

FROM CULTURE CLASH TO CULTURAL CONSONANCE: THE IMPACT OF  
INTERNATIONAL MUSIC EXPOSURE ON THE ATTITUDES, BEHAVIORS, AND  
KNOWLEDGE OF AMERICAN MUSICIANS

By

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The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of cultural sharing on xenophobia. To reduce the violence of cultural clashes that can occur in diverse societies, social scientists must look for new and creative ways to address integration. Communities are tasked with providing resources for supportive mechanisms of social adhesion, without harmfully appropriating the culture of others or forcing assimilation into the dominant mainstream. This research examines the impact of cultural sharing on society, with a specific focus on the impact of exposure to international music on our cultural knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors.

I define cultural sharing or cultural exchange as an act wherein a group or individual exposes elements of their cultural heritage to a group or individual outside of their own social group. As American society becomes increasingly multicultural, what role can the cultural sharing of music play in integrating diverse communities and reducing xenophobic attitudes? I hypothesized that exposure to international culture via interactive musical contact not only reduces xenophobic attitudes, but also widens humanitarian worldviews, and increases integrative behaviors. I interviewed a variety of

American musicians and dancers who tour and study internationally, with the intent of documenting the impact of this form of cultural sharing. I found that international music exposure can increase empathy across borders and has a positive impact on the integrative behaviors and knowledge of American musicians from an array of backgrounds. I use this research to suggest new directions for community music therapy research.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Musicians, actors — it's almost by disposition...We deal with people of all colors and all races and we travel to different countries all the time to perform, so we're going to have a more global view and more inclusive view. —John Legend, *Morning Edition* Interview, Feb. 3, 2017, NPR.

This study examines the impact of cultural sharing on xenophobia. The U.S. is a multicultural society whose constitution claims equal rights for all. Yet, the “melting pot” metaphor of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century has long been seen as a myth of naivety (Hirschman, 1983). Xenophobia is a problem in the United States, increasingly evidenced by public cultural clashes, hate crimes, and the partisan rhetoric and politicization of immigration policy (Shear & Cooper, 2017). Our nation is becoming increasingly diverse, and if research and resources are not allocated to peaceful integration, the U.S. risks social upheaval and inter-group tension that could lead to violence and intensified national disunity (Zong, & Batalova, 2016). The theorist, Emile Durkheim, sometimes referred to as the father of sociology, wrote and lectured on the difficulty of holding together an increasingly diverse society during increased immigration in the 1800’s (Allan, 2011). Durkheim feared that multiculturalism would be the enemy of social adhesion, arguing that society hinged on commonalities and cultural similarities. Since Durkheim’s day, globalization, neocolonialism, war, and technology have only increased the diversity of most nations, creating a need for multidisciplinary research on cohesive integration.

### **Purpose of the Study**

Although it is difficult to accurately measure the number of recent immigrants and refugees in the United States due to census language barriers and the varying legal resident statuses of this population (Jensen, Bhaskar, and Scopilliti, 2010), the estimated immigrant population in 2014 was 42.4 million, or 13.3 percent of the

country's population (Zong and Batalova, 2016). While individuals and families relocate to the United States for a multitude of reasons, much immigration comes in the form of refugees, immigrants who are fleeing violence in their native country. The United States is among the top ten countries in the world receiving refugees (CDC, 2012). The U.S. accepts an average of about 70,000 refugees a year (Sengupta, 2016). However, rather than embracing and welcoming immigrants and refugees, many Americans are fearful of their foreign-born neighbors. Attitudes of racism combined with a sense of competition for employment resources, suspicion following the 9/11 terrorist attacks of 2001, and American politician's politicization of the issue of immigration has led to an increase in hate crimes against immigrants in the United States (The Leadership Conference, 2017).

Some have argued that the answer to cultural conflict is to decrease diversity by reducing integration through stricter border enforcement, border walls, and legislation that reduces the already limited quantity of who and how many immigrants and refugees can relocate to the United States. This approach is demonstrated in recent U.S. federal policy that places traveling restrictions on six Muslim-majority countries, as well as U.S. President Donald Trump's calls for the construction of a border wall separating the United States from Mexico (Jenkins, 2017) and the Trump administration's decision to end the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) (Šehović, 2018). However, the vastness of the nation's borders, wealth of its resources, and its historical mythos as a proud multicultural and tolerant country built by immigrants make these options impractical and ethically dubious (Huber, 2016). How could legislators determine who should be let into our borders and who should be kept out without blatantly

discriminating against specific ethnicities, religions, and cultures, and contradicting the foundational quintessence of the United States Constitution? This paper explores an approach counter to the one above and suggests that to encourage social cohesion and reduce xenophobic prejudice, social scientists need to research innovative means of assisting multicultural integration.

Communities are in need of supportive mechanisms of social adhesion that are sensitive to the harms of cultural appropriation and forced cultural assimilation into the dominant mainstream (Rodriquez, 2006; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009; Tatum, 2003). Honoring the distinctive differences of various cultures while also encouraging diverse groups to share and celebrate each other's assets and to unite over both our common bonds and the strength in our differences is a difficult task. Even amongst those who advocate for integration and cultural exchange, the methods of supporting social cohesion are the source of much debate (Rogers, 2006). This study examines the impact of cultural sharing on society, with a specific focus on music's impact on prejudice. I define cultural sharing or cultural exchange here as an act wherein a group or individual exposes elements of their cultural heritage to a group or individual outside of their own social group. I use Yakushko's (2009) definition of xenophobia as a socially observable prejudice stemming from a set of attitudes based on fear, dislike, or hatred of foreign individuals or groups. As American society becomes increasingly multicultural, what role can music play, as a means of cultural exchange, in integrating diverse communities and reducing xenophobic attitudes?

I will interview individuals who have received an atypically high dosage of international cultural contact: a variety of American folk musicians who tour

internationally. The intention of these interviews is to document and understand this form of cultural contact's impact on each musician's worldview. These interviews will examine the knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors of Americans who have been heavily exposed to international music performance. I hypothesize that exposure to international culture via musical performance increases one's knowledge of the world outside their own country, reduces attitudes of xenophobia, and increases behaviors that lead to integration such as in-group/out-group friendship.

### **Significance of the Study**

#### **Contact Theory**

This study is based in Intergroup Contact Theory, an approach that stems from G. W. Allport's (1954) hypothesis that contact between conflicting "in" and "out" groups can reduce prejudice amongst those groups. This hypothesis was radically presented during Jim Crow segregation in the United States, at a time when many White Americans favored segregation or slow incremental integration (Pettigrew, & Tropp, 2005). Allport's hypothesis offered social scientists an argument for rapid integration and reduced discrimination, suggesting that racism could be reduced through a process as simple as intergroup interaction. Idyllic in theory, in practice cultural contact is easier said than done. In some isolated areas, for instance, U.S.-born citizens may have little or no opportunity to interact with immigrants. In highly segregated communities, there is a lack of motivation for inter-group fellowship, even if individuals regularly come into formal or informal contact. Contact Theory has faced valid criticism, as research has indicated that while positive intergroup contact creates a favorable reduction of discriminatory prejudices, negative intergroup contact can achieve the opposite,

enhancing prejudiced assumptions (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005; Gaines & Reed, 1995).

Intergroup contact theory is best applied in positive contexts that respect the dignity and paradigm of the out-group while avoiding threatening the in-group, which can sometimes be difficult to manifest in real-world instances of segregation or discrimination. This leaves social scientists seeking contexts in which favorable intergroup contact can occur. This research study applies Intergroup Contact Theory to the issue of xenophobia and suggests that one such favorable real-world context may exist in the form of international music exposure (IME). Cultural exchange through music and dance is an example of a positive interaction that might create a context in which intergroup contact is situated in a favorable setting for best outcomes.

### **Music Therapy**

There is a growing body of research dedicated to music's ability to heal, much of which is based in the epidemiological perspective of public health. Positive clinical effects from music therapy have been seen in research on patients with dementia, Alzheimer's, PTSD, Depression, and Anxiety, among other ailments (Jeon, Kim, & Yoon, 2009; Bonde, 2011). It is not unusual for social scientists and psychologists to borrow from, adapt, and build on public health research to develop prevention science-based solutions for community problems (Coie, et. al, 1993). Yet, little research has been done to show the impact of music and performance on culture at large. Music therapy has been used in schools to reinforce curriculum (Schwantes, M., 2009), and has even become increasingly popular as an outlet for research dissemination (Ledger & Edwards, 2011). If music therapy can be effective when applied in a clinical setting for individual health problems, and in an educational setting to improve comprehension and

reduce learning problems, can it also be effective in a social setting to address social problems such as xenophobia?

Danish psychologist Lars Ole Bonde (2011) describes community music therapy through a “Health Musicing” model based on four goals, 1) developing communities and values through music, 2) Shaping and sharing musical environments, 3) professional use of music to help individuals, and 4) forming and developing identity through music. Bonde suggests that while music is being effectively applied in the clinical setting by professionals, “in everyday life people use all sorts of music experiences in an affirmative and health promoting way: to confirm values, to mirror aspects of identity, to regulate mood and well-being, to empower and define relationship, to access non-ordinary states of consciousness or spirituality, etc.” He also suggests that “Both corrective and affirmative experiences can be promoted in therapy as well as in everyday life” (Bonde, 2011, p. 4).

The United States was the first country to establish music therapy as a recognized profession through the founding of a university training program and national organization in the 1940s and 1950s. (Aigen, 2012). The field grew as antidotal evidence supporting the strength of music therapy emerged from WWII hospitals where veterans were being treated for physical and emotional injuries from war (Aigen, 2012; Ansdell, 2002). Gary Ansdell (2002), writes that as music therapy has expanded, it has begun to spread into two categories, each addressing a separate issue. Music Therapy tends to focus on the individual, and Community Music tends to focus on the social. Ansdell writes that Community Music became prominent in the 1960s and 1970s as an ideologically radicalized international counterculture movement pushed for equal rights

and dissolved the boundary between “high” and “low brow” music. Community Music study has led to research into music’s effect on social change (Sharpe, 2008).

Community Music can be used to lift up marginalized or minority voices through participatory music sharing to raise awareness through political song, and focuses on the togetherness of a group or “community” (Ansdell, 2002). Community Music Therapy often takes place outside of clinical settings.

“Wicked problems” are those deemed so complex and entangled that they are nearly impossible to solve and difficult to define (Weber & Khademian, 2008). These include large social problems like poverty, inequality, and prejudice. Solutions to these wicked problems are difficult to agree on, hard to enforce, and can sometimes lead to unforeseen additional problems. Despite the various applications of music therapy research mentioned above, very few studies have been done on the application of music therapy on wicked community problems such as integration. Thus, while my study is grounded in the conclusion of public health researchers that music can have a powerful effect on human emotion and well-being, I take this concept one step further with the ecological argument that a mechanism that works on an individual may also have an impact on an entire community, region, or country.

### **Justification for the Study**

As the United States becomes increasingly diverse, our government, municipalities, and communities must find ways to integrate peacefully without forced assimilation or violence. This study may provide evidence that the arts and cultural sharing mechanisms such as live performance are one powerful way to encourage peace, tolerance, and acceptance in a multicultural community. If so, it is my hope that this study could be built upon by other researchers and used by community leaders,

policy makers, arts programs, and performers to encourage funding and other resources for community music programs that celebrate diversity. If this study finds that contact with international cultural performance reduces xenophobia and strengthens cross-national empathy and humanitarian action, then this research may be built upon and utilized to procure resources for community arts programs and public policy that supports the arts. If the findings here do not support this hypothesis, then I hope that this study will provide a platform for further research that can locate the true source of these shifting attitudes and behaviors. This is a pragmatic time in the history of American domestic policy to conduct such research, as the current President of the United States campaigned and was elected on an anti-immigrant platform and has recently proposed a federal budget that would eliminate both the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, which serve as the life sources of many United States arts and cultural programs (Bolton, 2017).

This analysis will act as a pilot study to examine several American musicians from several different bands that have toured outside of the United States. Each musician interviewed has focused on a different region of the world to allow for generalizable international exposure and to reduce biases that might occur if the study was limited to a single nation outside of the U.S. The initial purposeful sample will consist of one band that has been heavily exposed to Asia, another that has toured extensively in the middle east and includes Syrian, Turkish, and American members, another that hails from Appalachia but has toured to central and Eastern Europe, and an American klezmer and Balkan music group that has traveled in Western Europe and regularly attends Balkan and Klezmer music camps and conferences in the United

States. I've chosen these individuals because compared to average Americans, they have experienced very high dosages of international cultural exposure, cultural exchange, and international music participation through their experiences abroad as musicians and their encounters with internationally touring musicians in the United States. I hypothesize that exposure to international culture via musical performance not only reduces xenophobic attitudes, but actually increases empathy for immigrants, widens one's humanitarian worldview, and encourages integrative behaviors such as international friendship. Interview questions will focus on if and how international music performance and interaction has widened interviewees' appreciation for international cultures. Has this exposure instilled a friendly curiosity or a humanitarian interest in the lives of people born outside one's own borders? Do increasing dosages of international music performance lead interviewees to study foreign language? Has this contact enlightened their grasp of world history and geography, or instigated relationships with immigrants in their local community? How have large dosages of international contact and cultural exchange altered interviewees' perspectives on immigrants and immigration?

## CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Travel is fatal to prejudice, bigotry, and narrow-mindedness, and many of our people need it sorely on these accounts. Broad, wholesome, charitable views of men and things cannot be acquired by vegetating in one little corner of the earth all one's lifetime.

– Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad*

### **Xenophobia**

In order to understand the importance of this study, one must first understand the meaning of the term xenophobia, which is a primary dependent variable with which this research is concerned. Xenophobia is commonly described as an intense fear or dislike of people from other countries (Yakushko, 2009). Xenophobia is not a clinical phobia, but rather, a learned prejudice. While most researchers agree on this definition, the source of xenophobia seems to be an issue of debate. Wimmer (1997) assembles and critiques a variety of theories that attempt to explain the source of xenophobia, especially as applied to state policies & political campaigns. Many contemporary conservative media outlets argue that xenophobia is a result of the mainstream “competition model” theory, or the ‘immigrants will take our jobs’ mentality. However, if this were the case, then it would likely follow that ethnic disputes rise in correlation to decreased national employment figures. Yet, xenophobic attitudes do not seem to fluctuate with national employment or wage rates (Olzak, 1993). Some present a ‘chicken or the egg’ argument over whether xenophobic world leaders produce xenophobic citizens, or xenophobic citizens produce xenophobic world leaders, Wimmer favored the latter. He studied xenophobia as a movement that sweeps through countries and communities, and as a societal crisis rather than a political one. Functionalist theories of xenophobia sometimes argue that some cultures are just too

different to integrate cohesively (Allen, 2011). Yet, immigrants of wildly varying backgrounds including Irish, Italian, and German communities have settled and integrated into the fabric of U.S. society & culture over time (Wimmer, 1997). Wimmer's catalog of conflicting theories implies that researchers do not agree on the primary source of xenophobic attitudes, and would suggest that xenophobia can be categorized as a 'wicked issue'.

Although racism can and often does play a role in xenophobic beliefs, the two are not one and the same. Wimmer refers to racism as an extreme form of ethnocentrism, not an outcome of cultural contact. He also points out that some studies in the U.S. have confused xenophobia with racism and that while the two are connected, they are not interchangeable. Some researchers use the terms xenophobia and nativism interchangeably. Nativism is a term describing negative feelings towards immigrants. But as Yakushko (2009) pointed out, it is a less-utilized expression and risks neutral-sounding overtones. Therefore, this study will not utilize the term "nativism," and instead will discuss xenophobia and its antonymic opposites, tolerance, acceptance, and integration.

Xenophobic attitudes are more dangerous when they are ignored or encouraged by those in power. In a study by Crush & Ramachandran (2015), national attitudinal surveys in South Africa revealed high levels of xenophobic thinking. These surveys were backed by in-depth interviews that the authors conducted with migrants who shared their experiences of encountering xenophobic attitudes. Despite this body of evidence, South African politicians and public figures frequently deny that xenophobia is a problem in their country. Still, the World Values Survey has consistently shown South

Africa to be among the least welcoming nations to migrants. As officials have ignored the issue, South African Migration Program (SAMP) surveys have shown that negativity towards international visitors has increased over time. Crush & Ramachandran point out that these attitudes, unchecked, can lead to action that infringes on the safety and human rights of migrant communities. This report points to frequent instances of police abuse, denial of public services, job and housing discrimination, and even physical violence aimed at migrants.

Research shows that xenophobia is a world problem, not relegated to one or two nations, and one that is spreading. Minkenberg (2013) tracks the rise of right-wing xenophobic movements by analyzing political trends in Europe. His research identifies at least 19 political parties and 17 social movement organizations that actively support what he refers to as “extremist” and “ethnocentric” xenophobic policy in Europe. He also includes 12 other political parties which he identifies as “religious” or “populist right” who also support anti-immigrant policy. Increased racist and xenophobic attitudes in Japan have led human rights advocates and some politicians to call for new legislation outlawing hate speech (Park, 2017). The election of populist right-wing candidate Donald Trump in the United States’ 2016 election points to a similar xenophobic right-wing movement trending in the United States.

Most contemporary authors seem to agree that national pride plays some role in the development of xenophobic attitudes (Hjerm, 2016; Wimmer, 1997; Yakushko, 2009). Yet, it is difficult to know how great this role is and where the distinguishing line between healthy national identity and harmful national pride lies (Hjerm, 2016). For instance, celebrating American Independence Day with one’s family and feeling content

to live in the United States does not lead directly to xenophobic beliefs and actions. Hjern points out that the way a country was established, a country's immigration policy, and the heterogeneity of a country may all play a role in the development of xenophobic attitudes.

Many authors have questioned the validity of nationalism, considering that the entire idea of a nation or belonging to a nation is a socially constructed concept more than a reality (Anderson, 2006; Hjern, 2016). Recognizing this, yet also considering the impact that this social construct has on the very real lives of those who subscribe to it, this study will treat nationalism as a legitimate identity that deserves careful consideration when discussing xenophobia. "National language" and "core values" are concepts that spring from nationalism and have a real impact on immigrants. Hjern (2016) writes about language as a barrier to true equality since institutions in a nation or community require a common language to communicate efficiently, putting minority foreign language speakers at a disadvantage. Hjern is not the only author to reduce nationalism to a social construct. Benedict Anderson's widely read book, *Imagined Communities*, (2006) studies nationalism as a socially constructed imagination—that we are connected to millions of people—when in fact we will never meet most of our countrymen. Despite the various hypotheses surrounding the origin of xenophobia, most researchers agree on its impact and see xenophobic attitudes as prejudiced beliefs that cause undue violence and can lead to violations of human rights.

Although a multicultural perspective that celebrates diversity is becoming increasingly prevalent in social science, xenophobic thinking was common amongst White intellectuals living in a post-industrial and increasingly diverse society, and the

fallout from their early xenophobic thinking still permeates attitudes today. Assumptions about the dangers posed by contact between culturally different groups were used to prop up prejudiced attitudes rather than dismantle them, and have hindered progress towards integration.

### **Description of Theory**

This research is theoretically based in the ideology of multiculturalism and Group Contact Theory, initially proposed through a hypothesis by Gordon Allport (1954). This theory suggests that favorable contact between dominant and oppressed groups can reduce prejudice amongst group members. Rather than avoiding conflict by segregating groups and limiting or altogether avoiding contact, Allport's theory suggested that increased contact in a positive context could lessen prejudice and increase cooperation and unity.

Prior to Allport's hypothesis, Social-Darwinism heavily influenced social dominance theory, suggesting that out-group contact would lead to inevitable group competition and conflict (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005). The 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries were a formative time for sociology as the field's founding thinkers tried to define and make sense of our social world. Many early sociologists saw the mixing of various cultures as a potential threat to social cohesion. Emile Durkheim is the French intellectual and functionalist who is largely credited with establishing sociology as a science. Durkheim saw society as a system based in commonalities and feared that without a common core culture or religion, a nation would become too socially differentiated to function (Allen, 2011, ch. 4). This preoccupation with cultural sameness created an unfortunate platform for intolerant thinking and xenophobic policy.

Allport was not the first to become interested in the effects of group contact on group beliefs (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). In 1936, Sims & Patrick studied the attitudes of northern White students who attended school in the southeastern U.S. at the University of Alabama. They found that White students' racial attitudes towards Black Americans worsened rather than improved following group contact. However, the segregated university was all-White at the time, which meant that northern White students would have most likely only encountered Black southerners of a lower socio-economic and educational status. These limited impressions may have added fuel to delusions of superiority rather than extinguished them (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005). Later studies, however, of desegregation on merchant-marine ships, police forces, and among veterans of desegregated battlefields supported group contact by evidencing the opposite effect, that increased contact between Black and White individuals in the same profession seemed to decrease prejudiced beliefs (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005). This research prompted the framework for Allport's hypothesis and the necessity of positive context factors for favorable outcomes.

Allport (1954) found that contact was most efficacious in the context of the following four conditions: 1) equal status between the groups, 2) common goals, 3) the support of authorities, law, or custom, and 4) intergroup cooperation. Although "equal status" is difficult to measure, it may look like the meeting of individuals who are from different groups but have similar professions or socioeconomic levels. For example, in the instance of the University of Alabama students in the Sims & Patrick (1936) study above, White students ideally would have interacted with other Black students with a similar class status during their time in the South. The "common goals" condition refers

to some sort of group action that engages both groups during their contact. This could take the form of athletics, accomplishing a task, playing a game, creating art, or some other participatory endeavor. The “support of authorities, law, or custom” may refer to the dominating cultural setting that surrounds the group contact interaction. It is no coincidence that Allport’s hypothesis was published in 1954, during an era of state-sponsored racial segregation in the United States known as Jim Crow (Kennedy, 1959). A legally mandated racial division separated Black Americans from White Americans, drawing a strict boundary that included all realms of social interaction from marriage licenses to drinking fountains. The settings created by authorities, law, or custom might look like a church, the military, or in the case of Jim Crow, the laws of a realm. The “intergroup cooperation” factor may appear similar to “common goals” but it is emphasized to indicate that these goals should be approached through cooperation rather than competition, a big step away from the Social-Darwinism of earlier sociology (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). Civil Rights leader and theologian, Howard Thurman (1965), has also underscored the importance of inter-group fellowship, rather than formal contact. The concept of intergroup cooperation is supported by a study of 183 American students who spent a summer in Europe in 1950 (Smith, 1955). The study found that students who established personal ties with Europeans were more likely to participate in international focused behaviors after their return to the United States than other students on the same trip.

Since the publication of Allport’s (1954) book, *The Nature of Prejudice*, researchers have focused on examining the effectiveness of intergroup contact and Allport’s four favorable contexts, as well as exploring mechanisms for mediating bias

reduction through intergroup contact (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005). The research described in the following chapters of this paper focuses on the latter, attempting to present music performance as a mechanism by which prejudice could be mediated and reduced. If international music performance can be shown to reduce xenophobic prejudice, then Group Contact Theory can be applied to suggest that cultural sharing might be an appropriate avenue for communities to encourage social bonding amongst various immigrant and native-born groups and individuals.

### **Application of Theory**

Although the 20<sup>th</sup> century application of the group contact hypothesis focused on race in the United States, the theory has also been applied successfully to other types of out-groups including but not limited to ethnic minorities, homosexuals, and individuals with psychiatric disabilities (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). In this study, I'll apply contact theory to the problem of xenophobia, with dominant groups represented as White U.S. citizens, and marginalized groups represented as immigrants and international visitors.

This study is rooted in multiculturalism, an ideology that sees diversity as a strength rather than a weakness. Ignoring or attempting to diminish differences between groups, an approach often referred to as "Colorblind Ideology," can inhibit productivity and lead to forced assimilation and/or the frustrating diminution of a culture's strengths through cultural appropriation (Rodriquez, 2006). Far ahead of his own time, W.E.B. Du Bois (1903) wrote of the importance of culture and identity in *The Souls of Black Folk*, discussing the difficulties Black Americans faced when confronting their dual identities as both "Black" and "American," two terms that were at odds with each other in a

toxically racist American culture that viewed blackness as a “problem.” Cornel West (2000) expounded Du Bois’ work nearly a century later writing in *Race Matters* that

“for liberals, black people are to be “included” and “integrated” into “our” society and culture, while for conservatives they are to be “well behaved” and “worthy of acceptance” by “our” way of life. Both fail to see that the presence and predicaments of black people are neither additions to nor defections from American life, but rather constitutive elements of that life.”

West criticizes the colorblind approach of “inclusion” which is often careless code for assimilation into the dominant White mainstream culture, at the cost of Black cultural heritage. Ignoring or diminishing a minority group’s heritage can lead to “cultural decay” for that group, and West names cultural decay as one cause of disunity in the Black community.

Alternatively, multiculturalism celebrates cultural differences and encourages pride in the heritage of each group’s culture while striving for equality among all groups. To put this in the context of my study, I might point out that since its colonization by Europeans in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the United States has been a country of immigrants; some who came willfully and others who were brought in chains. To expose White U.S.-born Americans to international culture is to expose them to the origins of their own nation and their own national culture, which is undeniably an amalgamation of the diverse heritages of many of the faraway places that they might fear, including those addressed in this study: central and eastern Europe, Asia, and Central and South America.

While Allport published his contact hypothesis at a timely moment in the history of United States racial desegregation, this study seeks to revive the hypothesis at a similarly urgent moment in United States history. Currently, U.S. President Donald Trump has attempted to place a travel ban on several prominently Muslim countries,

preventing thousands of immigrants and refugees from entering the United States, and has openly referred to countries in the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa as “shithole countries” during immigration policy talks (Spiegel, & Rubenstein, 2017; Dawsey, 2018). The current administration’s push for national policies of ethnic separation seem doomed to repeat the blunders of the past, by ignoring historical precedents and returning to the 19<sup>th</sup> century Social Darwinist approach of fear-based segregation.

### **Strengths of Theory**

Research into the effectiveness of contact hypothesis using the four positive conditions which Allport suggested has found that favorable contact can reduce prejudice against a variety of minority groups (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003). Astoundingly, one group of researchers has even found that *imagined* contact between individuals in dominant and oppressed groups has the ability to reduce prejudice in dominant group members (Crisp & Turner, 2009). Crisp & Turner found an intriguing spin off of contact theory – that groups may not even need to actually have positive contact, but to at least imagine positive contact through a sort of meditation on what a positive experience with a member of a minority group might look like. Crisp & Turner found that imagining a positive experience with a member of the out-group can indeed help an in-group member reduce prejudice. They refer to this as “imagined intergroup contact.” Their study also introduces a term called “extended contact” which means that an individual does not have a contact in the out-group, but does have a mutual contact with a contact in the out-group; essentially one degree of separation from a relationship with an out-group individual. Reportedly, even individuals with this sort of extended contact report lower levels of out-group prejudice (Crisp & Turner, 2009). Effectively, the

more extended contacts an individual in the dominant group has, the less prejudice the individual tends to have.

Crisp & Turner are careful not to advocate imagined or extended contact as a replacement for existing forms of in-person intergroup contact, but their work does provide an accessible mental exercise that could reduce tension between groups for those with limited ability to interact with others outside their group. This mode of imagined exposure might be useful in highly segregated and/or isolated places in the U.S. where little opportunity for cross-cultural sharing and exposure would exist. Their examples also illuminate the strength of intergroup contact, even in a limited form.

In reference to my study, this research suggests that international exposure could be effective in very small dosages. One may not necessarily need to study abroad or even spend a full weekend immersed in international culture. These findings support my hypothesis that a relatively brief contact, such as live performance, could have a strong impact on a native-born American with implicit or explicit xenophobic attitudes. This suggests that future research on how a second-hand account of a positive experience with immigrants, such as an American band sharing experiences and songs that they learned abroad to an American audience, could reduce xenophobia in American audience members that may never have the opportunity to travel abroad themselves. My thesis will build on this theory by suggesting that international music exposure could aptly function as one such accessible setting where cultural contact theory might play out effectively.

### **Weaknesses of Theory**

Allport's hypothesis has faced some criticism based on the fact that outcomes can backfire if the ideal set of contexts, which Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux (2005)

derided as “rarefied conditions” are not present during group contact. Are Allport’s four conditions unrealistic in a real world setting? Going beyond Allport, some researchers have suggested that an “optimal contact strategy” is required, which proposes nearly a dozen optimal contexts in which contact must be conducted in order to reduce prejudice (Dixon, Durrheim, & Tredoux, 2005). These include points such as “contact should be regular and frequent,” contact should have genuine “acquaintance potential,” and “contact should be with a person who is deemed a typical or representative member of the other group.” While these contexts increase the efficacy of the theory, they reduce plausible real-world settings for actually applying contact theory. This criticism makes the search for ideal naturally-occurring settings for cultural contact all the more important.

## CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH DESIGN

### **Design**

The design of this research takes the form of a qualitative case study rooted in social constructivist ideology, with data collected through individual interviews. Following the approach of psychological research into the translation of feelings to intentions (Kothandapani, 1971), I examine the impact that exposure to international music performance (IMP) has on the beliefs, behaviors, knowledge, and awareness of the study's sample population. This research will determine the directionality of the relationship between international music performance and xenophobic attitudes, international music and integrative behavior, and international music and world knowledge. I hypothesize that as exposure to international music performance increases, xenophobic attitudes decrease, awareness and knowledge of immigrant issues increases, and integrative behaviors such as inter-ethnic relationships increase.

Through interviews with a variety of individuals who have experienced high dosages of international music performance, I collect data about the impact of these cultural exposure experiences on participants' attitudes, behavior, and knowledge. These interviews are then transcribed and prominent themes and meta-themes are recorded for analysis and discussion as described below.

### **Population/Sampling**

Participant sampling will begin with a purposeful sample of a unique group who has experienced very high dosages of international cultural exposure, American musicians and dancers who have traveled abroad with the intention of experiencing international music performance. My initial purposeful sample includes at least seven

musicians from four different bands, four of which are male and three of which are female. Each band has spent time touring in a different part of the world and has studied and experienced international music in some depth beyond that experienced by average American citizens. My sample begins with several prominent bands in the world folk music scene. I will intentionally begin with a variety of bands that have exposure to distinct parts of the world that are commonly criticized or mocked by the current American government administration. One of these groups is an American folk band that primarily plays Klezmer and Balkan music and has toured and attended Klezmer and Balkan music camps in Western Europe and across the United States. One member, a violinist, now lives in Virginia, the other, a cellist, lives in Florida. The second group is an American folk band of multi-instrumentalists from Appalachia that has toured in Central and Eastern Europe and incorporated Central European stories and folk songs into their set. The third band features American and Middle-Eastern members and is based in Istanbul, Turkey. This group has toured in Central and Eastern Europe as well as the United States and often uses their music to raise awareness and resources for Arabic refugees fleeing Syria. The fourth band is an American group from Richmond, Virginia that has toured in Asia and has incorporated Asian instruments and themes into their set. All of the musicians in this initial sample were identified through my own interactions as a participant-observer in the American folk music community. Although the approach requires care to negate subjective bias, participant-observation has been increasingly lauded as a useful method of locating difficult to reach participants and identifying research questions that might be

inaccessible to researchers that are isolated from the communities under study (McCurdy, & Uldam, 2014).

This sample is a suitable population for this study because of these individuals' high levels of international music exposure and their extended contact with international individuals and cultures in comparison with any average U.S.-born American. I intentionally chose White individuals for this study because of the close relationship between xenophobia and racism. I did not intentionally choose southerners, however the purposeful sample that I initially conceptualized all hailed from various parts of the southeastern United States. Although unintentional, this coincidence may serve my study, since the southeastern states were among those that strongly backed Donald Trump's presidential campaign, which was outspokenly anti-immigrant (Jackson, 2016). The southeastern United States' voting record indicates a strong presence of anti-immigrant sentiment in that part of the country. To strengthen my sample beyond the initial purposeful population and avoid biases associated with a small convenience sample (Woolf, 2017), I will add participants through snowball referencing. Recognizing the members of these bands as experts in their field, I will ask each of them for recommendations of other internationally touring American performers who might be willing to participate in an interview. Snowball sampling has been utilized in other research to locate marginalized, elite, or uniquely difficult to access audiences, and thus should serve this study population effectively (Atkinson & Flint, 2001).

### **Instrumentation**

The instrument used for data collection will be a flexible interview outline of my own design. Different sections of the interview will address the four elements of my research questions (See Appendix for interview outline). This interview outline will serve

as a rough guide, and I will adapt my questions to the flow of the interview, based on the information shared by the interviewee. Every interview will begin with a question about the interviewee's childhood and upbringing, to establish an understanding of the biases each interviewee may have developed as a child, and will flow more or less chronologically from that point, based on the memories and responses of the interviewee. In this way, I will take a posttest approach to researching respondents' changed attitudes. Because it would be difficult to imagine or summon a comparison group that qualified as a direct contrast to this sample, a pretest-posttest design allows for respondents' pasts to serve as the baseline for comparison, rather than a control group (Pratt, McGuigan, & Katzev, 2000). By asking about how music has influenced the path of each interviewee's life from childhood to adulthood, the impact of exposure to international culture should become apparent. If this impact is not apparent, I will draw out more information with direct questions borrowed from my interview outline and use probing questions and pauses to generate a more profound exploration of the participant's past. Borrowing techniques learned from my background in the study of oral history, I will encourage each participant at the beginning of their interview to not be concerned about tangents or keeping track of time. While tangents sometimes detract from a specific line of questioning, they can lead to new and significant data that I might have neglected to ask about otherwise. Additionally, useless tangential information need not be included in my analysis and does no harm during the interview.

A portion of the interview will focus on behaviors and how international music performance has impacted the interviewee's actions. Questions in this section might ask, "Do you feel that your behavior towards immigrants and immigrant issues has

changed since your contact with international music exposure (IME)?" and "Have you taken classes, joined clubs, or participated in protests or other events as a direct result of your exposure to international music?" Another section of the interview will focus on the knowledge and sensitivity that participants have gained from their cultural contact with international musicians. Questions in this section will ask, "Through your exposure to international music performance, did you learn about other aspects of international cultures such as geography, politics, or world history?" and "As a result of your exposure to international performance, are you more fluent now in any languages, other than English?" Another section will gauge the participant's xenophobic or integrative attitudes since IME. Questions in this section might include, "Has your experience with IME made you more curious about other cultures?" and "Did you have reservations about this part of the world before your exposure to it, and if so how did the music there change your perceptions?" If it seems that other factors such as being a child of immigrants, being a religious minority, or being naturally curious about the world even before their music exposure are mitigating their responses, I will ask for the participant to name any other factors that may have influenced their knowledge or awareness of immigrants. I will also ask to what extent music rather than other factors impacted their integrative attitudes. These sections will not necessarily take place in a standard order, but all sections will be touched on throughout the flow of every interview.

The interview also contains several quantitative demographic items dedicated to understanding the dosage of international music performance that a participant has received and the participant's ethnic and cultural identity. This will help me analyze their responses since a person who spent two weeks touring abroad in Western Europe

might take away different attitudes than a person who lived for a year abroad in Turkey studying dance. To collect this data, I will ask, "What is your birth date? In what state or region of the country were you born and raised? Where do you live now? What is your ethnicity? Are either of your parents immigrants or the children of immigrants? Are you fluent in any languages besides English? How many times have you traveled abroad? Where did you go? How long did you stay? How many times have you traveled abroad specifically to play and experience music? Where did you go? How long did you stay?" A final question will ask the respondents if there are any important points that they feel we neglected to mention, in case there is any important information that I've overlooked in my interview outline.

### **Data Collection Plan**

Pending IRB approval, data will be collected through individual interviews. During the time of this research, these participants will likely be living and traveling in various parts of the world, making in-person interviews difficult. The majority of interviews will be collected via telephone, or by live audio software if an international call is required. International calls will be recorded through Skype or a similar long-distance digital platform. In all interviews, participants and researcher will be able to communicate via live audio in real-time. These interviews will be recorded for transcription and later reference by the principle investigator. All interviewees will be allowed to pick the date and time for the interview that is most convenient to their schedule during December and January of 2017. The researcher will accommodate the interviewees' schedules to avoid inconveniencing participants, with consideration for those living in other time zones. Although data collection will begin with a sample of seven participants, the researcher will gain more participants through snowball referencing. Each interview

should last around 60 minutes or less. Participants will not receive compensation for their involvement, but will be made aware that their interviews contribute to research aimed at understanding the impact of international music exposure and reducing xenophobia. All interviews will be kept anonymous and both the interviewees' names and the names of their band(s) will not be used in this paper. The researcher will remove their names from the interviews during the transcribing process and will refer to each interview with a coded name or number. Although this research is not necessarily directly related to sensitive topics, anonymity will reduce any risk that could be associated with publishing participants' identities and may make participants feel more at ease to speak freely during the interview. All participants will agree to an informed consent before their interview takes place. Participants will be allowed to opt out of the interview at any time. Interviewees will be warned that if a participant opts out during or at the end of an interview, the researcher still has the right to use whatever data was collected up to the point at which they chose to end the interview.

### **Data Analysis Plan**

Following the interview collection, interview responses will be coded based on themes. Themes will be drawn from key words related to the study and collected by the researcher. Examples of key themes for this study might include "attitudes/beliefs," "behaviors," "knowledge/education," and "xenophobia". For example, a statement such as, "before I studied middle Eastern music, I couldn't find Syria on a map, now I have a firm grasp of geography of the Arabic world" would be coded as an example of a knowledge-related theme. Some phrases may fit under multiple codes such as, "After my second trip to Mexico, I really started noticing how many negative stereotypes mainstream America has against Mexicans" could be coded as "attitudes" and

“xenophobia.” Attitudes, knowledge, and behavior will be the primary themes that I seek out in analysis. I will also label and discuss meta-themes that recur and how these fit under the three major themed categories.

For the most part, this data will be qualitative, although demographic questions such as age, ethnicity, and gender could be considered quantitative and coded as such in data sets. There is also a qualitative question regarding each respondents’ dosage of international music performance. As described in the instrumentation section above, the interview has multiple segments, each of which focuses on a different variable of the research questions. Coded themes will be kept distinct by section, to separately analyze each section for responses in regards to each of the three research variables (attitudes, behavior, and knowledge) and meta-themes therein.

### **Limitations**

This study is limited by its small initial sample size of seven individuals. In a study on interview saturation, Guest, Bunce, & Johnson (2006) found that in qualitative interview-based research, basic meta-themes tend to present themselves within 6 interviews, and theme saturation often occurs within the first 12 interviews of a study. Through my contacts with these four bands, I will begin my study with an expected sample population of 7, and hope to expand that sample size through snowball referencing closer to 12 individual interviews. Snowball referral sampling following these first seven interviews may compensate for sample size by offering a number of additional participants. However, further research would still benefit from expanding this study to a larger population size until saturation is detected. This small sample of interviews is sufficient for exploratory research, but a larger sample size could yield additional themes and more broadly compelling results and contexts.

Further, as of yet, all of the participants in the primary sample are White and grew up in the southeastern United States. This could lead to some sampling bias and hinder generalizations to larger segments of the U.S. population. For example, a White musician from rural North Carolina might be more or less impacted by international music exposure than a Latino musician from California. Time constraints limit the expansion of my sample, but future research may look into this possibility by measuring responses of participants from a variety of areas of the country and diverse ethnic backgrounds.

Due to time constraints and difficulty qualifying an ideal comparison sample, no control group was used for this study. Rather, a retrospective interview was used to have respondents reflect on their past and current perspectives. Future research would benefit from a similar study that was large enough to allow for quasi-experimental design and a control group for comparison. Or, rather than a retrospective pretest-posttest, future research might try a longitudinal design wherein participants are tested twice, once before they experience IMP, and then again after. This is just one imagining of a variety of approaches that could be utilized to test and verify this study's results.

## CHAPTER 4 RESULTS

Sometimes a journey arises out of hope and instinct, the heady conviction, as your finger travels along the map: *Yes, here and here...and here. These are the nerve-ends of the world...* A hundred reasons clamour for your going. You go to touch on human identities, to people an empty map. You have a notion that this is the world's heart. You go to encounter the protean shapes of faith. You go because you are still young and crave excitement, the crunch of your boots in the dust; you go because you are old and need to understand something before it's too late. You go to see what will happen.

-Colin Thubron, *Shadow of the Silk Road*

The research design in this study was a qualitative design centered around Allport's (1954) contact theory. Allport hypothesized that positive contact could aid integration and reduce prejudice between clashing groups. I created this study to test contact theory in the context of exchange through international music exposure (IME). Using IME as an independent variable, I hypothesized that with increased IME, integrative knowledge and integrative behavior would also increase and xenophobic attitudes would decrease. I identified individuals who had high dosages of contact with IME and requested interviews with them to gather evidence about the impacts of their international musical contact. From my experience as a participant in the American folk music scene, I identified seven individuals from four different bands for an initial purposeful sample population. After interviewing all consenting participants from this sample, I increased my sample size through snowball referencing by asking interviewees for references to other individuals with high exposure to IME. The following results describe the participants in my final sample and then compare my hypotheses to the results of this data collection.

## **Participants**

The final sample included 8 musicians with a wide variety of areas of cultural contact including Eastern Europe, the Middle East, India, Central and South America, the music of the Jewish diaspora, and the Caribbean. Although I had hoped to greatly increase my initial purposeful sample of 7 through snowball referencing, I was only able to interview 8 total participants due to scheduling difficulties and time constraints. Snowball referencing did prove useful in that several of the participants that I interviewed privately referred me to one another, which supported my initial purposeful sample and confirmed that these musicians consider each other to be individuals who've experienced higher than average contact with the music of international cultures. Also, while I had initially thought of interviewing only musicians, through snowball sampling, I was referred to dancers and choreographers as well as singers, songwriters, and instrumentalists. By adding dancers to my sample, I was able to widen the scope and context of my research in a useful way. Table 1 offers basic data about my final sample population described below.

Table 4-1. Participants

Participant	Age	Gender	Primary Area of Contact/Influence	Childhood Region	Adult Home Region	Other Possible Mitigating Factors of Strong Influence
1	28	Male	Middle East	Florida	Turkey	International nannies, Turkish stepfather
2	46	Female	Egypt	New York	Florida	Cosmopolitan upbringing
3	35	Male	Eastern Europe	Colombia, Ecuador, Florida	Florida	Colombian mother, Latin American portion of childhood
4	38	Female	Eastern Europe	Michigan	Virginia	Iranian father, Cosmopolitan upbringing
5	34	Female	Eastern Europe	Florida, Colorado	North Carolina	Early activism-related travel
6	33	Female	Spain, Mexico, India	Virginia	Virginia	Travel, degree in comparative religion & Spanish
7	35	Male	Chile, India	Virginia	Virginia	Travel
8	40	Male	Haiti	Illinois, Florida	Florida	Travel

Participant One was a 28-year-old man who spent his childhood in Florida. He grew up with the influence of international nannies through an au pair exchange program, as well as a Turkish stepfather. He settled in Turkey as an adult and played in a folk band there.

Participant Two was a 46-year-old woman who was raised in New York City and had settled in Florida. She was both a musician and a trained dancer and was referred to me by another artist. She studied Egyptian dance with teachers in the United States and abroad.

Participant Three was a 35-year-old man who had studied Klezmer, Celtic, Arabic, and Balkan traditional music. Unlike other participants, a portion of his childhood was spent living abroad, in South America. His parents are both immigrants from South America and Europe, respectively.

Participant Four was a 38-year-old woman raised in a cosmopolitan college town in Michigan. At the time of this study she had settled in Virginia. She played Klezmer and Balkan music and had also studied Arabic music and various world dance traditions. Her father was an immigrant from Iran.

Participant Five was a 34-year-old woman living in North Carolina. She was raised in Florida and Colorado and had a high exposure to travel before coming into contact with international music or identifying as a musician. She eventually became passionate about Balkan music and had studied Turkish dance in the United States and abroad.

Participant Six was a 33-year-old woman living in Virginia, where she was also raised. She had spent a great deal of time engaging in international travel and had studied Spanish and Comparative Religion in college.

Participant Seven was a 35-year-old man raised and then settled in Virginia. He had lived in South America and traveled widely. He shared experiences of musical contact primarily in India and Chile.

Participant Eight was a 40-year-old male who was raised in Illinois and then Florida, where he eventually settled. He had participated in a music-therapy relief trip to Haiti following the 2010 Earthquake there.

Most interviews took under an hour. Participants ranged in age from 28-46 and included four men and four women from at least 7 different bands (more if you count the multiple projects that some participants play in). The majority of interviewees spent a large part or all of their childhood in the southeastern United States, although two participants grew up in cosmopolitan northeastern cities and one spent the first ten years of his life in South America. Many of the participants had studied or lived abroad for months or years at a time. All eight interviewees identified as musicians, but three had also spent time studying some form of international dance from Egypt, the Balkans, Israel, and/or Turkey. All of these participants described multi-dimensional life trajectories that led them to their current levels of integrative behaviors, knowledge, and attitudes. In every case, musical contact was not the only factor guiding this process. I've listed other strong influences that the participants described in Table 1. All interviewees were White U.S. citizens with high dosages of international music exposure.

The international music exposure that these participants experienced came in a diverse array of forms. One had traveled to the Caribbean with a team of aid workers, supplies, and a guitar to serve Haitians recovering from the devastating earthquake of 2010. Another became interested in and a student of Egyptian dance after being physically dragged onto a dancefloor by a belly dancer at a Middle Eastern restaurant in New York City. Some had first encountered international music through the street musicians they met while busking and backpacking around Europe or South America, and others had made contact with international performers through Balkan, Klezmer, and Celtic music camps held in the United States, Canada, and Europe.

In most interviews, the directionality of cultural contact with the knowledge, behavior, and attitudes of this sample followed the patterns that I hypothesized in my methodology. Knowledge tended to increase, integrative behavior increased, and positive attitudes towards immigrants and a shedding of childhood biases increased. However, knowledge and behavior were much more directly traceable to international music exposure than attitudes. Some individuals in this sample were raised with strong influences other than music that contributed to increase their positive attitudes about living in diverse communities. For these participants, it was difficult to parse out whether their integrative attitudes stemmed from musical contact or the influence of a multicultural upbringing. However, in every case, increased knowledge and behavior tended to at the very least support tolerant and accepting attitudes and music never lead to a decrease in integrative attitudes.

### **Analysis**

In the following paragraphs, I will describe how each dependent variable in my methodology was impacted by contact with international music. I analyze these

interviews with the consideration that a thirty minute or hour long conversation cannot adequately capture all of the complex motives and profound truths of a person's experiences. Although it was impossible not to be somewhat reductive in my interpretation of these interviews, I worked hard to remain true to the words of the interviewees and used block quotes when possible to present evidence from these participants' lives in their own words, accompanied by my research-based analysis.

### **Knowledge**

The first major theme that I analyzed was knowledge. Meta-themes in this category included 1) political awareness, 2) personifying world histories through the formation of international relationships, 3) self-reflection, and 4) academic knowledge. I will use evidence from the interviews to describe each of these meta-themes below.

Interviewees described how their knowledge of the world significantly increased with their exposure to international music and international musicians. More than behavior or attitude, examples of increased knowledge directly stemming from contact with international music exposure were most frequently evidenced in the interviews. This increase presented itself in the form of improved awareness of politics, geography, language, and history. One participant, who grew up in an insulated Christian household that did not allow secular music, described his process of learning through contact with international music as a young adult:

I think because music was already a big part of my life and I had already identified myself as a musician in that way, it made a lot of sense and it was a really easy natural transition to when I would go to another country and hear their music to want to engage and learn about it and kind of go down their rabbit hole of, okay, who are your folk musicians and what's the music that you listen to and what are you inspired by?

He goes on to describe a formative learning experience with a language exchange program in which he was paired with a Chilean Spanish speaker who also happened to play guitar:

We would just be hanging out essentially learning each other's language in a really basic way, where we would play music together and he was the first one to show me the Victor Hara music, which is a folk musician from Chile... Once we learned about his music and listened to it and learned how to play some of his songs, and then learned how he was murdered by the state, and how that state came to be under the influence of the international powers mainly through the United States trying to combat communism, it teaches you a lot besides just the music.

In this example, the interviewee is learning Spanish by being taught Chilean folk songs, then gains knowledge about Chilean culture, history, and politics through his interest in the music of a Chilean musician. It's notable that the historical information he acquired through this contact with international music is a hidden history not proudly highlighted in the United States, which expanded both the participant's knowledge and his worldview.

For many interviewees in this research, music shaped a path to obtaining knowledge, whether or not it was the direct cause of an interviewee's learning. Some participants began with what could be described as a basic tourist's interest in the places they visited, but then were dragged down the "rabbit hole" that the participant above described through musical interactions that led to relationships. These relationships then often led to increased attention paid to the world around them and a heightened awareness of world issues. This idea of inter-group contact based in some sort of fellowship or personal connection supports the earlier research of Allport (1954) and Thurman (1965). For several participants, what began as a carefree backpacking trip around Eurasia led to awareness and involvement in international human rights

campaigns supporting refugees and other underprivileged international communities.

One interviewee described his experience with this type of transition:

I started traveling in Europe and discovered hitchhiking and squatting and all that stuff, and I needed money and started busking and the accordion was much more convenient than a piano for traveling. Then I noticed from busking that if I learned a song in the local language in whatever country then people were excited and tipped more...and it was fun to do and people were excited to hear someone sing in a foreign accent in their language. And then that started to expand my ear. Songs that sounded weird to me or music that sounded weird to me started to sound more normal.

Although this musician's initial motivation is in the self-interest of making money to pay for his travels, he goes on to explain how learning Arabic songs from a Syrian street musician profoundly impacted his understanding of the Middle East:

Arabic folk music had all the same themes as country music, especially when it came to civil war because there's a lot of country music about this idealized romanticized version of the civil war as well, or whatever side people were on and the same thing just in contemporary Syrian music. Be it the Kurdish side whose making all sorts of songs about Rojava, the Syrian resistance you have songs about the protests and the Arab Spring or even the pro-government pro-Assad songs that are coming out. There's similar stuff going on and that helped me relate. And I'd visited a number of Arabic countries before I'd really started playing the music or lived here.

The conduit of reflection begun by this contact with international music eventually led this musician to partner with other travelers to form a music collective with members from five different countries. This group uses their performances to raise awareness and money for refugees and those affected by conflict and has even toured to the United States with their message of unity. This transition exemplifies one way that the acquisition of knowledge through musical contact can also affect behavior and extend to impact not just the person experiencing international musical contact, but also other audiences that this musician later encounters. Essentially, when a person gains new knowledge about the world, they don't tend to keep that knowledge to themselves.

Musicians in particular have a wide audience for disseminating information which places them in a unique position to learn and share information.

Although nearly everyone I talked to had at least dabbled with standard intellectual approaches to understanding foreign cultures (some had studied abroad, others had read books or taken classes), some took a more academic approach than others. Some participants were incredibly well-informed and in one or two cases, I was not initially convinced that it was music that drove specific individuals to have such a wide knowledge of world facts. Talking to these participants at points felt like reading an informative book, and I wondered if their scholarly curiosity might have naturally led them to study these foreign places even without music as a point of contact for research. After a detailed discussion of the political history of Yugoslavia, I grew concerned that one participant's intellectual curiosity might be a mitigating influence stronger than international musical contact. I asked, "Do you think you ever would have done that research if music didn't serve as a gateway?" Yet, he answered, "I don't think so." After making a point about knowledge she'd gained on her path of studying dance, another knowledgeable interviewee emphasized, "I wouldn't have understood that if I hadn't become a dancer," but then went on to say, "...and you know, not every dancer is into history but a lot of us are." When describing herself, this interviewee explained, "it's always been in my nature to seek out and go to the source as much as I can with any form of music or art." This indicates that a curious attitude probably assists a person in gaining knowledge through musical contact, and that it is possible for some dancers or musicians to experience international musical contact without gaining any profound

knowledge. Still, music (and art) seem to serve as a positive conduit for increasing the likelihood of world knowledge gain.

I was impressed by the amount that a person can learn when music drives their passion in a subject. This made me think of the way that teenaged music fans (whether or not they themselves are musicians) often make a study of their favorite bands. They memorize the lyrics to songs, each group member's name, the instrument each plays, their home towns, their tour schedules, and other band-related trivia. Music is compelling. It often induces us to research and learn more about a topic. While a teenager's obsession with an American pop band may or may not lead to any profound knowledge, opportunities for early contact with world music are likely to have a meaningful impact. In the case of international music contact, we are naturally driven by the music that touches us to seek out and learn more of the world beyond our borders. Several interviewees had clear memories of their first contact with international music or culture as taking place in primary school through exposure to recordings and school music programs. It is significant that many of these individuals could so clearly remember a 20 or 30-year-old musical experience and still feel affected by it. The effects of music on curiosity and learning captured here support the importance of world music exposure, in early childhood and beyond, to encourage fearless curiosity and foster positive interest in the world that extends beyond our nation state.

## **Behavior**

The second major theme that I analyzed was behavior. It was apparent in the interviews that behavior shared a positive directionality with exposure to international music exposure. Meta-themes in this category included 1) music as a gateway for

fellowship 2) music as a bridge over language barriers 3) music as a tool to dismantle power imbalances.

One interviewee described the way that music influenced her choices while traveling, “I always had this theory that if you want to find the magic where ever you are, when you are just roaming around a random place, just listen for music and follow that and you will find amazing things.” She went on to describe an example of this phenomenon, “And the kinds of things that happen when you do that, when I was in India and I’d hear music and I’d go find it and it would be a wedding parade in the streets, and all of the sudden we would be like, drawn into this wedding parade and the people would invite us to their wedding!” She had learned through experience traveling that music can often serve as a gateway for connection.

In every interview, musicians were able to recount points of international musical contact that led to the formation of relationships and compelled their integrative behavior. Some musicians described how musical instruments in a way served as tokens of peaceful intentions when encountering someone from another culture, “I mean, when someone sees an instrument that you have in your hand or a guitar around your neck, they instantly know what you’re doing and it’s less threatening.” Another artist described this form of rapid acceptance and bonding during an experience while touring through Istanbul:

Anytime we played music it was just like suddenly you were making friends somehow. We had a couple pretty amazing moments on the street, we were walking past these people busking. It was a young boy who looked like he was seven or eight who was just shredding on the [indecipherable]. Phenomenal. And this older guy playing clarinet who was so incredibly phenomenal. And they waved us over with their instruments, I had my accordion and [name removed for anonymity] had his guitar and they waved us over and tried to get us to play with them on the street, and

we were like, okay! Tried to figure out what key they were doing and what was going on. So that was a pretty incredible moment, and then also that clarinet player, we invited him to come and sit in with us at our gig later that night. He came down and was playing Turkish clarinet like, over all of our songs, which was pretty amazing because we were playing some old-time banjo songs and he was just like playing everything... Obviously, also, it's just like the music opens the door to making friends in so many ways, for us.

Another interviewee described how participating in music offered a deeper connection than standard tourist activities, "I can't be a *Lonely Planet* traveler anymore. I don't feel like that's productive for me to just get a guide book and go somewhere and eat at the restaurants it tells me to and stay at the hotels it tells me to. I need a deeper experience of sharing of my life and myself with others and giving back—exchanging—to exchange the experience." The power of music to rapidly bond and encourage friendship is a significant finding, considering that few examples of behavior indicate integrative growth as well as the formation international friendships.

Music also often served as a form of bridging language, when language barriers may have otherwise prevented interaction. One musician described this sort of exchange during relief work in Haiti following a destructive earthquake there:

I experienced that especially in Haiti. Because I did not know how to speak their language. And it was a very intense situation. And the only voice that I had especially right off the bat was the guitar. But when I would play the guitar it kind of spoke for itself and everybody could understand it and we could all communicate and sing along or play along. It helped me definitely, for sure.

He went on to describe a tense situation in which musical interaction spanned language barriers on the trip:

Our driver was supposed to pick us up right away so we left the airport, and driver didn't come for five hours. So we were stuck there and it was kind of a mob scene, people came up to us—we had all this clothing for orphanages that we were supposed to distribute. People wanted them, they wanted it, and they were reaching and gathering, and we were stuck

for this long period of time. So what I did is, I pulled out the guitar and I started playing...and I ended up playing for four or five hours, just jamming rhythms. And it became, I diverted the attention from us and what we had to give, to music. So people started gathering around and singing...and it became a thing as opposed to a scary thing. It became a really beautiful thing.

Several musicians described how musical language can be as nuanced as other languages, and how gaining a familiarity with a foreign music can be like learning another language. One interviewee explained this type of musical exchange, “it was like very much a bond that we shared because we are playing the same chords but we are playing them in different rhythms and in different styles of music and different language.” Another interviewee explained the same phenomenon, “even though our musical languages are nuanced, we can just—with our understandings of time and space in the music—that that’s a language where we can understand each other really quickly and meet each other.” This interviewee went on to describe an example of integration wherein she was the foreigner, watching Flamenco dances in caves in Spain with a limited grasp of the Spanish language, and trying to fit into a new culture where she stood out:

And always, that’s one of the reasons that I would go and hang out in the caves in Spain, because I could just sit there and drink wine and be drawn into this whole entire experience where I didn’t need to speak to anyone, I was still learning Spanish then. But I felt like if I just kept my head down and I taught myself how to behave in that situation I could blend in enough that I wouldn’t necessarily be this foreigner in the room. I could just appreciate and clap along. There was like a clap language, they have this really amazing—these ways of the audience interacting with the music by yelling “olé!” and clapping in these different patterns and I felt like I could like, assimilate in that space.

As this interviewee mentioned, many of these artists were very conscious of their ‘American-ness’ while traveling outside of the United States. Musical experiences offered them a way to engage and integrate, creatively dismantling the socially

constructed power imbalances that might exist between people born across different borders.

In many cases, an increase in integrative behavior was promoted by an increase in knowledge as these musicians were compelled by the knowledge they had gained through musical contact to spread awareness and gain support for international causes. For many, activism, music, and travel became intertwined threads of a single rope. One explained:

I don't see music as separate from the type of things that I participate in in terms of marches or activism, or of how I've changed and evolved and become a better person and learned how to become more humble, learned how to just watch myself more closely because of the country that I come from and the places that I come from. And I think that music is a really gentle way to teach you that. And it doesn't have to be gentle, because there's been a lot of aggression that's happened. But it was a really gentle way for me to learn a lot of the atrocities that have happened and it was really able to personalize that and make that an emotional feeling for me, so that I could start doing self-work, within myself, and start doing the work that needed to be done. So I could decolonize my own brain to get on to the work in progress person that I am now.

Upon returning to the United States, many of the participants described increasing their integrative behavior following their contact with international music exposure by reading books on international topics, taking classes, attending workshops, engaging in online communities, participating in marches or protests, and/or joining international movements or campaigns. In the case of six of the participants, musical contact was the major driving factor in these behavioral changes. Other mitigating factors such as early travel exposure during youth and early participation in activist scenes also contributed to integrative attitudes. Two participants who'd spent a lot of time traveling in their youths before really coming into contact with international musical performance credit travel itself, rather than musical contact, for their integrative behaviors. One of these

interviewees explained, “I think at that point in time when I first started traveling, that music wasn’t as much of a driving force besides that it was one of the glues that held the kind of activist punk traveling subculture together.” Although most of these musicians identified the genre of their current bands as folk, early influence from punk music and the punk scene seemed to be a contributing factor to integrative behavior for several interviewees. Another interviewee described punk as an entry genre into musical performance, “I started considering myself a musician when I was introduced to accessible music like punk. Punk is definitely a genre that can make anybody feel like they have access to being able to play music...and punk rock, a lot of the roots of punk rock are protest music.” It makes sense that punk music, with its authority-questioning roots and internationally networked scene would have a strong influence on one’s integrative behaviors and attitudes.

### **Attitudes**

The third major theme that I analyzed was attitudes. Meta-themes in this category included 1) music as a tool to break stereotypes, 2) music as a positive introduction to another culture. Attitudes were more difficult to directly trace to international music exposure than the other variables described above. Attitude changes were often influenced by mitigating factors such as upbringing, whether or not the interviewee grew up around immigrants or had immigrant parents, early interests in activism, early travel, and even international-focused college courses and study abroad experiences. Although every individual in my sample expressed high levels of integrative attitudes, I could not conclude that in every case these attitudes could be directly attributed to contact with international music. I could confidently establish that increased knowledge and behavior associated with international music contact

supported integrative attitudes. Essentially, while the directionality of this variable went up for some, it may have only stayed the same for others who were already passionate about world issues before their musical contact.

Prejudice can be inherited from our parents' biases (Mosher & Scodel, 1960; Carlson & Iovini, 1985). While some interviewees described their parents as very open-minded and accepting, others gave examples of a spectrum of xenophobic attitudes from their parents and other role models, usually in some way attached to prejudice about class, race, or religion. One interviewee recounted his generally very open-minded mother's panicked reaction to Arabic script:

When I first started playing with [band name removed for anonymity] and having Syrian friends and hanging out with Arabs, I would post things on Facebook like an Arabic song or things with Arabic letters. And my mom, her first reaction to seeing Arabic letters online was like, how do you know that your friends aren't terrorists? How do you know that your friends aren't part of ISIS? She had that reaction for the first few weeks or months.

This interviewee was able to impact his mother's negative biases by introducing her on Skype to his Syrian bandmate's mother, "I actually made her Skype with my friend [name removed for anonymity]'s mom who's also just a mom who's worried about her son who lives in a foreign country, and they had a good Skype session and my mom kind of relaxed after that and doesn't say that kind of stuff anymore." This example provides more evidence of how the impact of international music exposure can reverberate to audiences beyond those involved in the contact, and supports the earlier research on second-hand contact by Crisp & Turner (2009). In this case, a family member was positively influenced by a musician whose attitudes were positively influenced through musical contact. For one interviewee, attitudinal growth took place in

a shift from an evangelical perspective, to a comparative perspective, then shifted again to a perspective of holistic acceptance of other cultures:

Even though I was raised in a very strict family and my parents, particularly my father definitely suffers from certain racial biases, it never really translated in to my upbringing—except for the purpose to go to people is to evangelize in a way. Right? So I wasn't really raised thinking of any Latin American countries or Central American countries were different in a negative way, other than they need to have access to the same Jesus we have, from my upbringing. Then when I started to international travel, the mistakes I made earlier on were just to try to do a lot of comparative things: oh this is different from my country, oh this is different from my country, oh this is different from my country. But once you play music with other cultures and you get to know other folks and you really start to strip away this comparative type of thing, and you just let this thing be what it is, and you're just experiencing it, and you're part of the experiential atmosphere of it, then there aren't any spaces for those biases or those thoughts of how this person is. There isn't as much space for the voice that would be a discriminatory voice because there's this alignment of happening with the music and the living there together.

This interviewee's experience illustrates an attitudinal transition from seeking to impact another culture to simply accepting another culture for what it is, and celebrating it for what it is, which essentially describes multiculturalism.

One interviewee described how musical contact helped him grow past an initially critical impression of Arabic culture:

I remember the first time that I visited all of them I'd actually hitchhiked with this girl who was Swedish and six feet tall and blonde and had dread locks, and we'd actually had a horrible time hitchhiking in Egypt and Jordan and Palestine and Syria. It was just constant harassment. It was like, everywhere we went she was just a target, you know what I mean? So my first taste of Arabic culture was really shocking and unpleasant and I was like, alright well, maybe this is just a culture that I don't like. Maybe I just don't like this culture. But luckily, I got a second chance at it playing with [band name removed for anonymity] and living in Istanbul. And so, you know, I kind of realized that people in villages or—people who are not exposed to mainstream leftist ideas don't always have great politics or treat women great. I don't know how to say that in a kind way. So, having met Syrian and Turkish and Jordanian and Egyptian and Lebanese leftists and people who are in a similar cultural place to me, I realize that it's not about Arabic culture, it's about a level of education or its about patriarchy,

essentially. So well, I definitely like, was not against Arabs or against Arabic culture, it was somewhat two-dimensional to me, until I started playing with [band name removed for anonymity] and now it's three-dimensional. It's a real life thing and it's a thing I feel like I understand to some extent and enjoy and like. It's not something that I could ever dismiss as, oh I just don't like this culture. There's some aspects of the culture I don't like, at least now it's three dimensional. It's not something that could be accepted or rejected, it's something that is.

Again, this interviewee presents a story of attitudinal growth towards integrative beliefs impacted by international musical contact. He was prepared to reject another region's culture based on a negative experience, then playing music with Arabic musicians offered him a higher level of understanding that allowed him to accept Arabic culture, regardless of the dimensions of the culture that initially made him uncomfortable. This feeling of growing through music and travel to a place of acceptance echoed in many of the interviews. Another interviewee explained:

On the most basic fundamental level it changed me forever. But also, yeah it did give me a much greater sensibility of who I am in the context of the world. I remember coming back from living abroad for some period of time and my grandparents pick me up—and this is the global citizen grandparent and my cousin!—And they were saying something about being patriotic. And I was like, I don't really feel like that resonates with me, I don't feel patriotic. I don't really believe in that. I don't believe America is the best country in the world. I don't believe it's a competition. When did we make that a competition? That is so backwards. And that plays out still in my perception of everything, and the government and America's place and what America is doing in the world and my life work.

Although some gained this perspective from a mix of music and travel, others described musical exposure as the primary variable in their growth:

I don't think I came from a very cultured family on either sides when it comes to food or really music or understanding. I think, actually, now that I'm thinking about this, is that if it wasn't for music and me discovering certain types of music, I may not have gone and done some of these other things, or I might not have had an open attitude about the world and it may not have led me to travel and experience other cultures. Because I didn't come from a background of family that's like, let's travel. My mom's never been out of the country—not that that matters. She's actually open, she

just hasn't experienced a lot of stuff. It's hard to get her out of her comfort zone with eating and stuff like that. So I'm thinking, okay where did I get this from? And maybe it was from music or the people that I met because of music.

Another interviewee talked about Arabic music and articulated the power exposure to international music can have on one's attitudes as:

Humanizing people, giving joy. It's a way of sharing outside of language. Or it's a different language anyway. You don't have to speak the same language to be deeply moved by music... And it goes right to you. It bypasses your intellect; it bypasses your biases. How can you hate a people when you've heard their music? You have to be really well-armored in your hatred...how can you hear someone singing with such beauty and mastery and not understand that this part of the world is important? And of course it will always be infuriating that so much of the way we first meet the rest of the world is by bombing it and invading it.

This interviewee points out a lamentable thought that plays in my own mind often when I reflect on the origins of prejudice—so many Americans are introduced to other cultures through strange and terrible news such as wars, terrorist attacks, the outbreak of diseases, and natural disasters. The data from these interviews seems to agree that U.S. citizens could benefit from early exposure to the positive aspects of international culture, the music and dance of other places in the world, before we form opinions based solely on the over-emphasized negatives.

## CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

“I’m not kidding. If I was going to share something with people from other planets it would be music, because that’s the way to show you my sentience.”

–An Interviewee

### **Summary**

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of cultural contact on xenophobia. I tested one context for Allport’s (1954) group contact theory by exploring the ability of contact through international musical exposure to encourage integrative values and behaviors. The eight interviewees in my research shared their lived experiences of growth towards becoming more integrative world citizens through contact with international music. This contact included exposure to international music recordings in early childhood, jamming with street performers while traveling abroad, attending concerts in other countries, taking music and dance lessons from international instructors, attending international music conferences and camps, and swapping folk songs with international friends, among other lived experiences. This research is concerned with multiculturalism and the walls (both figurative and literal) that distance us from one another, as well as the borders that attempt to dictate with whom we share our resources and our friendship. As American cities increase in diversity, will differences in language, phenotypes, and ancestry hold us back from community cohesion? Or can positive cultural contact through music, dance, and other forms of cultural exchange serve as one channel for inter-group friendship and connection to service peace?

My findings suggest that international musical exchange can have positive effects on integrative attitudes, increase world knowledge, and increase integrative behaviors. The meta-themes attributed to each of these three outcomes are outlined in Table 2. Meta-themes within the category of knowledge included 1) political awareness, 2) personifying world histories through the formation of international relationships, 3) self-reflection, and 4) academic knowledge. Meta-themes outlined in the analysis of behavior included 1) music as a gateway for fellowship, 2) music as a bridge over language barriers, and 3) music as a tool to dismantle power imbalances. Finally, meta-themes falling into the major theme of attitudes included 1) music as a tool to break stereotypes, and 2) music as a positive introduction to another culture.

Table 5-1. Themes and Meta-themes

Themes	Knowledge	Behavior	Attitudes
Meta-themes	1. Political Awareness 2. Personifying World History Through the Formation of International Relationships 3. Self-Reflection 4. Academic Knowledge	1. Music as a Gateway for Fellowship 2. Music as a bridge over language barriers 3. Music as a tool to dismantle power imbalances	1. Music as a Tool to Break Stereotypes 2. Music as a positive introduction to another culture

### Application of this Research

Clearly, not everyone is a musician and few people have the opportunity to travel the world to connect over a shared art form. The individuals interviewed in this sample had a hyperbolic relationship with international musical exchange (IME) compared to

the average American. I intentionally sought out individuals with such high dosages to see if trends existed amongst those with the highest levels of contact with IME. I not only found evidence that positive trends in attitudes, knowledge and behaviors existed amongst this group, this research also generated two important points that could be applied widely to other Americans who aren't musicians and/or don't have opportunities to travel abroad.

First, there is repeated evidence of the positive impact that musicians who experience IME are making on their native communities after returning home from these experiences. These musicians generally return from their contact experience changed: more aware, more involved, and caring more about the issues of the world and the people who live outside of their nation's borders. They set to work, even in their rural home towns, sharing what they've learned and introducing other U.S. citizens to the beauty of the music and dance that they've encountered. They are followed by audiences and carry literal microphones with which they can educate their listeners and offer a form of second hand IME like that described by Crisp & Turner (2009). In this way, their tours create a sort of trade route of ideas that can enlighten audiences, correct misconceptions, and help Americans meet the rest of the world through arts rather than bombs.

Second, even before these individuals were musicians, they were children, and the detail with which most could recall their introduction to international music, often through elementary school music classes, is compelling evidence in favor of early childhood exposure to international performance for all young Americans. The United States has the ability to address xenophobic biases before they cement by funding

musical education, encouraging multicultural musical exposure by granting visas to international artists, funding multicultural festivals and musical experiences, and supporting cultural sharing through the arts.

### **Implications for Future Research**

This study generated a variety of question that might drive future research into this topic. First, future researchers could look into the power of the mitigating factors besides musical contact that seemed to add to the integrative behavior, knowledge, and attitudes of these participants. For example, three of the eight participants in this research were Jewish and one interviewee directly credited his 'Birthright Israel' trip as an entry point to travel in the Middle East. Despite the long history of conflict between Jews and Muslims in Israel and Palestine, the three Jewish participants in this study spoke with admiration and keen interest about Arabic music, people, and culture. Jewish individuals are members of a diasporic community and it would be interesting to survey the integrative attitudes, knowledge, and behavior of Jewish Americans and other diasporic groups to see if their identification with diaspora has an impact on their attitudes and concepts of national or cultural borders.

Three other participants in this study frequently mentioned the impact of the Christian church on their upbringing. During childhood, these three had primarily experienced music and musicianship through the lens of hymns and other Christian praise music. In some cases, these participants' first trips abroad were through missionary service work. It would be worthwhile to pry further into this factor by surveying samples of adults who had participated in youth missionary service trips to see how these experiences impact a developing youth's perceptions of other countries.

Three members of my sample had also participated actively in a form of international dance—Egyptian, Balkan, Israeli, and Turkish—either in childhood or adulthood. While musicians sometimes learn a style of international music privately by listening to recordings and locating tablature and sheet music, dancers who study international dance forms tend to learn more socially by attending classes or apprenticing under a teacher or mentor. This means that international folk dancers might be more socialized in the community of dance music that they practice, more likely to travel to study, and perhaps more likely to form close relationships with international artists than musicians would be. It would be interesting to conduct a specific study on the impacts of cultural contact through dance.

Two interviewees talked at some length about how growing up in a cosmopolitan atmosphere impacted their worldview from an early age. It might seem obvious that growing up in a multicultural urban environment would generate an acceptance of and/or interest in other cultures, yet xenophobia still exists in cosmopolitan areas. Researchers studying xenophobia might make a study of the regionalism of xenophobia and interview adults who grew up in cosmopolitan cities to see how true it is that urban diversity impacts tolerant or accepting worldviews. If urbanism has a positive correlation with integrative attitudes, researchers would also want to know if the opposite is true, and if rural isolation contributes to xenophobic attitudes.

Perhaps one of the most important suggestions that this study offers for future research and theoretical inquiry is to look more carefully into defining and scrutinizing the concept of cultural appropriation. Many of the artists in my sample were highly aware of the harms of cultural appropriation and worked very diligently to avoid injuring

or offending while coming into contact with international cultures. However, even this mindful sample did not agree on a single approach to participate in positive cultural exchange without causing harm or offense. Several of these artists expressed guilt and worry about walking what they saw as a complicated and undefined line between cultural sharing and cultural appropriation. My research shows the strong integrative benefits of cultural contact through international music exposure, but I am concerned that confusion about cultural appropriation and fear of crossing that line will prevent future American musicians, dancers, and other individuals from participating in cultural exchange at all. While it is important to avoid harmful cultural appropriation, the ideas of strict cultural borders, cultural purity, and cultural essentialism have also been used by fascist movements to reinforce concepts of national borders and xenophobic segregation (Prashad, 2002). American artists are in need of a comprehensive definition of cultural appropriation, perhaps one that is created by a diverse, knowledgeable, experienced, and interdisciplinary group of researchers and cultural arts practitioners. Such a resource could greatly benefit everyone participating in cultural exchange.

It would also be interesting to conduct this same research in countries outside of the United States. One interviewee pointed out that xenophobia is a problem in Colombia as well as the United States. There is no reason to limit this research to the one nation. Also, in the realm of international contexts, this study points out how music can be used for good, but if music is so impactful, surely there are examples of music being used for harm. It would be worthwhile to also examine the history of music as a weapon and examples of music as a tool of divisiveness or violence. It is too optimistic to imagine that musical contact (like other forms of contact) always has positive results.

Finally, at least two of the participants in this sample described attending large musical conferences such as Balkan camp and Klezmer camp, where international instructors visit the United States to give seminars on their country's music and dance. These camps were profound learning experiences for the participants that sparked widespread interest in world cultures, and generated international relationships that lasted beyond the week of camp. In the future, I would like to study these camps and the people who attend them to see how these conference experiences function as tools for integration.

### **Conclusion**

Although most of us would not want to admit it, many Americans live in a great cloud of ignorance about the cultures of other parts of the world. Our attitudes about the rest of the world are largely based on the biases of our parents and leaders, and the contact we have with other countries through exotic trivia, Orientalizing media, and shocking news stories. When many Americans visit other countries, it is through tourism curated for western tastes involving cruise ships, large resorts, and the unblemished façade of manufactured experiences. This research describes one context for intergroup contact that provides an opportunity for positive human exchange, where knowledge can be imbued, integrative behavior can be supported, and accepting attitudes can be achieved. The purpose of this study was to test group contact theory, to see if integrative results could be achieved through international musical contact. In this research I found that 1) music inspires us to research and learn, and musical experiences are memorable experiences, 2) Music creates open exchange and an atmosphere of fellowship that supports international friendship and spans language

barriers, and 3) Music can be used as a tool of integration to reduce biases and support integrative attitudes.

APPENDIX A  
INTERVIEW OUTLINE

**Section A: Demographic Information**

1. What is your name?
2. What is your age and birth date?
3. In what state or region of the country were you born and raised?  
Where do you live now?
4. What is your ethnicity?
5. Are your parents immigrants or the children of immigrants?
6. Are you fluent in any languages besides English? If so, which languages?
7. How many times have you traveled abroad? Where did you go?  
How long did you stay?
8. How many times have you traveled abroad specifically to play and experience music? Where did you go? How long did you stay?

**Section B: Research Question 1: Does Exposure to International Music Performance reduce xenophobic attitudes?**

1. What impact has international music exposure had on your attitudes about foreigners?
2. How did you feel about immigrants before you'd been exposed to international music performance?
3. How do you feel about immigrants after being exposed to international music performance?
4. Would you say that you feel more comfortable around immigrants now than you did before your international music exposure?
5. Were there other factors that might have impacted your attitudes about immigrants over time? Were any of these factors more influential than your exposure to international music? Can you place these factors on a scale of one to ten with one equating no impact and ten equating heavy impact? I want to understand which factors were most influential to your changing attitudes, behaviors, and knowledge of immigrants and how your contact with IMP compares to other factors

**Section C: Research Question2: Does Exposure to International Music Performance Increase Integrative Behaviors?**

1. We've discussed how your experiences with IMP have impacted your feelings and attitudes, now I want to talk about how this exposure has influenced your behavior. Do you feel that your behavior towards immigrants and immigrant issues has changed since your contact with international music performance? In what ways?
2. Can you describe your behavior towards immigrants before your exposure to IMP? For example, did you have relationships with immigrants in your community or friendships with foreign visitors to the

U.S.? Were you involved in any international clubs or organizations, or participate in any activities that would increase your knowledge of foreign culture? Did you willfully study any foreign languages? Did you go out of your way to advocate for immigrant rights?

3. How has your behavior towards immigrants changed since your contact with IMP? Do you have relationships with immigrants or foreign visitors following your exposure to IMP? Have you joined any international clubs or organizations? Do you participate in any activities now that you did not before as a result of your contact with IMP? Have you attended protests, created art, or actively demonstrated in other ways to advocate for a more multicultural United States?

4. Are there other factors besides IMP that might have influenced the behaviors that we just discussed? If so, what are these factors? Can you again place these factors on a scale of one to ten, with one equating no impact and ten equating heavy impact?

#### **Section D: Research Question 3: Does Exposure to International Music Performance Increase Knowledge of World?**

1. This section of the interview addresses changes in your knowledge since exposure to IMP. Would you say that you were knowledgeable about the immigrant experience and/or immigration policy and rights before your exposure to IMP?

2. Had you studied languages other than English before your contact with IMP?

3. Did you know much about international geography or world history before your contact with IMP?

4. Are you more fluent now in any languages, other than English, than you were before your exposure to IMP?

5. Do you have a greater understanding of international geography and/or world history now than you did before your exposure to IMP?

6. Were there other factors besides IMP that affected your knowledge of immigrant experiences and worldview? Can you again place these factors on a scale of one to ten, with one equating no impact and ten equating heavy impact?

**SECTION E: Research QUESTION NUMBER FOUR: Does exposure to international music performance increase awareness of immigrant experiences and struggles?**

1. This last section of the interview addresses changes in your awareness of xenophobia since exposure to IMP. Since your exposure to IMP are you more aware of public policy towards immigration and its effects on immigrants?

2. Have you taken courses, read books, or made other attempts to increase your knowledge about people who live outside the United States or people who immigrate there?

3. Do you subscribe to any international media (blogs, newspapers, magazines) now that you did not pay attention to before your interactions with IMP?
4. Were there other factors besides IMP that affected your awareness of immigrant experiences and worldview? Can you again place these factors on a scale of one to ten, with one equating no impact and ten equating heavy impact?

### **Section E: Conclusion**

1. If you were in my place, trying to understand how international music performance affects xenophobia, are there additional questions that we've neglected to address that you would want to ask? Are there any important points that you feel that we should include in this interview?

## APPENDIX B DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Contact Theory- A hypothesis by Gordon Allport (1954) that suggests that favorable contact between dominant and oppressed groups can reduce prejudice amongst group members. Rather than avoiding conflict by segregating groups and limiting or altogether avoiding contact, Allport's theory suggested that increased contact in a positive context could lessen prejudice and increase cooperation and unity.

Cultural Appropriation- As mentioned in my suggestions for future research, I could not find a satisfactorily comprehensive definition for the act of cultural appropriation, and as far as I know one does not exist. Here is how the term is commonly defined today, "The unauthorized use by members of one group of the cultural expressions and resources of another...[using] names, imagery, iconography, and other symbols—particularly for commercial purposes." (Riley & Carpenter, 2015)

Cultural Sharing/Exchange- an act wherein a group or individual exposes elements of their cultural heritage to a group or individual outside of their own social group. (Carnes, Abstract)

Music Therapy- "Community Music Therapy as an area of professional practice is situated health musicking in a community, as a planned process of collaboration between client and therapist with a specific focus upon promotion of sociocultural and communal change through a participatory approach where music as ecology of performed relationships is used in non-clinical and inclusive settings." (Stige, 2003)

Xenophobia- This paper uses Yakushko's (2009) definition of xenophobia as a socially observable prejudice stemming from a set of attitudes based on fear, dislike, or hatred of foreign individuals or groups.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Chelsea Carnes studies the impact of art, culture, and creativity on community and social problems. She is a multi-instrumentalist performer and community organizer. She is a founder and director of Gainesville Girls Rock Camp, a program that uses music to encourage self-esteem in girls. She has a Bachelor of Arts degree in history, a minor in ethnomusicology, and a Master of Science degree in family, youth, and community sciences at the University of Florida.