

Emotions

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ABSTRACT

The construction, popularisation and expression of emotions play a central role in peacebuilding pursuits, as well as the international and domestic conflicts they aim to address. The discourse surrounding peacebuilding is inherently emotion-laden, depending upon notions of hope, empathy and compassion (not to mention ‘peace’ itself). Relatedly, emotions such as fear, anger, solidaristic pride and disgust circulate freely during times of conflict. Because emotions are paramount in both musical practice and peacebuilding contexts, cross-cultural projects that aim to develop (or research) emotions must be informed by the ways the conceptualisation of various emotions is often culturally and historically bound.

KEYWORDS

conflict; emotions; empathy; music; peacebuilding

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EMOTIONS

MUSIC AND EMOTIONS IN PEACEBUILDING

The connection between music and emotion has been a source of fascination, reported since written records began, with music even being referred to as a “language of emotion” (Spencer, 1911). Discourses surrounding peacebuilding have also tended to be emotion-laden, with notions of hope, empathy and compassion (not to mention ‘peace’ itself) being central. Relatedly, emotions such as fear, anger, solidaristic pride and disgust circulate freely during times of conflict. Given these connections, music has been used in peacebuilding with strong emotional intention.

This paper interrogates the capacious term ‘emotion’, which is particularly complicated because of its locality in a network of terms, which includes affects, feelings, sentiments, moods and passions. In addition to navigating the often fluid relationship between concepts relating to emotion, the aims of this article are further complicated by the varying analyses of peacebuilding and conflict that draw attention to different categories of emotion. To demonstrate, in *Geopolitics of Emotion*, Moïsi (2009) attempts to map globalisation through the emotions of fear, hope and humiliation, arguing that they are closely linked to confidence and identity - an ideological centrepiece in contemporary experiences of the globalised world. Alternatively, Nussbaum (2013) argues that “all decent societies” should cultivate “appropriate sentiments of sympathy and love” (p. 3) and resist the disgust and envy that circumvent recognition of equal human dignity. There is an abundance of theoretical analyses such as these, from many different disciplinary standpoints, which offer critical if contrasting insights into the emotions underlying conflict and peacebuilding. Providing an overview of these works is beyond the scope of this paper, but they illustrate the difficulties of navigating the topic.

To steer a course, we draw on particular emotion categories and theories where they work to demonstrate the conceptual and methodological importance of, and difficulty with, directing attention to emotions in research projects on music in peacebuilding. In so doing, our discussion aims to signify the unique contribution musical contexts can make towards understandings of emotions in peacebuilding and the ways that studying music engagement enriches theories of emotion from political philosophy, history, sociology, human geography and social psychology. The article is structured to highlight some of the key distinctive (though sometimes overlapping) properties of emotions that have been identified in literature from across these disciplines. By examining their embodied, relational, sociopolitical, expressive, performative and cultural infrastructures, we explore how emotions might be understood in a way that accounts for the divergences between these qualities. Our examination of how these infrastructures operate to produce meaningful experiences frames the exploratory, working definition of emotions presented at the end of the article, which is less concerned with the question, ‘What are emotions?’ than ‘What do emotions do?’ (see Ahmed, 2014, p. 4) in terms of music and/in peacebuilding. In refusing the finite enclosure of the term being investigated here, this article draws attention to this special issue’s conversation with other Keywords volumes. Similar approaches were taken in selected articles from *Keywords in Sound* (2015), for example, as demonstrated by Novak’s problematisation of “normative systems of meaning” (p. 133) through his conceptualisation of noise, and Sakakeeny’s entry on music which, “aimed at defamiliarizing music rather than deconstructing it” (p. 113).

EMOTIONS AS EMBODIED

Emotions are encountered as embodied experiences, realised from within the physiological and psychological domains of individual bodies. Arousal is at the core of any discussion about emotions. Often defined as the stimulation of the autonomic nervous system, arousal results in a faster heart beat and pulse and as this occurs, breath becomes shallower, skin temperature rises, and neural activity becomes less regular (Iwanaga and Moroki, 1999). These changes are well-reported as being crucial to both musical performance and perception, with an optimally communicative performance being one in which the performer is aroused and able to stimulate similar corporeal sensations in the listener (Becker, 2010). One of the founding fathers of Western psychological research on emotions, William James (1842-1910), argued that the physiological aspect of arousal always precedes the interpretation and resulting emotional appraisal (James, 1890/1955). In the same vein, Antonio Damasio (1999) regards 'e-motion' as the first level sensation response, dependent on the crucial physiological changes. While such theories remain the topic of intense debate, there is certainly evidence that at some level, music induces in both performer and listener brain stem reflexes (like the startle response), which can generate intense physiological arousal. Additionally, when generating or responding to music, its rhythmic features can cause the body to entrain to the musical rhythms, often generating a compulsion to move in time to the rhythms, rather like entraining with a companion as you unconsciously walk in synchrony down the street (Sloboda and Juslin, 2010).

Evidence increasingly reveals that humans possess highly idiosyncratic cognitive pathways, and the most recent psychological research would argue that musical emotions are evoked through the activation of a number of mechanisms, each dependent on its own distinct form of processing (Juslin and Västfjäll, 2008). Furthermore, these responses to music, either in the generation of a musical performance or in the perception of one, occur in a complex interaction between the music, the person (from their own character to entwined influence of their culture) and the situation. Damasio refers to feeling as the cognitive and appraisal aspect of emotional experience, and it is true to say that how we appraise our physiological state in terms of our own current situation makes the music feel quite different (Thompson, Graham and Russo, 2005). When music is being used as a tool for peace outcomes, arousal and appraisal work to generate a deeply sensed physical engagement, the feeling often leaving powerful memory traces. Consider briefly the Singing Revolution that swept Estonia (1987-1991). As the people took to the streets in their thousands, to join in patriotic and folk singing to rise up in harmony against the Soviet regime, their collective physical experiences both fed into and reflected the feeling communicated in the music (Vogt, 2005). This example draws our attention to how, in politically-charged contexts, musical and emotional encounters are pertinent not only because they are intimately felt in their embodiment, but also particularly so because this embodiment is collectively generated.

Certainly, research into the embodiment of emotional-musical experiences highlights 'intersubjectivity', a characteristic present from our earliest experiences of music-making. In the transition to toddlerhood, children continue to interact in vocal and gestural play with adults and peers in a way that offers satisfaction through reciprocal pleasure (see Malloch and Trevarthen, 2009). Watching pre-schoolers' in collaborative musical play reveals sympathetic mirroring of types of physical and vocalised reactions that are directly connected to emotion (Tafari, 2008). A well-cited example of the pairing between physiological experience and

emotion response is the use of enharmonic key changes in tonal music being equated with ‘shivers down the spine’ or ‘goose bumps’, associated with emotions such as joy or thrills (see Sloboda, 1991; Sloboda, O’Neill and Ivaldi, 2001). These mirrored reactions reveal an emerging understanding of music's embodied nature, at once individual, but also intersubjective and inherently relational.

EMOTIONS AS RELATIONAL

With the focus on arousal at the outset of the previous section we demonstrated how, given their embodied nature, emotions can be understood as intensely personal and private states of being that arise within each person's individual body and consciousness. We also outlined work from music psychology that demonstrates the ways in which both emotions and music-making operate relationally. Other disciplines of the humanities and social sciences emphasise this latter aspect of emotions, with frameworks such as ‘emotional contagion’ (Hatfield, Capiocco, Rapfield, 1993), ‘emotional regimes’ (Reddy, 2001) and ‘emotional communities’ (Rosenwein, 2016), demonstrating the extent to which emotions become actuated through their transmission between bodies. Importantly, even where groups of bodies are not sharing the same (or even similar) emotions, they are still relationally constituted in that they involve bodies responding to each other, as captured by the commonplace notion that we are moved by someone or something. Certainly (as we saw earlier) music, sometimes imagined as an abstracted object (Alperson, 1987), constitutes a body that interacts with and emotionally moves human bodies and conscious experiences.

In the field of affectual geography, the mechanisms through which affects and emotions are transferred from one body to another have been conveyed through the use of various metaphors including ‘circulation’, as though through pipes and cables, ‘transmission’, as through radio airwaves, and ‘contagion’, as through viral infection (Pile, 2010). Evidently, there are several ways in which the mobility of emotions can be conceptualised, but what is clear is that this sort of sharing and dissemination is contingent on a network of subjects. The beings (including objects or institutions) that operate in these networks may exercise various positionalities in the transmission process. While in some cases, emotional transference or transmission might occur between two (or more) equitably situated beings, it is important to note that there are many examples of collective feelings being shaped by agents with the power and influence to dictate socially or politically desirable sensibilities, attitudes and behaviours. Contrary to this, the notion of emotional contagion (supported by findings from neuroscience and social psychology) suggests that the emotions of others can be caught in processes of transmission that do not necessarily involve intention from either party (see Ross, 2013). Although Ahmed (2014) values the model of emotional contagion for its emphasis on how emotions work beyond and between individual bodies, she argues against its representation of emotions as objects that can be transferred, “as if what passes on is the same thing” (p. 10). Contexts that generate intense feelings can rouse the belief that one is sharing the same emotion as those around them, but as she explains, this same intensity often comprises miscommunication, “such that even when we feel we have the same feeling, we don't necessarily have the same relationship to the feeling” (p. 10). Building on this, Ross (2013) theorises that the interactivity underlying the contagious dissemination of emotions begets processes of creativity, evident in the connection between surges of emotion and public, political events, campaigns and movements.

There are clear ethical implications for music in peacebuilding contexts here, especially given that the work often explicitly exploits the relationship between creativity and emotion-related outcomes. Writing on music and conflict Bergh and Sloboda (2010) outline various findings that suggest that, "emotional work, not strict rational thought, is the route to reconciliation after civil war" (p. 6). In such instances, emotions are functionalised to promote prosocial behaviours, suggesting not only that emotions are constituted relationally, but also that emotions can be operationalised to serve relational ends. The ethical questions that arise pertain to how particular forms of emotional work are privileged, and the ways in which they are framed and consequently pursued. Who determines the outcomes that "emotions of celebration ... are more likely to succeed" in achieving? Does everybody involved in the project of prejudice reduction have the "same relationship to the feeling" of celebration, in every context?

Ahmed's observation both resonates and stands in tension with Laurence's (2015) writings on music and empathy. Laurence draws a clear distinction between mass contagion, where feelings, beliefs and ideas are unquestioningly absorbed, and community, in which members strive to understand each other, and are enriched by the togetherness of shared understanding. Drawing on Stein's (1917/1989) work on empathy, Laurence suggests that the ecstatic emotional bath or wave that might engulf a crowd (through, for example, stirring musical experiences) can become antithetical to considering others' states of being, as those involved are compelled to focus on how they themselves feel. The self-absorption involved in experiences of collective heightened sensations leads to assumptions that one's feelings, as well as the meanings and significance one attributes to these feelings, are mirrored by those sharing the experience. Using Hitler's use of Wagner at his rallies as an example, Laurence explains how this misleading sense of unity, engendered by music-driven "ecstatic bonding" (2015, p. 20), can be manipulated so that attendant meanings and significance conform to particular (and at times dangerous) agendas. For this reason, Laurence suggests that musical engagement should be used to facilitate alternative processes of empathising:

In empathizing, we, while retaining fully the sense of our own distinct consciousness, enter actively and imaginatively into others' inner states to understand how they experience their world and how they are feeling, reaching out to what we perceive as similar while accepting difference, and experiencing upon reflection our own resulting feelings, appropriate to our own situation as empathic observer, which may be virtually the same feelings or different but sympathetic to theirs, within a context in which we care to respect and acknowledge their human dignity and our shared humanity. (2015, p. 24).

Indeed, in thinking about emotions in peacebuilding contexts, the development of empathy emerges as key. Political philosopher Martha Nussbaum argues that empathetic imagination helps us "bring a distant individual into the sphere of our goals and projects, humanizing the person and creating the possibility of attachment" (2003, p. 66). Relatedly, a report by the Center for Empathy in International Affairs (2016) outlines how essential empathy is to both conflict resolution and the sustainability of peace, enabling the building of intergroup trust, social connection and understanding. At the same time, the report warns that the development of empathy does not necessarily lead to improved behaviour in parties involved in conflict, and that its potential is limited in intractable cases such as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

This critical view of empathy must be considered, then, when reviewing research on the association between music and empathy and considering possible applications for its findings in peacebuilding contexts. Such work includes Rabinowitch, Cross and Burnard's (2013) model of empathy-promoting musical components (EPMCs), which draws parallels between the cognitive and psychological processes involved in the practice of empathy and music group interaction. Having trialed a long-term program involving musical group interaction in a primary school setting, Rabinowitch et al. concluded that the children who participated in the musical group interaction program scored higher on a psychological measure for emotional empathy than those who did not. The program was designed to build on EPMCs such as movement, emotionality, imitation and synchrony, highlighting the potential for group music-making in the promotion of empathy. Other significant work in the area includes Clarke, DeNora and Vuoskoski's (2015) literature review on music, empathy and cultural understanding, which demonstrates the growing interest in music's empathic potential by examining several conceptual frameworks and mechanisms across disciplines ranging from music therapy to community music. Resonating with Rabinowitch et al.'s findings, Clarke et al. contend that one of the central qualities that marks music's therapeutic value is its "capacity to act as a medium of empathic communication" (p. 80), and that these qualities can be brought into dialogue with conflict resolution work to positively "transform psycho-social situations" (p. 81).

Having outlined the potential for empathy development through music, the authors discussed above also caution against reductionist understandings of such findings. In particular Bergh and Sloboda (2010), Laurence (2015) and Clarke et al. (2015) highlight how music's capacity to forge social connections and understanding can (and, historically, has) been used to strengthen political division. Indeed, there are several examples of music's role in conflict that move beyond its capacity to spread propaganda, in which it is weaponised as a device for humiliation, violence or torture (see Sandoval, 2016). Such cases underscore that neither music nor empathy is necessarily benevolent. This resonates with work outside of that related specifically to music, such as Nussbaum's (2013) distinction between empathy and compassion. While compassion is often built on a foundation of empathy, the latter is "not sufficient for compassion, for a sadist may have considerable empathy with the situation of another person, and use it to harm that person" (p. 146).

There are many projects within the 'Western' sociopolitical sphere where empathy is propagated as the solution to a range of significant sociopolitical issues and a key ingredient in achieving social justice (Pedwell, 2014). Having gained prominence as an indicator of positive social relations, it has become "a kind of end-point" in itself, such that,

its naming can represent a conceptual stoppage in conversation or analysis. Thus, the most pressing questions tend less to be 'what is empathy?', 'what does it do?' or 'what are its risks?', but rather the more automatic refrain of 'how can we cultivate it?' (Pedwell, 2014, p. x).

Central to Pedwell's analysis is her identification of the ways in which the practice of empathy can reiterate the same dominant social norms and exclusions it aims to address. Taking international development immersion trips as an example she outlines how power imbalances are implicated in affective relations, producing distinctions between the persons positioned as the objects of empathic imagination and the persons who are privileged in their positions as empathisers. This echoes Ahmed's (2014) critique of charitable compassion as reinforcing the structures of

economic and political jurisdiction which are the source of such suffering in the first place.

Similar ethical concerns have emerged in the disciplines of applied ethnomusicology, community music and music education, where moves towards collaborative and decolonial practices are particularly pertinent for peacebuilding- or social justice-related projects. In a context in which the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra's 'utopian republic' has long been problematised (e.g., Beckles Willson, 2009), and the orchestra network for underprivileged youths, El Sistema, has been charged with "resting on a salvationist narrative - the idea of saving the poor through the transmission of high art" (Baker, 2016, p. 24), it is necessary to interrogate not only the musical practices of such projects but also the academic frameworks within which they are investigated. How are the various participants involved in the research positioned, and how does this play out in the ways in which it is conducted? This is relevant not only for examining formalised and interventionist projects like El Sistema and West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, but also for the study of other musical practices, including folk, ceremonial and commercial music-making.

Given the focus on the relational aspects of emotions in this section of the paper, it is important to highlight how music, emotions and research are themselves relational, and that any intersections between them should be scrutinised. On top of calls for ethnomusicological research to create opportunities for self-representation (Hofman, 2010) and generate "knowledge [...] from a truly horizontal, intercultural dialogue and not through top-to-bottom neo-colonial systems of validation" (Arujo, 2008, p. 14), we must also navigate the affective relations that underpin music and research relationships in the field. Is there emotional intent behind our work, for instance, aiming to develop compassion or empathic imagination in research and music audiences? If so, how are participants and interlocutors positioned in relation to these aims? What role does empathy play in our research methodologies - even in seemingly collaborative focus group discussions or analyses - when rendering representations of musical or emotional experience? How is this empathy structured? The relationship between emotions and music raises several concerns for those working in peacebuilding contexts (as practitioners, researchers, or both). Many of these issues, including the ways in which researching sensitive topics involves emotion work (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen and Liamputtong, 2009) that might require strategies for self-care (Rager, 2005), lie beyond the scope of this article's purview. In the next section we consider the sociopolitical infrastructures of emotion, building on the hierarchical dimensions of affective relations that have been our focus here.

EMOTIONS AS SOCIOPOLITICAL

In exploring empathy and compassion, it becomes clear that power relations have a key role to play in the ethical deployment of emotions for peacebuilding purposes. In the previous section we raised concerns about the implications that emotional power imbalances might have on the level of individual community music or education programs, as well as in specific music research contexts. However, it is equally important to note the ways in which emotions shape, and are shaped by, the broader sociopolitical landscape of any given society. The interdisciplinary fields of sociology of emotions and history of emotions provide critical insights here, as researchers investigate how particular emotional patterns become established as social norms and identify the agents who drive their establishment. Although there are a number of contradictions in, valid critiques of, and alternative analyses to his

work, Norbert Elias (2000, 2006) contributed key ideas to this field. Examining court society from the sixteenth century onward, Elias explained how social distinction and notions of 'civilised behaviour' became increasingly tied in with emotional restraint and processes of self-regulation. His ideas connecting human emotional expression with social life, broader societal, political shifts (e.g., state formation, the development of a money-based economy), and the webs of interdependencies through which humans are linked together (see van Krieken, 2014), draw attention to the complex and interrelated foundations upon which any given society's emotional terrain is realised and contested. Even seemingly intimate and personal emotions have a history tied to sociopolitical and cultural institutions, as shown in Reddy's (2012) examination of the development of romantic love in the twelfth century; an emotion which emerged in response to the reformation of marriage and attempted eradication of sexual desire by the Catholic Church.

In the localities within which we currently work (urban, suburban and regional sites in Victoria), projects (like ours) that seek to develop intercultural empathy are primarily framed by colonial notions of diversity and multiculturalism that often define difference in an exclusionary way, while ostensibly seeking to celebrate or overcome it (see Dieckmann, 2018). At the same time, Australia's current sociopolitical climate is polarised, so that the emotional script encoded in the narrative of 'Australia's multicultural success story' is challenged. This is exemplified in debates about Australia's management of refugee arrivals and border control, where anger, fear, empathy and moral outrage play key roles in individuals' attitudes towards social policies (Hartley and Pederson, 2015; Pedersen and Fozdar, 2010). In contrast to Elias' "tendency toward a generalized and relatively homogenous view of habitus in any given historical period" (van Krieken, 2014, p. 38), this polarisation reflects Barbara Rosenwein's notion of 'emotional communities' (2016), which accounts for multiple (and sometimes conflicting) emotional structures prevailing in a single society. And although Australia's polarised emotive and sociopolitical climate is resonant of broader trends around the world, Burke (2005) argues that the concept of an "emotional unity of an age" is an "illusion," and it is better to focus on the greater or lesser emphasis on a particular emotion during any given period, rather than its absence or presence (p. 38).

The connection between emotions and solidaristic nationalism exemplifies how the former operates as sociopolitical in many contexts that call for peacebuilding efforts. Using "the death of Great Britain" as an example, Ahmed (2014) argues that, "attention to emotions allows us to address the question of how subjects become invested in particular structures [such as empires, nation-states or religious institutions] such that their demise is felt as a kind of living death" (p. 12). Examining the British National Front's mobilising claim that, "Britain is Dying: How long are you just going to watch?", Ahmed argues that in such narratives, the persons being addressed are identified by their feelings of rage against those who threaten the nation (p. 12). Feelings of insecurity, rage and fear in response to terrorism, are galvanised to align with notions of patriotic love, such that "experiences of fear became lived as patriotic declarations of love" (p. 74). Indeed, many analyses perceive fear as a central emotion in the global sociopolitical climate (Furedi, 2005; Huysmans, 2006; Pain, 2009). In the US, fear has become self-perpetuating through the institutionalised "adoption of an emotional attitude about the other and the world (that is threatening)" (Crawford, 2014, p. 549), manifest in increasingly hypervigilant military, security and intelligence procedures. The connection between hypervigilance and fear has some resonances in contemporary

Australia. There are clear parallels between Ahmed's analysis of the British National Front statement, and the fear, insecurity, and protectionist notions of patriotic love, evident in the banner of protest group Reclaim Australia's Facebook page. It reads, "Will you help protect the Australian way of life?" Perhaps this connection between fear and patriotic emotion is unsurprising, as Nussbaum (2013) draws attention to the exclusivist and often eroticised nature of patriotic love that would "make it ripe for capture, it would seem, by the darker forces in our personalities" (p. 209). However, Nussbaum also argues that the nation-state - "the largest unit we know so far that is sufficiently accountable to people and expressive of their voices" (p. 213) - can, through cultivating ideals including a critical public culture and political commitments to inclusion, be the object of a socially just form of patriotic love.

As an emotional category, patriotic love constitutes a useful case study for considering William Reddy's (2001) notion of emotional regimes. Illustrated through his seminal examination of the French Revolution, Reddy demonstrated how emotional regimes involve emotional norms becoming ideated and established through practices like rituals and prayers. Importantly, the processes of instilling these norms involve disciplining and, in some cases, notable social suffering, on the part of those being inculcated. Recent controversies over professional athletes refusing to stand for and sing the American national anthem before sports games draw attention to the central role that musical rituals can play in grappling with emotional regimes. As symbolic gestures of protest against police brutality and systematic racism, these acts of civil disobedience have sparked debates about how patriotic love should be expressed (Friedersdorf, 2017; Graham and Pengelly, 2017), the historical relationship between patriotic love and sports events in the US (Beauchamp, 2017), and whether patriotic love is even a virtue to be pursued (Grant, 2017). US President Trump's calls for the suspension of players who refuse to stand for the national anthem, together with reports that schools are punishing students for mimicking these silent protests (Blad, 2016), demonstrate the links between music rituals, commercialised (in this case, sports) and educational institutions, and emotional regimes, and the ways these entanglements converge in exercises of sociopolitical disciplining. At the same time, support for athletes to exercise their rights to freedom of expression demonstrate how emotional regimes might also "offer venues where norms are relaxed," perhaps constituting, "emotional refuges [that] may or may not provide staging grounds for historical challenges to existing regimes" (p. 324). That the national anthem protests are public demonstrations, operating in the sphere of the spectacle, brings us to the next set of emotional properties under consideration: expressivity and performativity.

EMOTIONS AS EXPRESSIVE AND PERFORMATIVE

In order to access and understand emotions they must be encountered through their representational forms: culturally-contingent expressions of emotional states (Gouk and Hills, 2005). This is true even when encountering one's own emotions which, until mediated by interpretations of inward, physiological sensations, processed by acts of naming or performed by outward expressions (such as, for example, smiling, laughing, crying), remain in the realm of the pre-cognitive. Reddy's (2001) concept of 'emotives' theorises the cyclical processes that are undertaken when one makes a statement about one's emotions. He suggests that emotives (i.e., emotions claims) play a central role not only in the identification of emotions (for both the person making the claim, and the persons to whom they are making this claim), but also their actual realisation and continued expression:

When one makes an emotion claim in the presence of another, one hears the words, one sees the other's reception of the claim, one feels one's face contracting in suggestive ways. These social and proprioceptive 'inputs' create or alter activations, often in ways that confirm or enhance the state that is 'described'. Emotives can thus be used as tools for arriving at desired states. (2001, p. 323).

Our earlier discussion of their embodiment demonstrates the physiological and psychological ways in which emotions are intertwined with music, such that they are used not only to reflect emotional states, but also to induce them. In this way music performance can be used as an expansive form of emotives. Going beyond naming and making claims to emotional states, it is not uncommon for performers to communicate a dwelling within, elaboration upon and amplification of emotional states through music. Certainly, dependent on the genre, purpose or context, songs with lyrics might even reflect meta-cognitively on the emotional state being expressed, combining Reddy's spoken emotives with musical characteristics that perform this emotional state. Pharrell Williams' (2013) *Happy* is a recent popular music example, in which upbeat and tonally bright music accompanies the repeated phrase, "Because I'm happy!" In turn, this mantra is alternated with directions for audiences to, "Clap along if you feel that happiness is the truth" or "...if you know what happiness is to you." Through this entwinement with the song's emotion claims, rhythmic clapping becomes an emotive mechanism, operationalised to activate physiological responses that, given the context provided by the song's lyrics, become associated with high-energy happiness or joy. As DeNora (2003) argues:

A particular type of song [...] will 'work' in a particular way upon its listener(s) not only to suggest general attitudes, moods and lines of conduct that are 'fitting', but also to provide structures of feeling. Music provides a grammar of emotion – it shows us feeling's structures, how the peaks and troughs of emotions might interrelate, how, when, and with what intensity feeling may climax or crystallise. (p. 140).

It is important to note that, as with spoken emotives, the effects of this sort of participatory emotive engagement are unpredictable. Reddy's (2001) theory suggests that emotives, "Rather than confirming the state described [...] may produce the opposite effect or no effect. Rather than facilitating the achievement of current goals, they may result in activations that force the revision or rejection of those goals" (p. 322). Continuing our consideration of Williams' *Happy* and turning to this issue's theme of peacebuilding, we might consider the song's performance at Ariana Grande's One Love Manchester benefit concert on 4 June 2017 (Dieckmann and Davidson, 2017). As a response to the terrorist bombing after her concert at Manchester Arena two weeks earlier, and a tribute to and fundraising exercise for victims and their families, comments on an online video of the performance demonstrate how the emotional goals of *Happy* were achieved for some, but contested by others (BBC Music, 2017). Included in the setlist as an uplifting and defiant stance on terrorism, the performance sat within the counter-narrative that conveys continued joy and happiness as a form of resistance to fear. Overwhelmingly, comments on Pharrell Williams' and Miley Cyrus' performance involved praise for its positive energy, legitimising the intended counter-narrative and demonstrating how musical emotives can be used as "tools for arriving at desired states" (Reddy, 2001, p. 322). However, a few comments argued that the emotional and musical tone of the song were inappropriate given the tragedy with

which the concert was associated, showing how for some, the musical emotives produced the opposite of the desired effect and a rejection of their goals.

Beyond their uses in demonstration or fundraising situations, musical emotives are also relevant to peacebuilding contexts for their potential role as mechanisms of transformative justice and political recognition. This is particularly so for conflict and post-conflict settings wherein music performances or rituals have traditionally played a role in conciliatory processes. Angela Impey (2013) writes about ongoing clashes in the Muonjieng (also called Dinka) communities of South Sudan where, following South Sudan's national independence in 2011, establishing a justice system has primarily taken the form of court hearings. Court proceedings impose strict hierarchies and roles that do not address the peoples' indigenous ways of knowing and understanding the world, truth-telling and justice. Impey argues for the integration of Muonjieng truth-telling songs that:

contain within them both personal reflection and public counsel, thus supporting the notion of communicative reciprocity, transacted by their role as vehicles of personal reflection of feelings, ideas and experiences, as well as public testimonial. All songs provide for some level of personal catharsis, made evident in both their deployment of affective language and in their candid descriptions of personal and group suffering. (2013, p. 67).

Through these songs, the disclosure of experiences and claims about their emotional effects are the basis from which pragmatic recommendations are made to address conflicts in an inclusive and peaceful manner. Impey's findings draw attention to the significance that culturally-embedded uses of musical emotives might have in processes of peacebuilding, bringing us to the final emotional infrastructure under consideration: emotions as cultural.

EMOTIONS AS CULTURAL

Peacebuilding often involves engaging with individuals or groups across cultural divide, with cultural collectives constituted by shared ideas, customs, behaviours or experiences related to, for example, ethnicity, religion, nation, gender or sexual identity (or an intersectional combination of identifications such as these). Engaging emotions across these differences is particularly complicated because various emotions are encountered, understood, expressed and valued variably in each culture. Ling (2014) suggests that there are several emotional worlds that exist simultaneously, with significant implications for those who work in international relations, operating within frameworks founded on a colonial legacy of hyper-rationalism and anti-emotionalism. We know that different languages conceptualise emotions differently, with some emotional categories having no translated equivalent in other languages, or which are otherwise variably structured (e.g., shame and *vergüenza* in de Mendoza, Fernández-Dols, Parrott and Carerra, 2010). However, it is not enough to grasp the diverse ways comparable emotions are structured culturally. Just as the history of emotions demonstrates the discontinuities of emotional structures throughout time, so too Ling describes that there are multiplicities within the emotional worlds of every culture such that, "linguistic shifts and nuances highlight the recessive and dominant strains in any tradition" (p. 581). When engaging emotions in peacebuilding and through music, it is essential that these recessive and dominant strains are carefully navigated. In practice, navigational processes may converge with considerations around the cultural protocols of particular music practices. For example, varying attitudes towards regulating and censoring music across new Islamic discourses and private religious observances (Otterbeck and Ackfeldt, 2012) should be central with respect

to the timing of, venue for, genres used in, and participants recruited for, music initiatives with related communities.

If emotional structures are culturally constituted, music's role in the establishment of cultural identities and norms is especially significant here. Adorno (1976) argues that musical materials (in particular, the forms of 'bad music' of which he disapproves) produce standardised reactions, operating as psychocultural mechanisms through which consumers are conditioned to conform to automated ways of listening, thinking and behaving. In this light, discerning the distinction between managing emotions and exercising social control could be difficult. At the same time, a top-down perspective of musical mediation does not account for each individual's agency in their emotional engagement with music, as "actors use [musical materials] to elaborate, to fill out and fill in, to themselves and to others, modes of aesthetic agency and, with it, subjective stances and identities," not only experiencing culture but, "mobilizing culture for being, doing and feeling" (DeNora, 2000, p. 74). Hesmondhalgh (2008) warns that, in the context of a capitalist, individualist society, the mobilisation of musical materials must be understood as being enmeshed in the capitalist enterprise such that "emotional self-realisation, authenticity and creativity" are linked with "intensified consumption habits" (p. 330). Echoing our earlier discussion that empathy and charitable compassion can reiterate power imbalances, his observation that cultural tastes can serve to establish dominance through the articulation of a consumer's sophisticatedly broad emotional range is important to note. Given their role in shaping social structures, in peacebuilding contexts, the interdependent and iterative gestalt of emotions, music and culture require special attention.

CONCLUSION

Drawing on research from across the humanities and social sciences, this article outlines key infrastructures of emotion that illustrate how 'what emotions do' is relevant in peacebuilding contexts. With reference to real-world case studies in which music has been used for preventative or restorative peacebuilding efforts in a variety of conflict, post-conflict and politically contentious settings, we have also demonstrated how, in such settings, music and emotions exist in a fundamentally and mutually interdependent relationship. The affective turn in the disciplines of international relations, human geography, sociology and political philosophy (to name a few), has signaled an increasing recognition of the central role that emotions play in macro- and micro- sociopolitical spheres. As demonstrated in our discussion of empathy this recognition can lead to emotions gaining currency, commodified in such a way that automates application and discourages interrogation. Another danger of emphasising emotional experiences or objectives in peacebuilding contexts is that the focus becomes too individualised, with the systemic aspects of conflict or political division evading attention. But this article has shown that emotions are at the core of society's structural and institutional operations, too, demonstrating that there is a place for emotions at all levels of analysis and practice.

Following on from this call, we close with a working definition of emotions that accounts for the infrastructures explored throughout our discussion. As alluded to at the outset of the article we intend for this definition to be considered as investigative rather than authoritative, providing a starting point from which practitioners and researchers can generate and refine their own conceptualisations of the term as it relates to their projects with music and/in peacebuilding.

AN EXPLORATORY WORKING DEFINITION

The term ‘emotions’ relates to a wide range of feeling states that are pertinent to music and/in peacebuilding. They materialise and can be understood as intersecting across multiple planes of experience: the personal and private, activated within individual bodies and generated physiologically and psychologically; and the collective, transferring between bodies (including subjects and objects) and responding to, perpetuating or disrupting emotional patterns as social, political and cultural norms. Music can be used to induce, actualise and manage emotions, although this functionalisation is value neutral and unreliable, sometimes resulting in the opposite effects than intended. Even where intentions are admirable, as in many peacebuilding projects, there are serious ethical issues to consider in the galvanisation of emotions. Indeed, emotions work not only to reflect but also to construct the individual and collective subjectivities that produce contexts requiring or pursuing peace. Given the many and complex ways through which they come to acquire meaning (including in, through and as music), emotions become constitutive of the systems that define society, politics and culture.

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