

1 Chapter 19

2 **The role of music in the integration**
 3 **of cultural minorities**

4 Richard Parncutt and Angelika Dorfer

5 **Abstract**

6 Social, cultural and, political integration involves multiple
 7 interactions between migrant minorities and the indigenous
 8 majority. Measures of integration include frequency of contact,
 9 feeling of belonging, and familiarity with and mutual acceptance of
 10 other cultural groups. Intercultural exchange and the construction of
 11 new cultural identities can both promote and hinder integration.
 12 The literature on integration addresses language skills, education,
 13 occupation, income, (un)employment, and social capital. What is
 14 the role of culture, including music, in cultural integration? Twenty-
 15 four participants of a musicology course unit interviewed 54 ‘new
 16 Austrians’ from Albania, China, Egypt (Copts), Iraq (Kurds), Italy,
 17 Nigeria, and Serbia, as well as 20 people born in Austria. They spoke
 18 about music in their everyday lives, any music they perform, their
 19 cultural identity and social contacts, the music, customs and
 20 traditions of their cultural group in Graz, their favourite CDs, and
 21 the relationship between music and integration. These were
 22 formulated on the basis of a qualitative content analysis of the
 23 transcriptions. We also explored quantitative relationships between
 24 variables such as duration of residence within the European Union,
 25 the perceived importance of music, and self-rated degree of
 26 integration.

27 This chapter was inspired by **John** Sloboda’s research in two separate areas—music
 28 psychology and international politics. We bring them together to address the role of
 29 music in the integration of cultural minorities in modern cities. John’s early research
 30 in music psychology focused on abstract cognitive processes. He later addressed issues
 31 of musical meaning and function, and the musical concerns and everyday lives of real

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1 musicians and music listeners. While the present contribution focuses on an everyday
 2 function of music, it is directly inspired by John's political activities within the Oxford
 3 Research Group and the success with which he has divided his time and energy between
 4 'pure' research and social/political concerns (cf. Chapter 2).

5 The analysis by Abbott, Rogers, and Sloboda (2007) of the main problems that face
 6 the human race today can also explain why cities are becoming increasingly multicultur-
 7 tural. Cultural diversity inevitably leads to intercultural conflict, because different cul-
 8 tures have different values, ways of thinking and ways of going about things, or because
 9 differences in language and cultures of communication lead to misunderstandings.
 10 Thus, integration is becoming an increasingly important social and political issue.

11 Our study has implications for both music psychology and international politics. In
 12 music psychology, a clarification of the roles of music in cultural integration can feed
 13 into research on musical identities (Cook, 1998; Frith, 1996; Hargreaves, Miell, &
 14 MacDonald, 2002; Müller, Glogner, Rhein, & Heim, 2002) and the positive psychology
 15 of music in everyday life (Bakker, 2003; DeNora, 2000; Kreutz, Bongard, Rohrmann,
 16 Hodapp, & Grebe, 2004; Laukka, 2006; North, Hargreaves, & Hargreaves, 2004;
 17 Sloboda, 2005; Sloboda & O'Neill, 2001; Sloboda, O'Neill, & Ivaldi, 2001). Regarding
 18 international politics, strategies for intercultural conflict resolution can have both local
 19 and international implications. Domestic procedures for conflict resolution can be
 20 applied to international conflicts—for example, democratic countries are more able to
 21 reconcile competing values and interests and more likely to accept international com-
 22 promise solutions (Dixon, 1993; Gleditsch, 2002). In the USA, improved communica-
 23 tion between Jewish and Arab communities and improved Arab integration (McCarus,
 24 1994) can influence US foreign policy and promote conflict resolution in the Middle
 25 East. International conflict resolution can be promoted or hindered by cultural or
 26 musical projects; a controversial example is the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, which
 27 its conductor Daniel Barenboim regarded as a 'utopian republic' (Willson, 2009).

28 Global historical context

29 Cities in most countries, rich and poor, are becoming more culturally diverse and
 30 experiencing the advantages and disadvantages of that development. Cultural diversity
 31 expands the palette of cultural activities that a city offers, promotes economic produc-
 32 tivity (Ottaviano & Peri, 2006), and *boosts* the leisure and tourism industry (Shaw,
 33 Bagwell, & Karmowska, 2004). But intercultural conflict can also increase public sup-
 34 port for far-right political parties that exacerbate racist and xenophobic attitudes,
 35 challenge the rights of foreigners (e.g. to work or participate in democratic proced-
 36 ures), and strive to curb immigration and asylum (Lubbers, Gijsberts, & Scheepers,
 37 2002). Immigrants often live in neighbourhoods with poor health and educational
 38 services and high rates of unemployment, poverty and crime, which further hinders
 39 their integration (Kazemipur & Halli, 2002). Since the trend towards greater cultural
 40 diversity in modern cities shows no signs of abating, any approach to addressing the
 41 problems and **raising awareness of the benefits** is worthy of consideration.

42 Migration is a constant feature of humankind (cf. Park, 1928) that has prevented the
 43 emergence of genetically relatively homogenous groups ('races'; Owens & King, 1999)

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1 and has become more prevalent and rapid in recent centuries (Wakeley, 1999). But
 2 modern multicultural cities are also a consequence of increased intercultural com-
 3 munication and mobility: their culturally diverse citizens communicate with and visit
 4 their international friends, relatives, and colleagues increasingly easily and often. As
 5 multidirectional cross-border flows and transnational networks become stronger,
 6 urban multiculturalism is increasingly linked to economic and cultural globalization
 7 (Castles, 2006; Hall & Williams, 2002).

8 Technological progress in communications and transport has enhanced the inter-
 9 national mobility of workers and their families (Stalker, 2000). But migration is also
 10 driven by international crises and associated climate change, competition for limited
 11 resources, poverty, and militarization (cf. Abbott *et al.*, 2007). Climate change is
 12 increasing the incidence of storms and famines; these primarily affect poorer coun-
 13 tries (Van Aalst, 2006) and generate *environmental refugees*. Environmental problems
 14 of all kinds, from earthquakes to nuclear pollution, can provoke migration (Hunter,
 15 2005). The poverty rate in rich nations is increasing (Kazemipur & Halli, 2002), and
 16 the gap between rich and poor nations has widened, generating *economic refugees*.
 17 Most countries are getting richer, but some poor countries are stagnating, and rich
 18 countries are getting richer faster than the poorer countries (Seshanna & Decornez,
 19 2003). Reasons include the failure of countries and international markets to tax
 20 income and profits fairly (Webb, 2004) and the failure of richer countries to invest
 21 0.7% of their gross national product in international development and poverty reduc-
 22 tion (Sachs, 2005). Regarding militarization, international and civil wars and coups
 23 produce *refugees of violence* (cf. Barnett & Adger, 2007; Reuveny, 2007). Sixty years
 24 after the universal declaration of human rights, fundamental rights are still regularly
 25 violated, generating *political refugees*.

26 These problems reflect a long-term mismatch between technological and psychoso-
 27 cial progress. Historical indicators of psychosocial progress include the French revolu-
 28 tion, the abolition of slavery in most countries, and voting rights for women (Sachs,
 29 2005). Nevertheless, 'the human traits that lead to war, environmental disaster, and
 30 famine have not improved during recorded history. Our technological advances have
 31 increased exponentially over a few centuries, but our intercommunity and interracial
 32 skills have improved little' (Shearman, 2002, p. 1468). Evolution has not prepared
 33 human beings for problems of planetary dimensions; if we have barely experienced
 34 global warming personally, we find it difficult to imagine the ultimate consequences.
 35 Moreover, humans tend to go into denial when presented with enormous problems
 36 (Cohen, 2001), such as the millions of children and adults who die of hunger each year
 37 (Shetty, 2006; Sloboda, 2005).

38 Since the causes of migration are both complex and massive, the associated prob-
 39 lems will grow steadily in coming decades. Cities will be increasingly challenged to
 40 address the problems and to perceive and take advantage of the benefits.

AQ: Same query
as above.

41 Integration, assimilation, acculturation

42 Cultural minorities that are not consistently discriminated against or persecuted tend
 43 to prefer forms of integration in which different cultures live side by side, maintaining

1 and developing their identity (Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). The identi-
 2 ties of both majority and minorities are modified, extended, and enriched by interac-
 3 tion with other cultures (*transculturality*: Welsch, 1999). New cultural orientations
 4 can emerge when intergroup interactions lead to changes in traditions, behaviours,
 5 and preferences. But all parties typically retain and value aspects of their original
 6 identity (Kuran & Sandholm, 2007).

7 The implicit definition of 'integration' depends on the speaker's political agenda,
 8 cultural background, and personal experience. While members of majority cultures
 9 tend to think of integration as the adaptation of minority groups to a stable majority,
 10 members of minority groups are more interested in maintaining minority cultures,
 11 which they do not see as contrary to adaptation (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2002). Centre-
 12 right governments tend to regard immigrants as responsible for problems associated
 13 with migration, expect them to adapt to local conditions, and require them to attend
 14 language courses and pass citizenship tests; centre-left governments may instead
 15 regard integration as an opportunity to enrich culture and quality of life. But excep-
 16 tions are frequent: the left may respond to xenophobic tendencies among their sup-
 17 porters, while the right may recognize the economic benefits of cultural diversity.

18 The present approach is biased towards centre-left and liberal-green politics. We
 19 consider integration to involve all interactions among all cultural groups, including
 20 the majority. All such groups may be either indigenous or international; for example,
 21 the majority culture in Australian cities is originally of British origin, and indigenous
 22 Australians have become one of a large number of cultural minorities. Minorities can
 23 be regarded as 'indigenous' if they have lived in the same area for a long time; indige-
 24 nous communities in modern Austria include Jews, Roma, and speakers of Slovenian,
 25 Croat, Hungarian, Italian, and Czech (Hemetek, 2001).

26 Integration can be social or individual. Individual integration or acculturation (Ward,
 27 Bochner, & Furnham, 2001) can involve language skill acquisition, employment and
 28 income, feeling at home, frequency of contact with other groups (meetings, phone calls,
 29 events, number of 'foreign' friends and acquaintances), and everyday independence
 30 and efficacy (public transport, shopping, cultural activities, contact with authorities).
 31 The integration of a social group involves acceptance by other groups, lack of prejudice,
 32 and frequency of contact as measured, for example, by rate of intermarriage. It also
 33 involves structural integration: representation of minorities in professions, public serv-
 34 ice and politics, and the incidence, visibility, and stability of institutions such as govern-
 35 ment and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that genuinely promote integration.
 36 Minorities tend to be regarded by outsiders as homogenous and by insiders as hetero-
 37 geneous (examples from China and former Yugoslavia are presented by Folkestad,
 38 2002); integration involves feeling at home not only within one's cultural group (in a
 39 foreign setting), but also in a wider multi-, inter-, and transcultural setting.

40 In an increasingly globalized world, familiar categories such as locals and immi-
 41 grants, integration and assimilation, and settlers and guest workers are becoming
 42 blurred. Enculturation (original culture) and acculturation (new culture) cannot
 43 always be clearly separated: migrant children simultaneously absorb two different
 44 cultures, and while they may be better able to absorb their 'new' local culture than
 45 their parents, familiarity with their 'old' culture can enhance their self-esteem and

1 ability to integrate (Auernheimer, 1995). Migrants increasingly have multiple identi-
 2 ties and their communities have transnational character (Castles, 2006). Consider for
 3 example a Turkish woman living in Graz with two children. Her complex identity
 4 includes at least the following elements: Turkish, Muslim, woman, mother, Graz resi-
 5 dent. If she is in regular contact by telephone and email with friends and family in
 6 Turkey, and occasionally visits Turkey or receives Turkish visitors, her ‘community’ is
 7 international. Today, the term ‘international migrant’ can be split into several catego-
 8 ries or prototypes: *immigrants* (who integrate into a recipient society), *re-immigrants*
 9 (who maintain strong links to their society of origin), *diaspora-immigrants* (who
 10 maintain strong ties to a well-defined transnational community), and *transmigrants*,
 11 who are ‘characterized by their durable social, cultural, and economic localization and
 12 integration in new and pluri-local Transnational Social Spaces’ (Pries, 1998, abstract).
 13 Transmigrants have not been uprooted from their original culture; instead, they are
 14 world citizens in a globalized economy (cf. Schiller, Basch, & Szanton Blanc, 1997).
 15 While the blurring of boundaries may make the conceptualization of integration
 16 difficult, it is also positive evidence that integration is occurring.

17 *Integration* implies equal rights for settled and mobile cultures. It is often contrasted
 18 with *assimilation*, in which minorities are expected to give up their culture (Van
 19 Oudenhoven *et al.*, 1998) and *hybridization* into a *melting pot*, in which majority and
 20 minorities merge to form a new cultural synergy (Zank, 1998). But since every migrant
 21 brings salient, stable habits, memories and constructions of value and identity to a
 22 new cultural context, no one is completely assimilated. Besides, migrants often build
 23 homes away from home (e.g. Chinatowns) that maintain their identity and culture.
 24 African Americans share a strong sense of ethnic identity after centuries of suppress-
 25 sion, assimilation, and marginalization (Oyserman, Gant, & Ager, 1995).

26 Promoting integration

27 Assuming that integration is the solution—if not the panacea—that modern multicultu-
 28 ral cities need and strive for, how can it best be promoted? In general, one can either
 29 increase the incidence or salience of positive factors, or decrease the incidence or sali-
 30 ence of negative factors. Positive factors include any collective activity that promotes
 31 positive intergroup contact (e.g. sport); negative factors, any kind of discrimination,
 32 xenophobia or racism. Social and cultural integration can also be promoted by chan-
 33 nelling the self-interest of stakeholders (economic relationships among groups), by
 34 altruistic projects and activities (NGOs), or combinations (altruistic projects that
 35 provide paid work for NGOs). Since all such factors can contribute positively to inte-
 36 gration, and social systems are complex and difficult to monitor or model, the combi-
 37 nation of different strategies may be greater than the sum of the parts, due to
 38 unforeseeable interactions between the positive effects of different strategies and the
 39 unforeseeable emergence of new benefits (cf. Mitleton-Kelly, 2003). The best strategy
 40 may not, therefore, be to favour one approach at the expense of others, but to promote
 41 a diversity of approaches.

42 What influences integration? Existing literature addresses the role of language
 43 skills (Greenberg, Macías, Rhodes, & Chan, 2001); education, occupation and income

1 (Hou & Balakrishnan, 1996); (un)employment (Gowricharn, 2002); social capital
 2 (Jacobs & Tillie, 2004); and the opinions and prejudices of the majority culture (Bobo
 3 & Zubrinsky, 1996). On a more abstract level, cultural integration involves *personal*
 4 *identity*—the way an individual describes and understands themselves, which depends
 5 directly on culture. *Self-identity* is a form of self-description that may be stable for
 6 years or decades; it develops early in life and depends on in-group identification, con-
 7 ceptions of social identities, prejudice, and social context (Bennett & Sani, 2004).

8 The evaluative aspect of self-identity (How good am I by comparison to other peo-
 9 ple? is *self-esteem*. It involves situation- and domain-specific aspects such as coping
 10 with stress and musical ability (Hargreaves *et al.*, 2002), and is often founded on group
 11 inclusion (Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995). Self-esteem tends to be weakened
 12 by migration: newly **arrived** migrants find themselves unable to cope with simple eve-
 13 ryday situations due to incomplete knowledge of local language, geography, customs,
 14 weather, and so on. A migrant musician may have difficulty demonstrating their
 15 musical ability to local musicians, and in rehearsal may misunderstand local unwrit-
 16 ten rules of musical interaction. Both in this specific case and more generally, if music
 17 can promote self-esteem, it can promote integration.

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 'frequently'?

18 Music and integration

19 Art and music may play an important subsidiary role in integration once existential
 20 problems are solved (cf. Maslow's 1943 hierarchy of human needs and motivation).
 21 Culture includes shared meanings and behaviours that are variously expressed.
 22 Cultures construct different realities and hidden assumptions. Differences are least
 23 reconcilable when embedded in fundamentalist political, economic, and religious
 24 systems. Thus, intercultural conflicts require attention to and acknowledgement of
 25 cultural detail (Marsella, 2005). Culture can also contribute directly and simply to
 26 integration: in everyday social and political settings, foreign artists tend to be accepted
 27 when they offer something that locals do not (or cannot), and are not seen as compet-
 28 ing for resources (such as employment), but rather creating new resources; the same
 29 may apply to foreign sportspeople (cf. Nagel, 1995).

30 The following everyday example highlights the complexity of music's role in inte-
 31 gration. The hypothetical Turkish woman in Graz mentioned above may have limited
 32 personal contacts—little more than her husband and two children. Her knowledge of
 33 the German language is limited and it is difficult for her to attend German classes.
 34 Sometimes she listens to recordings of Turkish music and feels sad and nostalgic. Does
 35 this music (or this behaviour) promote or hinder her integration?

36 Music 'plays an important role in the negotiation, construction and maintenance of
 37 identities' (MacDonald, Hargreaves, & Miell, 2009, p. 463). From internationally
 38 dominant musical cultures such as Germany (Applegate & Potter, 2002; Folkestad,
 39 2002) to suppressed indigenous cultures such as the aboriginal people of Australia
 40 (Gibson, 1998), cultures define themselves through music; 'it may be that the aware-
 41 ness of a common national musical identity independent of social, religious or ethnic
 42 background is more prevalent and stronger in countries that have fought for freedom
 43 throughout history than in countries which have lived in peace for a long time'

1 (Folkestad, 2002, p. 155). Greek Cypriot primary school children are exposed to music
 2 that carries contradictory ideological messages; they develop ‘fluid and often insecure,
 3 ambiguous and contradictory national musical identities’ (Pieridou-Skoutella, 2007).
 4 According to Cook (1998, p. 4–5), ‘music ... functions as a symbol of national or
 5 regional identity: émigré communities sometimes clung tenaciously to their tradi-
 6 tional music in order to preserve their identity in a foreign country. . . . In today’s
 7 world, deciding what music to listen to is a significant part of deciding and announc-
 8 ing to people not just who you “want to be” ... but who you **are**. Thus, music not only
 9 *reflects* identities—it also *constructs* them.

10 But self-identity through music does not always promote integration. Although rap
 11 music has strengthened the identity of many black Americans, exposure to violent rap
 12 can also promote stereotyping of black people (by both white and black people them-
 13 selves), increasing the probability that black people will be considered violent and
 14 unintelligent (Johnson, Trawalter, & Dovidio, 2000). Moreover, identities are never
 15 clear-cut, and they *seldom* correspond clearly to nation-states. Frith (1996) argues
 16 ‘first, that identity is **mobile**, a process not a thing, a becoming not a being; second, that
 17 our experience of music—of music making and music listening—is best understood
 18 as an experience of this *self-in-process*’ (p. 109).

19 Several recent empirical studies have addressed the integrative role of culture and
 20 music. Sousa, Neto, and Mullet (2005) found that including Cape Verdean songs
 21 among songs learned by Portuguese school children reduced black–white stereotyp-
 22 ing. In a study of multicultural Stockholm choirs, Pawlig (2003) observed that while
 23 relatively few choirs consciously promoted cultural integration, they nevertheless had
 24 important integrative functions: they were accessible for immigrants and enabled
 25 them to make social contacts, learn about Swedish culture and language, and be
 26 socially active and visible. Siegert (2008) studied the role of *maqam* music in the lives
 27 and identities of Turkish Germans, and concluded that music promotes integration
 28 on a personal level (helping individuals to feel at home in a foreign culture, creating a
 29 continuum between the past and the present, maintaining and developing personality
 30 and individuality), a social or intersubjective level (helping people to develop authen-
 31 tic relationships within and between heterogenous cultural groups, to overcome prej-
 32 udice and to open up to outside influences), and a universal level (spirituality and the
 33 feeling of establishing a connection between soul and cosmos). Bradley (2006) ana-
 34 lysed racialized discourses within multicultural programmes of music education
 35 and considered different motivations for engaging in multiculturalism in music
 36 education, identifying decolonization as a crucial catalyst for substantive change.

37 Personal background

38 This is a preliminary, qualitative study to explore issues and ideas about the role of
 39 music of integration. Our approach and interpretations depend on various historical,
 40 political, academic, and personal contexts. The study was originally motivated by the
 41 first author’s political and academic interests and biases. Since these influenced
 42 the study from conception, planning, execution, analysis right through to the final
 43 conclusions, they will be described in some detail in the first person.

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1 Academically, I am interested in the future development of music psychology, both
 2 for its own sake and as a subdiscipline of musicology (Parncutt, 2007, 2008). I agree
 3 with Sloboda (2005) that music psychology should more often and more directly
 4 address issues of social importance and relevance. To achieve that, music psychology
 5 needs a diverse palette of epistemologies and research methods. The discipline is still
 6 dominated by empirical cognitive psychology, which like any other epistemology is
 7 limited in its scope of application and validity. Of all presentations at the International
 8 Conference on Music Perception and Cognition in Sapporo, Japan, in 2008, 75% were
 9 reports of empirical and data-oriented studies; only 25% were theoretical studies,
 10 reviews, demonstrations, or presentations on research/teaching methods, software
 11 development, or music analysis (Parncutt, 2008). Music research can and should aim
 12 for a better balance between the humanities and sciences.

13 As a researcher I have lived in several different countries (Australia, Germany,
 14 France, Sweden, Canada, UK) and observed—from the position of an educated, white
 15 male—many different forms of racism and xenophobia. I moved from the UK to
 16 Austria in 1998 to take up a professorship in systematic musicology at the University
 17 of Graz. During my first year, I witnessed a national election campaign in which
 18 openly racist or xenophobic public statements were commonplace, which motivated
 19 me to contact relevant Graz NGOs and interculturality researchers. Both groups felt
 20 powerless to influence the campaign and its negative social effects. I saw this as an
 21 opportunity to strengthen the political role of universities and interculturality
 22 researchers. Various projects ensued, including documentation of interculturality
 23 research in diverse disciplines, a multidisciplinary series of lectures about racism and
 24 xenophobia, a project to help the Austrian media avoid racism, and an awareness-
 25 raising campaign with catchy, foreigner-friendly slogans.¹

26 The data for the present study were collected by students in a master's level seminar.
 27 I saw that as a logical and legitimate way to combine my political goals and activities
 28 with my music psychology research and teaching. The seminar was politically neutral
 29 and no attempt was made to document the political preferences of the students.

30 The second author of this study was a student on that course. She reports: I grew up
 31 in Graz. As a child (aged 6–13), I spent several school holidays travelling in Turkey,
 32 Indonesia, Thailand, Egypt, and Uganda (Africa) with my parents. During these trips,
 33 which I generally enjoyed, my parents and I made many contacts with local people.
 34 I have since then been fascinated by culture and interculturality in the sense of differ-
 35 ent lifestyles and attitudes. I spent one year studying in Italy. I also spent five semesters
 36 working in the Student Union of the University of Graz in the area of international
 37 relations, which primarily involved supporting foreign students. In my musicology
 38 studies, I was interested in the social and psychological effects of music, which moti-
 39 vated me to take part in this study. Since the problem of integration and the possible
 40 role(s) of music are evidently quite complex, I think that it is important to develop
 41 ways to individually consider the different aspects and not to over-simplify.

42 Method

43 What is the role of music in integration, and how can the role of music in integration
 44 be investigated? In this exploratory, qualitative study, we focused on the experiences

1 and opinions of culturally diverse residents of a medium-sized city (Graz, Austria;
 2 population 300 000). We wanted to know not only what music people hear and play,
 3 and where and when they do that, but also why and how they do that. We aimed not
 4 to test hypotheses, but to generate them.²

5 Graz is an interesting location for such a study. The city has a long history of
 6 multiculturalism and multilingualism as a central location in the Austro-Hungarian
 7 Empire. The extreme racism of Hitler's Third Reich casts a long shadow, and
 8 since 1945, Austrians have been alternately addressing and avoiding its consequences
 9 and implications (Albrich, 1994). Many who were exposed to Nazi racist propaganda
 10 are still alive, and echoes of the past still resonate in the policies of extreme-right
 11 political parties. The city recovered politically and economically from the Second
 12 World War in a relatively isolated corner of western Europe close to the Iron Curtain.
 13 Because Austria was recognized by the Allies as a victim of Nazi aggression, this
 14 half-truth was taught to Austrian children in post-war schools, and Austria pursued
 15 de-Nazification less seriously and thoroughly than Germany. Moreover, popular
 16 support for the dispossession, deportation, and destruction of Jews had been greater
 17 in Vienna than in comparable German cities (Tálos, Hanisch, & Neubauer, 2000,
 18 pp. 237–259, 767–794). The decade following the fall of communism in 1990 saw a
 19 sharp increase in migration and cultural diversity due to the new freedom of move-
 20 ment between the East and West, the refugees generated by conflicts within nearby
 21 ex-Yugoslavia, and refugees from more distant conflicts in Africa and Asia. Populist
 22 far-right politicians took advantage of the resultant conflicts and xenophobia and in
 23 2000 the Freedom Party (FPÖ) joined the federal government in a coalition with the
 24 centre-right People's Party (ÖVP) (Wodak & Pelinka, 2002). The relationship between
 25 the FPÖ and Hitler's National Socialism (Riedlsberger, 2002) was discussed in
 26 the European Union, culminating in several months of sanctions that Austrians on
 27 both the left and the right considered unfair, reviving anti-European sentiments.
 28 Meanwhile, cultural diversity in Graz was steadily increasing and many new NGOs
 29 were being established. These NGOs now appear to be the main driving force behind
 30 the steady (if slow) progress that is being made towards cultural integration on different
 31 levels.

32 Our approach to the question of music in integration differs in fundamental ways
 33 from typical ethnomusicological approaches such as Hemetek (2001). Ethnomu-
 34 sicologists often get involved in the musical activities of foreign culture for an extended
 35 period, getting to know its members and gaining their trust (Nettl, 1983). We value and
 36 respect this approach but did not adopt it. First, we did not aim to document the music
 37 of each group. Instead we asked about its integrative role, and the social and political
 38 implications for all minorities and the whole community. To address those issues, we
 39 considered and compared a range of different cultures. Second, our study was confined
 40 to a university semester. Our student interviewers had only a few weeks to try to get a
 41 preliminary insider view of their cultural group and its music. They briefly presented
 42 their findings during class before the interviews began. Similarly, our approach also
 43 differs from typical approaches in empirical cognitive psychology. Multicultural com-
 44 munities cannot be experimentally manipulated to study cause–effect relationships.
 45 Correlations are possible, but did not, in our case, yield significant results (Dorfer,
 46 2009).

1 Participants

2 The interviewers were 28 musicology students enrolled in a master's level seminar at
3 the University of Graz in 2006.³ They had been studying for an average of 2.5 full-time
4 equivalent years and their mean age was 25.6 years. Sixteen were female and 12 were
5 male. All were Austrian citizens and had grown up in Austria; their ethnicity was
6 relatively uniform.

7 The respondents were Graz residents from seven different migrant groups. They
8 were not randomly selected, nor were they necessarily representative of Graz minori-
9 ties or even of the minorities that they represented. It is therefore dangerous to attempt
10 to generalize on the basis of our data, and generally not meaningful to count the
11 number or proportion of respondents who answered certain questions in certain
12 ways. The opinions expressed by our participants were primarily personal opinions.
13 The respondents were found by contacting migrant organizations and snowballing.
14 They satisfied the following criteria: residence in Graz, reasonable fluency in German
15 or English, and identification with one of seven specific cultural groups. Of 55 respond-
16 ents, 14 were excluded from analysis due to communication difficulties (as reported
17 by interviewers in a confidential post-questionnaire) or missing data. In the following,
18 we consider the remaining 41 interviews.

19 The 41 respondents were associated with seven different countries or cultures:
20 Albania (6 people), China (4), Egypt (Copts; 7), Iraq (Kurds; 5), Italy (9), Nigeria (5),
21 and Serbia (5). Twenty-two were female and 19 were male. They were aged 17–53
22 years (mean age 30), and had spent between 0.2 and 23 years in the European Union
23 (mean 8 years). Two had grown up in Austria in immigrant families. Further informa-
24 tion about the respondents is presented in Table 19.1.⁴

25 Procedure

26 At the first seminar session, the students were informed about the main aims and meth-
27 ods of the project. They were then asked to identify cultural groups in Graz with which
28 they had contact or whose music interested them. On that basis, they were divided into
29 seven groups of four members, each of which was assigned to a minority group.

30 In subsequent weekly sessions, the method of the study was developed. The first
31 author presented a draft interview guideline that was inspired by Höllinger (2004) and
32 Mayring (2002). It included tips on how to contact potential respondents, arrange an
33 interview, put the respondent at ease, encourage the respondent to speak at length
34 without biasing the content, make a sound recording, note the most important points
35 immediately following the interview, and transcribe the interview. It also recom-
36 mended ways of avoiding tendencies to make socially acceptable statements, answer
37 questions in the affirmative, and invent arbitrary explanations to avoid seeming unin-
38 formed. The students commented on the draft and the first author revised it.

39 Ethical issues were considered in detail. The students discussed intercultural gender
40 issues and were asked to favour same-sex interviews (women interviewed by women,
41 men by men). They discussed possible effects of perceived differences in class or status
42 between interviewer and respondent, and were asked to present themselves not as
43 musical experts, but as individuals who were interested to learn from a specific

Table 19.1 The respondents

Respondent number	Group*	Self-reported identities and corresponding belongingness ratings†	Sex	Age (years)	Years of European residence	Degree of integration‡	Years of regular active music§	Education¶	Occupation**
2	Ch	Chinese 7	F	21	4	2.7	10	2	0
4	Ch	Chinese 7, European 1	F	30	1.5	1.3	22	2	0
6	Ch	Austrian 6, Chinese 6	M	19	9	5.0	0	1	0
7	Ch	Chinese 7, Austrian 6, Religion 1–2	F	27	4	2.7	24	2	0
9	Al	Kosovan 7, Albanian 2 Grazer 5	F	33	8	4.0	5	4	1
10	Al	Albanian Grazer	F	27	7	3.3	0	4	1
11	Al	Austria 6, Albania 5	F	23	23	4.3	4	2	0
12	Al	–	F	27	4	3.0	–	2	0
14	Al	–	F	26	3	4.0	–	4	0
15	Al	Albanian in Graz	F	24	4	2.7	3	2	0
17	It	European, Italian, Christian	M	25	0.7	3.3	–	2	0
18	It	European, catholic	M	23	0.7	2.5	0	2	0
19	It	European, Italian	F	21	0.3	3.0	2.5	2	0
20	It	Italy/Udina/Triestina 7	F	21	0.7	2.0	0	2	0
21	It	Italian/Udina 7	F	23	0.7	2.3	15	2	0
22	It	Southern Italian 7	F	26	0.2	2.7	10	4	0
23	It	South Tyrolean 5	F	22	3	3.0	15	2	0
24	It	South Tyrolean 7, German speaker 5	M	32	0.5	3.3	20	2	0

(Continued)

Table 19.1 (continued) The respondents

Respondent number	Group*	Self-reported identities and corresponding belongingness ratings†	Sex	Age (years)	Years of European residence	Degree of integration‡	Years of regular active music§	Education¶	Occupation**
25	It	myself 7, South Tyrolean 1, Italian 1	F	23	5	5.0	15	2	0
26	EC	Christian 7, Egyptian 7, Austrian 5, Carinthian 5	M	44	17	4.3	–	4	1
27	EC	world citizen 6–7, intellectual 5–6, Copt 3–4	M	43	19	5.0	–	4	1
28	EC	Coptic Christian 7, Egyptian 3.5, Styrian 3.5	M	40	17	4.0	0	4	1
30	EC	Grazer 7, student 3, Copt 2	M	23	18	5.0	8	2	0
31	EC	Orthodox Copt 7, Egyptian 7, Grazer 5	F	29	11	–	–	2	2
32	EC	Copt 7, Egyptian 7, Austrian 4	F	49	15	3.0	10	4	1
33	EC	Copt 6, Egyptian 2, Austrian 6	M	17	17	3.0	–	1	0
34	IK	Kurd 7, European 3	M	35	13	3.7	0	2	1
35	IK	Austrian 4, Kurd 3	M	45	18	5.0	0	–	1
36	IK	Kurd 5, Austrian 2	F	25	4	5.0	0	2	0
40	IK	Kurdistan 7, Austria 5, Persia 4, Ireland 3	M	45	19	4.7	–	2	2
41	IK	Kurdistan 7, German 4, Graz 1	F	32	11	4.3	0	4	–
44	Ni	Afrikan 7, Nigerian 6, Austrian 5	M	39	9	3.7	23	1	1
45	Ni	Nigerian 4–6, Austrian 3–4	M	40	13	4.0	13	3	1

46	Ni	Igbo 7, Nigeria 6, Africa 5, Christian 4	M	34	-	3.3	27	3	0
47	Ni	Christ 7, from Nigeria 7/lbo 7, live in Austria 7	M	53	10	4.0	46	3	1
48	Ni	Grazer Nigerian	M	22	4	2.7	15	1	2
50	Se	Jugoslavian, Balkan, Serbia, Graz	F	25	6	3.7	8	2	0
51	Se	University 7, Serbia 6, Austria 4	F	23	3	2.3	0	2	0
53	Se	Balkans	F	27	3	5.0	-	2	0
54	Se	Bosnian Serb, Serb	M	26	4	3.3	10	2	0
55	Se	Serb, Grazer	M	25	7	3.7	-	2	0
Mean				30	7.9	3.6			9.8

* Ch, China; EC, Egyptian Copt; IK, Iranian Kurd, etc.

† 1 = I feel I belong very little 7 = very much.

‡ 1 = not at all 5 = very much.

§ Practice or performance.

¶ 1 = high school; 2 = matriculation; 3 = university degree.

** 0 = training or on leave; 1 = working; 2 = both.

M, male; F, female.

1 cultural group in Graz about their daily lives and their music. Before the interview,
 2 potential respondents received a one-page summary of the main points about
 3 the study, including the aims and general direction, reasons for participating, the main
 4 things that we wanted, and data security. The time and place of the interview
 5 was decided by the respondent and interviewer together; the interviewers had
 6 been reminded to be sensitive to issues of privacy, neutrality, and the likelihood of
 7 disturbance. The interview began with discussion of the one-page summary. The
 8 interviewers checked that participants understood their rights including data confi-
 9 dentiality and then asked for permission to make a sound recording (which was denied
 10 in one case).

AQ: Please check for sense here.

11 Interviews took place in a variety of locations, including cafés, university rooms,
 12 and private homes. All the respondents were asked to bring three personal favourite
 13 CDs (or similar files on hard disc) to the interview (not necessarily music from the
 14 respondent's cultural group).⁵ Each session began with small talk, after which the
 recording equipment was checked. The interviews were semi-structured: the inter-
 viewers referred to a list of main issues, each of which was divided into several ques-
 tions. The interviewers were instructed to cover all the main issues and some of the
 questions for each in any order. The respondents generally did not read the questions
 themselves. They were encouraged to speak as long as they wished about topics that
 interested them. If they got side-tracked, the interviewers were instructed to gently
 20 redirect the conversation.
 21

AQ: Can this be changed to: 'issues we were interested in' Or 'the main questions we were seeking answers to'?

22 Immediately following an interview, the interviewer completed a confidential form
 23 to evaluate the ability of the interviewer and the respondent to understand each other
 24 (including the effect of any language barrier), the respondent's talkativeness and
 25 involvement, the atmosphere (relaxed?, mutual acceptance/liking of interviewer and
 26 respondent?), the interviewer's performance (self-evaluation against listed criteria),
 27 and disturbances (interruptions, presence of third persons).

28 Transcriptions of the interviews were prepared by the interviewers and were
 29 constructed entirely from words used by the respondents. Grammar was corrected,
 30 dialectic variants were transcribed into high German or English, and repetitions were
 31 removed. We asked the interviewers to reproduce the respondent's intentions as
 32 closely as possible and implicitly accepted interviewers as co-constructors of meaning
 33 (Oliver, Serovich, & Mason, 2005). We decided against natural transcriptions that
 34 include pauses and their duration, gestures, emphases, facial expressions, stutters,
 35 lexically meaningless or superfluous tokens (*aha, yeah, mm*), and incomprehensible
 36 speech. We were primarily interested in the shared perceptions and intended mean-
 37 ings of respondents' statements—not in the specific ways in which that content was
 38 communicated (conversation analysis).

39 In the present report, most quotations have been translated by the first author from
 40 German into English. The translations are intended to render the essential original
 41 meaning and intention in natural English, and tend to be shorter than the originals.

42 Analysis

43 The basis for our analysis was the transcripts prepared by the students. Our primary
 44 methods of analysis were observer impression, qualitative content analysis, and

1 hermeneutic formulation of hypotheses (cf. Mayring, 2002; Rennie, 2000). The quota-
 2 tions in this report were chosen for relevance (for any specific question, as well as the
 3 general question of the role of music in integration) and clarity (comprehensibility
 4 and concision), as well as memorability, plausibility and realism. We attempted to
 5 balance statements from all seven cultural groups, and from women and men. The
 6 number of different respondents who expressed a similar idea was not a criterion for
 7 selection; while quantitative studies focus on frequently occurring observations (such
 8 as the spontaneous expression of a given idea by different participants in different
 9 contexts), qualitative approaches often gain valuable information from isolated, inter-
 10 esting statements. The hermeneutic formulation of hypotheses was inspired by
 11 grounded theory, but our analysis was less detailed than that recommended by Glaser
 12 and Strauss (1967 and later publications). We combined top-down (or inductive) and
 13 bottom-up (or deductive) processes, creatively formulating/revising hypotheses and
 14 comparing them with the transcriptions.⁶

15 Results

16 The following results are structured according to the written interview guide.

17 Music in everyday life

18 *How often do you listen to the radio? In what situation? Which stations? Do you prefer*
 19 *music or talking? Do you attend concerts? Listen to CDs? Do you play music or sing? Can*
 20 *you recall a very emotional musical experience in your life?*

21 Consistent with the literature on music in everyday life, the respondents reported
 22 diverse musical habits. Some had little time to listen to music, while others listened to
 23 the radio whenever they could. The participants who often listened attentively to
 24 music, or listened with a specific intention, included students of classical music, a jazz
 25 singer, a DJ for electronic music, and a (non-Austrian) wind player in traditional
 26 South Tyrol brass ensembles. Two participants were musically active in the Copt com-
 27 munity and taught children Copt music.

28 Musical style preferences varied considerably. Intriguingly, *Musikantenstadl* (a TV
 29 show featuring a mixture of traditional, folk and popular music) featured in the
 30 selection by a Coptic male (Respondent 28):

31 I don't understand it completely, but it is folklore and we Copts feel closer to folklore than
 32 modern music.

33 *Musikantenstadl* is not archetypical Austrian music: it is well known and clearly part
 34 of Austrian culture, but many Austrians do not like it.

35 The respondent as musician

36 *Do you play a musical instrument? Do you have one at home? Description of instrument?*
 37 *Years of practice? Playing situations? Do you play music of your cultural group? Do you*
 38 *pass this musical knowledge to others?*

39 Twenty-one of the 41 respondents reported playing a musical instrument. For many
 40 participants, their musical practice had changed with their change of location. Nine
 41 reported playing mainly music of their own culture ('authentic' traditional, original

1 popular or mixtures of the two), 10 reported playing mainly Western music (classical,
2 pop, jazz, or Austrian traditional), and five reported playing a mixture of both.
3 Respondent 45 (Nigerian, male) commented:

4 I never played drums at home in Nigeria and played no instrument at all. Here in Graz,
5 I found out that my work, anti-racist projects with children, needs this music and so I
6 started to teach myself this music. So you could say I am self-taught.

7 Another Nigerian man (Respondent 44) reported the opposite:

8 I haven't played for a long time. In Africa I always played.

9 Respondent 7 (Chinese, female) was studying operatic voice at Graz's music
10 university. She reported:

11 In my home country, I learned both these traditional Chinese instruments and we often
12 made music in our family. That is normal for us. I like the music of my culture, but I like
13 singing European classical music and I also like to play music of Mozart or Beethoven on
14 the piano. I can't really decide.

15 A Coptic woman (Respondent 31) reported singing Coptic music in church services
16 and in religion classes with school children, whom she taught the most important
17 hymns. A Serbian man (Respondent 54) played Serbian music in a wedding band. An
18 Albanian woman (Respondent 9) reported learning to play Western classical piano
19 when she was a child. A Kurdish man (Respondent 40) sang Carinthian traditional
20 choral music.⁷

21 Cultural identity

22 *Which cultural groups do you belong to? How strongly? Is there a club for your group(s)*
23 *in Graz? How much contact do you have with this or other groups? With the local major-*
24 *ity? Do you feel at home in Graz? Would you like to return to your home country?*

25 The reported identities are summarized in Table 19.1. They reveal interesting differ-
26 ences between reported self-identities and the labels of groups to which respondents
27 were assigned. On the basis of Table 19.1 and the respondents' statements about feel-
28 ing at home and in contact with other people (in any group including the majority),
29 three independent raters (the second author, a fellow student, and a psychologist)
30 estimated the degree of integration of each respondent on a 5-point scale. Mean rat-
31 ings are shown in Table 19.1. This tentative and exploratory procedure suggests that
32 our sample was relatively well integrated (the mean was 3.6 on a 5-point scale), but
33 degrees of integration covered a wide range (e.g. seven people were rated as entirely
34 integrated on scale point 5).

35 Events, ceremonies, traditions

36 *How do you spend your free time? Describe the events and customs of your group in Graz.*
37 *What roles does music play? Do members of other cultural groups (including the majority)*
38 *take part? Questions of this kind were asked twice: for the respondent's cultural group and*
39 *for other cultural groups in Graz.*

AQ: I've moved the quotes out of the paragraphs to be set as displayed text. This is because in the following text, in several places there are several quotes close together and the large number of quotation marks was making the text look a bit 'noisy'. Okay?

1 Respondent 10 (Albanian, female) reported:

2 We eat and drink. It is rather informal. But you can talk about problems at univer-
3 sity or financial problems. We also organize parties; for example for Albania's national
4 holiday ... With loud Albanian music. We go to an Albanian pub, so that we are alone,
5 because we are loud. If you feel homesick and haven't been home for a long time,
6 that's nice.

7 Respondent 47 (Nigerian, male) enthused:

8 We have our Independence Day, and everybody gets together to organize it. ... We do that
9 in Nigeria and we do it here, too ... I play with my band or other groups; with a lot of danc-
10 ing, eating and drinking ... And these are big parties and we also celebrate in Graz ... No
11 matter where they are—every Igbo celebrates—no matter where on earth he is at that
12 moment [*laughs*]. That is our culture. Here in Austria many Austrians have tried it and
13 they all liked it. Yes, we celebrate it in Linz, Innsbruck, Vienna, Graz, and so on, wherever
14 there are Igbos [*laughs*]. Everywhere in the world. Last year and we will also celebrate it
15 next year. Come and see! I invite you to come.

16 Respondent 40 (a Kurdish man) claimed:

17 I always organized picnics and invited other people, so that they met each other and then
18 they said: Hey, that was wonderful. We see you and your culture differently now ...

19 The interviewers assigned to the Kurdish community experienced its openness and
20 generosity directly when they were invited to a picnic and an evening party.

21 Respondents varied in the roles and importance they assigned to the traditions of
22 their cultural group in Graz. Respondent 24 (Italian, male) pointed out that 'when you
23 are in a different country, your own culture becomes more interesting and
24 important'.

25 Respondent 10 (Albanian, female) said:

26 Young people in Albania seem to avoid their traditional music. But when they are away
27 from home, they want that you send them CDs with traditional music ... I have experi-
28 enced that myself. ... That is because of homesickness.

29 Respondent 19 (an Italian woman) stated:

30 At the beginning, when I came to Graz, I spoke a lot to Italians, but now I try not to do
31 that, because we only speak Italian then and I want to learn German.

32 Respondent 10 (Albanian, female) pointed out that:

33 We are all students and don't have time to do traditional things ... When I am home, then
34 I enjoy these traditional things. But in Graz I don't miss these traditions.

35 Respondent 28 (a Coptic man) said:

36 We celebrate, but it doesn't have the same feeling as at home. Because at home is more
37 about family and food: for us, tradition has a lot to do with eating.

38 These comments confirm that the new situation in which migrants find themselves
39 causes them to change their personal and cultural orientation and to question and

1 redefine their identity. The new environment offers less comfort and security, so some
2 tend to look for comfort and security in their old familiar traditions.

3 How do migrants in Graz perceive Austrian culture? Respondent 22 (Italian,
4 female):

5 I think that Austrians listen to a lot of classical music ... That's a big tradition in Austria
6 and Germany. I think that people here listen to more classical music than in Italy.

7 Respondent 15 (Albanian, female) said:

8 I have the feeling that in Austria traditional music is less important and so it is not impor-
9 tant for integration. In Albania, music is more important. If you know the music, you
10 know the country.

11 Personal favourite CDs

12 Respondents had been asked to bring three personal favourite CDs. Here, we asked
13 for details including the importance of the music for them; when, where, and with
14 whom they listened to it, and cultural associations.⁸ Five respondents brought three
15 CDs from their minority culture (traditional, popular, or both). Eight respondents
16 brought only Western music (pop, classical, jazz). Four did not bring any recordings.
17 The remaining 24 respondents presented a mixture of music from different cultures.
18 Six included music from other non-Western cultures; for example the favourites of
19 Respondent 21 (Italian, female) were Red Hot Chilli Peppers (US/international pop/
20 rock), Pink Floyd (UK/international pop/rock) and Pjatmizza (Russian pop). Some
21 respondents explained that their favourite non-Western music was similar to the
22 music of their own culture; for others, the music reminded them of a trip abroad.
23 These data are consistent with concepts of multiple identity and blurred cultural
24 boundaries.

25 Music of the respondent's cultural group

26 *What music do you listen to mainly—both generally and with people from your cultural*
27 *group? How often? What happened last time? What music is typical for your culture?*
28 *What is special about it? What role does it play in your life? Do you dislike some of it? It is*
29 *political? Do you feel free to enjoy it? Does it help you feel at home?*

30 Various opinions were expressed about the music of respondents' own cultural
31 groups. Respondent 7 (Chinese, female) explained:

32 We have very many different instruments and directions in our traditional music ... we are
33 all very proud of our music ... it is very beautiful.

34 But for Respondent 6 (Chinese, male), who had lived in Graz for nine years since
35 arriving at age 10,

36 music is mainly for entertainment and relaxation. Chinese music has no meaning for me
37 and I don't listen to it.

38 Respondents offered contrasting opinions about the social function of music, both
39 generally and in the specific case of integration. The Nigerian respondents tended to

1 see music (including their own) as a human universal that promotes peaceful
2 coexistence. Respondent 45 (male) remarked:

3 There is a saying that I read in a book and it says that music is the food of love, and we
4 simply need that.

5 Respondent 44 (male) observed that:

6 For example, if you play some music outside that is good for singing and dancing, every-
7 one will sing, play music, and dance, regardless of where the people come from, from
8 America, Great Britain, Africa, Asia, Europe—they sing and play the music together. It
9 brings people together.⁹

10 The Copts that we interviewed regarded their music as private—important for their
11 religion and cultural identity. Respondent 31 (female) said:

12 Music is an essential part of the church services. The songs reinforce the meaning of the
13 service. ... No belief is possible without Coptic music. Very important.

14 This respondent did not regard music as playing any role at all in cultural
15 integration. When asked if her music helped her to feel at home in Graz, she
16 replied: ‘No. I feel at home in the Graz Coptic community, but that has nothing to do
17 with Graz itself’.

18 Our Serbian, Albanian, and Italian interviewees tended to regard music as impor-
19 tant for cultural identity, but stressed that practical considerations such as employ-
20 ment and language are more important for integration. The different approaches of
21 the different groups were partly based on differing levels of cultural self-organization,
22 which was relatively high for Kurds and Copts and relatively low for Chinese,
23 Albanians, and Italians.

24 The role of music in the integration of Graz’s Serbian minority presents an interest-
25 ing example of blurred boundaries and complex cultural interactions. Before and
26 during the First and Second World Wars, German literature (e.g. the satirical maga-
27 zine *Simplicissimus*) presented Serbs as underdeveloped, uncivilized, dirty, and violent
28 (Jörg Becker, 2009). Prejudice was reinforced in the 1990s by events in ex-Yugoslavia.
29 In a recent telephone survey (*Sozialwissenschaftliche Studiengesellschaft*, 2005), 1002
30 Viennese residents were asked how much Czechs, Hungarians, Sudeten-Germans,
31 Croats, Slovaks, Serbs, and Poles had enriched Austrian culture since the fall of the
32 Austro-Hungarian empire in 1918; Serbs received the highest number of ‘not at all’
33 responses (44%), followed by Poles (33%), and Slovaks (32%).¹⁰ Today, many young
34 Austrians frequent nightclubs where Serbian and ‘remixed Balkan’ jazz and rock is
35 played, and travel abroad to hear Serbian music—for example to the biggest brass
36 orchestra festival on the Balkan peninsula, *Dragacevski sabor trubaca*, held every year
37 in Guca in central Serbia. The festival lasts several days, attracts up to 300 000 visitors
38 and presents up to 50 big bands. Many of the brass orchestras in Serbia are staffed
39 entirely by Roma, although the Roma have long been the target of systematic discrimi-
40 nation (Wippermann, 1997).

41 Many other musical and cultural contacts between Austria and neighbouring coun-
42 tries appear to promote integration and undermine old stereotypes and prejudices.

1 Current examples include the Szeged Open-Air Festival in Hungary and the Bosnian
 2 Rock musician and film music composer Goran Bregović. More relevant for older
 3 Austrians is the Slovenian folk band *Die Oberkrainer* that describes itself as ‘Slovenia’s
 4 music export no. 1’ and ‘musical ambassadors of Slovenia’.

5 Music and integration

6 *What is the role of music in your relationships with other cultural groups in Graz? How*
 7 *many traditional Austrians know your music? What happens when they listen to it? What*
 8 *does ‘integration’ mean for you? Does music contribute to integration—for you person-*
 9 *ally? Of the various events, projects and institutions that you have experienced in Graz,*
 10 *which promote integration? What role does music play? How could music be used to pro-*
 11 *mote integration?* These leading questions, which were deliberately posed near the end
 12 of the interview, produced the most interesting responses.

13 Responses were generally consistent with the assumption that the music of one’s
 14 culture helps one to feel at home. If such feelings encourage intercultural interaction
 15 within Graz, we may regard them as a measure of integration. Four respondents indi-
 16 cated that the music of their own culture makes them feel good, four that it is an
 17 important part of their life and cultural identity, three that it made them less home-
 18 sick, and two that it helps them connect to other people. One respondent (10, Albania)
 19 reported getting homesick when listening to music of her own culture, and two
 20 thought that there was no connection between music and feeling at home. Two sug-
 21 gested that feeling at home depends more on friends and other factors than on
 22 music.

23 Cultural association

24 Several respondents mentioned associations between the music of a culture and other
 25 knowledge about that culture. Respondent 36 (Kurdish, female) said that:

26 The music reminds me of the Kurd’s situation, their suffering, the beauty of the country.

27 Others claimed that the music of a culture tells you something about the people.
 28 Respondent 36 (Kurdish, female) said:

29 You see the cultures of other people and know why some speak loudly and others quietly.
 30 The music helps you to understand that.

31 Respondent 47 (Nigerian, male) stated:

32 Music makes people from other cultures get to know us. Because music is very interesting.
 33 Then they say: the Igbos have nice music. Music brings us together—people know more
 34 about our culture—they speak well of us.

35 Respondent 12 (Albanian, female) said:

36 Music tells you something about mindsets. We experience foreign cultures from a politi-
 37 cally weakened viewpoint. With music you get to know someone differently—not like in
 38 conversation. You hear the music and straight away you have an impression of how the
 39 Albanians are, for example. That is the quite different from reading about Albanians in a

1 newspaper and I think it would be good if there were more concerts here in Graz. Not
 2 especially for Albanians, but rather for the Austrians. Because based on my husband's
 3 experience with a Greek restaurant I can say that Austrians like Greek music very much.
 4 More Austrians than Greeks come to the restaurant when Greek music is performed.

5 Associations between music and other aspects of culture can evidently reduce
 6 prejudice. Respondent 40 (Kurdish, male):

7 Generally—there is always prejudice, but with music you can somehow succeed in deflecting
 8 these prejudices, because many people for example think that the Kurds ... are just Turkish
 9 mountain people and nomads. In fact we have a people with a rich culture and we show
 10 through our music and culture that we are not nomads but owners and carriers of culture.
 11 Yes. We have beautiful voices, beautiful songs, beautiful music and beautiful events.

12 Some respondents thought that unfamiliar music is difficult to understand and
 13 sometimes is not appreciated. Respondent 53 (Serbian, female) said:

14 Many ... people don't quite understand our music. At my last birthday the Austrians
 15 reacted quite differently to our music than we did.

16 Respondent 22 (Italian, female) stated:

17 I lived for 20 years in Southern Italy and I know the culture, I know the people. But for a
 18 foreigner it is difficult. He can have ideas but he can't understand them properly. Perhaps
 19 after a while. ... The music of Naples is well known among Austrians, but they don't know
 20 the meaning of the songs. That is normal. I don't think I would know the meaning of a
 21 traditional Austrian song, either. There are limits.

22 Respondent 26 (a Coptic man) questioned dominant discourse about the link
 23 between music and culture by suggesting that any music can be associated with any
 24 culture. He recalled that:

25 The music in Austria reminds me of my adolescence in Egypt, e.g. ABBA, Boney M, Bee
 26 Gees, Tina Charles ... I have them all on CD.

27 Language

28 Is music a universal language that helps foreign cultures to communicate with each
 29 other across language barriers? Recent literature in ethnomusicology and music psy-
 30 chology is contradictory. Ethnomusicologists (e.g. Nettl, 1983) have traditionally
 31 emphasized the difficulty of understanding the music of foreign cultures without first
 32 immersing oneself in those cultures (becoming an 'insider'). More recently, music
 33 psychologists have documented an apparently universal ability to recognize basic
 34 emotions in the music of foreign cultures (Balkwill, Thompson, & Matsunaga, 2004).
 35 Meanwhile, globalization is increasing the rate and prevalence of intercultural com-
 36 munication (Nercessian, 2002).

37 Several respondents expressed the view that music is easier to understand across
 38 cultures than language. Respondent 28 (Coptic, male) stated:

39 I think music is very important, because music is a world language. Everyone can
 40 understand it.

1 Respondent 4 (Chinese), when asked whether she listens to music or news on the
2 radio, replied:

3 Of course I mainly listen to music. In Austria I also sometimes listen to the news, but
4 unfortunately I understand very little.

5 Respondent 26 (Coptic, male) commented:

6 I can't speak Italian but I like to listen to Italian music. I can't speak Turkish but I can
7 listen to Turkish music.

8 That music functions as a language can be more true for active musicians, for whom
9 playing together can create a strong bond. Respondent 7 (Chinese, female) said:

10 Music is generally very important, because you can communicate even if you don't under-
11 stand the language. I play a lot of music with student colleagues and we often speak English
12 because we come from different countries and when we play music it doesn't matter
13 because we understand each other. ... You communicate and everyone understands and
14 knows what the other person is thinking. ... Very many students at the music university
15 are not from Austria but they still get along very well and do lots of projects. I think that
16 is very good.

17 Respondent 24 (a male Italian jazz singer) commented at length on the relationship
18 between music, language and integration:

19 Then we can get along well. Because the music is happening, we have a topic of conversa-
20 tion, the song that we play, improvise, and if it is good, then have had a super dialogue,
21 without words—a musical dialogue ... And if they both feel good about the topic, as is
22 often the case in our music, a strong connection can emerge ... If we speak a common
23 language, then we understand each other, like in a relationship. In this case music is the
24 common language and we both go to the concert ... because both of us love that music and
25 because that is our language. ... But to have a relationship after that, music is not so impor-
26 tant any more. Only in the beginning, to make the contact. After that I need other strate-
27 gies to feel okay and to feel good as a Grazer. So that you can get something out of me, so
28 I can be an enrichment for you and you for me.

29 Emotion

30 If music promotes integration, what is the role of emotion? Several respondents per-
31 ceived music of their own culture to be particularly emotional. Respondent 11
32 (Albanian, female) commented:

33 There are so many songs in Albanian that could make me cry because the words are
34 so sad.

35 Respondent 25 (Kurdish, male) said:

36 We are Kurds and we dance to our music, although it is very sad music. If you listen to the
37 words, they are mostly sad and that connects us to our memories. There are some songs,
38 when I hear them, for example about freedom fighters, I start to cry. I only like old music—
39 I don't like modern music at all. I live with my music in the past and not in the future.

1 Music can be especially emotional if linked with specific personal or historical
2 events. Respondent 24 (Italian, male), remembering the annexation of South Tyrol by
3 Italy after the First World War, commented:

4 You know, the Italians came and said: you are no longer allowed to play your own
5 music, you are no longer allowed to speak German. That made the bond with the
6 music much stronger. Of course old people get emotional when they hear that. An exam-
7 ple: If someone dies and the musicians play *Ich hatte einen Kameraden*, you can look
8 around and everyone over 60 will go red and cry profusely. ... And among us young
9 people, you can have a look, no-one cries at all. That is because the connection is not
10 so strong.

11 The emotion evoked by music of one's own culture is often nostalgic and evokes
12 feelings of homesickness. That, it seems, can affect integration either positively or
13 negatively. Respondent 10 (Albanian, female) said:

14 I avoid listening to Albanian music when I have not been home for a while because it
15 makes me homesick.

16 In reply to the question 'How important is the music of your cultural group for
17 you?', Respondent 46 (Nigerian, male) replied:

18 I prefer my own traditional music. This music is the best.

19 Apart from this isolated comment, no other respondent, including those who
20 experienced their own music as particularly emotional, suggested that the music of
21 their culture might be somehow inherently superior. Perhaps the migration experi-
22 ence had taught them that the emotional effect of music depends strongly on cultural
23 background. Another possible explanation is that they, like much of the world, believe
24 that Western high culture is somehow inherently superior to other forms of culture
25 (Judith Becker, 1986). It might have been interesting to ask respondents for their
26 views on this issue, given its relevance for the general question of the role of music in
27 integration.

28 Context dependence

29 In general, both migrants and locals were interested in more intercultural exchange,
30 but migrants more often expressed the need to promote their own culture. Music can
31 be more important for migrants who identify with it than for their friends and family
32 back home. Respondent 10 (Albanian, female) commented:

33 The young people in Albania seem to avoid folk music. But when they are away from
34 home they want you to send them CDs of folk music.

35 But not all migrants considered the music of their own culture to be particularly
36 important or emotional. Respondent 2 (Chinese, female), who was studying Western
37 classical music at Graz's music university, said:

38 Classical music is very emotional, I often get goose bumps ... pop music is emotional if the
39 text goes well.

1 **Any music? Any culture?**

2 If integration is about feeling good in a new situation, and *any* music can help people
3 feel good, can *any* music (own or foreign) promote integration? Respondent 9
4 (Albanian, female) said:

5 I feel better when I listen to music. But that is true not only for Albanian music but for any
6 music that I like.

7 Respondent 2 (Chinese, female) commented:

8 I sing along with songs from American musicals and lose myself in the music to forget my
9 homesickness.

10 Respondent 55 (Serbian, male) said:

11 Sure, music brings people together. It is easier to celebrate together, to dance, and to talk.

12 Because Western popular and classical music increasingly dominates world music,
13 it can also have an integrative function. Respondent 18 (Italian, male) said:

14 I especially think that concerts can attract people from all cultures. Some artists are famous
15 and loved all over the world.

16 International music weakens national identification with traditional music, while
17 creating new communities. When asked which cultural groups she identified with or
18 felt she belonged to, Respondent 9 (Albanian, female) replied:

19 I like classical music, but there are so many other nationalities that listen to this music.

20 Younger people tend to feel musical globalization more strongly. Respondent 15
21 (Albanian, female) said:

22 As for music, I think that globalization has had a big effect. Music is now the same for all
23 young people. It doesn't matter whether I live in Austria or Albania, I can listen to the
24 same music.

25 Respondent 19 (Italian, female) commented:

26 I like for example classical music, but there are so many other nationalities/nations that
27 listen to this music.

28 Perhaps integration may be promoted by any aspect of culture; it is not clear
29 whether music is more important or plays a special role. Respondent 33 (Coptic,
30 male) said:

31 Maybe people can understand our food more easily than our music. Many people have
32 come to look at our church because it is so beautiful.

33 **Contact with other groups**

34 Many respondents' comments can be regarded as variations on the contact thesis,
35 according to which contact between cultural groups leads to better communication
36 and hence less conflict and prejudice. Allport (1954) theorized that contact is only
37 beneficial among groups that have equal status, share social norms, and engage in

1 cooperative activities with common goals that involve personal interaction. But some
 2 empirical studies (e.g. Wagner, van Dick, Pettigrew, & Christ, 2003) are consistent
 3 with contact promoting integration even if Allport's conditions are not met. People
 4 may be attracted to musical events, music may be a reason to create networks and
 5 clubs, or music may simply be a topic of conversation. But the music of foreign cul-
 6 tures can also be marketed as a exotica, reinforcing racial stereotypes, promoting
 7 artistic superficiality, and exploiting economically weaker cultures (Hutnyk, 2000).

8 Respondent 53 (Serbian, female) commented:

9 If you are familiar with something, you can understand it better and you are more open to
 10 it. Respondent 48 (Nigerian, male) said:

11 But there are hardly any social events without music. Music can relax a tense
 12 atmosphere.

13 Respondent 55 (Serbian, male) stated:

14 Sure, music brings people together. It is easier to celebrate, dance and talk together.

15 Respondent 14 (Albanian, female) commented:

16 I met a lot of people through the Salsa dance course. Many students, and older people who
 17 are working. I like these people more, because we have something in common. Apart from
 18 that I have met many people in Graz who are not so relaxed. In the course there are people
 19 whose temperament is similar to mine.

20 Respondent 45 (Nigerian, male) reflected:

21 Salsa and samba are in fashion at the moment and people come to learn these dances. In
 22 that way they meet new people ... We go to children in schools and kindergartens and try
 23 to familiarize them with the music of Africa. In that way we counter racism. The music is
 24 a way to reach the children. ... We have to make it clear to those who are in a position to
 25 do something that integration means much more than head scarves and language skills.
 26 You have to bring people together and music is a good way to do that—as is food.

27 Curiosity

28 Music can make people curious about another culture and motivate them to get to
 29 know the people and the culture. Referring to a concert of Albanian traditional music
 30 on Graz's main square, Respondent 12 (Albanian, female) recalled:

31 The people stopped to look and were interested. Where do they come from? Oh, that's
 32 what it's like in Albania! ... Aha, Albania is real and Albanians live right here among us in
 33 Graz.

34 Respondent 40 (Kurdish, male) said:

35 I think that without music I would have no need to get to know other cultures.

36 Acceptance

37 Integration is promoted by the feeling that others like one's own music—and sup-
 38 pressed by the feeling that others do not like one's own music. Respondent 21 (Italian,
 39 female) commented:

1 I met some Austrians who knew the Italian music and I was so impressed. I was so happy.
2 We sang together.

3 Respondent 41 (Kurdish, male) said:

4 We want the others to get to know our culture and music.

5 Conversely, non-acceptance of music may be unavoidable. Respondent 32 (Coptic,
6 female) reflected:

7 The people here accept other kinds of music, but our music is very difficult, rhythmically
8 etc.—it is only for prayer. It helps you meditate. Austria is a land of music and I think they
9 would just find our music boring.

10 Identity

11 The music of one's own cultural group can function as a strong reminder of that cul-
12 ture, triggering nostalgic feelings and in that way strengthening cultural identity.

13 Respondent 47 (Nigerian, male) said:

14 African music is important for me. The music leads as it were 'back to the roots'. ... Back
15 to my country and my culture. Traditional music takes me back to my 'real' identity.

16 Respondent 44 (Nigerian, male) also said:

17 That piece is not really one of my favourites. I like it because I am very proud of the place
18 where I come from. As I already said, the music gives me meaning. ... It brings my thoughts
19 back home.

20 Project evaluation

21 We want to understand the role of music in integration and on that basis to develop
22 new integration strategies. Are those appropriate aims? Are interviews of this kind an
23 appropriate method? Do you have any suggestions or criticism?

24 Our respondents' practical proposals for using music to promote integration in
25 Graz included the following: public events including different aspects of each culture
26 (various respondents), an entertaining multicultural concert for children (Respondent
27 9: Albanian, female); a multicultural weekend with folklore, football, music ...
28 (Respondent 26: Coptic, male); financial support for performance of own music (vari-
29 ous respondents), and media reports on specific cultures as well as associated eco-
30 nomics and politics (Respondent 12: Albanian, female).

31 When asked whether an Albanian group playing in Graz's main square and other
32 such events can promote integration, Respondent 12 (Albanian, female) replied:

33 Yes, if it happens more often. The government should invest more public money in such
34 projects. When that happened, Graz was cultural capital of Europe in 2003 and more
35 money was available for events like that. It was very nice that attention was paid to my
36 own country.

37 Asked if she had concrete ideas about what such an event should be like and how it
38 should be organized, Respondent 7 (Albanian, female) remarked:

1 There are pubs that are run by Albanians. If the managers got support from the city of
2 Graz, it would be easier to stage such events, because if you invite singers from Albania
3 that costs money. It's very hard to finance everything yourself.

4 Respondent 10 (Albanian, female) stressed that more money was needed to pay
5 musicians.

6 We cannot afford musicians for our cultural events. We used to invite folk groups as soon
7 as we heard about them. That stopped a few years ago.

8 Respondent 35 (Kurdish, male) commented:

9 Live music is so expensive that no small group in Graz can afford it. It used to be different
10 ... before 1991, we got support from all sides, from the SPÖ the main centre-left political
11 party, the Greens, from the Province of Styria, and Caritas a catholic charity organization.
12 We could put on big events, but now nothing works. If we ask for help now, they say we
13 should go to our embassy and when they give us 100 or 200 Euros, that is nothing.

14 Why the emphasis on money? Perhaps our respondents regarded our study as an
15 opportunity to lobby for financial support. Several independently suggested that gov-
16 ernments could promote integration by financially supporting the performance and
17 promotion of minority musics.

18 Conclusions

19 One consequence of globalization is the increasing importance of cultural integration.
20 Our data suggest that integration is best achieved by combining a range of different
21 approaches. Musical integration is one of those possibilities. Our study highlights
22 intercultural differences regarding the perceived role of music in integration. For
23 example, the Nigerians whom we interviewed regarded music as an integration-
24 enhancing universal language, whereas the Copts had little desire to present their
25 music to other groups.

26 Bergh (2007), in a retrospective study on the long-term effect of an intercultural
27 school music programme, concluded that music can only positively affect integration
28 if participants (in both minorities and the majority) contribute *actively* to music mak-
29 ing or to the organization of events. The findings of the present study are consistent
30 with that finding, which has important implications for the public funding of minor-
31 ity musics. The long-term positive impact on integration may be greater if public
32 money is used to support active music making within minority groups rather than
33 multicultural concerts for passive general consumption. Governments would invite
34 proposals and a multicultural expert committee would evaluate them and financially
35 reward minorities with the most original, creative, promising ideas (given that con-
36 formity can be problematic: H. S. Becker, 1982) and the strongest motivation.

37 A weakness of our study was the limited training of the student interviewers.
38 Additional training in interviewing techniques and intercultural competence would
39 have been beneficial. The social and cultural distance between interviewers and
40 respondents may have biased our conclusions. Important thoughts may not have been
41 articulated if they conflicted with unspoken rules of social interaction. One of the

1 interviewers in each student group should have been a member of the corresponding
 2 cultural group, fluent in its main language or dialect. An interviewer with appropriate
 3 training should have performed post-interviews with selected respondents.

4 Can the results of a study in Graz be generalized to other cities that are larger or
 5 smaller or situated in different national and cultural contexts? Yes and no. Many of the
 6 sentiments expressed by our participants could have been expressed anywhere. But
 7 Graz may be atypical in its combination of social openness and political closure.
 8 Migrants feel relatively well integrated and free to publicly express their culture, but
 9 many non-migrants still harbour strong, deep resentments against migrants and
 10 multiculturalism—as reflected by the continuing success of far-right politics.

11 Acknowledgements

12 We thank Jane Davidson and an anonymous reviewer for helpful suggestions, and all
 13 the students and respondents who took part in the study.

14 Notes

15 ¹ Further information in German on these political activities can be found on the internet
 16 homepage of the Forum for Applied Interculturality Research.

17 ² For a more detailed report in German, see Dorfer (2009).

18 ³ The large number of interviewers is both a strength (diversity) and a weakness (lack of
 19 control).

20 ⁴ As part of a larger investigation, we also interviewed 28 people who self-identified as Austrians
 21 and had grown up in Austria. Their data are not considered here.

22 ⁵ We realized later that this may have created difficulties for older participants who listened to
 23 cassette tapes or vinyl records, or those who heard their favourite music on audiovisual media
 24 such as VHS or DVD.

25 ⁶ We assumed that the respondents expressed their opinions spontaneously and honestly, and
 26 we did not analyse for Hawthorne effects.

27 ⁷ Carinthia (*Kärnten*) is a province of Austria not far from Graz, whose traditional choral style
 28 is well known in other provinces. Carinthia is also a traditional stronghold of the far-right
 29 FPÖ. The popularity of the FPÖ in Carinthia is based in part on German-speaking intolerance
 30 of the Slovenian-speaking minority.

31 ⁸ This question aimed to strengthen the connection between respondents' comments and real
 32 music. It also maintained interest by varying the interview format.

33 ⁹ The authenticity of such statements is questionable given that similar sentiments are
 34 promoted by the 'world music' industry.

35 ¹⁰ Presumably, these results would have been similar in Graz and Vienna. They would have been
 36 influenced by geographical distance (distant countries make less contribution to culture).

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