeless Link, 2022, 2024a). With a reported 119,000 young people experiencing homelessness each year, even if not all require a bedspace, there is a significant difference in numbers that suggests it may be challenging for a young person to secure a place in a hostel characterised as a stepping stone. This leaves them open to minefields.

2.1.1 The experience of homelessness

The statistics of prevalence can cover up an understanding of the *experience* of homelessness. Homeless people experience a range of dangers relating to their accommodation options, concurrent with the trauma of separation from loved ones. It is therefore unsurprising that homeless people are also likely to experience anxiety and problems with sleep, amongst other challenges.

Compounding the chances of harm identified in minefields and danger zones, there is increasing negativity towards homeless people. According to the Centre for Homelessness

Impact, 74% of the UK public say more should be done to address homelessness. This figure has decreased by 5% since 2020. Furthermore, 24% of people thought homelessness was a consequence of bad life choices. This is up by 7% since 2020 (Marshall, Candy & Albiston, 2022). These figures indicate a recent negative shift in public opinion towards homelessness. Being a focus of negative public opinion is compounded by a significantly high level of risk. Rough sleeping is the most visible form of homelessness to the public, and people who sleep rough experience significant dangers. A 2016 study from homelessness charity Crisis suggested that 77% of homeless people experience antisocial behaviour. Some 30% are deliberately hit, kicked or experience some other form of violence, and half have their property stolen (Sanders & Albanese, 2016).

Further studies (e.g. McCoy & Hug, 2016) suggest that within other forms of homelessness, often called *hidden homelessness*, additional dangers lurk. When a young person states *staying with friends*, this could mean a wide range of temporary options. Staying with friends could mean parties that involve significant levels of drugs and alcohol and provide nowhere to sleep. It could also mean staying with a predatory older adult. In both cases the young person is at significant risk of harm. Furthermore, large hostels designed for older adults can be considered "at best a Minefield, but likely to be in the Danger Zone" (McCoy & Hug, 2016, p. 44) as support from staff can be low and multiple negative influences are present.

Within all of these environments, there are other common factors at play, such as the experience of separation, sleep problems and a high level of anxiety. Homeless young people experience a significant loss of social connection. Separation from family, friends and previous partners is a defining factor in the experience of homelessness. Separation can be the reasons for an individual to become homeless or simply a consequence of it. According to homelessness charity Centrepoint, relationship breakdown is the primary cause of homelessness for young adults (Centrepoint, 2023a). Loneliness is significantly higher amongst homeless adults, with six in ten homeless service users classifying themselves as lonely, three times that of the general population (Sanders & Brown, 2015). Consequently, Centrepoint reports mental health issues in over half of the young people surveyed (54%). One-third (32.3%) have a formal mental health diagnosis. Of these mental health diagnoses, the most common were Severe Depression (20.2%) and Anxiety (19.9%). Post Traumatic

Stress Disorder (PTSD), Personality Disorder, Schizophrenia, an Eating Disorder or Bipolar were also widespread (Centrepoint, 2021).

Sleep problems are a feature of many people's experiences of homelessness. Redline and colleagues (2021) explored sleep problems with sheltered and unsheltered transition-aged youth (18-25). *Sheltered* included hostels, shelters, hotel rooms and so on. *Unsheltered* included sleeping outdoors, in tents, in a vehicle or in an abandoned building. They found that contrary to expectations, sleep disturbance was not associated with sheltered status. Rather they found that sleep disturbance was more related to individuals "feeling unsafe in one's sleep environment, depression symptoms, severe food insecurity and decreased age" (Redline et al., 2021). The reference to decreased age suggests that young people are more likely to experience sleep problems. Sleep problems are both a cause of and can be caused by poor mental health, particularly with relation to emotion regulation, depression, anxiety and suicidal ideation (Alvaro, Roberts & Harris, 2013; McCall & Black, 2013; Palmer & Alfano, 2017). Furthermore, Mertin and Mohr (2000) found that problems with sleep were a particularly significant symptom of PTSD in women who had experienced domestic abuse.

Anxiety can be understood as both healthy anxiety and unhealthy anxiety. Healthy anxiety is experienced as a normal reaction to the uncertainty of homelessness (along with other similar future appraisal emotions such as apprehension, nervousness, dread, fright and panic, which fall within the primary emotion of *fear*, Plutchik, 1962). Pathological, or unhealthy anxiety, is anxiety which is not proportional to the current threat. This unhealthy anxiety leads to hypervigilance and various anxiety disorders. In a recent study, Groton and Spadola (2023) point to "the constant state of stress and arousal that encompasses being in a state of homelessness" (p. 55). Martin et al. (2006) found that 45% of people in homeless shelters in England and Scotland had clinically relevant levels of anxiety. This is significantly higher than the general population.

2.1.2 Home, homelessness and rooflessness

The word *homeless* suggests being without a home. There are a wide range of experiences of homelessness which involve a *roof,* such as staying in a shelter, on a friend's sofa or on 24-hour transport. However, these cannot be considered sufficient to fulfil the definition of *home.* The term *roofless* would be more accurate for rough sleeping, whilst *homeless* requires us to define the word *home* (and in some countries such as the Netherlands, this distinction between *roof*less and *home*less is made in everyday language, not solely government policy (van Everdingen et al., 2021).

Despite this, the governmental definition of homelessness in the UK is:

"You may be legally homeless if:

- you've no legal right to live in accommodation anywhere in the world
- you cannot get into your home, for example your landlord has locked you out
- it's not reasonable to stay in your home, for example you're at risk of violence or abuse
- you're forced to live apart from your family or people you normally live with because there's no suitable accommodation for you
- you're living in very poor conditions such as overcrowding"

UK Government (2023a)

This definition covers a range of experiences of homelessness, including domestic abuse and poor living conditions. However, it is problematic as it is based on either the last stable accommodation (your *home*) or the reasons not to be able to stay there, rather than the present experience of homelessness. It is imagined as an absence (namely, of a home, or at the least, a roof), not a presence of an experience in the here and now (Somerville, 2013). Whilst the word home*less* implies an absence the experience of homelessness is very much an everyday presence for those who experience it. As such, the definition of homelessness provided by the government does not encompass the full experience of homelessness. Instead, it focuses on how someone *became* homeless. From a governmental point of view this definition exists to give parameters around decision making for the provision of support.

This includes turning people down who are deemed to have “intentionally made themselves homeless” (Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities, 2018).

For this research I want to understand the experience of homelessness rather than the ways in which someone became homeless. For this reason, I am not using the legal definition of homelessness. Instead, I am turning to the academic literature for alternative approaches to the concept of home and the absence of home in homelessness.

Before I move on to talk about these concepts of home as explored within the academic literature, I also want to acknowledge that the presence of a roof may provide shelter, but not a home. When the home is an environment in which one is likely to experience physical, emotional and sexual abuse, the home may not protect us. In fact, it might feel “like a trap” (Hockey, 1999, p. 1). Social anthropologist Jenny Hockey suggests in her reflections on Bachelard’s notion of the house as a space of shelter and peace, that this cannot be the case for those who experience domestic abuse. She suggests that “When we dare to enter the House of Doom, we learn much about the ideal home” (Hockey, 1999, p. 147). Public opinion towards domestic abuse has changed significantly in the last 20 years. What was considered legally and socially a private matter just a few decades ago is now the target of significant legislation in the UK and many other parts of the world. Essentially, ”what a man does in the privacy of his own home” is no longer private (Gal, 2002). Despite this change in legislation however, domestic abuse remains prevalent in society, with 2.1 million people aged 16 years or over experiencing domestic abuse in the year ending March 2023 (Office for National Statistics, 2024b). This is why, when Saunders and Williams (1988) argued that home is the ”crucial medium” for structuring and organising society, theorist on the home, Peter Somerville critiqued this position. Instead, Somerville pointed to other spheres, such as school or work, as alternate foundations of society (Somerville, 1989). Another commentator, Richardson goes on further to argue that when the home:

> “works against us, either because of violence from a family member, or because the physicality of the structure doesn’t allow us to do the things we want... then ‘home’ may well be school, or the office: a physical space that does allow someone to ‘be’.” (Richardson, 2019, p. 8)

I therefore take the position that the home can be a place of safety or of abuse, and that there is a difference between the concept and experience of home. I also take the view that the experience of home is multi-factorial. One can experience one aspect of home (a sense of roots, perhaps) whilst experiencing an absence of another aspect of home (for instance, safety, in the case of domestic abuse). Drawing on Somerville and Richardson, I also suggest that home can be experienced as more than a house, and often without a house at all. Home can be experienced in a range of places and spaces.

Home is a current and central concept in Architecture, Refugee Studies, Sociology, Environmental Psychology, and Housing and Homelessness studies, amongst other disciplines. Each academic approach takes a different perspective on the concept of home. To understand homelessness and the absence of home, I will use this next section to explore the elements of home through the lens of a range of academic disciplines. I particularly focus on writings from psychology, sociology, housing and refugee studies.

Peter Somerville is perhaps one of the most frequently cited scholars of the home in homelessness, housing and social policy. This is due in part to his model outlining the *dimensions of home*. Suggesting that home is multidimensional, he identifies shelter, hearth, heart, privacy, roots, abode and paradise (which he later connects to *hope*) as the dimensions of home. These dimensions, illustrated in Table 1, encompass the factors within the experience of home. He suggests homelessness is a deprivation of some or all of these dimensions.

Shelter is perhaps the most straightforward: it is physical and protects from the elements. *Hearth* is a presence of warmth and a place to experience physiological security. Somerville uses the term physiological security to mean “bodily comfort or warmth” (Somerville, 2013, p. 384). *Heart* refers to the presence of love and joy (emotional security). *Privacy* relates to control over territory. *Roots* refer to *ontological* security or a sense of continuity between one’s past and future. *Abode* is about place and connectedness to space, as well as having an environment where one can rest and sleep. In his earlier version of the model *paradise* is the term used by Somerville (as below) for the final component. In later works he changes this to refer to a *spiritual* dimension. It consists, he says, of having *hope* and *purpose* (Somerville, 2013).

Dimension	Description
Shelter	Materiality, physical security, protection and a roof
Hearth	Warmth, physiological security, opportunity to relax, somewhere homely
Heart	Love, emotional security, personal happiness and stability
Privacy	Control, territorial security (a lock on the door), ability to exclude others
Roots	Source of identity, ontological security, a sense of self, including in reference to others
Abode	Place, spatial security, opportunity to rest and sleep
Paradise	Ideality, spiritual security, "bliss", and Somerville later refers to this aspect in terms of hope

Table 1: Dimensions of Home. Adapted from Somerville (1992, 2013).

Each dimension contributes to the conception of home. Somerville, therefore, suggests that it is reductive to suggest that homelessness is about a lack of housing. Instead, home "is about a lack of connectedness with friends, family and the community, and a lack of control over one's environment" (Daya & Wilkins, 2013, p. 357). It is much more than a roof, and one can experience some of these aspects of home without others.

Many of these refer directly or indirectly to an experience of an *interior*. Shelter, hearth, privacy and abode all require some boundary between *out there* and *in here*. Philosopher Gaston Bachelard describes our house (which here means *home)* as "our corner of the world... our first universe". This implies both boundedness in conception and belonging (Bachelard, 1958, p. 4). Reflecting this boundedness, Hull (1997) describes the home as a something that encloses us. He says, "It is like a skin…", similarly relating the sensation of home as relating to his body, feeling enveloped within it. Within this skin, daily life becomes familiar and ritualised. The home is created over time as we spend time within its walls, create habits within it, and increase our familiarity with it and its surroundings. Bachelard continues, describing home as a place of dwelling and a centre of activity.

Within this bounded experience of home, some other dimensions of home can be experienced, such as *hearth*, *roots* and *paradise*. The interior becomes a place for a focus on identity and self, memory and attachment.

> “The home is more than a place in which an individual resides, but rather a unique place where a person’s past, present and future selves are reflected and come to life.” (Graham et al., 2015. p. 346)

Similarly, design psychologist Toby Israel, whose work straddles both psychology and architecture, describes home as reconstructions of past iterations of home in which we felt safe. She points to the common practice of displaying mementoes that evoke memories of past selves and homes (Israel, 2003). These mementoes also display an impression of ourselves, rooted in our pasts and presents, to others, turning the home into a “symbol of the self” (Cooper Marcus, 1974, p. 168). A home is then a place in which we are able to connect to our pasts and futures through the fabric of the house and the objects within it. In Israel’s study of the home, she suggests that our sense of place and self are entwined. Our "sense of self-place connection continues to grow and change throughout our lives” (Israel, 2003, p. viii) as memories build on memories and time passes. She suggests that our environments, particularly those chosen and designed by ourselves, reflect and connect us to our pasts and provide us with the tools we need for the present.

According to psychosociologist Perla Korosec-Serfaty, home is also a place of potential privacy. As a reflection of ourselves, home as a source of privacy becomes an important dimension. She suggests that we carefully curate our display of identity in different parts of the house conscious of the more public areas of our homes (living room, hallway) for an audience of non-household members. This is in comparison to the more private (bedrooms, for instance, and even cellars, kitchen cupboards or lofts; Korosec-Serfaty, 1984). This privacy of home as a place of privacy is borne out of a conception of home that is relatively modern. Home as an interior, a place with a boundary (front door), privacy and separation from public life, began to emerge in European history, particularly centred around the high-status canal houses of the Dutch Golden Age (Morley, 2000; Cieraad, 2019) as the household began to be divided up by walls, gates and hedges and parts of the household began to take on different statuses and functions. Sociologist David Morley suggests that domestic life within the West,

including the privacy of one's own front door, a sense of comfort and a place for the family – all part of the concept of home – are outcomes of the Bourgeois Age (Morley, 2000).

In contemporary culture, the division of home (as described above) affords the ability to separate from others. Anthropologist Shelley Mallet suggests that, separated from the world inhabited by rules, social norms, and systems, the private home is a place in which we may be able to exercise freedom and control (Mallett, 2004). However, in the House of Doom (Hockey, 1999), this freedom and control may be absent, indicating a diversion between the experienced home and the concept of home. Nevertheless, in this home-centred culture then, being home*less* might be experienced as traumatic (Morley, 2000).

This idea of home as a private space also serves "as a sensory buffer from the multiple stimuli or perceptual emanating from the outside world…" (Walsh and de la Fuente, 2020, p. 616). Home can be perceived of as a skin surrounding and enveloping us, as suggested by Bachelard (1958). In this way home can be experienced as an escape from the exterior world. This interior world is described by sound theorist, Labelle, as a "counter-balance to the dynamics of exposure… comfort and reprieve from the demands of the exterior world" (Labelle, 2010, p. 48). He describes the home as functioning as "an elaborated 'sonorous envelope' keeping safe, or functioning to replicate, an imaginary or primary aural warmth" (p. 52). Labelle goes on to describe homelessness as a transgression against the "stability of the ordered home", assuming that there was a stable, ordered home to transgress, which often there is not. These ideas again illustrate the difference between the concept of home, and the experienced home. However, they do speak to a sense of privacy, boundedness and an interior, and important element of the concept of home.

The temporality of home was referred to earlier by Israel (2003) through the use of mementoes displayed within the home to connect us to our past. Time is not foregrounded in Somerville's dimensions – home as connected to the past, present and future – although it is present in several of the presented dimensions. Other models have highlighted time much more, such as that of Refugee Studies researcher Helen Taylor.

Taylor's model aggregates some of Somerville's dimensions together, presenting just four (Table 2). She suggests that home has four aspects: spatiality, temporality, materiality and

relationality. This model foregrounds time and temporality as a specific dimension, something that Somerville instead embeds within *roots* and ontological security and *paradise* and hope for the future. Spatial home relates to the *physical home* and the surrounding geography. The *material home* relates not to the fabric of the home but to the embodied experience of the landscape. The *relational home* points to the social networks experienced within daily life. The *temporal home* reflects the relationship of the past, present and future within the home. The temporal dimension points to ontological security; the opportunity "to experience oneself as a whole, continuous person in time – as being rather than constantly changing – in order to realize a sense of agency" (Mitzen, 2006, p. 341) going on to suggest this is achieved through regularly engaging in social relationships with significant others, leading to attachments being built up.

Aspects of home	
Spatial home	The physical home, the village and the spaces inhabited by the refugee
Temporal home	The refugee's understanding of home as it relates to the past, present and future
Material home	Sensory nature of home, tastes, scents and an embodied experience of the landscape
Relational home	The family and wider social networks, producing social capital and facilitating daily life

Table 2: Four aspects of home, adapted from Taylor (2009)

Although there is a very different set of push and pull factors at play to those experiencing homelessness, the experience of undergraduate students is also dynamic, as they are displaced from a previous home, usually with their parents. In an examination of the ideal home, Liz Kenyon (1999) considers the experiences of home for students in a specific position in time and the possibility of a home from home. This includes young people aged 18-23 who have moved away from their family home but are not yet occupying what they might call their *ideal home*. Kenyon interviews students about what home means to them once they have left their familial home to live at university.

> "Interviewer: What does home mean to you?
>
> David: That's a good question. I don't know. It's somewhere you can come back to and where you want to be. Do you mean home, my parental home, or here-home?" (p. 85)

The student here suggests that there is a difference between where they reside, "here-home", and their "parental home". She suggests that students' current residences cannot be a meaningful home in the sense that they previously had. It's not somewhere they can settle. However, this is not to say that their family home (home-home) has retained the identity of home for them after they left. One of the core elements of home identified by Kenyon was the availability of personal autonomy and freedom. This is something that is more available in their current dwelling than at their home-home. This autonomy came with the burden of needing to share space and resources with people who were not chosen or known well. Students reflected on their term-time residences as a "temporary stepping-stone leading onto as-yet unchartered waters, rather than as a functional alternative in its own right" (Kenyon, 1999, p. 94), but they had already begun to erode or alter the meaning of their parents' (family) home as home. In this way, their experience of home is a complex, dynamic construction, in which the student considers that their current dwelling is not truly home. It can however be a partly functional home in the short term. This distinction between *home* and *home-home* has many similarities with the experiences of homeless young people. Their home is not a home-home in the idealised sense (whether or not that was ever experienced). It is, however, a home for now, perhaps due to the autonomy and freedom it brings, in a similar way to the experience of students. There are, though, significant differences. There is a high likelihood of depleted financial resources and of separation from family geographically, and potentially emotionally too.

Reflecting on these aspects of home, privacy, temporality, comfort and others, home is seen by scholars including Somerville and Taylor as multi-dimensional. Over time, inhabitants create processes, routinising and making home. Home is dynamic, and within this thesis I consider it to be constructed by the home dweller. Jo Richardson's book "Place and Identity: The Performance of Home" (2019) comes from a housing studies perspective. It opens with the intent to go beyond the concept of housing-as-home, but to reflect instead the "intersection of place, identity and performance in our quest for 'home'" (p. 1). This dynamic

approach to home, as something ever-changing, something intentional and created by the home-dweller, is much more fitting in the context of home*less* people (as well as students and refugees) without a fixed abode, many of whom have not had a fixed childhood *home* from which to draw a concept of home.

I have previously suggested that there might be a difference between the idea of home as a concept and home as experienced by individuals. Sociologist Gurney (1990) suggested that home is *only* an ideological construct. If it is, Somerville (1992) argues, “it becomes meaningless to ask if someone really has a home or not” and it can be argued that even the homeless have a home, by redefining and remaking home wherever you are. Somerville asserts that home is *more than* simply an ideological construct and distinguishes between home as a matter of “feelings and lived experience” and an ideological construct. He is suggesting that many people have a “sense of home even though they have no experience or memory of it” (p. 530). Home is socially and culturally constructed, both as an ideological construct and as a daily reality.

Homelessness researcher Johannes Lenhard makes the same distinction in his description of the way in which people living on the streets of Paris “make and remake home” and distinguishes between two types of home: “home-as-process” and “home-as-ideal-homeland” (Lenhard, 2022, p. 20). Within the context of this thesis, I have taken the position that home is a process inspired by home-as-ideal-homeland. I have assumed that we are all (whether adequately housed or not) in a constant process of making and remaking home. As suggested by Tucker (1994), one’s actual home tends to be “our best approximation of our ideal home, under a given set of constraining circumstances” (p 184).

This process is future-oriented and a function of *hope* (and perhaps of fear) as well as being influenced by the observation of others’ homes (directly and through the media), and through the concept of the ideal home popularised by media and corporations wishing to sell homewares to a consumer public (Chapman & Hockey, 1999). Homelessness can be understood as a significant lack of one or more dimensions of home, within a dynamic process of constructing home, and the experience of homelessness is one of making and remaking home under a given set of constraining circumstances.

So far, discussion of home has assumed that home exists within a place. Taking the idea of home as being multidimensional and a construct, it is possible then to consider home as unrooted from place. The multidimensional nature of home means home is as much the other elements (e.g. privacy, hearth, roots) as it is a place. For a few, the *experienced* home maybe entirely detached from place. Tomas and Dittmar (1995) spoke to women for whom home as *place*, was abuse and relocation:

> "There was no house, no set of streets, or even town, to which the women felt they could return and at least be recognised, even if they wanted to. The 'situation' of home in these accounts was changeable and unstable." (Tomas & Dittmar, 1995, p. 506)

They argue that the women studied in this paper had constructed home not from a physical place, but from the people who were by blood and by law their *family*. Their home now travelled with them and like them was not attached to any particular geographical location. As Richardson suggests:

> "Home is a cyclical construction of us. We shape home and home shapes us. Home is a feeling not a structure. We bring home to our house. When we feel 'at home' we can be our true self." (Richardson, 2019, p. 1)

Exploring the experiences and practices of people living in supported accommodation can tell us much about the ideal home – both real and idealised.

2.2 Young adulthood

Before I move on to the next chapter to explore the literature around music listening, first, an overview of the terminology and characteristics of the period of young adulthood, aged 18-25 years old. Due to its relatively recent emergence as a separate category, a range of constructs are currently used to refer to this age group. These include *Young Adult, Emerging Adulthood* and *Transition Aged Youth.*

Young Adult is a term used by, amongst others, the influential Massachusetts Institute of technology (MIT) Young Adult Development Project (MIT Young Adult Development Project, 2024). This project draws attention to the significant cognitive changes during this period. These changes include a development of complex thinking and appreciation of diverse views, as well as greater effectiveness in emotional regulation, which in turn leads to a more cautious approach to risk-taking and decision-making. The MIT Project references other constructs within the field, including *Emerging Adulthood,* a term coined by Arnett (2000). Arnett proposed this term at the turn of the 21st century to reflect the same significant changes mentioned above. He argues similarly that the average age of milestones related to adulthood is increasing. This increase creates space for a greater focus on self-realisation and personal expression (Wood et al., 2017). Arnett suggests this stage starts around 17 to 18 and ends in the mid- to late 20s, which is a less specific age range than the fixed 18-25 I have proposed. He argues it is an important stage to consider separately from adulthood and adolescence, partly due to its volitional nature (Arnett, 2000).

Finally, a third term, *Transitional Aged Youth* (*TAY),* has grown out of a services environment, particularly the social and health care system. The use of this term is usually in contexts relating to poor mental health and developmental outcomes (Mandarino, 2014). This is an age in which services switch from child-focused to adult-focused. Sometimes there is an intermediary phase directed at facilitating this adjustment for young people; at other times individuals switch directly from child-focused services to adult-based services. This term is primarily used within North America, whilst within the UK services tend to use the term *young people*.

Within this thesis, I will primarily use the common UK term *young adult* to refer to individuals aged 18 to 25. This term has also been chosen to avoid jargon where possible.

Layland, Hill & Nelson (2018) summarise the following features of young adulthood, drawing on writing by Arnett (2000):

- "feeling *in-between* (emerging adults do not see themselves as either adolescents or adults);
- *identity exploration* (especially in the areas of work, love and world views);
- *focus on the self* (not self-centred, but simply lacking obligations to others);
- *instability* (evidenced by changes of direction in residential status, relationships, work and education); and
- *age of possibilities* (optimism in the potential to steer their lives in any number of desired directions)"

(Layland et al., 2018, p. 79)

For homeless young people, these characteristics may be experienced in particular ways. Young people's experiences of feeling *in-between* are likely to be heightened due to the physical separation from a family home (if it existed). The freedom to *explore identity* may be potentially reduced due to a lack of a safety net provided by family and community as well as the threats mentioned above. *Focus on self* may be maintained, although may vary for each individual's circumstances and employment requirements. *Instability,* already heightened within this period, is further heightened by homelessness. Finally, the range of *possibilities* (and indeed the optimism about those possibilities) may also be reduced (Thompson et al., 2015), and the ambivalence about one's future, thought to be associated with young adulthood (Arnett & Tanner, 2011), is a luxury not easily available to homeless young people. This nexus of societal expectations with the dynamics imposed by the experience of homelessness (financial, emotional, social etc.) creates a very specific context in which homeless young people engage with music listening.

This age group is interesting to study as there are so many transitional processes taking place. This includes a transition from childhood to adulthood, a development of a sense of self independent of family and an increased availability of choice. There could be particular implications in regards to music listening, considering the literature focusing on identity in adolescence and adulthood. What's more, the adolescent age group is a specific focus of government and charity support within the UK, with separate services designed specifically for their needs.

More widely, this short age range has also (in the last century, and in Western society at least) come to be recognised as a distinct life-stage. This newly recognised life-stage reflects societal changes, such as the increase in time spent in education, and a corresponding rise in the average age of adult-indicating milestones. These milestones include age of marriage, having children, getting a job and living independently (Office for National Statistics, 2024c). This rise has been a trend over the last 50 years within the UK and other Western countries. As well as societal milestones, there is also evidence from neurological studies that suggests that the brain does not fully develop until around the age of 25. The mechanisms surrounding information processing are thought to gradually transfer during this period from the amygdala (the emotion processing part of the brain) to the pre-frontal cortex (the rational part of the brain). This process is not a sudden switch, but a gradual migration over time. The maturation process can be delayed by prenatal neglect and substance use, such as nicotine and cannabis (Arain et al., 2013). Due to these societal and biological factors, many researchers have now come to consider time beyond adolescence but before true adulthood, as a distinct period.

Focusing on young adulthood is interesting, as it is (in modern day British and Western culture at least), "a period of newly attained freedom preceding commitments expected in adulthood, [and] emerging adults are faced with the major task of identity development" (Layland et al., 2018, p. 78). This general description of young adulthood mentions a period of freedom. For young people experiencing homelessness, in contrast to freedom, the transition from adolescence to adulthood may be challenging, psychologically and socially (Keller et al. 2007), due to the absence of basic resources, sexual and physical victimisation, psychological challenges and unstable living conditions (Thompson et al., 2015).

2.3 Summary

Within this chapter I have explored the statistics around the prevalence of youth homelessness within the UK, the definitions of homelessness (in common parlance, government and policy, and in academia), and explored the range of experiences of homelessness, including *hidden homelessness*. I have also introduced some of the ways in which governmental and charitable organisations (frequently in collaboration with each other) attempt to provide housing for homeless young people, as well as the limits to this and the often dangerous alternatives. The consequences of homelessness for young people have been presented, particularly anxiety and other mental health issues, as well as problems with sleep, loneliness and trauma.

The concept of home has been explored in the academic literature and compared to the government policy definition. I echo the literature that suggests that *home* is multidimensional (particularly drawing on the works of Somerville, 1992, 2013 and Taylor, 2009) and therefore so is homelessness. Homeless people experience a deficit of *home* on a number of dimensions, but not always at the same time. In considering this multidimensionality, I present homelessness as more than rooflessness, a roof being just one component of home. Thinking about this multidimensionality, I reflect on the experience of people who may have a *home* in the sense of a roof, but a home that does not provide any form of safety or protection from other people within the home perpetuating abuse. In these instances, a true experience of home may be found in other places and spaces, such as school, work or community spaces.

In considering all these factors, I suggested that there may be a difference between the concept of home, which may be idealised, and the experience of home, which may involve a combination of strengths and deficits across a number of dimensions. I presented literature from a range of disciplines identifying a connection between the home and the self (Cooper, 1976) and the role of home in modern and contemporary society as a place of privacy (Korosec-Serfaty, 1984; Morley, 2000). In doing so, home can become a sensory buffer from the external world (Labelle, 2010; Walsh and de la Fuente, 2020). I particularly highlighted the temporality of home, as a place that embodies the past, present, and even hopes for the future, drawing on Taylor's model of home for refugees (Taylor, 2009) and Kenyon's study of

students (Kenyon, 1999). This led me to consider home as being constantly made and remade, echoing works by Lenhard (2002), Tucker (1994) and Richardson (2019) in suggesting that *home* is constructed.

In the second part of this chapter, I explored briefly the concept of young adulthood, an age range that has been focused upon more in recent decades as the average age of the milestones of leaving home, marriage, first employment, first child has increased considerably. I introduced the commonly accepted definitions of this age range as between the ages of 18 and 25 continuing on from adolescence and preceding adulthood proper. After exploring the various terminologies from around the world, I chose the term *young adult* to use in this thesis, over the alternatives Emerging Adulthood (used by Arnett and his acolytes, 2000) or Transitional Aged Youth used by US social and health care services. Drawing on the work of Layland and colleagues (2018), I examined the characteristics of young adulthood, both those that continue from adolescence (identity exploration, a focus on the self) and those that are new in young adulthood (instability, feeling in-between).

3 Music listening and young people

I begin this chapter by exploring the limited literature focusing on music listening and homelessness, and music listening and young adulthood. The remainder of the chapter broadens out to examine music listening more widely, and the literature focusing on adolescence and adulthood with regards to a range of affordances, including self and identify, concepts of temporality, space, privacy, creating social bonds, relaxation, emotion regulation and choice.

3.1 Music listening, homelessness and young adulthood

There is very little literature that examines music listening and homelessness, and virtually nothing on the specificity of homeless young people. Where literature on music and homelessness exists, it looks at music making (e.g. Bailey & Davidson, 2005) and music therapy (e.g. Illya, 2011), rather than music listening. Coming from an information science perspective, US-based Jill Woelfer focused on music listening in the lives of homeless young people (Woelfer & Hendry, 2011; Woelfer, 2012; Woelfer & Lee, 2012; Woelfer, 2014). Through surveys with 100 homeless young people (Woelfer & Lee, 2012), she discovered that music was regularly listened to and had functions for the management of emotional welfare. Woelfer found that there was regular movement of digital devices, such as phones, between individuals. She also identified that this movement of devices was often done to create goodwill as well as return that of others (Woelfer & Hendry, 2011). Woelfer suggests that there are similar interactions with technology as non-homeless youth (Woelfer & Lee, 2012), but with different environmental demands (see also Adkins et al., 2017).

Beyond Woelfer's work, other papers include an exploration of links between music and the psychoactive substance use trajectory for homeless young people aged 23 to 30 in a range of unstable residential environments (Cournoyer Lemaire et al., 2023). These researchers concluded that music empowers, such as helping to reduce the need to resort to substances to cope. They also pointed to pro-substance lyrics in songs encouraging substance use. A study of homeless young adults living in unstable housing (such as shelters, rough sleeping and sofa surfing) by Miller & Bowen (2020) conducted interviews with 30 young adults with

unstable housing. They found music was one of several cited dimensions of resilience, suggesting it was used as an outlet for creative expression and emotion.

The individuals who are the subject of my research are all aged between 18 and 25. As discussed, this age range is increasingly considered as distinct from adulthood and childhood within psychology, sociology and biology, but the music listening literature is relatively sparse with regards to this specific age bracket. That which does exist focuses on broader media consumption (Coyne et al. 2013; Miranda & Jaehoon, 2015; Walsh et al., 2013) and the possible impacts of this, including music listening (ter Bogt et al., 2021; Primack et al., 2009; Ybarra et al., 2022); autobiographical memories formed during young adulthood and reflected on in older age (Rathbone et al., 2017; Salakka et al., 2023; Visser & Parrott, 2015); and social bonding and empathy (Boer & Abubakar, 2014; Miranda & Gaudreau, 2020). However, many of these papers consider young adulthood in the context of a longitudinal study rather than a specific focus, for instance Miranda & Gaudreau (2020) considered music listening with regards to cultural prejudice within childhood, adolescence and young adulthood, which limits the depth of insight into this age group in particular.

There is very little literature on musical listening that considers young adulthood as a distinct period. For this reason, within the remainder of this chapter, I have taken the more comprehensive literature on music listening in adolescence and in adulthood as my starting point. Papers focusing on music listening in adolescence tend to use the period 10 to 19 years old (which is consistent with the World Health Organisation definition of adolescence, World Health Organisation, 2024).

It should be noted, however, that many frequently cited texts considering music listening and adolescence (e.g. Miranda, 2013) do not define the age range in focus specifically. Within the literature on music listening and adulthood, many texts draw their participants primarily or solely from a university-level student sample, which can lead to a mean average age within young adulthood. By way of an example to support this point, I gathered the age ranges and mean ages of participants in papers reviewed by Schäfer et al., 2013 (see the table in appendix 11.1 for the full data). This publication was intended as an exhaustive review (at the time) of papers exploring the functions of music, drawing together the functions within the literature to a distilled list of 129 non-redundant functions. These were subsequently

analysed to identify underlying dimensions, which they concluded were to *regulate arousal and mood,* to achieve *self-awareness,* and as an expression of *social relatedness*. On exploring each of these papers for their sample's ages, I discovered that many did not give the average or range of ages sampled. Also, samples purporting to focus on adolescence sometimes included some of young adulthood, and many papers purporting to focus on adulthood drew samples exclusively from young adulthood.This, I suggest, undermines the coherence of the conclusions one can draw from the studies that investigate music listening in adolescence and in adulthood.

The limited research focusing on young adulthood specifically (and deliberately, rather than as a consequence of the sampling strategy) include Davis (2006), whose study specifically considered emerging adults in her study of music, identity and the transition to adulthood for members of a local punk scene; and Cateforis (2020), who explored indie rock and the depiction of young adulthood as a liminal period of optimism, instability and ambivalence. These papers are mentioned later in the chapter.

Research into music listening in adolescence is also considered within this thesis as it offers insight into the young adult age-range. However, it has been examined with some care regarding the participant sampling that has taken place, as there are likely to be considerable differences in experience between adolescents (aged 11-17) and young adults (aged 18-25). In this next section, I consider several aspects of motivations for and roles of music listening, including, where useful, the literature focusing on music listening in adolescence. I intend to identify ways in which music listening practices might relate to the experience of living in temporary accommodation.

3.2 The affordances of music listening

In this section, I discuss a range of roles or affordances of music listening, beginning with music listening and a sense of self (3.2.1), before considering music listening in relation to the past and the future (3.2.2). Next, I introduce some of the literature around music and space (3.2.3 and 3.2.4) and go on to discuss the connection of this to issues of privacy (3.2.5). In 3.2.6 I focus on music listening and social bonds before exploring anxiety and relaxation

(3.2.7) and broadening out to consider music and emotion regulation in general (3.2.8). Finally, I briefly consider music listening in relation to choice (3.2.9).

3.2.1 Music listening and a sense of self

Tia DeNora calls music a technology of the self (1999), drawing on the writings of Foucault (1974, 1988, 1989) and Giddens (1991), amongst others. A *technology of the self* can be anything that allows an individual to effect change on their selves. She also suggests that music as a technology of self supports the *reflexive project* (Giddens, 1991). The reflexive project is the practice by which individuals continually construct their identities and make sense of themselves in the world. She suggests the self is something "whose care and cultivation rests upon a somewhat fragile conglomerate of social, material and discourse practices and the forms of identification linked to these practices" (DeNora, 1999, p. 32).

DeNora describes the interaction with music for these purposes as "music in action" (p. 32). She goes on to suggest that harnessing music for the reflexive project is useful for self-interpretation, the self-image and managing emotional states, amongst other self-reflections. In this way, DeNora suggests that music is a tool within which we can continually weave our sense of *who I am*, weaving in the threads of our past and generating a sense of our future.

Studies of *who I am* include those considering the development of identity. Amongst the theories of identity, two in particular have been influential on the way music is understood to be implicated in identity formation: Tajfel's psychological Social Identity Theory and Stryker's Identity Theory (Hogg et al., 1995, gives a useful overview of both these theories). Tajfel's Social Identity Theory suggests that individuals identify with others to form an in-group. This leads to an out-group also being formed. Members of the in-group identify and exhort the virtues of the in-group at the expense of the out-group to bolster self-esteem. If taken further, this can lead to stereotyping and even discrimination. Stryker's Identity Theory, on the other hand, suggests that identity is a product of interaction with others where an individual enacts a *role*. This role is either reinforced and validated by others, or it isn't, strengthening or weakening this identity respectively. These processes of identity are activated throughout the lifetime, although adolescence is acknowledged as a key period in which identity develops. Modifications to one's identity have been shown to take place

throughout adulthood (Pasupathi & Hoyt, 2009), but particularly in young adulthood (see the features of young adulthood as described by Layland et al., 2018). These two theories rely on inputs from the external social and cultural environments, either by joining the in-group and reinforcing the stereotypes related to that in-group, or by providing role models. As music is such a substantial component of the social and cultural environment, identity is therefore shaped by music alongside other forms of media and culture (Budgeon, 2003; Gracyk, 2001).

Music listening is therefore generally considered to be a core influence on identity formation and the ways in which this happens are thought to be consistent with both Social Identity Theory and Identity Theory (Lonsdale & North, 2011; Rentfrow, McDonald & Oldmeadow, 2009). Supporting Tajfel's Social Identity Theory, individuals have been shown to identify with specific music-based sub-cultures. This includes shared symbols, ways of dressing and beliefs, which are reinforced by the artists and groups within that musical sub-culture, and in line with Social Identity Theory (Davis, 2006; Shepherd & Sigg, 2015). Tarrant, North & Hargreaves (2001) demonstrated how adolescents associated preferred musical genres with the in-group and associated musical genres with lower value ratings with the out-group. Rentfrow and Gosling (2006) assert that such stereotyping is based on music preferences. This is borne out when individuals hold assumptions about the type of person that listens to a particular type of music.

Musical genres, and musicians in particular, inform the roles that individuals try on, consistent with Stryker's Identity Theory. Music listening supports identity formation through music's ability to expose the listener to a rich source of information about the world. This information can then support the process of self-to-prototype matching (Rentfrow, McDonald & Oldmeadow, 2009), giving artists, values and concepts with which the individual can identify. Expressing music preferences can be a method of communicating identity. North, Hargreaves and O'Neill (2000) claim that music preferences are a sort of *badge*, communicating values, beliefs and attitudes to peers, reinforced by the characteristics of sub-cultures of fans (Tarrant, North & Hargreaves, 2001).

Identity development can be lifelong. Arnett argues that "identity achievement has rarely been achieved by the end of adolescence and continues into the twenties" (2000, p. 473). Giving this idea context, Davis (2006) considered young adults in her local punk scene. Her

findings revealed a tussle between the ideals of the punk sub-culture (often counter-cultural) and the "more traditional institutions of adulthood" (p. ix), demonstrating a continuation of identify formation into young adulthood and the interaction of music and music-based sub-cultures during this transitional period away from some aspects of punk counter-culture that are not consistent with the requirements of social conformity in adulthood. Cateforis (2020) describes how indie musicians in the twenty-something age range describe this stage as "one of exploration and of extreme instability and ambivalence, when dreams and aspirations intermingle with great uncertainty" (p. 496). Cateforis suggests that song narratives reflect the lives of many individuals in this age range and the instability inherent in this period of transition. The authors particularly point to lyrics that reflect the struggles of young adults who are still living with parents and are not yet financially independent, despite no longer being an adolescent.

Artists and sub-cultures have a broad influence on group identity and belonging, whilst lyrics have a more specific influence. Whilst there is considerable literature focusing on song lyrics and cultural and ethnic identities (for instance, Banda, 2019; Kennedy & Gadpaille, 2017; Skinner, 2018), there is a smaller but significant body of literature considering lyrics and individual identity in regard to other than ethnicity, particularly gender roles (for instance Hyatt et al., 2017). Loureiro et al. (2024) suggested that there were two types of engagement with music for emotional and identity related functions. The first is more basic and focused on influencing mood (and contributing to emotion regulation). The other is more complex, using the lyrics of music to reflect on self and personal history. In another study, Batcho et al. (2008) identified the importance of meaningful lyrics to young adults who were actively exploring their identity, particularly those prone to higher levels of nostalgia.

The emerging adults focused on in this study may face barriers to accessing obtaining the resources for the process of forming an identity (e.g. due to poverty, unemployment, access to education). Such lack of resources may prevent or limit the ways and extent to which an identity can be developed. This in turn affects the process of gaining independence and transitioning to adulthood (Hendry & Kloep, 2007). Music is a rich, accessible resource in the period of identity exploration. It is also a resource that is available at relatively low cost to young adults, particularly in this age of music-streaming, and as a result might be of particular importance for young adults experiencing homelessness.

3.2.2 Music listening and the past and the future

In the liminal period of young adulthood, thoughts of the past and the future are salient as one transitions from childhood to adulthood. Research into the temporal aspects of music listening has focused primarily on music's connecting of individuals to the past. There are also, however, ways in which music connects individuals to the future. I will explore both in this next section, starting with the past (3.2.2.1) and moving to the future (3.2.2.2).

3.2.2.1 Nostalgia, homesickness, autobiographical memories, and music

Music is associated with numerous emotions related to the past, including nostalgia and homesickness. It can also evoke potent autobiographical memories. Both facilities mean that music is a useful resource for reflecting on the past. *Homesickness* can exist when there is a distance between the individual and their home. This distance can be both over space (I am far from home) and over time (home as most meaningful to me was long ago). *Nostalgia*, on the other hand, relates primarily to distance over time (Wilson, 2015), longing for something that was meaningful but that no longer exists. Autobiographical memories are simply recollections from the past, which may or may not have a sense of nostalgia or yearning associated with them.

Music has been shown to elicit emotions of nostalgia and longing. Music psychologist Patrik Juslin and colleagues asked participants to report on emotions using an experience sampling method (Juslin et al., 2008), an approach similar to the diary method proposed in this thesis (see chapter four, Methodology). Participants described their emotions throughout the day, and emotional responses were compared between music-listening vs non-music listening events. They found that *nostalgia-longing* was an emotion commonly experienced in music-listening events, in comparison to non-music listening events. This emotion was one of several reported for music-listening events, alongside happiness, calm, pleasure, love and sadness. Potential drawbacks of this study include the limited list of emotions offered to participants to facilitate a response. "Longing" was included in this list, which could mean that responses are conflated with *homesickness* or indeed, some other sense of autobiographical memory. This aggregation of responses diminishes the ability to clarify which emotion was experienced. Nonetheless, this paper, along with others (such as Wildschut et al., 2006) indicate that music is capable of eliciting feelings related to the past,

such as nostalgia, amongst other related emotions. Similarly, Barrett et al. (2010) played their participants randomly selected excerpts of popular music and asked them to rate how nostalgic each song felt. found that as well as music being autobiographically salient, nostalgic emotion was moderated by individual differences (including nostalgia proneness and the Big Five personality traits), with nostalgia proneness being found to be related to sadness and neuroticism personality measures.

Nostalgia as a concept was considered in the past to be a malady, something to be avoided, and in fact it was banned by commanders in the American Civil War, who believed that it created a condition (i.e. depression) and was lethal (Anderson, 2010). In contrast, Sedikides et al. (2022), in line with modern thought in general, contend that nostalgic music can be a "potent source of psychological well-being" (p. 2045). In addition to the psychological benefits mentioned by Sedikides et al. (2022), it has also been suggested that music-induced nostalgia can counteract sadness and loneliness (Wildschut et al., 2006; Zhou et al., 2008).

The ability of music to trigger memories from the past is for many an everyday experience, and as a consequence, the focus of significant interest in both the literature (e.g. Istvandity, 2015; Janata et al., 2007; Janata, 2009) and in the media (for instance the long running BBC Radio 4 programme *Desert Island Discs*, in which celebrities share the soundtrack of their lives in an interview with the presenter (BBC, 2024). Studies have suggested that when listening to music we are able to describe memories more specifically, quicker and with more emotional content (Haj et al., 2022). This is of particular interest for people with dementia (e.g. Huber et al., 2021). This ability of music to trigger memories and emotions is also interesting within the context of displaced individuals, giving them a way to travel back in time to previous environments, to re-experience or reflect on previous experiences in the absence of the physical environment, which can have an influence on the self and emotion regulation (Janata et al., 2007).

3.2.2.2 Future orientated emotions – hope and fear

I will explore emotion regulation more broadly later in this chapter (see 3.2.8); however, having considered music and the past, the next section focuses on music and the future.

As well as helping to reflect on the past, music has also been shown to support reflections on the future, particularly in relation to emotions. Jewish-Austrian musicologist, Zukerkandl (1956) suggested that music "helps us to rethink the relationship between present, past and future" (p. 278). One source of this help in music is through lyrics, particularly those related to future-orientated emotions. Hope is a consistent theme within music in general, and song specifically. Music therapist and music therapy researcher, Gladding, in his study of the lyrics used by clients in counselling sessions, found that in 50% of songs chosen by clients, participants identified meaning in terms of hope, wisdom, encouragement or power, all pointing to future-oriented meanings (Gladding et al., 2008). Hope however is not automatically gained by listening to hopeful music. Israeli positive psychologists Ziv et al. (2011) distinguished between state hope and dispositional hope. They suggest that state hope is affected by our environment (my situation is hopeful), and dispositional hope is determined by internal factors (I am a hopeful person). In their laboratory-based experiment, they found that music had a significant effect on state hope, but not on dispositional hope, and that music had a significant effect on state hope only in high dispositional hope participants.

Ziv and colleagues also identified two factors within hope. These were akin to a *will* (agency, will-power and energy) and a *way* (pathways, and capacity to identify and create routes to the future goal). This distinction is important within the context of young people living in temporary accommodation, as both factors are affected by homelessness and previous trauma leading to homelessness. Future-orientated emotions have been described as falling into two categories. Anticipatory emotions are experienced in the here and now, in expectation of a future event. Anticipated emotions, on the other hand, are projected to be experienced in the future depending on if this future event does or does not occur (Baumgartner, Pieters & Bagozzi, 2008). Baumgartner et al. propose that "hope and fear are the prototypical categories of positive and negative anticipatory emotions, respectively" (Baumgartner et al., 2008, p. 686). Furthermore, Lazarus (1991) has suggested that the emotion of hope might relate to the practice of "staying committed to a desired outcome" (p. 687). On the other hand, fear is considered an emotion that individuals desire to escape from or avoid (Frijda, Kuipers & ter Schure, 1989; Lazarus, 1991; Plutchik, 1980). Both of these emotions may be critical in the context of a homeless young person's daily life choices.

3.2.3 Music listening and space

Before I consider space and music, I first want to consider what I mean by space within this thesis. As well as physical and topological, space can be conceived of as *social* and as *digital,* and I consider all three within the next section and later in my thematic chapters.

The physical space in focus is the supported accommodation. The foremost theory of the production of social space is that of Lefebvre (1974; 1991). Lefebvre conceives of social space as tripartite (see Figure 2). Perceived space refers to the physical environment as it is experienced and perceived by individuals. This includes feelings of comfort or discomfort. Conceived space refers to how the space was conceived by planners and policy makers. Lived space refers to everyday routines, practices, and interactions within the space. Within this thesis I focus primarily on the perceived and lived spaces rather than the conceived space (although I make suggestions regarding the conceived space in my conclusion).

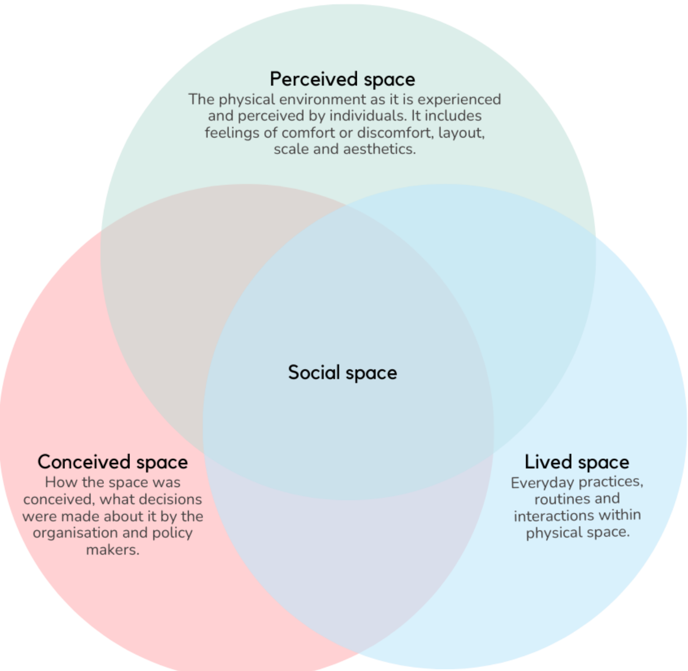

Figure 2: Model of Social Space (Lefebvre, 1974)

This conception of social space does not consider digital space, being developed in the 1970s. Digital space is also a space in which residents dwell. This is akin to physical space in some ways but is unbound by the physical space they inhabit. Social space overlaps with both

physical and digital space. Digital space must exist within physical space, but is unbound by the fabric of the physical space, such as walls, doors and locks, apart from when these walls, doors and locks are digital (built into the structure and security of apps, websites and so on). I am deliberately using the term digital space as opposed to virtual space. The term virtual implies something that is "very near, almost absolute" (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.), and that the experience within a virtual space is not quite *real*, which, certainly for my informants, I dispute. By digital space in this chapter, I mean space that "concerns digital technologies and how people interact with them and through them" (Benyon, 2014, p. 37). Within digital space, I am referring to the world of SnapChat, TikTok, Facetime, TV, phone calls, the Internet, films, YouTube, and all things similarly digital. I consider physical, social, and digital space to overlap and interact.

Listening technologies enable us to experience a sense of space. This space is specified through sensing auditory cues within recorded music. It is also determined through physical and sonic boundaries created by headphones and speakers. These alter and influence the perception of space. Sometimes, they also remove the perception of sound from the outside environment. In this section, I consider music listening in a wider physical and social ecology informed by scholars such as musicologist Eric Clarke (2005). I then consider privacy and the ways in which it can be managed with music and sound. Here, I draw on Bull's (2005) idea of the "bubble" of headphone listening and the possibility of using these bubbles to nest private spaces within public spaces (Born, 2013).

Georgina Born introduces her foundational text *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience* (2013) by giving examples illustrating the "mutual relations between music, sound and space" (p. 2). Space can be incorporated into music in a multitude of ways. Some music evokes the sensation of space (such as the rural countryside in Beethoven's Symphony No. 6, *Pastoral* , Beethoven, 2005). Other music is composed to be performed for the acoustic properties of a particular space (for instance, Allegri writing for the specific acoustics of cavernous cathedrals, Allegri, 2006). Further, music is even composed to create the sensation of movement in space. An example of this is *Bydlo* in Rimsky-Korsakov's orchestration of Mussorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*. Rimsky-Korsakov (2023) writes this music in such a way as to indicate something coming towards you and moving away again.

Music can also be used to occupy space, such as a body of students using music as a tool to protest, by claiming a space as their own through sound, occupying a university building and playing music at high volume towards the senior leadership of the institution (an example given in Born, 2013). These examples illustrate the mutual relations between music, sound and space through the music inferring space or movement, or by inhabiting space. Later in the edited collection by Born (2013), Clarke goes on suggests that this reflection on the connection between music, sound and space has been neglected by theorists in the past:

> "Music theory, the aesthetics of music and the psychology of music have all tended to treat music as if it were a phenomenon radically separate from the rest of the auditory environment. But, music is inextricably bound up with the wider world"
> (Clarke, 2013, p. 90).

Clarke challenges the concept that music is experienced within a vacuum, separate from the world in which it was created, refers to, and is heard. As I consider the relationship between music listening and the experience of living within supported accommodation, space is a vital element within this relationship. The literature on music and space, the evocation of movement and space (physical and virtual) and claiming of space for functions (such as privacy etc.) has potential application within this study.

Born and Clarke have both contributed to a recent focus on music from an ecological perspective (see also Clarke, 2018; Dibben, 2009; Reybrouck, 2015). This movement considers not just the music and the listener, but also the environment in which the music and listener is situated. What's more, it also considers the environment that the music itself indicates. As Mace suggests, we should think about not only about the experience of music listening, but also the environment in which that takes place:

> "Ask not what's inside your head, but what your head's inside of" (Mace, 1977, p. 43)

This approach uses ecological perceptual theory to explore music in the context of the perceiver and their environment. The foremost proponents of this theory are James Gibson and Roger Barker (Heft, 2005). They suggest that there is no clear division between subject

and object, perceiver and perceived. Considering the individual as in symbiosis with the environment, they propose that the individual perceives various *affordances* to the individual, with which to act next.

> "The *affordances* of the environment are what it *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or *furnishes*, either for good or ill. ... It implies the complementarity of the animal and the environment" (Gibson, 1979, p.127).

In this way, music listening can be considered as affording the listener opportunities to act, within the space. As mentioned already, auditory cues within the music can specific space (through the spatiality of the venue in which it is recorded, or in the way the music is composed). Music and sound can be used to claim space, as shown by the students in their protest. Finally, music listening technologies such as headphones can create a spatial experience in any space, being "surrounded by sound, embedded in media experience" (Behrendt, 2012, p. 292). It is these two latter functions of music in space that are of particular interest in this thesis, i.e. the mediation of (a sense of) space through music by filling a space with music using speakers or headphones. In doing so residents may be able to claim and transform space.

3.2.4 Music listening and the claiming of space

Illustrating the ability of sound, including music, to claim space, Nicola di Croce describes the *sonic territorialisation* of Place Grenette in Grenoble, France (di Croce, 2017). In amongst the city's shops and cafes, large numbers of people were living in tents in part of the *Jardin de Ville* (an urban park close to the centre). He describes the sonic environment created through this presence. Sounds such as the barking of dogs, often followed by yelling from the dog's owner, are regularly heard. A range of sounds emanate from the voices of those situated there, including "violent rebukes" and "delicate begging", and from "laments and screams" (p. 13). Di Croce argues that these sounds demarcate the space, identifying separate terrain for the upper-middle class shoppers and zones for a group of homeless people. This demarcation uncovers social divisions that are uncomfortably juxtaposed in a small geographical area. Di Croce draws upon Foucault's concept of "heterotopia" (Foucault, 1974)

to describe a place that reveals otherness. Foucault includes cemeteries, mental hospitals, prisons and brothels in his list of examples. (We might also add hostels to this list.) Otherness is therefore revealed in the sonic territorialisation of this city centre space.

In contrast, Sound Studies scholar, Michael Bull (2000), describes the use of headphones as affording the listener the ability to create a cocoon, "separating the user from the outside world" (p. 32). In this way headphones, and the music played through them, block out the sounds of the outside world. In doing so, they isolate the individual from extraneous and unwanted sound and intrusions. This creation of walls through sound and sound-producing devices and media, such as headphones, is echoed in the writing of Bull (2000). He suggests headphones allow *sonic habitation*, *gating* and *framing*. These words describe the demarcation of territory with an interior on one side and a (possibly loud, threatening, cold or stimulating) exterior on the other. In a comparable way, Weber (2010) suggests acoustic *cocooning* can enable the listener to feel at home away from home by carving out intimate personal space and providing privacy and autonomy.

The walls of the cocoon do not only provide privacy and separation. The interior can also provide what Downs (2021b) coins as *sonic homeliness.* This experience of "aural warmth" (Labelle, 2010, p.5, as cited in Downs, 2021b) gives the listener the perception of comfort and security. Developing the idea of music separating the individual from the world, Downs suggests that music can create "amniotic acoustics":

> "as if the body is figured as both inhabited and inhabiting, as involved in a paradoxical collapsing of interior and exterior space, as filled with liquid-like sound and surrounded by it – in short, as both flooded and immersed" (I, Downs, 2021a)

It is not just headphones that provide this sonic separation. Other sound sources, such as portable speakers, create an element of separation whilst on the move, and home speakers provide sonic walls when stationary. In this way, sound can be power – to create, reinforce or remove walls (opaque or transparent alike). Sound through a headset is therefore a potentially useful resource in a context in which environmental sound is inescapable. One such context could be that experienced by homeless people. Published in an article in the magazine, *Big Issue,* the author collected descriptions of the sound environment as a

homeless person. Entitled “What does it sound like to be homeless?” (Big Issue, 2017) responses included “deafening silence”, “the trains going over the top of you”, “knocking on the hostel door”, “footsteps coming towards you”, “heating systems” and “bins getting moved around”. These are all sounds that one might wish to block out, or at least manage.

Dibben and Haake (2013), in their study of music in the construction of space within an office environment, argue that “individuated listening is not to be used simply to create ‘aural cocoons’ or ‘auditory bubbles’ in the workplace, but engaged more subtly and variably to respond to situational contingencies in their subjects’ working lives” (p. 57). Music was used in a wider variety of ways, and more nuanced, than simply cutting oneself off from the surrounding environment. These included wearing headphones one-eared, so they could still interact with their colleagues, and selecting volumes that allowed the sounds of the office to reach the worker. The space that is carved out is less discrete and bounded than a bubble or cocoon, and more akin to a permeable membrane. Downs builds on this in his thesis, suggesting that the walls of these bubbles are not discrete at all in the chapter of his thesis entitled “Through” He suggests that the environment can permeate the bubble as well as the contents of the bubble seeping out (Downs, 2021c).

> “The bubble is not a sonically hermetic seal and instead a permeable membrane that mediates as opposed to negates the auditory connection to the environment; that sound does not only bleed into headphones from the outside world but also leaks out of headphones, causing many listeners to become self-conscious and sonically aware.” (Downs, 2021c, p. 167)

Dibben and Downs challenge Bull’s conception of the auditory bubble as more complex than simply hermetically sealed. This is important for many reasons, one of which is the conception of a hermetically-sealed bubble and its relation to the perception of headphone use, which has bolstered the argument that using headphones is a cultural practice that is anti-social, and an obstacle to social interactions (Everett, 2014). Such arguments about the anti-social nature of headphones become all the more salient when the people whose music and headphone use are being studied are experiencing both separation from a pre-existing social setting and submersion into a new social environment. Homeless young people

comprise one such group, and this perception of anti-social behaviour is compounded by an increased likelihood of stigma from the public and institutions (Heap, Black & Devany, 2022).

Dibben, Haake and Downs counter this somewhat moralistic approach by suggesting that headphones themselves, and the practices of the individuals using headphones, are not anti-social per se. They could be used as a tool for this should that be desired. However, they may simply be used as a way of managing and engaging in the environment.

The use of sound and music to claim space enables the management of not only physical space, but also social space. This is a point made in Trotta's book *Annoying Music in Everyday Life* (2020). He suggests "music has equally strong appeals to the body, the intimate and the private, as well as to the collective, the social, and the group belonging" (p. 41). In this quote Trotta is suggesting that the *power* of music to connect is balanced by a similar power to separate. The examples from Dibben, Downs and Haake also illustrate this separation. Music is often lauded for the benefits of connecting people and creating social bonds. It is also useful in separating people.

3.2.5 Music listening and privacy

In Tia DeNora's *Music Asylums* (2013), she describes music's role in "creating room" (p. 63), reflecting on Erving Goffman's commentary on asylums and their role as a retreat from the world (Goffman, 1961). Music listening, she suggests, can separate an individual from the world. It can be used by individuals to "refurnish" their environment (i.e. reshape or change their perception of it) or remove themselves from the environment (i.e. block out the environment through music to give the impression that it does not exist). This enables the individual to find a *virtual* asylum without *physically* retreating from the world.

This ability to use music and its related technologies to mediate the socio-environmental space lends itself to the management of private and public space. The approach to defining *private* and *public* in this thesis is that of social scientist Susan Gal (2002). It is easy (but not necessarily accurate, according to Gal) to describe private and public as either side of the front door of a house, with an individual stepping from private to public as they cross the threshold to leave the building. Gal suggests instead that they are considered not clearly

bounded domains. Rather, they are co-constituted, referential, and nested (she describes them as sometimes being fractal-like, 2002).

An example of nested spaces, and of Foucault's heterotopia, is the hospital ward. Tim Rice describes the sonic transgression of boundaries on a ward in his chapter "Broadcasting the body" (Rice, 2013). Here, sound is not only claiming space, but leaking from it. Rice describes the loss of agency as patients enter hospital. Patients spend many hours, days and even weeks on a ward, carrying out everyday practices such as sleeping and eating. They do all of this in the company of relative strangers. The patients and staff share this institutionally managed communal space. In this environment, privacy is diminished. This happens not simply through the visual presence of the patient on a ward shared with others. This loss of privacy can be partly managed through the curtains provided for visual privacy when dressing or when procedures are being performed. No; privacy, Rice argues, is primarily lost through sound. The curtain is no barrier to overhearing, nor being overheard. Every sound on the ward is shared. This includes the buzzes and beeps, the conversations with doctors and nurses, the bodily noises, such as retching and breaking wind.

Rice describes the impact of this loss of privacy through a quote from one of his participants: "the first thing you lose is your privacy, the second is your dignity and the third is your sanity" (p. 170). This veiled broadcast engages people on the ward in "acousmatic listening" (Schaefer, 1966), listening to sounds without the origin being seen. A reported tool in the limited range available to manage privacy and space, was the hospital radio. Rice reported that immersion in this radio station provided a welcome relief, to the ward soundscape for the few hours it broadcast each day. Carrying out this research in 1999 on a ward with primarily elderly residents, and at a time when the available technology was limited, it should be recognised that the dynamics at play may be different in 2024. Nonetheless, Rice's study demonstrates how patients use headphones and music or sound to separate themselves from the wider soundscape and carve out a bit of privacy. The interior space between headphones becomes the experienced world for those few moments away from others, creating a sense of privacy otherwise absent.

This example suggests music is a possible tool for managing space. In particular, it suggests music is a possible tool for the management of privacy in physical space. This management of

privacy and space through the use of music is something that Tia Denora explored in *Music Asylums.* Inspired by Goffman's work *Asylums*, she describes music as creating "elbow room" (DeNora, 2012, p.102). She suggests music creates a buffer from the outside world, going on to suggest it can be a *sanctuary,* or *safe space.* In the context she is observing, those of illness and the institutional and medical system:

> "Privacy is a scarce resource, so the music also offers an opportunity to regain this scarce quality, it affords and allows for the creation of, in Goffman's terms, "elbow room" for the self where otherwise the spaces for self have been compressed" (DeNora, 2012, pp. 102-103, referring to Goffman, 1961).

DeNora, then, is suggesting that music has the potential to facilitate the creation of private spaces, and is particularly useful in environments similar to what Goffman referred to as 'total institutions'. In modern society "individuals tend to sleep, play and work in different places, with different co-participants, under different authorities" (Goffman, 1961, p. 6; although in a post-COVID world, this separation is being rapidly dissolved). However, within the total institution there is as a dissolution of these realms into one single space, under one single authority. Goffman's total institution then has the following characteristics:

> "A total institution may be defined as a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed formerly administered round of life." (p xxi, 1961)

As earlier described, the use of hospital radio is an example of music (and sound) giving individuals the ability to "exercise a degree of control over their immediate, private and auditory space, or at least enable them to consume a different kind of mediated public landscape" (p. 174). Alongside DeNora's description of music as creating elbow room, this literature may then have applications to the semi-institutional context of temporary accommodation. Here, like Goffman's asylum and Rice's hospital ward, residents are at the centre of a system. This system is not focused on *medical work* but on *housing work*. This then sits within a wider context that could be named *adultification work*, drawing on the previously mentioned descriptions of this transition period of young adulthood.

3.2.6 Music listening and social bonds

I started this section talking about young people existing within a social ecology, which is inextricably linked to the physical environment. Doors, bridges, gateways, paths and roads are as much about creating and managing connections between people as they are about connecting space. Within the ecological approach (e.g. Born, 2013; Dibben, 2009; Clarke, 2018; Reybrouck, 2015), and particularly the perception-action cycle, changes in the social environment motivate behaviour and action as well as changes in the physical environment. There is a constant interaction between the self and the social environment as individuals represent themselves to others through identity, practices, dispositions and attributes, and respond to others doing the same (Turino, 2008). Social connection is a human need (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Maslow, 1987), and this drives many of our daily activities and practices. The need for social connection has been assumed to be related to the improved survival chances of our ancestors (Caporael & Brewer, 1995; Wilson, 1978).

Shared music preferences can provide a sense of affiliation and social bonds with others with similar likes (Bakagiannis & Tarrant, 2006; Boer et al., 2011; Gabriel & Young, 2011; North & Hargreaves, 1999). This sense of affiliation through musical preferences can support the building of social group membership, often boosting self-esteem (Shepherd & Sigg, 2015). It also communicates an element of social identity to others (Tekman & Hortasçu, 2002), particularly in adolescence (Bakagiannis & Tarrant, 2006; North & Hargreaves, 1999) and potentially in young adulthood.

In a study by Oxford neuroscientists Tarr et al. (2014) review research into self-other merging and endorphin release during rhythmic activities, suggesting interpersonal synchrony was a mechanism that contributes to social bonding when collectively listening to music. Whilst a drawback of this study is that it only considered dyads, other studies (Wilks, 2011) have assessed bonding within larger group contexts and found that group listening, such as at festivals, can develop *bonding* social capital (social capital within a group or community). However, it must be noted that the same was not found for creating *bridging* social capital (social capital between different social groups). The presence of music within a group situation does not always lead to the creation of social bonds. Indeed, it can do the very opposite. This can be particularly the case if, due to a difference in genre preference or the

biographical meaning or associations with a particular track, artist or genre, the music itself creates a barrier between the listeners. DeNora reflects this in her paper *Resounding the great divide,* suggesting that “even when music does bring or make possible ‘good things’, these may not be equally good or equally available to all participants” (DeNora, 2012, p. 99).

Another way of considering music listening and social bonds is to reflect on music listening as a way to *replace* human connection. This is possible by providing a human-*like* connection to an artist or idea in a song. Clarke et al. (2015) describe music’s role in representing a virtual person, even allowing the individual to experience a level of empathy with the performer or singer-songwriter, or a personification of the music itself. This is something I found in my own research through interviews with young adults who had been homeless, usually due to family breakdown. Several participants described relying on music as a replacement when specific human beings had let them down or were no longer part of their lives (Wareham, 2017).

This concept has been described as social surrogacy and has been explored by several researchers within the last decade (e.g. Groarke et al., 2022; Groarke & Hogan, 2016; Schäfer & Eerola, 2020). Their findings suggest that the act of music listening itself has social benefits that go some way to satisfy, in the short term at least, the social needs of individuals. Within this theory of social surrogacy three elements have been identified. The first is affiliation with symbolic groups, the second para-social relationships, and thirdly, reminders of existing or past relationships (Schäfer & Eerola, 2020). These short-term moments of social satisfaction, termed ‘social snacks’ by Schäfer & Eerola (2020), can also be provided through other means, including a good book (Gabriel & Young, 2011) or TV programme or film (Derrick et al., 2009). These snacks are not thought to be satisfying (like a hearty nutritious dinner) in the long term. As a snack, they only go some way to satiate immediate pangs of loneliness or isolation.

Whilst affiliation is associated with identity and a group, parasocial (one-sided) relationships are focused on one individual, on whom much emotional energy, interest and time is spent. At the same time, the focus of this attention is unaware of their existence (Gardner et al., 2005, Greenwood & Long, 2009; Kurtin et al., 2019). Musicians, with the assistance of social networking sites giving insight into their private lives, are the focus of many parasocial relationships. They may provide “the illusion of a friend-like relationship between an individual and a media personality” (Krause, North & Heritage, 2018, p. 2). There is evidence

to suggest that there are emotional benefits to parasocial relationships. These include a sense of belonging (Derrick, Gabriel & Hugenberg, 2009). Furthermore, it has been found that some parasocial relationships support individuals' self-perception, helping them to feel more similar to their ideal selves (Derrick, Gabriel & Tippin, 2008). Lyrics can be particularly useful, particularly those that apply to the lives of listeners. This has been shown as a resource for coping with loneliness (Lippman & Greenwood, 2012; Zillmann & Gan, 1997). Further, Schäfer, Saarikallio and Eerola (2020) found that listening to self-selected, mood-congruent music can have a similar effect to the listening ear of an empathetic friend.

Tia DeNora also describes music as having an "afterlife" in her moving paper exploring music at the end of life (2012). She suggests that music allows us to connect with people who have died and experiences from our past, and enables us to activate an individual's presence in their absence. She proposes that "music offers a set of material and social practices, ethno-technologies, for performing, recalling, and stabilising presence" (p. 101). This may apply not only to individuals who have died, but also to individuals who are alive but from whom we have been separated. This is reinforced by separate research that suggests music can provide reminders of relationships, whether existing (Derrick, Keefer, Troisi, 2019) or lost (Groarke & Hogan, 2016, 2018), through, for instance, homelessness.

3.2.7 Music listening, anxiety and relaxation

Somerville (see 0) uses the term "physiological security" in his dimension of homelessness. This, he suggests, concerns "hearth" alongside "warmth", "opportunity to relax", "somewhere homely" and "an experienced sense of security". Somerville's use of the term physiological is confusing since that word is generally used to refer to biological functioning. Alternatively, it could be interpreted as relating to food, warmth and health, as suggested within Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1954). For that reason, I do not use this term. Instead, I use the *sense of security* (related to Maslow's level two of needs) to mean an absence of perceived threats (Taormina & Gao, 2013). These threats can be both personal (criminal assault, disease) and external (i.e. unemployment, financial insecurity).

The opposite state to relaxation has been suggested to be anxiety (Siddaway, Taylor & Wood, 2018), which is a common emotional state of many people experiencing homelessness

(Martin et al., 2006). There is considerable research exploring the relationship between music, music listening practices and anxiety, indicating a potential role for music within the everyday lives of homeless people. The music and anxiety literature includes several explorations of the impact of music on anxiety and pain control. One of these is a meta-analysis of 92 random-controlled trials of music interventions during non-invasive surgery (Kühlmann et al., 2018). This study, along with many others exploring medical environments, identifies a general anaesthetic effect of music intervention. This is in addition to a significant reduction in anxiety by listening to self-selected music during the treatment. Remaining within medicine, there has also been a significant focus within music therapy on the treatment of anxiety (for example Lu et al., 2021 for a meta-analysis of random controlled trials). Finnish music psychologist Suvi Saarikallio (2007, 2008, 2012) includes music to relax within her category of *revival.* Within this model, music is also used as a diversion (Saarikallio, 2012), which could also be considered an element of relaxation. There is considerable evidence to show how music listening can be harnessed with the intention of changing one's mood. This is something I explore further in 3.2.8.

Another use of music in managing anxiety and relaxation is to control response to the stressor by taking you "out of your emotions" through strong experiences of music. Uppsala scholar Alf Gabrielsson listed relaxation as a potential reaction to particularly strong experiences in music (Gabrielsson, 2010). As well as impacting on the response to the stressor, music might also have a role in reducing the presence of the stressor. This might be particularly applicable when the stressor is audible (i.e. other residents in a hostel), and especially at high volume. Gabrielsson describes a strong experience with music that

> "completely dominates one's attention and shuts out everything else. The world around one disappears, time stands still, the only thing that counts is music and oneself, here and now." (p. 67)

As illustrated by this quote, Gabrielsson considers a strong experience with music to involve a merging or bonding with the sound, shutting out the external world, and feeling only oneself and the music in the moment. This is in direct contrast to other encounters of listening to music, in which it is experienced as external.

Music is regularly reported as a sleep aid tool (Morin et al., 2006). The methodology of many of these studies has been critiqued, usually due to the reliance on self-report measures (Lazic & Ogilvie, 2006). However, many studies have suggested a positive effect of music-based interventions on sleep (e.g. Harmat et al., 2008; Johnson, 2003; Kullich et al., 2003; Lai & Good, 2003). These interventions have included music therapy and listening to music before bed. Music listening therefore may have an application as a sleep aid tool for individuals experiencing homelessness. Exploring this possibility, Eugenia Hernandez-Ruiz (2005) trialled a music–listening-based therapy, reporting sleep patterns for 28 women living in domestic violence shelters. This therapy involved listening to music for 20 minutes before sleep, paired with a progressive muscle relaxation exercise. This intervention was compared to a similar exercise with 20 minutes of quiet time. The small study found a positive effect of the music listening, reducing anxiety levels and improving sleep quality. There were also interesting responses to the quiet time condition. Participants considered it "stressful", "unbearable" and "an annoyance". They also reported being unable to distract themselves from stressful thoughts. Hernandez-Ruiz therefore concluded that music contributes to relaxation by "providing a pleasurable stimulus and creating a focal point of attention" (p. 151). In each of these examples, music is being used to distract, divert or otherwise occupy the stressed individual from focusing on thoughts of the stressor. The absence of music in Hernandez-Ruiz's study also actively *increased* stress because it prevented any other forms of distraction (of which music is one) from being used.

Music can also help to address anxiety through the lyrics. A 2022 study explored a potential role of singers in disclosing their experiences. The revealing of personal feelings, such as anxiety, was found to increase empathy from peers and validate individual experiences. In turn, this was reported to increase the likelihood that an individual will seek help (Kresovich, 2022). This may be particularly important for individuals who are *alexithymic*, i.e. have an inability to identify and describe emotions (Lyvers et al., 2018).

People who have been in care, who have an insecure attachment style, or who have had experience of trauma or neglect, all have an increased likelihood of alexithymia (Mayberry, 2016; Paull, 2013). Whilst I can find no studies identifying rates of alexithymia in homeless young adults or adults, all of the aforementioned experiences that lead to a higher tendency of alexithymia, also indicate an increased probability of homelessness (Sanders, Jones &

Whelan, 2021). It might therefore be anticipated that people with experience of homelessness may also have a higher chance of experiencing alexithymia. As Lyvers et al. (2018) suggest, "alexithymic listeners may rely on music to help them experience emotions more fully." (p. 611)

There is a risk that music listening can be treated as a panacea; the assumption that *all* music alleviates *all* anxiety. In fact, music can also *induce* anxiety and can be harnessed by others with the express intent to raise negative emotions and cause stress. In Trotta's book, *Annoying Music in Everyday Life* (2020, the title of which is inspired by Tia DeNora's 2000 book, *Music in Everyday Life),* he draws our attention to what he calls the dark side of music. This is a side of music that he suggests we do not like to acknowledge. It can annoy rather than console, and irritate rather than calm. It is important to consider this dark side. The music we choose to listen to can be turned off when it begins to irritate. The music we do not choose to listen to, but is chosen by others and we cannot escape, can bother and aggravate. Trotta suggests, using examples collected through interviews, that if music can reduce stress, it also "has a similar potential to produce unhealthy states and to escalate anxiety and stress" (p. 73). In its extreme form, the stress-escalating potential in music has been harnessed by political and military powers, weaponizing music in directed in acts of sonic violence on prisoners (Cusick, 2013).

3.2.8 Music listening and emotion regulation

Anxiety is a specific emotion, and I now consider music and emotion regulation in general. Music listening has been shown to be a useful tool in this area (Carlson et al., 2015; Juslin & Sloboda, 2010; Saarikallio, 2008). In particular, it has been found to be helpful in the regulation of negative emotions (Groarke & Hogan, 2016; Thayer, Newman & McClain, 1994); relieving stress and enabling catharsis (North, Hargreaves & O'Neill, 2000); inducing positive emotions (Juslin et al., 2008; Salimpoor et al., 2015); inducing feelings of nostalgia (Barrett et al., 2010); and creating "peak" or strong experiences (Gabrielsson, 2011). In this way, music listening can be conceived as an "aesthetic technology" that contributes to self-regulation (DeNora, 2000).

Emotion regulation is an important skill for life and independent living that develops throughout childhood and into adulthood (Ochsner & Gross, 2005). Gabrielsson and Wik (2003) suggest that stronger emotional responses to music are experienced by younger adults, compared with older adults. Along with adolescents, they are also more inclined to use music to alter the emotions they are feeling. This is likely to reflect the continuing development of the skill of emotion regulation in general (Dingle & Fay, 2016, Saarikallio & Erkkila, 2007). The use of music listening in this way could be considered adaptive, enabling the individual to manage their emotions and influencing their daily practices. However, there is also evidence that particular practices of listening to music could be maladaptive. That is, whether intended or unintended, the music listening practice has a negative overall impact on the individual's well-being. As such, some emotion regulation strategies through music have been shown to correlate positively with depression and other mood disorders (Carlson et al., 2015; Marik & Stegemann, 2016).

The emotion regulation literature tends to take an instrumental viewpoint, considering the effects of applying music to an individual to increase happiness, calmness or another output. In some circumstances, music listening is no doubt able to create, or at least facilitate, such effects. However, this approach to mood regulation can sometimes ignore some of the contributing factors to the emotions in the first place. These can include the external stressor causing the emotion being tackled. Emotional responses to music are related to the musical event, which comprises three factors: the music itself, the listener and the situation (Jørgensen, 1988). Further research is needed regarding the third element, the situation, with regards to the stressor, particularly when the stressor is created by the situation. The relationship between emotion and music is also not always linear. The application of music does not always make it better. In fact, despite attempts otherwise, sometimes music can appear to make it much worse. For example, consider DeNora's example of the presence of music in an end-of-life context when her mother was dying (DeNora, 2012).

She describes music's presence as:

> "complex and potentially multifarious. Using music can lead to events that one might not expect or welcome; it can lead to complications for some or all participants" (DeNora, 2012, p. 98)

Research focusing on emotion regulation through music can sometimes ignore the context entirely, whereas my approach to emotion regulation in this thesis is more ecological, following the lead of scholars such as DeNora (2000, 2013), Dibben (2009) and Clarke (2005).

3.2.9 Music listening and choice

Finally, I want to briefly discuss the potential of music to provide an individual with choice. Choice is a key component in the creation and maintenance of privacy, as mentioned above. But choice, actual and perceived – in other words, a sense of agency or control – goes beyond the sphere of privacy to all aspects of life. There has been a sea change in recent years in the consideration of agency within homelessness services. Previously, services were delivered in what could be considered a more systematic, less individualised way. This is akin to that described by Goffman when he speaks of total institutions (see 3.2.5). Over the six decades that have followed, a range of movements have influenced the service design, including the Psychologically Informed Environments approach, which suggests that the environment and interactions within a service should be informed by the building of relationships and trust; and the co-production movement, which suggests that services should be created with the people for whom they are designed (Haigh et al., 2012; Schneider et al., 2022). Inherent within this approach is a focus on agency and choice. Power inherent in the service is shared with the service user, at least in part. Music is an accessible medium that is *not* constrained to the same extent by financial and structural factors in the present day. This is facilitated by music listening devices that are portable, an increasing availability of Wi-Fi, and a readily available catalogue of music via a range of platforms (Spotify, YouTube, SoundCloud etc.). This means that young people with limited resources are more able to access music than ever before (Brennan & Devine, 2020).

3.3 Summary

Within this chapter I first looked at the limited literature on music listening and homelessness, noting the related literature regarding music making and music therapy and homelessness. The only other literature around musical listening and youth homelessness was that of Jill Woelfer, whose explorations of digital devices and music identified the importance of music listening for emotional welfare. Other literature on music and youth homelessness focused on music's links to substance use (Cournoyer Lemaire et al., 2023).

I also considered the existing literature on music listening in young adults, distinguishing between literature that focuses deliberately on young adulthood as a distinct period. Themes included possible impacts of media consumption, autobiographical memories and social bonding and empathy. However, most literature involving participants from a young adult age range did so either by extension of adolescence beyond 18, inclusion of young adults in a wider age range of adulthood, or by sampling students to represent adulthood in general.

Turning to the more comprehensive literature of adolescence and adulthood I explored various affordances of music listening. I began with overviewing the literature on music listening and the self, beginning with Tia DeNora's suggestion that music is a technology of the self for the reflexive project (DeNora, 1999; Foucault, 1988; Giddens, 1991). Exploring the reflexive power of music regarding the self, I introduced two theories of identity, Social Identity Theory and Identity Theory (Hogg et al., 1995) and shared literature suggesting that music listening supports identity development in ways consistent with both of these theories (Lonsdale & North, 2011; Rentfrow, McDonald & Oldmeadow, 2009).

Next, I turned to the idea of music listening with regards to the past and the future. Initially I explored music's ability to trigger autobiographical memories, to generate nostalgia and homesickness (distinguishing between the two). I then briefly explored music listening as it related to hope and fear for the future – particularly through lyrics (Gladding et al., 2008; Zukerkandl, 1956) – and the relationship between these emotions and motivation, turning to the work of Ziv and colleagues (2011).

An area of interest in the context of youth homelessness is the relationship between music listening and space. After introducing concepts framing both physical, social and digital space

(Lefebvre, 1974: 1999), I examined the works of scholars within ecological psychology (e.g. Gibson, 1979), ecological psychology of music and sound studies (Born, 2013; Bull, 2007; Clarke, 2005; Dibben, 2009; Downs, 2021c; Labelle, 2010) to explore music and space. I considered ways in which music has been shown to claim space (di Croce, 2017) and to separate from the outside world (Bull, 2000; Downs, 2021a) but reflecting on the permeability of this separation (Dibben & Haake, 2013; Downs, 2021c) and indeed the potential properties of music to be annoying (Trotta, 2020).

Considering the ability of music to separate (above) I then looked at ways in which music listening creates privacy, drawing on the concept of nested privacy from Gal (2002). Here I introduced Tim Rice's reflections on the visual and acoustic privacy of the hospital ward and the affordances of hospital radio (2013) and acousmatic listening (Schaeffer, 1966). Subsequently I turned to Tia DeNora's work *Music Asylums* (2012) echoing Goffman's *Asylums* (1961), presenting her concepts of music's ability to *refurnish* space and *remove* one from space.

Moving on to social space, I introduced literature surrounding shared musical preferences (e.g. Bakagiannis & Tarrant, 2006; Gabriel & Young, 2011), interpersonal synchrony (Tarr et al., 2014) and referred back to autobiographical memories (DeNora, 2012). I then examined the literature on music listening and social surrogacy and the potential for music listening to (temporarily at least) replace human connection (Schäfer & Eerola, 2020) and cope with loneliness (e.g. Zillman & Gan, 1997).

Finally, I considered the facility of music listening to aid relaxation, particularly in the management of anxiety (something that is helpful within the context of homelessness), drawing on neuropsychological and physiological literature from the medical sphere (e.g. Kühlmann et al., 2018) alongside the related properties of music in supporting sleep (Morin et al., 2006). I broadened this focus on one particular set of emotions to include the wider consideration of music for mood and emotion regulation, including work by Saarikallio (2007, 2008, 2012) amongst many others, ensuring to note the sometimes instrumental approach of scholars towards the emotion-regulation potential of music listening, whilst sometimes ignoring the wider complexity of the origin of those emotions.

As a postscript to this chapter, I touched on the idea of music listening with regards to choice, particularly in the context of environments that are institutionally managed, as a resource that is relatively unconstrained by the power structures at play.

Richardson (2019) suggests that "home goes beyond physical construction of any kind – a sound, smell or an image in memory can be 'home' when we need it to be" (p. 7). Reflecting on the explorations of *home* in chapter two and the experience of home*lessness*, alongside the potential affordances of music listening outlined within this chapter, leads me to consider how music listening practices might contribute to the lived experience of young adults who are homeless and living in supported accommodation. In the next chapter (Chapter four, Methodology) I outline how I intend to approach this question.

4 Methodology

Within this chapter I introduce my research aims and question. I explain my rationale for taking a qualitative approach, and introduce the methods I used for the two studies I carried out with young adults living in supported accommodation. After this, I outline my procedures for each study, providing examples of the various supporting documentation (in the appendix) and then identify the challenges in researching young adults living in supported accommodation, introducing myself and my position as a researcher and describing what I did to maintain rigour in this naturalistic enquiry. I explain my approach to ethics, essential when working with a group of marginalised individuals in which the power dynamics are not weighted in their favour. Finally, I demonstrate my analytical procedure and how I treated the data.

4.1 Research question and aims.

Music listening has been shown to be useful for individuals in everyday life, and particularly for adolescents. However, existing research has largely ignored those aged 18-25 as a specific age group at the end of adolescence and the beginning of adulthood. Furthermore, it has been insensitive to the particularities of the life experiences of some young adults in this age bracket. This includes young adults experiencing homelessness or living in temporary accommodation. The value of music listening has been identified in a number of existing studies, as explored in chapter three (Music listening and young people). As youth homelessness continues to increase in the UK (Centrepoint, 2022) it is important to explore its role in the lives of homeless young adults in temporary residential environments such as supported accommodation.

This research therefore explores the relationship between supported accommodation and the music-listening practices adopted by young adults living in them. In particular, this study examines the following question:

> How do young people's music listening practices contribute to their lived experience within supported accommodation?

To answer this primary question, I also ask:

- How do young people experience life within supported accommodation?
- To what extent and in what ways do young people listen to music in supported accommodation?
- What is the relationship between these practices and the experience of living in supported accommodation for homeless young people?

4.2 Taking a qualitative approach

To explore these questions, I conducted qualitative research with young people residing in supported accommodation, a form of temporary accommodation in the UK. A qualitative approach was the most appropriate for this study. This was because I wanted to explore the music listening practices of residents in the context of their lives and the experience of living within the accommodation. Such information is best acquired through in-depth interviews. These provide the possibility of exploring the complexities of the experiences of individuals whose lives can often be represented in an over-simplistic way.

A qualitative approach with a combination of methods facilitates a more in-depth exploration of complex environments and the music listening practices within them, attempting to bring a sensitivity and adaptability that is absent in quantitative methods. Young adults living in supported accommodation are challenging to engage in research and under-researched (Forchuk et al., 2018; Strehlau et al., 2017). This lower level of expected engagement also lends itself to a detailed investigation with a few participants, rather than a more wide-ranging but superficial approach (Banister et al., 1994). It is also more appropriate for the small sample sizes available in the context of supported accommodation hostels for homeless young people.

This research took place in three hostels in Greater Manchester. Access to these three residences was through a youth homelessness charity that manages these residences, as well 60 more across England. I was allowed to carry out this research through agreement with the charity's Executive Director of Services, which came about following a previous partnership with the charity for my Master's degree thesis. I was able to arrange this partnership through

the working relationships I had built whilst working for the homelessness charity. My role within the charity was within the fundraising department, beginning during my part-time Master's degree and continuing into the early part of my PhD study. I left the role at in January 2019, one year prior to starting data collection. Employment continued in a variety of charities not associated with homelessness until April 2022, when I started working at the Choir With No Name, another homelessness charity, but one that works with adults. My roles at both charities were in fundraising and organisational strategy, rather than in service delivery.

There are an estimated 12,500 bed spaces in supported accommodation for young people in England (Homeless Link, 2022, 2024a). The organisation I worked with provides accommodation to around 800 young people each year in 60 hostels across England. Hostels previously had to follow a Quality Assessment Framework provided by the UK Government as a condition of the Supporting People Funding; however, this has since fallen out of favour, although some councils still use it (information provided in a personal communication, May 2024, specific details have been omitted to protect the confidentiality of the individual).

Participants in the research were aged 18 to 25 and resident at one of three hostels in Greater Manchester which I have called Nest, Roost and Heeley. Greater Manchester had 4,200 young people aged 16 to 24 who were "owed a prevention or relief duty" in 2022-2023, according to figures from the Department for Levelling Up, Housing and Communities (2024). The borough of Manchester has the highest number of homeless young people of any local authority area in England. These hostels were chosen to be general intake hostels rather than focusing on any specific core issue, such as asylum seeking, unaccompanied minors or mothers and babies. During the time I carried out the research, they provided accommodation to 56 young people. One third of these residents took part in this research.

Given the complexity of the places I was researching, I chose to undertake two studies to explore my research questions. Study one took place over three years from 2020 to 2023 (an extended period due in part to the COVID-19 pandemic as well as a period of leave from the research). Engaging 15 residents, it consisted of three specific methods: observations, diaries (with a procedure similar to experience sampling method, see 4.2.1.2) and interviews. This study aimed to be broad in its exploration of the research questions. The ambition was to

understand over a prolonged period how young people's music listening practices contribute to their lived experience within supported accommodation. A second study, conducted in 2023-2024, sought to explore sense of self and identity in greater depth. The development of self and identity is a significant component of the self-project during the transitional period of young adulthood. This second study involved limited participatory research elements as well as worksheets, music elicitation and semi-structured interviews with just five participants, allowing a deeper dive into their understanding of self.

4.2.1 The rationale for the methods in the first study

4.2.1.1 Observation

The first study began with a period of observation, which continued throughout the study to enable my understanding of the experience of life in the accommodation. A participant-as-observer perspective was chosen (Gold, 1958), and residents were aware of my presence, aims and role as a researcher. Observation allows data to be gathered about residents' daily activities, rituals and interactions. This included patterns of use of the communal spaces (particularly times of day) and the experience of the soundscape at points throughout the day. Observation also informed my choice of topics and questions within the subsequent semi-structured interview. I also used this time to inform *how* to ask questions in the interviews, particularly in terms of phrasing questions to be understood by the participants.

By spending an extended amount of time within the residence doing observation I was also aiming to increase the chances of being seen less as an outsider and more as an insider. This was to reduce the likelihood and extent to which residents, knowing they are being observed, might change their behaviour or impede the sharing of experiences (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009). Finally, the observation period allowed me to get to know the residents, which helped recruit participants in further stages of the research. This approach gave detailed insight into the experience of living in supported accommodation. There were a few drawbacks of observation, these included carrying out this research in what is ostensibly the participant's home. To reduce the possibility this would be perceived as intrusive, I kept my observation to the communal areas where I was one of several "others" (including staff, visiting social services representatives and healthcare professionals).

Another drawback of observation is that it can be laborious, with a large amount of data to be synthesised and analysed. Observation as a method runs the risk of collecting a large amount of data, of which only a small amount applies to the research question. To counteract this, the observation practice primarily focused on interactions between individuals within the residences and music-related activities. This included observation of residents using devices (such as watching TV on a phone in the kitchen). In addition to limiting the focus of the observation, time-sampling and event-sampling approaches were planned (Sussman, 2016). Time-sampling is the practice of carrying out observations at random intervals throughout the observation period. Event-sampling is the practice of carrying out observations triggered by events. These approaches also reduced the amount of data collected.

4.2.1.2 Diaries

The second method was the use of participant diaries. This approach drew on both Experience Sampling Method (Larson & Csikszentmihalyi, 2014) and general diary methods (Hyers, 2018). Experience sampling method is a specific diary technique that allows the researcher to assess experiences, moods and behaviours in real-time within their natural environment, often through electronic devices that prompt the participant to record data at intervals. This was chosen in part because of its ability to describe the dynamics of daily life, including activities, social interactions and emotional states (Csikszentmihalyi and Larson, 1987). Within the context of music psychology and related fields, experience sampling methodology has been used frequently in the last two decades, particularly to track the dynamics of emotions and mood regulation (see Csikszentmihalyi, Larson & Prescott, 1977; Juslin et al., 2008; Randall & Rickard, 2016; Sloboda, O'Neill & Ivaldi, 2001).

Diary methods are a related approach where participants keep a log of their thoughts or experiences over a period of time (Nezlek, 2012). Diaries allow for the day-to-day experiences of individuals living in supported accommodation to be recorded in real-time. This can then be backed by more reflective data collected during interviews. Diaries also benefit from the increased likelihood that participants will include information that the individual may find too mundane or too personal to bring up when face-to-face with a researcher, and they are also thought to reduce retrospective bias (Iida et al., 2012). The

benefits of diaries are the depth of insight they can provide into the experience of living in supported accommodation and music listening practices by improving recall about specific events that might otherwise be forgotten. Diaries also allow day-to-day variability to be captured in a way that interviews and surveys cannot. This makes it possible to see longer-term processes involved in music listening practices.

With this study, some drawbacks to using diaries were addressed. Literacy skills are required for diary keeping. For young adults in the supported accommodation, they are more likely to have lower educational attainment (Shelter, 2015). Keeping a diary may also be an alien practice for some young adults, as well as being something that requires motivation and discipline. As such, it was anticipated that there may be some resistance to participating in this way and that there might be attrition in the completion of the diaries. These drawbacks were addressed in various ways including financial incentives and support from staff, described in the procedures (see 4.3.1.2).

4.2.1.3 Semi-structured Interview

The third method used in this first study was semi-structured interviews. Interviews can be described as "a conversation with a purpose" (Lune & Berg, 2017, p. 55). The purpose of this conversation was to explore how life is experienced within the supported accommodation. I wanted to know whether, how and why they listen to music. My intention was to explore the music listening practices of young adults and the reasons for them. These interviews also allowed for the discussion of diary and observation data. This meant I could test my interpretations with the participants and explore the meaning the residents made of their experience in supported accommodation (Seidman, 2013). The interviews were semi-structured. The questions were designed to answer the research aims, whilst allowing flexibility to adjust to the interviewee. Adjustments included varying language and wording, clarifying questions and reordering questions to enable conversation.

An interview can be seen as a "performance in which the researcher and subject play off one another towards a common end" (Lune & Berg, 2017). It can be considered as a shared construction between the interviewer and interviewee. What people say or do in an interview may not be what they say or do in another situation (Deutscher, 1973). Interviewing also has the added benefit of addressing some of the inherent literacy issues in

the diary approach, as it allows a young person to verbally clarify their responses, which they might find more accessible.

4.2.2 The rationale for the methods in the second study

Observations, diaries and interviews were used in study one to explore the broad experience of life in the accommodation, and participants' music listening practices within that. Study two was designed as a deeper dive into the experience of living in the supported accommodation. I was particularly interested in exploring the sense of self in more depth. This included uncovering specific pieces of music and their use by my informants within their lives. For this second study, a combination of two methods was chosen, music elicitation and semi-structured interviews. There was also some use of participative research methods within this second study.

4.2.2.1 Music elicitation and interviews

Music elicitation (Allett, 2010) is a relatively new approach, developed within the last 20 years. It was chosen to help to collect information that may otherwise go unspoken within a conventional semi-structured interview. Nicola Allett describes music elicitation as "the integration of music listening experience into research interviews to draw out or trigger memory, affective experience and descriptive in-depth discussion" (2010, p. 3). It is therefore a valuable tool as a research method, as well as music listening in general being the focus of the thesis. Chosen music is likely to identify personal preferences, personal identity and sense of self, as well as cultural and social elements of everyday life. It is similar to other elicitation methods, such as photo elicitation (Mizen, 2005), which involves using photographs as a stimulus to elicit responses, and object elicitation (Willig, 2017), which uses objects as triggers for memories and meanings. In the context of this study, music elicitation was chosen to illuminate the experience of living in the accommodation. I asked for music that was significant or meaningful to them in their experience of living in the hostel. This approach was chosen as it can gather rich descriptions and stimulate talk, as suggested by Allett (2010).

Drawbacks with this approach include the participant curating a version of themselves for the interviewer through the music that is presented. Whilst a valid drawback, this element of performance is also present in other approaches, such as interviews. This limitation of the

method can be mitigated by building up trust with the participant. In doing so the participant may feel more able to share music that might be considered less congruent with the impression they want to give to the world. A benefit of this method for young people with lower literacy skills is that the method enables young people to use music lyrics to speak for them. The music can communicate what the young people themselves might struggle to find the words for. This might be particularly useful if the individual has alexithymia (see 3.2.7). Music elicitation was combined with semi-structured interviews, asking young people to fill in a worksheet with a range of questions about themselves and about the music they had chosen, which was then discussed within the interview.

4.2.2.2 Participatory research

I chose to introduce in this second study some elements of participatory research. This was because I believed that doing so would increase the effectiveness of the research and redress the power imbalance in the stories told about the young people. It would also provide them the opportunity to influence the delivery of this second study (Liddiard et al., 2022). This approach to research can improve credibility and trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) through improving contextual understanding and validating the authenticity of the findings.

Participatory research is a broad term encompassing both a set of methods and an ideological approach. The distinguishing characteristic of participatory research is that its methods and approaches involve some sort of collaboration with those affected by the issues being studied. This is usually for the purpose of action or change (Cargo & Mercer, 2008; Vaughn & Jacquez, 2020). In the case of this study, the output was not directly intended to effect change. There is a possibility that the recommendations may influence service design, but this is unlikely to occur whilst the participants are still within the accommodation.

Whilst participatory research has many benefits, there are numerous challenges. These challenges include achieving equal or appropriate levels of power and participation. There can be difficulties in maintaining quality and rigour when involving non-academic partners in the decision-making process. These can influence the choice of an appropriate level at which participation can occur. Participants may need training in order to participate in a way which is meaningful to both them and the researcher. Finally, participants should be appropriately rewarded for their work, whether that be financially or otherwise (Cargo & Mercer, 2008).

I chose to recruit research consultants from the residents within the hostel and succeeded in recruiting my target of two. As research consultants, these residents would advise me on the next stage of the study. These research consultants were recruited through discussion with residence staff, and one research consultant had previously taken part in study one. It was not possible with the constraints of this study for a full co-researcher relationship. However, appointing a research consultant gave agency to each young person to act as an expert. I was able to use their expertise gained through lived experience in the design and delivery of study two. Participation has been described by Vaughn and Jacquez (2020) in relation to the IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation (2018). This spectrum of public participation is developed from Arnstein's ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969), which was designed to counter an imbalance of power between institutions and the people they serve (Blue et al., 2019). This spectrum starts with *inform* (see Table 3), where information about the research is provided to the community. This is the approach I took with study one. At each level, increasing amounts of power are shared with the community. The highest level, *empower*, involves the community leading the research decision making process.

Inform	Consult	Involve	Collaborate	Empower
Information is provided to the community	Input is obtained from the community	Researchers work directly from the community	Community is partner in the research process	Community leads research decision making

Table 3: IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation/Arnstein's ladder adjusted by Vaughn and Jacquez to apply to research (Vaughn & Jacquez, 2020)

Describing the research process as consisting of six steps – partner, design, collect, analyse, disseminate, act – Vaughn and Jacquez align these with the IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation. In doing so, they provide a framework for decision-making around participation at various points in the research process (see Table 4).

	Inform	Consult	Involve	Collaborate	Empower
Partner	Study one				
Design		Options available for Study two			
Collect					
Analyse					
Disseminate					
Act					

Table 4: Participation choice points in the research process, drawn from Vaughn and Jaquez (2020). Blue squares indicate the stages at which each level of participatory research was attempted.

In study two, the two research consultants from the body of residents were offered the opportunity to engage with the research at any of the consult, involve and collaborate levels. At the analysis stage, only consultation was offered. This was for practical and ethical reasons. Practical reasons related to the time and training needed to do this in a meaningful way. Ethical reasons included the problems involved in sharing interview transcripts from participants who were peers within the residence. To do this effectively, training was offered to the research consultants dependent on the level at which they participated. For instance, if the research consultant chose to carry out interviews, training in interviewing was planned. However, this was not needed. Rewards were offered in the form of vouchers at a rate suggested by the National Institute for Health and Care Research (2022).

4.3 Procedures

This section details the procedures I followed in carrying out the research, giving more specific details about how I addressed some of the limitations of each method.

The research took place at three hostels. The three residences, described in more detail in chapter seven (Music listening and space in supported accommodation), have been called Nest, Roost and Heeley in this research to protect their anonymity. Nest was the first hostel I worked with, from early 2020. This aspect of my work was disrupted by the pandemic as well as a subsequent period of personal leave for six months. From late 2021 onwards, the research was carried out in Roost and Heeley. Nest and Roost are ostensibly the same residence, as Nest was a temporary residence provided for the young adults whilst Roost was being refurbished. All three hostels had between 10 and 12 bedrooms, a communal kitchen and living area, an office and 24-hour staff. The research was carried out with the permission of the organisation managing the hostels, and in more than one setting in order to recruit enough participants. This also had the benefit of offering some variety in the population sample.

4.3.1 Study one: Exploring life and music listening practices in supported accommodation

4.3.1.1 Observation

I began the observation phase after an initial period of getting to know the staff at each of the hostels. This was an important stage in the research process as they were key advocates in my recruitment of residents. To notify residents of this, I put letters under doors (see appendix 11.2) and displayed posters (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Poster about the research amongst other posters

In each residence I situated myself in either the communal kitchen, communal living room or the office (which was open to residents) to carry out observations. To respect the privacy of participants in what is their home, observation was not conducted in the corridors that led to bedrooms, nor in the bedrooms themselves. During observation periods I occupied myself with mundane activities, intending to take a naturalistic approach. This included working on my laptop, being on my phone or reading. I had planned both event-sampling and time-sampling approaches to observation. In practice, the event-sampling approach was used more. This was because

observation required long periods of minimal activity in which a general description sufficed. Time-sampling was an ineffective method of focusing data collection as it frequently generated very uneventful reports (although this in itself is useful data).

Over the course of the research, I recorded 50 separate observation records. I documented events, primarily when they were music- or sound-related. Additional occasions were documented if they a) helped to characterise and bring to life a rich picture of the case study environment for the reader, or b) to contextualise the interview and diary material. I also captured data to inform the analysis of the interview and diary data. In these accounts I recorded the location, the time of day, the weather and the soundscape both inside and outside the building. I recorded occasions when residents came into the communal areas, noting interactions with each other or staff. The use of digital devices was noted, particularly music being played or other media such as videos or TV. I also recorded the use of headphones within communal spaces.

4.3.1.2 Diaries

By the diary stage of the research, the residents seem to be aware of who I was and why I was there. This was due to the letters and posters around the residence, and my presence for the preceding few days. This provided a useful platform from which I was able to recruit participants for the diaries and interviews.

Participants were recruited in two ways. If a resident came into a communal area where I was, I would make attempts to strike up a conversation. I would explain who I was and why I was there. and I would ask them if they were interested in talking to me about their music, being sure to let them know about the incentives. This is how most residents were recruited. A second way was through the staff. Some of the staff were particularly helpful and introduced me to residents and encouraged them to take part. On other occasions they let me know who was in on my visit and I knocked on doors and introduced myself. In some instances, the staff also facilitated the completion of diaries, filling them in together with a resident or reminding residents to do them.

These two recruitment approaches were supported by posters around the accommodation. These posters explained what the research was and advertised the incentives. These

incentives included a £5 voucher for completing a diary and a £25 voucher denomination for completing a diary. Staff often commented that a particular resident was interested in music, therefore I should talk to them. I thanked them and followed up on the opportunity. However, I also made it clear that I also wanted to speak to people who didn't have a specific interest in music so that they would recommend other residents.

The research took place over a period of three years starting in early 2020. There were two gaps: one for nine months due to COVID-19 social-distancing restrictions, and one for six months while taking a period of leave from studies. During this time, 15 participants were recruited across the three residences. Eight were recruited from Roost, five at Heeley and two at Nest (see Table 5). Nine participants were male, five female and one non-binary. Ages ranged from 18 to 25, with six aged 19, three aged 20 and six aged 22 to 25. In general, older participants tended to reside at Heeley (average age 23), and younger participants at Roost (average age 20) and Nest (average age 19). These age distributions reflected the ages of the wider body of residents at the three locations. It also supports my rationale for carrying out the research in more than one residence.

The two participants from Nest were interviewed on the phone due to COVID-19 restrictions. Thirteen of the 15 were not in employment, education or training, one was in part-time education and one in full-time employment, although this fluctuated. Eight of the 15 were White British, with the remaining participants being White/Black Caribbean, African Caribbean, White Polish and Middle Eastern. One chose not to share their ethnicity.

Site	Name	Age	Gender	Born	Primary language	Ethnicity	No. of diary entries	No. of Interviews
Roost	Eliza	19	Female	G. Manchester	English	White British	3	2
	Jasmine	20	Female	Non-UK	English	Middle Eastern	21	2
	Max	20	Male	Non-UK	English	White Polish	7	1
	Mimi	19	Female	G. Manchester	English	British/Irish	0	1
	Nico	19	Non-binary	G. Manchester	English	White British	6	2
	Rafi	20	Male	Non-UK	Arabic	Middle Eastern	14	1
	Riley	19	Male	UK	English	White British	7	2
	Seth	22	Male	G. Manchester	English	White British	6	2
Heeley	Amber	22	Female	G. Manchester	English	Not shared	4	2
	Lucas	24	Male	G. Manchester	English	White British	0	1
	Mark	25	Male	G. Manchester	English	White British	12	1
	Micah	22	Male	G. Manchester	English	African Caribbean	20	0
	Tom	24	Male	G. Manchester	English	White British	0	1
Nest	Willow	19	Female	G. Manchester	English	White British	13	1
	YaBoi	19	Male	G. Manchester	English	White/Caribbean	12	1

Table 5: Table of participants in the first study

Most participants came from Manchester and still had family in Manchester. One was a refugee and two had come to Manchester with their family as a child from overseas. English was the primary communication language of all except one participant (Rafi). Pseudonyms have been used to protect the anonymity of participants. Where necessary, other identifying details have been removed, such as the areas within Manchester in which they grew up. As mentioned previously, the names of the residences have also been changed.

Residents who expressed an interest in taking part had the study explained to them, and were given an information sheet (appendix 11.3). Once recruited, participants were asked to complete a consent form (appendix 11.5) and an about you form (appendix 11.6). These contained questions about the young person including demographic information, such as age, ethnicity and employment status, and information about interests and activities. Participants were shown the paper diary (appendix 11.4) and I explained how to use it. The diaries offered seven possible entries each day. Each entry asked for the time; the location; who the resident was with; current activity; what could be heard (usually music); where the sound was coming from; who was in control of the music; and how the music was influencing how the resident felt and their surroundings.

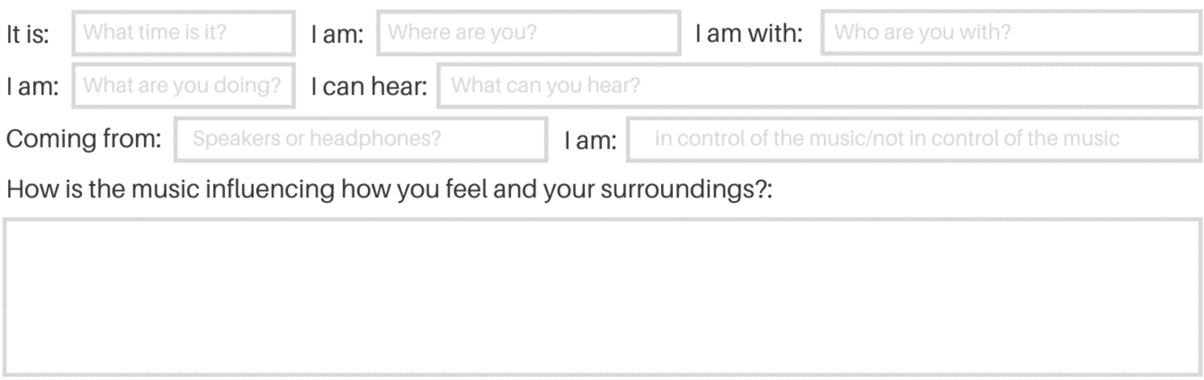

Figure 4: Example of a diary entry, see appendix for example of full diary.

Some participants chose to use their own notepads to record their entries. This was either because they had lost the diary, or because the diary had only a small space in which to write. Participants were initially given three to five diaries to complete (dependent on how enthusiastic they were), with up to seven entries per day. Twelve of the 15 recruited residents completed diaries (see Table 5), providing a total of 125 entries. The number of entries per participant ranged from just three to 21. I took a pragmatic approach to the recruitment of participants considering the general recruitment challenges and did not require all participants to have completed diaries to be interviewed, although this was encouraged. The majority of entries were completed within the accommodation (70%). The remaining 30% were completed at another home (usually that of a family member) or when in public (see Table six).

Location type	Number of entries	Percentage of entries
Roost	46	36.80%
Public	22	17.60%
Heeley	18	14.40%
Nest	25	20.00%
Other home	14	11.20%
Total	125	

Table 6: Locations in which diary entries are collected in response to the question "I am: (where are you)"

Furthermore, 29% were completed in the afternoon and 24% in the evening, making up over half of the entries. 22% had no completed time of day and the remainder were completed in the morning or night. Forty percent of entries were completed when waking up, relaxing or going to sleep (see Table seven). Ten percent were completed whilst travelling and the remaining 50% of entries were completed during a wide range of other activities.

Concurrent activity to listening to music	Number of diary entries	Percentage of diary entries
Relaxing	40	32.00%
Travelling	13	10.40%
Socialising	11	8.80%
Food	8	6.40%
Gaming	7	5.60%
Smoking	9	7.20%
Waking up/going to sleep	10	8.00%
Getting ready	8	6.40%
Shopping	3	2.40%
Chores	3	2.40%
Unknown	3	2.40%
Hobbies/activities	7	5.60%
Home admin	1	0.80%
Watching TV	2	1.60%
Total	125	

Table 7: Concurrent activities to music listening in diary entries in response to the question "I am: (what are you doing?)"

Further tables are given in Appendix 11.16.

4.3.1.3 Interviews (procedures)

I recruited interview participants from those who completed the diaries, with the offer of a £25 voucher for taking part. I encouraged participants to complete three diaries before taking part in an interview. Again, I took a pragmatic approach so that I was able to obtain enough data to enable me to answer my research questions. I therefore allowed some participants to take part in the interviews with fewer than three diaries completed (and in a couple of cases, no diaries completed).

The interviews took place in spaces within the residence that were private or semi-private and in which the young adult felt comfortable. These included the lounge (if no other residents were around) or in the one-to-one counselling room. I checked with each participant if they were happy with the location and in a couple of cases, we moved mid-interview when the location became less private. A member of staff knew where the participant and I were at all times. The interviews were carried out in an informal way, so the participant felt more at ease, and I worked hard to build rapport. At times, I shared some limited personal information (such as where I was from, hobbies etc.) to help create a feeling of trust, being careful not to share too much that might overly influence the answers that participants gave.

The interviews were semi-structured, and an interview guide was produced (appendix 11.7) to support the process. This gave initial questions and follow-up questions or prompts for the participant if they were struggling to answer the question. I tried to keep my follow-up questions as probing but not interrogational, with the aim of obtaining additional useful information while not upsetting the sense of trust and rapport I had built up with the participant. The initial interview guide was used for the first two interviews and subsequently evaluated to identify potential improvements, such as additional questions, asking them in a different way and adding further prompts if needed. These changes were made for subsequent iterations.

The interview guide included questions about a range of areas answering my initial research question. It began with an easy question to start the conversation: *how long have you lived here?* Following that I asked the participant to tell me a little about themselves. Whilst this was intended to be an easy question, some participants found it difficult to answer. In those instances, I used the opportunity to add follow up prompts and reassure them that they didn’t need to give any particular answers, just to tell me a little about themselves. I had already collected some basic information about them and their interests, so I sometimes referred to that and asked them to expand. The third question was a little more personal, asking *how they came to live at Nest/Roost/Heeley*. I always reiterated that they didn’t need to answer it or give me an in-depth answer. Most young people, however, were happy to talk about their journey to the accommodation.

The next section was about Nest/Roost/Heeley – asking them what a normal day was like for them in the accommodation. This included what was challenging or good about living there. As well as this, I asked about their private space, their bedroom and how they use it, and whether they had decorated it at all. I added follow-up questions to this section after a few interviews. These included whether they would consider it *home*, a theme that had emerged early on in the analysis. I also enquired about the soundscape of the accommodation. I wanted to understand not only the visual and/or relational aspects of living in the accommodation, but also the aural components.

Before turning to their diaries, I asked them some broader questions about their music listening practices. These helped me to understand at the most basic level *whether* and *how much* they listened to music. I asked about *what* they listened to (genres, artists) and *how* they listened to it, probing for information about devices and platforms. On returning to the research after the break due to COVID-19, I asked an additional question as to whether their music listening practices had changed at all since the pandemic. I also added a question about when participants *didn't* listen to music. This was intended to understand the reasons why someone might not listen to music and the instances in which that may happen.

Finally, I asked them to talk through their diary entries, talking around them and clarifying points that were unclear. I always ended by asking them if there was anything else they wanted to tell me, in case my questions had been too restrictive and they felt they wanted to add anything or explain anything. It was also to signal that the interview was coming to an end, and was followed by a question regarding whether they would like to ask *me* anything. This gave the participant some control in the ending of the interview process, so that they felt that it was on their terms. This was also an important part of the process, in regards to both their well-being after what may have been a difficult conversation and their willingness to be interviewed again.

As the transcripts were being analysed alongside data collection and themes were being identified, additional questions were added as described above. Other questions were added concerned privacy and safety in the residence and how their music listening practices might relate to their experience of privacy and safety.

Interviews were recorded using a digital recording device or Google Meet. Where appropriate, non-verbal gestures were recorded in field notes or by reflecting the gesture back to the participant verbally for the recording. On these occasions I also asked the interviewee for clarification of what the gesture meant. There was a total of 988 minutes of interview (just short of 17 hours).

Interview	Participant	Residence	Length (minutes)
Interview EZ1	Eliza	Roost	30
Interview EZ3	Eliza	Roost	10
Interview J1	Jasmine	Roost	83
Interview J2	Jasmine	Roost	66
Interview AB1	Amber	Heeley	50
Interview AB2	Amber	Heeley	25
Interview LC1a	Lucas	Heeley	20
Interview LC1b	Lucas	Heeley	24
Interview M1	Mark	Heeley	60
Interview MX1	Max	Roost	68
Interview MM1	Mimi	Roost	30
Interview NC1	Nico	Roost	86
Interview NC2	Nico	Roost	45
Interview RF1	Rafi	Roost	45
Interview RL1	Riley	Roost	78
Interview Diary RL2	Riley	Roost	31
Interview by email RL3	Riley	Roost	N/A
Interview ST1	Seth	Roost	60
Interview ST2	Seth	Roost	60
Interview T1	Tom	Heeley	43
Interview W1	Willow	Nest	35
Interview Y1	YaBoi	Nest	39

Table 8: Table of interviews

4.3.2 Study two: exploring meaningful music and identity in supported accommodation

Following on from study one (4.3.1), study two aimed to explore how participants' music listening practices related to their sense of self and being in the world. This referred to music that was meaningful or significant to them within the data collection. Study two draws on two specific approaches, participatory research methods (4.2.2.2) and music elicitation (4.2.2.1).

4.3.2.1 Participatory research: Recruiting a research consultant

In study two I sought to recruit one or more research consultants to assist in the design, and potentially delivery, of workshops as part of the research. Two participants at Roost were identified through conversations with residents and staff: Riley (who participated in study one, see 5.1.1.12 for a description) and Carla (see 5.1.1.16). Through individual conversations with each resident, they were offered the opportunity to consult on, or take on a researcher role, at the *consult, involve* or *collaborate* level at the *design*, *collect* or *analyse* stage (see 4.2.2.2).

In practice, the offered activities were:

1. Helping to refine the design of the worksheets and the workshops, including acting as pilot participants themselves (design – consult/involve)
2. Helping to organise the workshop, providing insight into what would and wouldn't work in the accommodation (collect – involve/collaborate)
3. Helping to run the workshop, hosting, supporting other residents (collect – involve/collaborate)
4. Carrying out interviews (for which training would be provided) (collect – involve/collaborate)
5. Helping to analyse the findings (analyse – consult/involve)

Carla and Riley chose stages one, two and five. They did not want to help run the workshop or interview other people because they wanted to keep themselves separate from others in

the residence (a theme that I will explore later in this thesis). For their help and because payment was not appropriate in this context (due to the rules of the charity), Riley and Carla were offered vouchers as a thank you, from a store of their choice.

4.3.2.2 Design

Since I had a research question already set, it was not appropriate to involve the research consultants in the design phase beyond the consult/involve levels. I had created a set of potential data collection methods that I shared with Riley and Carla and asked for their advice on them. Intended to be carried out during a workshop with pizza (see poster in the appendix), these included:

1. A worksheet with prompts about ”who am I”? (see appendix 11.9)
2. A worksheet where participants could identify music that was significant or meaningful to them. (see appendix 11.8)
3. An activity in which participants create a playlist for the accommodation as a collective. (see appendix 11.11)

The initial session, with the incentive of pizza, was to be recorded and analysed as a group discussion. Subsequent interviews were planned with those participants who wanted to talk further. Incentives were offered for participation, again in the form of a £25 shop voucher.

On consultation with the research consultants, it was decided that:

- Some people wouldn't like the group aspect of the workshop. They suggested that they were more likely to do it if offered the chance to do it in pairs with someone they trust, or on their own. Carla provided a list of potential pairings.
- Not everyone likes pizza so have some additional food as an alternative.
- People might come to the kitchen for free food and if there is music playing, but this would depend on their mood at the time.

- The best time to catch people is early evening. At this time people are either coming back from work, or, for those who sleep during the day, they are likely to emerge at about that time.

As a result, it was decided that workshops would be held on three evenings in the residence from 6pm. Food would be provided at each of those (not just pizza). Pairs of residents would be invited to take part (pairings identified by Carla as being friends and likely to be happy to complete the worksheets together). Participants would also be given the chance to do it on their own if they preferred. I worked with staff at the residence to invite pairs of residents to come along. However, on the evening of the first workshop no-one arrived, and due to a combination of sickness and feedback from the staff, it was agreed to not run the subsequent sessions. Instead, and following advice from Riley and Carla, the sessions were changed from being in a workshop format (which was thought to be problematic for many of the residents) to being one-to-one. Like the first study, I recruited participants through speaking to residents directly and through the support of the staff.

4.3.2.3 Recruitment

My first two participants were Riley and Carla, who piloted the worksheets for me. They gave me feedback as research consultants, which led to some amends to the formatting of the final worksheet design (see appendix 11.9). The worksheets were initially designed to be A3. These included questions about the resident's sense of self and who they were at the top, and a question at the bottom asking the resident for tracks/songs/musical events that were significant or relevant to their time in the accommodation.

The feedback was as follows:

- Having the worksheets A3 is fine if you're doing it on a table but if you are doing it on your knee, it's difficult to fill in. Better to design it on A4.
- It's difficult to think of words for the strengths section of "who are you"? Some prompt words would be useful.

Three more participants were recruited on a subsequent day in which, coincidentally, a song-writing workshop was taking place, led by an external workshop leader. I participated in that

workshop, which meant that the young people also taking part in it were able to get to know me. This meant they were happy to take part in an interview later that day, particularly after I mentioned the incentives. The participants in this second study are given in Table 9. They ranged in age from 18 to 21 and all lived in Roost.

Site	Name	Age	Gender	Born	Primary language	Ethnicity
Roost	Carla	18	Female	G. Manchester	English	White British
	Riley	19	Male	UK	English	White British
	Reece	20	Male	G. Manchester	English	White British
	Imani	18	Female	G. Manchester	English	Mixed white and black African
	Hallie	21	Female	G. Manchester	English	White British

Table 9: Table participants in the second study

4.3.2.4 Interviews

The interviews involved each individual filling in a worksheet about them (appendix 11.8) with various prompts focused on who they were as an individual. This was followed by a section asking them to list songs that were significant and meaningful to them during their time in the residence.

There is no interview guide for this stage as it was essentially the worksheet that the participants would fill in and then talk through with me. My follow up prompts were general such as “can you tell me more about that” or “why do you say that”. Again, Carla and Riley test-ran the interviews first, giving feedback about their experience of the interviews, which included:

- It would be useful to have the lyrics of the songs people have chosen printed out, so they can write on them and point out what is meaningful to them.
- It’s also useful to have the lyrics available during the interview to prompt conversation, as well as the ability to play the music during the interview.

Whilst I was unable to print out the lyrics as in the first suggestion, due to lack of time and resources, I was able to give participants the facility to look up and play music within the interviews.

4.3.3 Challenges of researching young adults living in supported accommodation

Researching homeless young people has its challenges. When I started this research, I was told by staff how difficult it would be to get the young people to engage. This is demonstrated by the quote below. I had expected this, and had already tried to mitigate it with the use of incentives such as the shop vouchers for participation. However, the reality was that whilst some residents were happy to engage relatively quickly, others took a lot of investment of time to build up trust. Also, purely on a practical level, I needed to catch them when they were in, and in a good place to talk (i.e. not asleep, hungover, struggling with a mental health crisis etc.). This excerpt from my field notes illustrates the challenges, even with staff, in engaging participants.

> "Agency staff on, a lady I met at Roost. She initially tells me no-one is in, and no-one will talk to me. I press on and say, all good, if no one wants to talk to me that's fine. I'll just do what I normally do and sit in the kitchen."
> (Field notes)

The member of agency staff was pessimistic about my chances of recruiting participants. I found that I needed friendly persistence. Along with number of approaches I will outline in this section, a primary tool for success was simply keeping going. I tried not to heed my gatekeepers fears too much. This paid off; indeed, on the above occasion, in contrast to the agency staff member's concern, I went on to recruit a participant that day.

To support participation a highly-structured diary format was designed. This gave clear prompts in the form of questions and space for bite-sized entries, making it easier to complete. Participation was incentivised through the offer of £5 shop vouchers for each completed diary (with a minimum of 3 entries per diary) and a £25 shop voucher for every interview. In addition, participants were given the offer of various forms of support in completing the diary. These included regular reminders to fill in the diary via SMS or WhatsApp; giving examples of what they could write in the boxes; the option of help from staff at the residence; the option to write the diary in their own language, which could then be translated; and the option to complete the diary via WhatsApp text messages or voice notes. Several of these methods were taken up by participants, demonstrating the need to

offer a wide range of options. This enabled the participants to take part in the research in a way that was most straightforward and accessible for them.

Following Lincoln and Guba's (1985) guidance of undertaking prolonged engagement in the research context, and accommodating some other practical factors, I spent three years visiting the residences, taking efforts to build relationships with staff members, who were in many ways my gatekeepers to residents (Umamaheshwar, 2018). This involved a considerable investment of time, often with trips that meant I came away with little data.

I tried to make the most of every visit, despite how sparse the results were, as this quote from my field notes suggests.

> "Very little happened however, except I did have an interesting conversation with Zainab, a staff member who is usually based at Heeley. She said that it makes sense to hang around so the young adults can get used to me being here. They are always reticent initially, but they trust you after you have been here a while. She said that in her interactions with young adults they are usually "oh, yeah, you're just another agency worker or staff worker, you'll be gone soon" but once they realise you are here for a bit, they open up." (Field notes)

This quote indicates something of the experience of young adults living in supported accommodation. The staff are often short-term. Agency staff come and go to cover primarily night shifts. I also found that staff members may not stay in the role very long. As a result, young adults can be careful who they build relationships with. They learn that there is a high chance that a particular staff member will not be there the next month. I was conscious that I was likely to be treated in the same way. As such, a longer-term engagement was essential to build up trust with the young adults so they would share their experiences more fully with me.

By situating myself in the kitchen and lounge in each of the residences, I was able to have chats with residents in a relatively informal way. Whilst I cannot evidence this robustly, I believe that by putting them at ease, building trust and investing time in them, I was able to collect many more interviews than had I not done this. I took steps to chat with residents

and, if appropriate, engage in other activities. This included taking part in events run by the managing charity including wellbeing sessions, songwriting sessions and a summer barbecue. I also simply offered my own skills where helpful. The following is an example from my field notes describing an afternoon cooking lasagne with Eliza. I had already interviewed Eliza once at this point.

We had a subsequent second interview after the cooking afternoon.

> "I cooked a lasagne with Eliza. She tells me about her job trial at a restaurant on Monday and an interview for a warehouse job on Tuesday. She seems much more organised today than I have previously seen her. She goes to get a notebook from her room and diligently writes down all the steps of the lasagne. The lasagne making takes three hours, but we have a good chat in the meantime. She is competent at cooking if a little unpractised in things like cutting the onion, grating the cheese and stirring, but she is keen to do it all herself. I needed to get cheese from the supermarket, and I leave her in charge of the pans on the hob, asking her to stir. When I get back, they have caught a little on the bottom but not too badly.
>
> "She seems proud of the lasagne and keeps calling it a 'homemade lasagne' as if that is different to a normal lasagne. I am assuming because, for her, it is. I take care to praise her for her skills. She is diligent and has been particularly careful with how she has put the lasagne together.
>
> "Whilst we are talking, she tells me about having some unwelcome news yesterday. She heard that her Dad hit her Mum. The police were called. She said that her Dad hit her and that is why she left and came here. She did not tell me that before, she skirted over it. She has obviously built up some trust with me." (Field notes)

I also cooked with Seth and Jasmine, with similar effects. We chose recipes that they wanted to know how to cook, and I arrived with the ingredients at an arranged time, and we cooked the meal. I left them with the recipe and some of the longer shelf-life ingredients so they could cook it again in the future. This built up trust with the young adult as well as others in

the residence who heard about us cooking or shared in the culinary results of the cooking session.

There were limitations with this approach, not least the investment of time, but also in the positioning of myself. In carrying out these sessions I am adopting a teaching position, demonstrating the social and cultural capital I have at hand. This potentially extended to financial capital, although I expect they assumed the managing charity paid for the food. I did not consider this to be significantly detrimental in the context of my existing positionality in the hostels. On balance I believed it was beneficial to the success of the research process. These approaches helped, but for about half of the arranged times for interviews with residents, the resident either didn't turn up or declined to do the interview. Reasons for these non-appearances included being unwell, tired or hungover. I was often asked whether they could do it "next time I'm there" as illustrated by the quote from my field notes below.

> "Came to Heeley. Tom didn't answer door (his interview was supposed to be at 7pm) and Amber answered the door but was too hungover. We had a good chat though and agreed to do it on Monday. Fingers crossed!" (Field notes)

This was of course accommodated, but became problematic when the research had a time limit and the number of "next times" was limited.

The proposed route for participation was for young adults to complete three diaries before taking part in an interview. My persistence paid off with all but one resident (Micah). Despite enthusiastically completing 20 diary entries, I was unable to secure an interview with him. Conversely, three participants took part in interviews without completing diaries: Mimi, Lucas and Tom. Mimi was leaving the accommodation the next day. Lucas and Tom, both of whom I had spent many months encouraging to take part, finally agreed to participate on a day when participation in the research was a welcome distraction from an otherwise boring day. The financial incentive also helped.

This relatively small number of interviews was the result of a significant investment of time and care in building up trust with potential participants. An alternative might have been to visit more supported accommodation units and leave when I had exhausted all easier

recruitment options. However, I chose to persevere within these units for a range of reasons. These included the amount of time it took to build up relationships with staff, who acted as gatekeepers and facilitated many introductions. The primary reason to continue however, was to engage young people in the research who are often termed “hard to reach” (Ellis, 2023). If I had taken the former approach, I would have biased my sample and only engaged those young people who were articulate and already had a high engagement level.

A final challenge with the interviews was the level of articulateness of my participants. Many of the young people had a high level of verbal fluency but some, such as Eliza and Tom, were less descriptive, When I asked Eliza why she liked a particular artist she said, “He’s good at what he does”. When I pressed for a little more “in what way”, the response was simply “he’s just good”. Of course this could be interpreted as reluctance to participate, but it could also be a consequence of a lower ability to articulate thoughts and ideas. In these instances the diaries were helpful prompts for discussions, and I often rephrased questions to see if I could take a different angle. The opposite was also true; some of the diaries were returned with one-word answers or very short phrases that were repeated. In these instances, the interviews were useful to expand on the limited written responses.

4.3.4 Positionality and reflexivity

It is important to consider my positionality within both studies as it influenced the questions I asked and the ways in which I interpreted answers amongst many other ways. As the researcher, I come to this study as a white, British, middle-class female approaching middle age, who is left-leaning politically, religiously agnostic, bisexual and based in Sheffield. I have what is perceived to be a southern, or university English accent, despite my northern roots, something that automatically marks me out as different, particularly in the north. I have worked for two homelessness charities; however, this wasn’t something I discussed with the participants, although I did mention it to some of the staff.

The participants in the research were generally working class, young and based in a different city. They had very different life experiences to me in some respects. However, in other ways, such as health, ethnicity, religiosity, sexuality, gender and politically, there may have been some commonalities. As such, my positionality – and theirs – is multidimensional. It was

important to consider how my position as researcher influenced how the research was conducted, the information that was shared with me by participants, and my analysis and conclusions (Rowe, 2014). Whilst acutely aware of my outsider status, I worked hard to break down potential barriers. This included being friendly (which sounds obvious but was very important), chatting to residents at times other than when they were participating in the research. I also shared some of my own experiences to build trust.

I must also consider my position in my concurrent employment as CEO of a homelessness charity and ex-employee of another homelessness organisation. Whilst I did not mention either of these facts to the young adults, it will certainly have informed and coloured the lens through which I analysed the data I collected. This, not least because, as a fundraiser, I was trained to seek out projects with a negative initial situation and a positive outcome to demonstrate the charity's impact and encourage donations. In a possible parallel, I had noted the tendency of project staff to seek evidence of the positive influence of music as helpful for young people. They seemed to want to hear about findings in the academic literature and applications of this to policy and practice (for instance Hallam & Himonides, 2022, which, along with the predecessor Hallam, 2015, is often cited to support funding applications). To counter this bias in my analysis, I used regular reflexive practices throughout the data collection, making notes alongside my observations to query my own thinking and challenge leanings towards over-positivity.

4.3.4.1 Participant reflections on the researcher

During the study my social class and education difference was noted by participants in conversations both within and outside the confines of the interviews. I speak with an accent that can be perceived as "posh". This accent is due to southern parents, a university education and 15 years in London, which wiped out most traces of a Sheffield accent, except my northern pronunciation of "a". My accent was noted by participants Seth and Lucas, both of whom were born and raised in Greater Manchester and had strong Mancunian accents. Lucas commented on his language, identifying that he was using language he believed I as researcher might use.

> "They've not grew up in, as you say, the 'hood' or whatever you call it, whatever you would call it." (Lucas, Roost)

I gently asked Lucas what he thought I would call it, and he offered a couple of further options: “slums” and “dump”. I took the chance to ask him why he changed his language for me. He told me that he thought I was a “formal person” and different to him. I asked him what he would call it.

> Lucas: I just call it “shithole”, innit? Do you know what I mean? Like, life, the struggle. Do you know what I mean? But I just, like, more formal people, I’m not a formal person, do you know what I mean?
>
> Kate: Do I come across as a formal person?
>
> Lucas: Yeah, you are pretty intelligent, do you know what I mean?
>
> (Lucas, Roost)

Another young person, Seth, commented on my differences to him when he mentioned my accent. On this occasion however he did comment on how similar it was to another resident (Jasmine), rather than use it to illustrate any wider difference.

> “You sound like Jasmine. When she says I don't know. She sounds like you but…. When she says, ‘I don't know’ she sounds like you. Where are you from?” (Seth, Roost)

I of course told him I was from Sheffield. I had several conversations with participants about my journeys to and from Sheffield (which also mark me out as “other”, not least as Sheffield was considered *very* far away). My educational achievements are also all too apparent when I explain that this research is for my PhD. In other ways, however, the young adults commented on areas of similarity. One participant who is gay asked me a lot of questions about my wedding (which took place with my now wife during the data collection period). Another had a similar hobby (crafting using epoxy resin), and another used to live in Wythenshawe close to where I lived in my early 20s. These were useful ways to connect with participants.

Another area of difference was the inherent power dynamic inherent in the researcher-participant relationship. Nico also commented on the set up of my interview with them when we were sitting in the one-to-one room at Roost (chosen because of the privacy it offered for

the interview). However, it involved us sitting at two armchairs either side of a coffee table, resembling a counselling session. To downplay the power imbalance, I chose to find some humour in the situation.

> Nico: “You look like a therapist.”
>
> Kate: “I do, don’t I? I feel like a therapist. So, tell me all your woes.” [Laughs]
>
> Nico: [Laughs]

As a researcher, I cannot expect to be perceived as the same as those within the residence. These quotes from Lucas, Seth and Nico identify some of the ways in which I was different. My expectation, supported by the number of times I was asked if I was staff or agency, is that most participants considered me to be similar to others that came to the accommodation from external organisations. In order to mitigate potential impacts of my unavoidable differences on either participation or honesty within the interview, I made efforts to build up trust over time (many months) and adopted an interview style that was informal and chatty.

I also took opportunities to demonstrate why and how I was different from staff, particularly with regards to the power dynamic inherent in the staff-resident relationship, and that they could tell me things that, if told to a staff member, would get them in trouble (which was possible to do except in the case of a safeguarding concern). Whilst participants will always present a version of their experience that they want to see, I believe these approaches improved the quality of the data I collected compared to had I not taken such time and effort.

4.3.5 Maintaining rigour

To maintain rigour within this naturalistic enquiry, the following approaches have been included in order to improve the credibility of the qualitative findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As described earlier, my engagement in the research was over a prolonged period of time carrying out observations and interviews and collecting diaries. I engaged in *persistent observation,* which allowed me to revisit elements that were found to be particularly salient within the analysis. Triangulation of data allowed for cross checking between different

sources (diaries, observation and interviews). Finally, *member checks* meant I could check my understanding of the data with individuals in subsequent interviews for clarity and further insight (Lincoln & Guba, 2007). Alongside this approach, I also created journals and memos of both my experience and my thoughts about emerging themes within the analysis. These included voice notes to myself on my way home to Sheffield, contemplating my experience of each visit. It also included reflections on my own emotions, particularly when the residence was rowdy. I also re-read interview scripts and re-listened to interview recordings after I had drafted this thesis to ensure I had not deviated from my understanding of a participants' meaning.

4.4 Ethics and data security

Whilst this section comes at the end of this chapter the approach to ethics within this research is critically important, not least because the participants could be termed vulnerable, both in their youth and in their social status. As a result I took considerable care to ensure my participants rights were upheld, not least by going through the formal ethical approval procedure. In 2019, the University of Sheffield Department of Music Research and Ethics Committee approved study one. A further approval in 2020 allowed for some adjustments to the process due to COVID-19 restrictions. In 2023 the same committee approved study two (see appendix 11.2 for details of these applications).

In particular, it was essential to protect the anonymity of the informants who participated in the research. This was done through anonymising the names of the hostels. I have also omitted any photos of the external view of the residences. To protect the anonymity of residents, all participants were given pseudonyms. Whilst the city within which the research is taking place is known, the specific residences and their geographical location have been changed. Data was stored on the University of Sheffield Google Drive and shared only with supervisors, research collaborators and transcribers. Personal data is planned to be deleted no more than six months after publication of the thesis. Consent forms and diaries are copied electronically and saved on the University of Sheffield Google Drive. Participants were made aware of how their data would be used through the information sheet and consent form.

Carrying out this research with young adults, who could also be considered vulnerable, I was careful to consider my ethical approach from different angles. These included ensuring informed consent, being aware of power imbalances and giving young people choice (Tilley & Taylor, 2018).

Regarding informed consent, it was important to recognise the capacity of residents to understand what participation involved (Daley, 2015). Participants were regularly required to fill forms in signing that they understood their rights. It was important to me that they understood what they were signing, and I took care to go through the sheets with them, offering to clarify points within the form and reminding them of what they had signed on subsequent meetings, whilst maintaining their right to take part in the conversation.

My primary concern, however, was to protect the wellbeing of participants. I ensured informants were not unduly pressured into sharing personal or sensitive information (Hilário & Augusto, 2020). Some of the questions (for instance, how did you come to live in Roost/Heeley/Nest?) could lead to potentially traumatic retellings of their stories. This may especially be the case if, for instance, the resident is new to the accommodation, or if the reason for becoming homeless was due to breakdowns in relationships with their family. There was also the potential that my questions might prompt recollections of physically abusive events, or, in some instances, discussion of suicide. Several of the participants mentioned the death of a loved one. Many had experienced some level of separation from family. It was important that I was careful not to re-traumatise any participants in their re-telling of their story. It was also important that informants did not feel unduly pressured into sharing their experiences. To support this aim, I was careful to always check with participants that they were happy to share particularly sensitive information. I made sure to give them (often multiple) opportunities to opt out with no adverse consequences to themselves. I frequently reminded participants of their rights both at the start of the interview (including through the ethics consent process) and during the interview, particularly if an emotional subject came up. Finally, members of staff were always on hand for support in case a young person was upset in relation to, or during the course of, an interview.

Also important was my own wellbeing as a researcher (Dickson-Swift et al., 2009). As I was carrying out research on sensitive subjects and building trust with participants, I needed to

also be careful about my boundaries and the emotional work I was doing. I made the most of my supervisions and colleagues, as well as my field notes, to confidentially share occasions when a particular visit was emotionally challenging. As well as these measures, I undertook safeguarding training, which helped to make me aware of the appropriate steps in the case of a safeguarding incident. It also made me aware of the signs to look out for that might indicate a safeguarding concern, which I was prepared to raise in a timely fashion with staff so that they could follow their safeguarding procedure. This was thankfully not needed.

4.5 Analysis

4.5.1 Treatment of data

Observational notes, data from diaries and interviews were all transcribed into written electronic format ready for analysis. Text written by participants and transcribed speech was maintained in the original vernacular to maintain and amplify an honest representation of the participants' voices. For example, I chose not to edit out common phrases such as "do you know what I mean", and "innit", even when they did not add anything to the meaning of the quote. All transcripts were uploaded to nVivo for coding. Data from forms was transferred into tables (see Appendix 11.6). Additional materials, including photographs, songs written by participants and song lyrics from identified meaningful music, were collected and coded in a similar way to the interviews and diaries. All additional materials were collected with explicit consent within the interview.

In addition to the anonymisation already outlined, sometimes other residents, family members or staff are mentioned in the research, either in field notes or in interview transcripts. This is because either the young person talked about them, or they came into the room during the interview. Where necessary, pseudonyms are given, and they include Zainab, Mateo, Jade, Milly, Rainer, Kaylee, Rainer and Eleanor.

4.5.2 Thematic analysis

A thematic approach to analysis was taken within this study, informed by Braun & Clarke, 2006, and, in the second study in particular, elements of Interpretive Phenomenological

Analysis (IPA, Smith et al., 2009). The analysis of both datasets (study one and study two) began with thematic analysis, identifying themes found in the data.

Whilst transcription is not required within thematic analysis, transcription was carried out to assist with stage one, familiarising myself with the data (see Table 1) as encouraged by Bird (2005). As the data collection at the residences took place over many months, this was possible between visits. Additional methods were applied to assist with ensuring rigour in stage one. These included documenting reflections on possible codes and themes in the researcher reflexive journal and field notes. It also included triangulating data from interview transcripts with data in diaries and from observation (Nowell et al., 2017).

As mentioned earlier, decisions regarding how to transcribe the audio file into text were made carefully (Lapadat and Lindsay, 1999), particularly in the transcription of slang such as "innit" or "yunno" or grammatical phrasing. When participants used slang, a literal transcription was made, as the meaning was retained in the text. However, where phrasing was used verbally that, if transcribed literally may obscure the meaning, the transcription was adjusted to maintain understanding. Whilst the meaning intended within quotes is discussed in situ within this thesis, a glossary has also been provided at the beginning of this thesis.

During transcription, audible non-verbal elements were logged in square brackets. Additional information not recorded by the audio recorder was either described on tape by the researcher, or logged in the researcher journal alongside observation notes after the interview. All transcriptions were checked by an additional person as well as me. For some participants, where possible, further interviews were carried out in which aspects of the initial interview were clarified. Whilst each transcription can be considered an interpretation "open to multiple alternative readings" (Poland, 1995, p. 292), each of these steps was taken to ensure the transcription being taken into the analysis retained a trustworthy account of meaning as intended by the participant.

Once transcriptions were complete, texts were uploaded to NVivo to facilitate coding. Working systematically through the entire data set, everything that could be considered potentially interesting was coded (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Codes were chosen to have "quite explicit boundaries to ensure they are not interchangeable or redundant" (Attride-Sterling,

2001, p. 391) and a second stage was added here to combine interchangeable/redundant codes. Sections were also sometimes coded multiple times if they fit alternative codes. Hierarchies of codes at this stage enabled me to group together types of codes that might later go on to form themes. It was noted, however, that groupings at this stage may not form themes and may simply be a useful method of keeping a complex set of data manageable.

Thematic Analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) was then used to analyse the transcripts using the six steps as follows:

Phase		Description of the process
1	Familiarise yourself with your data	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas
2	Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code
3	Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme
4	Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2)
5	Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6	Producing the report	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Table 10: Phases of analysis (reproduced from Braun and Clarke, 2006, pg. 87)

In stage three, these codes were grouped into themes that could be considered “a patterned response or meaning” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82), discarding some codes as less interesting or not relevant (usually, but not always, due to the frequency in the data). Themes were created based on concepts within the data that capture something important in relation to the overall research question (Nowell et al., 2017). In addition to a code manual, the online platform MindMup was utilised to facilitate the organisation of codes and themes (and to

support my specific learning difficulty, diagnosed during the PhD, which makes large quantities of written text more challenging). During this process I kept detailed notes about the development of concepts and themes.

In step four, themes were reviewed and refined. At this stage I questioned the data asking whether the themes accurately reflected the meanings evident in the data set as a whole (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I explored the codes to identify whether there were any issues in the text that were not covered by a code or theme (Nowell et al., 2017). I attempted to identify any themes that had too little data to support their robustness (Braun & Clarke, 2006), also identifying themes that were too broad and should be split into two or more themes (Attride-Stirling, 2001).

After answering these questions, I was confident that the themes were able to tell the overall story of the data. Coding of the interviews was carried out concurrently with data collection. This analysis influenced subsequent interview questions, such as adding new ones for later interviews (examples include asking “what is home to you”? and asking about their experience of privacy and safety at Roost, Nest and Heeley, and how that links to their music listening practices). Finally, towards the end of the analysis and write up, I listened to all the interviews again to ensure I hadn’t diverted too far from the intended meaning.

5 Living in supported accommodation

This chapter introduces the participants and the supported accommodation that are the focus of this study. I aim to provide context for future chapters that explore the music listening practices of the participants living in supported accommodation. Through the participants' comments, my own observations, photos and documentation, this chapter illustrates how life is experienced within supported accommodation, including the soundscape. In doing so, it answers my research question regarding to what extent, and in what ways, young people listen to music in supported accommodation. This chapter therefore situates the music listening practices explored in chapters six, seven and eight within the context of the hostels in which listening practice takes place.

First, I introduce the participants (5.1) providing an overview of the residents and comparing their experiences to those of the broader population of homeless young adults within the UK. I present collated data about each of my research participants drawn from the *about you* form, and key information drawn from the interviews (such as how long they have lived within the accommodation and their previous residences). Alongside this, I present an overview of young people's daily lives, with a specific focus on music-related activities. After this more general overview I introduce each young person, providing an explanation of how they came to live within the accommodation. I have also included information about each individual's favourite artists. This is one small way in which I try to convey a sense of each person as more than the problems they have experienced, and follows the lead of the New System Alliance, which aims to encourage a emphasize strengths rather than deficits who aims to see people with experience of homelessness "as people, not problems" (New System Alliance, 2024). They aim to influence systems change through delivering projects that focus on strengths.

After this I introduce the three temporary residences, explaining the financial, institutional and historical framework within which they work. This includes the rules the young people agree to when entering the residence and the support provided by the managing organisation. I provide descriptions of the physical buildings that host these three residences, supported by photographs and comments from both the participants and my own

observations. I then go on to explain both my and the participants' reflections on the soundscape. Finally, I explore my participants' perceptions of Nest, Roost and Heeley in terms of fulfilling the requirements to be called *home.* This was a theme that came up early on in my interviews as I explored the experience of living within supported accommodation and illuminates much of the subsequent chapters.

5.1 The participants

Nineteen young people took part in this research. They are Eliza, Jasmine, Max, Mimi, Nico, Rafi, Riley, Seth, Reece, Imani, Hallie and Carla in Roost; Amber, Lucas, Mark, Micah and Tom in Heeley; and Willow and YaBoi in Nest. Their journeys into supported accommodation are summarised in 5.1.1. The participants in this study have had a variety of different experiences of homelessness. These include hostels, sofa surfing, staying with family other than their parents and rough sleeping. For each of the participants, like Imani, quoted below, homelessness was, initially at least, a solution. It may have been an escape from unwanted control and from physical and emotional abuse from a partner or parent. It may also have been an escape from overcrowding within the home or from the threat outside the home such as violence from drug dealers (reasons for leaving their previous accommodation are given in column four of Table 11).

> "I knew that, well, coming to the homeless from being in this big fancy house wasn't really going to be an ideal, but I would have rather picked being in a shelter where I'm cared for and can care for myself and can learn to care for myself, over being somewhere where like, there was constant abusive and stuff" (Imani, Roost).

According to Depaul's research, the primary reason for needing supported accommodation is a loss of stable accommodation due to family relationship breakdown (McCoy & Hug, 2016). This is reflected in this sample, where 10 participants cited relation breakdown as the reason they had left home. They considered their living conditions to be intolerable, and homelessness was a more appealing alternative. The participant's reasons for leaving echoes findings elsewhere. For instance, a study by May (2000) in which they state, "the most common reason for losing accommodation was simply to find improved living conditions" (p. 626). The improved living conditions being sought often include a more stable socio-familial

environment. Other participants gave alternative reasons, such as the death of a loved one, drug-related problems, overcrowding and finance-related problems.

This sample was also similar to typical hostel residents, often characterised as lacking employment or training, or what is termed within the homelessness sector as “meaningful activities“ (Whiteford, 2010). Meaningful activities are defined as “any form of social or cultural activity that purposefully aims to empower people experiencing homelessness to build self-esteem, develop skills and reconnect with mainstream social networks” (p. 195). Only four of the 19 participants had some part- or full-time education or employment.

I was told by staff that most young people stay in the accommodation for six months. However, there were several young people who had been in the accommodation for a longer period due in part to COVID. These were Mimi, Amber, Eliza and Lucas. Imani had also been in the accommodation for longer than six months, but for different reasons. She was just 16 when she arrived at Roost. Independent living options are limited for someone of her age, so she had (at the time I interviewed her) been in the accommodation for 18 months.

Name	Age	Occupation status	Reason to be in accommodation	Length of time in accommodation at time of first interview	Previous accommodation	Experience in care?	Experience of death of close family member
Nest							
Willow	19	NEET	Relationship breakdown (family)	1 month	Heeley	No	None
YaBoi	19	NEET	Relationship breakdown (Grandmother, where he was living)	7 months	Another hostel	No	None
Roost							
Eliza	19	NEET	Relationship breakdown (family), domestic abuse	12 months	Another hostel	No	None
Jasmine	20	NEET	Relationship breakdown (family)	1 month	Another hostel/hospital	No	Friend
Max	20	NEET	Relationship breakdown (family)	1 month	Another hostel, Heeley	No	None
Mimi	19	NEET	Overcrowding/no space in family home	18 months	Living with parents, Nest	Not known	None
Nico	19	NEET	Death of someone close	3 months	Heeley, hospital	Yes	Boyfriend, grandmother
Rafi	20	In part time education	Overcrowding/no space in family home	12 months	Living with family, migrant to UK	No	None
Riley	19	Employed full time	Financial problems and drug related issues	1 month	Another hostel, rough sleeping	No	Grandmother
Seth	22	NEET	Relationship breakdown (family) and overcrowding	2 months	Living with family	Yes	None
Reece	20	NEET	Not known	3 months	Another hostel	Yes	Not known
Imani	18	In part time education	Relationship breakdown (family), abuse	18 months	Hostel and with family	Not known	Not known
Hallie	21	NEET	Not known	2 weeks	Heeley (for five months)	Not known	Not known
Carla	18	Employed full time	Relationship breakdown (family)	2 months	Living with family	No	Father

Heeley							
Amber	22	NEET	Relationship breakdown (partner)	12 months	Another hostel	No	Unborn baby, father
Lucas	24	NEET	Relationship breakdown (family)	13 months	Rough sleeping and sofa surfing	Yes	Father
Mark	25	NEET	Drug related issues	Approx. 3 months	Rough sleeping	No	None
Micah	22	NEET	Not known	Not known	Not known	Not known	Not known
Tom	24	NEET	Relationship breakdown (family)	7 months	Another hostel, rough sleeping	No	Grandmother, who he lived with as a child, Friend's brother

Table 11: Table of participants' backgrounds

My participant's length of time in the accommodation ranged from just a few weeks to around 18 months. Prior to moving into this accommodation, 15 of my 19 participants had stayed in another (usually all-adult) hostel. Five (Nico, Mimi, Willow, Max and Hallie) had stayed in one of the other hostels in this research. This included moving from Heeley to Roost/Nest or vice versa. None of the participants had a firm idea of how long they would be in the accommodation.

Four of my participants had spent time in care. Seven participants reported the death of someone close to them, including grandparents who had a role in bringing up the participant as a child.

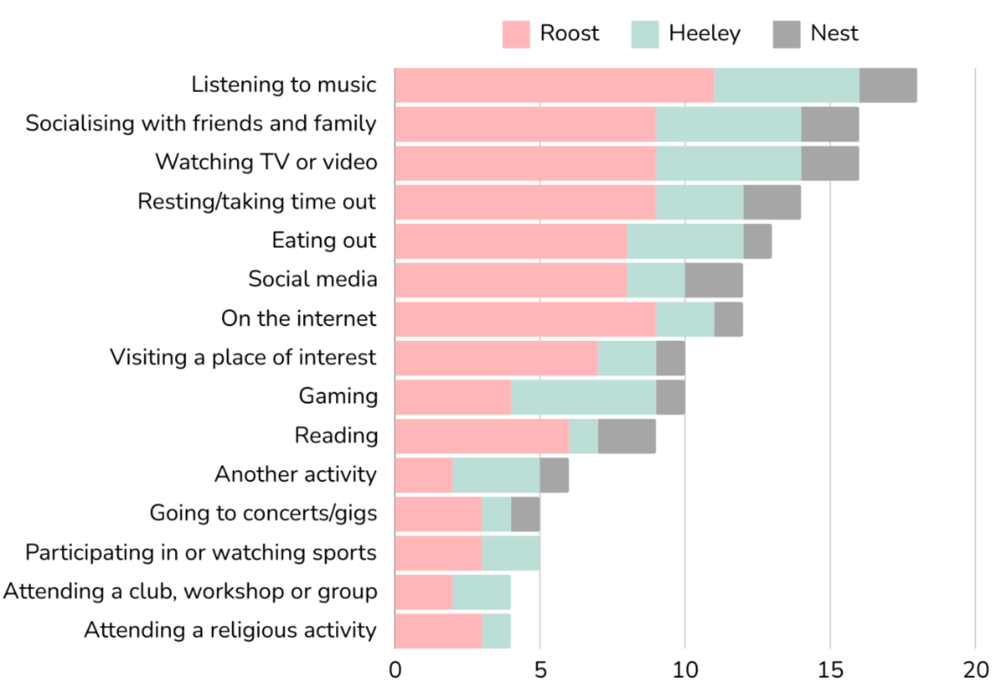

Figure 5: Table of reported usual leisure time activities: "My usual leisure activities are..." question from the About You form. Response options given with tick boxes.

Through the "about you" forms (discussed in the methods chapter in section 4.3). I also gathered information about the daily activities of my participants. This data (presented in Figure 5) suggested that all participants listened to music. Other popular activities included socialising with friends and family, watching TV and video, resting and taking time out, spending time on social media, gaming and eating out. Less common activities included going to a concert or gig, attending a religious activity and participating in or watching sports. I also asked about other musical activities (see Figure 6). As well as listening to music, 11

participants said that they sing, six said they took part in karaoke, five rapped or MC'd and five wrote music. It is not clear how often the informants participated in these activities, only that they did. There is a notable lack of participation in activities that cost money. The participants didn't mention many of these activities in interviews, leading me to believe that participation was occasional. The exception was singing, which, as well as a couple who did singing as part of college, was a common occurrence in the bedroom or the shower! This limited questionnaire data indicates that participants' activities are significantly related to media consumption and socialising.

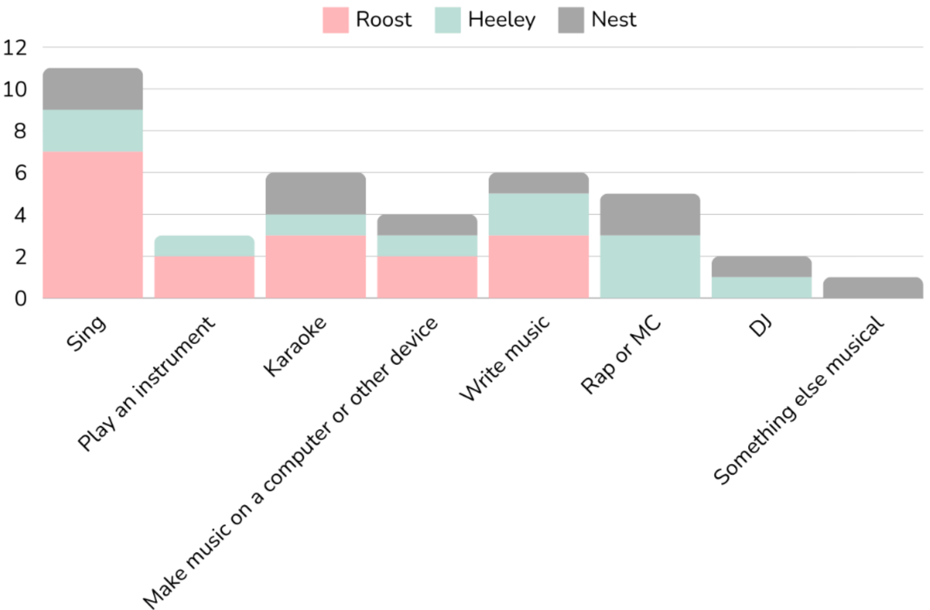

Figure 6: Table of reported musical activities: "My musical activities are…" options chosen from a list of tick boxes.

Within the interviews I probed further. The common response was that participants listened to music almost constantly. In addition to asking when they listened to music, I also asked when they would *not* listen to music. Lucas told me bluntly "No, I listen to music every day". Nico simply stated that the only time they didn't listen to music was "when I'm asleep".

In the next few pages, I give a short introduction to each participant. I give their pseudonym and age. I also share information about their family background and experience of becoming homeless to provide context for the subsequent chapters. I limit some information to protect anonymity; for example, I do not include a description of their physical appearance. The information in these sketches is drawn from interviews and the "about you" forms.

5.1.1 The young people: Eliza, Jasmine, Max, Mimi, Nico, Riley, Rafi, Seth, Reece, Imani, Hallie, Carla, Amber, Lucas, Mark, Micah, Tom, Willow and YaBoi

Here I present some information about how each young person came to be in the accommodation. I include some of their favourite musical artists as an indication of their broader identity.

5.1.1.1 Amber (22, Heeley, she/her)

Amber moved into Heeley after she had problems with her family, and later experienced domestic abuse from a partner. She had been living in hostels since she was 16 and told me that over the last five years she had encountered over 50 hostels. She has been in Heeley for over a year, which is the most secure housing she has had, apart from one other hostel when she was 18. Many of the hostels she had previously stayed in were all-age hostels. She told me:

> "I had to leave them, they were awful" and "it was just crackheads... I was the youngest. I was like a baby to all these grown-arse women who were off their face on drugs. It was crazy." Amber, Heeley

Amber's favourite artists are Nines, Nafe Smallz and A Boogie wi da Hoodie.

5.1.1.2 Eliza (19, Roost, she/her)

Before Roost, Eliza had been living with her parents. Her Dad was emotionally and physically abusing her, and eventually she left. She did not tell me very much about her history, but when I asked her what home was to her she said:

> "Where you are not hurt and scared to like fall asleep every night," where "you have to have your phone glued to you" … "and your laptop under your pillow. That's when it gets scary." (Eliza, Roost)

Eliza later moved out of Roost. Her next steps are unknown to me.

Eliza's favourite artists are The Wanted, Demi Lovato and Marshmello.

5.1.1.3 Jasmine (20, Roost, she/her)

Jasmine describes her life "pre-trauma" and "after-trauma". Pre-trauma, Jasmine was at school. She told me she "didn't have the greatest environment at home". Whilst she said she had a lot of fun in school, she also described herself as a "very bad kid, like, the teacher's worst nightmare". That said, she told me she used school as an escape. Jasmine's family are Middle Eastern, and she came to the UK from there when she was eight. She told me that at 15 she was "tricked into a holiday" (possibly abducted) and spent a year back in the Middle East. During that time, she attempted suicide six times, was self-harming and went on hunger strike. When she came back to the UK, she spent several months in hospital before living in a number of hostels, including a women's domestic violence shelter. She was nervous about coming to Roost because it was mixed men and women, but she told me that in the end she was glad. Despite being happy about coming to Roost, she was still experiencing regular visits from her family, coming to the hostel and trying to convince her to return home. These were often aggressive and upsetting.

Jasmine was still in the accommodation when I finished the data collection. I later found out that she had been readmitted to hospital.

Jasmine's favourite artists are Lil Peep, Eminem and Chase Atlantic.

5.1.1.4 Lucas (24, he/him)

Before Lucas came to Heeley, he had been sofa surfing for a year. He told me "I wasn't like homeless where I was living on the street, it was just like, I didn't know where I was sleeping at next, at night", indicating a perception of "proper" homelessness as living on the street rather than other forms (referred to as "hidden homelessness", Deleu et al., 2023). At one point Lucas was sleeping in his grandmother's back garden because of the sense of protection it provided. He didn't want to tell her though, as he thought he would upset her.

> "But I didn't want to knock on my nana's house and cause her stress and stuff. So, I just thought, 'Well I'll sleep in my nana's back garden', or wherever, in my mate's back garden… Because I felt more safe there, do you know what I mean?" (Lucas, Heeley)

Lucas had spent some of his childhood in foster care, his father has died, and his mother doesn't speak to him. He has a son, which was the main motivation for getting his own place. His main familial contact was his brother. He had previously been close to his grandmother, but has chosen to stay away recently:

> "But with my nana, I feel like I'm putting too much stress on my nana, with the situations I get myself into. So, I'd rather not, keep myself away from her house for a bit, 'cause I don't want to give her all this high blood pressure and give her a heart attack and stuff, do you know what I mean?" (Lucas, Heeley)

At the time I interviewed him, he was on a notice to leave due to being violent in the accommodation.

Lucas told me his favourite artist was Bugzy Malone.

5.1.1.5 Mark (25, Heeley, he/him)

Mark had been homeless for around five years and was sleeping rough on and off throughout that time. When he was sleeping rough, he situated himself in the city centre and made money by begging to support himself. Over that time, he had acquired around £5,000 in debt through taking cocaine. Mark had a good relationship with his family and his Mum was happy

to have him live with her. However, his Mum's house was in an area in which Mark ran the risk of coming across his lenders and others who had a vendetta against him. He said, "if people knew I was there, they would come round and fucking…" (he trailed off as if it was too much to contemplate what they would do). Now, living in Heeley (just three miles up the road from his Mum), he had significantly reduced the amount of cocaine he was taking but still had the debts. He saw his family regularly, but this was difficult. He told me this was only possible due to acquiring a balaclava that he wore when he returned to the area to obscure his identity.

During the research, Mark was reported missing to the police, having not been seen at the accommodation for several days. To my knowledge, he didn't return.

Mark told me his favourite artist was Dizzie Rascal.

5.1.1.6 Max (20, Roost, he/him)

Max's family were Eastern European, and he came to the UK when he was four years old. He lived with his family in London initially, and then moved to Manchester when his parents pursued a work opportunity. Having been used to living in different places all his life, he told me "I've always been on the move, you know".

He described his family as "dysfunctional" and "toxic". He also reflected "but I'm not great myself", not wishing to cast all the blame on his parents. He went on to say "and, you know, just being young, as well, I made bad decisions." He told me, "I never expected to be, you know, in this sort of situation", meaning living in a homeless hostel.

During COVID-19 he had been a carer for his grandad, but he had had a falling out with his grandparents and his wider family. He told me "Right now, it's like, nobody… my parents, they're not in my life right now".

He had been in Roost for just a few weeks when I spoke to him. Not long after this, he moved to Heeley.

Max's favourite artists are Leonard Cohen, Eric Clapton and Chopin.

5.1.1.7 Micah (22, Heeley, he/him)

Micah only participated in the diaries and not in the interviews, so no background information was collected. He did fill in an *About You* form. Although he did not tick any of the musical activities, he did indicate that he liked socialising with family, eating out, listening to music, watching TV, gaming, being on social media and the Internet.

At the end of the research, Micah was on notice to leave due to violence in the accommodation.

Micah’s favourite artists are Lil Durk, King Von and Kenzo.

5.1.1.8 Tom (24, Heeley, he/him)

Tom was very close to his grandmother, who he described as being “like my Mum, my Nanna and my best friend all in one”. He had lived with her since he was nine, and when she died in 2019, Tom went to live with his Mum. He had not previously got on well with his Mum and that didn’t improve after his grandmother died, so eventually his Mum asked him to leave.

He told me he “went homeless” for a couple of weeks, which could mean he slept rough, although he didn’t give any further details. Then he “got put” in a hostel for a week before being moved into Heeley.

Tom’s favourite artists are Deezy, Ed Sheeran and Aaliyah.

5.1.1.9 Mimi (19, Roost, she/her)

Mimi left home because her mother’s house was overcrowded. She said she came to Roost until she “sorted herself out”. She had been living in Roost for 18 months when I spoke to her. This is a longer period than is usual. She attributed the length of time in Roost to the COVID-19 pandemic as well as a lack of opportunity to move on.

Mimi was due to leave shortly after my interview with her (the next day), due to not paying her service charge. She did not know where she was going next.

Mimi’s favourite artists are Arctic Monkeys, Tom Zenetti and Amy Winehouse.

5.1.1.10 Nico (19, Roost, they/them)

Nico had been living with their boyfriend, at the house of the boyfriend's mother. Their boyfriend killed himself, and two days later the mother asked Nico to leave. Nico lived in an emergency placement initially, but that did not work out, so was placed in Heeley. They struggled in Heeley, overdosed and went to hospital for a month. After that they came to Roost.

After Nico's participation in the study, they moved out and told me they had moved back in with their ex-boyfriend's mother.

Nico's favourite artists are Fall Out Boy, Rihanna and Yungblud.

5.1.1.11 Rafi (20, Roost, he/him)

Rafi is a refugee from West Asia. When he came to the UK he lived with his brother. His brother subsequently married, which, Rafi told me, meant he could no longer live there. Rafi was not working, but did engage with regular English lessons.

Rafi was still living in the accommodation when I completed the research.

Rafi's favourite artists are Billie Eilish and Fayruz.

5.1.1.12 Riley (19, Roost, he/him)

Riley had previously lived in the West Midlands and was working. His grandmother, who he was close to, passed away a few months before I met him, which, he suggested, really affected him. He told me, "I was partying anyway, but then when that happened I started partying a bit too much". He started taking more drugs and got into over £4,000 of debt with two drug dealers. He was working and earning, but all his money was going to pay off his spiralling debts to the drug dealers. He therefore chose to leave and got on the first train. He told me the thought "wherever [the train] goes, I'll end up, and I'll make it work". He slept rough for a while before finding Centrepoint, who found him a space at Roost.

Riley was still in the accommodation when I returned to do study two. Mid-way through study two he emailed to tell me he had moved out and now had his own flat. He was very excited!

Riley didn’t have any particular favourite artists.

5.1.1.13 Seth (22, Roost, he/him)

As a child, Seth had gone into care as his mother was unable to look after him due to alcohol addiction. He spent much of his childhood in care, living in multiple care homes and foster placements. In his late teens/early twenties, Seth returned to live with his mother after she had stopped drinking. His mother was living in a one-bedroom flat with Seth’s sister and seven dogs. He already had a difficult relationship with his mother. This was compounded by some mental health challenges of his own as well as overcrowding in the house. Arguments were frequent, so eventually Seth left. He stayed initially with a friend whilst he tried to find somewhere to live. He was referred to Roost, who gave him a room.

At the time of completing the research, Seth had been reported missing having left the accommodation and not returned.

Seth’s favourite artists are Tupac, Meekz and Tunde.

5.1.1.14 Willow (19, Nest, she/her)

Willow had left her Mum’s home four years prior to me meeting her. She told me “One minute she was nice and the next she was nasty... she was like a split personality”. Willow went to live with her Dad, who lived away from the city, but she returned because she thought “my first love would want me”. In the end, after a big argument with her Mum, she left and was placed in a hostel. She was then asked to leave that hostel, and subsequently spent nine months in hospital (she did not explain why). After that she spent some time in a Women’s hostel, but:

> ‘It was not a place for me because I was the youngest in there. And the staff said I could not be there because I’m like young, I’m not on drugs and there are like prostitutes and like bad people sort of thing, so me being in that sort of energy wasn't, you know, appropriate.” (Willow, Nest)

At the time of the interview, Willow had been in Nest for a month, but had lived in Heeley for several months before that. Her steps beyond Nest are unknown.

Willow’s favourite artists are Blink 182, Evanescence and Pierce the Veil.

5.1.1.15 YaBoi (19, Nest, he/him)

YaBoi had lived in Nest for around six months when I met him. He had been living at his grandmother's, but moved out because he wanted some independence. Centrepoint arranged a place in a hostel, which he was asked to leave for smoking weed, and after that he came to Nest.

YaBoi's next steps are unknown to me.

YaBoi's favourite artists are Kanye West, Snoop Dogg and AJ Tracey.

5.1.1.16 Carla (18, Roost, she/her)

Carla had lived in Roost for two months when I spoke to her. She had been living with her Mum and two sisters, but the relationship broke down and she decided to leave. Carla worked in a restaurant and had recently been promoted into the kitchen. She kept herself to herself in the accommodation.

Carla's favourite artists are Billie Eilish and James Arthur.

5.1.1.17 Imani (18, Roost, she/her)

Imani came to Roost when she was 16. Now, a year and a half later, she is 18 and an adult. She left home following an abusive relationship with one of her parents. She left behind siblings and a relatively financially secure home, but misses her sisters. Even though she has a phone, she doesn't speak to them much. “She's starting to meet new people” Imani tells me with a note of sadness, suggesting that one of her sisters is moving on.

Imani's favourite artists are Frank Ocean, Cleo Sol and Chase Atlantic.

5.1.1.18 Reece (20, Roost, he/him)

Reece had been in Roost for three months when I met him, but was on notice to leave due to breaking the terms of his licence agreement. He went into care at the age of nine with his sister, but later she was moved into another care home away from him. He's struggled with his mental health, but when I saw him, he was feeling positive about his future if he "knuckled down". He told me "I've got a leave notice but honestly, I know I'll get there eventually, one day, I will get there".

I don't have any information about Reece's favourite artists.

5.1.1.19 Hallie (21, Roost, she/her)

Hallie had been in Roost for two weeks when I interviewed her. She had previously lived in Heeley for five months. She preferred living in Roost because it was "bigger and cleaner". She enjoyed reading and listening to music. After telling me about her chosen songs in study two, she said "Anyone would think I was still a 14-year-old emo, but I'm a 21-year-old emo now".

Hallie's favourite artists are Becky Hill, Marina and the Diamonds and The Neighbourhood.

5.2 The three temporary residences: Nest, Roost and Heeley

A homelessness organisation in the UK kindly allowed me regular access to three residences in which I recruited my participants. I have called them Nest, Roost and Heeley, to protect the anonymity of the participants in this research. Each residence was within a large semi-detached or detached Edwardian house and located on a B road a few miles from Manchester city centre. I began the research just as Roost (the second location) was relocated to another site so that the old one could be refurbished. As a result, I carried out the research in the temporary location, which I have called Nest for this study. I moved my research to Roost in late 2021/early 2022 when the refurbishment was finished. Nest was in an area of relatively high deprivation (Index of Multiple Deprivation decile 3, Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government, 2019). Indices of multiple deprivation are a statistical tool used in the UK to understand levels of deprivation in particular areas. Each area has approximately 1,500 residents. Deprivation is measured across several domains which include income, employment, health, crime and housing. Results are often presented

as deciles with IMD 10 representing the most affluent areas and IMD 1 being applied to the most deprived areas. Roost was in a relatively affluent suburb (Index of Multiple Deprivation decile 8). Heeley was in a less affluent area than Roost (Index of Multiple Deprivation decile 4).

Residence	No. of beds	Type of building	Area	Type of road
Nest	12	Large Edwardian semi-detached house	IMD 3	B
Roost	10	Large Edwardian semi-detached house	IMD 8	B
Heeley	14	Large Edwardian semi-detached house	IMD 4	B

Table 12: Table of residences within this research. Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) sourced based on postcode from Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (2019).

Each residence was funded by the Supporting People Grant awarded by local councils to fund services to help vulnerable people live independently (UK Parliament, 2012). Residents (or licensees) paid a weekly occupation charge of £315.05 at the time plus a weekly utility service charge of £11. Rent was covered by housing benefit for all but two of the participants (who didn't qualify as they were in full-time employment). The service charge was paid by the residents themselves out of earnings or benefits. This is a high weekly rent, more than the average weekly rent in Manchester (£247.69, Zoopla, 2024). It is higher because the accommodation comes with a range of additional overheads, including staff time moving residents in and out, responding to referrals, health and safety checks such as fire and legionella testing, and a range of support related to supporting young people. In general, housing benefit pays for housing related costs and the Supporting People Grant pays for individual support of residents (personal communication, 2024). During my time in the accommodation, defaulting on paying the service charge was a concern for several participants.

There was always at least one member of staff on site at any time, 24 hours a day. At night, staffing was usually provided by agency staff or a security guard, and during the day, staff members were on site, often up to three. 70% of staff were female, 60% were aged between

21-30, 35% aged 31-45 and 5% aged 45+ (personal communication, 2024, 26 April). Upon arriving at the accommodation, each resident had to sign a contract, called an *Excluded Licence Agreement*. This stated a number of house rules and conditions.

These included:

- weekly room checks (for health and safety reasons primarily);
- the possibility they might be asked to move to another room;
- a requirement not to make alterations or adaptations to the room;
- an obligation to give your room key to the office when you leave the premises; and
- a minimum of five nights out of seven in which the resident must stay at the residence.

In particular, sound and noise was managed in the residence under the following rule:

> 3.9 (i) "You agree not to play, or to allow members of your household or visitors to play, any radio, television, hi-fi equipment or musical instrument so loudly that it causes a nuisance or annoyance, or would be likely to cause a nuisance or annoyance to any other resident or other persons in the neighbourhood or can be heard outside the room between the hours of 11.00 p.m. and 7.30 a.m."

Figure 7: Excerpt from the Excluded Licence Agreement regarding noise

The support provided by the residence included having an allocated keyworker, known within the service as a *Progression Coach*. The Progression Coach's role is described to the resident at the start of their time in the accommodation. The aim of their role was to support the goals of the resident and connecting them to other agencies who might be able to help.

Your keyworker will work with you to

a. Assess your support needs.

b. Identify your goals to be achieved.

c. Agree to a support plan with you, based on what you need to do to achieve these goals.

d. Support you to meet the goals identified in your support plan by providing the support or by identifying other agencies who can provide the support.

e. Agree regular meetings with you to review and revise your support plan.

f. Keep records of the meetings and offer you a copy.

Excerpt from the Excluded Licence Agreement (see appendix 11.13 for further excerpts).

The three residences, Nest, Roost and Heeley, are described physically. This is followed by a description of the soundscape, to give context to the subsequent descriptions of music listening in these environments.

5.2.1 Location 1: Nest

Nest consisted of a large office (Figure 9: Photo of Nest, photo 1), accessible to residents but only when staff were there, with a sofa and big bay window (photo 5). The small, shared kitchen had red kitchen units (photo 2), a table with four chairs and a TV (photo 6). The 12 bedrooms were spread across all floors, including the ground floor (photo 3), with shared bathrooms as well as a shared laundry room (photo 7).

The building was not designed for use as a hostel, and although it had been temporarily adjusted for this purpose it still felt cramped and dark (Figure 9: Photo of Nest, photo 4). Efforts had therefore been made to make the residence feel homely with posters and decorations (Figure 9: Photo of Nest, photo 8 and Figure 8: Examples of posters on the wall in).

Figure 8: Examples of posters on the wall in Nest.

This was something appreciated by Willow particularly, who had also lived in Heeley. She told me:

> "And the office like it's got naturey things in it. I don't know, like it's just beautiful." (Willow, Nest)

For Willow though, it wasn't the space necessarily that was important, it was the fact that "there's no drama". She told me:

> "...and you can sing in your room. You can sing anywhere, and you can just do your own thing really. You know in Heeley, everyone's like 'Shut up [Willow], you're going to make it rain'. But here there's none of that at all." (Willow, Nest)

And for YaBoi, it was the lack of activity that he found frustrating:

> "It's like, it ain't that good. Like there are good things about it. Yeah, there are many good things but there are also many things to change as well. It is a hostel after all, and quite a small hostel. Sometimes the things can get repetitive, and you know, sometimes it gets a bit boring but, all in all it's okay." (YaBoi, Nest)

Photo 1: Staff office

Photo 2: Communal kitchen

Photo 3: Bedroom before a resident arrives

Photo 4: Corridor

Photo 5: Staff office with a sofa for residents to come and chat

Photo 6: Communal kitchen table

Photo 7: Laundry room

Photo 8: Noticeboard

Figure 9: Photo of Nest

5.2.2 Location 2: Roost

The building has been a hostel for young people since 2000. A refurbishment was carried out in 2020-2021 (whilst I was collecting data in Nest). The refurbishment was designed by the managing charity and informed by the principles of Psychologically Informed Environments (a movement within the homelessness sector, described in chapter two, Homelessness, temporary accommodation and young adulthood). As a consequence, the design was considerably lighter and brighter, appeared more welcoming and less institutional, with staff on view and accessible to clients as much as was practicable.

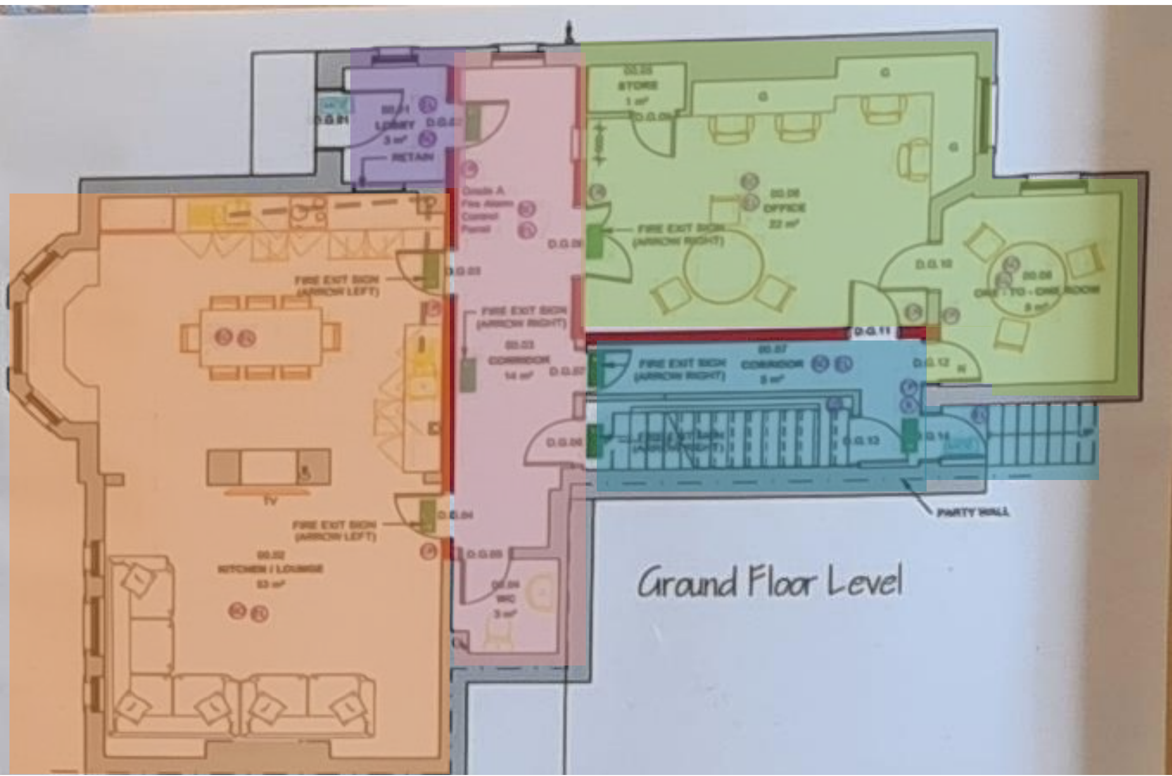

Figure 10: Plan of Ground Floor of Roost

To access the building, residents and visitors alike must ring the doorbell and be let in by staff via a double door system with a lobby (Figure 11, photo 5). The ground floor consists of a wide, bright and cleanly painted hallway (pink area, also Figure 10, picture 1), a large and cheerful kitchen diner (orange area, also Figure 10, photo 2). The central table is used for occasional group activities and cushions are scattered in a window set, providing a cosy aesthetic. The kitchen is fitted with two ovens, two microwaves, two sinks, two fridges and drawers full of cooking equipment, albeit a rather miscellaneous collection. Knives are kept in the office and young people must ask for them when they need them. The kitchen is

connected to a living room (orange area, Figure 10, photo 3), which consists of three comfortable sofas surrounding a central coffee table, and is decorated in a homely manner with sofas, pot plants and a large TV, which was connected to YouTube. There are books and games on the shelves as well as information and literature about other services from the charity. On a table in the corner stands a pile of complaint leaflets and a complaint box.

On the other side of the hallway, visible through a window in the door, are an office (Figure 11, photo 4) and a counselling room, both of which are protected with an electronic lock requiring a fob for entry (Figure 11, photo 6) and controlled by staff (a staff member must come to the inner door to open it). Within the office are desks, a big sofa, office equipment and two big CCTV screens from which staff can see all communal areas of the accommodation, including the living room and kitchen, corridors and the surrounding grounds. Twelve large bedrooms with ensuite bathrooms are spread across the two floors above and in the basement.

Young people are allowed in the office, but only when a staff member is present. There are pictures on the walls (Figure 12) posters informing residents of programmes they can engage with, championing equality and diversity, juxtaposed with more formal notices notifying residents of where the sharps bin is (photo 5).

Nico had lived in both Roost and Heeley. Their first hostel was Heeley and they told me about their experience of going there for the first time:

> “When I first walked into Heeley, obviously, I got a call off my support worker saying, ‘We've got an interview for this place. We're gonna get you a taxi there if you want to go for an interview right, right now?’ So I said, ‘Yeah, of course.’ Obviously, I was really excited about this interview. I've gone in, I've been shown around and I've looked at it, and I was like, you can tell it's not the best accommodated, it's not like, obviously the workers are completely fine, it was just the place itself. Like, you could tell the people that were living there just didn’t look after the place. It was always a bit trashy, in words.” (Nico, Roost)

The sense of disappointment in Nico's story is palpable. They gently suggest "it's not the best accommodated" and says that people "just didn't look after the place" and it was a "bit trashy". In comparison, they were surprised about Roost.

> "So when I came here, I was thinking it was going to be even worse or the exact same. So when I've moved in here, and I've literally walked through the front door, like, my face, like, lit up. I was, like, I was, like, 'Oh my God, this is, this is not like Heeley. How are those two connected?' type situation. So when I came in here, obviously I've looked around, and I was like, 'Well, this looks more like a home. Like, that didn't look like a home at all, you can just tell it was, like, for homeless. Here, you wouldn't come in here and think that homeless people live here, you wouldn't think that, you'd think, you know, it's just a normal shared housing." (Nico, Roost)

Dashing Nico's expectations, Roost "looks more like home". Reflecting on the message that an environment like Heeley communicates, Nico suggests that Heeley was "for homeless" whereas Roost looked like "normal shared housing".

This was reflected in similar comments from others:

> "Everything is high quality, there's good facilities and, you know. I know, before I came here I didn't know what to expect and I was ready for something really difficult and, just, like, I was told it was going to be rough for a while, by everyone." (Max, Roost)

> "I think I'm lucky to be in this one because there's ones that are really bad, but this isn't bad at all, I think it's alright here. Nothing major has ever happened here, do you know what I mean, not a big row like in other hostels, all different shit is going on" (Mimi, Roost)

> "Is good area and good building" (Rafi, Roost)

Despite the physical environment being nice, the rules were still frustrating for Jasmine, who complained "It's really annoying, and you can't have [visitors] past 10 o'clock. They're not allowed out your room. Yeah, that's true. That's just really annoying to me". Reflecting on the rules Jasmine said:

> "we literally feel like we're in an adult care home, and that's what we always say to all our friends, it literally feels like bloody adult care home." (Jasmine, Roost)

This even extended to the way that staff approached the residents:

> "proper felt an adult care home, like really just like kids being looked after by the staff and told when to go to bed." (Jasmine, Roost)

Photo 1: Main corridor in Roost

Photo 2: Communal kitchen

Photo 3: Communal living room

Photo 4: staff office

Photo 5: Front door

Photo 6: Fob security

Figure 11: Photos of Roost

Photo 1: Poster encouraging residents to consider university
Photo 2: Activities board
Photo 3: Equality and diversity poster
Photo 4: Steps to success board
Photo 5: Sharps bin sign

Figure 12: Posters in Roost

5.2.3 Location 3: Heeley

The door to the final residence, Heeley, leads on to a foyer, from which staff in the office can speak to residents through a hatch. Residents were also able to go round to the office door and go in the office and sit on the sofa, but the main route of engagement is through the hatch. This is because Heeley has a less open layout than Roost. There was a communal kitchen with two ovens, a microwave, fridge and kitchen units. Attached is a sitting area with a large table and mural of a tree, which had been painted on the wall. There is a large table, a communal living area, and 12 bedrooms without ensuites, so the young people share bathrooms on each floor.

Heeley had been a hostel since 2005, and whilst the building looks significantly more dilapidated than Roost, efforts have been made to make it homely (in line with "psychologically informed approaches", see chapter two, Homelessness, temporary accommodation and young adulthood). There was a mural on the wall in the communal

kitchen, soft furnishings in the living room and posters. Nevertheless, the grey walls and mismatched furniture mean Heeley feels much less well cared for in comparison to Roost.

Figure 13: Photos of Heeley

Nico and Willow had both lived in Heeley and subsequently moved to Roost/Nest. They commented on the significant differences between the two residences. As well as the décor, a major difference between the two hostels was cleanliness.

> “My room... you know what though nah, you know what it is, the shower. I hate the... I like the shower, when get in I like the shower but it's just... ‘cause somebody ... bloody hostel, do you know what I mean, so, I'm having to get changed in the bathroom again... and there's shared toilets and the kitchen does my head in. Everyone is messy, I hate it, it proper winds me up. I actually went to the office last week and said can you start giving people warnings, do you know what I mean, to leave it... people should clear up after themselves.” (Mark, Heeley)

Despite this, Mark liked the residence. He told me:

> “I do like it. It's relaxing. Do you know what I mean? When I first moved in, ‘cause I had no TV, I'd hate it, it was horrible. I was literally listening to the radio 24/7. Do you know what I mean, sat in my room looking at four walls, but as soon as I got my TV I was sweet. Got my room looking alright. Well it's just nice, it's all right, the staff here are mint as well, I get on with a lot of the staff.” (Mark, Heeley)

The staff were appreciated by most of the participants in all the hostels. The staff were treading a careful line between being perceived as strict figures of authority that enforce rules, while also supporting and caring for the residents in a more informal relationship.

> "Just getting them to help me and stuff, do you know what I mean. Sometimes I just come down and have a chat round them, 'cause, he's sound Liam [progression coach]. Do you know what I mean. I've told them like they know about my anxiety and drug situation and everything. They do help me out though, they just talk to me and help me." (Mark, Heeley)

Others reflected similar sentiments about the people saying:

> "I'm glad, I'm glad I've come here, 'cause I have met someone all right, good, nice people in here, do you know what I mean? So, so, apart from that, it's a fucking shithole. I can't wait to get out of here." (Lucas, Heeley)

Photo 1: Front hatch to the office in Heeley

Photo 2: Front foyer in Heeley

Photo 3: Communal kitchen in Heeley

Photo 4: Communal kitchen in Heeley

Photo 5: Sitting area in the communal kitchen in Heeley

Photo 6: Communal living room in Heeley

Photo 7: Example of a bathroom in Heeley

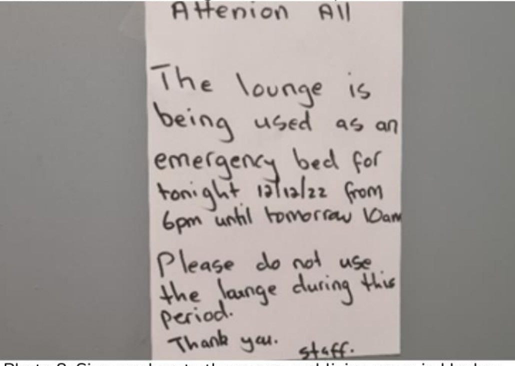

Photo 8: Sign on door to the communal living room in Heeley

Figure 14: Photos of Heeley

5.2.4 "That's all you hear. Music and police sirens" Lucas, Heeley: The soundscape

Participants reported a soundscape with two contrasting characters, and this was confirmed by my own experience of the residences. On the one hand it was often very quiet, while at other times it was very noisy, as neatly described by Nico:

> "Right, yeah. So, in the, in the day, it's more, like, peaceful, like, you are just, like, going along smoothly. It's like a car motion sound, you might say. And then, soon as the night comes, it's like a bloody nightclub. Everyone's up. Everyone's partying. Everyone's doing absolutely God knows what. So, yeah." (Nico, Roost)

Nico's description was of day vs. night, which certainly resonated with other descriptions. From my own experience though, I found the soundscape to be less time-bound than Nico suggests. Evenings were sometimes quiet, and daytimes sometimes noisy. However, I certainly observed this two-state environment.

In the quiet state though, it was not silent. There were noises around the building, but they were obscured, out of sight.

> "Keys, footsteps, beep of the door lock, voices, doors slam, there's an echo. Quiet resumes. I can hear ticking, cars outside, buzzing. The front door opens and slams shut again. People walking down corridors, coughing, the jangling of keys.
>
> The phone ringing (for the doorbell), followed by voices (unintelligible but gives the impression of general sociable chat or the exchange of information). Later, I can hear (from the office) the sound of a [arcade style] gambling game or TV show."

(Excerpts from my field notes)

Riley described these background noises as “car motion sound”, going on to say:

> “That’s a hard one, that. I'd say it's like white noise. Because at times, you might not hear it. But then, at times it can be fucking annoying.” (Riley, Roost)

Riley describes an environment in which there is always noise, but you may or may not tune into it at any given time (Herbert, 2011). For some, the quiet state of the residence was problematic. When I asked Eliza what Roost sounded like, she simply replied “Boring. It's dead quiet”, as did Rafi, saying “this building is too quiet”.

On the other hand, there were other times when the building was much noisier. I asked Lucas what the building sounded like. He said:

> “Music, like I say, everyone listens to music, don’t they? There’s music blasting every day in here. That’s all you hear. Music and police sirens.” (Lucas, Heeley)

And Jasmine too:

> “You'll always hear music out of people's rooms, really loud” (Jasmine, Roost)

Lucas and Jasmine both commented on the prevalence of music around the building, and this was my experience too. I found music to be audible throughout the residence on a regular basis, broadcast from speakers within bedrooms. The music leaked into other rooms, corridors and communal spaces, and often loudly. As Jasmine suggested in the quote in the title of this section, music is a significant part of the sonic soundscape within the accommodation.

This was something I also noticed on my visits, as these excerpts from my field notes demonstrate:

> "I'm currently sitting in the kitchen. I can hear music with a strong bass coming from the room below." Observation notes from Heeley
>
> "Tom told me that Amber has moved rooms. He said she wasn't in though 'cause he couldn't hear her music." Observation notes from Heeley
>
> "I can hear the faint sound of music playing above my head somewhere. You're aware of noises, humans. But they are out of sight." Observation notes from Roost

Tom concurred, stating, "loud isn't it, it's just loud. People are just loud". Certainly, it was generally noisier during the night than during the day. I often timed my visits to avoid the morning as people were rarely up before 12 noon. Despite some participants finding the residences too quiet at times, the opposite was also frustrating.

> "People being loud in the night. That does my head in. So obviously you can always hear people coming down the stairs, 'cause my room is literally on the stairs, right next to the stairs. Every time, I can hear someone coming down the stairs it's like bang bang bang. It's that sort of thing." (Mark, Heeley)

Mark was constantly aware of his surroundings, and others in his surroundings, and he found it frustrating, conveying a sense of a lack of control.

This was from the noise from the movement of people as well as the amount of music played within the residence.

> Kate: So, what do you think the sound of Roost is? Like, what do you hear a lot when you're here?
>
> Jasmine: Chaos.
>
> Kate: Chaos? In what way?
>
> Jasmine: You'll always hear music out of people's rooms, really loud. From speakers. You've got all sorts of sections. It's like an American High School movie. It's like, you've got your wannabe DJ rappers... You've got to give it to them, you're trying. Nobody, it is the type of crap nobody would listen to though. [laughs].

As well as providing a source of irritation or entertainment, music also communicates something to the other residents about the character and identity of their neighbours. Jasmine compares this to an America High School movie, alluding to the characterisation of groups of people (goths etc.) by their clothing and music choices. In this situation, however, there are individuals, not groups, and the individuals are often obscured from view, behind bedroom doors.

Finally, some of the participants reflected that it is better than some of the alternatives. Nico, now living in Roost after a stint in Heeley, suggests that Roost is quieter.

> "Heeley was… It was very weary – it was a lot more hectic than it is here. Like, it was, like, you couldn't get to sleep at night because everyone was, at like 3am, right outside my room, banging music. … Erm, but it just wasn't the best place for me." (Nico, Roost)

The constant white noise was tiring, meaning some felt always on their guard.

On the other hand, Mark had experienced trying to sleep in a much noisier and more inhospitable environment. He compared Heeley preferably to being in another hostel and being on the streets:

> "Yeah, it's one of them. One of them. I can get to sleep though, I can always get to sleep, it's just fucking, it's just annoying, it's just a bit too loud… It's alright though. It's quieter than the other place, and it's quieter than sleeping rough. Yeah, literally, I'd be in the middle of Manchester, yeah, sleeping rough, in my sleeping bag. Yeah, when I was sleeping rough obviously I was just sleeping on the pavement, people walking past me… that was that was horrible that. I got used to it though." (Mark, Heeley)

When he was on the street, he was experiencing people walking by, not past his door, providing a layer of protection, but by him on the pavement, enhancing the experience of being on guard.

All the participants I spoke to told me that they listen to music regularly, with it accompanying a wide range of activities. Lucas told me, "when you're cleaning, you put a bit of music on, do you know what I mean? If I've made some food, I'll put music on. If I'm having a shower, I'll put music on." Similarly for Eliza, who suggested that for her, "as soon as I wake up, it goes on". Most participants told me that they put on music early in their day and that it was a near constant accompaniment to most activities. The exceptions to this were when music conflicted with activities digitally or auditorily, such as watching TV or YouTube, watching videos or video calling on social media, or gaming when the game has its own music. It was common for the participants to tell me that they continued to listen to music until they went to sleep and potentially beyond. Some participants kept the music on as they went to sleep. Max described his decision-making process to play music as "an involuntary thing", indicating that music listening for him has become routine. The music listening continues "pretty much throughout the whole day". Indeed, many participants *feared* silence, as explored in 7.1.1.

Music is not experienced only by the person with control of the music playback device, but also by people in proximity to the music. This can be seen in Jasmine's quote previously mentioned "You'll always hear music out of people's rooms, really loud. From speakers".

With music often playing loudly, the sound travels a long distance such that music is experienced acousmatically by all but the individual playing the music (Schaefer, 1966). Hearing music from an unseen source is indicative of the presence of unseen others behind a series of doors and walls. Sometimes the identity of that other can be ascertained, through the direction of the sound and the type of music in combination with prior knowledge of the identity of the individual. Mostly however, they remain unseen, separated from the communal spaces within the accommodation and rooted within the space they have been allocated as *theirs*, where they have right to dwell.

5.3 "It is home here, they don't take your stuff or anything. It's nice.": What is home in participant's eyes?

When exploring the experience of life within the hostels *home* was a theme that emerged early. Participants commented on the ways in which Roost, Heeley and Nest did and did not perform the function of *home.* This section reflects on what the participants said about home, setting the scene for the subsequent three chapters in which I describe the relationships between music listening practices and life in the residences. This includes how music listening might relate to this central theme. The focus is on what home is to each young person. This gives an understanding of the various factors and dynamics at play in the concept of home for each young person, and reflects the experience of living in the residence itself, and the ways in which it is and isn't home. This in turn gives context to the music listening practices explored in the following chapters.

> Kate: "Is Roost your home?"
>
> Jasmine: "[Long pause]. Um. Maybe… Maybe… In a, I'm not freezing cold, outside way. But I don't know."

Jasmine recognised that the accommodation she was in was shelter, protection from the elements, in the basic definition of home, or its root word, *kei, "*a place to lay one's head" (Mallet, 2004, p. 65) but this wasn't enough to be convinced it was a home. In this comment Jasmine is indicating that there is more to home than shelter, potentially pointing towards other factors that might make a place more home-like. Other participants were more matter of fact in their summary. They suggested that in the absence of something better, they considered their residence to be a minimum viable proposition of home.

> “I don’t have anywhere else where I live. So, where I live is my home.” (Amber, Heeley)

Nest, Roost and Heeley do all provide “a place to lay one’s head”. However, the other dimensions of home, identified by academics such as Taylor (2009) and Somerville (1997) were more variable in the success or failure of constituting home, due to the restrictions on daily life.

> “It is home here, they don't take your stuff or anything. It's nice.” (Eliza, Roost)

For Eliza, Roost was a place of safety for her belongings, a place where she experiences safety and can relax. There’s an absence of threat, or at least a reduction in the level of threat she has experienced before. The space fulfils the requirement of a place to dwell, although the duration of availability of the space is unknown. Participants have some territorial security over their space, with a lock on the door. They must, however, allow staff to do regular room checks, handing in the key as they leave, and even being moved to another room if the management requests it. Thus, whilst there exists some agency and control over the space, this is limited by the rules of the accommodation.

When a room is allocated to a resident, the room is also devoid of anything that would reinforce an individual’s sense of identity. Particularly at the start of the residence, before the young person has had time to settle in. This can be seen in Figure 9, photo 3, which depicts a bedroom with basic furniture and plain walls. Into this bare room, residents are to “make themselves at home”. Within the house rules (Appendix 11.13) however, there are restrictions on how they are and are not allowed to alter their physical space. This is both visually and sonically, through the rules about music and other media being played.

In the light of these muted appraisals of Roost and Heeley as home, I also asked, “so where is home if it isn’t here?” Some participants pointed to other places as home. For some, it was a geographical area in which they had history and connections:

Eliza: “I feel far away from home.”

Kate: “would you call it home here?”

Eliza: “A bit… my Home is back in Harpurhey”

Kate: More home than here or less home than here”

Eliza: “More going over there”

Kate: “What makes it more home there?”

Eliza: “Have been, I've grown up there”

For Eliza, despite Harpurhey being the place she left due to the abuse she experienced it was home in the wider sense. She went on to tell me how she wanted to move back there and have a home that allowed her to have her friends round to visit. She imagined how she would enjoy having an open house where she could welcome her mates in. For Eliza, despite the difficulties with her family, the geographical area was the place in which she had emotional ties. Eliza’s comments highlight several themes that emerge further in later chapters. These include social connections, roots and belonging within a place, “My home is back in Harpurhey” and implied is a greater sense of permanence.

Whereas Eliza relates the social connections with Harpurhey, Nico states that home isn't a place to them.

> Kate: Would you consider here, here home?
>
> Nico: No.
>
> Kate: Why is that?
>
> Nico: Because home isn't a place to me. Home is where my family is. And where my loved ones are. So, mostly my home right now, the majority of it is in Middlesbrough because, obviously, my stepdad, my grandparents, my uncles, my siblings, my Mum, they're all there. And then, some of my family's in Openshaw, some of my home is in Openshaw, because that's where my other part of my family is. So mostly, that is where I count as home. It's not a place, it's not house. It's where my family is. I could be living on the streets with my family and that would be, that would class as home to me.

Nico's relationship with home as geographical place was less important. They wanted to be with their family in the North East, but this was not about the North East as a place. It could be anywhere, even on the street, but it would be home because they would be with their family.

> "So I'm hoping that if I can get a house they'll [siblings] move in with me, 'cause I don't really fancy the idea of living on my own. Because my mental health, I don't know, it's just, if I'm alone, I feel alone. I feel very isolated, and it can get really bad for me very easily. And that's what happened in Heeley. And that's why I ended up in hospital. So I'd rather, you know, have, have someone living with me and just, like, you know, checking up on me and making sure I'm alright. So, yeah." (Nico, Roost)

Nico also reflected the need to be with others for their own wellbeing. This was something that is again limited within the residence, being only allowed visitors between 10am and 10pm. This is compounded by not being allowed to use the communal areas of the residence outside of these hours (Appendix 11.13).

Seth said similar things about home being connected to being where his Mum was, and being connected to a place, in Northenden.

> Kate: Would you consider here home?
>
> Seth: Yeah, [pause]. Nah, hmmm yeah?
>
> Seth: I'd say my Mum's you know, when I get in there I feel like I'm at home. When I come here, I do feel like I'm at home. But I feel like it's just to get out of the way for a bit. Do you know what I mean, but it does feel like home, it does, I don't know [trails off]
>
> Kate: What makes your Mum's feel like home?
>
> Seth: Because I'm with my Mum… And my dogs, and my family. Which the whole family are there in Northenden, when I walk in they're like "hello Seth". So it's a nice feeling.

Seth is conflicted in his answer answering my question about Roost being home with "Nah, um, yeah?". When he talks about home, he both highlights how he feels being in Northenden with his Mum is his home and "a nice feeling". However, he came to Roost due to arguments with his Mum. He even goes as far as to say Roost feels like he's *at home,* but goes on to say, "I don't know" and trails off, seemingly providing contradictory answers.

Jasmine initially gained a sense of social connectedness when she came to Roost and met her Progression Coach, Jade. Jasine felt supported by the whole staff team but particularly connected with Jade.

> "I came here and I was honestly just so shocked at all the support, I mean, I met Jade, and you can imagine that. She's just the loveliest person ever and we became, became so close in such a short amount of time. I'm so sad that she's leaving soon but, it is what it is." (Jasmine, Roost)

Jade was due to leave Roost in a few weeks and they had announced her departure. I interviewed Jasmine again, after Jade had gone.

> Kate: So, what does home mean to you?
>
> Jasmine: [Pause] I don't, I don't really know. I don't... I think, like, I did know, but I don't know anymore.
>
> Kate: What did you know? And then tell me why you don't know anymore.
>
> Jasmine: Probably... like, my family. 'cause whatever you are with them, you're home. But then sometimes you're on your own. And then this isn't really a permanent place. Like, when you think about it, it's just something very temporary. And then after that, so fair enough, you might be in your own little warm bubble at the moment of, "Oh, I've got my favourite staff member, I've got...", there are so many pros that come along with this place. But then none of these people are permanent. And they all, you know, they all have their own lives. But I don't really know.

Jasmine's perception of home at Roost was initially dependent on her relationship with a staff worker, Jade. She describes this as her "little warm bubble" giving a sense of cosiness, protection and security. When Jade left, Jasmine's security was rocked and she questioned Roost as home, realising how temporary it was. For Nico, Seth and Jasmine, home depended on people. They experienced complications in connecting with those people that home depended on, whether family or staff. They found them to be impermanent or unreliable. They all have complications being at home with family, but don't feel that the residence provides a suitable alternative.

Home is complex and involves a tension between the self, the space and the security of the connections between the two. The space could be geographical or physical, and can be social; both factors feature in the participants' descriptions. But, in the context of living in supported accommodation, the participants feel a disconnect from the social and physical spaces they were in before. Now in their supported accommodation, they don't feel sufficiently connected to the current physical or social environment to warrant it being described as home.

5.4 Conclusion: Music/Home connections

Within this chapter I have introduced the participants and the residences. My 19 informants were aged from 18 to 25 and had lived in the accommodation at the time of the interview for an average of six and a half months, ranging from two weeks to 18 months. My participants had a range of experiences including time in care, drug related issues, relationship breakdown, familial bereavement, overcrowding, abuse and asylum seeking. A few were in part- or full-time education or employment but most did not have many meaningful activities with which to fill their days. Boredom, therefore, was a common experience.

The participants were similar in many ways to young adults who are not experiencing homelessness: they enjoyed socialising with friends, watching TV, spending time on social media, gaming and, listening to music. All the young adults who filled in the *about you* form said that they listened to music. In the interviews they described the frequency of music listening as nearly constant. My participants enjoyed a wide variety of artists. These included: A Boogie wi da Hoodie, Arctic Monkeys, Billie Eilish, Bugzy Malone, Chopin, Cleo Sol, Deezy, Demi Lovato, Dizzie Rascal, Fayruz, Kanye West, Lil Durk, Lil Peep, Marina and the Diamonds, Nines, Pierce the Veil and Tupac, Yungblud.

Residents live in the accommodation under a range of rules regarding visitors, noise, room checks and not being away for too long. This reinforced the institutional nature of life in the residence for my informants (one calling it an “adult care home”); – there were restrictions on privacy, agency and choice. Concurrently, the participants also experienced support, or at least the offer of support, from staff workers who intend to help residents to identify and work towards goals.

The participants reflected on Roost as being a significantly more comfortable environment than Heeley (and in many ways, Nest), which reflected the psychologically informed principles inherent in the refurbishment of Roost carried out during the research. Heeley, however, was physically more dilapidated and participants complained that residents didn’t look after the place as well as they could. Nest's comfort was experienced as somewhere in between these two. My participants also suggested that all three residences had a bipolar soundscape, which fluctuated between being very quiet, almost unnervingly so, on the one

hand, and loud and chaotic on the other. Both poles of experience communicated something to the participants about other people within the residence, particularly when the sound was acousmatic.

The experience of impermanence came across clearly within many of the interviews, and this affected the motivation the participants felt to modify their rooms. My participants reflected on the idea that Nest, Roost and Heeley might be considered *home.* Participants were divided with some saying it was the best version of home they could access at the time. Others scoffed at the idea that the supported accommodation could in anyway resemble home. However, many were unsure and gave examples of ways in which the residences could both fulfil or fail to meet their definition of home. Reasons for the accommodation being considered home included the provision of shelter and the security of possessions. Some also cited the availability of support from staff. Reasons against the accommodation being considered home included an absence of people who mattered to them, and a disconnect from the areas and geographical places in which they had roots. However, the ways in which the supported accommodation was *not* home (the absence of people and place) were also reasons that the supported accommodation could be considered some sort of home. This was because their experience of home as people and place had ended in a crisis, which had led to them being in Nest, Roost or Heeley. In this way, *home* was both conceived of, and experienced, in partial and fragmented ways.

Within the next chapters I reflect on this partial experience of home and the proliferation of music listening practices. Considering the literature that suggests that humans carry out a constant process of making and remaking home (Lenhard, 2022; Romoli et al., 2022) and the lack of evidence of participants carrying out these practices within their physical *bedrooms*, the next chapters indicate ways that music may relate to the experience of living in supported accommodation, which is as part home, part institution. These include identity and sense of self, physical, emotional and ontological security, comfort, stability and privacy. These are human needs, reflected in Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1954).

In subsequent chapters, I explore music listening and the self (chapter six), music listening as space (chapter seven), music listening and the dynamic and changeable environment

(chapter eight) before drawing together my conclusions in chapter nine (Discussion and Conclusion).

6 Music listening and the self in supported accommodation

In this chapter I explore the ways in which the participants described their music listening practices in relation to the construction of identity and sense of self. Several key themes emerged within the interviews regarding music listening and the self. These related to self and identity whilst experiencing the in-betweenness of no longer being in the familial home but not yet being in a satisfactory future. There was also considerable focus on being displaced from people and places in the past through crisis, whilst not yet in, or even being able to see clearly, a future route. These themes resonate with Arnett's description of the features of young adulthood (2000), as described by Layland et al. (2018, see below), in particular, the feeling of being in-between and of exploring identity in a stage in which there are many possibilities. I found music listening practices supported the participants in developing a sense of self and identity, particularly over time, by connecting the past, present and future.

This process is common to all young people transitioning through young adulthood, but homelessness disrupts many of the societal norms (such as the age of financial independence, which may come significantly earlier). Using data from both of my studies, but particularly study two, I found ways that music functioned as a sonic space in which the participants created a sense of home by maintaining a continual self across time. In this regard, music appeared less bound by the familial, institutional and societal powers that reigned over the physical space.

I therefore argue that for the participants living in supported accommodation, music is a technology of the self (DeNora, 1999). DeNora suggests that one of the everyday uses of music is as a tool for individuals to use to shape emotions and to carry out work on one's identity and self-perception in what she calls musical reconfiguration. DeNora highlights how music facilitates self-expression and connection with others, supporting and improving psychological well-being. Within supported accommodation, this technology of the self is harnessed in particular ways.

I provide evidence to support this argument in what follows. First, I describe ways in which music listening had a role in reflecting on, and connecting with, the past and past selves. This was possible particularly through music linked to autobiographical memories. The participants used lyrics to reflect on and self-ratify previous decisions, particularly the decision to leave their previous home.

Then I present ways in which music listening supported them in making sense of the present. The participants tried to pull together the displaced pieces of their lives as newly-independent adults. In doing so they tried to make sense of themselves separate from the resources, environment and safety nets others have. They did this by choosing music that had lyrics that “resonate with my life”. This helped them to test versions of themselves for the present and the future.

Finally, I demonstrate how music listening supported the participants’ imagining of the future, in that the resonance found in music in developing a sense of self in the present, was similarly sought in music about the future. Prevalent future-orientated emotions in the music were based around both hope and fear. Within those emotions, a fundamental drive to listen to music was for self-motivation.

6.1 “I imagine with music in my ears” (Imani): Developing a sense of self away from family

> “So I also, I also cut my hair bald and it was…, it's a year and a half. Right? So I always had long hair, so I always picture myself with my long curly hair… I also use hair as a little a little guide of growth because when I came here, I think I was only like three months of my hair grown, so the length my hair now is actually the length of time I've been here. So I'm hoping that when my hair is at the certain length that I am picturing it, I’ll have completed… [Imani trails off] … before this hair gets to this length … so I can be there [in the future] and hopefully, I don't know. So I've an imagination with music, it makes you really fantasise.” (Imani, Roost)

Imani trails off as she’s telling me this story, but I manage to glean in the subsequent conversation that she had previously cut all her hair off. This was around 18 months before I

spoke to her. At that point she was 16 and still living at home with her Mum and sisters. She was planning the move already, and cutting her hair off may have been a symbolic part of preparing to move. In doing so she was symbolically cutting ties with the expectations of her family and taking a different path. At this time, she was exploring what options she had by reaching out to social services and homelessness services. Through these conversations she was finding out how she could leave the family home that had become intolerable. Once she had this information in hand, she started making solid plans, which came to fruition three months later when she moved into Roost.

Imani explained to me that her hair had then become a marker of her journey since then. Her self-image was of herself with long hair. She described her journey in the accommodation as growth, both of her hair, and of her*self*. Her hair wasn't yet the length it was just before she had cut it. She had hopes that by the time it was that long again, she would have completed part of that journey, and be in a future that she had pictured. Imani seemed to be marking time, not in weeks, months, or years, but by her own bodily growth. This was reflected in her self-concept, believing she would be whole when her hair had reached the length at which she pictured it. She was not quite there yet.

The future Imani imagined, when her hair was the same length as in her imagination, when she has regained her selfhood, is a future she told me she fantasised about. She thought about where she might be at that time, and in these fantasies, music is a tool to help Imani picture what might come next.

> "But it was just so much that I imagine with music in my ears and how much I'm gonna experience like moving here … and how I was gonna be just getting away from it all and literally just created like fantasies in my head, but it become a reality." (Imani, Roost)

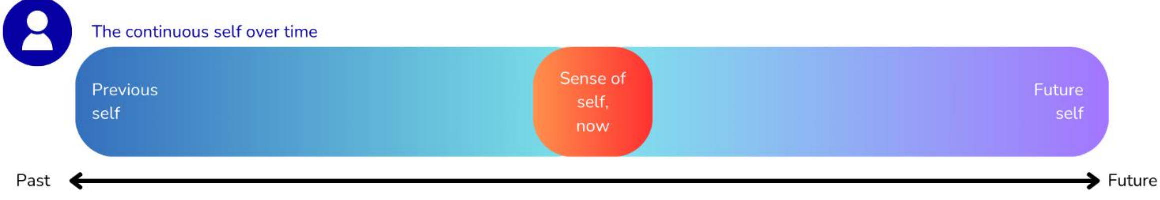

Figure 15: Continuous self over time (Mitzen, 2006).

Homelessness disrupts the ability to experience oneself as a "whole, continuous person in time". It also disrupts the ability to have a continuous sense of self in time (Figure 15, Mitzen, 2006, p. 341). This is a concept drawn from Giddens' writings on *ontological security* (Giddens, 2004). In study two, many of the participants, already going through a significant period of change as a young person moving from adolescence to adulthood, described the impact of displacement on their sense of self. Imani seemed to symbolically cut her hair off as she began the process of displacing herself from her home. She sees its growth as what could be interpreted as a restoration back to being a whole and continuous person in time.

> "I was homeless, living off of under 300 pounds a month literally having to fully rely on myself, when I could have just been a Mummy and Daddy's girl, followed the rules, cash in hand every day." (Imani, Roost)

Most young people go through a transformation from childhood to adulthood. During this process they reconceive their sense of self in their new status in society. Young people living in supported accommodation experience this transition in a particular way. This may involve a sudden withdrawal of many of the resources and safety nets available to young people who are not displaced and separated from their home, family and community. Here, Imani identifies the resources she now does not have access to having left the family home (due to abuse). She is trading financial security for physical and emotional security and having to rely on herself.

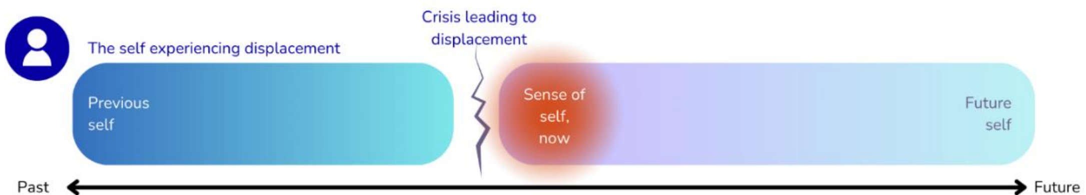

Figure 16: The self, experiencing displacement, developed from Figure 15

One of those resources is a sense of continuity from previous selves, reinforced by memories embedded in the physical and social milieu. Being displaced from home, family and community also displaces the individual from the context in which memories have been formed (Romoli et al., 2022). I found music to be a significant resource used in this transition by the young people, which I will evidence in this chapter.

6.2 "I used to listen to this" (Riley): The past

My informants had much to reflect on in the past that they had left behind. Music was a rich source of autobiographical memories of their past. However, I also found music to be useful in reflecting on previous decisions participants had made, particularly those that brought them to the accommodation. In the next two sections I consider both of these phenomena.

6.2.1 "I wish I could listen to that" (Tom): Autobiographical memories

Most of the participants I spoke to had been displaced from their family home due to relationship breakdown on some level. However, many still had contact with their family in some form, often through digital devices. Three participants as examples are Seth, Jasmine and Imani, all residents in Roost. Seth still had contact with his family, but living with them was intolerable and his attempts to do so were short-lived, always ending in arguments. Every time Jasmine saw her family they tried to get her to come home back to an abusive environment. This home environment had been a contributing factor in a number of her suicide attempts. Imani had left to escape abuse at home and, despite calling her sisters the most important thing in her life, was unable to speak to them regularly. All reported they were unable to live with their families due to fractured and fractious relationships. However, separating themselves family wasn't as simple as shunning the relationships. There were family members that the participants missed, such as siblings and grandparents. Even the (usually) parents who were the primary factor in the decision to leave home, were missed in some ways as an individual or as a parenting role.

As well as physical separation from family members, many of the participants had also experienced separation through death. This wasn't a specific question in the interviews; one third of the participants raised, unprompted, the loss of a significant care giver. This was usually a grandparent who had had a significant part in their upbringing, or a parent. Riley's nan had died not long before he left home, Lucas's father had died and so had Tom's grandmother, with whom he had lived for much of his childhood. In this context, the participants used music to remind them of their lost relative. They drew on the ability of music to have what Tia DeNora calls an afterlife (DeNora, 2012). By listening to the music they were able to create a connection to people who were no longer with them.

> "It gets you upset. But sometimes it gets you, like, 'Oh, you remember this song what Dad used to listen to when he used to do this?' Or 'When he used to be, like, on Christmas, this song'. It makes you, you know what I mean, it can bring you together and that, doesn't it?" (Lucas, Heeley)

Lucas liked to listen to music that connected him with his Dad. He talked about the music helping him to remember, even though it "gets you upset", and creating a sense of being "brought together". Just as home, as a place, can be the "embodiment of past memories" (Somerville, 1997, p. 229), so too is music able to embody these memories (including inducing feelings of nostalgia, Barrett et al., 2010), and, in the context of digital devices and data, it has the additional benefit of being portable. When someone becomes homeless, the space inhabited by the social connections that once supported a sense of self and emotional security is no longer available. In these instances, music may create an alternate space in which to dwell and to relive past connections.

Tom had a similar experience.

> "[My playlist] is on my old folder [on] my ph... I need to get it fixed, it's upstairs in my room but, I've had my old phone for about, since about 2016, and erm... my Nanna died in 2019, so when I got the phone you know what I mean, from 2016 to 2019 she would have the phone sometimes putting songs on 'em, she used to put songs on the playlist, do you know what I mean, like there's just stuff on that phone that… 'cause my Nanna, she never used to like, she was old-fashioned, she never used to have her own phone, she just had a shitty little Nokia and she always wanted to go onto my phone to listen to old songs. And I told her that she could, she used to tell me songs and say oh, I wish I could listen to that. I've not got it on CD, but she didn't know about YouTube, you know what I mean? So, when I told her about YouTube, she used to just take the phone and just talk to it, and say loads of stuff and all her old songs would come back to her from when she was a kid, do you know what I mean? Got loads, I had loads ... I can't even get on my old YouTube though until I fix my phone. I smashed it up one time when I was pissed off… It is literally my

> first drawer down [in my room]. She was like my Mum, my Nanna and my best friend all in one, you know what I mean?" (Tom, Heeley)

Tom had a strong relationship with his grandmother, having not previously got on well with his Mum. When his grandmother died, Tom went to live with his Mum. Age didn't improve the situation and it ended in the breakdown of relationship with his Mum. He was forced to leave home and was now living in the hostel. Tom recalls his memories of his grandmother sharing her favourite songs with him. Tom would support her to access music that was meaningful to her on his phone. This was something she wasn't able to do herself. This interaction had been captured digitally within his old phone through his YouTube playlists.

One day when very angry about something unrelated, Tom smashed his phone. A consequence of this was that he could no longer access his YouTube account. This excluded him from being able to make use of this remnant of connection with his grandmother. He couldn't access the songs, nor could he access the potent memory of giving joy to his grandmother. Instead, he has kept the phone as a physical but locked memory box. It was in his bedroom, in his top drawer for safe-keeping, the location being particularly important as the place where his other precious items were stored. He needed to get it fixed, he told me. He wanted to connect again with his grandmother through his music, but he didn't have the financial resources.

These quotes suggest that music has a potential role to create an alternative location of embedded memories. Memories that were once embedded in a physical space could not be accessed. However, through music, these memories were now accessible in a portable, sonic space. By re-living previous experiences through the music, they were able to relive past iterations of home in which they felt safe or happy (Israel, 2003), within the context of the hostel. This pattern, with both musical and non-musical items, resembles the practice researched within bereavement studies (e.g. Visser & Parrott, 2015) where keepsakes are kept to maintain a connection to family members, whether alive or not.

Tom and Lucas both eschew the idea that Heeley is home. Lucas's music, however, may have fulfilled some of the requirements of home. This included providing a space in which one can build a sense of self, including in reference to others. Tom, on the other hand, was unable to access some of the music that could fulfil the same function.

There is a flip side to the ability to access autobiographical memories through music, suggested by Riley. He mentioned that sometimes the memories connected to music were not ones that a person wants to relive. This could be particularly galling if the memories were associated with favourite music. Riley told me:

> "Whereas for me, it's like, I listen to this for me, not to try to delve back into a time when I was happier or whatever, because there's no fucking point doing that because I'm only hurting myself... That song has been ruined. It's almost like it's on a vinyl and you've just snapped it.
>
> "You are trying to relive an experience that shouldn't be relived. So instead of 'oh I used to listen to this with so and so', it's 'oh I used to listen to this, it's a good song'... It's my music, it's not theirs. It's not theirs to tarnish. I found it. I listen to it. I like it. So it's nothing to do with them." (Riley, Roost)

Riley acknowledges the ability of music to reconnect with people from the past, but doesn't want the song to be ruined. He describes the music as being like vinyl, something tangible. When it is associated with a negative autobiographical memory it becomes broken and not something he wants to access. He describes the association of bad memories with a good song as taking the vinyl and snapping it. However, he went on to tell me that he stubbornly refuses to allow that to mean he can't listen to the music anymore. He decided to continue to listen to the music. He goes on to describe the association of the negative autobiographical memories with the music as being akin to them tarnishing his belongings; "It's my music", he says, "I found it, I listen to it... it's nothing to do with them". So, he tries to think about the song, and not the memory associated with it, so he can keep possession of the music he likes. In this way, the ability of music to connect us with autobiographical memories is something to be harnessed, or to be thrown off. It is a tool that is managed by the individual to their ends.

6.2.2 "And all that could have been" (Riley): Evaluating and ratifying decisions to leave

Through the interviews, I identified another way of reflecting on previous selves. This was not specifically related to people but to decisions to take particular paths. Participants would use

music to support looking back and reviewing the decision-making processes involved in leaving their previous home. All the participants I spoke to had made a choice at some level to leave a previous home. The level of agency each young person had to make that decision is variable, but there had been some, or a lot, of decision-making involved.

A decision had indeed been made, and some participants described a significant process of evaluating this decision, speaking of their consideration of what might have been. Some of the participants suggested a role for music in helping them to make sense of, and make peace with, their decision to leave. In these instances it was particularly the lyrics that were important.

Participants listened to lyrics that were congruent in some way with their life experiences. They share their emotions and experiences with the singer, providing a route of self-expression. At the same time they are able to reflect on their own decision-making processes. Carla chose Good Without by Mimi Webb (Webb, 2021) as one of her songs that was significant to her time in the hostel. Carla not only left her family, but also a significant romantic relationship.

"'Cause I'm starin' at all these photographs

I guess the good things ain't meant to last

I gave you forever, you gave a month

I've never fallen for anyone

And now I'm looking at the ceilin'

Wonderin' just what you're feelin' now

If that's what love's about

Then I'm so good without"

Figure 17: Lyrics from "Good Without" by Mimi Webb (Webb, 2021)

She told me she used music to help her to “process the trauma” of this previous relationship. “Good Without”, she told me, supported her reflection of this relationship. She asked herself “why did I do that?”. She reflected on her old self choosing to repeatedly return to a relationship that she told me she knew was bad for her. Finally, she was able to finish it. She used this Mimi Webb song to support her decision, saying “I’m so good without”, and subsequently to help her to internally ratify her choice.

Later in the same interview, Carla also chose the song *In this darkness* by Clara La San (La San, 2023). This music, she told me, “helped me when it hit me”, referring to the reality of her new situation, living in supported accommodation. Carla pulls out the line “and this darkness appears leaving me stranded”. This highlights the sense of displacement she feels. The lyrics are describing the feeling as like being somewhere she isn’t supposed to be and unable to make sense of the space around her. This feeling meant she questioned whether or not she should stay, thinking that maybe she should go “back home”. She said, “so, that was more like, I was in two minds about being in here, do I want to go back home, do I want to carry on?”

> “I get lonely when you’re not here
>
> and this darkness appears, leaving me stranded
>
> my whole world shuts down
>
> you never lived here
>
> and I never found what I thought I did”

Figure 18: Lyrics from “In this darkness” by Clara La San (La San, 2023)

The displacement relates to being separated from her family and the struggle she had at home. She thinks she has made the right decision. At the same time thought she feels separate from the support and love of her family, even though that came with its own complications.

> "'I keep falling in this darkness and there's no one to light it up' because I felt alone, so it was like, what am I doing?" (Carla, Roost, quoting La San, 2023)

As Carla speaks to me, she incorporates the lyrics into what she is saying. She quotes from the lyrics, describing the meaning she drew from it as she goes along:

> "'I never had thoughts that controlled me' meaning I'm going to pack and leave, 'until something bad', meaning something happened for me to leave, 'that left me lonely'. You know what I mean? It just hits. It's so relatable to you. It says, 'And I want it back, I want the old me, I'm trying to forget, but things just remind me'. Powerful, isn't it? When you think about it, it all connects." (Clara, Roost, quoting La San, 2023)

Carla reflects on an old self – and says, "I want to smack her in the face for taking so much shit". Carla's statement manifests a disconnection between her old self and her current self. She wants "the old me". She sees the "new me" as not something she wants. The "new me" and the "old me" are disconnected, representing a lack of a sense of being a "whole, continuous person in time" (Mitzen, 2006, p. 341). Carla is conflicted though. She both "wants the old me" and at the same time "wants to smack [her old self] in the face for taking so much shit". She wishes her old self had acted differently. Carla is using the lyrics of these songs to reflect on her previous self, to understand her decision-making, and to develop a sense of ontological security, including self-validation (DeNora, 2000).

Riley similarly expressed the role of music in helping him look back. He listed the Nine Inch Nails song, *And All That Could Have Been* (Nine Inch Nails, 2002) as being particularly meaningful. About this album, he said:

> "it's almost you're going through a fucking horrible mindset, and all that could have been, it's it seems like one of them things that you'd say, just to say, like, it could have been this but maybe in a different life, or whatever." (Riley, Roost)

Riley's experience of displacement has led him to question what, and who, he "could have been", had he stayed. He told me he agonised over past relationships and over his decision to

leave for a long time. The music expressed the emotions he was feeling, suggesting "it was very sort of dark, distorted, almost like a horror film". Later he said to me:

> "Whereas now it's more like, thinking about past relationships, and all that could have been. It's not. So why am I going to worry about it. And it's not just that, it's all the issues with my own mental health, getting over my nan passing away, getting over whatever it is, getting over shit, do you know what I mean? I think we said last time, this was, the storm passing through, like we were in the middle of it, in the middle of, there's nowhere to go, you're just fucked. And now it's like the calming of the storm." (Riley, Roost)

This quote from Riley was collected in a second interview, several months after the first interview. The torrid experience of losing his grandmother, struggling with his mental health and understanding the breakdown of previous relationships had passed, like a storm. Now, months later, Riley was experiencing a calming of the storm, having been able to understand and make sense of these previous experiences, and gained a greater sense of control and fit in his life.

6.3 "Like, maybe what I've gone through or what I'm going through. And what I will be going through." (Amber): Developing a sense of self in the present and future

As well as looking backwards, music supported individuals considering the present and the future. In the context of supported accommodation, the characteristics of adulthood (Arnett, 2000) are not yet in place. These include individualisation; family capacities (having the resources to care for family members); norm compliance (such as refraining from crime, drunk driving, illegal drug use); and role transitions (such as employment, finishing education, getting married). All of the participants were going through a process of transitioning towards the characteristics of adulthood, but they were not there yet. Lucas was working towards having the resources to care for family members so he could see his son.

> "I've got my son, do you know what I mean? Like, it's hard enough to see my son as it is now, never mind, fucking, do you know what I mean? So, yeah. Main priority is, fucking, sorting my house out, innit?" (Lucas, Heeley)

Seth and Jasmine spoke specifically about difficulties in transitioning into employment and education. Seth spoke to me about insecurities around finding regular work and was struggling to do a Foundation or Access course that would enable him to work on building sites. Jasmine described her journey back into education, including engaging with a programme run by the Princes Trust and doing GCSEs:

> "It's great. I'm getting back to because I've always wanted to obviously get back into my education, it's a huge thing for me. So I'm doing that here and it's quite I'm finding everything very easy and I feel like I'm gonna go through it quite quickly, and that's what everyone here believes to be, like the support workers and tutors and stuff. So hopefully it won't be long when I'm like start in like college and all that so it's a huge step towards like, right direction and just to independence." (Jasmine, Roost)

By the second interview I had with Jasmine, she had dropped out of both college and the Princes Trust programme.

Many were going through a period of transitioning towards norm compliance. Most participants spoke to me about regular drug use, some were on probation or were arrested during the time I was carrying out the research, but in some cases there were indications that they were trying to cut back, such as Seth who had stopped taking "gabbies" (a drug that produces feelings of relaxation and calmness) and Mark who had tried (with some limited success) to reduce his drug intake.

> "Yeah, I've been staying off drugs as well I've been doing really well, staying off it, well I've done it like, I was banging coke and crack. I've not touched crack since I've been in here. And I've stopped, well, I'm not going to lie, I had a bit of coke the other day, that was the first time I've had it in about a month." (Mark, Heeley)

Many of the participants were very much in the *middle* rather than at the *end* of this journey towards the characteristics of adulthood. The journey can be seen in their answers ("I've been staying off drugs…", "I'm getting back to…"). In some cases the journey, such as Jasmine's, was non-linear. I found evidence within both studies of participants using music to

develop the self and ontological security in this transition to adulthood as a reflexive project (Giddens, 1991). This music was specifically chosen and woven into daily life and practice.

In our interview Riley looks up and reads the description of Machine Gun Kelly's album *Hotel Diablo* (Machine Gun Kelly, 2019),

Figure 19: Album cover of Hotel Diablo by Machine Gun Kelly (2019

He reads:

> "'The cover of Machine Gun Kelly's *Hotel Diablo* [Figure 17] features the Cleveland MC as a child, hanging upside down, with his head cracked open, his innermost thoughts ostensibly falling out for the world to hear… Across the album, he catalogues a number of anguishes, including the continuing and unrelenting jeers of the Internet ("Floor 13"), battles with suicidal tendencies ("Glass House") and what sounds like an extremely strained, if not irreparable, relationship with his own mother ("Burning memories"). So that essentially is almost like delving down into different various pockets of a mindset. Now that is almost like, at that time as well, is what that was to me. It was almost like impersonated quite a lot. It was like going through a thing." (Riley, Roost, quoting from the album description, Apple Music, 2019)

Riley described the album as “impersonating him”, the lyrics and music communicated a similar experience to that he was having. He subsequently went to see Machine Gun Kelly perform live. He explained that he was astounded at the gig that not only does Machine Gun Kelly feel similar things to him, but the thousands of people in the Ritz might feel the same as him too.

> “I was in the O2 Ritz, seeing that album live. So, it was just a surreal moment seeing that album live … It was like, wow, what the fuck, people feel like this, fucking hell. Jesus Christ, there’s fucking thousands of people here, there are a lot of people here, that feel like this” (Riley, Roost)

This, I perceived, was a normalising experience for him, reinforcing and validating his sense of self. A 2022 study explored a potential role of singers in disclosing their experiences through song lyrics. In turn this disclosure normalises the experience of anxiety, increasing empathy from peers (Kresovich, 2022). Here, Riley’s experience amongst 2,000 peers in the concert hall is giving him a sense that he is not alone. He believes, maybe for the first time, that others might have empathy for how he feels because they feel the same.

> “It’s like all these songs are just going through different phases, these different issues, these different phases. At the end of the downward spiral there is this song called ‘Hurt’, which Johnny Cash had covered… The strings they sounded very sort of, it was pipes like an organ or something. It was like a build-up and this and that and again… everything around you is just flying or whatever, it was sort of like a torpedo and then eventually it just… suddenly everything is back to sound. Everything just stops.” (Riley, Roost)

For Riley, the whole album reflected his journey in Roost. He described an emotional experience like a storm, connected to his disconnected sense of self and displacement from a path he was previously on. He likened *Hotel Diablo* to the hostel. Not because of the hostel itself, but because of what he was personally experiencing being in there.

In the end, suddenly, he says, everything just stops and it's OK again.

> "I think it was just a low point and I was just like, 'fuck this', I'm not doing this anymore. But then the final song on Hotel Diablo, is 'I Think I will be OKAY'." (Riley, Roost)

Finally, Riley comes to the conclusion that he will be OK, reflecting on the last song on the album called "I Think I'm OKAY". Interestingly, he misnames this song as "I Think I will be OKAY", perhaps reflecting on a newly acquired sense of hope for the future.

DeNora (1999) calls this "aesthetic reflexivity", as music is used as a means of articulating and adapting the self-image through this stage. It is in this context that music is used by individuals to develop the image of oneself now and in the future. A role for music listening in identity formation has been identified (e.g. Lonsdale & North, 2011; Rentfrow, McDonald & Oldmeadow, 2009), particularly through adolescence as identity development continues through young adulthood (Arnett, 2000). These examples describe ways in which young people built a sense of self through music. This supports some of the existing evidence of music and identify formation in young adulthood such as Cateforis (2020) and Davis (2006).

6.3.1 Where does the present end and the future begin?: An aside

Differentiating a clear line between the present and future self is difficult, so I will treat the two categories as one. I have assumed that the perception of self in the present includes some perception of the potential self in the future. Hershfield & Maglio (2020) present an interesting paper suggesting that the perception of the duration of the present may impact decisions around resource expenditure. If a young person perceives that they are likely to be in the present for a longer time, they are more likely to expend resources in the present to the detriment of resources in the future. This is as opposed to perceiving the present as a short time. This may cause a young person to save resources due to anticipating a longer future. The perception of time will influence a young person's motivation for change.

This can be seen in young people's comments on decorating their room. How much a participant had modified their physical bedroom was dependent on how long they expected to be in the residence and whether it was worth investing time in making the space theirs.

The room decorating practices were limited when they believed they would not be in the residence for long, reflecting the short time they saw themselves in the accommodation. This contrasts with Imani, who came to Roost at 16 and knew it was likely to be a while before she moved on. Imani went to significant lengths to decorate her room. In the context of the accommodation, it is very difficult for young people to have a sense of how long the present will be. As a consequence, some participants who had been in the residence a long time had barely decorated at all.

The duration of their stay is dependent on several factors, including the learning of independent living skills. The main factor affecting the duration of stay was, however, the machinations of the council to provide suitable housing options. This was usually through Manchester Move (2024), the online portal through which young people must "bid" for properties. This in turn is dependent on suitable housing stock, which is significantly limited in Greater Manchester specifically, and in the UK more generally (Shelter, 2024). The young people therefore had little control of their ability to move on, as well as having lower control in the accommodation itself. I further explore this sense of impermanence later in this chapter and in chapter eight (Music listening and security in temporary accommodation). Living in an environment for an unpredictable period of time makes planning appropriate resources expenditure extremely difficult. This may potentially add to the anxiety young people feel, and detract from a sense of control or ability to regularisation of one's environment. This in turn diminishes ontological security.

Again, music was useful in managing this discomfort, “I think what helps me get through the wait of the unknown of the future is like literally music” (Imani, Roost). As well as the music being connected to the future, it also connected participants to the present, something they *can* understand.

“I been through some shit man

But I be on my shit man

I decided, that what you give is what you're given

So I been tryna do it right

I been doin' like

Whatever gets me through the night

What a life”

Figure 20: Lyrics from “Stay Ready'” by Jhene Aiko (Aiko, 2023)

Imani reads these lyrics out to me in our interview. She reflects on life and suggesting that you are dealt a particular set of circumstances, and they can’t be changed in the moment. So, she says she has decided she has to live in the moment. She pulls out further lyrics that say: “we do not exist in, any other instant, here in this dimension, you and I are meant to be” (Aiko, 2013). Through these lyrics she is reminding herself to focus on the present.

6.3.2 “In high school, I was a loner, I was a reject, I was a poser, multiple personalities and bipolar” Lil Peep: The music resonates with my life

Through the interviews, I found significant evidence of my informants listening to music that resonated with their life. I took resonate to mean emotional connection along with personal relevance and meaning.

> Amber: They generate with my life. [Laughs] I think that’s the right word. Compensate? No. [Laughs] I don’t know the word.
>
> Kate: Er, resonate?
>
> Amber: Yeah, that’s it!
>
> Kate: Is that the one you’re looking for?
>
> Amber: They resonate with my life. Just so I’m not alone. So that I’m not alone, in a sense. ‘Cause I am alone: I deal with everything on my own. So maybe my music is, like, the only way I can express how I feel. Without anyone saying anything. And without feeling myself being stupid. ‘Cause I won’t speak about my feelings, but I’ll sing about them. Just never had anyone to speak about my feelings to. So, I wouldn’t know how to, and if I have, I’ve always ended up feeling like I’m a burden. So, music, they don’t talk back to you.

Amber expresses a lack of social support within her network (both within the accommodation and beyond). Music "resonates" with her life she tells me, giving her two benefits. Firstly, it expresses the way she feels (without her saying anything), giving words to her feelings. Secondly, it gives her a perception of talking to someone who doesn’t “talk back to you".

She gives an example:

> "Oh, he's brill [A Boogie Wit da Hoodie]. Like, some of the tracks, I, like, when I was, like, 17, 18? I got into his music and it was just, like, real shit. He's talking about people who fuck him over, girls that are hoes and done him dirty, but then he also speaks about he's done people dirty and how he's been in the wrong. And I'm just like, Oh my God. A man that speaks with chest." (Amber, Heeley)

A Boogie Wit da Hoodie (Julius Dubose) is an American rapper who raps about both being treated unfairly (done him dirty) and about his own unfair treatment of others. Amber resonates with what he is saying and admires his honesty and emotion as she says he "speaks with chest". A similar pattern emerged across many of the interviews. Carla explained that she listened to *How do I say goodbye?* by Dean Lewis, which she suggested resonated with her experience of her father dying and expressed Carla's feelings for her. Max wrote in his diary that he was listening to *Tears in Heaven* by Eric Clapton (Clapton, 1992) and that "I'd rather listen to something that reflects my feelings at the moment, it's a beautiful song too. It's like it's crying on my behalf." My participants had found that music that resonates with their life is a rich resource in the absence of other suitable resources, such as family and friends.

Schäfer, Saarikallio and Eerola (2020) found that listening to self-selected, mood-congruent music can have a similar effect to the listening ear of an empathetic friend. This is something that is discussed in more detail in chapter seven (Music listening and space in temporary accommodation). Whilst Amber, Carla and Max may be listening to music for this reason, there is also another function within this practice. The artists are singing about a situation similar to that they have each experienced, which gives their experience validity. This can be understood as a process of self-to-prototype matching (Rentfrow, McDonald & Oldmeadow, 2009). This process allows them to identify, feel and articulate some of the emotions they are feeling. The latter function could be particularly useful in this context where young people are more likely to experience alexithymia – an inability to experience, identify and articulate emotions. People who have experienced care, with an insecure attachment style, or with experience of trauma or neglect, have an increased likelihood of experiencing alexithymia

(Lyvers et al., 2018; Mayberry, 2016; Paull, 2013,). Lyvers et al. (2018) suggest “that alexithymic listeners may rely on music to help them experience emotions more fully” (p. 626), which seems to be the case with this group of young people and may be what Mark and Carla were experiencing:

> “I don't really get emotion. It sounds stupid that but I don't... the only emotion I get is getting hyper.” (Mark, Heeley)

Mark says he doesn’t get emotion other than feeling hyper. Similarly, Carla told me that she struggles with feeling anger.

> “I can’t, I don't know how to feel angry. And so, when I feel angry, I tend to hurt myself more than hurt someone made me angry, so I have a lot of guilt for that, because I don’t deserve that, but I feel like they do because they caused it. That’s why I wish I could just deck someone, do you know what I mean, because then it would just be over. I wish I could express anger like that.” (Carla, Roost)

In relation to feeling emotions, I reflected on a comment from Jasmine about an interaction she had had with a staff member in a mental health unit.

> “Oh, my God, I think if you ever listen to one of his songs you'll be mortified. I used to play it in my mental hospital and my support worker [inaudible] and she would be just like, 'Jasmine, please, please, please, for your own sake, do not listen to this music'... Um Lil Peep … he relates to me a bit, he has, he's mentally ill, one of his songs is like, 'In high school, I was a loner, I was a reject, I was a poser, multiple personalities and bipolar'. Which I feel like I relate to [laughs], 'that's where I mean well, I'm still going to hell'. So I always ... Yeah.... You might not be like, everyone's type of music, but like I vibe to it, like 'yeah me too'.” (Jasmine, Roost, quoting from the lyrics of *witchblades* by Lil Peep, 2017)

The staff member’s interpretation of Jasmine’s music choices that she recounts here was that it was an unhealthy option for her at this time. This chimes with research suggesting maladaptive listening practices amongst some young people (e.g. Carlson et al., 2015).

However, there may be an interpretation of this behaviour that is in fact adaptive. Listening to this music may enable Jasmine to identify with a social position outside social norms and feeling accepted, and that her experiences are more normal. This indicates a potential role for music choices in supportive environments, not as something to be discouraged. Music could be a route into helping a young person to safely explore their experiences and emotions.

6.3.3 "Reminding myself it will be a better day if the sun was out" (Willow): looking to the future with hope and fear

Imani explained that when she was at home with her family, she would put her headphones on and imagine being in a different place with her music playing. In the end it was "completely different now that I'm actually here". She said that when she reached the accommodation she then had a different type of future to imagine beyond her time there. Again, music was a support to picturing the future:

> "I can absolutely picture whatever I want whenever I want until I stop the music." (Imani, Roost)

Imani, like many of the other participants, lived in the accommodation in a state of impermanence. They did not know how long they would be there, nor where they might go next.

> "They [the staff] like try and find schemes and stuff as well you can try and move out, try and move you on but they do try their best but you can't, there's nowhere available no..." (Mimi, Roost)

Mimi had lived at Roost for 18 months, and in that time she had had the support of staff to help her move on. There were however very few options.

> Mimi: I'm moving out in a couple of days anyway, myself.
>
> Kate: to somewhere?
>
> Mimi: anywhere, literally
>
> Kate: Do you actually know where you're going on Wednesday?
>
> Mimi: No
>
> Kate: But someone's going to tell you where you're going or…?
>
> Mimi: Yeah, I find out soon.

On the day when I interviewed her, when she knew she was about to move out, she didn't know where to. This is similar for all the participants. Even when they were ready to start planning to move on, there were so few options that it was impossible to put any sort of time frame on it. The result is a feeling of constant discomfort.

> "And then you can never get to be comfortable. Because when it got better… and everything falls into place, but as quickly as that can happen is as quickly as it can fall apart as well. So, I'm just at a point in my life where, I don't really, I don't know anymore. Yeah." (Jasmine, Roost)

Willow expressed something similar within her diary, which I discussed with her in our interview:

> Kate: On another day, you wrote, “reminding myself, only I can truly call this place home”. Can you remember what that was about?
>
> Willow: Basically, I couldn't call Heeley home, I could not call anywhere home, but this place is starting to feel like home.
>
> Kate: Is it?
>
> Willow: But, yeah, right, it feels like home, but I'm just scared I'm going to get moved again because I'm always getting moved along. From hostel to hostel to hostel to house to hospital to hospital to hostel, it's like, woah, slow down.

Willow’s experience of Nest was beginning to feel like home, and this was worrying her. She liked being there, and craved being able to stay in one place for a while. This was after multiple moves between hospitals, hostels and houses. Her experience in Nest came with an increasing sense of fear of being moved along, again by a power with the ability to make choices on her behalf. Willow was desperate to stay there for longer but feared she wouldn’t, and Jasmine similarly feared that what she had would last. Neither had much choice in the matter. Tom on the other hand was frustrated he had been there so long:

> Kate: Would you call this place home?
>
> Tom: No, are you mad? Definitely not. ‘Cause it's just like, you know what I mean, it's a temporary, you know what I mean, I'm not here forever, you know what I mean, you're supposed to be here for like three months and I'm still here.
>
> (Tom, Heeley)

In this uncertainty, two core emotions were present, hope and fear. Jasmine encapsulated this by saying, “but as quickly as that can happen is as quickly as it can fall apart as well. So, I'm just at a point in my life where, I don't really, I don't know anymore.” The residents in Roost, Heeley and Nest described choosing to listen to music that expressed both these

emotions. The emotions of hope and fear were experienced alongside a range of related emotions, such as frustration, anger and excitement.

Willow wrote in her diary, “Reminding myself it will be a better day if the sun was out”. This was alongside a diary entry showing she was listening to a song from the musical *Annie* (Strouse & Charnin, 1977). In my interview with her she explained this song wasn’t about the weather. Instead, the song was helping her to have hope for the future. She said she needed to remind herself as it was difficult to remember this. She chose to listen to music to give her hope and to avoid fear. In a similar way, Carla explained in her song choices in study two that she chose one of the pieces of music because it gave her:

> “a sense of hope… there are lyrics in it that talks about how it can be, how it was and how it can be” (Carla, Roost, referring to *What Was I Made For x I Love You (Mashup)* by Billie Eilish, Eilish, 2023)

In this period of waiting for “the future’, I found the young people alternated between hope and fear in the music they listened to. Imani chose Lady Wray’s *Piece of Me* (Lady Wray, 2022) as one of her songs in study two. Speaking about the lyrics she says:

> “and even though she speaks about like… that lyric from the songs like she’s ‘not really sure these days’, I was not actually sure these days, there’s actually so much, but you can’t even help the fact that the beat is just so beautiful and like kind of sounds a little bit happy, like it’s happy pain, like it’s a pain you’ve got to get through to get to where you are going to end up. Do you know what I mean? Yeah and that song was played a lot, in this house.” (Imani, Roost)

Figure 21: Selected tracks from Jasmine's playlist, stay on earth.

I discovered that this alternation between hope and fear was embedded structurally into some young people's digital practices, none more plainly than Jasmine and Riley. Each participant identified two playlists with similar messages in the songs they had curated in the list. Jasmine had two playlists. One was "I don't want to be alive, tbh", which "had all the depressive shit". The other playlist, "stay on earth", was more hopeful and motivational. She said she would alternate between these two playlists regularly. Similarly, Riley had two playlists. "Scream" consisted of aggressive music. This playlist didn't have the same level of despair as Jasmine's playlist "I don't want to be alive, tbh", but it focused on his more negative emotions. On the other hand, his playlist "Life Gets Easier" resembled "stay on earth" and was more hopeful and forward-looking. He said, "it makes you feel like things are getting easier". For the participants who used playlists (this was around half the participants), they told me they would listen to a playlist that matched their present-time mood (Lee, Andrade & Palmer, 2013) and future intentions.

> "I probably... If I'm doing good, and I'm having a good week, I'll probably listen to "stay on earth" more than the other one. But if I'm not, then it's just one of those. Yeah, pretty much. I'll have to listen to the other one. Yeah." (Jasmine, Roost)

Jasmine had curated her “stay on earth” playlist to be full of songs that told her to keep going.

> Sometimes when shit gets really, really hard, you have to just be reminded of, you know, why you need to live. So... It's, erm, 'Keep going'. I think, 'you can pretty much do anything you put your mind for, mind on,' and yeah, I think, yeah.” (Jasmine, Roost)

It featured songs that had motivational lyrics and encouraged her to keep going, such as *Try* by P!nk (P!nk, 2013), which included the lyrics “You've gotta get up and try, try, try”. Jasmine is both using her playlists as mood congruent music (Hunter et al., 2011) listening to stay on earth if she is “doing good”. At other times when her mood was not congruent with her positive playlist, she would also listen to it “when shit gets really, really hard” to remind herself to keep going and motivate her.

Other participants hadn’t curated their music structurally in the same way as Jasmine and Riley through their playlists. However, motivation and hope gained through music was nonetheless evident in the music they listened to. For Seth it was:

> “Tupac… I don't know he just motivates me and that, to go out and, I don't know it just gets me, not go out and do things and shit … I've gone through a lot of mad shit and he just, his lyrics have just helped me.” (Seth, Roost)

For Reece and Imani, the background of the artist was particularly important as they listened to their music. They told me they thought “if they can do it, I can do it”. The music provided external input and reinforcement to the “role” Reece and Imani are enacting. This pattern is similar to results found in other research that young adults admire musical figures for their dedication (Ivaldi & O’Neill, 2008) but identifies a possibility that the backgrounds of artists are important as well as the lyrics in providing an inspiring example from which to learn.

Baumgartner et al. (2008) describes future-orientated emotions, such as hope and fear, as *anticipatory* emotions. This is as opposed to *anticipated* emotions, imagining what it might feel like in this future world. The examples the participants gave of music with a sense of hope or fear also had an impact on motivation. This was because the presence of hope and avoidance of fear has been found to influence goal-directed behaviour (Lazarus, 1991).

Motivation is increasingly difficult when gratification (getting a house, successfully holding down a job, doing well in education) is delayed (Watts, Duncan & Quan, 2018). In the absence of these “gratifications” or short-term boosts (such as the encouragement or praise of a loved one) other sources of motivation are sought. Music is one such potential source, but could also be a reinforcement of fears, depending on what the young adult chooses to listen to.

6.4 Conclusion: music is a technology of the self

Participants described music listening practices that contribute to a sense of self. This was particularly important at this pivotal stage as a new adult whilst living in supported accommodation. The sense of displacement felt by participants is evident in their responses. Participants articulated a feeling of being between childhood and adulthood by reflecting on a past they can no longer access in real time. Participants used music to reconnect with previous experiences in which they felt safe. They also used music to help review and consolidate decisions that often could not be undone. Finally, participants experienced music as a tool for supporting the consideration of the possibilities of the future, choosing music that expressed hope, or fear, and often both.

In my research, I also found that the young participants used music to explore a sense of self and identity in the present. Music supported participants to connect to a past from which they are displaced. It also supported them to look forwards towards an unknown future to create a sense of a continuous whole person in time (Mitzen, 2006). This period of young adulthood has been characterised as involving a focus on the self, whilst at the same time being a period in which people have few obligations to others (Layland et al., 2018). For my participants, however, the period can be characterised as a phase in which they also lack people with an obligation to them. The exceptions to this are the governmental and organisational obligations, where the contract is legal, financially underpinned, process-based and institutional. This institutional obligation is often faceless (discussed further in chapter eight, Music listening and security in supported accommodation) but is sometimes represented by progression coaches. However, even then, these people can be transitory.

In this context of social instability, I argue that music listening provides a social surrogate, standing in the place of significant others or parental relationships. Whilst I asked my participants in study two to use the music that they listen to as a way of reflecting on their experiences in supported accommodation, this practice was offered unprompted within study one and I found music to be used to reflect on the crisis or set of crises. Music was also used by my participants to support them in coping with the continued lack of predictability in their current circumstances. This included a great deal of waiting and boredom, coupled with a swing between hopes and fears about the future.

In what is generally understood to be an age of possibilities, my participants were in an unpredictable environment and often lacking many of the foundation blocks to make the most of such possibilities. These include access to financial, social and cultural capital, such as a good education, networks and income from employment or other sources. Music listening in this environment therefore provided a considerable resource with which to manage the self.

From my explorations of music listening and the self in this chapter, I argue that lyrics are particularly important to young people in this transitionary phase. This is particularly because supported accommodation is an environment where there are fewer external reference points due to displacement. Lyric analysis is a common technique used in music therapy (e.g. O'Callaghan & Grocke, 2009) to explore emotions and identify personal issues. However, in the accommodation my participants were applying the lyrics of the songs in potentially self-therapeutic ways. This enabled them to reflect on and understand their feelings and decisions, harnessing music for emotional self-management.

Mitzen (2006) suggests that "individuals value their sense of personal continuity because it underwrites their capacity for agency" (p. 344). Personal continuity knits together not only the past, but also the future, with hope relating to the practice of "staying committed to a desired outcome" (Lazarus, 1991, p. 687). I am not suggesting that music fixes everything, but my findings suggest musical lyrics particularly, and music listening in general, could be harnessed by mental health workers, progression coaches, and public health communicators. By doing so, music could be used to support displaced young people to have a sense of personal continuity. Using this approach also has implications for digital projects with

homeless young people. Digital assets such as hardware, software and data are sometimes provided to young people for communication and information gathering (supported by interview data with Mark). They could also be provided to young people (such as Mark, who didn't have a smart phone) to support music listening, knowing that this could be valuable to the young person in project-self.

Having considered music listening in relation to the self, I now turn to music listening in relation to the space in chapter seven.

7 Music listening and space in supported accommodation

Having considered music listening in relation to the self in my participants' experiences of homelessness, this chapter considers music listening in relation to space. Before I go on to explore participants' music listening practices in relation to space in Roost, Nest and Heeley, I first define what I mean by space. For the purposes of exploring this theme, I have identified three primary spaces in which the residents reside. These spaces are physical space, social space and digital space, which have been introduced in chapter three (Music listening and young people).

By physical space I refer to the physical, topological space that sound can inhabit. The physical spaces that may or may not provide a vessel for sound and are marked out by walls and doors. In this chapter I think particularly about space *within* the residence, and the residence as *place.* Sometimes, when relevant, I make limited references to spaces beyond the residence. The self, explored in the previous chapter (chapter eight, Music listening and security in supported accommodation), can also be considered as a space. The self can be considered as an interior space, bounded by headphones (e.g. Bull, 2007; Downs, 2021a, 2021b; Labelle, 2010). However, for this chapter, I am less concerned with the self as an interior space and more concerned with music listening in the spaces of the residence, primarily the bedroom, experienced through headphones or speakers. I note how sound is also experienced as bleeding out into other places within the residence, such as corridors, communal kitchens and even the grounds surrounding the accommodation.

By social space, I mean a set of people with a set of relations between them that is akin to the lived space within Lefebvre's conceptual spatial triad (Lefebvre, 1991, see 3.2.3). Within Lefebvre's triad, perceived space, is essentially the physical space I have discussed above. It is also important as it is the vessel for lived space, and these various spaces are connected and dynamic. I am less concerned within this thesis with conceived space (as imagined by architects and programme managers) although I do not discount its importance entirely: this is particularly because the application of the principles of Psychologically Informed

Environments (Haigh et al., 2012) varies considerably between the three residences. The social space relates primarily to the residents and staff within the building, although occasionally to other sets of people beyond the residence. In some cases these include the social spaces the resident has left, or has been separated from when they were displaced. Within these groups of people there are social norms, daily routines and activities, expectations and shared language, both verbal and non-verbal. Finally, I use the term digital space in this chapter to reflect a space in which the participants dwell. This is akin to physical space in some ways, but unbound by the physical spaces they inhabit (discussed further in 3.2.3).

I focus primarily on the physical and social spaces within this chapter rather than digital space. As I am focusing on sound and music, I am not analysing social media use and its relationship to homelessness. Digital spaces however are an underlying element of the experience of both physical and social space. Unlike physical and social space, on the whole the participant hasn't experienced a displacement from digital space specifically through homelessness. This space has travelled with them, with the potential of maintaining connections to previously regularly inhabited physical and social spaces, albeit loosely. The experience of displacement in space means they are now inhabiting new physical and social spaces. These come with new social norms, lesser-known people and physical spaces and new routines to learn. This, all whilst experiencing the discontinuity of self discussed in the previous chapter.

For the participants in this research, *displacement* from one space is experienced as *placement* by an authority in a new place. Through this new placement they must share space, physical and social, with unknown others. The power within this space is primarily held by unknown people employed by the managing charity, but also in some ways by other residents. There is a new set of rules and social norms and an absence of previously relied upon knowledge and social ties. The individual does not, or does not yet, belong in this place, except for by edict of the local council that has placed them. Such displacement into alien physical and social space reduces control and agency as the young adult learns these new norms, patterns of behaviour and systems before they can begin to minimise the chaos the lies behind the routines of daily life (Mitzen, 2006, referring to Giddens, 1991).

My informants spent a considerable amount of time in their allocated physical space, their room. For instance, Mark said he was in his room for “roughly three-quarters of the day”. This makes the physical space, with the overlapping social and digital spaces, perhaps the most important environment to consider when investigating music listening within supported accommodation. For many participants, there was very little else to do but dwell, which was experienced as repetitive and boring. The experience was described eloquently by YaBoi as “wake up, piss about, go to sleep”. This is supported by the data collected about the participants’ occupations, with 15 of the 19 not engaged with education or training and not in employment. Just four of the participants I spoke to were in part-time or full-time education or training. My participants also spent a lot of time within their digital spaces – on their mobile phone, gaming and using laptops or other devices. This included Nico who said, “I absolutely live on TikTok”. The use of “I live on” indicated something akin to a physical dwelling place. Within these digital spaces the residents have a significant level of familiarity, as opposed to the new physical and social spaces they inhabit, and as a result they also have increased control and agency. The digital spaces residents spent time in also facilitated social connection with friends or family outside the residences (and occasionally within).

Having introduced the physical, social and digital space the young people spend time in, I turn now to focus on the physical space.

7.1 “I’ve got everything I need” (Mark): Physical space

Turning first to the physical space, I explored with the participants how they settled into their spaces and their practices within them.

> “Well, I've got my Nana to give me some bedding, because when she washes her bedding it smells so nice. So I've got her to give me some bedding and it's dead nice. I've got some spare bedding as well. I've got my shoes all lined up looking nice. I have got some hangers that I have hung the clothes that I wear most, yeah, I've got all my, um, food bank food in my wardrobe on the top level, I've got my fridge, got my TV and my PS3. I've got everything that I need.” (Mark, Heeley)

Mark describes the ways he has claimed the space for his own and laid everything out. His shoes are "lined up, looking nice" give an impression of visual order. His food bank food is safely stored away, not at floor level or shoulder height, where it's easier to reach, but at the top of his wardrobe, where it's more hard to reach. By putting his things around him, he is creating a sense of security as he suggests by saying "I've got everything I need". Having this security (in this case, secure resources such as food), means he can relax for a short time at least. As well as the functional purpose of his room, he is also creating a sense of visual (through the order) and sensory comfort. This can be seen particularly through the use of bedding washed by his grandmother. This bedding smells of his grandmother's house, giving him a sense of comfort. He tells me he even has some more bedding for when he needs to change his bed, safely stored to protect the ability to create this olfactory warmth. When I asked him if he would consider his room home, he pointed to how relaxing it is and how it reflects himself:

> "Yeah, yeah, I would because when I leave my sister's and come back it feels nice to be back, that's the only reason it feels like home. Straight up, I'd say it is rela- it's just the way I've got my room looking, it's just like me. It's just nice and chilled." (Mark, Heeley)

This sense of home for some goes beyond their room into the residence, in this case, Nest:

> Kate: So what is it about Nest that is making it feel more like home?
>
> Willow: I don't know like my bedroom I suppose, it just looks just dead homely… And the office like it's got naturey things in it. I don't know, like it's just beautiful.

The efforts made by the staff to make the office look homely are positively received by Willow, contributing to her experience of homeliness in Nest. Willow also tells me that the environment within Nest is also calmer than other residences she's been in, potentially reflecting the success of the application of practices of Psychologically Informed Environments (Haigh et al., 2012).

> "It just makes me feel homely and just so I can relax, just like an actual room, instead of just a jail cell." (Mark, Heeley)

Mark connects how important a sense of homeliness is to be able to relax, to not feel on edge. He likens his actions in putting his things in his room to transforming it into some sort of home as opposed to a "jail cell". I asked each resident to describe their room. Each room is similarly basic in what they are given to start with; just a bed, window, fridge, drawers and wardrobe, perhaps resembling a jail cell (see Figure 9: Photo of Nest, photo 3) as Mark suggests. Focusing initially on the visual rather than aural aspects of the room, many participants described their actions as aiming to make the room more homely. These actions, making their space their own, might be considered part of a potential quest for home (Richardson, 2019). If not a quest for home in its entirety, then perhaps some of the dimensions of home.

Like Mark, Lucas tried to create a sense of order, and also hung items that were reminders of other spaces. He made his room feel more homely through order and identifying places for belongings that linked him to people and places from his past.

Lucas told me:

> "Just arranging my shit, having my shit arranged. Having my wardrobe and my shoes in a certain place and my fridge in a certain place and my shampoos and shit, do you know what I mean? Just, like, hanging things like my Dad's funeral programme makes it homely, do you know what I mean? Just little things. Like, putting my fan on the wall, that makes it homely. I want to walk in the room, and it looks homely." (Lucas, Heeley)

Listing his limited possessions, he told me how important it was to have his things around him to create a sense of homeliness. In this way he is making connections between himself and his space, even though he knows his time in the residence is temporary. He uses the term "homely" and describes the desire to be able to walk into his space and it feel "like home". His description indicates a sense of comfort he gets from having his room in this way. He suggests a feeling of security and agency by exerting control over his space.

Other participants did similar things. Nico admitted they had decorated "a bit". They told me that they had put up photos of their boyfriend who had died. Homeliness was created through "making it mine" (Amber). Some participants suggested that what made it homely

was themselves. They said the environment isn't homely itself, but it is possible to make it more homely in part by making it theirs.

> "It is, it is homely, don't get it twisted, I made myself at home, innit? Do you know what I mean? But it ain't homely." (Lucas, Heeley)

Lucas indicates the difference between the attempt at making it homely through putting things in their place. He also explained why Heeley "ain't homely". Like Mark, who suggested he wanted to make his room more homely than a prison cell, Lucas is making himself at home.

They both sense the potential similarities between the hostel and a prison.

> "It's not homely because, like you say, like, I'm sat in there trying to do my shit, say if it's something like my mental health worker will come in, we'll be sat in there, and then someone will come in and sit down, put the telly on, so we'll have to move." (Lucas, Heeley)

This quote indicates a lack of privacy and control for such things as a conversation with a mental health worker. This is due to a lack of control over a space that is easily accessible by other residents. This lack of control and privacy is also evident in Jasmine's description of having her room checked every week. She also has to engage with a project worker every time she enters the building (having to "buzz in").

> "Erm, it can just be I think a bit much sometimes with, like, having to buzz in, like, and having your room checked once a week. And just if you're out for, like, more than a day or whatever, and you get reported missing. There's a lot of that." (Jasmine, Roost)

Jasmine expresses frustration too that her freedom is limited. She informs me that she must tell staff where she is if she's not at the residence for any length of time for fear of being reported missing.

A further limitation was the length of duration of stay in the residence. Mark chose to make his space homely *because* he didn't know how long he was going to stay:

> “Yeah. I don't long how I'm going to be here. Someone's been here for two years, do you know what I mean, so I could be here for fucking as long as that. That's why I've got my room right nice, do you know what I mean, if I'm going to be here that long, I want to be able to enjoy it.” (Mark, Heeley)

The young adults I spoke to had lived in the accommodation from anything from just a few days to many months, even a year. Unlike Mark, for most of the participants the unknown length of time they would be living there was a limiting reason to invest in modifying their space. Many spoke of the unknown duration of their stay and how this limited their desire to make their space their own.

Eliza didn’t decorate because she “couldn’t be faffing”. “It needs decorating,” she told me, “but if I move out there's no point because I'm planning on moving out of here, so there's no point”. She wanted to decorate it but didn’t get round to it, and then she was expecting to move out. This temporary element also interacted with the lack of financial resources, as Nico suggested.

> “I bloody would if I had the fecking money. If I had the bloody money, it would be decorated... But I don't want to be doing that right now. Because I want to be seeing what's going on with me moving first and what's going on. Because I don't want to be putting money into a room that I know I’m not going to be staying at.” (Nico, Roost)

The efforts to make physical spaces more homely are applied within the limits of finances. The unknown amount of time does not warrant the expenditure of resources. This is compounded by a set of institutional restrictions laid out in the house rules (see appendix 11.5). It is not only the displacement that causes deficits in the dimensions of home. It is also the continued deprivation of financial, cultural and social resources that restricts participants from recreating home in their new space.

Romoli et al. (2022) suggest:

> “In a dynamic process, a person manipulates his/her physical private space to recreate home-like environments that more accurately reflect parts of him/herself, thereby creating a sense of ‘home’” (p. 15)

Participants were financially limited in their ability to manipulate their physical private spaces to recreate a home-like environment and reflect themselves. However, they did have relatively free access to music through devices, data and platforms such as Spotify. Music was a more democratically accessible resource to creating a sense of home.

7.1.1 "You can't really take a sound bar to a fucking doorstep, can you?" (Riley): Music devices used to modify one's space

Turning now to the role of music within this context of "bedding in" to the physical space, my observations, the interviews and the diaries demonstrate that music is played almost constantly when young people are in the residence. This is often at high volume. It follows then that young adult's music permeates their experience of their room for much of the time, whether listening via headphones or speakers. Riley had very little in his room to make it his own, but he did have his speaker:

> "I've got my speaker in there [my room] and that's about it. Yeah, I've got a little, I've got, I've got a speaker that my nan got me from Turkey. It's like, it's like a shape of a car and it's got LED lights on the top. So it is, but that speaker, the amount of parties that speaker has been to, like, when, when my Mum came down and dropped clothes off, I said to her, 'Listen if you need to throw some clothes out to put this speaker in,' I said, 'Throw the speaker in.'" (Riley, Roost)

He described it in detail, from the shape to the LED lights. This speaker itself acts like many of the items mentioned previously, connecting him to memories of his past. These memories relate in particular to his grandmother, but also to parties he enjoyed with friends. This speaker was so important to him that he asked his mother to prioritise it over clothes when she came to visit him. He told me he wanted it with him when he left home, but he was worried about it getting damaged. He said, "you can't really take a sound bar to a fucking doorstep, can you?", so he had to wait until his mother came to visit him and was able to bring it with her. This shows a high level of prioritisation of music devices. This high level is also reflected in his prioritisation of headphones, his alternative source of music. He put these in his bag when he left home and prioritised them when he left home and was on the street, even over food.

He told me:

> "By the time, by, like, the second night, they were fucked then… So I ended up going… because I had a bit of money with me … I must've had about 30 quid and spent like a tenner on… headphones. I was fuming… a third of the money that I had went on headphones… Because I already had food in my bag anyway. So, I was just like, 'fuck it'." (Riley, Roost)

At this point Riley is sleeping rough, this is before he came to the residence, but his recollection demonstrates how important music is to him – as demonstrated by the prioritisation of headphones over food. His headphones provided music. His speaker provides music *and* a source of connection through the autobiographical memories associated with it. Even if he had the opportunity to buy the same make and model, he told me he wouldn't. It would be devoid of these connections.

Some participants described the impact the music had on their room. Max wrote in his diary that the music was "filling his room with an angelic presence". Not all the participants were so descriptive or creative in their descriptions. Many simply wanted to fill their room with loud music and make the space "bounce" or "vibrate". The volume means the room is filled with music, modifying the experience, detracting from the sense of loneliness, which was particularly present in silence. For Eliza, the silence "makes you lonely and depressed and just stressed out of your nut". Nico concurred saying, "silence creeps me out". Music is also a comfort in the face of the alternative of silence. Most of the participants vehemently abhorred silence, like Riley, who said:

> "Don't like it [silence]. Can't, I don't, don't do silence. Silence is too loud for me." (Riley, Roost)

Riley eloquently encapsulates the experience of silence as being *loud,* something that is overwhelming and oppressive. In the silence, all that Nico can hear are their own anxiety and fears.

> “So I've always got to have, even if it's, even if it's not music, even if it’s just someone talking or something happening in the background. Like, as long as it's not the silent, ‘cause if it’s silent, oh my God, I'm overthinking like mad. So…” (Nico, Roost)

And Seth suggested:

> “Without music it would be hard. Nah I don't know. I don't know what I'd do.” (Seth, Roost)

Nico was similar to many others in that they suggested that when faced with silence, they were also faced with their own thoughts and fears. Eliza gives some form to the loudness:

> “Yeah… Well, you've got no one to speak to it just makes you lonely and depressed and just stressed out of your nut.” (Eliza, Roost)

For Eliza, the lack of sound reminded her that she was alone. For Nico, the lack of sound caused them to overthink. For Seth, the idea of life without music was perceived as hard. Their interviews pointed to a range of emotional insecurities: anxiety, depression, loneliness. Silence was “loud” and stressed you “out of your nut”, exacerbating these feelings. Silence reminds you “you’ve got no-one” and makes you “lonely and depressed”. The participants referred to music as a tool used to smother the internal anxiety that lead to chaotic thoughts and emotions. Music used to avoid the silence and protect oneself from one’s thoughts, anxieties and worries. There was evidence of other digital activities such as TV, social media and radio doing similarly, but music seemed to predominate.

As well as avoiding anxiety, participants were trying to avoid boredom:

> “Boring… It's dead quiet… There's nowt to do… Yeah it's boring.” (Eliza, Roost)

The participants also used music to alleviate boredom and for that, the volume often had to be high. Amber told me that “even my earphones in are never loud enough”. Lucas wanted his music to be loud and vibrating to avoid the boredom.

> “’Cause I like music, I like loud music, innit? ‘Cause if it’s quiet, it sounds boring. When it’s loud, it’s vibrating and that, do you know what I mean?” (Lucas, Heeley)

Jasmine and Eliza suggested that they like the music loud:

> “And yeah, it's nice and loud… Yeah, just feel like it's vibrating yeah, and it's like the louder it is, the more real it feels, if that makes sense, like the more it's there, like more of it is there because its loud. Does that make any sense whatsoever? I literally do not want to sound like a lunatic.” (Jasmine, Roost)

> “It's hip hop so it's all loud, beat and stuff so it makes my room like bounce.” (Eliza, Roost)

Lucas, Eliza and Jasmine speak of a heightened experience that is physical by using the words "vibrating" and "bounce". It can be inferred from their description that this is a high arousal experience. The participants point to a bodily experience of movement that is felt as well as heard, countering their sometimes low-arousal environment.

These seem to be contradictory statements. On the one hand, participants want music to avoid the silence in which chaotic emotions and anxiety emerge; a state of high arousal. On the other hand, participants listened to music to counter low arousal and boredom. This may reflect a common aspect of young adulthood which features challenges of emotion regulation (as discussed in chapter three, Music listening and young people) which may result in a sudden lurch from high to low arousal. On the other hand it could be that the two states are linked. Either way, music, and particularly loud music, seems to be an effective antidote and regulatory tool.

The use of music in this way supports other studies in which music is used as a diversion from stressful thoughts (e.g. Saarikallio, 2012) and it is particularly pertinent in the high anxiety environment of the accommodation. Music at a high volume also supports Gabrielsson’s

description of strong experiences with music that "completely dominate one's attention and shut out everything else. The world around one disappears, time stands still, the only thing that counts is music and oneself, here and now" (Gabrielsson, 2011, p. 67). Volume at a high level may be allowing the resident to be in the moment, even if just for a moment.

I return to Romoli et al. (2022) and their suggestion that a person manipulated his/her private space to more accurately reflect parts of him/herself. There are significant restrictions on physical alterations to space for the residents. There are, however, fewer restrictions on the ways in which they can use music and sound to modify their space. This might give them greater agency and control over their environment than they would have without the availability of music and music playing devices. Tia DeNora describes music having the ability to create room through refurnishing and through removal (DeNora, 2013). She draws on Goffman's description of the *Asylum* (1961) and describes the *asylum-creating* practices of music. This is a concept she has reconfigured as a "room of one's own" (DeNora, 2013, p. 47, quoting Woolf, 1929), drawing on Goffman's observation that the inmates need "distance" and "elbow room" (Goffman, 1961, p. 319). She says, "an asylum is a room in which to remake the features of one's world" (p. 47). The two terms, *asylum* and *home,* are not commonly equated. However, DeNora's reconfiguring of the concept of an asylum bears many of the same features of that described in chapter two as *home.* It is a safe space, a place for privacy, a place where one can relax, a place where one can work on the reflexive project of the self. Eliza describes what she does when she enters her room:

> "Well I lock my door. I go and sit on my bed. I look at my phone messages. I put my music on and then I go back on my phone." (Eliza, Roost)

Many of the aspects of both asylum and home can be seen in this short process. Eliza's door is locked, creating distance, "elbow room", creating safety. She sits on her bed, presumably a place of comfort. She looks at her messages, connecting with friends and family and puts her music on, enveloping her in sound.

7.1.2 "You can never get to be comfortable" (Jasmine): Managing comfort in supported accommodation.

The experience of comfort and safety is limited within the residence.

> "I don't feel safe here whatsoever.... What I mean by this is that I do not feel comfortable here. Now how can I feel safe if I don't feel comfortable? If I was to tell you that I feel 100% safe it would be a contradiction." (Riley, Roost)

Riley connects comfort and safety, suggesting that one requires the other. Similarly, Jasmine (quoted in the section heading) suggests that comfort is difficult within the accommodation. Mitzen (2006) comments on Giddens' suggestion that "all social actors intrinsically know that behind the routines of daily life, 'chaos lurks'" (p. 345, referring to Giddens, 1991). Jasmine and Riley are referring to a kind of chaos in their life, fluctuating, chaotically, between different emotional states in her playlists. This description was reinforced in Jasmine's second interview by her explanation about her trip to Accident and Emergency that weekend, and the visible bandages on her arms.

Music may have had a role to play in providing comfort as it was found to be part of daily routines. Forty percent of diary entries describing music as accompanying relaxation, waking up or going to sleep (see appendix 11.16).

> "I'll be just chilling, and I'll be just listening to my music, just having, cuddled up with my, with Alex's blanket, just doing my thing…
>
> And there'll be other times where it'll be an escape for me. Where it's like, if I've just got so much going on and I just want to be left alone, that door's getting locked and it's not getting opened for no one. So it's just, either, I'm just either chilling and just, being myself and vibing, or it's an escape from everything that's going on, really. So, yeah." (Nico, Roost)

Nico describes music as part of their routine, "chilling", listening to music, being left alone with themselves. "That door's getting locked" they say, "and it's not getting opened for no-one". They go on to tell me that music in combination with their room is "an escape from everything that's going on". Protecting the space from others is something explored further

in the next chapter, but for now I focus on the activities within the space that require protection. This was reflected in other participants' interviews, in which music was used to relax; to create a sense of security. In Nico's experience this included being cuddled up with (their ex-boyfriend) Alex's blanket in a physical and aural cocoon.

Unlike DeNora's asylum (DeNora, 2013), and contrary to my expectations, I found little evidence of music supporting "removal" from presence in the residence, other than Nico's suggestion of music as an "escape". This could be interpreted as not the individual removing themselves from the immediate space (the bedroom) through music, but instead using music to remove the space beyond the bedroom door, the residence. By blocking out the residence out they are a universe within the bedroom, facilitated by the music.

This pattern of music listening practices is similar to other environments, such as those described by Bull (2000) in reference to headphones. This, he suggested, allowed "sonic habitation", "gating" and "framing". Theorists have used words such as "aural warmth" (Labelle, 2010) and "amniotic" (Downs, 2021a) to refer to the experience of listening through headphones. Labelle describes this interior world as a "counterbalance to the dynamics of exposure… comfort and reprieve from the demands of the exterior world" (p. 48). Labelle goes on to describe homelessness as a transgression against the "stability of the ordered home" (p. 49). Of course, there may not have been a stable, ordered home to transgress to start with, although there may be a concept of "idealised home" to which the experience of homelessness is compared. He describes the home as functioning as "an elaborated sonorous envelope" keeping safe, or functioning to replicate, an imaginary or primary aural warmth" (p. 52). Locked away in the bedroom, the resident uses music to create a sonorous envelope for themselves within the space, combining music's functionality with the functionality of other objects such as mementoes and warm blankets.

Whilst the participants in this study primarily listened to music through speakers, a similar process is at play. There was, however, no sense in the participants' descriptions that the experience was in anyway warm or womb-like. They were much too exposed to external threat. Whilst the music (through speakers or headphones) reinforced the walls somewhat, they did not do so sufficiently to enable the resident to properly relax, as suggested by Amber.

> "Like, even my earphones in are never loud enough. I can still hear everything. I don't like to hear anything else but the, my music." (Amber, Heeley)

The achievement of aural warmth or an amniotic experience relies not simply on the possession of headphones or a set of speakers, but on the addition of a surrounding environment that can be overwhelmed by such sonic walls. This cannot be fully achieved in supported accommodation. This deprivation supports Morley's suggestion (2000) that privacy and comfort are socially distributed. Privacy and comfort are less available to those with fewer social and economic resources, such as young people living in supported accommodation.

7.2 Social space

The (lived) social space (Lefebvre, 1991) within the accommodation consists primarily of other residents and staff. On the whole, I found participants to be broadly positive in their reflections on the staff, but often deeply suspicious of other residents.

> Kate: Yeah. Do you want to know anyone else here?
>
> Amber: No. No point. Don't need to know any of them. I'm nice to them. I'm nice to her across there, she's a nice bird. She gives me lighters, I give her lighters, chat to her and that, make sure she's good. But I've lived in these places for so long now, don't need to make friends.

The doorway is the boundary line to be protected. My informants talked a lot about music and separation from others in the social space, so I have devoted a significant part of the next chapter (chapter eight, Music listening and security in supported accommodation) to this topic. There I discuss music as a tool for managing the dynamics of boundaries between residents.

Jasmine had earlier suggested that Roost felt like home because of the presence of a staff worker, Jade, with whom she had connected. She had also bonded with another resident, Nadine. Later, in my second interview with Jasmine, she had been living at Roost a bit longer. Jade had left and Jasmine's description of Roost was less certain. Jasmine said that it was connection with people that made her feel at home.

> “Probably... like, my family, because whatever you are with them, you're home. But then sometimes you're on your own. And then this isn't really a permanent place. Like, when you think about it, it's just something very temporary. And then after that, so fair enough, you might be in your own little warm bubble at the moment of, ‘Oh, I've got my favourite staff member, I've got...', there are so many pros that come along with this place. But then none of these people are permanent. And they all, you know, they all have their own lives. But I don't really know. Yeah.” (Jasmine, Roost)

Jasmine has gone through a process of realising that both the context and the bonds she created in Roost at the start were temporary. She has started to see them for what they were: limited. The ties have been revealed to be loose and light and she has seen herself as on her own. This lack of security prevents herself from being connected to her space, reducing her investment in people who are not permanent and who “have their own lives”. Similarly, Riley felt this isolation and continued to engage with a homeless outreach project he had previously connected with because the team there was welcoming.

> “‘Cause I go to outreach teams now because obviously, erm, not that I need them, I go, to be honest, the only thing I really get from there is a fucking cup of tea off them. But like, because I know all the people there, they’re like, “Ah, you should still come down, even though you’re sorted now.” So I still go down, you know, I do my thing. So…” (Riley, Roost)

These quotes create a picture of a residence where young people are largely suspicious of other residents.

There were times in which my participants connected with each other. Here, I discuss music as a facilitator of social space.

7.2.1 “I think that the security guard came and joined us!” (Nico): Music listening and social connection

There were some limited examples in which participants’ music listening practices led to social connections and bonds being built. Tom and Lucas had built up a connection, which

Lucas described as like a brotherhood. Both listed listening to music as something they had in common, alongside smoking weed and being easy to talk to:

> "So we help each other out. So if I go shopping, say he's got no food in, I'll split that food with him. And if I've got nothing in, he'll go, 'Right, I'm going to split this with you,' innit? So that's how it goes, innit? 'Cause we're brothers, like, that's it." (Lucas, Heeley)

Tom and Lucas suggest that it is the shared preference in music that helped them connect, in line with other literature (Boer et al., 2011; Gabriel & Young, 2011). For YaBoi, music was a lubricant to support awkward pauses in conversation:

> "Well, I'm always singing around the place. Sometimes too much, like, we'll be having full conversations and I'll just be like spitting bars… a lot of the time to fill up the quiet. I just feel awkward when it's too quiet." (YaBoi, Nest)

And for others, like Nico, Imani, Jasmine and Max in this example, music was also a facilitator of social connections, providing an opportunity to dance together:

> "We was out here last night we was blasting music at, like, six am. The whole night. It was me, Imani, Jasmine and Max. Literally four of us, literally, I've got literal videos of us all dancing to music at like four am in the morning. Don't know how, do not know how the security guard did not tell us off. I think that the security guard came and joined us! [Laughs]" (Nico, Roost)

Nico, Imani, Jasmine and Max felt surprised they were not told to be quiet by the night security guard as they were playing the music so loudly. Through the collective experience of listening to music, at high volume, the interpersonal synchrony (e.g. Tarr et al., 2014) created through dancing together meant that the four residents were able to create social bonds.

Music was useful in supporting the creation of bonds in some ways, however, they were often short-lived This is something Eliza reflected on in her interview with me:

> “It's different now that Mimi’s not here ‘cause I was close to Mimi… Like Milly, Milly was here, Milly has gone, Rainer was here, Rainer has gone. Kaylee was here, Kaylee has gone. Mimi was here, Mimi has gone… it's not the same.” (Eliza, Roost)

Not long after this particular event Max moved out, and Jasmine too a couple of months later. Music was useful for connecting with others in the moment, but only when connecting with others was desirable. For many, this type of connection was not desirable, having seen a number of neighbours come and go, investment in relationships within the hostel would be considered too expensive for such short-term reward. Music was also useful in separating rather than connecting.

7.2.2 “It’s like waking up to your husband” (Amber): Artists and social surrogacy

Despite these moments of social connection through music, many of my informants told me they experienced loneliness within the accommodation. They lacked meaningful connections and were separated from those in other social and physical spaces.

> “Being here is a bit lonely sometimes... I'm not used to that… I don't like being on my own. I feel like... I do get lonely when I'm downstairs [in my bedroom].” (Seth, Roost)

In this absence, I found evidence to suggest that some participants turned to music as a form of social surrogacy, a term used to describe something that provides a human-*like* connection and to provide a substitute for human connection (Clarke et al., 2015). Amber, for instance, vigorously stated that she wanted to keep herself separate from others in the residence. She stated, “if I have no friends, it means no drama”. Whilst Amber deliberately kept herself separate from other residents, this didn’t mean she didn’t experience loneliness. She told me she listened to music “just so I’m not alone, in a sense, ‘cause *I am* alone: I deal with everything on my own”.

Schäfer & Eerola (2020) proposed three component parts to this social surrogacy. Firstly, affiliation with symbolic groups, something that has been explored in section 3.2.6. Secondly, reminders of existing or past relationships, something explored through autobiographical

memories in 6.2.1, but relating to people who had died. Nico gave an example of music connecting them with someone who was alive as they listened to Five Finger Death Punch:

> "Yeah. So, my playlist. So yeah, it varies of what it can be, like, at the moment, I'm listening to bands like Five Finger Death Punch, which is a rock metal band. They're what my Dad listens to, because at the moment, I'm missing my Dad a lot. And it's also because, hopefully, if I'm going down on the 29th, I'll get to see him again. First time in two years. So…" (Nico, Roost)

Nico has included tracks from a band their father listens to, Five Finger Death Punch, referencing in their explanation that they are missing their Dad a lot as they haven't seen him for two years. They speak of this music as a way of reminding them of this significant person in their life, and to cope with their absence.

The third component part of social surrogacy through music is through para-social relationships, which I will explore further here, focusing initially on Amber.

> "So, Nines. Oh, I fall asleep to Nines. I literally do. I don't know what it is about him, or his music, 'cause it's literally grime. But it just puts me, like, even if I'm just chilling, like, no matter what, Nines is my go-to music. I'll just always put his album on and I'll just be sat there and fall asleep to it. I wake up in the morning and not matter what mood I'm in, I could be sad, I put my Nines on and it just makes me feel normal. It's like, 'Yeah. Hi, baby… cause I'm waking up to him. It's like waking up to your husband. [Laughs]" (Amber, Heeley)

Amber describes waking up to Nines, a grime artist (otherwise known as Courtney Freckleton), as like waking up to a husband. This indicates a sense of intimacy she experiences in the music. Intimacy, which is particularly apparent with falling asleep and waking up to his music. She describes the effect it has on her "making her feel normal". This suggests that she often feels abnormal, possibly in recognition of that fact that she is in a hostel room rather than a home with a husband or partner. The experience of waking up to

the music feels real enough to feel like she is saying “hi, baby” to him, as if he was present in the room.

Jasmine also referred to an artist in romantic terms. She told me “Lil Peep is the love of my life”. This indicated an experience that went beyond respect and enjoyment of his music into something with benefits more akin to those of a romantic relationship. For Jasmine, this surrogacy focused around Lil Peep’s songs being meaningful, emotional connection and having similarities to her life:

> “he's mentally ill, one of his songs is like, 'In high school, I was a loner, I was a reject, I was a poser, multiple personalities and bipolar'. Which I feel like I relate to [laughs],... you might not be like, everyone's type of music, but like I vibe to it, like 'yeah me too'.” (Jasmine, Roost speaking about Lil Peep, 2017)

“Yeah, me too” Jasmine says of Lil Peep, suggesting his experiences and hers are similar. This indicates a sense of comfort and company in her experience of life. She reflected on her own medical conditions, having spent some time in the mental health hospital before coming to Roost. She was still self-harming, and was being assessed for Autism/ADHD amongst other conditions. Through listening to music that reflected her own life, she gained social benefits similar to those of talking and listening to someone who had been through similar challenges with mental health. She also refers to his phrase “In high school, I was a loner, I was a reject”. She reflects on these words in relation to her difficult time at school as an outsider. She believes that Lil Peep shares this experience with her. This, she told me, helped her to feel like she wasn’t alone, that she wasn’t so different. It relates to the findings of Kresovich (2022) previously mentioned, who suggests hearing similar experiences in lyrics can contribute positively to healthy behaviour change. Similarly, Jasmine also spoke about the music providing a social surrogate for a parenting relationship:

> “And it [music] helps. Because sometimes that's literally all you've got. You've not got anyone to be, like, 'right, get off your ass’, like, or whatever. Or ‘I'm here’, or it's not like a Mum or a Dad or a brother or a sister. And, it is hard sometimes. Because obviously, like, there's times where you just wish your Mum could wash your hair. Or there's time, it's just the little shit

> that people do, like, that you're like, 'Oh, I can't do that. And I'm never gonna be able to, because what is acceptable in my life will never be acceptable in theirs. And that's just the way it is. And it's got to be myself, or me living my whole life for them.' So, whatever. So obviously, without any of that, it is hard. But sometimes it's all you've got. And it's something, so, better than nothing." (Jasmine, Roost)

In the music, Jasmine is seeking someone, or something, to provide motivation, to say "right, get off your ass". She is also seeking comfort, such as saying "I'm here" or, Jasmine suggests, your Mum to wash your hair. In a similar way in study two, Carla listed a song by Queen Naija called *Mama's hand* (Queen Naija, 2018). She told me that she listened to this in the accommodation because it was "the relationship I wish I had with my mother". She went on to explain that she had to "mother her own mother" when she wanted to be mothered *by* her mother. She listens to this song to experience something of what it might be like to be mothered.

Speaking of music in this context, Jasmine says "it's something, so, better than nothing". This indicates that the benefits of music in providing social surrogacy are positive, but not fulfilling in the long-term. This supports the suggestion that these "social snacks" (Schäfer & Eerola, 2020) are helpful in the short-term but are not as satisfying as a "hearty meal". It is beyond the remit of this study to consider the adaptive value of using music for social surrogacy in any depth. In this context, however, it seemed music was used as a coping mechanism until the wider structural elements of social networks could be more effectively built up. It is potentially more positive than some alternative coping mechanisms.

7.3 Conclusion: music is a technology of space

Within this chapter I explored ways in which my participants had settled into their spaces, laying out their belongings and displaying mementoes that relate to missed loved ones. The ways they did this support the findings of previous research suggests that we make and remake our spaces to feel like home (Romoli et al., 2022), and to be a reflection of ourselves (Cooper Marcus, 1974). I also presented ways in which my participants did not do this, often citing the state of impermanence experienced within the accommodation alongside financial restrictions. In the absence of physical resources available for this practice I then turned to

consider the evidence of young people using music listening to modify their spaces, particularly the practices of filling the room with music at high volume (e.g. Max, Amber, Lucas) and avoiding silence (e.g. Nico, Eliza, Seth). Comparing these practices with Tia DeNora's description of music listening within similar institutions, I identified some similarities between the practices, particularly that of creating distance and elbow room (DeNora, 2013).

Within this space young people described the struggle to get comfortable within the wider environment where "chaos lurks" (Mitzen, 2006). Some of my participants described music as part of their practices of dwelling and chilling (also see avoiding silence and "stressing out of my nut"). This practice resembles a refurnishing of the room through music (DeNora, 2013), refurnishing that might not be possible financially or practically considering the transient experience within the physical fabric of the room. However, I found less evidence to suggest that my participants used music as much for "removal".

I compared my participants' experiences to the literature exploring music listening as a way to gate or frame habitation within a space (Bull, 2000; Downs; 2021; Labelle, 2010) but I found little to support the idea that these experiences were in anyway "amniotic", as chaos lurked (Mitzen, 2006), just beyond the bedroom door in environment described by my participants using those very words.

In the second part of this chapter, I considered the social space (Lefebvre, 1991) within the physical space. I identified a motivation amongst my participants to separate from others within the space, either to protect from people who were not like them or who would cause trouble that would detract from project self (Giddens, 1991). However, there were examples in which the literature regarding music listening and social connection was supported. This included shared music preferences (e.g. Lucas and Tom, e.g. Boer et al., 2011) and Jasmine, Max, Imani and Nico, dancing through the night in the communal living room (e.g. Tarr et al., 2014). However, these reports were not common.

In the absence of many instances of music being used for social connection, I did on the other hand find that music listening practices were useful in *replacing* human connection,

supporting the literature around social surrogacy (Schäfer & Eerola, 2020), which went some way to allay feelings of loneliness whilst within the residence.

In these ways, I suggest music listening has been harnessed by my participants as a technology of both the physical and social space, through filling and modifying physical space, and providing tools for connection and replacement of connection within social space. In the next chapter I go into more depth with these concepts, considering the dynamics within the residence and the ways in which music listening might support the management of the dynamics within this environment.

8 Music listening and the relationship between self and space in supported accommodation

In chapter six, I explored the ways in which young people living in supported accommodation used music listening to shape their sense of self. Drawing from the data I collected, I concluded that music listening could be considered a *technology of the self* within the environment of supported accommodation. “Technology of the self” is a term coined by Tia DeNora (1999), which I suggested provided a useful lens through which to understand the music listening practices observed within the accommodation which related to a sense of self.

In chapter seven, I extended this construct of music as “a technology of…”, arguing that music listening can also be considered a technology of *space*. This description was used to identify music listening practices that were directed at manipulating the experience of the space, particularly the bedroom. The goals of these practices included using music paraphernalia as aesthetic objects as well as using the audible sounds emitting from them to enhance the bedroom’s function as a site of meaning, and creating physical and psychological comfort in the space. In addition to manipulating the bedroom space itself, I suggested that music listening practices also reinforce and enhance the sense of protection that a bedroom affords by adding a sonic element to the physical protection of the walls. These enhancements through music listening also extend to a portable space created by wearing headphones whilst moving around the residence beyond the bedroom.

I have applied a binary categorisation to these chapters, focusing on either the “self” or the “space”. However, this categorisation masks other complexities of lived experience within the accommodation, as well as the music listening practices relating to these experiences. The examples in chapter six are *primarily* about the self but in the context of the space around the young person. Likewise, the examples in chapter seven are primarily about the management of space, but are inextricably linked to issues of self. Whilst it is useful to delineate between the two for the purpose of allocating concepts to chapters, it is in fact impossible to disentangle any of the examples entirely from either self or space.

Chapter eight contains the music listening practices that couldn't be considered primarily related to either self or space. I have therefore grouped them together in this chapter as examples that are focused on *both* the self and space. Reflecting on the relationship between the self and space, I suggest that it is dynamic, with each responding to changes in the other. There are constant changes in the space, particularly social space (such as staff changes and residents moving in and out) and indeed in the self (as participants develop their sense of self within the accommodation away from what was previously their home and community).

Security, agency and control are regular themes within this chapter. These themes reflect a goal identified amongst the participants to be able to manipulate their environment to support personal needs such as comfort, identity development and emotional security. In particular, I explore music listening practices in the management of nested spaces of privacy (Gal, 2002) within the accommodation, ranging from the communal and almost public spaces of the kitchen and living room, to potential privacy of the bedroom and en-suite (where provided by the residence).

Drawing on Richardson's suggestion that "the intersection of place, identity and performance" is the locus of home (Richardson, 2019, p.1), I observe in this chapter that the entanglement of place/space and self/identity could be considered inherent to the process of constructing home. I suggest that the examples in chapters six, seven and here might contribute to the development of a sense of home within the supported accommodation. Music listening practices aimed at achieving goals relating to dynamics of both self and space together are therefore particularly interesting as possible indications of ways in which music listening practices might relate to an experience, construction or performance of home (discussed further in the next chapter, 9.2).

In this chapter I first explore the sense of agency and control of the physical environment in the dynamic wider environment of the accommodation, reflecting on participants' desires for more freedom than they have (8.1). I then go on to explore the use of music listening in the management of privacy and security this environment (8.2) by reinforcing existing physical boundaries with sound, permeating others' boundaries, or creating a movable boundary. This includes managing separation from others (8.2.1), music's ability to accidentally or deliberately transgress others' boundaries (8.2.2) and protecting privacy through music

listening when moving in more public spaces (8.2.3). I finish this chapter by suggesting that music listening can be considered a technology of managing the relationships between self and space. “Staring at the ceiling wondering how it ever came to this” (Jasmine): Agency and control of the physical and social environment

Participants struggled to maintain control over the dynamics of their physical and social environment which are primarily controlled by the institution and influenced by other residents. Riley described his experience in a previous hostel as being like a jail:

> “I felt like I was in an open jail. I felt like I was on a wing. In jail… It angered me, it made me more angry. And it also made me think, is this ever going to end. It felt like my freedom had been taken away from me and it hadn’t.” (Riley, Roost)

Riley describes a lack of freedom, something that made him angry. He also identifies a difference between the experience and the facts. His freedom *hadn’t* been taken away from him, but it felt like it had. The rules (see 11.14 and 11.15) within hostels were at times frustrating, particularly for Jasmine, who complained:

> “It’s really annoying, and you can’t have [visitors] past 10 o’clock. They’re not allowed out your room. Yeah, that’s true. That’s just really annoying to me”.

Continuing to reflect on the rules, Jasmine likened Roost to residential care for children:

> “We literally feel like we’re in an adult care home, and that’s what we always say to all our friends, it literally feels like bloody adult care home… like really just like kids being looked after by the staff and told when to go to bed.” (Jasmine, Roost)

Jasmine’s description of the accommodation as an “adult care home” suggests that residents are sometimes given rules that lead to them feel as if they are being treated like children. For some participants, at a time of transition to adulthood, this conflicts with the desire to acquire independence and autonomy. It may also conflict with the reasons the individual left home in the first place, perhaps to avoid this sort of control over their lives. I noticed a level of inevitability and lack of control in the way participants described their journey to the

accommodation. Mark said, “I got put in here”, suggesting others were making the decisions. Jasmine described early on in her time at Roost how she was “staring at the ceiling wondering how it ever came to this” (Jasmine). There had been a series of events leading to Jasmine being Roost and she didn’t expect to be in this position.

The unexpected and unplanned series of events leading to coming to Roost or Heeley continues beyond the point of arrival and through the time of being in the accommodation, and likely well beyond:

> Tom: I viewed a shared accommodation last week and they said I could have that but they've not, they've still not told me now a week later when I can move in there. So I don't even know like...
>
> Kate: Who's “they” that will tell you?
>
> Tom: I don't even know. This is what I'm saying I don't know. Ruth just told me last week to go to give me an address and said, go and view that. They give me no details or nothing. People saying they've been ringing my phone and they've not, like I've got no missed calls on my phone. Strange innit.

As well as the staff at the residence, the participants are highly aware of the system they are being managed within. However, whilst the participants know the system exists and that they are within it, it is managed by an invisible “they” who make decisions. In my discussion with participants, this “they” ranged from workers at Centrepoint who coordinated access to supported accommodation like Roost, Nest and Heeley, to council staff, social services and the algorithms of Manchester Move (the online portal that allows young people to bid on properties they would like to live in, Manchester Move, n.d.), which determines the chances of being given more permanent council housing. In the absence of financial capital with which to make alternative choices, residents are at the mercy of a system managed by invisible people with whom they find it difficult to connect. Choice is not only restricted with regards to the bigger considerations such as where they will live or how long they will be at the accommodation, but also with regards to the smaller day-to-day decisions.

The experience described by participants of engaging with these wider forces was often one of resignation to the control of a faceless other. In speaking with Jasmine, I noticed her using

the term they frequently, seemingly with no distinction between “them” whether housing services staff, healthcare professionals or social workers. Talking to me about a time she was in a mental health hospital and wanted to discharge herself, Jasmine said, “I was like fuck this shit I've got to leave, and *they* weren't letting me leave”. She was referring to staff who were stopping her from discharging herself from the hospital. Referring to a couple of months later when she was in another hostel and waiting to hear about moving to Roost, she said “*they* were like ‘you can move in today or tomorrow after the assessment’”. In both cases, significant choices about her life were made by other people, in other institutions, forming an amorphous “they”. I explored this in more detail with her, asking who “they” were?

> Kate: Who are “they”?
>
> Jasmine: People in charge.
>
> Kate: Who are the people in charge?
>
> Jasmine: [Pause.] Everywhere where you go there's, like, the people that make, the big bosses, like, I don't know, I think it can be maybe... support workers and the people that allocate places or... I'm not really sure, but... The people that are in charge, I think… I think they just move you to places, that's their job.
>
> Kate: Have you ever met any of them?
>
> Jasmine: Erm, I used to have, I used to have someone from Centrepoint called Chloe. And she used to, I think she tried to get me here, but yeah, so I've met Chloe. I've not really met anyone else. I, er, no, I have, to be fair, I've met, like, obviously, like, people that work for mental health and maybe the mental health team, like psychiatrists and whatever the hell you call them, all the people that decide what's best, maybe even the police. And, yeah, support work – not, I don't know. Just people that sort housing out, I guess… Council, maybe, yeah.”

The use of the term “they” reflects an environment in which Jasmine’s choices are made, and limited, by others. These others work within a complex system of housing support, charity workers, psychiatrists, mental health teams, the council, the police and what seemed to be a

bewildering array of people sorting things out. This was reflected in the experiences of other young people, many of whom described waiting for the "big bosses", the people that make decisions.

> "And you can sing in your room. You can sing anywhere, and you can just do your own thing really." (Willow, Nest)

Willow enjoyed the freedom she had in her room to be able to listen to music and to sing along to it. She expressed that she had freedom to "do her own thing" with music. Music is one of the few things she has control over. In an environment where there is a lack of control over one's environment, which leads to a lack of agency, music was a resource to which young people had relatively unrestricted access. In the next section I describe how it is harnessed within the accommodation as a means by which to take control of the physical and social environment, to an extent.

Access to music is relatively unfettered. There are restrictions to access through the variability of devices, such as Mark's basic "brick" phone, or Tom's broken phone echoing findings about the transitory nature of digital devices in Woelfer's work (2011, 2012). There are also restrictions in terms of availability to data and Wi-Fi. However, access to platforms such as YouTube, Spotify and Soundcloud makes music a potent resource for a comparatively low financial cost and could be harnessed to mediate their experience.

8.1 "If I'm out, no one goes in my room" (Nico): Security and control of the separation of public and private

Within chapter seven (Music listening and space in supported accommodation), I suggested that, although my participants used music to connect with each other some of the time, the prevailing pattern was for them to try to keep themselves separate from each other. I found evidence to support the idea that playing music was useful in this process. Amber decided to separate herself from others in the hostel to maintain her drive to "improve her life" without the distraction of friends who would "make her life a living misery". This was a judgement she made based on previous experience in other hostels. Some, such as Riley and Carla, expressed similar sentiments. For others, such as Eliza and Jasmine, previous enthusiasm for making friends within the residences was diminished with experience after residents and

staff moved on unpredictably. For some residents, this experience led to a desire to separate themselves from others and from the changeability of the environment – difficult within the close quarters of supported accommodation.

Within the residence, the boundary to the bedroom affords the resident protection from their neighbours. This is both in terms of the security of their possessions (food bank food, treasured items that remind them of people they have lost, etc.) and also the security of information about themselves, in other words, privacy. Whilst there were occasions when thefts occurred between residents, these were referred to rarely within the interviews. What was important to participants was protecting their privacy and so it is from this point of view that I will now continue.

The public/private divide within supported accommodation is considerably different to that within a traditional house. When a resident steps over the threshold of the residence, they move from a public sphere into one that is managed institutionally. There is CCTV and staff manning the door. The space is shared with strangers – other residents who change on a regular basis. It is only when a resident crosses the threshold to their bedroom that the space could potentially be called private. Even then, with thin walls, the requirement to share bathrooms, and the imposition of institutionally required weekly room checks, the private/public divide is constantly challenged. The physical elements of the building create a version of privacy. Other methods are also at hand. In this thesis, I was particularly interested in how headphones, speakers, high volume and other music mediation might perform the same function.

8.1.1 "Don't have privacy in this damn place" (Nico): Managing privacy and separation in supported accommodation

The double door to the residence affords a degree of safety and privacy to the residents. Whilst it protects the residents from unwelcome visitors (like Jasmine's family), and the prying eyes of the general public, the communal spaces within the residence are still relatively public. One has to "buzz in" and engage with a member of staff, one may encounter other residents between this front door and the bedroom door as they travel the narrow corridors. Even if they manage to minimise interactions with humans, the area is covered by

CCTV, which is recorded and monitored by staff within the office (Figure 11, photo 4). Only the bedroom door separates the resident from the semi-private and communal world of the residence. The door is a negotiable boundary to each level of nested privacy (Gal, 2002).

Even within the most private space, privacy can be diminished. A requirement of living in the residence is the institutional crossing of this boundary for weekly room check by staff (as required by the House Rules, Appendix 11.13). Room checks was one of the most common complaints I heard from participants in this research.

> “… the room checks. That does my head in when I'm about to go out. ‘Room checks'. If I'm out, no one goes in my room. If I'm about to go out, I'm going out.” (Eliza, Roost)

For Eliza, room checks were an irritant. She fiercely protected her space, reinforcing that the only way anyone would be allowed in her room was if she was there to supervise. She also angrily stated that the timing of them often conflicted with her own plans and schedules, and she resented having to change her plans to make room for them. It may well also have been that she chose to go out when room checks were happening in order to exert some control over this ritual exposure.

Willow told me that they check the fridge and fire alarm are working, and check the windows and doors. It is a health and safety check, but the staff also comment on the tidiness and cleanliness of the room, and identify if there has been any rule breaking.

> “And, yeah, and it's very much, you know, smoking in our rooms, sneaking alcohol in anyway, and when we come to do a room check, ‘girls, hide your alcohol, Eleanor is coming’.” (Jasmine, Roost)

Jasmine and some of the girls in Roost had built up a relationship in which they were able to support each other in protecting their privacy. In this case, when Eleanor was doing the room checks, they would let each other know that they needed to hide their alcohol. However, the boundary of the door was negotiated not just with staff, but also other residents. This was required day or night. Knocks on the door were usually asking for a cigarette or a lighter.

> “I'll get a, someone will either knock on the door late at night, like fucking asking for cig or something...” (Mark, Heeley)

Mark’s experience is relatively benign, despite the time of night. However, other participant’s experiences were more aggressive, such as Amber’s:

> “Yesterday I went in an uncomfortable position and I need to speak to the staff about that, to be fair. Because some kid came to my door, and I’ve been nice to him, I don’t even know who he is, been giving him [inaudible] as well. Comes to my door, pulls out a condom, I’ve gone ‘Yo! What are you doing?’ I’ve said, ‘Can you step back now? Just start your spliff and leave ‘cause you’ve made me feel uncomfortable.’ Tried to come in in my room, so I’ve had to shove him out, then tried shutting my door and I said, ‘Get the fuck away from my door, bro’, I said, ‘before I actually slap you in your face.’ And then he’s had the cheek to come back to apologise… And I’ve said, ‘Right, it’s cool. Standard. I’ll leave it. You’ve apologised. Safe.’ Then I’ve closed my door – he’s pushing my door open!” (Amber, Heeley)

Amber’s example of a neighbour coming to her room carrying a condom demonstrated a power struggle over the boundary to Amber’s private space, and personal security. It required both negotiation and physical force to fend off. The relationship with staff, or with other residents where there is trust, means the resident can permit some to traverse the boundary to the bedroom. However, this boundary is fiercely protected against others. Living in Heeley, Amber and Mark have control only over these small spaces. They have to share a bathroom with other residents. Eliza and Jasmine (residents of Roost) on the other hand, have ensuites, increasing the privacy level of their rooms. This means Amber and Mark have to *leaving* the safety and privacy of their room to carry out their ablutions, one of the most private acts.

Cooper’s description of more public and less public areas of the household suggests that different spaces within the household have different levels of privacy. The living room and hallway might be seen by visitors and the bedroom is less on view (Cooper Marcus, 1974). I have compared the nested spaces within supported accommodation to the nested spaces within a house (see Figure 22). The diagram shows the more private areas of the house or

residence towards the left-hand side, and the less private areas towards the right-hand side. This is conceived as a continuum (and is an illustration; each element can be debated).

In a traditional British 21st century house, a bedroom provides a high level of privacy. Other areas – upstairs, hallways, kitchen, living room and the street outside the house – have, in turn, decreasing levels of privacy. Supported accommodation provides a bedroom with a high level of privacy, at least in comparison to options such as rough sleeping, sofa surfing and sleeping on night transport (forms of hidden homelessness, McCoy & Hug, 2016). However, it has a lower level of privacy in comparison to a traditional house as it is institutionally managed, requiring room checks on a weekly basis, and with virtually no buffer between the communal and semi-public world of the residence corridor and the room.

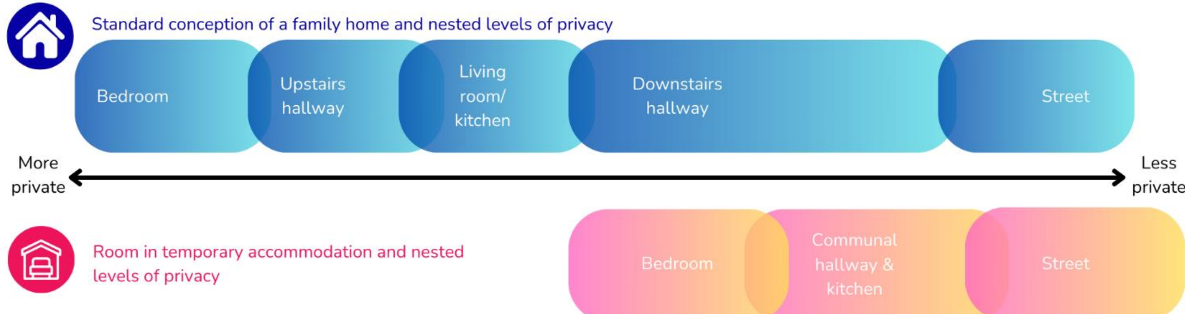

Figure 22: Comparing nested levels of privacy within areas of a standard conception of a family home and a room within supported accommodation. Estimated levels of privacy based on conversations with participants.

This presentation of a single-family dwelling is a generalisation and ignores many of the inter-family dynamics at play, but it serves as a useful comparison point. In supported accommodation similar elements exist; however, the level of privacy given in each is considerably different. Beyond a bedroom door, the hallway area in a home may be away from the likely passing of visitors that are not part of the household. The only people likely to be encountered are well known to the resident of the room and will probably share familial connections. In a temporary residence, within the hallway, the individual is likely to encounter other residents or staff. These people are, at best, known to the resident, perhaps over several months. With some they may even have a friendship. At worst, it could be a complete stranger.

> “Don’t have privacy in this damn place. Erm, privacy here, it's very hard because obviously you can lock your door and you can do all that, but

> privacy you don't actually get, because, right, because everyone's rooms are next to each other, you can hear other people. And no matter what they're doing and how quiet they're being, you can still hear them.” (Nico, Roost)

Nico points out that the rooms are right next to each other. Not only do paths cross in the corridor, which can be managed by locking the door, but the walls are permeable to sound, reducing privacy. In a way similar to that discussed by Rice (2013) reflecting on hospital wards, the residents can listen to each other acousmatically. This increases a sense of discomfort for participants.

> “But when I actually do not have to live in a hostel anymore, it’s mine and there’s no-one else around, no-one’s using my bathroom, no-one’s knocking on my door. It’s mine. That’s what’ll make it a home.” (Amber, Heeley)

Participants reflected that privacy is something they consider will make their living environment more homely. There are no listening ears from the room next door, no prying eyes from the corridor. There are no knocks on the door exposing the private space to any passers-by in the semi-public space of the corridor. Amber connects this higher level of privacy with a higher level of ownership, and connects both to something being made a home. Amber tried to keep herself away from other residents to avoid “drama” that will interrupt her self-project. She dreams of a future home, with no more hostels and no-one else around. In this world, Amber highlights the hope of having her own bathroom to herself and no interruptions from people knocking on her door. Door knocks are considered an irritation to many residents, as they usually relate to staff wanting to do a room check and coming into their private territory. They may also relate to a requirement, such as a meeting with a progression coach or social worker, or are a fellow resident asking for a cigarette, often in the early hours of the morning. Most door knocks are minor impositions and relatively benign, but others can mean trouble from other residents, such as the example shared by Amber earlier.

Amber was explicit in her description of using music as a buffer, enabling her to control who has access to her and her private space. “Yeah”, she tells me, “it gives me a reason not to

have to answer the door. I'll just ignore it. Pretend I don't hear it." By playing her music loudly, she can pretend that she hasn't heard the door. I experienced this several times in the hostel, and not just with Amber. Rather than give me an excuse like "I'm too tired" or "I'm hungover'", which would require opening a door and speaking to me directly, residents would simply not open the door, hoping I would go away (thankfully there were other times when there were would also be happy to speak to me). In this context, music serves to both reinforce the boundaries of one's territory and put out defences beyond it, like a moat:

> "Yeah. I put that on as well, so I just get left alone. With the sound, no-one knows it's directly me, so they'll leave whoever the fuck is alone. But even then, people know what's on my phone… It's annoying! I actually have no privacy and it really actually is stressing me out now that I'm thinking of it. Because I personally just want to be left alone, be able to do what I want to do, which isn't even much!" (Amber, Heeley)

Amber's account was conflicted. She said she played music to get left alone and that "no-one knows it's directly me". She then went on to concede that they might know it's her because they know what sort of music she plays. "They know what's on my phone", she said, expressing her frustration. In the end, she concludes that she has no privacy.

All the participants I spoke to listened to music within their rooms and so audibly demarcate the space within their room as their own territory. This is in a similar way to the people living in tents in Place de Grenette (di Croce, 2017, described in chapter three, Music listening and young people) whose music demarcates the space they are in as their own. In Place de Grenette, the sound leaks into the nearby "upper middle-class area for shoppers". Within the residence, sound leaks into the corridors and nearby bedrooms, revealing a form of otherness. The young people within the residence are not necessarily of a different class or financial capital from each other (although they may be). However, the closed door and reinforcement of the door through the leaking sound reinforces a desire to separate from fellow residents. Amber's quote below, also shared previously, show that she is trying to maintain a distance to support project self. A key motivation for this practice.

> "All the friends I did have at places like this, well, they've made my life a living misery… Not saying that everyone is the same, but everyone has

> turned out the exact same... Trying to improve my life, not go back down and deteriorate. And people in here are a bit backwards, I'm not gonna lie. So I'm just like, 'Nah'." (Amber, Heeley)

Riley felt similarly:

> "These people… They're not my type of people. I believe some are very entitled and get shook by the thought of working hard to see great results to get out of here… They haven't heard any words of encouragement, which makes them very disaffected, so it scares them when they hear it for the first time… Motivation is good, but discipline is paramount because you're not always going to have motivation. It's a rarity." (Riley, Roost)

Riley suggests that his fellow residents are different from him, and he doesn't want to associate with them because they are not "his type of people". This intentional separation from other residents identifies that a simple binary between the outside world beyond the hostel and the inside world within the residence doesn't exist. Instead, a more complex environment exists in which the residents are like-situated (echoing Goffman, 1961), but do not consider themselves *like* each other, nor *liking* of each other.

DeNora, in her book *Music Asylums* (2013)*,* describes music listening as affording *refurnishing* and *removal.* Earlier (7.1.1), I discussed ways in which the participants refurnish their bedrooms with music modifying their space. I suggested that this provided a sense of comfort and internal security. As mentioned then, I found much less evidence of music to remove young people from their immediate environment. Instead, there was much more to suggest that music was used to *reinforce* the boundaries of their space.

Within my Master's thesis (Wareham, 2017) I found greater evidence of participants' music listening performing the function of *removal.* This could be for a range of reasons, not least my developing skill as an interviewer. However, another reason could be that many of the participants were interviewed whilst accessing emergency accommodation at a time of crisis. Within a crisis, there may be a greater desire to remove themselves from this intensity of this experience through music. This contrasts with this thesis, where the participants are several months into their stay in supported accommodation. The crisis that led to homelessness has

mostly passed, and the focus is now on the management of the space in which they reside, and will be for some time. This contradicts to an extent, however, the findings of DeNora, whose participants were mental health clients and hospital residents in a community music therapy programme in a centre for mental health (DeNora, 2013). This would, therefore, be an interesting area to study further.

8.1.2 "I wouldn't even tell her to turn it down because she'd be like 'fuck you'" (Mark): Transgressing others' boundaries

Participants were conscious of monitoring and adjusting their music's volume, to take their fellow residents into consideration.

> "I used to have a big sound system, innit? But I would not have been able to play that in here. [Whispers] Going to get a new one though, 'cause I'm up here now. They're not going to say anything to me. Everyone leaves me alone now with my music, surprisingly. I'm on and I'm up here, and no-one can actually hear my music. I left that door open, tested it. Now I'm thinking, 'Watch that. Going to get a big sound system there'." (Amber, Heeley)

Amber was aware of her music being audible to others in the residence and modified her music listening practices to an extent. She told me that she knew people could hear her; she said "I was right above the office, innit? So, they could hear me just walking. You could walk past the house, and you'd hear my music". When Amber moved rooms, she felt she was able to play her music at a higher volume. This was because she was now on the top floor, away from other residents. When she talks to me about this, she whispers conspiratorially about her hopes for a new sound system. She indicates that she knows her music imposes on others in the residence. However, she is hoping that she can increase the volume more than she has been able to thus far. She is hoping no-one will say anything to her. For Amber, the volume adds to her experience and is something that motivates her to change her devices for ones that will better suit her needs.

Whilst the physical space is discrete and demarcated by doors and walls, the sonic spaces overlap with each other. Whether deliberately or unintentionally, the sound from each

resident's own sonic spaces leak, or is sometimes pushed, from their space, occupying space allocated to others. Bull (2007) describes of headphones as allowing "gating" and providing walls and separation. However, as Down's critique of Bull's conception notes, sound leaks, reducing privacy and separation by displaying some of the contents of the room (the identity of the listener, and some of their character, for instance) beyond the walls and doors.

Next door to Amber's first room, was Mark's room.

> "My next door, the rude girl in the next room, she fucking bla- she plays good music so I'm not bothered but she blasts the music like 'til like fucking one in the morning… Yeah, yeah, she is, she listens to some good tunes though. She's one of them that I wouldn't even tell her to turn it down because she'd be like 'fuck you', do you know what I mean. I've heard her on the phone going sick at people, she's mad. I just enjoy the music, innit." (Mark, Heeley)

From the sound that has leaked into his room, he has formed a picture of Amber. Firstly, she likes good music. Secondly, he considers her to be rude because she plays it until one in the morning. Finally, because he's heard her "going sick" at people on the phone, he doesn't want to talk to her. This in turn has influenced his behaviour, reinforcing Amber's walls as Mark is now unlikely to say anything to "the rude girl".

This is an imposition that residents live with and respond to in different ways. Some object to it, others welcome it and most simply tolerate it. Some deliberately using the permeability to their own ends. Other participants listened to music at a high volume to intentionally annoy others. YaBoi, for instance, told me that sometimes he would play his music to deliberately wake someone else up, and took quite some delight in doing so.

> Kate: So, you listen on your phone with headphones?
>
> YaBoi: Sometimes… depends what mood I'm in, whether I'm in the mood to annoy people or not… Or like, say, you know if I can hear a person in the room next door to me, and I'm kind of kind of in one of those moods I'll just blare my phone and start singing at the top of my lungs… because I know, I know they've fallen asleep and I know it will wake them up.

Kate: What happens when you do that?

YaBoi: Absolutely fuckall, that's the funniest about it. They just sort of sit there quietly moaning to themselves.

YaBoi and Amber are both playing their music in a way that they know transgresses boundaries and occupies other people's space. They both value the music listening activity more highly than their neighbour's claim on the sonic territory within their room. For Amber this is considered an unavoidable inconvenience, whereas for YaBoi, it is a deliberate decision to wake up a neighbour for his own entertainment. As the recipient of this sonic territory grab, participants become irritated, but tolerate the imposition.

"Yeah, sometimes I'm just sat there laughing innit, and just taking the music in. But sometimes it's annoying innit, at fucking three in the morning and you get woke up, music blaring." (Tom, Heeley)

Tom comments here on his experience of hearing the music from other people's bedrooms. Sometimes he doesn't mind it, is even entertained by it, but at other times he finds it frustrating. Participants generally presented the opinion that they wouldn't say anything, they wouldn't fight back to reclaim their territory, either through conversation or argument.

YaBoi also enjoyed hearing his neighbour's music at times, telling me of a time when he joined in with it:

Kate: Then there was a time when Kayden was playing *we didn't start the fire* in his room… I think you were, in your words, power ballading it out in your room, is that right?

YaBoi: Well just heard it and then I was singing along.

As well as these two responses to the sonic territory grab – being annoyed or enjoying it – another response was for staff to address the noise on behalf of the residents (or perhaps themselves):

"He [agency staff] comes back and says he can hear music from one of the rooms and he has knocked on the door and asked them to turn it down, but the young person wasn't in. He was in another room, so he's knocked

on that one and the young person has gone back to his room to turn it down." (Observation notes, Roost)

8.1.3 "I'm having my headphones in, just in case" (Nico): Venturing into communal space

Whilst participants spend a large amount of time within their bedrooms, they must venture out at some point. This could be to speak to staff in the office, particularly to their Progression Coach (a staff member responsible for supporting their journey to independence), to use the kitchen or living area, or simply to leave the building for work, college, visit the job centre or meet friends and family. I found that music played within the bedroom was often carried with them into the shared spaces of the residence. This seemingly reinforced the conceptual boundaries of the static and solid walls whilst on the move. Nico described their coming to meet me in the lounge. I had messaged Nico and let them know I was here for their interview. They had been playing music in their room when the message had arrived. When Nico arrived in the kitchen adjoining the living room their music was still playing on their phone. In our interview I asked about this, and Nico explained:

> "'Cause you, like you've literally messaged me, and literally I was on my phone, like, listening to music. And right, I've got to come down. I'm not turning my music off yet." (Nico, Roost)

This pattern was common, described by several of the participants. I explored some of the reasons for this with the participants. Whilst not the only reason, many expressed the same motivation to wear their headphones in communal areas. Riley said he wore them "because I don't want to talk to these people".

Indicating a desire to maintain separateness, Nico went into more detail:

> "Mostly, if I'm coming downstairs, I'm having my headphones in. Just in case. Even if it's three am and no one's awake. I'm still, just in case, got my headphones on… That just takes my anxiety away. Because like, especially if I've got my headphones on, just have my earphones in, just be on my phone, I can just ignore whoever's there. That's, like, it's a blockage for me because it's like, I don't have, I don't have to acknowledge them, don't have

> to speak to them. Like, if they can see that I've got the headphones on, I'm clearly not gonna talk to them. And then you'll be damned if I'm taking my headphone out for you, so… So, they'll just leave me alone." (Nico, Roost)

Even during the day, whilst there were many other people around, I saw this pattern in practice.

> "A lass comes into the kitchen. She's got a night dress on and a towel on her head. She makes herself some food and puts some music on her phone. Then she sits in lounge adjoining the kitchen listening to music on her phone looking at her phone…
>
> Lass finishes cooking, leaves kitchen goes upstairs. I hear her music swap to speakers upstairs…
>
> She comes back down for something and the music continues in the kitchen again …
>
> She goes back upstairs and the music swaps to speakers…
>
> This pattern continues…" (Field notes, Roost)

During this event, the resident doesn't speak to anyone. She moves around the residence in a mist of music. In doing so she is creating audible separation from others, not with headphones but with music playing out loud from her phone.

This behaviour highlights the specific demands of life in supported accommodation. Music, and music devices such as headphones, provide not only an extra fortification whilst in the bedroom, but a mobile protective barrier to the residents whilst moving around the communal area. This was something that some participants reflected that they would not do in other environments. Amber concurred, imagining her own home in the future, and reflecting on her visits to her Mum's or friends'.

> "But I think if it was my own house, I wouldn't be having my earphones in. I'd just go to my kitchen. Same when I'm at my Mum's: I don't put my earphones in to go to the kitchen – I'm at my Mum's house. Don't have my

earphones in when I'm in my mates'. It's literally just here." (Amber, Heeley)

Amber wouldn't want to separate herself from her family or her friends, so she wouldn't use her headphones. But in the accommodation, she used her headphones to be anti-social, in the literal sense of the word, not wanting to be sociable or the company of others.

8.2 Conclusion: music is a technology of the dynamic relationship between self and space

My participants described their experience of living in the supported accommodation as lacking agency and control. The myriad rules and requirements of the accommodation create a sense of living in what they suggested was an adult care home at best, or an open jail at worst. My participants spoke of an invisible "they" who make the decisions about where residents will end up. These "theys" are not (always) the staff within the residence, but the people who form the systems and structures the hostel works within. In this context, as mentioned before, music is a relatively unfettered resource where other resources are significantly limited.

The subsequent and most substantial part of this chapter then focused on the ways in which this resource is harnessed within the dynamics of the environment. I focused on privacy. Having explained in chapter seven (Music listening and space in temporary accommodation) that young people used music to modify and fill their spaces, creating elbow room, in this chapter I present evidence to show how my participants managed the boundaries to these spaces. These boundaries were challenged by institutional requirements (room checks), residents and chaos beyond the bedroom door including frequent requests (often for cigarettes in the middle of the night) or even threatening demands for sexual favours.

I compared privacy within the residence to that within a traditional 21st century home (Cooper Marcus, 1974). In doing so I found privacy within the residence to be diminished absolutely, in terms of the physical space available for privacy. More importantly, I also found privacy to be diminished as the nested spaces of a traditional home were collapsed in on each other into a single space. The nested spaces which one can use within a traditional home for protection were absent, making the single boundary between the interior private

space and exterior communal space all the more vital. My participants described music listening practices that built in protection for the elbow room they had acquired (as discussed in chapter seven): music, played loudly, deterred people from knocking on the door, and even when they did, the resident could, according to my informants, pretend they didn't hear. I compared this to both the separating powers of music (and other sounds) in Place de Grenette (di Croce, 2017, discussed further in chapter three), and to Tia DeNora's music asylums. Rather than supporting *removal* (as discussed in chapter seven), I suggested music listening practices *reinforced* the boundaries to my participants' spaces. In playing music loudly for protection, music also bled into the surrounding spaces of the hostel. This transgression sonically into others' physical spaces was both considered an unfortunate consequence, and deliberately practiced for personal entertainment.

Finally, music listening was used as a way to protect this boundary, both within the bedroom and when moving through the communal spaces of the residence. My participants described the use of headphones or simply their speaker on their phone as they moved through the residence as a warning to others not to engage with them as they moved through the residence. This was also something that I witnessed in my observations within the communal spaces. Headphones were used as a physical barrier, and music from speakers was used as a kind of "mist" to surround the participant as they moved around the hostel and avoid interaction with others. This finding echoes research in other settings, such as Dibben and Haake (2013), who suggested that headphone use in workspaces was complex, allowing for both separation and permeation rather than a clear-cut separation.

Through these examples, music can be seen is a resource available to participants in the control of their environment. I suggest that music is used by my participants both within the bedroom and when moving around the accommodation, not only for comfort and protection, but sometimes as a passive yet fierce act of defence or even aggression. As Cooper (1974) suggests:

> "the greater are people's feelings of living in a dangerous and hostile world, with constant threats to the self, the greater is the likelihood that they will regard their house as a shell, a fortress into which to retreat" (p. 134)

What is at stake here is not only the attainment of comfort and warmth, but a more foundational aim of carving out some aspect of privacy and safety within an environment in which the usual resources for privacy and safety are limited. This may identify a bias in the samples explored by other researchers that focus on populations who do not experience such a hostile world on a day-to-day basis, and reinforces the need to identify populations for future research from a broader demographic.

9 Discussion and Conclusion

Despite the importance of music in young people's lives, surprisingly little research has explored the music listening practices of young adults (aged 18 to 25). Within the literature that does exist there is virtually no representation of the lives of young people experiencing homelessness (see chapter three, Music listening and young people). In this thesis, I have begun to fill this gap, by exploring the music listening practices of young adults living within supported accommodation. In particular, I was concerned with music listening practices in relation to their lived experience of homelessness. This experience is in the context of the semi-institutional environment of supported accommodation, which I liken to a partial institution, drawing upon the concept of the total institution of Goffman (1961) and subsequent work by DeNora (2013). I explored how and why young adults listened to music within supported accommodation, specifically temporary housing for 18 to 25 year-olds. My participants typically lived in these environments for a period of a few months whilst they learnt to live independently or a more permanent residence could be found.

This research is important for a number of reasons. Given that homeless young people spend a considerable amount of time listening to music, there are implications for this research to UK housing policy, particularly that regarding supported accommodation programmes and building design. It also broadens our understanding of music listening practices by exploring the practices of people beyond the typically researched populations. Music listening research is typically carried out with adults, or adolescents (and increasingly older adults, particularly when focused on dementia). The young adult age range is largely ignored within the music listening research save for occasional inclusion as part of life-course research, broader general adulthood, or as an extension of adolescence. Ignoring young adults (or indeed, sampling from young adults in a student sample intended to represent adults as a whole) means we miss out on an understanding of music listening specific to this age group. This is an age group that has specific developments and challenges, thus ignoring it lessens our understanding of music listening as a whole. Ignoring groups of young adults such as those experiencing homelessness does the same, potentially biasing our understanding of music listening as a whole to participants with significant social, financial and cultural capital.

A final reason that this research is important is that it indicates something is missing in the literature regarding the understanding of music listening and home. There is a significant body of literature considering music listening in the context of *heimat* or home*land* (Hobsbawm, 1993) but very little considering music listening as it is related to the experience of *heim* or home. This, I suggest, is something to be remedied.

Basing myself in three supported accommodation hostels (one type of temporary accommodation) in Greater Manchester, England, I carried out this research over a period of three years. I used observation, music listening diaries, worksheets, meaningful song lists and semi-structured interviews over two studies (the second study adopting a participatory approach). The research involved nineteen participants aged 18 to 25 who were living within the hostel. This represented one third of the residents during the time of the study. Data was analysed using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

I discovered that my participants all listened to music. Most of them spent a lot of time listening to music, alongside other media consumption such as TV, video, gaming and social media. Participants expressed to me the importance of music in their lives, as well as the significant extent to which it filled their days. These patterns are akin to other young people of a similar age (Woelfer, 2012; Office National Statistics, 2017). However, within the supported accommodation, I identified roles for music in their sense of self and identity when separated from their roots. I found a role for music listening in social connectedness and separation within an environment in which one lives within the close proximity of strangers. Music also had a role in the management of security and privacy within this environment, as well as in the management of emotions in a time of personal crisis.

The lived experience of homelessness can be conceived as a deprivation of a number of dimensions of home (Somerville, 1999), each of which relates to the self, the space or to the dynamics of a connection between the two. For individuals in young adulthood, homelessness manifests in particular ways as young adults are already experiencing significant change in the transition from adolescence to adulthood, particularly with regards to a sense of self and identity, choice and agency, instability, unknown future possibilities and a feeling of being in-between financially, socially and culturally (Arnett, 2000; Layland et al., 2018). These features of young adulthood compound with the experience of homelessness,

creating deprivations with regards to the self. This includes a disruption of a sense of self and identity, caused by displacement from people and place in time through which one generally develops one's sense of self. There are also emotional consequences of this. Secondly, there are deprivations of space. This included a shortage of dwelling space as a centre of activities and a shortage of both privacy and space for social connection. Thirdly, there were deprivations of the ability to manage the dynamic relationship between the two, particularly related to emotional, ontological, territorial and physical security.

It has been suggested by scholars such as Richardson (2019) and Somerville (1999) that people do work to construct a sense of home when deficits are experienced in any of the areas that collectively constitute home. My data suggest that young people living in supported accommodation experience these deficits of privacy, security, warmth and social connection, amongst others. In my data I also identified a high frequency of music listening practices within the supported accommodation. This led me to query whether the two were connected, and whether the construction of home in the face of deficits of home was one of the intended consequences of music listening in that context.

I found evidence to support the proposition that music is a technology of self (chapter six, Music listening and the self in supported accommodation) as proposed by Tia DeNora (1999). I also suggest that music can be considered as a technology of space, drawing on my own findings and those of Born (2013), Bull (2007), Dibben & Haake (2013) and Downs (2021a), amongst others. In chapter eight (Music listening and security in supported accommodation) I identified ways in which music was used to manage the security of the connection between self and space within a dynamic environment, particularly with regards to agency, control and privacy. I therefore suggest that music can be considered a technology of *home,* at least for young people living in supported accommodation, and potentially for others.

In the next sections I elaborate on this argument in more depth.

9.1 Music as a technology of the self, the space and the dynamic relationship between the two

In this thesis, I sought to explore the relationship between supported accommodation and the music listening practices adopted by young adults living in them. In particular, my aim was to explore the following questions:

> How do young people's music listening practices contribute to their lived experience within supported accommodation?

Within this primary question, I am also asking:

- How do young people experience life within supported accommodation? (Chapter five, Living in supported accommodation, and summarised in 9.1.1)
- To what extent, and in what ways, do young people listen to music in supported accommodation? (chapter five, Living in supported accommodation, and summarised in 9.1.2)
- Can a relationship be identified between these practices and the experience of living in the supported accommodation for homeless young people? (chapters six, seven and eight, summarised in 9.1.3)

9.1.1 How do young adults experience life within the supported accommodation?

In chapter five (Living in supported accommodation), I describe the environment of the supported accommodation, drawing on my observations, young people's descriptions and other data collected within the hostel. I included narratives of young people's journeys into the accommodation, providing context to the subsequent data collected about music listening practices.

The three residences in focus in this study, Roost, Heeley and Nest, had many similarities in that they were institutionally run by the charity. However, they differed in the average age of the residents with Roost and Nest having on average younger residents and Heeley having on average older residents. Another difference was the extent to which the principles of Psychologically Informed Environments (Haigh et al., 2012) were embedded within the

building. Roost did this to a greater extent and Heeley to a lesser extent, with Nest somewhere in between. Young people experienced 24-hour presence of staff, communal areas covered by CCTV, two consecutive locked doors on entry and weekly room checks. Within the supported accommodation there was some freedom to come and go. There was support from staff to follow opportunities in education and employment. Staff on site and a continually manned door provided a level of safety from the outside world. I consider the accommodation to be a *partial institution*. I draw this term from the concept of the total institution within Goffman's work *Asylum* (1961), reflecting also on DeNora's reconceptualization of the asylum in her work *Music Asylum* (2013). Whilst a partial institution, I also consider the accommodation to be a partial *home.* The hostel provides some of the dimensions of home, but not in a way that fulfils the definition to any great extent.

The 19 participants in this study, drawn from the three locations (Roost, 12; Heeley, 5; Nest, 2). Many had come to live in the accommodation after a significant relationship breakdown (at least 75%). Some had come from another hostel (at least 63%). Most were not in employment, education or training (at least 79%). A lack of control in their lives was evident in both the descriptions my participants gave about how they came to the accommodation ("I got put in here") and in the uncertainty about the duration of their stay in the accommodation. This was further compounded by the various rules and regulations within the accommodation itself. Most young people stated that the accommodation was either *not* their home, or fulfilled some of the functions of home but not all. Whilst having many benefits, the supported accommodation also had its challenges. Young people lived in close proximity to people they didn't know within these previously mentioned range of rules that diminished their agency and control.

9.1.2 To what extent, and in what ways, do young people listen to music in supported accommodation?

In particular, I explored the soundscape, finding the participants' descriptions alternating between two opposite extremes of "quiet, boring" and "loud, chaos". When it was loud, most of the noise was from music, and sometimes from people talking or shouting within the

accommodation. Music bled through walls and was played nearly constantly by the majority of residents.

The participants all listened to music on a regular basis, some describing it as ”an involuntary thing”. Music was turned on as soon as they woke up, played throughout the day, and often accompanied participants to sleep. Silence was mostly to be avoided as being too loud. All but one participant had a smart phone from which they played their music (Mark had a more basic phone on which he could only listen to radio). They also had access to a range of other devices, which included TV, a laptop or tablet, headphones, speakers, sound bars and smart speakers. Each young person had a different combination of these devices, through which they accessed music. Most music was accessed via platforms such as Soundcloud, Spotify and YouTube, making data and Wi-Fi important. My participants reported their music listening as being near constant. Reported times in which they *wouldn't* listen to music included when they considered it was rude to do so (for instance when talking to a member of staff), when watching TV or on social media, and when the music, finally and after a considerable length of time, was perceived as annoying.

9.1.3 Can a relationship be identified between these practices and the experience of living in the supported accommodation for homeless young people?

These findings show a high level of engagement with music listening. They also potentially provide a window into these informants' daily lives, seen through the lens of music listening practices. Music listening practices were woven into many aspects of life in ways relating to their sense of self and the space they were inhabiting. This finding has implications of the understanding of digital practices and digital poverty (Donaghy, 2021) in the lives of homeless young people. In particular, they highlight the reliance of young people on physical digital assets (devices) and the local infrastructure (particularly the residence) to support access via these assets to Wi-Fi and other forms of data.

Within chapters six, seven and eight I identified a range of potential relationships between music listening practices and the experience of living in supported accommodation. These included:

- Supporting a continued sense of self in time, connecting to people from the past, ratifying previous decisions, reflecting on the present, and facilitating the hoping, dreaming and fearing of the future (9.1.3.1)
- Modifying the physical space aurally to reflect oneself and enhance comfort (9.1.3.2)
- Connecting with others within the residence (9.1.3.3), and replacing others when those connections are unreliable (9.1.3.4)
- Providing a resource that one has control over, enhancing personal agency in the absence of agency in other aspects of life, and controlling access to one's private space, providing a sense of security (9.1.3.5)
- Transgressing others' private spaces and creating a buffer between the resident and other residents within communal areas in the accommodation (9.1.3.5)

9.1.3.1 Supporting a continuous sense of self in time

Homelessness disrupts the sense of self as a "whole, continuous person in time" (Mitzen, 2006, p. 341). I found young people used music listening practices as a tool to restore a sense of self as whole and continuous. This involved choosing music to listen to that fulfilled several aims. The first was reflecting on, and connecting with, the past and past selves. My participants did this through listening to music linked to autobiographical memories. They also used lyrics to reflect on and self-ratify previous decisions, particularly the decision to leave their previous home. The second was in making sense of the present, as young people tried to pull together the displaced pieces of their lives as a newly-independent adult, using music's lyrics that resonate with their lives, the participants tested out versions of themselves for the present and the future. This supported the process of making sense of themselves separate from the resources, environment and safety nets other young adults can access. Finally, my informants used music to support them in imagining the future. The resonance found in music in developing a sense of self now, in the present, was similarly sought in music about the future. Prevalent future-orientated emotions in the music were based around both hope and fear, and along with those emotions, a fundamental drive to listen to music was for self-motivation.

This use of music listening in creating and maintaining ontological security (Giddens, 1991) is evident in the descriptions of music listening practices. My participants spoke of how important this was in an environment when the sense of self as continuous in time has been disrupted by displacement from previous physical and social spaces. This sheds new light on how young people experience life in supported accommodation, both as someone displaced, and as someone attempting to rebuild a sense of self in an environment where one has very little control.

9.1.3.2 Modifying one's space

Within the context of supported accommodation, I identified a set of overlapping spaces: physical, digital and social. Music listening was one of a number of ways in which young people modified these spaces to make the space theirs. Non-musical ways included laying out their limited possessions, putting things on the wall and bringing in items that created a connection to the past by engaging the senses with items imbued with meaning. Other engaged senses included sight (posters, mementos, speakers) and smell (such as linen from a grandparent's home). These activities demonstrated some limited agency in the context of a wider environment that is institutionally managed. All of these activities, I suggest, represent attempts to *make themselves at home.* However, they are also all limited by the rules of the accommodation within the context of housing policy, leading to a sense of disempowerment and uncertainty. Within this context, music listening was a relatively unbound (by the rules of the accommodation) resource, giving the young person a rich resource to harness. The sounds and meanings of the music created a more homely environment in the present. The meanings of the music played and associations with the physical devices connected individuals to the past. Thus a space was created through music in which the past, present and future could be more effectively embedded.

9.1.3.3 Connecting with others

The default position for my participants was to be initially distrustful of other residents. Latterly, participants also often chose to shun connection after experiencing relationships that moved on (whether staff or fellow resident). However, *some* participants did build up connections with others, and it was evident that music listening was used to facilitate this. Lucas and Tom built up a bond partly through listening to similar music. YaBoi used music as a

social lubricant, filling the silences in conversations with his own renditions of songs. Nico, Imani, Jasmine and Max used it as a form of entertainment, building up social bonds in the process, dancing in the communal lounge in the early hours of the morning.

However, this evidence of connection through music was limited. I found greater evidence of music being a social surrogate, or being used to facilitate the separation of participants for safety or privacy.

9.1.3.4 Replacing human contact

In the quasi-absence of significant others in the lives of the participants, I found evidence to suggest that some young people turned to music as a form of social surrogacy. This is a term used to describe something that provides a human-*like* connection and to provide a substitute for human-connection (Clarke et al., 2015). The social-surrogate function of specifically chosen music was related to both friends and the support of a parent. These relationships were lost through family breakdown, separated through displacement, or never experienced in the first place (for instance when a resident had grown up in care or had had a poor relationship with a parent). The music was chosen for the autobiographical memories associated with another. Songs were chosen with lyrics that spoke of an ideal relationship an individual did not have. Artists were chosen with whom the resident connected in a personal way as resonating particularly well with their life. These findings deepen the current understanding of the experience of being separated from family at such a critical time in life (young adulthood) for identity development. It adds a perspective to the existing music psychology literature around social surrogacy (e.g. Groarke et al., 2022; Schaefer & Eerola, 2020) from individuals who are separated from significant others through crisis and trauma, which is unheard thus far. People for whom this functionality of music might be particularly useful. It also suggests that there might be specific applications of this function of music in the context of supported accommodation and the experience of homelessness.

9.1.3.5 Demarcating and protecting boundaries

The allocated space of a bedroom within supported accommodation exists within overlapping spheres of privacy within physical, sonic, digital and social space. It is within these overlapping spaces that each resident manages the dynamics of the boundaries of an interior space as the site of project self (Giddens, 1991). I found ways in which participants

used music listening to optimise their privacy of this interior, which included using music to push others away, particularly when the resident saw themselves as being different to the other residents. I also found participants would use music to push into the spaces of others; and using music also to protect one's interior space when venturing into communal space. When another resident's space was being impinged upon, this was sometimes welcomed ("they play good music so I don't mind") and sometimes resented ("the rude girl… blasts the music 'til like fucking one in the morning").

9.2 Music as a technology of home

Music listening is not solely a *technology of the self* (DeNora, 1999). In this context of a study of supported accommodation it also had a function as technology of *space*. The protection of the interior space as private and safe for project self can be partly achieved through the possession of headphones or a set of speakers, which is particularly valuable in the absence of other financial or social resources. However, the environment around the individual in this context was dynamic, constantly changing, and often provided a threat to the internal space. Sometimes the headphones and/or speakers were overwhelmed within the accommodation, and privacy or security challenged. Even with music listening devices, privacy and security cannot be fully achieved in supported accommodation. This aligns with Morley's suggestion (2000) that privacy and comfort are socially distributed, and to the detriment of those with fewer social and economic resources living in supported accommodation. This provides an alternative to the dominant discourse in sound studies, which often construes headphones in terms of separation from others. In this thesis, as in some other examples, such as Rice's description of headphone use in the hospital, headphones are a partial defence, but are easily overwhelmed (Rice, 2013).

Alongside my proposal that music is not only a technology of the self, but also a technology of the space, I also suggest that music is a technology of *home.* The concept and experience (or not) of home has been woven throughout this thesis. Drawing on the literature presented in chapters two and three and the findings in this study, I have suggested that *home* is constructed through the interweaving of self and space. I suggested that this is a dynamic process that is never completed and is embedded in a range of spaces: physical, social, digital and sonic. I consider home to be in a dynamic relationship between self and space and I

suggest that the security of the experience of home is dependent on the existence and strength of the threads weaving self and space together. When a physical home is not possible (and perhaps also when it is), my participants turned to alternative spaces (social, digital, sonic) within which to weave an experience of home. In these spaces they have minimal connection into the physical space when that home is expected to be temporary and transitory. This theory could also apply to those in other temporary environments, such as refugees, military bases, boarding schools, prison cells, hospital stays and even university halls of residence. In each of these contexts there will be a range of different power relationships that will inevitably mean that there will be differences as well as similarities in how music listening practices are used as a technology of home.

Gurney (1990) suggested that home is *only* an ideological construct. From the data collected within this study, I would agree with Somerville's counter that such a statement makes it meaningless to ask whether someone has a home or not. I further agree that home is a matter of feelings and experience (Somerville, 1992). Various forms of words have been used within the literature for this dynamic approach to home, for instance "questing", "constructing", "making" and "nesting". In the context of the partial institution, partial home (see 9.1.1), an experience of home is partial, dynamic and constantly threatened. I suggest that young adults are in the process of continually constructing home, and music is a tool in this process. The participants within the accommodation were rebuilding an experience of home within the accommodation and other spaces (digital, social) that was portable, loosely attached to the current physical space. In doing so they are working towards a future home in which these threads can be woven into a new physical space. Tucker (1994) suggests that one's actual home tends to be "our best approximation of our ideal home, under a given set of constraining circumstances" (p. 184). Music has a role to play in approximating our ideal home, given these constraints.

Many of the young people I spoke to told me about their dream of a home in the future. Lucas put it eloquently as follows:

> "I'm focusing on, not getting a job, I'm focusing on getting my own flat for me and my little boy, do you know what I mean? So that's my first priorities. Because you can't build on something when it's not stable, can

> you? You need to make sure the foundation's stable, and then you can build on top of it. Do you know what I mean?" (Lucas, Heeley)

Homelessness is a threat to this interweaving of self and space. Homelessness occurs when a number of these ties to physical space are severed, often due to a crisis, or the ties being insecurely attached in the first place. When Riley boarded the train from Birmingham to Manchester, the threads tied to physical space were severed. However, he was able to take some experience of home with him through his music and digital devices that he used to embed himself and rebuild his best approximation of home in his new space in Manchester.

9.3 Contribution of this study to the wider literature

This study contributes to two broad areas of knowledge: the study of music listening and the study of housing and home.

9.3.1 A contribution to the study of music listening

This thesis makes a general contribution to the wider ecological perspective within music psychology (e.g. Born, 2013; Dibben, 2009; Reybrouck, 2015), which focuses on not just the individual and the music, but also the situation and wider context in our understanding of the roles of music in everyday life. I have introduced a new environment, that of supported accommodation, into the literature and explored music listening practices within them. In doing so I have identified a number of differences in music listening practices in these environments to other more mainstream environments. These include the increased challenge to separate oneself from the external world through music, highlighting the need of an external environment that can't overwhelm whichever internal space is flooded with music (see chapter six). I also suggest that music listening can be harnessed not only for comfort and protection, but also as a passive yet fierce act of defence or even aggression. My findings on the use of music in relation to space also contribute to sound studies literature, providing a view from the margins, rather than the more mainstream consideration of busy urban commuters and office dwellers.

Studying music listening in environments under-represented in the literature can lead to new insights. Existing literature regularly draws their participants from largely student-based

samples (see 3.1 for evidence) and this can bias samples by age and socio-economic status. Beyond this, it also can lead to conclusions being drawn about the uses of music listening based on a limited range of social environments, restricting the insight that can be gained. I suggest the following example which demonstrates this limitation. In chapter three, I discussed previous work by Tarrant, North and Hargreaves (2001) and Shepherd and Sigg (2015). These researchers drew on the Social Identity Theory of Tajfel (Davis, 2006) to suggest that music preferences supported the development of in- and out-groups through which a sense of identity was built. Within the accommodation, I found only a little evidence to support this theory as most participants told me with a significant level of certainty that they did not want to form any significant relationship or in-group with others, based on music preferences or otherwise. This was often reported as due to the "others" in the residence being "trouble" (as suggested by Amber), not sharing the same values (as suggested by Riley) or moving out of the residence unpredictably (as suggested by Jasmine). There were some exceptions to this, for instance Tom and Lucas, who bonded over their music, creating what they described as a "brotherhood". Jasmine also formed an in-group with a resident but changed her approach to building connections with others in the accommodation when that relationship fell apart. These were the only examples I found of a music-based in-group.

Reflecting on Tarrant, North and Hargreaves' 2001 work in the light of my data, it is clear that there are limitations in the generalisability of their findings. Firstly, and most importantly, Tarrant et al focus on male adolescents within a school. This raises questions about applicability to girls, and to young adults or indeed any other age group. Turning to Shepherd and Sigg's 2015 study, this was carried out amongst New Zealand university students, extending the age range from school children to young adults and drawing a sample of both male and female participants, and showed some consistency with the findings of Tarrant et al. Whilst these similarities suggests a potential wider generalisability, both of these studies are carried out within relatively cohesive groups. The groups studied had mostly unchanging membership, at least during the school year, most members are working towards a similar goal (learning) and most members have come to the current situation through similar routes (passing a previous academic requirement). Considering the higher level of stability within the group, there might therefore be a greater incentive to form or become part of an in-group than within supported accommodation where participants had variable goals and were

within the accommodation for an undetermined period of time. This may explain the lack of apparent desire to form an ingroup within supported accommodation, through music or otherwise. It also suggests that the environmental drivers have a larger impact on in-group forming behaviour than is acknowledged in that previous research literature.

The theory of music-preference-based in-groups (Tarrant, North & Hargreaves, 2001; Shepherd & Sigg, 2015) also suggests that seeking in-group membership may be a sign of low self-esteem and achieving in-group membership may lead to increased self-esteem. My data has been collected amongst a group of individuals who typically demonstrate lower levels of self-esteem (Votta & Farrell, 2009). It may be surprising therefore that I found so few examples to support this theory. However, the lack of desire to seek in-group membership amongst my participants may indicate that, on its own, increasing self-esteem may be an insufficient motivation for seeking in-group membership in certain circumstances, such as highly changeable and low-cohesion environments. The extent of the drive to improve self-esteem in balance with other conflicting goals is something not considered within either of the referenced papers.

Furthermore, neither papers consider the size of the groups they studied. Shepherd and Sigg's 199 participants were sampled from the whole university (a community of potentially thousands), whilst Tarrant et al's 97 participants were sampled from a year group within a school. Group behaviour has been shown to be affected by the size of the group (Mullen, Johnson & Anthony, 1994), something that the authors of both papers failed to consider in their analysis. My data demonstrates a specific context with a small group size (12) in which inter-group dynamics influenced by group size may have a significant influence on motivations for in-group formation (in general and through music). This extends the existing research and provides data which may suggest that the dynamics at play in social identity theory could be affected by group size. Indeed, an implication of this may be that the residents might have formed music-preference based in-groups but with people living outside of the accommodation.

The alternative identity theory thought to explain identity-related music listening practices is Stryker's Identity Theory, of self-to-prototype matching (Hogg et al., 1995), described in chapter three. In this theory, an external example (a role-model) is provided on which and

individual can model their own identity. This theory is used by Rentfrow, McDonald & Oldmeadow (2009), who suggest that music is a rich source of role-models to young people. This theory better explains my data regarding the role of music listening and identity development amongst individuals in supported accommodation. My participants often referenced the background of artists as similar to themselves, sometimes suggesting they were motivated by their apparent resilience and drive. Others suggested that they agreed with some of the attitudes and values demonstrated by the lyrics of their songs (for instance, Seth's preference for Tupac and Tom's respect for Deezy).

These examples suggest that identity development practices may vary according to the environment of the individual or individuals being studied. Music listening as a practice is generally available within all of the environments referred to here (school, university, supported accommodation) through music streaming devices and headphones or speakers. However, the ways in which music is used may vary according to the dynamics within each environment. This particular study identifies a difference between what I suggest are relatively "cohesive"(school and university) and "non-cohesive" (supported accommodation) environments. The lack of evidence to support identity development through music-based in-group formation, together with the availability of evidence to support identity development through self-to-prototype matching (as discussed in chapter six), demonstrates that the context of music listening practices have an influence on the ways in which these practices are used. This is one way in which this study builds on and extends previous understanding of identity development using music.

This thesis weaves in reflections on emotion regulation with regards to music listening in every chapter. The findings I share from my participants speak of music listening being used to manage emotions and mood in a less instrumental way than the existing literature can sometimes present. Within this thesis I have discussed the practice of listening to music in response to hope, fear, anxiety, and anger where the music is chosen not only for its rhythmic, melodic and harmonic components but also for its lyrical content – content that supports a young person's reflection on self, decisions, opportunities and more from which the emotion is derived in the first place. This supports research findings such as that of Spanish scholars Loureiro, van der Meulen and del Barrio (2024), whose study of emotion regulation by adolescents identifies an instrumental mode (often connected to the lively

rhythm), and a more complex emotion regulation related to the lyrics and reflection on personal self-history.

The twin foci of young adulthood and homelessness are both under-represented within the study of music listening and this thesis offers a contribution to both. They are valuable areas to study (together or separately) with regards to music listening as they deepen the understanding of the role of music listening as a whole. The research also makes a contribution to sound studies in this regard, providing an alternative environment in which to study concepts such as sound and space.

9.3.2 A contribution to the study of homelessness

This thesis offers a contribution to the understanding of homelessness from the perspective of music listening. This study of music listening illuminates the aims and gratifications of music listening practices within institutionally-run environments, contributing to both understanding of behaviour and consequential decisions on policy and practice (particularly rules regarding noise nuisance). Music listening practices also provide a lens through which homelessness can be understood in greater detail, with music listening practices and the motivations for them, identifying the underlying experience of homelessness, often a deficit of some dimension of home.

I suggest in this thesis that music is a technology of home and should be studied as part of research focused on understanding the construction of home. This perspective is a contribution to both the literature on homelessness and housing, and to the literature on music listening practices.

9.4 Methodological limitations

9.4.1 Limitations of the sample

Whilst the study has provided an in-depth exploration of music listening practices for 19 young people it is a relatively small sample. This means that generalisation from this sample is not appropriate. It is also possible that the participants I spoke to have a different range of practices to those of other young people in a similar environment.

Nineteen participants could also be considered relatively small, although it did account for one-third of all residents in the research settings. Nonetheless, it is worth reflecting on a range of factors that limited recruitment, including the disruption of data collection due to the COVID-19 pandemic. It might have been possible to engage more young people in the research if I had worked with a greater number of residences and interview only those who were easier to engage. However, I wanted to invest the time in building up relationships with residents who were more difficult to engage in order to gather data that represented a broader range of residents. This was successful, and resulted in young people such as Lucas, Amber and Tom taking part. Other limitations in the selection of participants include the biases of the staff who regularly suggested residents who were “into music”. The staff’s commitment to supporting the study was incredibly beneficial, so I made the most of this, but also used other routes to recruit participants, including spending time in the residence befriending people and building up enough trust until they were happy to say yes to taking part. The incentive vouchers definitely helped in this process.

9.4.2 Limitations of the methods

There were some limitations in the phrasing of the interview questions and other forms. Having learnt through the process of data collection, I would do things differently if I were to repeat the study. These included phrasing questions regarding the modification of bedrooms with language that refers to a range of practices, not just decorating in the traditional sense. I would also find additional questions to elucidate the connection of home with music.

The qualitative and naturalistic inquiry in this thesis was suited to a group of individuals whose music listening practices were relatively unknown. Within this I attempted to use

some participative research methods. This was not possible to do as fully as I would have liked due to a) time constraints, b) financial limitations (particularly for payment of young people for their participation), and c) due to the two recruited research consultants being unwilling to participate in any element of the research that involved them engaging with other residents. This was because of a familiar refrain, identified in other ways within the research, that they didn't particularly like or respect others in the accommodation. My learning from this approach is that any application of participative research methods, no matter how limited, requires time and care. That said, I am pleased that I did the little that I did, and I hope to be able to incorporate participative research methods into future projects.

There are significant challenges involved in doing high-quality participatory research. My approach within the second study was limited by both time and by the young adult's desire to participate (particularly with regards to engaging with other residents). More time applied to creatively building a relationship with co-researchers and identifying research methods that might involve them more fully would have made this element more successful.

The use of the creation of a playlist within the second study could be considered as problematic. Young adults might feel the need to present a version of themselves through the music to achieve social validation (Bergen & Labonté, 2020). I attempted to avoid this by asking not for a playlist per se in the final research materials (although it was part of the test materials in the appendix). Removing the word playlist attempted to minimise the extent to which it was curated, instead being a simple list of songs that were significant or relevant to their time in the residence. This, I believe, improved the validity of the data collection, but an element of performance will have remained, as it will within other data collection methods, such as interviews and diaries.

9.4.3 Reflections on my positionality as researcher

My positionality within this study is as a middle-class presenting woman who was approaching middle-aged when I started this research, and would probably now be described as very much middle-aged. I have an accent that identifies me as not from Manchester and suggests I am not Northern (contrary to my roots) and educated. My otherness was further identified by my offers of support with cooking or with functional skills (such as maths, in

which I have an undergraduate degree and experience in tutoring). Whilst useful to (successfully) build trust with individuals, it also positions me in a similar position to others in their lives with power, such as staff of the managing charity and college staff. I was therefore likely to be perceived as an outsider, which I attempted to counter by explaining that I wasn't staff and that the research was separate to anything for the organisation.

I made the most of my early familiarity with the culture of the organisation by using the information I had about homelessness charities in general (through my professional life). With this familiarity I aimed to build trust and rapport with staff, who went on to be significant gatekeepers and contributors to the successes of the study. In particular, two members of staff particularly championed the study, Marco and Jade. The support I received from them helped both recruitment and continued participation in the study by residents, particularly remembering to turn up to planned interviews. Gatekeepers were useful but were not the sole source of recruited participants. However, two thirds of the residences did *not* participate in the research, reflecting the challenges of recruitment. There will have been barriers to participation that related to a range of factors, including my positionality as a researcher.

Nonetheless, my position must be acknowledged, not least in that I used to work in fundraising for the organisation I was embedded within. A regular narrative within this role (in order to convince people to donate) was one of "this accommodation is helping young people to become independent and move on from homelessness". I had to continually challenge that narrative in my own interpretations of the data. Indeed, I was also challenged, particularly when a number of them left the accommodation with no stable home to go to. I speak of, particularly, Jasmine, Lucas, Mark, Micah, Mimi and Seth.

I also went on a journey of understanding throughout this study, with my position changing as I became acquainted with the young adults. This included changing my perspective of events, such as the occasion when several young people were gathering around two cars in Heeley's car park playing music loudly and rapping along to the music. My initial emotional response was one of feeling fear and threatened, something that is borne out of public perception of young people in groups hanging out on street corners and being antisocial. On these occasions I challenged myself to consider and evaluate the behaviours from the point

of view of the potential socio-psychological motivations, rather than the prevailing interpretation of the music as a noise nuisance.

9.5 Practice and policy implications of my findings

This study provides a number of potential implications for policy and practice, for practitioners within supported accommodation and for housing policy, which I address in turn.

There are many implications from this study for practice within supported accommodation. The following four are a condensed list of recommendations that I draw from this research:

1. **Continue creating psychologically informed spaces for homeless young people:** It was clear that the young people within Roost, the most psychologically-informed residence (Haigh et al., 2012) benefited from the environment they were in (see 5.2.2). The findings of my study support this approach to building design for supported accommodation, both in policy and in practice.

2. **Introduce consideration of music listening practices within psychologically-informed and trauma-informed approaches within services:** As well as a psychological approach to the physical environment, this study suggests that the musical and digital practices of young people should be considered within the design. A drawback of the existing Psychologically Informed Environments literature (see 3.2.9, Haigh et al., 2012; Schneider et al., 2022) is that, whilst they reflect visual aesthetics (walls, artwork, layout etc) and noise in particular, music is rarely considered within the methodology, despite it being a significant component of young lives.

   I offer no suggestions as to the application of music-related design choices in practice other than to propose that it is not simply a case of playing music within the communal areas of the accommodation, which may lead to problems related to music preferences. Young people's music listening practices are more complex than this and so too must be the incorporation of corresponding design choices into Psychologically Informed Environments.

I do suggest that access to digital assets (hardware, software and data) should be considered within this. Digital assets were valuable to young people in project-self. In the later period of this study Wi-Fi was reported as reliable. In the earlier stages, however, there were problems with the Wi-Fi, which impacted on the use of digital tools and techniques for project-self. I suggest that Wi-Fi and digital assets should be considered alongside the inclusion of music listening in a psychologically- informed approach to the environment.

3. **Keep an open mind about the music that residents listen to:** Another aspect of Psychologically Informed Environments within homelessness accommodation is the approach to managing relationships, particularly responses to triggering events, and there may also be similar applications within *trauma-informed practices* (Santa Maria et al., 2023, van der Kolk, 2014). The understanding of young people's music listening practices, offered within this thesis, could support staff member's responses to music listening observed in a resident. This could include not discouraging particular types of music listening (as was the experience of Jasmine in her hospital stay, see 6.3.2) for fear that it was damaging. Instead, an understanding can be fostered that some young people listen to "problematic" music in order to find others who reflect and relate to their experience. A suggestion for practice is to introduce discussion about this music, and particularly the lyrics, into interactions between staff and residents. This could help them to identify and articulate the emotions they are experiencing more clearly when their own language skills or ability to feel or identify their emotions is lower. This in turn could inform the wider support being provided.

4. **Understand that young people sometimes use music, particularly at high volume, to enhance privacy:** Music at a high volume is often seen within the accommodation as, at best, a practice to be tolerated and at worst, a nuisance. Practitioners can learn some of the underlying motivations of these practices. These include that young people play music in part to modify, manage and defend their space. This may particularly involve protecting privacy in an environment where privacy can be regularly compromised (see 8.1). An understanding of these practices can inform the way in which they are addressed by staff. There may also be a possible implication on accommodation design that reinforces the need for better sound insulation. This has implications both on practice, particularly in how staff respond to music at a loud volume, and on policy, such as rules regarding noise within the accommodation.

5. **Understand the "work" young people are doing on the self-project in creating a continuous sense of self in time:** Progression coaches are often already aware of the psychological processes young people are going through during their time in supported accommodation. An addition to this knowledge could be the role of music within that. In particular, an understanding of the use of music in creating a continual sense of self in time – a whole being – could be vital in the support of a young person into independence.

   Many skills for independence depend on one knowing oneself (self-confidence, a sense of direction in the future, etc.), therefore supporting young people's music use can be part of their journey to independence. Incorporating conversations about the music residents listen to, particularly the lyrics, within progression coaching sessions, may help facilitate this process. Music is also a significant source of *hope* and a way of understanding *fear* with regards to the future. This kind of process is harnessed within music therapy. In the absence of a costly regular presence of music therapists within the context of the accommodation, elements of this approach could be harnessed by progression coaches.

6. **Government should consider responses to homelessness that take a *housing and…* approach, reflecting home as more than housing:** Government policy around homelessness can sometimes be reduced simply to the provision of a roof. This can be seen particularly through programmes such as *housing first* which, though an important component in policy, can lead to a reductive approach that ignores the breadth of what it means to have a home.

   This study suggests that home is so much more than a physical shell. A physical home must also be dependable, even if it is for short duration of time. Further, UK Government policy should consider other spaces involved in home-making, such as the sonic, social and digital spaces that overlap with the physical spaces. As Jo Richardson (2019) suggests, we need to go beyond "housing as home" and reflect instead the "intersection of place, identity and performance in our quest for 'home'." (p. 1)

9.6 Opportunities for future research

Finally, I suggest a number of opportunities for further research. I found young adulthood age range to be under researched with regards to music listening practices. Along with the previously mentioned problems with sampling for studies that are aimed at either adolescent or adult populations, young adulthood is rarely considered as a distinct and worthy of attention. However, I argue that it is just as distinct as adolescence, and that the particular characteristics of young adulthood make it interesting to study in terms of music listening. Young adults continue to listen to music with high frequence (IPSOS Connect, 2016) indicating that it is an important companion in the journey into adulthood. Further research is needed to understand how music listening supports or accompanies this journey with young adults in general, not just those who are homeless, and how it is, or isn't, specific to adolescence or adulthood.

There is very little research exploring music listening in relation to young adults experiencing homelessness. As demonstrated in this thesis, music is a potent resource, democratically accessible to most young people, given access to devices, software and data. There are a wide range of experiences of homelessness, and I have explored just one, that of living in supported accommodation. Whilst more difficult to carry out and involving no doubt a more complex approach to methodology, music listening could be researched amongst those rough sleeping or staying in environments articulated by McCoy and Hug (2016) as a danger zone or minefield. An exploration into how music is harnessed as a technology of the self and space within these environments would bring a deeper knowledge to this area.

I found music elicitation as a method to be a valuable tool with which to explore both the music listening practices of my participants and their lived experience of life in supported accommodation. I suggest that it has a lot to offer, particularly in conducting research with young adults who struggle with the identification and articulation of emotions. By allowing a young person to choose music that is meaningful to them, and to talk about this music, uses lyrics to speak for the young person. This draws out experience that might have remained obscured through a traditional interview.

Finally, I suggest that there is a huge area of unexplored music listening practice in the study of music as it relates to the construction of home. There is considerable research exploring music listening in the context of the home*land*, focusing on cultures, landscapes and diasporas, but there is considerably less focus on music and the construction of *home.* Music is prevalent in the home across the globe, and a consideration of music and the construction of *home* within the context of everyday life could provide a more intimate perspective on daily lives through a medium that is embedded in almost every household. If music listening is useful for constructing home for young adults who are experiencing homelessness, it could also be relevant for older adults or children who are experiencing homelessness. If music is useful for constructing home for anyone who is homeless, it could also be useful for those living in other temporary environments and institutions such as prisons, refugee camps, boarding schools, military bases, hospitals and much more.

10 References

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11 Appendices

11.1 Papers listed in Table A2, Schäfer et al. (2013)

Overview about empirical studies that have identified and/or investigated more than one function or functional aspect of music listening within Schäfer et al. (2013) annotated with the geography, sample biases, mean age and other factors.

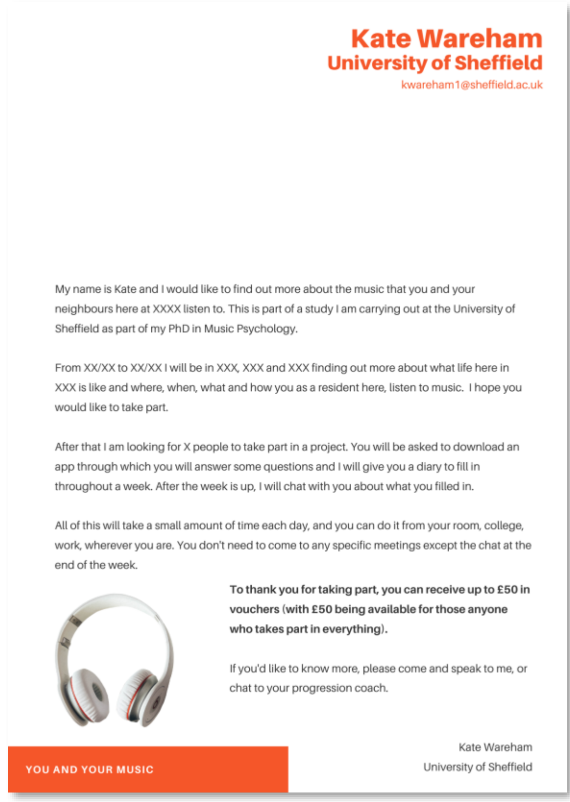
Study	No.	Geography	Biases of participants	Mean Age	SD Age	Age Range	Female	Student %	Bias to school students	Bias to uni students
Boer (2009) (Study 5a)	222	3 Individualistic 4 Collectivistic	High musical commitment, cultural variation	22.56	9.05	13 to 69	58%			
Boer (2009) (Study 6)	433	Majority Anglophone	Students (77%)	22	6.91		46%	76%		Yes
Brown et al. (1986)	1209	USA	Adolescents	13		12 to 14	50%	100%	Yes	
Campbell et al. (2007)	1155			15		13 to 18	78%		Yes	
Chamorro-Premuzic and Furnham (2007)	341	UK and USA	Students	19.9	2.9	17 to 41	71%	100%		Yes
DeNora (1999)	52	UK and USA	Varied backgrounds				100%			
Gantz et al. (1978)	468	USA	Primarily white, suburbs			12 to 22	47%	100%		Yes
Greasley and Lamont (2011)	25		Highly engaged, moderately engaged, less engaged	20.4	2.96	18 to 29		84%		

Hays and Minichiello (2005)	52	Australia				60 to 98	46%			
Herbert (2011)	20	UK	South England (higher socioeconomic background)			18 to 71	60%			
Juslin et al. (2008)	32	Sweden	Students	24		20 to 31	66%	100%		Yes
Laukka (2007)	280			69.2	2.9	65 to 75	51%			
Lehmann (1994)										
Lonsdale and North, 2011, Study 1	300	UK	Students	21.3	2.75		50%	100%		Yes
Lonsdale and North, 2011, Study 4	700	UK	Sixth formers, Students, Public	30		16 to 50+	46%		Yes	
Melton and Galician (1987)	414	US?	Students			15 to 25+	63%	100%		Yes
Misenhelter and Kaiser (2008)	German language paper									
Münch et al. (2005)	German language paper									
North et al. (2000)	2465	UK	School students			13 to 14	51%	100%	Yes	
Packer and Ballantyne (2011)	100	UK	Festival attendees			Under 30	51%	45%		
Roe (1985)	509	Sweden	School students			11 to 15			Yes	
Schäfer and Sedlmeier (2009)	170	Germany	Primarily student	26.4	12.2	15 to 78	59%	67%		Yes
Steele and Brown (1995)	50	USA	School and college students			11 to 22	66%	22%	Yes	Yes
Sun and Lull (1986)	587	USA	School students			Adolescents			Yes	

Tarrant et al. (2000)	245	UK and USA	School students	M_{UK}=14.66 M_{US}=15.88	15.27	Adolescents	50%		Yes	
Ter Bogt et al. (2011)	997	NL	Reflected Dutch society	20		12 to 29	50%			
Troldahl and Skolnik (1967)		USA				Adults				
Walker Kennedy (2010)	126	Canada				12 to 20	48%			

Eight papers focus specifically on adolescence or adolescence plus part of young adulthood (purple). Five papers purport to report on adulthood in general but take a wholly or predominantly student sample. Two papers focus specifically on older adults (orange).

11.2 Introduction letter and poster



Kate Wareham
University of Sheffield
kwareham1@sheffield.ac.uk

My name is Kate and I would like to find out more about the music that you and your neighbours here at XXXX listen to. This is part of a study I am carrying out at the University of Sheffield as part of my PhD in Music Psychology.

From XX/XX to XX/XX I will be in XXX, XXX and XXX finding out more about what life here in XXX is like and where, when, what and how you as a resident here, listen to music. I hope you would like to take part.

After that I am looking for X people to take part in a project. You will be asked to download an app through which you will answer some questions and I will give you a diary to fill in throughout a week. After the week is up, I will chat with you about what you filled in.

All of this will take a small amount of time each day, and you can do it from your room, college, work, wherever you are. You don't need to come to any specific meetings except the chat at the end of the week.

To thank you for taking part, you can receive up to £50 in vouchers (with £50 being available for those anyone who takes part in everything).

If you'd like to know more, please come and speak to me, or chat to your progression coach.

Kate Wareham
University of Sheffield

YOU AND YOUR MUSIC

Figure 23: Example of the introduction letter to residents.

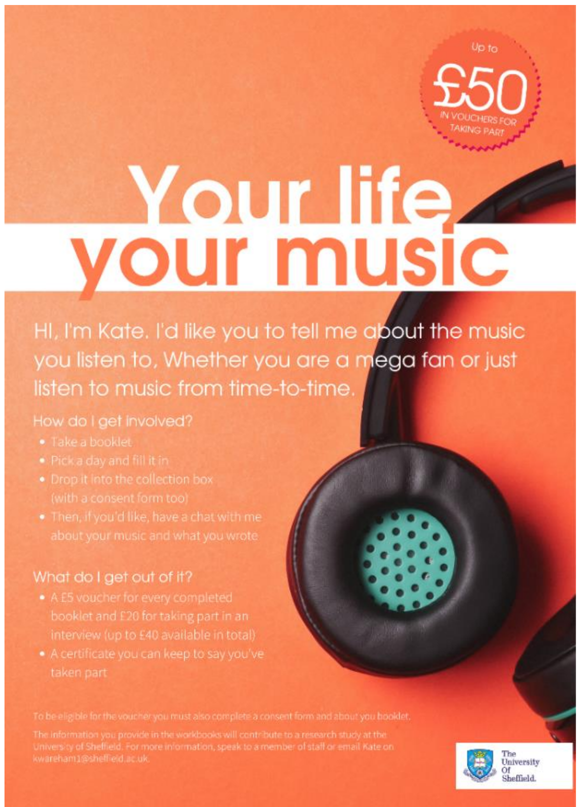


Figure 24: Poster advertising the research and opportunities to participate

11.3 Information sheet

About this research

This is research carried out by me, Kate. I am studying music listening in everyday life, and particularly amongst people who live in temporary accommodation, like where you live now. I am interested in you, what life is like here and about the music you listen to. It's all part of my PhD which I am doing at the University of Sheffield.

As someone who lives here, I would really like you to be part of this research, whether music is you thing, or sport, or books, or film or whatever. **Will you take part?** This guide gives you all (hopefully) of the information you need to sign up. Don't forget there are £40 worth of vouchers up for grabs.

Who am I?

My name is Kate. I live in Sheffield (once upon a time I lived in Manchester too) and I am researching how and why people listen to music. I do this research at the University of Sheffield.

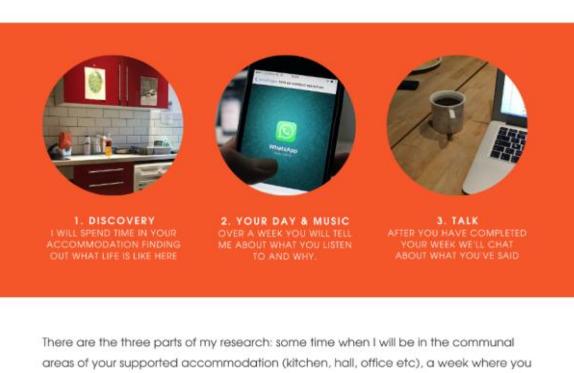
A little about me...

- I grew up in Sheffield, where I still live, but lived in Manchester for five years
- I am never far from my headphones
- I am fascinated about how each one of us uses music in our daily lives

This study is supervised by Professor Nikki Dibben and Professor Helen Kennedy at the University of Sheffield.

YOU AND YOUR MUSIC

What is involved?



There are the three parts of my research: some time when I will be in the communal areas of your supported accommodation (kitchen, hall, office etc), a week where you will get your chance to tell me about your music in a diary or on an app and a time for us to talk in more detail.

Over the page I explain each on in more detail as well as give you more information about how I will thank you for being involved.

Before you agree to take part, have a read of the next few pages. Then fill in the consent form. There are two so you can keep one for yourself so you know what you've signed up to.

YOU AND YOUR MUSIC

Your week

WhatsApp number:
Please note, I cannot receive phone calls on this number.

For five days, I will send you prompts by direct message, randomly throughout the day and evening (up to seven times). I will ask you what times you would like to receive the prompts between. You could say, after 9am and before 1am, for instance, or after 7am and before 11pm.

When you receive a notification, you will be asked if you can hear music. If you can, you will be given some questions to answer either in a paper diary, on an online form, or in a recorded voice message which you can send to me on Whatsapp.

You can also add anything you like to the diary at any point. If you do not want to add anything at that moment you can ignore the notification (but remember that you can receive more vouchers if you complete more entries).

What will I ask you?

I will ask you:

- Where are you?
- Who are you with?
- What are you doing?
- What is the music that you can hear?
- Where or what is the music coming from?
- Who is in control of the music you can hear?

The *most* important question is:
- How do you think the music is affecting you and your surroundings?

You can answer through your diary, through a recorded message on WhatsApp or typing the answers into WhatsApp. You can also fill in some of the other questions in the paper diary at any time, if you would like (but this is not compulsory).

At the end of the week I will collect your diary from you (if you would like, I can give it back to you when the study is completed).

You can write in English or another language. It is up to you.

YOU AND YOUR MUSIC

Your week

Example responses:

Where are you?
I am in my room at Safestop
Who are you with?
I am by myself
What are you doing?
I am on Snapchat
What is the music that you can hear?
Ed Sheeran Beautiful People
Where or what is the music coming from?
A video on Snapchat
Who is in control of the music you can hear?
Me
How do you think the music is affecting you and your surroundings? (at least two descriptive sentences please)
I'm trying to chill out The Ed Sheeran music is annoying me (I don't really like Ed Sheeran) but the video is funny.

Where are you?
I am on the bus
Who are you with?
I am travelling with a friend
What are you doing?
Going to college
What is the music that you can hear?
Some hip hop
Where or what is the music coming from?
The headphones of the guy behind me
Who is in control of the music you can hear?
Him
How do you think the music is affecting you and your surroundings? (at least two descriptive sentences please)
It's annoying me I'm feeling anxious about college because I've got a test coming up and the music is pissing me off.

YOU AND YOUR MUSIC

Talking about your music

Our meeting

I will arrange a time to talk to you about your responses during the week.

Our conversation will take about an hour. At the end of this I will give you your vouchers as a thank you for participating.

The conversation will take place in you supported accommodation and will be in private.

I will make an audio recording of this conversation to make it easier for me to type up my notes.

What I will ask you

I will ask you about yourself, the music you listen to and your experiences during the study with the app and diaries.

I may choose specific things you have written within the diary or in a questionnaire and ask you about it.

I may also ask you to show me what apps you use to listen to music, or playlists you have made. I may ask you if I can take a photo of these. You do not have to say yes to this.

You can be interviewed in another language, if you prefer.

Confidentiality and anonymity

- Your participation is voluntary and you can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason
- Your personal details such as name, phone number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed to people outside the project.
- Your words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. You will not be named in these outputs unless you specifically request this.
- Other authorised researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in the consent form.
- Other authorised researchers may use the data in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in the consent form.
- The information that you provide in forms, in the app and diary and in interviews will be stored on the University of Sheffield server so it can be used for future research and learning
- Copyright in any materials generated as part of this project will be held by The University of Sheffield.

YOU AND YOUR MUSIC

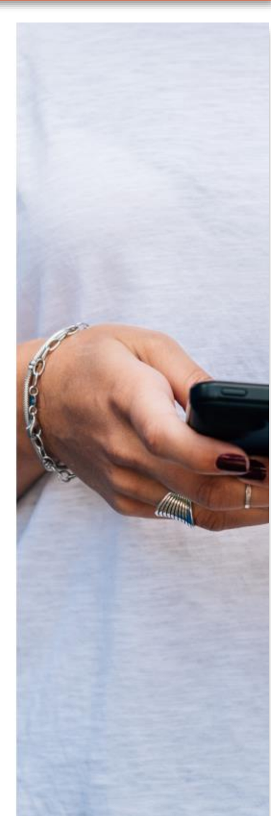
To thank you...

To thank you for your participation in this research we will give you a voucher. The more you participate, the more vouchers you will receive.

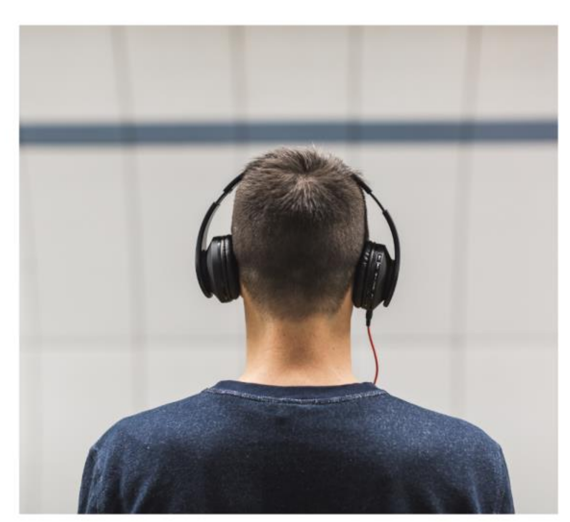
Each day you take part in, you qualify for a £5 voucher after you have completed four entries. There are a maximum of four £5 vouchers available to participants.

I will send you an update on your progress towards vouchers throughout the week. At the end of the week, if you have completed at least three full days, you qualify for the interview and will be given an additional **£20 voucher**.

In total, **you could receive £40** for participating in this study.



YOU AND YOUR MUSIC

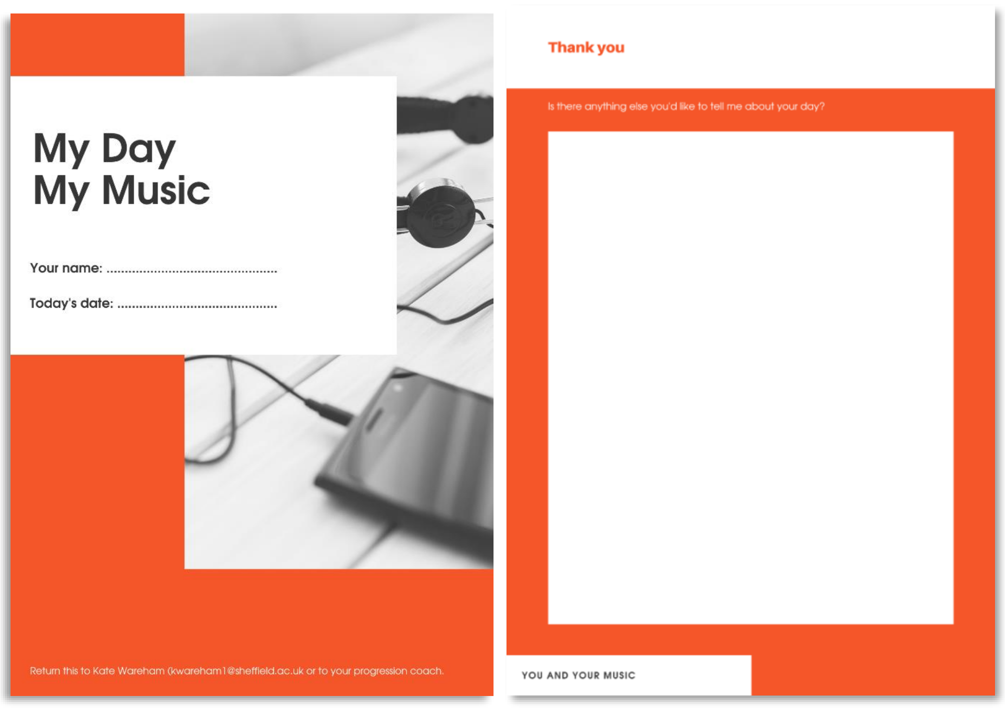


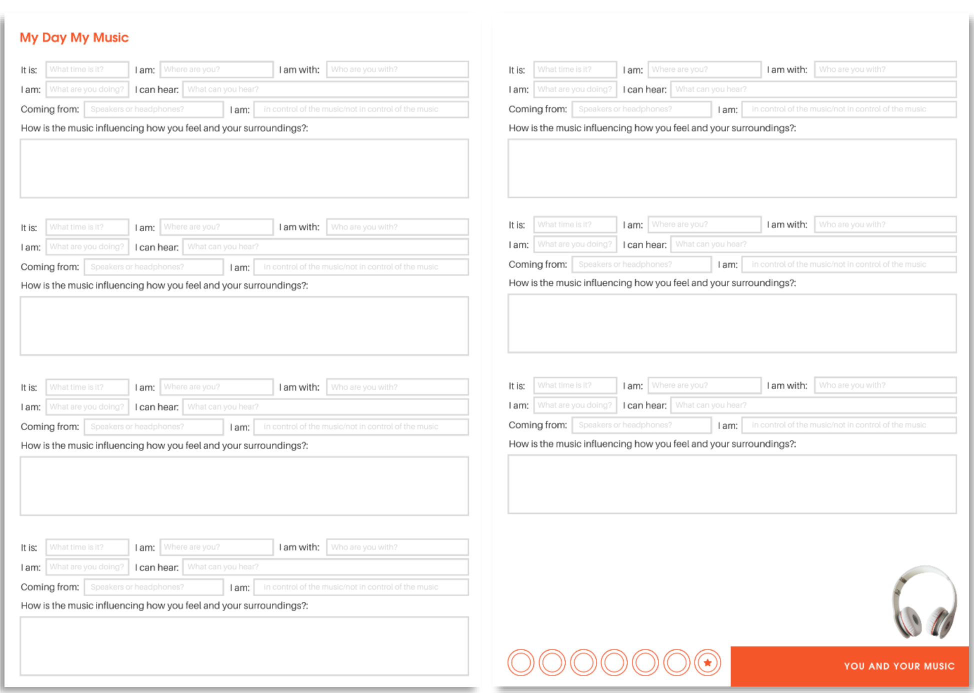
DO YOU WANT TO KNOW MORE?

If you'd like to know more, speak to a member of Depaul UK staff or email me, Kate.

KATE
kwareham1@sheffield.ac.uk

11.4 Example diary

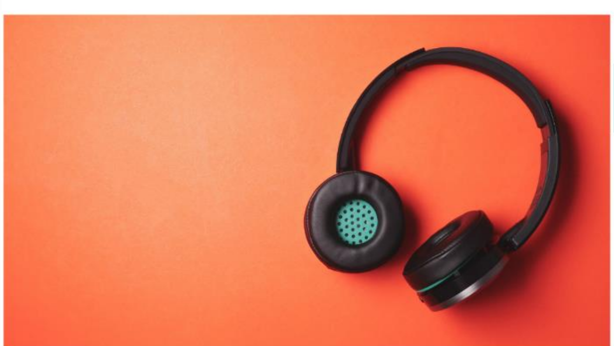




11.5 Consent form

Thank you

Thank you for filling in this boring but important form!



Giving your consent

Project contact details for further information

Lead researcher:
Kate Wareham
kwareham1@sheffield.ac.uk
Supervisor:
Nikki Dibben
n.j.dibben@sheffield.ac.uk
If you would like to make a complaint, please contact:
Simone Newman, simone.newman@depaulcharity.org.uk
or
Simon Keegan-Phipps
s.keegan-phipps@sheffield.ac.uk
(Head of the University of Sheffield Music Department)
110422

Taking part in this research

You have seen the information sheet

I have read and understood the project information sheet dated 01/03/22 or the project has been fully explained to me.

Yes ☐ No ☐

You have an opportunity to ask questions

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about this project.

Yes ☐ No ☐

You can withdraw at any time

I understand that my taking part is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time; I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part and there will be no adverse consequences if I choose to withdraw.

Yes ☐ No ☐

Do I need to know anything about you?

Is there anything you need to tell me about before participating in this research (such as any mental health concerns, or topics you don't want to discuss) that may affect your participation?

Yes ☐ No ☐

You must agree to take part

I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include:

Completing a minimum of three diaries.

Yes ☐ No ☐

Being interviewed (and being recorded in your interview)

Yes ☐ No ☐

Me recording audio or video or taking photos (not compulsory)

Yes ☐ No ☐

This is not legally binding

I understand that by choosing to participate as a volunteer in this research, this does not create a legally binding agreement nor is it intended to create an employment relationship with the University of Sheffield.

Yes ☐ No ☐

Your personal details

I understand my personal details such as name, phone number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed to people outside the project.

Yes ☐ No ☐

Your words

I understand and agree that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be named in these outputs unless I specifically request this.

Yes ☐ No ☐

Using your data

I understand and agree that other authorised researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.

Yes ☐ No ☐

Other researchers

I understand and agree that other authorised researchers may use my data in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.

Yes ☐ No ☐

Future research

I give permission for my questionnaire answers, interview text, diary entries, photos, videos and audio recordings that I provide to be deposited in the ORDA data repository so it can be used for future research and learning

Yes ☐ No ☐

Agreeing

I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials generated as part of this project to The University of Sheffield.

Yes ☐ No ☐

Your name:

Your signature:

The date:

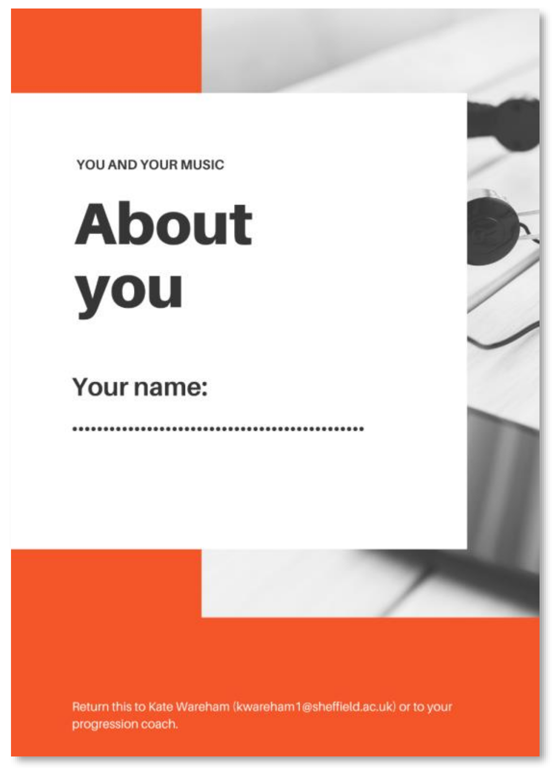
I commit to keeping my side of this arrangement.

My name: Kate Wareham

My signature:

The date:

11.6 About you form



YOU AND YOUR MUSIC

About you

Your name:

....

Return this to Kate Wareham (kwareham1@sheffield.ac.uk) or to your progression coach.

Thank you

Thank you for filling in this boring but important form!

There are a lot of questions I have to ask, but they are all there to protect your rights to anonymity and to make sure you understand the project before you agree to take part.

Do you have more questions?
Email me (Kate) at kwareham1@sheffield.ac.uk or talk to your progression coach.

YOU AND YOUR MUSIC

All about you...

I'd like to know a little bit of background information about you to help with the study.

Your education and employment

I am asking about education and employment as what you do each day will impact on how and how much you listen to music.

- ☐ I am currently employed full-time
- ☐ I am currently in full-time education or training
- ☐ I am currently employed part-time
- ☐ I am currently in part-time education or training
- ☐ My day to day activities consist of something other than education, training or employment

Your gender

What best describes your gender?

Male ☐ Female ☐

Prefer not to say ☐

Prefer to identify as: ☐

Your age

I am...

16	☐	17	☐	18	☐
19	☐	20	☐	21	☐
22	☐	23	☐	24	☐

Your ethnicity and heritage

I am asking about ethnicity because it may have an impact on the types of music you listen to.

How would you describe your ethnicity and heritage?

☐

Would you prefer to receive notifications by:

SMS ☐ Whatsapp ☐

YOU AND YOUR MUSIC

My favourite musicians are:

☐

My music activities are:

Please select which of these activities you do:

- ☐ Sing
- ☐ Play an instrument
- ☐ Karaoke
- ☐ Make music on a computer or other device
- ☐ Write music
- ☐ Rap or MC
- ☐ DJ
- ☐ Something else musical

My usual leisure activities are:

- ☐ Socialising
- ☐ Cinema
- ☐ Going to concerts/gigs
- ☐ Reading
- ☐ Eating out
- ☐ Listening to music
- ☐ Sports
- ☐ Watching TV or video
- ☐ Gaming
- ☐ Social media
- ☐ In the internet
- ☐ Resting/taking time out

Other activities: ☐

YOU AND YOUR MUSIC

11.7 Interview guide

Initial points: Reiterate reason for the interview and explain the project; remind of the consent form and their rights to withdraw at any time; ask if OK to record.

#	Question	Prompt	Depth questions	Objective
Introductory warm up questions				
1	How long have you lived here in [location]?			Easy question to get them talking.
2	Can you tell me a bit about yourself?			Warm up question. More systematic data will be collected elsewhere.
3	Are you happy to tell me something about how you came to live here?	Reassure it is not necessary to answer this (or any) question.		Gives context to reflections on accommodation and music.
About where you live				
4	What is a normal day like for you?	Are you studying? Working?	Is this a typical day for you? What about weekends? Are they different? Talk me through the day – when do you pick up your music?	Easy question to get them talking. Gives context to subsequent answers.
5	Tell me about [location]. What is it like to live here?	What is great about living here? What is challenging about living here? Would you consider it home?	Why is that great? Why is that challenging?	Collects participants reflections on and experiences of their supported accommodation.
5	This might sound like a strange question, but what do you think is the 'sound' of [location]?	What can you usually hear around [location]?		

Managing your environment				
8	**What is your room like?**	Have you decorated it at all? Do you spend much time there? How big is it? What is in it?	Why? Why not? Are you allowed visitors? Do you like to have visitors? How many hours do you spend in it a day?	
9	**You mentioned [challenging aspect]. How do you deal with that?**	Repeat if necessary.		Gathering information about how the individual manages their environment.
You and your music				
10	**Now I'd like to talk about music. Do you listen to music?**	Tell me about that. How much? How? With headphones? When with when on speaker? Where? Where don't you? When?		Understand the participant's use of music.
11	**Why do you listen to music?**	How do you feel when you listen to music? What does it do for you?		Understand the role music has for them.
12	**Why do you listen to music at the moment, whilst living here in [location]?**			
12a	**Has your music listening changed at all since the pandemic?**			
13	**Do you listen to or talk about music with any of your fellow residents?**	Why? When?		Understand whether music has a role in social connections.
14	**How much of your day do you spend listening to music do you think?**	How often can you hear music around the residence?	Why do you choose to listen to [stated amount of music]? Whose music can you often hear?	To understand a little about whether music listening is a main activity, one of many or incidental.

15	**Tell me about the music you listen to.**	What do you like to listen to? Why is that?		To explore their music preferences and the reasons for that, roles the music has and the relation it has to the location.
16	**How do you listen to music?**	What device do you use? Do you stream or download? Headphones or speakers?	Is the [device] in your room or somewhere else? Do you own it? Do you share it?	Understand their music listening practices.
17	**So you've told me a lot about what you listen to, and how. Has this changed at all since you've come to [location]?**			
18	**Can you show me your music on your device?**	[remind of consent etc] Can I see your music collection. Can I take a photo of it?	Tell me more about this? Why do you [use X, do this etc]?	Understand their music listening practices.
19	**Are there times when you don't listen to music at all?**	How often? On what sort of days?	Why is that do you think? Why no music on those days? Is this your preference?	

Referring to the diary				
20	On [day] you wrote [description]. Can you tell me more about that?	What was happening that day? Why did you write that? What does that mean?		Repeated if needs be. To ensure the diary is understood.
Round up Thank you so much, they are all my questions.				
21	Is there anything else you'd like to tell me?			Good interview practice – provides closure and leaves the participant feeling empowered.
22	Is there anything you'd like to ask me?			
Thank you for taking the time to speak with me.				

General 'depth' prompts
Tell me more about that.
Could you explain a bit more about [comment].
That's interesting, tell me more.
Why do you think that is?
What do you think the reason for that is?
How do you feel about that? Why do you feel that way?

General encouragement questions
Thank you for sharing that.
That's interesting.

Check in questions
We can move on to another question at any time, but… [ask question]

11.8 Study two final worksheets

Who am I?

Your name:

Who are you?
What are your five greatest strengths?
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

What are your two biggest weaknesses?
1.
2.

Who are you?
What characteristics do you wish you had?

What characteristics do you admire in others?

What is most important to you?
List 10 things that are really important to you...
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

Put a star next to three that are the MOST important to you

What Motivates you?
Give some examples
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

The public you and the private you...
How is the 'public you' different to the 'private you'?

In what places are you able to feel fully yourself?

Any thing else? **Is there anything else you'd like to say about yourself?**

Who are you, in here? **In what ways does your sense of self change or stay the same here in [accommodation]**

Your name:

Your music...

If there is any music that is significant, meaningful or memorable to you or your sense of who you are from your time in this accommodation, fill in the boxes below. This can include specific tracks, moments, events or gigs, or albums or playlists.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
What is it?	**What is it?**	**What is it?**	**What is it?**	**What is it?**
Why have you chosen this?	**Why have you chosen this?**	**Why have you chosen this?**	**Why have you chosen this?**	**Why have you chosen this?**

11.9 Study two about you form and consent form

All about you...

I'd like to know a little bit of background information about you to help with the study.

Your gender
What best describes your gender?

Male ☐ Female ☐
Prefer not to say ☐
Prefer to identify as: ______

Your age
I am...
☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐ 19 ☐ 20 ☐ 21 ☐ 22 ☐ 23 ☐ 24 ☐ 25
If you are 16 or 17 please see Note 1.

When did you move here?

Your ethnicity and heritage
I am asking about ethnicity because it may have an impact on the types of music you listen to. How would you describe your ethnicity and heritage?

My usual leisure activities are:

- ☐ Socialising with friends or family
- ☐ Going to the cinema, theatre or gallery, or visiting a place of interest
- ☐ Reading
- ☐ Eating out
- ☐ Listening to music
- ☐ Attending a club, workshop or group
- ☐ Going to concerts/gigs
- ☐ Participating in or watching sports
- ☐ Watching TV or video
- ☐ Gaming
- ☐ Social media
- ☐ On the internet
- ☐ Resting/taking time out
- ☐ Attending a religious activity

Other activities:

My music activities are:
Please select which of these activities you do:

- ☐ Listen to music
- ☐ Sing
- ☐ Play an instrument
- ☐ Karaoke
- ☐ Write music
- ☐ Rap or MC
- ☐ DJ
- ☐ Make music on a computer or other device

My favourite musicians are:

Taking part in this research

You have seen the information sheet
I have read and understood the project information sheet dated 10/08/23 or the project has been fully explained to me. Yes ☐ No ☐

You have an opportunity to ask questions
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about this project. Yes ☐ No ☐

You can withdraw at any time
I understand that my taking part is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time; I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part and there will be no adverse consequences if I choose to withdraw. Yes ☐ No ☐

Do I need to know anything about you?
Is there anything you need to tell me about before participating in this research (such as any mental health concerns, or topics you don't want to discuss) that may affect your participation? Yes ☐ No ☐

This is not legally binding
I understand that by choosing to participate as a volunteer in this research, this does not create a legally binding agreement nor is it intended to create an employment relationship with the University of Sheffield. Yes ☐ No ☐

You must agree to take part
I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include:
Completing a worksheet Yes ☐ No ☐
Being interviewed (and being recorded in your interview) Yes ☐ No ☐

Your personal details
I understand my personal details such as name, phone number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed to people outside the project. Yes ☐ No ☐

Your words
I understand and agree that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be named in these outputs unless I specifically request this. Yes ☐ No ☐

Using your data
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. Yes ☐ No ☐

Other researchers
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers may use my data in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. Yes ☐ No ☐

Future research
I give permission for my workshop answers and interview text to be used for future research and learning Yes ☐ No ☐

ORDA
I give permission for my words in my poster and in the interview to be deposited in ORDA (Sheffield University's online digital database) so it can be used for future research and learning Yes ☐ No ☐

Agreeing
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials generated as part of this project to The University of Sheffield.

Your name:
Your signature:
The date:

I commit to keeping my side of this arrangement.

My name: Kate Wareham
My signature:
The date:

11.10 Study two information sheet

About this research

University of Sheffield

This research is being carried out by Kate, a PhD researcher from the University of Sheffield.

You can find our more by emailing her at kwareham1@sheffield.ac.uk.

01 What is involved?

You will be asked to fill in a worksheet about you and the music you listen to. You may also be asked to participate in an interview.

02 Personal details

Your personal details such as name, phone number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed to people outside the project.

03 Voluntary & if you have concerns

Your participation is voluntary, you can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason. If you have a concern about this research, please contact either:

1) your Progression Coach,
2) the research supervisor, Nikki Dibben (n.j.dibben@sheffield.ac.uk) or
3) the Head of Music Department, Sheffield University (music_hod@sheffield.ac.uk).

04 Other researchers

Other authorised researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in the consent form.

Other authorised researchers may use the data in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in the consent form.

05 Your words

Your words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. You will not be named in these outputs unless you specifically request this.

06 Copyright

Copyright in any materials generated as part of this project will be held by The University of Sheffield.

07 Storage

The information that you provide in forms, in worksheets, in group conversations and in interviews will be anonymised and stored on the University of Sheffield server so it can be used for future research and learning

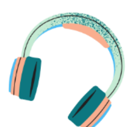
Date: 10/08/23

11.11 Study Two Test materials

MUSIC AND FOOD

This session is being recorded

You are welcome to join in.



MUSIC AND PIZZA

Join us in the kitchen

Tuesday 20th August
From 7pm
Free pizza

Kate will be holding a session in the kitchen, creating a (Heeley/Roost) playlist.

This session is part of research carried out here about music and life in (Roost/Heeley) and will be recorded.

University of Sheffield

[Roost/Heeley] Playlist

Suggested by:

Is there is any music that is significant, meaningful or memorable from your time in this accommodation? This can include specific tracks, moments, events or gigs, or albums or playlists.

You can choose whether to keep it private or add it to the Heeley/Roost playlist.

1. Track/artist

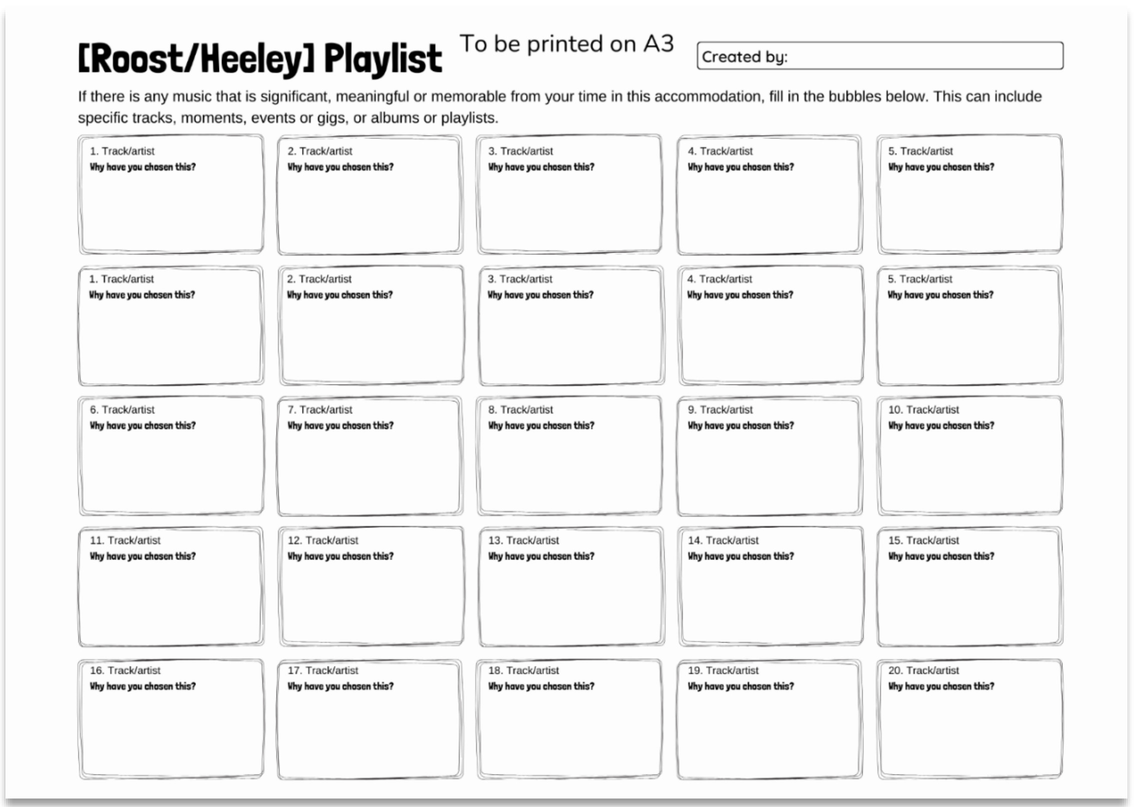
Why have you chosen this?

Add this to the Heeley/Roost collective playlist? ☐

2. Track/artist

Why have you chosen this?

Add this to the Heeley/Roost collective playlist? ☐



[Roost/Heeley] Playlist

To be printed on A3

Created by:

If there is any music that is significant, meaningful or memorable from your time in this accommodation, fill in the bubbles below. This can include specific tracks, moments, events or gigs, or albums or playlists.

1. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

2. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

3. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

4. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

5. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

1. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

2. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

3. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

4. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

5. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

6. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

7. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

8. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

9. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

10. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

11. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

12. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

13. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

14. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

15. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

16. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

17. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

18. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

19. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

20. Track/artist
Why have you chosen this?

11.12 Ethical approval

Ethical approval was obtained for both studies via the Department of Music, University of Sheffield.

- Study one: Application reference number 026850 (approved 24/09/2019)
- Study two: Application reference number 056429 (approved 05/09/2023)

11.13 Study two: Chosen songs

	Artist	Song	Reference
Carla	Alessia Cara	Here	Cara (2016)
	Clara La San	In This Darkness (sped up)	La San (2023)
	Dean Lewis	How do I say goodbye	Lewis (2022)
	Gracie Abrams	I miss you, I'm sorry	Abrams (2020)
	Queen Naija	Mama's hand	Queen Naija (2018)
	Mimi Webb	Good without	Webb (2021)
	James Arthur	Stop asking me to come back	Arthur (2019)
	Lil Peep	The way I see things	Lil Peep (2015)
	Billie Eilish	What was made for x I love you	Eilish (2023)
	SYML	Where's my love	SYML (2018)
	Beyonce	Pretty hurts	Beyoncé (2013)
	James Arthur	Finally	Arthur (2016)
	Labrinth	Never felt so alone	Labrinth (2023)
	Eminem	Mocking bird	Eminem (2004)
	Sia	Angel by the wings sped up	Sia (2016)
	Montell Fish	Destroy myself just for you	Fish (2022)
	Tate McRae	Hate myself	McRae (2022)
	Drake & Yebba	Yebbas heartbreak	Drake & Yebba (2021)
	Wafia	Heartburn	Wafia (2016)
Riley	Nine inch nails	And all that could've been	Nine Inch Nails (2002)
	Machine Gun Kelly	Hotel Diablo	Machine Gun Kelly (2019)
	Machine Gun Kelly	Hotel Diablo tour gig	No reference
Imani	Lady Wray	Piece of me	Lady Wray (2022)
	Frank Ocean	Novacane	Ocean (2010)
	Jhene Aiko	Stay Ready	Aiko (2013)
	Doja Cat	Attention	Doja Cat (2023)
	Cleo Sol	Why don't you	Sol (2018)
	Cleo Sol	When I'm in your arms	Sol (2020)
	SZA	20 Something	SZA (2017)
	Destiny Child	Say my name	Destiny's Child (1999)

Hallie	Ed Sheeran ft. Bring me the horizon	Bad habits	Sheeran (2021)
	Billie Eilish	Therefore I am	Eilish (2020)
	The Pixies	Where is my mind	Pixies (1988)
	Bring me the horizon ft. Rahzel	Heavy metal	Bring me the horizon (featuring Rahzel) (2019)
	Lily Allen	Take what you take	Allen (2006)
Reece	Lukas Graham	7 Years	Graham (2015)
	Nightcrawlers (featuring Mufasa & Hypeman)	Friday	Nightcrawlers (featuring Mufasa & Hypeman) (2021)
	Oasis	Don't look back in anger	Oasis (1996)
	Miley Cyrus	The climb	Cyrus (2009)
	Bugzy Malone	M.E.N	Bugzy Malone (2015)

Table 13: Table of song choices in study two. Please choose songs that are significant or meaningful to your time in Roost/Heeley.

11.14 Excerpts from the Excluded Licence Agreement

The *Excluded Licence Agreement* must be signed by all young people at the start of their time at the accommodation. Excerpts from the agreement are given below:

Excerpt 1:

"This licence is provided in accordance with the aims of the project. The aims of the project and the support services you will receive are set out in your Resettlement Handbook."

Excerpt 2:

"The provision of support services is a fundamental part of this licence agreement. You agree to accept the support services provided and you agree that if you fail to accept those services we may terminate this agreement."

Excerpt 3: "Nothing in this Licence is intended to confer or to be construed to confer on the Licensee any interest or any right to the exclusive use and possession of the room, the communal facilities or the property or create the relationship of landlord and tenant. This Licence is an excluded Licence within the meaning of Section 3A(8) of the Protection from Eviction Act 1977."

Excerpt 4: "You agree to move into the room at the start of the agreement and to move into another room in the premises if we require you to do so for good management reasons."

Excerpt 5: "You agree to pay the weekly charge in advance."

Excerpt 6: "You agree not to do anything which is or is likely to cause, or to allow members of your household or visitors to do anything which is or is likely to cause, a nuisance or annoyance to any other resident or to any persons in the neighbourhood or to any member of staff or contractor employed by the Landlord."

Excerpt 7: “You agree not to play, or to allow members of your household or visitors to play, any radio, television, hi-fi equipment or musical instrument so loudly that it causes a nuisance or annoyance, or would be likely to cause a nuisance or annoyance to any other resident or other persons in the neighbourhood or can be heard outside the room between the hours of 11.00 p.m. and 7.30 a.m.”

11.15 House rules

The following text is an excerpt from the *Excluded Licence Agreement* for Roost.

Schedule 4: HOUSE RULES

Access: All residents must be in the project by 2.a.m, except under circumstances by prior arrangement with the duty project staff. Coming back to the project after this time will count as a night away from the project.

Absence from the project: Residents must stay in the project 5 nights out of 7. If for any reason you need to stay out for a longer period of time you must make arrangements with staff.

Alcohol: Alcohol is banned from the project, both in the communal areas and residents' rooms. This includes use of alcohol in the grounds and the gardens of the project.

Drugs: The use and distribution of drugs is strictly forbidden in, or in the vicinity of, the premises. Drugs are defined as those substances classified in The Misuse of Drugs Act 1971 and The Psychoactive Substances Act 2016. This includes use of drugs in the grounds and gardens of the project.

Health and Safety: Residents must always act in a safe manner and follow instructions given by staff members.

1. Residents must respond to all fire alarms and follow fire procedure and instructions from staff.
2. Under no circumstances should residents tamper with fire equipment, including the detector in their room.
3. Flammable substances, such as candles are not permitted and will be removed and stored until you leave, if found.
4. Staff will check each room at least weekly to check for health and safety and damage to the room.
5. Residents need to ensure their rooms are clean and tidy.

6. Residents must not have weapons, or items that can be used as weapons in their rooms. Weapons will be removed if found on site.
7. Staff may occasionally require access to rooms for health and safety reasons. Where this is necessary 2 staff members will always be present and advance notice will be given in writing where reasonably possible. Staff may need to enter a room immediately in an emergency.

Smoking: Smoking is allowed in residents' rooms only and not in communal areas.

Visitors: Residents are allowed 1 visitor between 10.00a.m. and 22.00(10p.m.).

1. No overnight visitors are allowed.

2. All visitors must report to a member of staff on arrival and departure and sign in and out of the building.

3. Residents must also sign their guests in.

4. Staff have the right to refuse guests for the safety of the project.

5. Residents are responsible for their visitors at all times, as laid out in the licence agreement.

6. Visitors are not permitted to use the facilities of the project.

7. Visitors must be over the age of 16 and are required to show photographic I.D. which confirms their date of birth before being allowed on the project.

Domestic Duties: Residents are responsible for their personal hygiene, their room and domestic tasks e.g. personal washing up. They are also required to participate in tasks which maintain the cleanliness and hygiene of the premises.

General Behaviour: All residents must behave in a manner which shows respect to project staff, volunteers, other residents, the local community and the building, and comply with the terms and conditions of their signed licence agreement.

1. Room keys should be handed in to staff when leaving the project, there will be a charge of £5.00 for lost keys.
2. Residents must engage with staff and support offered on a regular basis.

E-bed: Emergency (E-bed) residents are not allowed visitors in the basement or E-bed rooms. This includes other residents. E-bed residents are not allowed upstairs in the project, especially in other residents' rooms.

11.16 Overview of diary data

All data has been cleaned and summarised.

Time of day

Time of day of diary entry	Number of entries	Percentage of entries
Evening	30	24.00%
Afternoon	36	28.80%
Morning	22	17.60%
Night	10	8.00%
Unknown	27	21.60%

Table 14: Time of day of diary entries. "It is: (time of day?)"

Location (general)

Location type	Number of entries	Percentage of entries
Roost	46	36.80%
Public	22	17.60%
Heeley	18	14.40%
Nest	25	20.00%
Other home	14	11.20%

Table 15: Location type of diary entries. "I am (where are you?) "

Location (specific)

Location	Number of entries	Percentage of entries
Room	59	47.20%
With family	11	8.80%
Public transport	9	7.20%
Street	5	4.00%
Shop	4	3.20%
With friends	4	3.20%
Grounds of the accommodation	6	4.80%
Kitchen	9	7.20%
Lounge	2	1.60%
Office	1	0.80%
Park	1	0.80%
Bathroom	1	0.80%
Unknown	11	8.80%
Car	1	0.80%

Table 16: Location of diary entries. "I am (where are you?)"

Company

Who with	Number of entries	Percentage of entries
Alone	85	68.00%
Friend/s	29	23.20%
Family	8	6.40%
Residents	1	0.80%
Staff	1	0.80%

Table 17: Company at time of diary entry. "I am (who are you with?)"

Concurrent activity

Activity	Number of entries	Percentage of entries
Relaxing	40	32.00%
Travelling	13	10.40%
Socialising	11	8.80%
Food	8	6.40%
Gaming	7	5.60%
Smoking	9	7.20%
Waking up/going to sleep	10	8.00%
Getting ready	8	6.40%
Shopping	3	2.40%
Chores	3	2.40%
Unknown	3	2.40%
Hobbies/activities	7	5.60%
Home admin	1	0.80%
Watching TV	2	1.60%

Table 18: Concurrent activity at time of diary entry. "I am (what are you doing?)"

Sound

Type of sound:	Number of entries	Percentage of entries
Music	114	91.20%
Film or TV	2	1.60%
Unknown	9	7.20%

Table 19: Type of sound at time of diary entry. "I can hear (what can you hear?)"

Source of sound

Sound is coming from:	Number of entries	Percentage of entries
Speakers	40	32.00%
TV	23	18.40%
Headphones	26	20.80%
Phone	9	7.20%
Radio	4	3.20%
Outside	2	1.60%
Friend's phone	2	1.60%
Phone/Radio	1	0.80%
Unknown	18	14.40%

Table 20: Source of sound at time of diary entry. "Where is the sound coming from at time of diary entry. Coming from (speakers or headphones?)"

Control of sound

Are you in control?	Number of entries	Percentage of entries
Blank	6	4.80%
In control	67	53.60%
Not in control	19	15.20%
Shared control	2	1.60%

Table 21: Source of control of the sound at the time of the diary entry. "I am (in control of the music/not in control of the music)."