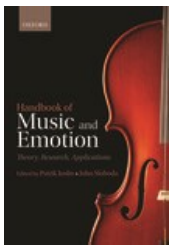

Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications

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CHAPTER

18 Music in Everyday Life: The Role of Emotions

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Abstract

The term 'music in everyday life' has been prevalent in the research literature for about a decade. The earliest treatments were predominantly found within sociology and media studies, with increasing attention by psychologists in more recent years. This chapter aims to extract and systematize some key issues relating to emotion as it impinges on, and interacts with, music in everyday life. It identifies ten dimensions on which everyday music has been distinguished from the 'non-everyday'. Each of these dimensions is described in turn, drawing out potential implications for emotion of each dimension. These implications will act as working hypotheses against which to organize and evaluate the empirical research literature.

Keywords: music, emotions, everyday music

Subject: Music Psychology

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18.1 Scope and purpose

THE term 'music in everyday life' has been prevalent in the research literature for about a decade. The only book to be so far published with this precise title is DeNora (2000), although other terms, such as 'music in daily life' have preceded it (e.g. Crafts, Cavicchi, & Keil, 1993). Earliest treatments were predominantly found within sociology and media studies, with increasing attention by psychologists in more recent years.

Although this is a new topic of study, it is a fast-growing one within music psychology. This can be illustrated by the relative coverage of the topic in two comprehensive reviews of the discipline published in the last decade. There is only the briefest of mentions of the topic in the specially commissioned multi-authored entry on 'psychology of music' in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians* (Sadie, 2001). Yet only a few years later, 'music in everyday life' was considered so central that it was assigned a six-chapter section to itself within the nine-section structure of the *Oxford handbook of music psychology* (Hallam, Cross, & Thaut, 2009).

The purpose of this chapter is not to document every type of activity that falls under the rubric of music in everyday life. For that, the reader is referred to Sloboda, Lamont, and Greasley (2009) and related chapters in Hallam et al (2009). Rather the current purpose is to extract and try to systematize some key issues relating to emotion as it impinges on, and interacts with, music in everyday life.

p. 494 In the book (Juslin & Sloboda, 2001) from which the current volume developed, Sloboda and O'Neill (2001) contributed a chapter using primarily their own work to illustrate some key issues regarding emotions in everyday listening to music. That strategy was appropriate to what was then a very young field. The current chapter adopts a different strategy, drawing on the considerably larger body of research literature that has emerged since 2000 to formalize ten key propositions which aim to reflect what the research has suggested to us about emotion in everyday music. While these propositions are rooted in published empirical findings, they deliberately push beyond published formulations as a stimulus to future research.

In her introduction, DeNora (2000, p. xi) specifies her domain and intent as:

> ...to document some of the many uses to which music is and can be put, and to describe a range of strategies through which music is mobilized as a resource for producing the scenes, routines, assumptions and occasions that constitute 'social life'.

'Social life' is a catch-all category, since it can be argued that all uses of music, even the most solitary, are elements of social life. Nothing is left out. Like most researchers in the field, DeNora's work tends to define 'everyday' implicitly, through the actual examples of music use and experience that are studied. This chapter considers more explicitly some of the dimensions along which one might assess whether or not a musical event counts as 'everyday'. A test of whether such dimensions are useful is whether they can be used to exclude anything. If they cannot, then the term 'everyday' is really not very useful. I hope that the result of this exercise may be a little more clarity about a term which is often used in the literature, but sometimes without a great deal of precision. Without that clarity it is hard to assess what the distinctive role of emotions, if any, might be in such experiences.

I have found ten dimensions on which everyday music has been distinguished (whether explicitly or otherwise) from the 'non-everyday'. I describe each of these dimensions in turn, drawing out potential implications for emotion of each dimension. These implications will act as working hypotheses against which to organize and evaluate the empirical research literature.

18.2 Ten propositions about emotion in everyday music

18.2.1 Frequency of occurrence

Everyday music is the kind of musical experience that is prone to happen often, and could plausibly happen every day. This gives it a strong cultural specificity. Musicians' everyday experiences will be very different from those of non-musicians, Nigerian everyday experience will be different from Swedish. Frequency
p. 495 could also relate to the ↳ number of people for whom a set of experiences is typical. More people in Western cultures hear music on radio than on player piano (pianola), therefore listening to the radio is arguably more 'everyday' than listening to player piano. However, 100 years ago, many homes and meeting places had pianolas—so at that time pianolas were 'everyday'. Now most people have to go to a museum to hear one.

Implications for emotion. In general emotions are strongest when events are unexpected and surprising (Sonnemans & Frijda, 1995). Frequent events tend not to be very surprising, so they tend to elicit weaker emotions.

Proposition 1: everyday emotions to music tend to be of low intensity rather than high intensity

Research evaluation. Proposition 1 is not to be confused with a different but superficially similar claim that emotions involving music in everyday life are trivial or unimportant. On the contrary, because everyday life is the 'ground' for our existence, small emotional differences from day to day can have enormous cumulative effects. Rather, the claim is that music has its typical effect by shifting mild emotion by small steps rather than pushing people to strong extremes of elation, despair or fury. A typical emotional result might be that it helps a boring task to be less boring, or a sad mood to tip to a contented one. Such modest outcomes can have significant effects on life—they can improve both cognitive and social functioning (e.g. Thompson, 1991).

One indication that low-intensity emotions are typical for the everyday comes from North, Hargreaves, and Hargreaves (2004) where they found that participants selected 'helped create or accentuate an emotion' from a list of potential functions to describe only 20 per cent of all occurrences of self-selected music listening. This does not mean that there were no emotional effects in the other 80 per cent of cases, but it does suggest that these effects were small, and possibly bound up in a broader judgement of outcome (such as 'it helped pass the time'). A more direct piece of evidence comes from a recent experience-sampling study by Juslin, Liljeström, Västfjäll, Barradas, and Silva (2008) where they asked respondents to explicitly identify whether a specific episode of exposure to music in daily life affected the way they felt. On 36 per cent of occasions respondents specifically asserted that the music did not affect them emotionally.

Similarly, Sloboda, O'Neill, and Ivaldi (2001) carried out a study where participants self-rated change in affect after everyday instances of musical exposure on a series of seven-point scales (e.g. very happy, quite happy, somewhat happy, neutral, somewhat sad, quite sad, very sad). The modal change was one scale point (mean = 1.3). It was very common for a person to shift from neutral to somewhat happy, for instance, but there were no instances where the shift was from one end of the scale to the other.

18.2.2 Ordinariness versus specialness of the context or the experience

Everyday life tends to exclude the protected or 'specialist' environments in which music takes on a 'heavier' social or cultural weight than normal. Special environments could p. 496 ↳ include a concert, a wedding, a rave, or a funeral. Perhaps the everyday also excludes the transcendental and the 'peak' (see Chapter 20, this volume; see also Whaley, Sloboda, & Gabrielsson, 2009)—these could be seen as 'special' experiences, even if they do not occur in special contexts. In contrast, everyday experiences tend to be rather mundane and insignificant, concerned with the unexciting business of managing home, food, cleaning, getting to and from work, shopping, and so on (North et al, 2004). These experiences blur into one another; it is hard to distinguish one ordinary day from another for most people (Stein, Ornstein, Tversky, & Brainerd, 1996).

Implications for emotion. Memory for emotions tends to be greatest when the emotion is intense, or when the event of which the emotion is part has a high personal significance (Levene, 1997, Levene & Safer, 2002).

Proposition 2: everyday musical emotions are rather unmemorable on average

Research evaluation. If we assume that music exposure is generally likely to have some emotional impact on a listener, we can take answers to questions such as 'How often do you feel emotions in response to music?' as some measure of the memorability of music-related emotions. Laukka (2007), in a questionnaire study with 500 participants aged 65 and over, found that 55 per cent of respondents responded 'sometimes' or less frequently (where sometimes was defined as 33–66 per cent of listening time). Therefore, there were significant numbers of participants who could not recall experiencing any particular emotion to the majority of musical episodes in their life.

Why might this be? One potential line of explanation is that music is generally only one part of a composite experience, which involves concurrent non-musical aspects as well. Memorability may thus be affected by what is going on alongside the music. In general, listening to music as the main activity (or for its own sake) is rather rare in everyday life. North et al (2004) found that only 12 per cent of episodes of hearing music were classified as 'at home deliberately listening to music'. In Sloboda, O'Neill, and Ivaldi's study, the proportion was even less (2 per cent of episodes were classified as listening to music as the 'main activity'). The non-musical activities found most frequently to accompany music were, in North et al, driving (12 per cent), 'at home doing an intellectual demanding task' (12 per cent), and 'at home doing housework' (7 per cent); while in Sloboda et al they were maintenance (washing, getting dressed, cooking, eating at home, housework, shopping—30 per cent) and travel (leaving home, driving, walking, going home—23 per cent). These are kinds of activity that take place on many days if not every day, and whose emotional significance can be expected to be, on average, low. If routine activities are not very memorable, then the music that accompanies them may generally also be forgotten, along with the emotions they may have engendered.

We do, of course, need to take cognizance of the fact that some proportion of musical experiences in everyday life do elicit strong and memorable emotions. Perhaps the most widely cited category of such strong experiences come from hearing music which has become associated with an emotionally charged past event. Familiar music can be a trigger to strong emotional memories of earlier times in life, close
p. 497 relationships, love, and loss (Baumgartner, 1992). Indeed, 'memory of valued past events' was one of the ↳ most cited categories of musical function in the free written responses provided by the participants in Sloboda's (1999/2005) study. But the existence of a small number of emotionally memorable music experiences need not invalidate the general conclusion that the majority of everyday musical experiences are unmemorable.

18.2.3 Location of occurrence

Everyday music tends to refer to music in the home, the street, shops, pubs, restaurants, and other public places characterized by the freedom to move through them at will and without a special 'appointment'. Workplaces are included, and public transport—but generally not concert halls. There are some environments where the use of music tends to be restricted, or controlled by professionals, such as hospitals and schools. This makes them sit both sides of the divide. We might view the CDs and MP3s that students swap with one another in the playground to be everyday, but not the specific pedagogical use of musical materials by a teacher in a music lesson. Similarly, the music playing in the hospital canteen might be everyday, while the music used by an anaesthetist to assist pre-operative relaxation may not be. Music in film is an interesting case. Is it 'everyday' when you hear it at home on the TV, and 'non-everyday' when you go and see the same film in a cinema? This may be a matter of degree: if you organize to watch a film at home 'seriously', you will turn off your phone, lower the lights, not stop halfway through to do something else—in other words, you will turn the everyday into the 'special' and will make your home into a temporary movie theatre, thus transforming the everyday into the special.

Implications for emotion. The locations involved provide significant opportunities for distraction and flux in experience, with transitions to and from different settings and activities.

Proposition 3: everyday musical emotions are short lived and multiple, rather than integrated or sustained

Research evaluation. A variety of studies, using experience sampling and other time-sensitive monitoring methods have indicated that many people are exposed to a significant number of separate and potentially unconnected musical stimuli in the course of a day. For instance, the non-musician participants studied by Sloboda et al (2001) reported hearing music four times a day on average. Among a self-selected sample of 222 respondents in a radio survey carried out for the BBC (for further information, see: http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/arts/frontrow/reith_diary.shtml), the average number of times music was heard was 11 times per day.

Since the range of contexts and types of music can be very broad, ranging from self-chosen music at home or in transport, to music encountered in shops and other public places, the potential for fragmentation and variety must be great. Unfortunately, none of the studies published to date has looked at the temporal succession of events within individuals on a day-by-day or hour-by-hour basis, although such data could clearly be extracted and analysed from several of the studies.

18.2.4 Circumstance of exposure: the role of choice

Much everyday music is unchosen—people come across it as they go around their daily routine (e.g. in shops or malls). Other music is chosen, and this relates to the technology available (CD player, hi-fi, iPod, etc.). This range of circumstances brings the issue of choice to centre stage. People in everyday life need constantly to negotiate situations of greater or lesser choice, and some of their emotional reactions may derive directly from the way they handle choice (or the lack of it). In general, the everyday has a character where choice is always open to subversion, simply because of the rather uncontrolled and 'open' nature of the everyday domain, where whatever you are doing is always prone to interruption or interference from other surrounding activities. Special music environments are generally ones where control is increased, and efforts are made to reduce interruption or interference to a practical minimum. That is what makes them 'non-everyday'.

Implications for emotion. Lack of choice tends to generate negative emotions as a response to the thwarting of goals or values.

Proposition 4: everyday musical emotions include a significant proportion of negative emotions such as irritation, disapproval, and dislike

One of the repeated findings of the literature is that, overall, people are surprisingly tolerant of music that they have not chosen, and are often positively disposed towards it. This suggests an overall positive attitude to music among people who hear it, and may also indicate that those who choose music for playing in public places are often doing so with an informed intention to increase the positivity or enjoyment of the public (i.e. they accurately judge the music that the majority of people will appreciate).

For instance, in the North et al (2004) study with 346 UK participants aged 18–78, the most frequently chosen response for music that participants had not chosen to hear was 'it helped to create the right atmosphere' (32 per cent) followed closely by 'I enjoyed it' (29 per cent). Similarly, in the Sloboda et al study (2001), positive mood changes as a result of music significantly outnumbered negative mood changes, and this was true even when the music was not chosen, although the mean degree of change was less in such cases.

On the other hand, most studies indicate a number of cases where the emotional reactions are not positive. In the North et al study, around 27 per cent of the responses to unchosen music were negative (e.g. 'it

annoyed me', 'it hindered my attempts to do what I was trying to do'). Negative reactions were most typical when the participant was trying to undertake demanding intellectual work. Presumably the music broke their concentration.

A small but vocal minority experiences very extreme negative emotions to music in public places, to such an extent that they have made their dislike of it into a campaigning issue. There is an organization called 'Pipedown' dedicated to banning all music in public places (see DeNora, 2003, and http://www.pipedown.info/). Sloboda (1999/2005) analysed written responses from a self-selected UK
p. 499 sample to the open ↳ question 'please could you tell us all about you and music' and discovered that the demographic group most likely to volunteer strong negative reactions to music in public places were males over the age of 40. It was hypothesized that men of this age, being at the height of their earning power and associated social status, would be most used to being able to exercise control and choice in their lives, and therefore most negatively emotionally affected when such choice was thwarted.

It should not be assumed that all chosen music elicits positive emotions. Sometimes people choose music to encourage or augment negative emotions such as grief or anger. However, it would be safe to suggest that the frequency of negative emotions to chosen music is considerably lower than to that of unchosen music—a suggestion supported by the findings of Sloboda et al (2001) that chosen music is on average associated with significantly greater levels of positive emotional change than unchosen music.

18.2.5 Nature of transmission

Most music in industrialized cultures is now recorded music. Many cultures are characterized by a paucity of live music. In the ESM study of Juslin et al (2008), only 7 per cent of the musical emotion episodes during a two-week period involved live music. Live music is increasingly heard only in specialized controlled (and thus non-everyday) environments. Probably the only serious example of live everyday music would be the street musician (busker). The consequence of the domination of recorded music is that the origins and mode of production of the music are de-emphasized or hidden. It is easy, even typical, for a listener not to know anything about the composer, performer, or mediator of the music experience. The archetype of this is the 'hidden' background music found in shops, airports, and malls. You do not know who made the music, or who decided to impose it on the situation, or why, and you do not have easy means of finding out. This is rarely the case in 'non-everyday music', where the choice of the music is explained and articulated (e.g. through programme notes) and where the identity of those who produced the music is a central aspect of what it is that listeners are expected to know.

Implications for emotion. Everyday emotions to music are less likely to contain those 'social' emotions that rely on in-depth knowledge about the person producing the music (e.g. admiration, envy, empathy).

Proposition 5: everyday emotions in music are more self-referring (e.g. cheerful, anxious) than other-referring (e.g. proud of, approving of)

Research evaluation. Juslin and Laukka (2004) provide a list of felt emotions to music, in order of frequency of occurrence (reproduced here in Table 18.1). The first other-referring emotion ('admiration') appears seventeenth in the list. 'Happy', 'relaxed', and 'calm' are the three most cited emotions. A similar pattern
p. 500 was shown in Laukka (2007; see also Chapter 22, this volume). ↳

Table 18.1 Relative frequency of felt emotions in response to music, as estimated by listeners in a questionnaire study by Juslin and Laukka (2004)

1. Happy	23. Empathic
2. Relaxed	24. Proud
3. Calm	25. Spiritual
4. Moved	26. Curious
5. Nostalgic	27. Relieved
6. Pleasurable	28. Bored
7. Loving	29. Indifferent
8. Sad	30. Frustrated
9. Longing	31. Tense
10. Tender	32. Disappointed
11. Amused	33. Surprised
12. Hopeful	34. Honored
13. Enchanted	35. Regretful
14. Expectant	36. Contemptuous
15. Solemn	37. Confused
16. Interested	38. Anxious
17. Admiring	39. Afraid
18. Angry	40. Jealous
19. Ecstatic	41. Disgusted
20. Lonely	42. Guilty
21. Content	43. Shameful
22. Desiring	44. Humiliated

Note: the emotions are listed from the most commonly experienced to the least commonly experienced.

18.2.6 Centrality of music to the experience, and the salience of the context

'Special' contexts for music engagement are those that tend to focus maximum attention on the music itself, and minimize other concerns. Music comes centre stage, and the aim is almost to make the context fade away into the background (Small, 1998). Everyday uses of music tend to be characterized by a much stronger role for the context or the accompanying activity. If you use music while engaging in some activity, such as exercising or working, you are not, thereby, elevating the music above the non-musical activity. The non-musical task still 'drives' the situation, in that the non-musical goals ↳ remain to be achieved. Even if
p. 501 music is used to distract consciousness from a boring or routine task, the user still needs to maintain whatever level of attention and control is needed to complete the task.

Implications for emotion. With a strong 'balance of attention' outside the music, emotions are likely to be less dependent on the music itself than in specialized musical settings. This could also mean that such emotions are going to show even more inter-individual variation than in more controlled settings (because the meaning of the context, or the music-context interaction, is more likely to be different for different people).

Proposition 6: everyday emotion to music reflects and is influenced by the personal emotional meaning of the non-musical context

Research evaluation. The non-musical context can impact on emotional response in at least two separate ways. The first source of influence is the current non-musical context, both internal and external: what is actually going on (including what has recently happened and what may happen in the immediate future) at the time the music is heard. But a second, and sometimes strong, source of influence is through memories of non-musical contexts that are triggered by, and associated with, the musical piece itself. So, when a person hears a particular piece of music, it may remind them of a time in their life when this piece was central, or it may remind them of a significant person or relationship (Schulkind, Hennis, & Rubin, 1999). Or it may simply remind them of some general cultural association (e.g. organ music signifies churches, classical music signifies high culture and privilege, etc.)

It could be argued that this second source of non-musical influence, which one might call 'personal and cultural associations' is not specific to everyday music. These same associations are also present and operating in the special and non-everyday exposure to music of the concert hall or the 'attentive absorption' in music. Although this is true, the emotional outcomes may be quite different. One aspect of emotional response is the generation of action tendencies (Frijda, 1986). In the context of the everyday, these action tendencies can be immediately translated into actions, which can 'cash in' the emotional energy in some way. So, for instance, if I hear a piece of music in a shop that has negative emotional connotations for me, I can often choose to walk out of the shop, thus removing myself from the source of unwanted emotions (cf. Sloboda 1999/2005). Or, if a piece of Mediterranean music reminds me of a pleasant holiday, I may be more inclined to pick up and buy a bottle of Italian wine (North, Hargreaves, & McKendrick, 1999). In the context of the concert hall, these same emotional tendencies cannot lead to action. In general, specialized music-listening contexts are ones that suppress or defer action tendencies, and that encourage the emotional effects to be noticed, savoured, held, and fed back and integrated into the attentional response to the unfolding musical event. Of course, the contrast is not complete. If concert music rouses enough non-musical associations, one can often find that one's attention is taken away from the music onto non-musical problem solving or rumination. In effect, one can 'walk away from the concert'
p. 502 inside one's head (e.g. Flowers & O'Neill, 2005). ↳ But as a generalization, the specialist music environment is one that suppresses, dampens, or defers action tendencies, whereas the everyday environment is one that enables and facilitates the conversion of action tendencies into immediate action. Some support for this notion comes from Krumhansl's (1997) study, where music listeners in a

decontextualized laboratory environment showed psychophysiological responses similar to those typically found in contexts where emotional responses are suppressed.

The impact of non-musical information on the emotional impact of music has been studied in a variety of ways. For instance, Thompson, Graham, and Russo (2005) showed that the same musical stimulus is rated as more happy when accompanied by visual exposure to a smiling face than to a sad face. Evidence of effects of non-musical context on emotions felt to music has been provided by Cantor and Zillman (1973), Dibben (2004), and Konečni, Wanic, and Brown (2007), using factorial experimental designs.

18.2.7 Nature of the music

Is some music by its very nature 'everyday'? Could an advertising jingle, a chart song, or the signature tune for a TV show be 'everyday music', while a symphony or an opera is not? It is possible that this distinction is partly a distinction between 'high' and 'low' culture, between art music versus vernacular music (DiMaggio, 1987). It is art music that is likely to be presented in specialized non-everyday contexts, to allow a fuller and more contemplative attention to it, whereas vernacular music is designed to rub along with anything else that is happening in the marketplace of experience. It is possible that some negative emotions are due to the evaluation of this kind of mismatch (e.g. people experiencing the playing of art music in elevators as some kind of cultural transgression, as described in Barenboim, 2006). On the other hand, any simplistic identification of the popular with the everyday needs to be avoided. Popular music is, for many people, the locus of serious 'connoisseurship' that is every bit as specialist as the attending given by some listeners to classical music (Frith, 1996).

In general, art music tends towards length and complexity (a symphony can last an hour, an opera can last three hours), whereas vernacular music tends to brevity and simplicity (the standard popular track or song lasts three minutes; musical 'signatures' such as theme-tunes can last for much less time than this—a few seconds, e.g. the 'start up' tune on Microsoft Windows, which lasts around three seconds). These are by no means rigid distinctions. Classical art music can be made more 'everyday' by cutting it up into shorter segments (as happens on some 'populist' classical music radio stations—probably in part explaining the ferocious hostility to this practice expressed by some classical music aficionados). On the other side, there are some examples of what might be broadly termed popular music because of some shared stylistic features, which are long, complex, or both (such as the contemporary sub-genre math rock, or the work of musicians such as Mike Oldfield). But in a sense these are exceptions that confirm the rule, and what makes them interesting and controversial is precisely that they do not conform to the norm.

Implications for emotion. One of the functions of vernacular culture is to provide easily recognized symbols, and these symbols can have a clear emotional element, because ↳ they may need to get across their symbolic meaning in noisy and diverse situations. This suggests that the more subtle, aesthetically tinged emotions may have lesser import.

p. 503

Proposition 7: everyday emotional responses to music prioritize basic rather than complex emotions

Research evaluation. For obvious reasons, musical experiences in everyday life will tend to be more short lived than in specialized music-listening contexts. Everyday experience is full of 'snatched moments' where we might overhear a few seconds of a musical piece, as we move past a particular location.

There is considerable evidence that very short musical extracts (even as short as one second) are capable of communicating clear emotional signals, about which there is little inter-rater disagreement (e.g. Bigand, Filipic, & Lalitte, 2005; Watt & Ash, 1998). This suggests that such emotions may be 'read off' the musical surface, rather than through deep structural analysis. Similarly, such surface characteristics might directly

influence brain pathways to change emotional state, without any need for close attention to musical symbols (see Chapter 5, this volume).

Everyday music might be considered to be that music whose emotional message is primarily designed to be one that can be read off the surface. Those musical forms that are primarily designed for everyday use (e.g. signature themes for TV programmes) need to be designed for instant recognition and instant response in complex social environments where there are competing attentional demands. Art music also has 'surface', and therefore it is possible, if one's attention is not fully on it, to respond to it entirely in terms of its surface characteristics. It is exactly in such everyday situations as overhearing a snatch of art music in an elevator that such 'surface hearing' is most likely.

Obviously, people experience complex emotions in everyday life. What is being suggested here is that the complexity is more likely to be sourced through the non-musical aspects of the situation than through the musical. If a piece of music reminds me of a person with whom I have a problematic and unresolved relationship, I may well experience complex emotions, but these emotions are not engendered by a nuanced engagement with the musical elements, but a nuanced engagement with cognitions about the person that the music reminds me of. For instance, nostalgic rumination on past events and relationships is one key function of music noted in a variety of studies (e.g. Sloboda, 1999/2005).

Within the set of basic emotions, it is also possible to question whether each basic emotion is as likely to occur as any other. There is evidence that music engenders some basic emotions more easily than others. For instance, Zentner, Grandjean, and Scherer (2008) found that people were 16 times more likely to report feeling happy to music than they were to report feeling angry (p. 504, Table 2).

18.2.8 Method of investigation

The term 'everyday' is sometimes used to refer to research strategy, and the prioritizing of 'ecological
p. 504 validity'. Everyday research studies are those that tend to involve ↳ field rather than laboratory situations, and often involve self-report and other 'rich' interpretative user-driven forms of data (see Chapter 8, this volume, for a more detailed discussion of self-report). This means that the researcher often is unable, or unwilling, to impose control methodologies (e.g. factorial experimental design) on a situation, thus limiting the degree of rigorous theory testing possible (see Chapter 25, this volume, for a defence of experimental approaches). Another feature of the everyday methodology is that intrusive measurement techniques (e.g. psychophysiological monitoring; Chapter 11, this volume) are not generally used in this work (although there is no reason in principle why not—miniaturization of means of recording heart rate, skin conductance, and other relevant physiological measures means that participants in research may carry monitoring equipment in their pockets as they go about their everyday lives; e.g. Steptoe, Cropley, & Joekes, 2000).

Implications for emotion. Preferred methods for assessing emotional response are post hoc and interview or questionnaire based.

Proposition 8: everyday emotions to music are elicited by retrospective self-report

Research evaluation. Two factors are responsible for restricting almost all data gathering on everyday emotions to self-report. The first of these is technical: music researchers have in general not found ways to directly observe or record physiological aspects of emotional response whilst leaving participants complete freedom to go about their daily affairs. There is no reason why future research should not remedy this. The second of these is more substantive—and relates to the difficulty of identifying emotion from physiological or observational data without the self-report of the participant as an interpretational guide. You cannot tell which emotion a person is feeling just from physiological measures alone (Scherer & Zentner, 2001).

The wish to leave participants maximum freedom has also restricted the amount of work using experimental paradigms, which means, in particular, that causal inferences are hard to make. However, some researchers have found means of imposing some experimental control on situations that still leave the participants the freedom of manoeuvre typical of everyday situations. These means include simulation studies, where key elements of the real-life situation are recreated in the laboratory (e.g. studies of driving behaviour with driving simulators; Brodsky, 2002). They also include studies in real-life situations where the experimenter exerts some degree of control (e.g. altering the musical background in real-life settings such as shops, canteens, on-hold music, and gyms; see North & Hargreaves, 2009). In such situations, elements of the stimulus fall under experimenter control, but there are no prescriptions for participant behaviour additional to those already present in the real-life situation. These types of methods would seem readily adaptable to the experimental study of everyday emotional responses to music.

The main dimensions on which studies of everyday emotions vary relate to (a) the tools used to elicit self-report (free versus categorical), and (b) the time delay between event and response. In free response,
p. 505 respondents are asked to describe their ↳ emotional reactions in their own words (e.g. Batt-Rawden & DeNora, 2005; DeNora, 2000; Sloboda, 1999/2005; see also Chapter 22, this volume). In categorized response, respondents are asked to tick or rate researcher-specified categories and dimensions (e.g. Juslin & Laukka, 2004; North et al, 2004; Sloboda et al, 2001). Both alternatives have advantages and present problems. Free response encourages respondents to think more deeply about their experience, and is more motivating. However when individuals are left free to choose their own words, then differences in vocabulary and culture make it difficult to compare data across individuals, let alone across studies (Scherer, Wranik, Sangsue, Tran, & Scherer, 2004). Forced-choice judgements provide advantages for the researcher in terms of analytic ease and cross-individual comparisons. However, when individuals select emotion labels from a predetermined list, the danger is that the word chosen does not reflect their true response so much as a 'nearest fit' or some judgement of what would seem the 'appropriate' label to pick (as a result of perceived emotional character of the music, rather than their own experience; or as a result of demand characteristics of the study, see Chapter 10, this volume).

The main threat to the validity and reliability of data gathered in everyday situations is the vulnerability of self-reports to bias (see Ericsson & Simon, 1980). When relating to emotion, these biases are likely to include forgetting or conflating of routine and low-intensity experiences, and processes of reinterpretation of high-intensity experience in the light of post-experience events and current psychological state (Levine & Safer, 2002). Such biases are likely to be least pronounced where data is gathered as close in time to the event concerned as possible. The most 'proximal' is some form of participant observation where the researcher is actually in the presence of the research participant (e.g. accompanying them on a shopping trip, or eliciting concurrent commentary; e.g. De Nora, 2000).

Next in proximity come *experience-sampling methodologies* (ESM), when participants are contacted electronically (e.g. mobile phone) while going about their daily lives and asked to report on a concurrent or recent event (North et al, 2004; Juslin et al, 2008). This typically reduces average delay between event and report to a few hours at most, and minutes at best. This method was pioneered by Cziksentmihalyi and colleagues (e.g. Csikszentmihalyi & Lefevre, 1989) and introduced to music study by Sloboda, O'Neill, and Ivaldi (2001). A recent review of the research applications of ESM is given by Hektner, Schmidt, and Csikzentmihalyi (2007).

It remains the case, however, that a very substantial part of the literature on this topic derives from 'one time' encounters with participants, through questionnaires or interviews that integrate memory-based material over a significant time span, which can vary from the immediately preceding time span (e.g. 'Can you tell me about yesterday?—DeNora, 2000) through targeted distant times (e.g. 'the first 10 years of life'—Sloboda, 1989/2005), to more unspecific generalized approaches ('Tell me about the role of music in

your life'—Hays & Minichiello, 2005; Sloboda, 1999/2005). In expanding the time span in this way, research can quite significantly limit reliability, validity, and precision of the data so collected.

Although careful methodological decisions can raise the reliability and validity of the data collected on
p. 506 emotional responses to everyday musical experiences, it is difficult ↳ to test strong causal theories about the relationship of music to emotion through such work, since there is little or no opportunity for a researcher to manipulate independent variables in a controlled fashion. This does not mean that research into everyday music is free of serious attempts at generalization. Far from it, as I hope the material reviewed in this chapter shows. What it does mean is that the work of testing theories of specific psychological mechanisms through which emotions are engendered remains at a quite preliminary stage (see Juslin & Västfjäll, 2008, for a critical evaluation of this area).

18.2.9 Intellectual stance of writer/researcher

In general, 'music in everyday life' seems to be an emblem for an anti-elitist approach, which wishes to explore the full range of ways in which people engage with music in their lives, rather than starting from some premise of how people 'should' engage with music. Such an approach takes particular care not to start from the views of musicians and musical elites (composers, performers, critics, broadcasters). Rather, it starts from the point of view of the consumer. It also reflects an approach that places as much interest in activities where music plays a minor or supporting role, as those where music is the 'main act'.

Implications for emotion. The everyday approach sits somewhat lightly to any a priori attempt to predict emotional response from the nature of the musical materials. It will take emotion to arise from a materials-listener-context complex in which the composer/performer and the musical work have no privileged position.

Proposition 9: everyday emotions to music are listener focused rather than focused on the musical work

Research evaluation. When a music-emotion researcher engages with a participant, it is very hard to avoid giving the impression to the participant that you are particularly interested in their responses *to* the music. So questions such as 'How did the music make you feel?', and 'What is it about this music that you like?' are the stock in trade of the music-emotion researcher. There is, for that reason, a strong reason to believe that respondents will try, wherever possible, to reference their emotional responses to the musical object, and privilege such response over others.

In a laboratory study of music listening, Waterman (1996) classified free verbal descriptions of moments in deliberate focused music listening when the participants 'felt something'. Only two of the 13 classifications were not pointing to characteristics of the musical work. These two were sensual/physical reactions (e.g. 'I felt a lump in my throat') and association (e.g. 'It reminded me of when…'). Even among non-musically trained respondents, only some 17 per cent of responses fell into these two categories. The remaining 83 per cent referenced the content of the stimulus in some way (e.g. 'I noticed the change in mood', 'I felt it because it got louder', 'The music is cheap').

However, like the vast majority of research situations, the Waterman experiment was designed to make
p. 507 music 'centre stage' in the participant's awareness, recreating ↳ in the laboratory that 'special' and 'non-everyday' context of the concert hall where hushed and reverent attention is being given to the music and where one monitors selfconsciously the effect that the music is having on the self. Everyday uses of music are not generally like this. They are only like this in those somewhat rare situations when the listener's attention is predominantly on the music and his or her reactions to it, and not on the external context (or non-musical cognitions, memories, associations).

Those of us who research and write about music tend to do so because music is of deep interest to us—our own experience of it is rich, complex, and necessarily quite explicit. We may forget that there are some people, possibly many people, for whom talking and thinking precisely about their musical experiences may be a rare and unpractised activity. Even when asked to focus their attention on specific music-listening experiences by a researcher, they may have rather little authentic to say! In a recent study by Greasley and Lamont (2006), participants of different reported levels of engagement with music were intensively interviewed about their uses of and reactions to music in their everyday lives. According to the authors, less engaged participants often found it more difficult to articulate why they liked music ('It's got me annoyed now, 'cause I can't explain why I like it, but I just do...there's very few songs I could explain why I like it').

In the study by Sloboda (1999/2005), participants were asked to write in their own words about 'music and you'. It was very clear that the 'you' half of the pair received much more elaboration than the 'music' half. Few people talked about specific pieces, or their understanding of musical content and style. Many responses were notable for failing to reference a single style of music (e.g. pop, classical), far less an individual piece. But all respondents wrote, sometimes at great length, about the contexts in which they listened to music, and the personal functions that music listening fulfilled. A typical statement offered was: 'On arrival home from work, music lifts the stress of work: it has an immediate healing effect.' The implication of this statement is that the person concerned had long ago settled the issue of *what* music to listen to on arrival home from work. Everything was set up, and he or she could simply enjoy the habitual effects of this, much as the effects of a warm bath, without too much focused cognition on the what and how.

On the other hand, there is some evidence that encouraging people to focus on their emotional responses can actually help to bring music's function into explicit awareness for participants, thus enhancing their ability to reflect on and discuss it, and possibly use it more strategically in their everyday lives in the future (e.g. Batt-Rawden & DeNora, 2005; see Chapter 7, this volume). But even then, it is possible that the greater reflexivity achieved relates not so much to a more detailed attention to the musical content as to a more detailed attention to one's own psychological states.

Is there any way of researching everyday emotional impact of music without telling participants that this is what you are researching? It is hard to see how unless one embeds this in a wider study of everyday emotions, where music just happens to crop up as one of a whole variety of external stimuli: or where the emotional response is measured through non-verbal means (e.g. physiological monitoring). There remain
p. 508 significant challenges ahead for music researchers that have by and large not been ↳ addressed in the methodological approaches outlined in Section III of this handbook, where most of the approaches involve high levels of researcher-induced attention to the details of the musical experience.

18.2.10 Contextual specificity of judgement obtained

There are many studies that ask people about their music preferences (see Konečni, 1982; and Chapters 24 and 25, this volume). These would appear to tap the enduring emotional value of particular pieces of music. However, where these preferences are generalized ('I like style x more than y'), these seem to take the studies out of the realm of everyday life to some Platonic sphere of comparative aesthetic values. Studies of preference only become 'everyday' when preferences are linked to contexts (e.g. 'I like style x to work to, exercise to, wake up to in the morning'). Indeed, it could be argued that there is always a cultural 'frame' for comparisons between different pieces of music; it is simply that in some contexts this frame is implicit and unstated. The everyday approach is to assume that music is functional for the individual's goal achievement. There may be no such thing as 'listening to music for its own sake' even when that listening is solitary and self-referring. There is always a social or cultural outcome, even if only in the imagination. If this is the correct way to look at music engagement, then it should be possible, through sufficient probing or deconstruction, to uncover a specific functional explanation behind any statement of generalized liking or preference. Such general statements will simply be shorthand for an emotional orientation towards a piece of music, or a genre, which reflects the emotional outcomes of previous specific encounters with that music that achieved specific functional outcomes for that person.

Implications for emotion: The functional approach highlights emotions relevant to goal achievement (including mood regulation), rather than emotions relating to enduring traits or attitudes.

Proposition 10: everyday emotions to music arise from transient aspects of goal achievement with which the music becomes associated, rather than from stable evaluative attitudes to the music

Research evaluation. Sloboda et al (2009) reviewed research studies on music listening by choice (as opposed to involuntary exposure). They organized their review by the functional niche that the music is chosen to be part of. They identified five main everyday niches in the research literature. These are (a) travel (e.g. driving a car, walking, using public transport); (b) physical work (everyday routines like washing, cleaning, cooking, and other forms of manual labour); (c) brain work (e.g. private study, reading, writing, and other forms of thinking); (d) body work (e.g. exercise, yoga, relaxation, pain management); and (e) emotional work (e.g. mood management, reminiscence, presentation of identity).

In reviewing the research literature, Sloboda et al identified four recurring functions of self-chosen music
p. 509 use. *Distraction* is a way of engaging unallocated attention ↳ and reducing boredom (as evidenced in studies on pain management—e.g. Mitchell, MacDonald, Knussen, & Serpell, 2007). *Energizing* is a means of maintaining arousal and task attention (as evidenced by research on driving—e.g. Cummings, Koepsell, Moffat, & Rivara, 2001). In *entrainment*, the task movements are timed to coincide with the rhythmic pulses of the music, giving the task or activity elements of a dance (shown to be a significant factor in choice of music to accompany physical exercise—e.g. Belcher & DeNora, 1999). Finally, *meaning enhancement* is where the music draws out and adds to the significance of the task or activity in some way (as in the use of music to enhance personal reminiscence—e.g. Greasley & Lamont, 2006). A related classificatory scheme has been applied to music use in adolescents by Saarikallio and Erkkila (2007).

In many of the functional niches for self-chosen music, emotions are not the primary intended functional outcome. Rather, outcomes such as task completion are primary (e.g. getting the housework done). However, emotions and affective states in general can be secondary or intermediate outcomes. If I find housework boring and demotivating, then I may be able to get through the housework more successfully if I use music to help me feel more cheerful. There is little research evidence on how these 'secondary' emotions work.

However, the fifth functional niche identified by Sloboda et al (mood management, reminiscence, presentation of identity) is more directly concerned with the achievement of desired emotional outcomes as a primary goal. Evidence for deliberate and self-conscious use of music to manage (or regulate) mood comes from a range of qualitative studies, where respondents are asked to explain their music use in an intensive way (e.g. Batt Rawden & DeNora, 2005; DeNora, 2000; Sloboda, 1999/2005). There is clear evidence that the ability to use music in this way is subject to individual differences. Women generally give more detailed and articulate accounts of their regulatory strategies than men (North, Hargreaves, & O'Neill, 2000), and people who have a low level of engagement with music (as evidenced by their self-rated subjective importance of music-listening) appear less aware of the range of emotional functions that music can fulfil than more engaged listeners (Greasley & Lamont, 2006). There is evidence that self-aware use of music for mood regulation can be enhanced through therapeutic or educational intervention (Batt-Rawden & DeNora, 2005), although the conditions under which this may best take place have not yet been systematically investigated.

There also exists a broader general psychological literature on mood regulation, which studies the use made by people of a variety of strategies and tactics to create, maintain, enhance, or change a mood or emotion in an intended direction (Parkinson, Totterdell, Briner, & Richards, 1996). Music is only one of many devices by which people attempt to regulate their mood (they also include eating, exercise, watching TV, etc.). The detailed research on everyday uses of music is by and large not closely informed by the wider literature on mood regulation, and as a result there is little comparative analysis of the specific characteristics and potentials of music as opposed to other available (and effective) mood-regulation tactics (Van-Goethem, 2008).

The line of argument being pursued is that everyday emotions to music rarely if ever arise out of a
p. 510 decontextualized aesthetic relationship to the music as object. ↳ In other words, it is difficult to find instances in everyday music listening where you can convincingly account for an emotional response purely on the basis that the listener *likes* the music in question, regardless of any psychological outcomes that the music might be allowing the listener to achieve. One well-researched factor in accounting for emotional attachments to music is identity: that specific pieces or genres of music reflect and communicate, to the listener and to those in his or her social world, something about who he or she is, and about values (see, for instance, MacDonald, Hargeaves, & Miell, 2002). In this context, a strong positive emotional response to a particular piece of identity-confirming music may arise from a sense of pride, belonging, resistance against a common foe, personal honour or value, which the identity confers, and that the music reminds the listener of. For that reason, the same piece of music should always simultaneously be capable of engendering emotions deriving from exclusion, alienation, indifference, or disaffection in those whose identity is not associated with the music in question.

18.3 Concluding remarks

Table 18.2 summarizes the issues that this chapter has reviewed. The dimensions on which everyday music has been characterized fall into three main groups. The first group (propositions 1–3) concern general qualities of the emotional experience. The second group (propositions 4–7) concern the specific emotional content, and the third group (propositions 8–10) concern the context in which the emotions are
p. 511 experienced and researched. In each case, everyday music has been contrasted, either implicitly or ↳ explicitly, to the 'non-everyday' or 'special' reception of music, of which the experiences of an attentive and informed audience of a classical symphony concert might be considered a paradigm. The table summarizes these constrasts in the columns headed 'Everyday' and 'Non-everyday'.

Table 18.2 Summary of emotions in hearing music

Theme	Topic	Everyday	Non-everyday
Quality	1.intensity	low	high
	2. memorability	low	high
	3. integration	low	high
Content	4. valence	higher negativity	lower negativity
	5. reference	self	other
	6. focus	external to music	internal to music
	7. level	basic	complex
Context	8. elicitation	mainly self-report	broad range of methods
	9. referent	listener	producer
	10. attitude	goal achievement	aesthetic

In relation to quality of the experience, everyday experiences are low on intensity, memorability, and integration; whereas the non-everyday experiences are, on average, higher in all these respects. In relation to content, everyday experiences involve basic-level self-referential emotions, with a focus on factors external to the music, and a significant proportion of negative reactions; whereas non-everyday experiences tend towards more complex, broadly positive, and other-referenced emotions drawing on the music itself. The context for everyday experience is one focused on the goal achievement of the listener as elicited through discourse; whereas the non-everyday context focuses on aesthetic reactions to the work and those who produced it, as elicited through a range of behavioural and psychophysiological measures.

For most of its short life, the psychological study of emotional responses to music has focused primarily on the non-everyday. Its methods, theories, and base assumptions have been deeply influenced by this orientation. Historians and sociologists of the subject can profitably analyse why this might have come about—in relation to the institutions, professions, and key individuals which have shaped the discipline. But in general, there seems to be a strong cultural tendency to elevate the aesthetic discourse of music over the practical, which runs more strongly for music than for some other domains.

It is instructive, for instance, to compare the way we think about the consumption of music to way we think about the consumption of food. Both music and food have practical and aesthetic components. As for music, some people interested in food (‘gourmets’) are willing to pay substantial sums of money to go to ‘special’ non-everyday places, where food is prepared and served with great thought and care, and everything is done to ensure that full attention is placed on the textural, sensual, and structural properties of the meal. This is a perfectly valid way of consuming food, and one which merits close study. It undoubtedly brings with it a set of emotional responses that are distinctive and interesting. But it would be very strange if food psychologists were to act in ways that implied that they thought that the gourmet experience was the most central or paradigmatic mode of food consumption, and the one which merited central study, relegating the study of everyday food consumption to the margins.

Maybe the difference between food and music is the issue of necessity. If we don't eat we die, and therefore the mundane, goal-oriented (and survival-oriented) aspects of food consumption are clearly central to any psychological consideration of it. Music is not a necessity for individual survival, and so, although it may be recruited for goal-oriented activities, there is nothing to require this. People who want to 'reserve' music for the aesthetic domain are free to do so, and this somewhat elitist impulse seems to have dominated the scholarly study of music.

It is my belief that the role of psychological investigation is to describe and explain what is there, in all its rich complexity. Everyday music listening probably comprises the vast bulk of 'what is there' within
p. 512 contemporary music experience. Describing and ↳ explaining the special is important too, as it helps us to understand the potentials and limits of human capacity. But unless our examination of the ordinary and the exceptional interact and cross-fertilize each other, then an integrated understanding will be hard to achieve.

Recommended further reading

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