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Music and Intergroup Relations: Exacerbating Conflict and Building Harmony through Music

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Abstract

This article describes the ways in which music is an important part of identity, and hence serves some similar functions to other forms of identity-related communication (e.g., language). It will describe how music is used to incite intergroup hatred (e.g., among soccer fans, military music) and to support valued identities (anthems, etc.). Relevant literature on stereotyping (including stereotyping of groups related to music) is included. The article also discusses how music is used to reduce intergroup hostility (e.g., via cross-cultural musical collaboration and contact). The article connects the various literatures from communication, social psychology, sociology, and ethnomusicology, providing a broad overview of the many connections between communication, music, and social identity. It closes with a research agenda for those interested in studying intergroup communication and music.

Highlights

- Examines music as a form of communication.
- Reviews current work on communication and music from various disciplines and perspectives.
- Overviews an intergroup approach to communication.
- Presents ways in which music can be considered as a form of intergroup communication.
- Examines prospects for music to exacerbate or ameliorate intergroup conflict.
- Presents a plan for future research on intergroup communication and music.

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Content

Music is a ubiquitous and profound presence in our lives. It is ubiquitous in that our media-saturated environment carries a soundtrack; actively "listening" to music is only a small portion of our total music exposure. We hear music when we watch television or movies, when we listen to the radio (even if we are listening to talk radio, the commercials and segues feature music), when we eat out, when we are in waiting rooms, and when we are on hold on the phone (DeNora, 2000). Music is a profound presence in our lives, providing some of our most intense, pleasurable, and meaningful experiences (Gabrielsson, 2010; Lamont, 2011). That music can be at once so mundane and so transcendent is a tribute to its complexity and the complexity of its effects.

Communication scholars have paid relatively little attention to music. Presumably music's abstraction—its lack of explicit semantic content—has made it challenging to conceptualize within traditional communication frameworks. However, music is communication (as will be elaborated below), and merits consideration alongside the other verbal and nonverbal codes that dominate our literature. In this paper, I discuss the role of music in one specific area of communication: intergroup relations. Music carries profound messages about group identity, and has the capacity to shape intergroup relations. In examining the links between music and intergroup communication, I hope to establish music more broadly as an area worthy of examination across all domains of communication.

The paper has six main sections. The first major section discusses the connections between music and communication at a broad level. While it is impossible to provide a full overview of the literature, the goal is to describe those areas in which communication scholars have touched on musical issues, and illustrate some of the most interesting intersections of communication and music. I then move to discussing intergroup issues. This begins with an overview of approaches to intergroup communication, focusing particularly on social identity theory which is the dominant perspective in this literature. This is followed by five sections concerning music and intergroup relations. The first describes ways in which music symbolizes group identities and operates in our categorical view of our social world. The second discusses the role of music in intergroup conflict, examining the ways in which music can exacerbate intergroup hatred, and foment discrimination and ethnocentrism. The third describes how group members can use music to bolster a group identity that is under threat. The fourth addresses a potentially positive role for music in easing intergroup tension and facilitating peace. Finally, a fifth section outlines in summary the variety of elements of music that merit attention from an intergroup communication perspective, and presents some thoughts about research designs for future empirical work in this area.

Connections between Music and Communication

Writing about music as a form of communication requires some discussion of models of communication and their assumptions. Carey (2008) posits two models for how communication operates—a transmission view and a ritual view. In the transmission view, communication serves the function of getting meaning from my brain to yours, via a message. If I ask you for a teaspoon of sugar in my tea, and you deliver tea that suits my taste, then my message was "effective." If you don't hear me correctly, or view my request as onerous or impolitely expressed, then my message may not be effective. A good deal of communication research adopts a transmission view, aimed at understanding how and when and why meaning gets expressed more or less clearly. A ritual view, on the other hand, says that communication's primary function in many situations is the act itself. We don't necessarily learn anything or get anything "done" in a lot of our communication. Instead its goal is to have the communication—to make the connection and reinforce the social bond. Phatic exchanges ("How are you?" "I'm good – you?") illustrate the ritual function nicely. Likewise, if I ask you for one teaspoon of sugar in my tea after we've been married for 20 years, the primary function might be a reaffirmation of an intimate relationship (I am expressing that I know that you know how much sugar I like).

Various forms of communication draw more heavily on a transmission versus a ritual model. Mundane transactions primarily (although not wholly) adopt a transmission orientation. I need to get my internet service fixed, and a telephone call to explain the problem and get it repaired is the way to accomplish that goal. Telling a joke over dinner is largely a ritual event, as is much of our daily relational communication. No critical information is being transmitted; it is communication for its own sake. In other words, the transmission

of information and the exchange of a shared social ritual event are joint functions of our everyday communication, and any sensible model of communication must incorporate both.

Where does music fit in such a scheme? Music (sans lyrics) lacks clear semantic expressive capability. "Music… is not about the world, or about anything else, except, perhaps, itself" (Kivy, 1991, p. 67). As such, it is tempting to view music as outside the realm of human communication. For those focused on a transmission model, there is nothing being transmitted—no meaning—and hence no role for a communication focus. However, music typically includes a sender and a receiver. *Something* is transmitted from one to the other, and while the precise content of the message or the receiver's experience might be difficult to specify, we do know that there is commonality between what a musical message sender "means" and what someone listening to their message hears (Juslin & Timmers, 2010). This transmission is often defined in terms of emotional expression—you play a happy tune and I recognize that you are expressing happiness. By most definitions, communication has occurred here—you have transmitted a sense of an emotional state to me (whether or not it makes me feel happy I understand that happiness is what is meant).

Transmission of non-emotional content also occurs in a musical exchange. Most music has a beat—a constant pulse around which the melody and harmony are organized. Most listeners can track the beat of a piece of music, understanding when and where stresses are likely or unlikely, even if the beat is not marked out with a constant thudding bass drum. Similarly, melodies have predictable patterns, with certain notes being much more likely than others in the melody overall, and especially at certain points in the melody (Huron, 2006). If I play you some music and you follow the beat and are surprised when I play a wrong note, then message transmission has occurred. In a sense here, music (via musicians) is communicating about itself (see Kivy, 1991, quote above). Given the tremendous power and ubiquity of music, understanding the ways in which it communicates about itself is an important goal; much as we might seek to understand how narratives are constructed and what leads us to expect particular events at particular times in a story, so we also seek to understand how musical works are constructed to establish expectation, and occasionally surprise. Music is a communication code: it is a set of symbols that have rules for their organization, and at the simplest level the "meaning" of music resides in the shared understanding of that organization between individuals involved in a musical event, whether performing or listening.

Of course, musical exchanges also encompass substantial ritual qualities. Music is often a collective activity, either in the sense of collective music-making, or of a performer and listener sharing a musical experience. These ritual experiences connect us to one another, building relationships and establishing common ground: as we entrain to the beat of the music, we also synchronize with one another, something that generates empathy among other things (Rabinowitch, Cross, & Burnard, 2013). A garage band getting together to practice, or singing along to a pop song in a car represent moments where humans feel connection to one another through music.

Adopting the more commonplace sense of ritual, music is typically present and often central to ritual events. Religious ceremonies, governmental transitions, personal rites of passage, ship launchings, and elementary school honors ceremonies are almost universally accompanied by music (radical Salafist Islam is an interesting exception; Aidi, 2014). Music marks these ceremonies as events worthy of notice, and denotes the tone of both the event and even the specific moment in the event; 1970s funk is appropriate for a wedding reception, but typically not for the marriage ritual itself.

The absence of semantic content makes understanding the meaning of music more difficult than understanding language, at least on the surface. However, any student of the philosophy of language understands that the meaning of a linguistic message is far from straightforward, that language is prone to manipulation and misunderstanding, and that interpretations of language are heavily grounded in personal and relational histories (Searle, 1969; Wittgenstein, 2009). The same is true for music. As will be discussed at more length later on, the absence of semantic content might actually grant communicative advantages to music in certain scenarios. For now, I hope to have made a general case that music can be considered a form of communication. As this article continues, the ways in which music interacts with more "traditional" forms of communication (e.g., language) will also be addressed.

Research on Music and Communication

While research in communication on musical issues has not cohered into a field of study, there is considerable work in our journals or influenced by our theoretical orientations that addresses musical concerns. I briefly review this work here, but given the goals of this paper, a lengthy review is not warranted. Readers primarily interested in intergroup issues in music and communication can skip to the next major section.

Uses and gratifications. Building from the large body of research on why we use certain media, researchers have begun examining people's self-reports for why they use music. These studies have used dimensions from the traditional uses and gratifications literature, showing that music is used for similar types of gratifications—arousal and mood regulation, social connection, mood manipulation, habit or diversion, and personal identity (Krause, North, & Heritage, 2014; Kuntsche, Le Mével, & Berson, 2015). Relative to other media, use for *surveillance* is less salient with music (music rarely provides us with concrete information), but music is widely used for, and perceived as gratifying, needs often studied with other media (Lonsdale & North, 2011). To date, this literature has not necessarily examined gratifications that are *unique* to music (versus other media). For example, music is commonly used as an accompaniment for physical activity—dancing, or exercise—and this use has not entered the academic literature to my knowledge, probably because other media (television, film, newspapers) are not used for this function and hence it is not in the standard measures of uses and gratifications. For researchers interested in uses and gratifications, the issue of "medium-specific" gratifications perhaps deserves more attention.

Recent work has suggested the need to explore *focused* music listening as a driving force for some individuals to consume music (i.e., a focused intellectual examination or analysis of the music: Groarke & Hogan, 2015). This more "appreciative" orientation is consistent with the growing interest in eudaimonic gratifications in examinations of media use in general, and music specifically (Bartsch, Kalch, & Oliver, 2014; Groarke & Hogan, 2015). Music can provide a sense of transcendent beauty, creativity, spirituality, personal growth, or "meaningfulness" that goes beyond a specific emotion. Oliver and Wooley (2010) say that eudaimonic responses are often associated with *mixed* emotions. Mixed emotions are clearly apparent in many musical works; in particular, works at the higher level of what we consider to be important—full length "albums," symphonies, and the like. Traditional symphonies and rock albums, for instance, typically involve multiple sections or songs that feature contrasting emotions or moods (e.g., a slow sad movement might be followed by a more upbeat and major key movement). In other words, the successful expression of a diverse range of emotions might be one "requirement" for musical greatness, and a reason for people to seek work out for its deeper rewards. A eudaimonic response typically involves reflectiveness and a meta-cognitive response to the original stimulus. Bartsch et al. (2014), for instance, show that exposure to emotional music results in emotional responses from listeners, which lead to *reflectiveness* about the music and the emotion, and it is this reflectiveness that results in an evaluation of the quality of the music. The circumstances under which music has particularly powerful effects (Gabrielsson, 2010; Lamont, 2011) or elicits "chills" and similar strong emotional reactions (Huron & Margulis, 2010; Panksepp & Bernatzky, 2002) fit broadly within this same framework. Notably, what is relevant here is not that the performer or listener *experience* the emotions being expressed, but rather that they appreciate the producer's expressive intent.

Mood management. While related to uses and gratifications, the literature on mood management has developed somewhat independently; this literature includes examinations of why and when people use music to adjust their own mood, and whether this is effective. Knobloch and Zillmann (2002) found that the people in a bad mood will select upbeat music to listen to, presumably to improve mood (although this particular study showed that their music listening did not actually improve mood). Friedman, Gordis, & Förster (2012) suggest that people want to listen to music that is *affectively congruent* and *semantically related* to their current situation (e.g., listening to break up songs after a break up). Using a different type of mood manipulation, Friedman et al. show that people will listen to sad music when they are sad so long as that music helps them understand their emotions. Knobloch and Zillmann (2003) support this idea that there are links between the *content* of media and how we manage our mood. Romantically satisfied people in this study liked listening to love-celebrating music, while the romantically dissatisfied wanted to listen to love lamenting music, especially when that music was sung by someone of

their own sex. Clearly the semantic content of the *lyrics* is critically important here; the relative importance of music versus lyrics is something I return to shortly.

Research has begun to examine additional details of why people listen to sad music when they are sad. Motivations driving such use include re-experiencing affect (getting in touch with or intensifying affective states) using the music as a symbolic friend, using the music to trigger memories of past events or people, and using it because of its high aesthetic value (because it's beautiful) (Van den Tol & Edwards, 2011; 2015). Sad music with high aesthetic value is actually very effective at distracting people from their current problems. This work helps us understand why not everyone makes the same musical choices to manage their mood; some people's goals might be simply to feel better, while others' goals might be more complex (e.g., reflecting on their emotion cognitively, or seeking to understand more about the situation they are in). Given the mood-altering functions of music, it is perhaps not surprising that it has become used as a tool for alleviating mood-related disorders in clinical contexts (Maratos, Crawford, & Proctor, 2011), as well as being used as a tool to manipulate mood experimentally (Västfjäll, 2002).

Antisocial effects of antisocial music. A considerable amount of popular music contains references to antisocial or risky behaviors (alcohol use, drug use, violence, etc.). Primack, Dalton, Carroll, Agarwal, and Fine (2008), for instance, show that an average adolescent music listener hears more than 30,000 references to alcohol/drug use in a year, and an average rap fan hears almost 90,000 such references. The number of references to antisocial behavior has led to concerns about the effects of popular music, particularly on young listeners. The people who are producing these messages (the musicians/pop stars) are people who young listeners look up to: they are idols, role models, and objects of desire for listeners who aspire to the "look" and lifestyle of their favorite artists. Imitating the behaviors of such individuals is particularly attractive (Bandura, 2001). Listening to music is not always a "passive" activity—people sing along to music, and hence not only hear but also verbalize the negative messages. Saying something, even something you do not believe in, can reinforce an underlying belief in that thing (Bem, 1967); saying things repeatedly and in a context of heightened arousal and emotional experience appears particularly likely to increase acceptance of the content. Hence, there is specific concern that listening to music with antisocial lyrical content has negative effects on listeners. Of course, the concern here is with the words rather than the music per se (the issue of the relative power of music and lyrics is addressed in the next section).

There are associations between music listening and antisocial behaviors (described more specifically below). These associations are fairly consistent across different subject populations (Timmerman et al., 2008). The most reliable effects are from correlational studies showing that people with particular interests or issues also listen to certain types of music: for example, people who use a lot of drugs are drawn to music featuring drug references. These selective exposure effects are probably stronger than the effects from music to psychological states and behaviors, even though the latter do exist. Considerable work examines the effects of references to social group (particularly women and racial minorities) in lyrics; discussion of this research is delayed until later in this article due to its connection to social identity and intergroup issues.

Sex: Longitudinal research suggests that 12-17 year olds' who listen to more music containing degrading references to sex are more likely to engage in more advanced sexual behaviors at an earlier age (Martino et al., 2006). This correlation does not definitively show that the lyrics (or the music) caused the sexual activity—people who listened to this music probably also watched music videos for these songs which also included sexual portrayals. Martino et al. did not find any effects for nondegrading lyrics, suggesting that effects may be a result of *specific* degrading content rather than just general exposure to sexual themes. Dillman Carpentier, Knobloch-Westerwick, and Blumhoff (2007) found that sexually provocative lyrics primed thoughts of sex and led to more sexually-based evaluations of potential dating partners.

Violence: Exposure to violent lyrics makes people quicker to respond to aggressive words (Anderson, Carnagey, & Eubanks, 2003). Violent lyrics prime violent behavior, even in opera (which contains more references to suicide than occur in popular music: Stack, 2002). Concerns about violence in music often appear to be associated with specific styles of music—the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA), for instance, specifies that:

> lyrics are often susceptible to varying interpretations, and that words can have different meanings and should not be viewed in isolation from the music that accompanies

them (i.e., lyrics when accompanied by loud and raucous music can be perceived differently than the same lyrics when accompanied by soft and soothing music) (RIAA, 2006).

Unfortunately, little research has addressed interconnections between aggressive sounding music and aggressive lyrics in determining effects of songs (but see Lennings & Warburton, 2011).

Substance use: Listening to music that includes references to substance use can result in an increased tendency towards actually using those substances (Ter Bogt & Harakeh, 2012). Engels Slettenhaar, Ter Bogt, and Scholte (2011) showed that bars playing music with alcohol themes sold more alcohol than bars playing similar music that did not contain references to drinking. The style of music is important: whether due to lyrical content or overall style, ter Bogt et al. (2012) suggest that listening to pop and classical music is protective against substance use. Classical and pop music listeners are less likely to use alcohol and drugs than other people.

In summary, considerable evidence suggests that the lyrical content of music has effects; given that much popular music contains antisocial themes, there are legitimate concerns about the effects of repeated listening to such material on antisocial outcomes.

Sharing musical taste. Sharing musical tastes with another person contributes to our relationships (Knobloch Vorderer, & Zillmann, 2000). If you like heavy metal, chances are you will be attracted to other people who like metal and want to hang out with them. Some of this may be purely a function of wanting to engage in music-related activities with them (e.g., going to concerts). However, knowing that someone else likes the same music as you might lead you to think that that person has a similar or compatible personality; and indeed it is true that there are some real associations between musical preferences and personality (Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003). Perhaps more important than personality, Boer et al. (2011) demonstrate that a perception of shared personal *values* (e.g., valuing conformity and stability versus a preference for change and self-expression) mediates the association between shared musical taste and liking (see also Baym & Ledbetter, 2009). A *lack* of shared musical taste does not lead to discontinuation of relationships, suggesting that music is used as an early "filter" in friendships (Selfhout, Branje, ter Bogt, & Meeus, 2009). People sometimes use this idea of shared musical taste strategically in their developing relationships; playing music known to be liked by a potential partner is a method of accommodating to, and perhaps building a stronger relationship with, that person (Denes, Gasiorek, & Giles, 2015).

Music Video: Communication research on music video has followed a trajectory similar to work on problematic lyrical content in popular song. It focuses on portrayals of problematic behaviors (e.g., drug use, violence), as well as portrayals of social groups (discussion of the latter is delayed until later in this paper).

Work on violent images in music video suggests that those images have negative effects. When MTV was removed from a psychiatric ward, aggression among the residents declined (Waite, Hillbrand, & Foster, 1992). Violent rap and rock videos also make college students more accepting of violent solutions to interpersonal problems (e.g., violence on dates: Johnson, Adams, Ashburn, & Reed, 1995) and increase aggressive behavior (Lennings & Warburton, 2011). Lennings and Warburton show that the addition of video to a song with violent lyrics only increases violence a small amount relative to the effect of the lyrics (i.e., they suggest that the lyrics are a more potent influence than the visuals).

Similar patterns are apparent in the association between exposure to music videos and substance use. Van den Bulck and Beullens (2005), for instance, show that teens who watch a lot of music videos will subsequently use more alcohol when they go out, as compared to teens who watch fewer videos. This finding can be explained by the volume of research showing that music videos feature explicit positive portrayals of alcohol use, often by the idolized pop stars behind the music (DuRant et al., 1997; Gruber, Thau, Hill, Fisher, & Grube, 2005). The same pattern is even stronger for use of "alcopops" (Van den Bulck, Beullens, & Mulder, 2006). Slater and Henry (2013) show that music-related media consumption (MTV consumption, but also reading magazine articles about music) predicts substance use among adolescents, and that some of this effect occurs through association with peers who use the substances. That is, if you enjoy heavy metal, you might seek out other kids who enjoy heavy metal, and those kids might introduce you to smoking pot. Notably, most of this research examines the visual images or lyrics of the music, without necessarily combining that with analysis of musical content. Also, some studies examine references to problematic behavior in *either* the lyrics or the visuals without differentiating between them (e.g., Gruber et al., 2005).

Additional communication contexts and phenomena. Music is a highly complex, developed, culturally-variable, and powerful communication code. As such, it would be possible to continue elaborating on various communication phenomena and how they interact with musical messages. Small group phenomena emerge when we examine how string quartets, jazz groups, and rock bands coordinate their activities. Nonverbal behaviors are critical to considering how musical activity is coordinated, and when considering critical interactions between music and dance, for instance. Additional mass communication contexts are also worthy of mention: the role of music in film, and the rather specific organizational machinations within the music industry are all areas of concern to communication researchers. Readers interested in exploring in detail the multifarious intersections between musical phenomena and established lines of research in communication are referred to Harwood (2015) for more detail.

Is it the Music, or the Lyrics, or the Multimedia Context?

Research on communication and music has not always carefully distinguished the consumption or effects of *music* independent of lyrics and other associated content (e.g., video). This makes it difficult to know whether listening to sad songs, for instance, operates differently from either reading sad books (i.e., it is a function of consuming sad language) or watching sad movies (i.e., it is a function of watching sad video content). At times, the word "music" itself is used rather loosely. For example, Timmerman et al.'s (2008) meta-analysis of music's effects on antisocial behavior addresses issues of the emotional impact of music (at least some of which is derived from the purely musical elements), and its excitation potential (with particular reference to rhythmic / beat components). However, it also addresses a number of effects (e.g., on attitudes about Satan worship or violence against women) that are inherently tied to verbal semantic content. Additional research that independently compares lyrics, music, and video, is needed. In one of a very small number of examples of such work, Lennings and Warburton (2011) examined the effects of violent media on aggression. They included conditions featuring multiple combinations of music, lyrics, and video and show that lyrics' effects are more powerful than the effect of video. In comparison to a no media condition, the music (with lyrics removed) from violent songs increased aggression, but substantially less than lyrics increased aggression. This work provides some indication that music alone has the potential to increase aggression, and that the music that typically accompanies violent lyrics contributes to the overall effect of such songs.

Of course, asking whether it is the music *or* the lyrics avoids what may be a more interesting question: how do they work together? Conveying semantic content inevitably requires the use of language; the abilities of music to convey semantic meaning are very limited (Koelsch et al., 2004). However, even when primarily concerned about the effects of lyrics or video that accompany music, it is critical to remember the following points about the importance of music in those scenarios:

a) The lyrics (or video) would not exist without the music – people do not spend much time listening to or actively reciting poetry, for instance, or watching music videos with the sound turned off.

b) The music contributes to the emotional arousal surrounding the lyrics – people are emotionally moved by the music-lyric combination, not the lyrics alone: even silly or meaningless lyrics gain profound emotional impact through their association with music. Expressed more broadly, this is one way in which the music moderates the meaning of the non-musical content.

c) The music is the driving force behind the *repeated* exposure to the non-musical material – repetition in production and consumption is tolerated in music to a massively greater degree than language (Margulis, 2014), and hence is the driving force behind intensive exposure to lyrics and video. This repetition can occur even outside of direct exposure to the stimulus: intrusive and repetitive verbal cognitions ("earworms") are very rarely purely verbal, and much more commonly composed of song lyrics (Williamson et al., 2012). The right "hook" in a song can repeat itself in your head even when you might prefer that it did not, and that effect is driven by its musical content.

d) Perceptions of potential *harm* from the lyrics stem in part also from concern about the music (e.g., antisocial heavy metal lyrics are viewed as more potentially harmful than the same lyrics in a country song: Ballard, Dodson, & Bazzini, 1999; RIAA, 2006). Thus, the nature of the music moderates perceptions of lyrical content's effects.

e) The music can become a proxy for the lyrics or

video; once the lyrics are learned, the melody alone can serve to remind a listener of the lyrics (or other non-musical content). A national anthem need not be sung to sustain its nationalist power, for instance.

Therefore, examinations of the effects of music's lyrics are important in understanding the broader literature on music, and research is sorely needed to understand the extent to which the music contributes to and combines with these effects. At various times throughout this paper, I return to this theme and expand on the role of music in attracting attention to other components of a message, thus rendering music a critical element in various media effects even when the effects are not *of* the music per se.

The remainder of this article focuses on intergroup communication and music, to provide one in-depth example of the power music has to inform our understanding of communication processes. It begins with a discussion of what "intergroup communication" encompasses.

Social Identity Approaches to Intergroup Communication

The study of intergroup communication is the examination of how our memberships in large social groups (defined by race, age, nationality, religion, etc.) influence and are influenced by our communication. This area is dominated by a broadly *social identity theory* approach to communication (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Social identity theory (SIT) posits that we identify with various social groups—we see ourselves as belonging to those groups (our *ingroups*) and differentiate between such groups and groups to which we do not belong (our *outgroups*). Social identity theory suggests that we often behave in terms of our group memberships, doing things that enhance the ingroup and our feeling of belonging to it, and avoiding things that make us feel bad about our ingroup. At times, these instincts lead to intergroup conflict. One way for me to feel good about my membership in my ingroup is to denigrate your group; at its most basic, it is via this mechanism of self (and group) enhancement that SIT explains intergroup hostility.

Underlying the SIT perspective is the more general notion that group memberships *matter* to us. Self-categorization theory (SCT: Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) derives from SIT, and provides the most comprehensive outline of why *certain* groups gain importance in particular settings. Specifically, SCT explores the ways in which social categories intersect with personal and situational factors (e.g., a chronic history of using specific categories, specific situational correspondence of category and behaviors or attitudes) in order to explain why, say, I define myself in terms of my gender in one setting, my nationality in another, and an idiosyncratic personal identity elsewhere. In terms of music, SIT would draw attention to the ways in which music reinforces and creates identities, and how music is used to incite, exacerbate, or calm relations between groups; these form the core of later extensive discussions of the intersections of music and intergroup communication.

Beyond the big picture of SIT and SCT, communication scholars and psychologists have developed a number of perspectives that further specify how that general umbrella plays out in communication environments. These perspectives focus particularly on language and interpersonal communication, but also include mass communication perspectives. Below I briefly outline a few of these perspectives to give a flavor of what a broad SIT approach to communication looks like.

Ethnolinguistic vitality theory examines the likelihood of groups surviving and thriving (particularly but not exclusively language groups: Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977). Working at the intersection of social psychology, communication, and sociology, vitality research demonstrates that factors including group status, institutional support (including media support), and demographics influence the extent to which a group can maintain itself as an independent entity (Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994). Groups with strong vitality tend to survive and thrive, along with their cultural products (e.g., their music).

Communication accommodation theory (CAT) examines the extent to which people adjust their speech (and other aspects of communication) to one another in social interaction, based on desires to ingratiate or distance from an interlocutor. Extensive applications of CAT in the intergroup realm demonstrate how subtle linguistic adjustments can reinforce group identities, establish bridges between groups, and exacerbate intergroup tensions via linguistic divergence (Gasiorek, Giles, & Soliz, 2015). Cultural convergence and divergence is also apparent in music, although not typically addressed using CAT—musicians from one culture may incorporate (or explicitly reject) musical instruments and

styles from another culture, or emphasize their own culture's musical traditions more or less strongly, as a function of cultural identity issues (e.g., Kofsky, 1970).

Intergroup contact theory is a broad psychological theory examining the extent to which communication between groups influences intergroup attitudes (prejudice) and cognitions (particularly stereotypes). A massive body of research demonstrates that contact can, and for the most part does, have positive effects on intergroup perceptions, but that negative contact can worsen intergroup relations (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). This paper addresses connections between contact theory and music in detail a little later.

Ethnolinguistic identity theory ties together a number of the previous perspectives, examining when and why individuals might accommodate members of other social groups, with a particular emphasis on the connections between sociostructural (e.g., vitality) and interpersonal (e.g., accommodation) behaviors (Giles & Johnson, 1987).

Social identity gratifications approaches examine how our social identities and group memberships influence media choices, with a particular emphasis on why we choose to consume media that feature ingroup members, particularly when those characters are portrayed positively (Harwood, 1999). Such work typically examined television, but recent work extends to new media (Knobloch-Westerwick, 2014). Clear connections exist to music; for instance, in examining the extent to which seeking "ingroup" music, and avoiding outgroup music supports group identity.

Intergroup approaches to media effects (typically grounded in cultivation theory, social cognitive theory, and priming theory) examine the ways in which portrayals of groups in the media affect cognitive and affective responses to those groups (stereotyping and prejudice in particular: Mastro & Atwell Seate, 2012; Dixon, Zhang, & Conrad, 2009). These approaches tend to focus on US television content in particular. However, they are clearly relevant to music consumption, for instance in terms of specific cultural or age groups targeting particular styles of music and avoiding others, and feeling "good" about their group as a result ("They don't make 'em like that anymore!").

This set of theoretical approaches, as applied to message exchange between humans, defines the area of intergroup communication (Giles, 2012). The current paper examines the position of music within this area of communication. Across these perspectives, a *communication* approach to intergroup relations examines four primary questions, and the next four major sections of this paper address each of these questions, respectively, in the context of a *musical* approach to communication.

First, how do we represent group memberships in our communication? Intergroup communication is concerned by the ways discourse defines, describes, and reinforces group memberships. Some identities are defined by or communication phenomena (e.g., differences between language groups), and others may come to be represented communicatively (e.g., lisping in gay men: Van Borsel et al., 2009); communication scholars are interested in documenting and accounting for these differences. This paper will address how group memberships are represented in music.

Second, how do *inter*group interactions unfold, and to what extent does communication between groups lead to conflict and further intergroup antagonism? Members of groups talk to one another, and when their interactions are influenced by their group memberships it is important to understand what might lead to negative outcomes. This paper addresses how music may create or exacerbate intergroup tensions.

Third, how is communication used to reinforce or support threatened group identities? In most intergroup situations, there are winners (high-status groups) and losers (low-status groups). Communication researchers have probed the ways in which low-status groups respond to their situation using communicative tools (e.g., by expressing pride in a minority language and seeking more political power, as revealed recently by political movements in Catalonia, for example). The third section below addresses ways in which music is used to support and consolidate a threatened group identity.

Fourth, can communication bring groups together? If communication can exacerbate conflict, then it can also ease intergroup antagonism; considerable work examines the contextual and communicative factors that lead to intergroup reconciliation and peace. The fourth major section below addresses music's role in generating (literally and figuratively) intergroup harmony.

Music as Intergroup Communication I: Music and Social Categorization

This section describes three ways in which music is associated with and signals (to ingroup and outgroup) group

membership. First, music can signal a particular (non-musical) social identity to another person—national anthems are designed to do this. Second, as a function of developed associations between social groups and music, stereotypes of either the group or the music can emerge which influence evaluations of each; these stereotypes can manifest in music-related media such as music video. Third, music can also be an identity—rather than music representing some other identity dimension it can be the defining factor in a group identity.

Music Represents Social Categories

Groups over time develop their own musical styles and the styles become a categorization tool. Culturally-rooted styles of music signal ingroup membership, and trigger categorization processes. Samba, Gamelan, and Cantopop may all trigger a sense of national/regional identity for, respectively, Brazilians, Indonesians, or residents of Hong Kong, and likewise will trigger categorization in terms of those identities for outsiders: samba triggers thoughts of Brazil for most people familiar with the style. Similarly, subcultural groups within (or crossing) national boundaries have musical styles with which they identify—hip-hop for African Americans, Klezmer for Jews, or Punta for Garifuna people.

Perhaps even more directly, specific pieces of music convey group identities. The most obvious examples are national anthems, which at times of national despair or triumph can elicit emotional responses grounded in national pride (Gilboa & Bodner, 2009). Anthems are interesting in that they serve both as representations of current identity, and as reminders of a shared history and perhaps national aspirations. The USSR's anthem, for instance, was abandoned after the breakup of the Soviet Union. After a few years with a rather unpopular anthem, Vladimir Putin reinstated the original Soviet anthem as the official anthem of the new Russia (with new words). Given Putin's apparently expansionist goals, the adoption of the former Soviet anthem is an interesting one (Daughtry, 2003). A similar (arguably more inspiring) pattern is revealed in the post-Apartheid South African anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* (*Lord Bless Africa*). The song was the anthem of the African National Congress during their struggle against apartheid, and then became the national anthem; as such it serves as a reminder of the ANC's fight (Cook, 1998). Its title and lyrics also serve as a reminder of the broader African context in which South Africa exists, emphasizing in a musically-specific way the return of the country to Africa after a long period of (external and internal) European domination. Interestingly, the current version includes lyrics in Afrikaans—the primary language of the apartheid regime—hence perhaps also symbolizing intergroup reconciliation. Hence, the power of the lyrics in anthems is critically important, particularly when those lyrics explicitly espouse devotion to the nation or the monarch ("God Save the Queen"), or reference iconic moments in history (the war of 1812 as the background for the lyrics to the USA national anthem, for instance).

Anthems without lyrics also exist. In these, the musical content itself holds the power to solidify the national identity. For multilingual nations, having an anthem without lyrics may avoid potentially divisive concerns about an anthem excluding certain linguistic groups (e.g., Spain). In this sense, the lyric-less anthem could be viewed as a rather specific manifestation of Cross and Morley's (2009) notion of *floating intentionality*. Cross and Morley argue that music's lack of semantic content can sometimes be an advantage in allowing for messages that are loose in terms of specific referential meaning. A lyric-less anthem can mean different things to different people, but the lyrics of "God Save the Queen" are problematic for those who, for instance, are proud of their British nationality but not supporters of the monarchy—a very specific recent and public controversy in the United Kingdom (Muir, 2015). The anthem would present similar problems for those who support the monarchy but don't believe in God.

Music's group associations extend beyond the cultural and national. Generational groups also draw on specific musical traditions (typically the music of their teens and early adulthood) to define their generational identities (North & Hargreaves, 2008). The Beatles and The Rolling Stones define a different generation from The Smiths and Duran Duran. Music defines shared generational experiences and differentiates age groups from one another.

Group-associated music supports the existence of the group, and legitimizes the group as an entity (Brown, 2000). "Having" music is an indication of being a *real* group, with real culture, history, and the like. So, for instance, rap is a source of self-esteem (Dixon et al., 2009) and offers routes to political resistance (McNair & Powles, 2005) for African Americans. Rap's status as Black *art* is reinforced in numerous

ways by its own complexity and traditions. Walser (1995) notes that the polyrhythmic structures in rap echo similar structures in African music, and that the rhythms of verbal content reflect similar styles in Black preaching, for instance (Stephanson & West, 1989). The verbal content of rap often includes elements reflecting interaction styles common in African American communities ("playing the dozens," for instance—a competitive style of verbal exchange). Along with this, the musical sampling in hip hop often draws on earlier Black music (Motown, funk, jazz), thus incorporating head nods to an African American musical tradition. In other words, rap is not merely a symbol of Black culture and group identity, it manifests and reinforces that identity and historical tradition in the very nature of the music.

Some of the group-defining quality of music may derive from its display function—a function that may have arisen quite early in human development. As discussed by Hagen and Hammerstein (2009), the group performance of music shows others that you have the time to practice together, and the resources to "waste" on a frivolous activity. If you were weak and starving, it is unlikely that you would be able to put together a musical performance. As a result, the group performance of music says that a group is united, organized, and has resources (Zahavi & Zahavi, 1997)—it signals coalition strength, organization, and coordination. In a reciprocal manner, the beat of music *facilitates* the coordination and synchronization of the group—a common beat can facilitate either coordinated physical activity, or the shared and high volume sending of a message (consider sports fans singing a chant, for instance). As such, therefore, group musical activity serves a coalition signaling function to the ingroup and outgroup: it communicates that "we" are together in this act. It is not hard to see how this builds group identity. For European football fans, for instance, singing has become an institution almost as important as the game itself (e.g., the ceremonial singing of *You'll Never Walk Alone* at Liverpool's Anfield Stadium). The ritual and repetition of the songs contribute to a sense of identity—we are people who support this team, and to be a good supporter of this team you sing these songs (Merker, 2009). Of course, music also serves a coalition signaling function to the outgroup—part of the focus of the next major section.

Music and Stereotyping

Music's associations with groups may at times lead to stereotyping. As we associate certain forms of music with certain groups, members of those groups are treated more narrowly than they otherwise would be. For example, Elliott (1995) shows racial bias in evaluations of musicians' performance. Holding the actual quality of performance constant, Black musicians (in a classical music context) were rated lower than Whites overall. Vanweelden and McGee (2007) find similar effects, but also demonstrate positive stereotyping of African American conductors when the music "fits" the ethnic category: White conductors were rated more positively when conducting classical music, but Black conductors were rated more positively for spiritual music. These processes extend to gender groups—women are rated higher when playing the flute and lower when playing the trumpet, while instrument makes no difference for men (Elliott, 1995). We have well-developed perceptions of both the types of music and the types of instrument that men versus women are supposed to be composing, listening to, and playing. Stereotypically, men compose and play music that is loud, forceful and energetic, while women compose and play music that is calm, melodic, and not too exciting (Goodall, 2014). In a feminist take on this, McClary (1991) has suggested that compositions with forceful and repetitive structures reflect men's approach to sex! These ideas reflect more general ways in which music reflects society—historically in the West, female composers and performers have received less recognition and success than men (something that has changed substantially since the 1950s, particularly in areas such as pop and country music). In other cultures, gender differentiation is also quite clear—in ceremonies involving music you can quickly see that women and men are serving different functions in playing, singing, and dancing (Doubleday, 1999).

Stereotypes concerning what types of music people should listen to have implications for social relationships. Zillmann and Bhatia (1989) showed that attractiveness of a heterosexual partner varied by musical genre—women were attracted to men who liked heavy metal, but men were not attracted to metal-loving women; men wanted a female date who liked soft rock or classical music. Undoubtedly gender and music stereotypes combine in these circumstances: heavy metal is associated with strength and dominance which might

be qualities some women desire in their male partners. Soft rock and classical music are associated with gentler and less abrasive traits, and hence closer to what a stereotypical man might look for in a stereotypical woman (North & Hargreaves, 2008). Similar stereotypes undoubtedly apply to age groups: age groups are associated with the popular music of their youth, and young people's music is often criticized for being offensive, unmusical, or as promulgating bad behaviors. These stereotypes are quite closely aligned to stereotypes of the young people themselves (Williams & Garrett, 2002).

Communicatively, these stereotypes and category-based musical associations yield specific effects worthy of more study. First, the public use of music (e.g., in loud car stereo systems, for instance), clearly communicates group identity or at least perceived group identity. A car that is blasting hip-hop music might be expected to contain young African-American men; a car blasting top-40 pop music might be expected to contain young women; a car blasting a Brahms string quartet would be an anomaly—the stereotypes of the type of person who listens to Brahms do not overlap with the stereotypes of the type of person who plays loud music in their car. Independent of whether the assumptions about the music's source are correct, the person playing the music in their car is clearly trying to convey an image, and part of that image is an association with specific groups (e.g., age, gender, cultural, subcultural). Such perceptions and stereotypes turn out to be somewhat self-fulfilling. People match themselves to types of music that reflect their self-perceptions, and shape their self-perceptions to match the music's stereotypes (self-to-prototype matching: Niedenthal, Cantor, & Kihlstrom, 1985; see also Turner et al., 1987).

Stereotypes in music extend to music-related media, and hence are of interest to scholars interested more broadly in the content and effects of mass communication. In particular, a large body of research has examined portrayals of women and African Americans in music video, with a particular focus on misogynistic portrayals, and over-sexualized portrayals (Aubrey & Frisby, 2011; Wallis, 2011). Aubrey and Gerding (2014) show that self-perceptions ensuing from exposure to such videos can be mentally taxing; women who view these videos become preoccupied with issues of physical self-concept, and do worse at certain cognitive tasks than women who are not exposed to the images.

Such effects can be exacerbated when race and sex stereotypes coincide. Conrad, Dixon, and Zhang (2009) examine rap music videos and find that Black women in the videos are portrayed as sexual objects more than men (even in videos by female artists). This research also showed that African American women are portrayed in ways that conform to a Eurocentric standard of beauty—they have lighter skin and fewer Afro-centric features than their African American male counterparts. Hence, these videos have the potential for particularly harmful effects on African-American women both in terms of racial and sexual self-concept. The negative effects of exposure to thin body types on African Americans are interestingly moderated by ethnic identity (Zhang Dixon, & Conrad, 2009). After watching skinny women in videos, African American women with strong ethnic identity feel better about their bodies, while those with weak ethnic identity feel worse about their bodies. Presumably, the high African American identity women engage in a form of social comparison with the video women that is not grounded in a "White" standard for beauty, but instead one grounded in Black culture (where "thin" is not the ideal). African American men feature heavily in materialistic videos, emphasizing the value placed on having money and possessions. Some scholars have emphasized positive community-oriented themes in rap (e.g., the value of respect: Kubrin, 2005), but the data do not suggest that those themes are widespread. It is the case, though, that rap consumption is positively associated with African American identity among Black listeners, suggesting a positive influence of this music on collective identity (Dixon et al., 2009).

Finally in this section, stereotypes influence *perception* of music's negative effects. Ballard et al. (1999) show that labeling music as being of a particular style influences what effects people think it might have. College students were more likely to think that a set of lyrics would have prosocial effects if they were told they were lyrics to a pop or country song than if they were told it was a heavy metal or a rap song, even though the actual lyrics were the same across all conditions. Similar effects have been shown by Dixon and Linz (1997): their listeners found rap music with sexually explicit lyrics (2 Live Crew's *Me So Horny*) to be more "patently offensive" than similarly explicit lyrics to non-rap songs (Mr. Bungle's *The Girls of Porn*—a song that includes rock and funk elements).

Music as Category

Music may sometimes serve as the focal element or nexus of a particular group identity: music does not just represent the group, but really is the group. This idea is perhaps most easily observed in groups formed around various popular music styles—the mods and rockers of the 1960s, punks in the 1970s, and subsequent emo, Goth, and heavy metal / headbanger groups. All of these groups centered on specific musical styles, and the musical style provided the core from which the groups emerged.

Punk provides one of the clearest illustrations of an identity dominated by music. While there were political origins to punk (in particular, economic disaffection and youth unemployment in the UK), its central theme was a "do-it-yourself" approach to music-making (Hebdige, 1979). As Laing (2015) puts it, "…punk began as music, and punks themselves began as music fans and performers" (p. 4). Subsequently, punk became associated with specific political causes and messages around which groups rallied, from challenging class boundaries, to racial equality, to (in the case of certain brands of *Oi!* Music and White supremacist punk) entirely contradictory messages of racial separation. Thus, punk developed broader identities beyond music, and took on new causes, including fighting the establishment music industry (Laing, 2015). But the musical message was primary, and the original identity of being a punk surrounded attending punk concerts and playing the music.

Once we enter the realm of musical subcultures, we start to see some detailed ways in which music serves as a "badge" (Frith, 1981) that communicates to others a host of cultural, ideological, and identity attributes. For many people, and young people in particular according to the academic literature (Lull, 1985), music provides a sense of collective identity around which people can mobilize and feel a shared affiliation. Young people who learn that someone else shares their musical taste will like that person more (Knobloch et al., 2000). They also will tend to believe that others in their ingroup (e.g., their schoolmates) will both share their musical taste, and tend to like more "prestigious" styles of music when compared with outgroup members (students at another school, for instance) (Tarrant, North, & Hargreaves, 2001).

Globally, then, music serves as a basis for categorizing ingroup and outgroup members, and can at times serve to create new groups around which some will identify. Given music's emotional power and its ability to synchronize behavior in large groups of people, it is uniquely equipped to support group identities and render them more meaningful and emotionally significant.

Music as Intergroup Communication II: Music, Ingroup Favoritism, Outgroup Derogation, and Intergroup Conflict

The previous section described how music builds and supports ingroup identities. In this section, I describe how this ingroup focus extends to music being involved in exacerbating conflicts *between* groups, by mobilizing groups and by providing an engaging platform for explicit messages of hate (via song lyrics).

Music for Group Mobilization

Music serves a mobilization function—throughout history military bands have been used to motivate troops and more generally music has been used to persuade (or manipulate) people to engage in group-based behavior (Brown, 2006). The group associations of music described above aid in this process—once a melody comes to represent the group (see the previous section), it then becomes a tool that can be used to rouse group-related sentiments and emotions. This mobilization may be aided by some fundamental aspects of music. For instance, people are more likely to follow the instructions of a leader who tells them to kill bugs after having walked in time (i.e., in synchrony) with that leader (Wiltermuth, 2012). Music is a common driver of synchronized activity; when we coordinate with other people in time, we typically do it to music. Troops march in time to chants or songs, ballerinas dance in time to orchestras, and dance club patrons synchronize to the DJ's beats. Hence, music drives synchrony, and synchrony supports a willingness to follow a leader's directions, even if those directions involve unpleasant behavior.

Synchronized behavior facilitates pro-ingroup helping and support. Wiltermuth and Heath (2009) had students sing a song either together or asynchronously, and then distribute tokens either to themselves or the group as a whole. Participants who sang and moved together gave more tokens to the

overall group account than those in the asynchronous condition: people are willing to sacrifice individual gains for the broader group benefit when they have engaged in synchronized activity. This effect occurs early in childhood—even children as young as 14 months old are more helpful to others in their group (but not outgroup members) after having engaged in synchronized activity (Cirelli, Wan, & Trainor , 2014). A stronger sense of camaraderie with ingroup members can directly *cause* intergroup aggression (Branscombe & Wann, 1992). Hence, we have good indications that music can support and mobilize group identities and a desire to both follow ingroup leader's directives, and to engage in prosocial behavior towards other members of the ingroup. The lyrics of music may well contribute to this, for example with the use of collective first person pronouns (e.g., "We shall overcome"), but the synchrony-inducing properties of music serve ingroup solidarity and intergroup antagonism independent of lyrics.

Intergroup Effects of Music and Musical Content

Stereotypical content in music and music-related media influence people's intergroup attitudes and the ways in which people from outgroups are treated. Fischer and Greitemeyer (2006) show that sexually aggressive lyrics in rock and rap music lead to men feeling a greater desire for vengeance against women, thinking more negatively about women, and behaving in a more aggressive manner towards women. "Man-hating" lyrics had similar effects on women, who subsequently behaved more aggressively against a male than a female target. Kistler and Lee (2009) show that sexually explicit lyrics lead to objectification of women and greater acceptance of rape among men (see also Lennings & Warburton, 2011). Hansen and Hansen (1988) show that music video portrayals of women lead to sex-role stereotyped perceptions of women, and greater acceptance of sexual violence (see also Aubrey Hopper, & Mbure, 2011).

In a similar manner, violent rap music influences race stereotypes. After listening to violent rap (versus nonviolent rap), listeners rated a Black man as less qualified for a job that required intelligence, and were more likely to say a Black man committed a crime due to dispositional than situational factors (i.e., he is a bad person, rather than the situation caused the crime to happen: Johnson, Trawalter, & Dovidio, 2000). Both White and Black respondents experienced these effects. Violent rap music apparently activates negative stereotypes of African Americans, which then carry over into subsequent tasks that we perform. While the effects here are primarily thought to be a consequence of video images or lyrics rather than the music, the reader is referred to the earlier arguments concerning the importance of music in this process (see "Is it the music or is it the lyrics" section).

Music and Lyrics to Incite Intergroup Hostility

The chants of European soccer fans serve an ingroup-defining function for these groups, but the same songs and chants also function to attack the outgroup. Armstrong and Young (1999) describe how lyrics of these songs often target visiting fans and players, insulting them in sometimes humorous (and sometimes reprehensible) ways. The songs also often provide a connection between a team and the broader community, differentiating the (positive) local environment with the environment of the visitors (e.g., when fans of a city team chant "You only sing when you're farming" to fans visiting from more rural locales). Other teams' fans are derided for *not* singing ("Is this a library?"); singing is a part of the ritual and if "they" are not singing, they are not participating in the ritual. The songs also support key rivalries, even when the rivals themselves are not present. Sheffield United fans, for instance, will sing songs taunting rival Sheffield Wednesday even when Wednesday are not the current opposition (Armstrong & Young, 1999). These songs often build on local identities in other creative ways. To provide one example, Manchester United fans expressed their devotion to Ryan Giggs (a star player and now a coach with their team) by singing "Giggs will tear you apart again," to the melody of "Love will tear us apart" by the band Joy Division. The band is from Manchester, and hence the chant connects the star player, the team, and the local area, all while acting as a direct threat to the opposition (he will "tear you apart"). As social identity theory would predict, differentiating between songs and chants that support ingroup identity and those that explicitly target or threaten the outgroup is not always straightforward.

Music can successfully be used to incite action against outgroups. The darkest side of this occurs when music is used to actively incite hatred, or to build fanatical and unquestioning

support for an ideology. Such use of music is apparent in the rallies of Nazi Germany (Schafer, 1994) or White Power music (Corte & Edwards, 2008), and numerous settings of interethnic conflict (Bergh & Sloboda, 2010). Baker (2013) describes how music was used as a weapon for instigating intergroup hatred during the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, and Snyder (2007) discusses the indictment of Simon Bikindi (a Rwandan singer) on genocide charges as a result of the music he produced. In most of these cases, music advocating intergroup hatred relies on lyrics for its direct semantic force, but the music and the musicians themselves become symbols, inherently tied to the cause and with persuasive power that transcends the lyrical content. Once a song is adopted as central to the cause, the lyrics are no longer necessary to achieve the motivational force. A Protestant Northern Irish band playing the melody of "The Sash" (a pro-Protestant song) while walking through a Catholic Belfast neighborhood is clearly engaged in intergroup antagonism, whether or not the lyrics are sung.

The negative effects of explicitly prejudicial music apply even with "normal" populations. When White college students listen to White power music, for instance, they assign fewer rewards to non-White outgroups (LaMarre, Knobloch-Westerwick, & Hoplamazian, 2012). Of course, the use of music for group-based persuasive power has occurred throughout the world and is not always associated with obviously negative goals. For example, in the UK and the USA, both world wars featured musical acts designed to motivate the troops and the home front—George Cohan's "Over There" and Vera Lynn's "We'll Meet Again" are well-known examples.

At times, different domains of intergroup hostility can intersect and reinforce one another in song. In football chants, for instance, it is common for racist and homophobic slurs to be used against players or fans of opposing teams; the immediate intent is presumably to put down the opposition and motivate support for the ingroup; the broader societal impact is of course to reinforce the more general social prejudices (Caudwell, 2011). Such chants are typically sung, and their musical component undoubtedly contributes to both the ease of coordinating their large-scale and spontaneous production, and to their memorability. It seems likely that the use of melodies taken from common nursery rhyme and simple popular tunes ("This Old Man," "Guantanamera") contributes to the easy remembering, distribution and repetition of these chants, as well as their "taunting" properties.

Musical Subcultures and Conflict

Musicians develop their own social identities surrounding music, which may lead to intergroup conflicts (albeit typically of a milder form than those in the previous section). Holtz (2009) describes how professional musicians and composers may have intergroup conflicts based on, for instance, their personal narratives for how music is created. Contemporary classical composers, for instance, tend to view creating music as an intellectual process involving analytical thought, while jazz musicians tend more towards emphasizing the instant, spontaneous, and emotionally expressive aspects of musical creativity. Hence, even among professional musicians, identities and subcultures emerge that are grounded in musical style, but that result in tensions and conflicts, while also being a source of identification with others who share the identity. Different sections of an orchestra may develop a sense of identity with their group (and others who play their instruments), and develop hostility against other sections ("Our brass section sucks!") (Dobson & Gaunt, 2015). For some, simply being a *musician* may become an identity in and of itself. People who play music regularly will feel a sense of shared group membership with other musicians (MacDonald, Hargreaves, & Miell, 2002; MacDonald & Wilson, 2005), and develop their own argot that will exclude those who are not in the "in-crowd" (McRae, 2001). Rivalries between musical groups can erupt into real violence, as appears to have occurred when the rift between West and East coast rap scenes resulted in the murders of Tupac Shakur and Notorious BIG (Leland, 2002). Violence has also occurred between musically-centered groups of fans (e.g., the UK's seaside battles between Mods and Rockers in the 1960s: Cohen, 1967).

Music and Intergroup Communication III: Music as a Response to Threatened Group Identity

Tajfel and Turner (1986) in social identity theory say that groups of people who are not experiencing positive outcomes from their group memberships can respond in one of three ways—social mobility, social creativity, and social

competition. Giles, Denes, Hamilton, and Hajda (2009) draw connections between music and these strategies, and I elaborate on their ideas here.

Social Mobility

Social Mobility is characterized by leaving one's group and moving to another, better-supported group. In terms of music, this might occur when a group stops listening to (or playing) their traditional music and starts listening to another group's music that is perceived as having more status. Undoubtedly this happens worldwide as traditional musics are seen as uninteresting or old-fashioned by younger audiences and those audiences switch to "new" forms of music—a pattern that has been occurring for many decades in non-Western cultures that adopt rock or hip-hop (Chaffee, 1985). At times, the appropriation of Western styles in non-Western cultures are innovative, and lead to unique *new* local styles addressing local issues. For instance, Perullo (2005) describes how Tanzanian hip hop artists communicate local values and address local issues, even while their music draws heavily on a US style.

High-status groups sometimes adopt music that is produced by (objectively) lower status groups (downward mobility). White Americans' interest in and adoption of Black American music from the mid-20th century to the present is a striking example of this. If African Americans are lower status, what draws Whites to adopt their musical styles? One possibility is that this stems from perceptions that Black music is more *authentic* than White music. Hence, while Whites are typically seen as higher status than Blacks, music presents a context in which Blacks are perceived as having the upper hand. In such a domain, downward mobility makes sense. Hence, the African-American sound of Adele, and the borrowing from African-American music by everyone from Elvis to Led Zeppelin to Jack White reflects positively on these artists by affiliating them with the outgroup on a dimension on which the ingroup has less status. There is a fine line between paying tribute to the original artists and artistic theft, which for artists playing in the tradition of a different group can be an interesting balancing act (Edgar, 2014). Music, thus, is a domain in which any consideration of mobility strategies must include both upward and downward mobility.

Social Creativity

Social creativity occurs when groups seek to redefine previously negative aspects of identity as positive, or seek out novel ways of comparing themselves to an outgroup. African American culture did this prominently in the 1960s by embracing African themes across many aspects of life (clothing, dance, spirituality). Africa as a continent, and African people had previously been viewed as primitive, and music associated with African themes treated as "jungle music" (Peretti, 1994; Maher, Van Tilburg, & Van Den Tol, 2013). The shift to embracing Africa in jazz included use of African rhythms, instrumentation, musical styles, and even simply song titles (e.g., John Coltrane's last decade of productivity included *Tanganyika Strut*, *Afro Blue*, and *Kulu Se Mama*). Jazz during this period featured much heavier emphasis on percussion, adopting a wider range of percussion than the typical western drum set, using more percussionists in any one recording, and using African percussion instruments specifically. The incorporation of African elements became more sophisticated as groups incorporated complex polyrhythms into their play (Kofsky, 1970; Francesconi, 1986). As the 1960s moved along into the 70s, more Black American jazz musicians wore traditional African clothing, and incorporated traditionally African elements such as chanting into their music (e.g., *African Drum Suite* by Archie Shepp, or *A Love Supreme* by John Coltrane). Hence, music provided a way to express previously devalued parts of their identities in a positive manner.

Social Competition

Finally, Tajfel says that groups can engage in social competition. They can compete directly for better status and outgroup recognition. To the extent that the African themes described above were a move for increased recognition and status for Black culture in the broader civil rights movement, they could be interpreted as a social competition move. Through the 20th century, White musicians had become more involved in jazz, and had become skilled and respected performers, following trends in the music. The African shift may have allowed Black musicians a space into which White musicians would be more cautious to step, thus emphasizing separation and superiority for Black musicians in one area of the music. More generally, moves to legitimize and claim

equal status for low-status groups' music can be seen in the presentation of the music (e.g., performances at concert halls rather than night clubs) and in the establishment of institutions (e.g., jazz programs at prestigious music schools). These enhance the vitality of the music and the group.

More explicit forms of social competition in music have typically occurred in song, with the lyrics carrying the more direct calls for justice or social change. These calls are present in everything from anti-war songs, to songs advocating (or declaiming) specific political policies or figures, to songs about racial injustice. Street (2014) distinguishes between protest and propaganda songs. The former are used to challenge the status quo, and might include the anti-war songs of the late 1960s, or the anti-establishment content of political rap music. The latter are used to support the status quo (and hence are not social competition, but may at times reflect a dominant group's response to social competition). Street also describes a third category of music that he calls "resistance." Resistance music is used to challenge authority even though the specific content of the song might not have a political message. Music that motivates or organizes resistance to political power is resistance music. A good example is the Infernal Noise Brigade, a group that plays at protests against the World Trade Organization and similar events. Their music typically doesn't have lyrics, but is instead designed to lead and energize political activity.

To summarize the current section, music offers numerous routes for groups that are disadvantaged to seek higher status either by adopting a higher status group's musical style, or by emphasizing, even fighting for, the legitimacy or distinctiveness of their own style.

Music as Intergroup Communication IV: Music and Positive Intergroup Relations

The sections above emphasize how music strengthens existing identities or creating new ones, and even incites hostility between groups, thus establishing or strengthening group-based barriers between people. Conversely, we often talk about music as a "universal language," and espouse the idea that music can bring people together (e.g., Rock against Racism; international musical collaborations: Kuchenbrandt, van Dick, Koschate, Ullrich, & Bornewasser, 2014). There *are* many ways in which music is a universal language: all human cultures have something identifiable as music, all distinguish between music and noise, all use and perceive octaves, almost all use scales of some sort or another, there are predictable patterns in melodies across culture, most musical cultures involve some music with a regular pulse or beat, and most cultures associate music with physical movement (dance) in some way (Higgins, 2012).

This section outlines in more detail some ways in which music might overcome boundaries between groups and enhance intergroup harmony. I consider parasocial contact (exposure to the outgroup's music) and vicarious contact (exposure to ingroup and outgroup members collaborating on music), respectively. Both forms of contact build on Allport's (1954) suggestion that people can develop more positive attitudes towards outgroup members (and the outgroup as a whole) if they come into contact with one another and have the opportunity to interact. Traditionally this research area focused on face-to-face interaction, but recently researchers have begun to consider a wide array of places where people can encounter members of outgroups, including through the media, through new technology, or even in our imaginations (Miles & Crisp, 2014). One such context for intergroup contact, and perhaps a uniquely powerful one, is music.

Music as Parasocial Contact

Encountering another group's music is a form of intergroup contact. Contact through music has not received much empirical research, but given that music is a place where we can "meet" and "speak the same language" it offers promise (Bakagiannis & Tarrant, 2006; Bergh & Sloboda, 2010; Bodner & Gilboa, 2009). Encountering an outgroup musical performer typically occurs as some form of "parasocial contact": parasocial contact occurs when we encounter someone from a different group via media and do not personally encounter the person (Schiappa, Gregg, & Hewes, 2006). While we can experience live music performed by outgroup members, most music listening is mediated, and even most live music occurs at a distance that makes it similar to a mediated experience (particularly as live concerts increasingly feature large screens to provide close-ups of the artists).

One mechanism through which musical contact might reduce intergroup hostility is humanization of the outgroup. Haslam (2006) notes that we dehumanize other individuals in two ways: we treat them as objects (automata, robots), or

as animals (more primitive than us, and lacking in morality or civility). Robots are unfeeling. Witnessing a member of another group making music (an inherently emotional process: Juslin & Sloboda, 2010), should reduce robot-type dehumanizing perceptions. Music also expresses *complex* emotions, and so true appreciation of another group's music should reduce tendencies to see outgroups as less emotionally *complex* than ingroups (Vaes, Paladino, Castelli, Leyens, & Giovanazzi, 2003). Music should also emphasize the uniquely human traits that animals lack: while other animals produce musical sounds, the artistic complexity of human music-making emphasizes our separation from the animals, and hence outgroup music should reduce tendencies to view "them" as more primitive. Giles et al. (2009) quote US Defense Secretary Perry during a visit to North Korea: "You cannot demonize people when you're sitting there listening to their music. You don't go to war with people unless you demonize them first." This point applies to other artistic endeavors as well: Brannon and Walton (2013) show that collaboration on a cultural task (designing a music video) with a member of another group enhances interest in that other person's culture and hence reduces prejudice. One additional strength of music in this context (already discussed in other areas of this paper) is its floating intentionality (i.e., its lack of explicit meaning or advocacy). Hence, music is more likely to gain an "unresisting hearing" than speeches or other types of advocacy (Cohen, 2004). If we understand music as a deeply complex human activity, and appreciate that people from other groups are engaging in such humanity, it should reduce dehumanization of outgroup members.

Rodríguez-Bailón, Ruiz, and Moya (2009) used Flamenco music in a study of attitudes about gypsies in Spain. In general, gypsies are negatively perceived in Spain, but Flamenco, a specific style of music that originated in gypsy populations, is relatively popular. The study shows that evaluations of gypsies in Spain are more positive when people hear Flamenco than when they hear classical music. Exposure to a positive (but stereotype-consistent) feature of the group results in lower prejudice. Music is often a positive aspect of negatively stereotyped groups—music by Black artists retains popularity even amidst racial hostility in the US, for instance.

For music to have these effects, we must appreciate the outgroup music as being as complex and good as our own. It is easy to listen to unfamiliar music and dismiss it as noise or as "out of tune" unless we take the time to accept it on its own terms. Music that is unenjoyable or perceived to be "out of tune" may backfire and reinforce negative attitudes about other groups; negative contact with other cultures does not have positive consequences (Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010). A few routes to enjoying and appreciating other cultures' music are available (e.g., understanding that sometimes we do not enjoy all of the music our *own* culture produces, or exposing ourselves to outgroup music as part of seeking insight into those cultures: Cook, 1998; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2009). The next section of the paper provides an alternative and promising avenue to attract people to engage with the music of another culture.

Music as Vicarious Contact

Vicarious contact occurs when we observe an ingroup member (a member of our group) interacting with an outgroup member. Such contact occurs quite a bit in the media (e.g., in action movies featuring White and Black stars collaborating to fight the bad guys: Joyce & Harwood, 2014). One little-examined form of vicarious contact occurs when we witness *musical collaboration* between ingroup and outgroup artists. Witnessing such collaborations not only exposes us to elements of the outgroup culture, but also models positive cooperative intergroup behavior—the presence of the ingroup member provides an example of "how to work with them" (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Collaborations such as Paul Simon's *Graceland* (American and African), Ry Cooder's *Buena Vista Social Club* project (American and Cuban), or the Aerosmith / Run-D.M.C. *Walk this way* hit (Heavy Rock and Rap, but also bridging traditionally Black and White musical cultures) are all activities that involved explicit and group-conscious contact between musical (and extra-musical) cultures; numerous other examples exist (Harwood, 2015). These collaborations are likely to be effective because of a variety of factors discussed in the next few paragraphs.

First, music is associated with heightened emotional responses and often with reduced anxiety (Hanser, 2010)—a phenomenon that has been exploited to calm medical patients, for instance (Voss et al., 2004). Anxiety is a critical mediator of contact's effects (Harwood, Hewstone, Amichai-Hamburger, & Tausch, 2013)—intergroup contact reduces anxiety about the outgroup, which leads to more positive future

interactions with outgroup members. Therefore, if music serves to reduce anxiety, and particularly anxiety about contact between groups, then music should enhance intergroup attitudes. In a complementary manner, music is deeply connected with the emotion of love (Brandt, 2009), and love is a major theme in popular music (Chesebro, Foulger, Naghman, & Yannelli, 1985; Knobloch & Zillmann, 2003). Observers who witness musicians engaging in an emotionally-intense experience of playing music together, especially when themes of love are present in the music, might extrapolate an emotional connection between the performers, and by extension between their respective groups. Joint music making is associated with, for example, the development of increased empathy (Rabinowitch et al., 2013).

Second, Cross and Morley's (2009) idea of "floating intentionality" is again relevant here (this is the idea that music's lack of explicit semantic meaning is an advantage in situations with the potential for conflict). Music is a particularly *honest* form of communication—it is hard to lie in music, in part due to the lack of semantic content. When people are exposed to intergroup musical collaboration, the association of music with honesty and authenticity might lead them to infer that the participants in the contact are being honest with one another. Observing such contact has the potential to generalize to intergroup contact more broadly. People might emerge from seeing such contact thinking that ingroup and outgroup are capable of honest and genuine interaction.

Third, musical collaboration requires considerable coordination and intense collaboration (e.g., practice) that other activities do not. Most people are aware that successful musical collaboration requires a depth of relationship, spending considerable time together, and actively coordinating in real time during the performance. Musical collaboration requires psychological coordination, physical coordination, and communicative coordination. If observers infer such processes between musical partners from different groups, the musical collaboration will serve as a model of a highly synchronized intergroup relationship. Observers might even infer that the collaborators are friends: if they have spent enough time together to create the musical performance, they must at some level like one another.

Fourth, intergroup musical collaborations provide a *model* for the benefits of diversity in teams. In particular, to the extent that people from different social groups bring unique skills or resources to the musical collaboration (for example, the collaboration reflects both groups' musical styles), listeners should emerge with an enhanced perception of the *value* of diversity. They should understand that this musical experience would not have occurred without the input of all of the different cultures. If observing musical collaboration leads people to value diversity and appreciate differences between people, then that should result in more positive attitudes about intergroup relations more broadly (Tropp & Bianchi, 2006). The ability of music to demonstrate the value of diversity might extend to collaborations that do not include ingroup members. Aidi (2014) describes the Danish group *Outlandish*, whose members are Danish-born Hondurans, Moroccans, and Pakistanis. For many observers, *none* of the group will be ingroup members. But the music is explicitly multicultural—it features identifiably North African and Latin rhythms and instruments, and for some listeners may serve to remind them of the value added by contact between cultural groups.

Finally, and relatedly, the kinds of musical collaborations being discussed here are high in what is called *group salience*: observers are likely to be highly aware of the groups from which the participants came. Indeed, the whole "idea" behind a number of these the collaborations is achieving a mix/hybrid of the groups' musical styles. The combination of *positive* contact with *salient* group memberships (as opposed to achieving positive intergroup contact by ignoring group memberships) is regarded as a very positive one in the intergroup contact literature (Paolini et al., 2010). The more salient group memberships are for the participants, the *less* likely they will "ignore" or not notice the fact that two different groups are represented in the social situation. When people are aware of the groups, there is greater potential for positive change in attitudes. If you do not know that a musician is Japanese, then your feelings about Japanese people are not likely to be influenced; but if the musician's nationality is salient, there's a good chance that your feelings about the music might transfer to your feelings about Japanese people in general. Many groups' cultural origins are apparent not only in the musical sound, but also in the visual elements that accompany the music: CD covers, publicity photos, music videos, and the like.

Of course, not all intergroup musical collaborations will work. The specific musical styles might not be compatible, or the execution might be lacking. At times, the power

relations involved in such collaborations might be problematic—Hamm (1989), for instance, questioned the extent to which Paul Simon's *Graceland* project should be characterized as collaboration or exploitation. However, independent of these broader political concerns, intergroup musical collaborations appear to offer a promising avenue for the reduction in intergroup prejudice on an individual level, and have the advantage that exposure to popular collaborations may occur with very large audiences.

Direct Intergroup Musical Contact

Many of the arguments in the previous section would apply particularly strongly to actually *playing* music with someone from another group. Playing music with another individual is associated with the development of increased attraction and trust with that person (Harwood, 2015). Considerable research shows that developing a close friendship or romantic relationship with a member of another group influences our attitudes about their group more generally—if you have a good friend who is gay, you are more likely to feel positive about gay people more broadly (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). So, direct musical contact with members of other groups should be a powerful technique for changing attitudes. Many intervention programs have been designed with this idea in mind, although typically such interventions (and the research based on them) lack the empirical research design features that would be necessary to yield a strong knowledge base about this sort of activity (Bergh & Sloboda, 2010). Of course, there are substantially more barriers to direct musical contact than to vicarious or parasocial contact (e.g., physical / social barriers to intergroup contact, as well as skill barriers to achieving positive and meaningful musical engagement with another person.

Messages of Tolerance and Harmony in Lyrics

The previous descriptions have emphasized the effects of exposure to music, and the symbolic modeling of being exposed to intergroup musical collaborations. A more direct way for music to increase intergroup tolerance and harmony is through messages explicitly advocating intergroup tolerance and harmony. These messages, of course, could be conveyed without music, but earlier discussions in this paper have emphasized the ability of music to make persuasive messages more engaging, memorable, and repeatable.

Research on this topic primarily examines the effects of lyrics emphasizing tolerance on prosocial attitudes and behaviors. For instance, Greitemeyer and Schwab (2014) show that listening to songs with pro-integration lyrics ("unite the world" type sentiments) results in more positive attitudes about Turkish immigrants in Germany, makes people less likely to act against them in a lab task of actual aggressive behavior, and leads to more offers of help towards the outgroup. Musical properties of the songs, and listener liking for the songs did not change the results, and so the authors suggest that it is the lyrics, not the music, that affected attitudes. However, there was no musical control, so it is impossible to know whether the lyrics without any music would have similar effects.

More general effects of prosocial music on (non-intergroup) prosocial behaviors have been uncovered; for instance, restaurant tipping increases when songs with prosocial lyrics are played (Jacob, Guéguen, & Boulbry, 2010). Further research is needed to explore the contributions of the music itself and the precise lyrical content to these effects: are they dependent on a simple "feeling good about humanity" mood, or are there particular lyric-music combinations that might be particularly effective in targeting specific prejudices. A final area of research here might be the potential for reactance effects (Brehm & Brehm, 2013)—particularly among more prejudiced respondents. While music benefits from floating intentionality (Cross & Morley, 2009), lyrics espousing a particular perspective do not have that benefit. As such, listeners might react against the message, and entrench themselves more strongly in their preexisting beliefs. We do not know whether music's floating intentionality transfers to the lyrics and reduces the potential for reactance; if it does, then music could prove a powerful accompaniment to potentially reactance-eliciting messages. The widespread use of music in advertising suggests an implicit theory among advertisers that music might provide some protection against reactance responses (North & Hargreaves, 2008). Presumably, this might occur via a transfer of floating intentionality to the lyrics ("they don't really mean anything"), or via a broader mood manipulation (reactance is lessened when people are in positive moods: Berkowitz, 1973), or via some other process (e.g., humanization of the messenger).

An important factor for communication scholars examining all of the kinds of message effects described in this section

is whether message exposure is intentional and conscious, or unintentional. A broad selective exposure approach suggests that message effects are influenced by the degree to which people are approaching messages voluntarily versus being exposed to them incidentally (Knobloch-Westerwick, 2014). Theoretical approaches more allied with cultivation theory, for example, or priming, would suggest that messages have certain types of effect independent of the reasons audiences have for seeking them out. It is reasonable to approach music's effects from both perspectives. There are probably unique characteristics of people who are keen to engage outgroup music, interested in listening to cross-cultural musical collaborations, or even interested in playing music with individuals from different musical backgrounds. At the same time, I suspect that most people who are exposed to a cross-cultural musical collaboration, for instance, will be influenced in broadly similar ways (assuming they enjoy the music): indeed, work on the broader domain of intergroup contact suggests that it can be quite effective, even for those who do not particularly desire contact or who might explicitly avoid it out of choice (Hodson, 2011). Ideally (from the perspective of someone aiming to reduce prejudice), exposure to intercultural musical messages would both reduce prejudice and encourage further seeking out of the messages and other intercultural experiences (including direct interpersonal contact), thus initiating a cycle of prejudice reduction. Some preliminary data suggest that this might indeed be the case (Harwood, Qadar, & Chen, 2016).

Music as Intergroup Communication V: Dimensions for Study and a Research Agenda

In closing, this paper presents a summary of music and music-related variables that contribute to intergroup outcomes, and then discusses a variety of issues in the area of research methods that scholars interested in music and communication should contemplate.

Dimensions for Studying Music and Intergroup Communication

Table 1 presents a number of musical dimensions and their associations with the reduction or increase of intergroup prejudice. A few areas not previously discussed are discussed briefly here (the first four rows in the table). These are areas where there is relatively little research that can be directly tied to communication, but that nonetheless merit mention in the broad scope of understanding music's role in intergroup relations. The evidence for the processes in the lower half of the table has been presented earlier in this paper, and the table serves as a summary without any further elaboration.

Beginning Table 1, the acoustic aspects of music merit more attention in terms of their associations with intergroup processes. Distorted sounds are characteristic of distress signals in animals (including humans), and music containing distortions causes people to walk faster, perhaps suggesting a flight response (Bryant, 2013; Leman et al., 2013). To the extent that distortion in music is associated with fear or distress, we might expect distortion in outgroup music to be viewed as threatening and to invoke intergroup processes.

The sequential-organizational aspects of music in driving prejudice has received little attention. However, one study (Maher et al., 2013) suggests that music which is too avant-garde or unpredictable has the potential to increase prejudice and intolerance. These authors suggest that avant-garde music disturbs our sense of order in the world, and leads to a search for meaning and structure in other areas of our lives. One way to restore a sense of order in the world is to reinforce our social identity and our preferred social hierarchy (ingroup over outgroup). As a result, music that sounds too "different" might increase our desire to view our ingroups as superior to outgroups. Such work reinforces the concern that simply exposing people to (potentially unusual sounding) outgroup music will not necessarily reduce prejudice, and might actually exacerbate intergroup tension.

Emotionally, music has tremendous power to provide experiences of elevation or frisson—intensely moving experiences that take us outside of the mundane elements of our daily lives. Elevation is a prejudice-reducing experience (Lai, Haidt, & Nosek, 2014), and media-induced elevation reduces prejudice (Oliver et al., 2015; Shade, Kim, Jung, & Oliver, 2015). Hence, intense experiences of music may well be associated with increased intergroup tolerance. Preliminary data suggest that observing intergroup collaborations on music increases the experience of elevation (Harwood et al., 2016).

The social environment undoubtedly contributes to these experiences. Music plays a role in intensifying many experiences, and it should strengthen the emotions present in any

Table 1. *Musical factors increasing or decreasing intergroup tolerance.*

Musical Domain	Phenomena leading to intergroup (in)tolerance
Acoustic	Nonlinearities (distortion) are associated with distress—music high in nonlinearity could be associated with feelings of insecurity and potentially prejudice.
Sequential-organizational	Predictability; music that is unpredictable or too avant garde causes increased prejudice.
Emotional content	Music eliciting chills / elevation / perceptions of meaningfulness should be associated with reduced prejudice.
Social context	Music will intensify intergroup aspects in the social environment—at an anti-racism event, music will increase tolerance; at a White supremacist event music will intensify prejudice and intolerance. Heterogeneous collective musical experiences will reduce prejudice.
Performers	Music featuring outgroup performers provides intergroup contact experiences; a collaboration of in- and outgroup provides modeling of effective and synchronized intergroup contact and cooperation
Genre	Outgroup music that is accessible and enjoyable, while also being identifiably from the outgroup, should reduce prejudice.
Lyrics	Lyrics advocating intergroup harmony are associated with increased prosocial behavior; lyrics advocating intergroup hate increase intolerance.
Multimedia Context	Video portraying in- or outgroup members or intergroup contact moderates the effects of the music (e.g., portrayals of outgroup aggression against the ingroup will enhance prejudicial effects of music; sympathetic portrayals of intergroup relations will enhance tolerance).

situation. Music's extensive role in ritual supports the idea that it is an intensifier: rituals without music are rare and musical moments are often the ones that make a situation most memorable (whether a bride walking down the aisle in Tucson, Arizona, or a Bontoc funeral in the Philippines: de Vera, 2011). Hence, whatever the ideological orientation of a situation (whether towards tolerance or prejudice), music could be expected to increase endorsement of that ideology. More broadly, the ideas expressed earlier concerning music as an honest signal, combined with the synchronizing power of music (which presumably encourages collective identity), suggest that independent of any overarching ideological context, collective music events should drive collective ideologies and identities. In a heterogeneous social context, such an experience should encourage identification with all of humanity and hence reduce prejudice. In a homogeneous context, the collective identity might simply encourage identification with the group that is present (and perhaps as a result encourage prejudice against those not present). The remaining issues presented in Table 1 have already been discussed at length earlier in the manuscript.

Research Agenda

One significant issue alluded to already in this paper is the extent to which *music* is actually studied in the literature, and whether authors examining music-related processes are clear on what they are studying. A recently published study, for instance, is titled "Can Heterosexist Music Cause Hiring Discrimination against Sexual Minority Men? Testing the Effects of Prejudicial Media Messages" (Binder & Ward, 2015). The study examines the effects of homophobic rap music. The experimental design compares a homophobic (lyrics) rap music condition with a non-homophobic rap music condition, and also includes a control condition (who get no audio stimulus). The two music conditions are carefully controlled so that the musical element is constant. It is a nicely designed study, but neither the theory nor design permit much inference about the effects of *music* per se; it is the lyrical content that is the heart of the manipulation, and the study really tests whether heterosexist *lyrics* influence hiring discrimination (not "heterosexist music" as the title suggests; indeed, taking a pure definition of music, the term "heterosexist music" is a little strange!). The presence of a no-music control in this study is an addition that many studies do not include—often research on "music" compares two types of lyrics while the musical content is controlled, leaving absolutely no space for identifying the effects of the musical content. However, a control group without music *or* lyrics does not leave much room for isolating the effects of music per se (versus, say, a lyrics-only condition). Some designs that would move us forward in understanding the uses and effects of music as a communicative code are outlined next.

Presence/absence designs. Understanding the effects of music can occur by including parallel lyrical content across conditions with and without music. In the Binder and Ward (2015) study just discussed, a condition in which the heterosexist lyrics were narrated without the additional musical content would serve this purpose. The theoretical reasons for music to have effects merely by its presence should be established by the preceding materials in this paper (e.g., if music is an honest signal, then music+lyrics should be more persuasive than lyrics alone because of an enhanced perception of authenticity and integrity in the lyrical content when music is present).

Manipulation of music. Designs that manipulate the properties of music will allow us to begin understanding the effects of specific musical phenomena. Elements such as tempo of existing musical stimuli are relatively easily manipulable using simple apps and programs (e.g., audacity: www.audacityteam.org). It is also possible to use similar programs to manipulate the acoustic signal in more complex ways—e.g., adding distortion, compression, or reverb. Experimental research manipulating musical cues has tremendous possibilities (e.g., Panksepp & Bernatzky, 2002). These should be balanced against the need to maintain solid theoretical grounds for the research and not simply explore acoustic properties because we can. There are sensible reasons to examine, for instance, tempo (e.g., theoretical links to arousal), nonlinearities (distortion; e.g., evolutionary connections to distress signals: Bryant, 2013), or beat clarity (e.g., theories of entrainment). The theoretical basis for manipulating musical properties must be clear before engaging in such research.

Examinations of music-making and consumption. The field of communication has long examined message production and consumption as a central phenomenon of interest. While we know a fair amount about why people make and consume music, this literature has not been fully integrated with uses and gratifications approaches, for instance, which supply a long-standing tradition of methods and measures (although see Lonsdale & North, 2011, for example). The intersections of musical message generation/consumption and intergroup issues remain fairly limited. Do social identity concerns drive musicians to produce group-related music (Harwood, 1999), for instance?

Content analysis. The field of musical content analysis has grown substantially with increases in computing power and the development of relevant tools. It is now possible to examine wide-ranging acoustic and musical elements in large databases of music using tools such as the MIR Toolbox in MATLAB (http://tinyurl.com/Mir-Tools). Such tools permit systematic examination of how musical features vary between specific songs, or across genres, time periods, and the like (e.g., Mauch, MacCallum, Levy, & Leroi, 2015). This research is useful for (a) understanding the nature of musical genres and the extent to which acoustic signals differentiate genres, (b) understanding connections between musical and non-musical elements (e.g., when combined with text analysis of lyrics, research could uncover fine-grained connections between musical and lyrical content; such work is rare), and (c) developing materials for experimental work (i.e., fine-grained musical analysis would identify pieces that differ on specific

dimensions while remaining constant on some other dimensions, allowing experimental work with a high degree of internal and external validity).

Music in media effects. Much mass communication scholarship examines the effects of "media" with relatively little attention to its musical content. The assumption of work on pornography's effects, for instance, is that it is the visual (and sometimes verbal) portrayals of sex that have the effects (e.g., Malamuth, 2014). This is probably a reasonable assumption, although pornography often has distinctive musical features which might change the effects of the visuals. The effects of music in media become more pressing when considering the effects of music in violent content (Bushman & Anderson, 2009). In such portrayals, loud, highly percussive, fast tempo music supports the nature of the content, and it is perfectly reasonable to think that it contributes to effects of the content (via increasing arousal, for instance). While scholars in this area might be concerned (rightly so) with the total effect of typical violent content, by ignoring the musical content they may be ignoring a critical feature contributing to those effects. Violent content with alternative musical overlay might have very different effects; examples of such messages include a climactic battle scene in Platoon featuring Samuel Barber's slow classical "Adagio for Strings," or a graphic scene of violence in Reservoir Dogs featuring *Stealers Wheel*'s light pop song "Stuck in the Middle with You." Does the music in these cases suppress typical effects of violent content like desensitization? Without controlled studies that systematically manipulate the effects of the visuals and the effects of the music, we do not know. I am unaware of work which attempts to manipulate the musical soundtrack while keeping the video portrayal of violence constant.

Conclusions

Music is a communication code with a long history of insightful and fascinating research, the vast majority of which has taken place outside of the academic field of communication. Communication scholars have considerable skills, resources, and unique perspectives to bring to the study of music—both music in its own right and perhaps particularly how music intersects with other communicative codes and media (language, visual media, technology). Music carries a multitude of intergroup messages—implicit messages about its own group-related origins in the musical code, and more explicit messages about groups and intergroup relations in its lyrics. Scholars interested in prejudice and intergroup harmony could benefit from attending to music as a dynamic, emotive, and intriguing feature of the intergroup communication landscape; communication scholars more broadly will learn something about their definitions and assumptions concerning what communication is by considering music's position as a form of communication.

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