

Music – Intercultural Communication¹?

Micro Musics, World Music and the Multicultural Discourse

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The communicative powers of music have been prized at numerous occasions, ranging from the more dubious experiments of presenting Beethoven to Amazon Indians² to more “traditional” examples of using different musics in education around the world³. Also in more daily life, a kind of consensus exists on the positive power of music in inter-cultural (and inter-human) communication. This is put into words through expressions like ‘Music knows of no race’, ‘Universal music’ and ‘Music across boarders’.

Undoubtedly, music has the ability to communicate, also cross-culturally. The question is how and what it communicates.

To illustrate the complexity in this question, examples of how music communicates “culture” in general are combined with examples related to immigrants in Denmark⁴, and a broader discussion of the phenomenon “World Music”. The results of a recently conducted questionnaire provide the concrete illustrations⁵. Here the subject was the musical taste and habits of high-school pupils, especially concerning their attitude towards the music of the immigrants in Denmark.

The central element in this article is the significance of music in the creation of images of ‘the others’. This is illustrated by examples of how the Danish society deals musically with, or responds to the immigrants from the above mentioned countries, and their children. Though written within the field of Intercultural Communication, it is not the intention to analyse the ways in which (musical) messages crosses cultural boarders, in order to find out what is needed to have it satisfactory understood⁶. Neither is it the intention to describe the ability of music to signal identity as such. Only when the signalling and reception of the signals takes place in an inter-cultural context, will it be included, and then with the focus on the processes around the minority-majority relationship.

But first of all – how is this positive impression of the communicative power created?

Music – Good Entertainment

People all over the world use music for leisure, pleasure and entertainment – next to a lot of other more ‘serious’ commu-

nicative functions, that require inside cultural knowledge and understanding. Where these complex culture-bound functional meanings are prior and crucial, the music normally cannot travel across cultural boarders (unchanged). Only the more immediate layers can to some degree be transferred and understood. They must leave sufficient space for individual interpretations or they must function in contexts that are found similar in different cultures. These could be: being together (especially in dancing), expressing happiness and joy, and to some degree sorrow. The American ethnomusicologist Mark Slobin mentions “high energy” and “being a transmitting medium of great carrying power” as necessary if music should function transregionally⁷.

This specific power of music has made musical activities a “must”, whenever people are together in order to feel good. The fact that music partly communicates without the use of a spoken language has made it particularly suitable for occasions where people from different language groups are together.

A lot of well functioning intercultural events prove the positive potential within the use of music. Any serious friendship organization bridging different cultures (Danish-Kurdish, Danish-Turkish, Danish-Moroccan, etc.) has close connections to at least one folk music- or dance group, and they normally use music for their extrovert activities. Certain kinds of folk music are equally popular with the audience of both the ‘ethnic’ and the ‘Danish’ side.

What kind of music is chosen at these occasions is a quite different matter, which I will come back to later.

Recognizable Regional Labels

In very much the same way as when we use music to create a certain atmosphere or mood in a movie, we use music in films and on television to signal a region. Also political news on television surprisingly often is embedded in music. Even children have a rather clear picture of how the music of certain regions sounds. We build this image on a very limited knowledge – a knowledge which only partly is based on first hand experiences with the music of the regions. The works of European classical composers or earlier Hollywood ‘sound scapes’ form another and probably more important source for the music used in both fiction films and documentaries on television.

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In this way the image is often created out of a constructed imagination (instead of knowledge and facts), thereby becoming a double illusion.

The immigrant groups from the Orient are, like any other group, associated with special types of music. When it comes to film and television, the call for prayer from the minaret, wind instruments with associations to twisting snakes and music used for belly dance are the most popular. This is different from occasions with a more active participation, where folk music which is suitable for (chain) dance is the most popular.

Another, and in this context less relevant, phenomenon is musical quotation in films. Here the film producer adds an informative level of meaning through music. As this specific level of meaning is very culture bound, assuming an insiders' genre- or contextual knowledge, it will mostly be lost if the film is shown outside its original culture. It might even lead to important misinterpretations.

In order to fulfill the communicative task beyond cultural borders, the musical selections have to be clear in their style. Unfortunately this can result in the use of incorrect musical emblems put on different regions, due to simplifications and insufficient grounding.

What We Think – What We Hear

Visiting a Turkish restaurant almost automatically raises expectations of Turkish music in the background, even in the heart of Copenhagen. In this situation everybody likes the music, and even bystanders outside the restaurant find it a natural part of Danish 'nightlife'. It is almost a necessity if the right exotic atmosphere is to be obtained.

When going on to the nearest kiosk in order to buy cigarettes for the rest of the evening, there is a chance to hear exactly the same kind of Turkish music. Now it sounds from the back of the kiosk, where the friends of the shopkeeper are sitting, and now it probably creates irritation among those who are not used to that kind of music. It creates a barrier and gives the Danish customer the feeling of not belonging – an unacceptable feeling for many people. Yet, it might not at all have been the intention of the shopkeeper to create the musical barrier between his friends and the customers. He probably did it just to feel fine, without considering the consequences.

Out on the street again you might hear heavy Turkish pop from a car driving by. Again the result probably is irritation, but now combined with an interpretation in the direction of social rejection: 'They are giving the Danish society the finger'. Car-blasting is a normal phenomenon within youth culture, yet when it is performed by youngsters with Turkish background it is often interpreted in a special cultural and provocative way, though it only seldomly has this purpose. Mostly they just want to draw attention, primarily from the girls. They want to create a sound space of their own – just like any other car-blaster.

All three examples are created around so-called 'ethnic' music. In all three examples the music creates a common space for those that are 'in', without being made specially against

any 'others'. Yet, this is not the way it is interpreted. We actually do not listen to music and react to that – we do not judge the aesthetic values or musical elements. We decode the music on a basis of expectations concerning non-musical levels. We decide when exotic music is acceptable, in which form, and when not.

A Marker of Cultural Hierarchies

The requirement for recognizable images and controllable situations when listening to foreign music not only causes wrong pictures – it consequently also limits the possibilities for showing the actual diversity within the different cultures. These musical stereotypes of 'the others' might mirror a more general pattern of negative cultural hierarchies. High-status cultures are presented through high-status music (mostly art music), whereas low-status cultures are presented through primitive musical 'otherness'.

Musical Stereotypes

Through the choice of exotic folk music, we musically construct or confirm images. Africans are for example always performing in colorful dresses always dancing and playing the drums. This stresses the image of a drum culture, ignoring other important elements, and it generally keeps the image of their childish almost primitive innocence alive. This process can become self confirming through a vicious circle: it becomes all that the arrangers offer, all that an audience is looking for and finally all the audience accepts.

Even music professionals don't always expect a complexity within the non-European music which is comparable to what they know from Western art music. This happens even though it is easily found, certainly within the art music of other cultures. There is a tendency to reinterpret the more complex elements in foreign music – especially the music that seems incomprehensible, due to the lack of knowledge – into primitivity or even ugliness. 'Their music is out of tune' is a often heard phrase. Also attitudes from music teachers like: 'We all might learn different local, culturally defined scales, but we are all born with the same 12 basic tones' expresses this hierarchic, ethnocentric world view, on a somehow unconscious level.

This phenomenon is special for music that differs fundamentally from Western music through an increase in the tonal material⁸ or in timbre, whereas variation more often is accepted or even worshipped within rhythm. The highly percussive music of West Africa and Bali is very popular in the Western World within certain circles. An example from Indian classical music illustrates how changeable this is: In the 1960s and 70s, the melodic improvisation of the Sitar (string instrument) dominated the Western interest in North Indian classical music. Later, the vital and virtuous tabla (drum) of the North Indian classical music gained popularity. The percussive vitality took over from the more contemplative and meditative aspects of the music. Still both tendencies only present a very limited picture of the total complexity and diversity of the classical Indian music.

Traditional Tradition

During the rare public cultural events in Denmark where Turkey is presented on stage, certain genres prevail: Folk dance (often Kurdish) has been very popular, but also 'state-stage-folklore' might have a chance. If Danes play themselves, it is a mixture of gypsy-like, easy to dance folk music, which is also found at touristic restaurants in Turkey. The art music, the classical religious music or the professional high level teachers visiting a Danish conservatory or music school are not yet on the agenda. Not even well functioning pop from this region reaches the Danish audience through the media.

This brings us to an other aspect of the limiting cultural stereotypes: modernity contra 'ethnicity'. Just recently, the Danish Radio started a short program about the youngsters with immigrant background, with a very traditional Bedouin love song. Played on a radio channel completely dominated by mainstream pop music, this very traditional folk music not only sounded traditional and exotic – it really sounded strange and 'primitive'.

Whereas 'World Music' to some extent covers both modern pop, classical art music and traditional folk music, this is never the case with music from the immigrant areas. These cultures are, if at all, only represented by very traditional folk music. The youngsters with immigrant background do occasionally listen to this kind of music – mostly during political, 'ethnic' or social manifestations and events within the family, where the expression of tradition is important – like weddings. It is important to distinguish between these kinds of activities and the daily life of the youngsters, as they the rest of the time prefer either pop music from the regions (this is the case with most of them) or American music. The interest fields of the surroundings makes the youngsters more 'ethnic' and 'special' than they actually are – the ethnification in opposition to modernity.

Still now, in this era of so-called globalization, where long distance travels and high grade information should be part of our daily world, the exotic picture of 'the others' is alive, partly through music.

World Music – A Marker of Globalization or Multiculturalism

February 1997, a preliminary report: 'Denmark – towards a Multicultural Society'⁹, ordered by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs came out. The writers, in their observations on music, concluded that World Music plays a central role, as a catalyst, a marker of a globalization or Multiculturalism. In the report World Music is both associated with Multiculturalism, with immigrants and with youngsters, and the writers are far from alone, when stressing the relationship between these three phenomena. But what does it actually mean – relating multiculturalism with the immigrants and the youngsters?

What's New about Multiculturalism?

Currently, the European cultures are often said to become multicultural because of the recent wave of immigration from

countries outside Europe. We tend to forget the multiculturalism in any society, at any time – simply due to different cultural layers or groups with the same national background¹⁰. This is a handy way of creating the image of mono-culturalism and homogeneity 'until the others came'. No doubt the arrival of larger groups of people from around the world puts a new dimension on to multiculturalism. The problem is the tight connection between the cultural diversity and hegemony and 'ethnic' background. In reality the difference between urban middle-class Pakistanis and rural Pakistanis can be much larger than the difference between urban middle-class Pakistanis and urban middle-class Danes.

World Music – In the Political Discourse

This is not yet another thorough analysis of the term World Music. Neither will I address the possible ethnocentric ideology behind the phenomenon, nor the lack of clear genre distinctions, though both aspects are of some relevance. This discussion addresses a kind of 'second dimension' – ethnocentrism underneath. The political discourse not only influences the creation of World Music as a phenomenon, but also defines (implicitly) what is 'in' and what is 'out'. The lack of musically defined genre distinctions supplements this, as there is no other common characteristic of World Music than its 'otherness' to Western music¹¹. In this way it becomes easier to reject many genres as 'exotic' or irrelevant.

European (music)history has always oscillated between internationalization (where foreign regions for a period become part of 'our world') and periods of national or regional self sufficiency. We have had changing periods of artistic influence from China, the Orient, Africa, Latin-America and many other areas. These periods always go parallel with an interest in the same regions on other levels, both within different art forms but also (and I think most importantly) within politics. The link could be increase in trade, solidarity with parts of the populations or more clear-cut political interest of power. Interest in art has always been, and will always be, parallel to some kind of extra-musical interest on the political level.

World Music became the musical equivalent to the political illusion of globalization in the eighties. There was nothing new in the fact that we got important cultural inspiration from, and had important interest in other parts of the world. Only this time we did not clarify the limitations – regionally or in musical distinctions. It is not a region specific interest, but a fragmentary, effect oriented interest in whatever suits the purpose. The period of interest in World Music, which is now declining in the media, coincided with an interest in strange cultures from far away: Exotica, voyeurism, whatever we might call it. We romanticized the primitive and authentic cultures of the world – possible with a Western touch, to make them acceptable. We created a distinction between 'us' and 'the others'.

The new central theme within World Music (replacing Multiculturalism) is 'Cultural Diversity'. This change, which among others was introduced during the last 'Teaching World Music' symposium, 1997, is a natural consequence of a parallel political change. During the late nineties, a major theme

for interest in other cultures has been the cultural diversity of our own countries, due to increase in migration and mobility – distinctions between nationality and ethnicity. The diversity now becomes much more tangible. Visible, ethnic minorities have become a part of our backyard, though not yet of our front yard.

Multiculturalism, Immigrants and Youngsters

What is interesting for the subject of this article, are the regionally or genre defined limitations within World Music up till now. Both at festivals and in the media, certain regions and genres are rather well represented, whereas others are totally invisible. This is to some extent inevitable. The world is too big, and it is impossible to include all music.

We have a period of global mobility and so-called multiculturalism, combined with ‘structural discrimination’¹². Instead of ‘race’, ‘culture’ has become the most important reason for discrimination, among ordinary people. As cultural visibility is very important in postmodern societies, partly illustrating our position in the society and in the cultural hierarchies, it becomes a matter of social acceptance to be visible. But the way you are made visible mirrors (and maybe predicts) your image and status in society.

When the youngsters with immigrant background are constantly associated with the so-called new multicultural society, they become culturalized and ethnicized, and finally disrespected.

It is a very delicate matter. Though we need other cultures to become more visible, pure exotic visibility (opposite to more differentiated information or normal participation in society) can also confirm negative stereotypes.

We are in all these cases dealing with the way that one culture is looking upon another culture – the Western World creating images of the rest of the world. Is it Eurocentrism as a kind of supremacist or just a natural way of distinguishing between ‘us’ and ‘the others’?

Let us first of all see, if it means anything in daily life

A Danish Case-Study

The young people of today are living in this so-called multicultural world – as we hear it again and again. Certainly in a city like Copenhagen we have representatives of many cultures living next to each other. Yet this does not necessarily make the society multicultural in the sense of contact and communication. To obtain this there has to be some direct connection, either in the form of exchange of values, habits or experiences or at least through a recognition of each other as rightful parts of the society. Unfortunately this has not been the case, as far as this project has been able to reveal. First of all the contact between different groups of youngsters is very limited. They might attend the same classes in the schools, but not once were they sitting together “cross-culturally” during lunch hours. In youth clubs, a similar segregation seems to take place between Danes and children of immigrants, and also often between certain immigrant groups.

When asking high-school pupils in Copenhagen about their attitudes towards and experiences with music from different cultures, the signs were the same, though they also expressed a wish for change. Before going into the details about the results from the questionnaire, a short introduction to the immigrant situation in Denmark is necessary.

Immigrants in Denmark

The immigrant situation in Denmark differs very much from the situation in countries like Holland and the UK. First of all Denmark has no major colonial history. Apart from limiting the direct contact with other cultures (however negative it might have been), this is also one of the reasons why visible minorities (which is an important characteristic of the people described here) very rare in Denmark, until the arrival of the labour immigrants in the late sixties. So this kind of immigration is both a relatively new phenomenon and we in reality talk about rather small numbers (Table 1).

Table 1. Immigrants and Descendants in Denmark, by 1/1 1997

	Immigrants	Descendants	Total
Turkey	26 324	16 794	43 118
Pakistan	9 103	6 693	15 796
Morocco	4 112	2 566	6 678

Note: Total Danish population: 5 275 121. Estimated muslim population: App. 1,5% of total population.

Source: Statistic Denmark 1997.

During the '80s and '90s – after the immigration of labour forces had peaked – refugees arrived in larger numbers, in Denmark. People from Vietnam, Iran, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Lebanon and Somalia form the largest non-European refugee groups today – many from the middle-class of bigger cities. With them, they brought their traditions for education and an interest in ‘urban’ art forms (music, theater, film, literature). Notwithstanding these traditions, the refugees are, in the public debate and general view, lumped together with the labour immigrants, who mostly came without any education from the rural areas.

Whereas arrival of new and ‘stronger’ groups in certain countries can heighten the status of the previous groups of immigrants, it has been the other way around in Denmark. This has several reasons: In the first place the religion Islam has become an important element in the Danish immigrant debate. It is the one factor which to many explains most differences, including traditional ‘rural’ behavior and social background. Being common for both many labour immigrants and refugee groups, Islam has become the most important common divisor, the favored identity marker – in the eyes of the surrounding majority society. However, for the immigrants themselves the different groups are not similar at all.

Another important reason why the situation for immigrants as a whole is different in Denmark, certainly as compared to especially the UK, is the traditional construction of class distinctions. In the UK it is impossible to talk about one common culture, as the differences between the social classes go much too deep. Although there are differences between cultural categories in Denmark too, they are much less emphasized. As a result it has been possible to create the image of a mono-cultural Danish society as a unified alternative to ‘the others’ and their constructed homogeneous ‘otherness’.

The general debate on immigrants and ethnic minorities in Denmark today is very negative. The media and public debate stigmatize the (male) youngsters by accentuating culturally explained conflicts (‘between two cultures’) and criminal activity. At the same time, girls are seen as the victims of their parents’ traditional demand of obedience, which indeed, at times limits their freedom, especially when it comes to choice of (sexual) partner(s).

The Project

My research project about the significance of music to youngsters in Denmark with immigrant background, started with app. 100 interviews. I asked relevant youngsters about their musical preferences and habits. It developed into a multi-methodological study of how these 15-20 year old youngsters use music, both as individuals, in their different social interactions and in the dialogue (or confrontation) with the Danish society. For this purpose, I combined interviews with questionnaires and fieldwork in both the local communities in Denmark and the countries of origin.

The results from the introductory interviews, concerning the type of music that they prefer in different contexts and how they use music generally, will not be described in this article. Only a single element is of interest here: they never listen to music from their parents’ regions in the presence of Danes, allegedly because they don’t like the music. This happens, even though much of what they listen to the rest of the time has some connection to these regions.

The Questionnaire

A questionnaire was planned, primarily in order to clarify if the postulated negative attitude of the Danish youth towards the music of their school friends was confirmed by the Danish youth itself. Secondly it should provide an impression of the attitude of the Danish youth, towards non-European music in general, and the music of the immigrants in particular. The

survey was conducted among high-school pupils. They were asked about their musical preferences and habits, and especially if they ever heard Turkish-Kurdish, Indian-Pakistani, Moroccan and Afro-Latin World Music. The latter was outside the field of this specific project, but proved relevant as comparison – to know if their answers were general for all non-European music or special for the specific immigrant cultures.

To conceal the special purpose of the questionnaire, different questions about their general musical preferences were included. This was done in the expectation that straight questions only about the music of immigrants could cause negative reactions, due to the earlier described discourse. This additionally provided a broad picture of musical taste among this generation. For example it became clear that Danish music is equally unpopular among all youngsters, no matter their background, but popular with the Danish parents. They were also asked where and how much they listened to the non-European music. If they didn’t listen to this music, they were asked why not. Other questions focused on non-European music in school: did they hear it in school? Ought it to be included in the teaching? To double-check on listening habits and taste, they were finally asked about their attitude towards many different genres – including music from the relevant regions.

The Schools

For practical reasons the contact went through the music teachers from two high-schools. One was in the suburbs of Copenhagen, another in a neighbourhood with many immigrants, in the center of Copenhagen. The music teachers conducted the questionnaire during music classes, which provided a high percentage of answers. In this way I got in touch with all pupils attending music lessons – which means all pupils in first form, where music is compulsory.

As music is optional in second and third form, only those who had chosen music were contacted (Table 2). This could be expected to be the pupils with the greatest interest in music (and tolerance?).

What do High-School Pupils Listen to?

High school pupils do not listen to foreign music – that’s for sure.

Any fear for an unclear or complex result was completely ungrounded:

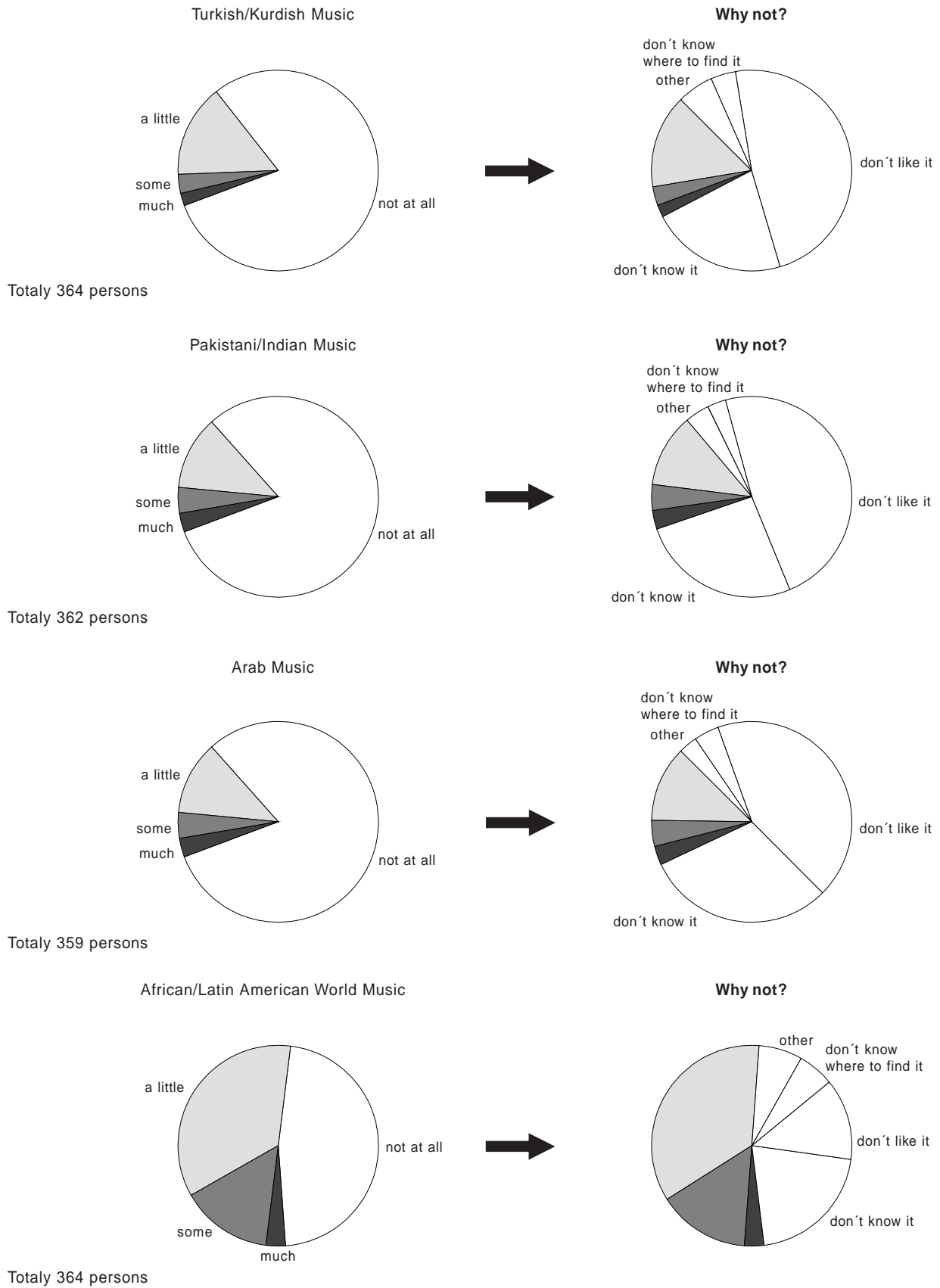
Approximately 80% of the inquired **never** listen to music from the immigrant cultures (Figure 1), whereas only 47% never listen to African/Latin-American World Music.

Table 2. Questioned Persons with Foreign Background in Music Classes (percent)

	Total	the pupil or at least one parent born abroad	%	born in Turkey, Pakistan or Morocco	%
First form	314	101	32	22	7
Second form	27	7	25	1	3
Third form	25	3	12	0	0

Note: Totally 367 pupils from Nørre Gymnasium and Metropolitan skolen, Copenhagen, 1996).

Figure 1. Do Gymnasium Pupils Listen to Music from Other Cultures?



Source: Fock, Eva, *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*, 1997.

12-15% listen 'a little' to the music from the immigrant cultures – this typically covers the accidental confrontations in restaurants, shops, through the wall from the neighbour and on the street through the open car windows. 35% listen 'a little' to World Music – mainly because this music more often is played in situations where the generation above chooses the music. The few youngsters with Danish background who listen more than just accidentally, though still just a little, to music from the immigrant areas mostly do this at parties together with youngsters with immigrant parents.

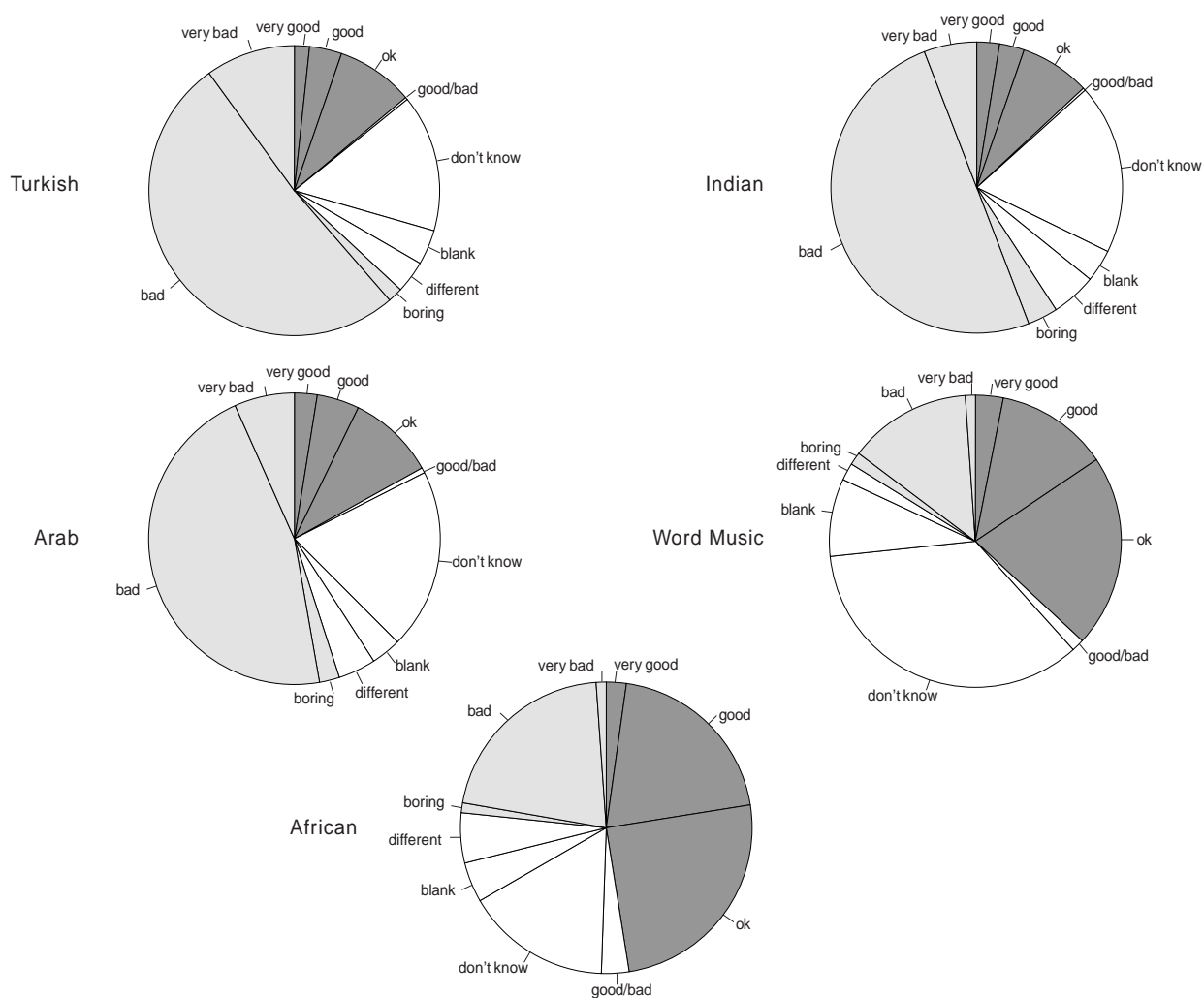
Only very few of the inquired answer that they listen 'sometimes' or 'much' to non-European music, especially the music from the immigrant areas. Those who do, almost all have a foreign background, though not necessarily from the specific area. Only very few with Danish background listen more than just 'a little' (this means in situations where others chose for them) to the music from the immigrant areas. They all have parents who work with immigrants or refugees, or they have close friends with relationship to those areas (typically Danish girls having affairs with these boys). Not surprisingly the youngsters with backgrounds in the immigrant cul-

tures have much broader consumption habits than youngsters with Danish background, when it comes to non-European music from their regions. They use it both with friends, alone and with their parents, which causes a large diversity in situations and musical styles.

Also the reasons for *not listening* to the music from the immigrant areas were clear: 42-48% did not like the music, whereas 22-30% did not know it – actually some even said that they did not know it AND did not like it! This is different for the World Music, where lack of knowledge more often was the reason (21%), than simply dislike (13%).

The interest in World Music is clearly different from that of the music from the immigrant areas. First of all it is generally neither the word nor the music for young people. Secondly, especially youngsters with an immigrant background never listen to it. This might be due to the situations around using the music. It is genre that has the radio as the main source, which the youngsters primarily listen to, together with their parents. As exactly the immigrant parents do not listen to this music – neither do their children.

Figure 2. What do the Pupils Think of this Music?



Source: Fock, Eva, *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*, 1997.

Taste

The answers in the additional questions about taste confirmed the pattern of dislike. Asked about their attitude towards 21 different genres, among other hip-hop, dance, soul and classical music, I also asked about Arab, Indian, Turkish, African and World music (Figure 2). In this case there was no regional definition with the term 'World Music'. This had the to me rather unexpected result that almost 50% were unclear in their answer – apparently they either did not know what it was or they did not know whether they liked it. Concerning the attitude towards the immigrant cultures, the answers were as clear as before:

50-65% were directly negative towards music from the immigrant cultures, whereas only 13-17% were clearly positive towards this music. Opposite to this, only 20-25% were negative towards the African music and World Music, whereas 40-50% were positive towards this music. Furthermore it was remarkable that the attitude towards several of the more well known genres often was rather differentiated – some groups or pieces were good, others bad. This was never the case with music from the immigrant areas – it is either-or!

The answers are almost scarily clear. If intercultural communication can be measured in listening to each other's music, then it certainly does not look too good. The functions, both on a musical level and a level of social contact. It seems as if the attitude towards the music mirrors the general attitude towards these groups of visible minorities

The Role of the Schools

During the introductory interviews, the youngsters with immigrant background often told me that their teachers never introduced the music from their parents homeland, which they regretted (though they never directly complained). On this background the pupils in the questionnaire were asked about their experiences, not only at the two high-schools where they currently went, but also the primary school(s) that they had attended earlier (Table 3).

Table 3.

Has non-European/non-American music been part of the music lessons on this school or earlier during your schooling?

No: 208 (57%)

Yes: 156 (42%)

– out of which only 37 (10%) with music from immigration areas.

These 37 were 1½ class,
where 2 pupils from these areas had insisted on
presenting music from their region.

At first sight one might consider it positive that 42% of the pupils had met non-European music or non-American music at school. Yet, looking closer, only 10% of the inquired had met music from the immigrant countries. The rest was African or Latin-American music, mostly a single lesson during an activity week, with a guest teacher. Furthermore these few examples of immigrant music never came on behalf of the teachers; the pupils with immigrant background always were the ones to take the initiative.

Out of the 367 pupils that I questioned only maximum five pupils had met music from the immigrant areas in situations they did not account for – maybe situations where the teachers had taken the initiative. The teachers and other 'trendsetter' only seldomly feel encouraged or competent to introduce this kind of music. The exceptional introductions often include stereotype elements of ethnic exotica – and the pupils with the immigrant background have to take the initiative, and most often also make the presentation. In this way it lacks the authority and neutrality that only a teacher can offer. It also might lack competence in choice, as not all children of immigrants are qualified in describing the musical culture of the country their parents come from.

Purposes of Teaching

The basic attitudes towards these kinds of music (Figure 2) make me wonder, if a change in attitude in the schools might be a way of changing the attitude of musical taste. To answer this, larger tests that are not part of this project would be necessary. In Norway a project 'Klangrikt Felleskap' tried from 1989 to 1992 to use music and performing arts in order to reduce racism and mobbing in the lower classes. Here the results were positive¹³. Yet we do not know from Norway if this change of attitude stayed on for the following years. It might be worth remembering that musical socialization stops around puberty. Starting a change of attitude in high-school, where the pupils are around 15-19 years would in reality be too late – though of course always better than never.

In a time when internationalization and the illusion of globalization is 'in', we have to realize that we actually know very little about most other cultures, including those from which we have larger populations living right here. Our curriculum is still surprisingly national and local, and the popular trips around the world are extremely fragmentary and adventure-oriented, lacking in depth knowledge. In reality the knowledge that we normally get in the schools about other cultures is minimal.

From a legal point of view, the absence of non-European music is not acceptable in Denmark. The curriculum for music teaching in the primary school says: 'The teaching should stimulate the pupils' understanding of Danish and foreign music tradition as a part of cultural life, both as part of current public life and in its historical perspective.'¹⁴

Though the curriculum is less pluralistic than earlier¹⁵, understanding is still demanded, and this is certainly not gained through taboos or through simple presentations of folk dance.

Teachers often say that the pupils actually do not want to hear music with relationship to the immigrant areas. Even if this should be correct (which I doubt – see below) it is unacceptable. If the schools should not be the place to introduce the pupils to new and unfamiliar material, then where should they ever meet it?

When asking if they think that the non-European music should be integrated in music lessons, the pupils answered with a clear: 'Yes!' 70% wanted more (though not too much!), only 17% did not want more of it in the schools.

The arguments from these pupils of why the teachers should include music from other cultures in their program proved the general impression of the intercultural communicative powers of music:

Why?
'If I heard more of it I might come to like it'
'It's great, great rhythms'
'To expand your horizon'
'To learn about music, like we learn about religion and history, puts your own music into perspective'
'It is important to know other cultures, and that is done well through music'
'It is also an important part of music history and important for the development of music'
'Because you gain an insight into other cultures musical habits, and this is important because I think that many things are expressed through music'
'You won't hear it otherwise'
'You should learn about the music of your school friends'
'Music means more there than with us'
'Why not?'

All the elements are there: Fascinating rhythms, cultural understanding, wider horizons, getting familiar with the different sounds and maybe most important the question 'WHY NOT?'

Communicating What?

The pupils say it themselves, and many others with them¹⁶ – knowledge is necessary in order to obtain understanding (not necessarily liking), certainly when we are dealing with other cultures – and I agree with them.

I will now finish this short trip through 'Micro musics' in Denmark, and return to the field of intercultural communication, in the area where it relates to music and minorities. This idea of communicating knowledge might be associated with the theories of competence studies¹⁷, but competence on what level? As said in the first chapter, it is not a matter of giving Danes any special competence to communicate musically with other cultures, neither is it a question of like or dislike. Exchanging the local Danish songs with Turkish tunes is not on the agenda either. Yet a certain competence in the sense of knowledge based on respect must be present as a foundation, especially among the teachers, if we shall not all end up in pure exotic fascination or total rejection.

Though many people apparently express a clear (negative) attitude towards certain types of music, my point here is, that this is not the actual reason. Recalling the three examples from the restaurant, the kiosk and the car, and also the answers in the questionnaire, they all indicate that the actual music is of less importance than factors outside the music. We are back to the indirect, the indefinite and complex elements of discourse, where the questionnaire, my research project in general and the communicative power and political aspects of music meet.

Youth and Identity

When approaching music and youth, especially in order to analyze the significance of music for a certain group of youngsters, it is important to look at culture as a process of communication. The relationship between different individuals and between different communities should be in focus, as a dynamic process of constant interaction. When looking at the youngsters and their attempts to create a new identity, the perspective of creolization or modernization has been up front¹⁸. In order not to underestimate the importance of youth as a substantial cultural factor for these youngsters, an understanding of the different arenas of the individual could prove to be very important, if we do not want to simplify or 'ethnicize' the complex identities of these youngsters. The term 'arena' here covers a combination of situation, function and social relations¹⁹. Music frames the arenas, makes them 'visible'. These youngsters – as any other youngster – act very differently, depending on where they are, with whom and why²⁰. They use different types of music and show in this and other ways different parts of their multifaceted identities. Yet constructing or expressing the many diverse facets of an identity in a constantly changing world is only one part. If, as Peter Berliner²¹ says, the most important is, what is 'between us', then the intentions of the youngsters is only half the story. The other half is the picture that the surroundings has created of them. Here we are back with the main topic of this article. The images and stereotypes become extremely relevant in a situation of communication across cultural barriers (even though no national borders are crossed).

Studying the youngsters and their close surroundings seems not to be sufficient, when we deal with an intercultural subject with potential discriminatory undertones. The youngsters with Pakistani, Turkish and Moroccan background are part of the Danish society – a society that partly rejects them. It is not like studying a distinct culture somewhere far away. We have to include and involve the general opinion in the society, the political discourse, as it directly influences the behavior and possibilities of the individual. Not only do the (young) Danes react according to public opinion in taste and behavior, also the youngsters react accordingly. It influences their way of expressing identity and eventually even their actual cultural identity. The reflexive taboo of music with 'immigrant' associations when Danes are present ('because they probably do not like it') is one reaction. Another reaction is the re- (or hyper-) ethnification through presentations of traditional folk music and dance during cultural events instead of choosing the kind of music they normally listen to themselves. In this way they on the one hand fulfill the expectations of the surrounding. On the other hand they also protest against cultural exclusion, as exactly 'ethnic' music is the only way to become musically visible in Denmark. Alternatively some purely suppress or exclude all cultural expressions with any low-status, ethnic connotations. The possibilities are many; it is not only a matter of penduling between two defined cultures. Without understanding the power of the pub-

lic opinion, we will never be able to understand the different reactions and patterns in the musical habits of the youngsters.

Double Barriers

When it comes to the Danish youngsters in the questionnaire, they have elucidated the way they handle music from other cultures. Communicative barriers have to be crossed, in their attempt to interpret and understand this other culture that is so close by. In reality we here have at least a double barrier, as they often react on a non-existing culture – reacting against constructed cultural images.

There are several reasons for the young Danes, why they do not listen to the music from the immigrant cultures. One reason is their general negative attitude towards immigrants, as described in former chapter. The picture they have of music from these regions – partly built on the images created through the channels or situations as described – is a second reason. Finally it can also be a question of accessibility, which again has to do with the processes behind World Music. How can you get used to a music, if you never hear it?

We get a situation where the music first is disliked or even disrespected. Then when this barrier is eventually crossed, the presented music probably is not typical for the culture (due to the need for easy recognizable images). If this is what we call communication – it is certainly not very constructive.

The stereotypes (like youngsters being associated with the music of their parents) directly influences the possibilities of both individuals and groups to maneuver and ‘be’, in order to be understood as belonging to different cultural categories on different levels²². From this point of view the ways that we look upon other music cultures, the images constructed, become part of the intercultural communication, going far beyond the specific musical level.

The Role of Music...

Music as both innocent and indispensable entertainment, as described in the first chapter, seems immediately acceptable and natural. Yet, when it comes to the role of music in the creation of images of ‘otherness’ – as asked for in the introduction – it should by now be clear that it is not automatically

good. The regional stereotypes are unavoidable and certainly useful in some situations. What we must not forget is that music at the same time mirrors our general attitude towards other cultures. It is often in these situations where communication works most unconsciously, that it has the most effect.

The musical expression of the political globalisation is one of fragments and cultural hierarchies, covered behind an illusion of universal interest. We easily exclude factual musicological knowledge, based on equivalent (but diverse) complexity, in order to stress the difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’. We don’t meet the music of the immigrants where it is, but where we are, hiding behind walls of expectations and cultural self sufficiency.

In this light it becomes necessary to reconsider very carefully the choices that we make within cultural disciplines on an intercultural level. What on the surface might seem intercultural in a constructive and positive way can in reality turn out to be exactly the opposite. It is not a question of introducing the music of the immigrants in the schools, or making Turkish children learn to play the saz. It is a question of signaling cultural diversity and freedom to move around and mix things.

As music is an important marker of identity, both socially and culturally, the closedness is very unfortunate. We use music to signal a feeling of belonging to a group. The ethnic minorities can easily do this inside their own circles, with their own music. But what happens outside that group? Here we are confronted with two equally problematic patterns, working side by side: invisibility and stereotypes. Neither the cultures nor the groups that are present in Denmark are visible in any constructive way. When music exceptionally is used in relationship to immigrants we are always deep into exotic stereotypes which leaves very little space for cultural diversity or modernity. This means that when the youngsters try to look for acceptance in the society, it has to be within very narrow limits of mainstream norms. The public makes it very clear that their music is ‘subcultural’, and as such irrelevant to people outside that given culture. In this way the society does not consider the music or them as members as such.

Yes, music certainly communicates interculturally, but not always what we might think.

Notes

1. The title *Music as Intercultural Communication* comes from my paper at the Intercultural Communication and National Identity Symposium, held in Aalborg December 1996. Here it is combined with elements from a discussion about World Music, which took place during the ‘Teaching World Music’ Symposium in Dartington, May 1997.
2. Shostakovich, D. 1973. Beethoven tames the Jungle. *The Unesco Courier*, June 1973.

3. Symposiums within the field of ‘Teaching World Music’ have since 1992 been organized, in order to make exchange of methods and experiences easier. Lieth-Philipp, M and Gutzwiller, A. (ed.), 1993: ‘Teaching Musics of the World’, Philipp Verlag, Affalterbach, Germany.
4. These are results of an ongoing research project, financed by the Danish Research Council. Here I have, since September 1995, been looking into the significance of music to youngsters in Denmark - primarily those with Turkish-Kurdish, Pakistani and Moroccan background. They are children of the labour

- immigrants who arrived in Denmark between 1968 and 1973. My interest has been in, how these 15-20 year old youngsters use music, both as individuals, in their different social interactions and in the dialogue (or confrontation) with the Danish society.
5. Fock, E. 1997. Undersøgelse - Formidling af fremmed musik. *Dansk Musik Tidsskrift*. Vol. 71, 5.
 6. One of the fields of interest within Intercultural Communication Studies, typical for the more functionalistic oriented Competence Research. Jensen, I. et al.1995. En oversigt over interkulturel kommunikationsforskning. *Kultur og kommunikation - interkulturel kommunikation I teori og praksis*. Frederiksberg: Samfundslitteratur.
 7. Slobin, M. 1993. *Subcultural Sounds - Micromusics of the West*. Wesleyan University Press, U.S.A. (p.19).
 8. Hammerlund, A. 1988. Svenskarna kan inte lyssna på vår musik - invandrare från Turkiet. *Attityder och värderingar i kulturmöten*. Allwood, J (eds). Göteborg Universitet.
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 10. Hylland Eriksen, T, 1993 'Fleretniske paradokser' in: *GRUS* nr. 41, 'Globalisering'. Aalborg University Center, Institute for Økonomi Politik og Forvaltning.
 11. Yilmaz, Ferruh, personal conversation, may 1997.
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 13. Skyllstad, K. 1993. *The resonant community*. Summary Report. University of Oslo.
 14. *Bekendtgørelse 482 af 6. juni 1994, om formålet med undervisning i Folkeskolen*, § 7, paragraf 3.
 15. Helgesen, G. 1997. Kultur = fælles værdier og normer. Undervisningsministeriets tidsskrift *Uddannelse*, Vol. 30, 1. Undervisningsministeriets forlag.
 16. Allwood, J 1996. Paper presented at the Intercultural Communication and National Identity Symposium, held in Aalborg December 1996.
 17. Jensen, I. et al.1995. En oversigt over interkulturel kommunikationsforskning. *Kultur og kommunikation - interkulturel kommunikation I teori og praksis*. Frederiksberg: Samfundslitteratur.
 18. Mørch, Y. 1994. Køn og generationer. *Komplekse liv*. Liep, J. and Fog Olwig, K. (eds.). Akademisk Forlag, Københavns Universitet.
 - Røgilds, F. 1995. *Stemmer I et grænseland*. Politisk Revy, København.
 19. A description of the use of arenas in my research were presented during the 34th World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music, Bratislava 1997, and will be published later this year.
 20. Dundes, A. 1982. *Defining Identity through Folklore*. Paper from Symposium on Personal and Socio-cultural Identity. Uppsala.
 21. Berliner, P. 1994. Holdninger og værdier - som konkrete samspil. *Kultur møde: Holdninger og værdier*. 3. Symposium om tværkulturel Psykologi. København: Dansk psykologisk forlag. (p.117).
 22. Gullestrup, H. 1996. Om menneskelig ligeværdighed og diskriminering set ud fra en samfundsvidenskabelig synsvinkel. *Likeverdighed og utestængning*. Knudsen, J.C. TemaNord 1996: 634. Nordisk Ministerråd.

